

SECOND EDITION

Edited by
JEFFREY LEHMAN



GALE
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MULTICULTURAL
AMERICA

ROBERT VON DASSANOWSKY
Contributing Editor
RUDOLPH J. VECOLI
Author of Introduction

volume 1
Acadians – Garifuna Americans

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Endorsed by the Ethnic and Multicultural
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C ONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Credits</i>	xiii
<i>Advisory Board</i>	xxi
<i>Contributors</i>	xxiii
<i>Introduction</i>	xxvii

Volume I

Acadians	1
Afghan Americans	16
African Americans	28
Albanian Americans	55
Algerian Americans	67
Amish	79
Apaches	95
Arab Americans	108
Argentinean Americans	123
Armenian Americans	133
Asian Indian Americans	147

Australian and New Zealander Americans	161
Austrian Americans	173
Bangladeshi Americans	186
Barbadian Americans	195
Basque Americans	206
Belarusan Americans	219
Belgian Americans	228
Blackfoot	240
Bolivian Americans	252
Bosnian Americans	262
Brazilian Americans	270
Bulgarian Americans	284

Burmese Americans	297	Georgian Americans	699
Cambodian Americans	305	German Americans	708
Canadian Americans	319	Ghanaian Americans	721
Cape Verdean Americans	333	Greek Americans	732
Carpatho-Rusyn Americans	345	Grenadian Americans	748
Chaldean Americans	355	Guamanian Americans	755
Cherokees	362	Guatemalan Americans	764
Chilean Americans	373	Guyanese Americans	781
Chinese Americans	386	Gypsy Americans	793
Choctaws	404	Haitian Americans	805
Colombian Americans	417	Hawaiians	819
Costa Rican Americans	429	Hmong Americans	832
Creeks	437	Honduran Americans	844
Creoles	450	Hopis	853
Croatian Americans	460	Hungarian Americans	866
Cuban Americans	473	Icelandic Americans	884
Cypriot Americans	486	Indonesian Americans	897
Czech Americans	497	Inuit	906
Danish Americans	511	Iranian Americans	918
Dominican Americans	525	Iraqi Americans	929
Druze	534	Irish Americans	934
Dutch Americans	541	Iroquois Confederacy	955
Ecuadoran Americans	553	Israeli Americans	970
Egyptian Americans	567	Italian Americans	982
English Americans	575	Jamaican Americans	1000
Eritrean Americans	590	Japanese Americans	1014
Estonian Americans	601	Jewish Americans	1030
Ethiopian Americans	613	Jordanian Americans	1052
Filipino Americans	622	Kenyan Americans	1062
Finnish Americans	636	Korean Americans	1071
French Americans	655	Laotian Americans	1091
French-Canadian Americans	668	Latvian Americans	1101
Garifuna Americans	686	Lebanese Americans	1114
Volume II		Liberian Americans	1126

Lithuanian Americans	1138	Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans . . .	1567
Luxembourger Americans	1151	Serbian Americans	1579
Macedonian Americans	1161	Sicilian Americans	1597
Malaysian Americans	1173	Sierra Leonean Americans	1610
Maltese Americans	1180	Sioux	1622
Mexican Americans	1190	Slovak Americans	1634
Mongolian Americans	1223	Slovenian Americans	1646
Mormons	1234	South African Americans	1660
Moroccan Americans	1249	Spanish Americans	1671
Navajos	1259	Sri Lankan Americans	1681
Nepalese Americans	1272	Swedish Americans	1691
Nez Percé	1282	Swiss Americans	1704
Nicaraguan Americans	1295	Syrian Americans	1715
Nigerian Americans	1312	Taiwanese Americans	1727
Norwegian Americans	1325	Thai Americans	1741
Ojibwa	1339	Tibetan Americans	1751
 Volume III		Tlingit	1763
Oneidas	1353	Tongan Americans	1777
Pacific Islander Americans	1364	Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans	1782
Paiutes	1375	Turkish Americans	1795
Pakistani Americans	1389	Ugandan Americans	1804
Palestinian Americans	1400	Ukrainian Americans	1813
Panamanian Americans	1412	Uruguayan Americans	1831
Paraguayan Americans	1422	Venezuelan Americans	1839
Peruvian Americans	1431	Vietnamese Americans	1847
Polish Americans	1445	Virgin Islander Americans	1863
Portuguese Americans	1461	Welsh Americans	1872
Pueblos	1477	Yemeni Americans	1883
Puerto Rican Americans	1489	Yupiat	1893
Romanian Americans	1504	 <i>General Bibliography</i>	1901
Russian Americans	1520	<i>General Index</i>	1907
Salvadoran Americans	1534		
Samoan Americans	1547		
Saudi Arabian Americans	1558		

PREFACE

The second edition of the *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America* has been endorsed by the Ethnic and Multicultural Information Exchange Round Table of the American Library Association

The first edition of the *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America*, with 101 essays on different culture groups in the United States, filled a need in the reference collection for a single, comprehensive source of extensive information about ethnicities in the United States. Its contents satisfied high school and college students, librarians, and general reference seekers alike. The American Library Association's Ethnic Materials and Information Exchange Round Table *Bulletin* endorsed it as an exceptionally useful reference product and the Reference Users and Services Association honored it with a RUSA award.

This second edition adds to and improves upon the original. The demand for more current and comprehensive multicultural reference products in public, high school, and academic libraries remains strong. Topics related to ethnic issues, immigration, and acculturation continue to make headlines. People from Latin America, Africa, and Asia represent higher percentages of the new arrivals and increase the diversity of our population. The new *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America*, with 152 essays, more than 250 images, a general bibliography updated by Vladimir Wertsman, and an improved general subject index, covers 50 percent more groups. Both new and revised essays received the scrutiny of scholars. Approximately 50 essays received significant textual updating to reflect changing conditions at the end of the century in America. In all essays, we updated the directory information for media, organizations, and museums by adding e-mail addresses and URLs, by deleting defunct groups, and by adding new groups or more accurate contact information. We have also created fresher suggested readings lists.

SCOPE

The three volumes of this edition address 152 ethnic, ethnoreligious, and Native American cultures currently residing in the United States. The average essay length is 8,000 words, but ranges from slightly less than 3,000 to more than 20,000 words, depending on the amount of information available. Essays are arranged alphabetically by the most-commonly cited name for the group—although such terms as

Sioux and Gypsy may be offensive to some members of the groups themselves, as noted in the essays.

Every essay in the first edition appears in the second edition of *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America*, though some are in a different form. For example, the Lebanese Americans and Syrian Americans originally were covered in a single essay on Syrian/Lebanese Americans; in this book, they are separate entries. Additionally, the editors selected 50 more cultures based on the original volume's two main criteria: size of the group according to 1990 U.S. Census data and the recommendations of the advisory board. The advisors chose groups likely to be studied in high school and college classrooms. Because of the greater number of groups covered, some essays new to this edition are about groups that still have not established large enough populations to be much recognized outside of their immediate locations of settlement. This lower "visibility" means that few radio, television, or newspaper media report on events specific to very small minority groups. As a result, many of the essays are shorter in length.

The *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America's* essays cover a wide range of national and other culture groups, including those from Europe, Africa, Central America, South America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Asia, Oceania, and North America, as well as several ethnoreligious groups. This book centers on communities as they exist in the United States, however. Thus, the encyclopedia recognizes the history, culture, and contributions of the first settlers—such as English Americans and French Americans—as well as newer Americans who have been overlooked in previous studies—such as Garifuna Americans, Georgian Americans, and Mongolian Americans. Moreover, such ethnoreligious groups as the Amish and the Druze are presented.

The various cultures that make up the American mosaic are not limited to immigrant groups, though. The Native Americans can more accurately be referred to as First Americans because of their primacy throughout the entire Western hemisphere. This rich heritage should not be undervalued and their contributions to the tapestry of U.S. history is equally noteworthy. Therefore, we felt it imperative to include essays on Native American peoples. Many attempts at a full-scale treatment of Native America have been made, including the *Gale Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes*, but such thorough coverage could not be included here for reasons of space. With the help of experts and advisors, the second edition added six new essays on Indian groups, again selected for their cultural diversity and geographical representation, bringing the total to 18.

The first edition contained two chapters devoted to peoples from Subsaharan Africa. Because the vast majority of people in the United States from this region identified themselves as African American in the 1990 U.S. Census, there is a lengthy essay entitled "African Americans" that represents persons of multiple ancestry. The census also indicated that Nigerian Americans—at 91,688 people—outnumbered all other individual national groups from Africa. This second edition adds nine more essays on peoples of African origin, most of whom are significantly less populous than Nigerian Americans. Nevertheless, the variety of customs evident in these cultures and the growing proportion of immigrants from Africa to America make it necessary and beneficial to increase coverage.

We also attempted to improve the overall demographic coverage. *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America* now has 12 more essays on Asians/Pacific Islanders; five more on Hispanics, Central Americans, or South Americans; nine more on Middle Eastern/North Africans; and eight more on European peoples. The 49 essays on European immigrants treat them as separate groups with separate experiences to dispel the popular notions of a generic European American culture.

FORMAT

While each essay in the *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America* includes information on the country of origin and circumstances surrounding major immigration waves (if applicable), they focus primarily on the group's experiences in the United States, specifically in the areas of acculturation and assimilation, family and community dynamics, language, religion, employment and economic traditions, politics and government, and significant contributions to American society. Wherever possible, each entry also features directory listings of periodicals, broadcast and Internet media, organizations and associations, and museums and research centers to aid the user in conducting additional research. Each entry also cites sources for further study that are current, useful, and accessible. Every essay contains clearly-marked, standardized headings and subheadings designed to locate specific types of information within each essay while also facilitating cross-cultural comparisons.

ADDITIONAL FEATURES

The improved general subject index in *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America* still provides refer-

ence to significant terms, people, places, movements, and events, but also contains concepts pertinent to multicultural studies. Vladimir Wertsman, former librarian at the New York Public Library and member of the Ethnic and Multicultural Information Exchange Round Table of the American Library Association, has updated the valuable general bibliography. Its sources augment the further readings suggested in the text without duplicating them by listing general multicultural studies works. Finally, more than 250 images highlight the essays.

A companion volume, the *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America: Primary Documents*, brings history to life through a wide variety of representative documents. More than 200 documents—ranging in type from periodical articles and autobiographies to political cartoons and recipes—give readers a more personal perspective on key events in history as well as the everyday lives of 90 different cultures.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor must thank all the people whose efforts, talents, and time improved this project beyond measure. Contributing editor Professor Robert von Dassanowsky made the marathon run from beginning to end, all the while offering his insights, feedback, and unsolicited attention to details that could have been overlooked by a less observant eye; he made clear distinctions about how to treat many of the newer, lesser-known groups being added; he provided his expertise on 13 original essays and 12 new essays in the form of review and update recommendations; and he constantly served as an extra editorial opinion. The entire advisory board deserves a round of applause for

their quick and invaluable feedback, but especially Vladimir Wertsman, who once again served as GEMA's exemplary advisor, tirelessly providing me with needed guidance and words of encouragement, review and update of key essays, and an updated general bibliography. The Multicultural team also aided this process considerably: especially Liz Shaw for just about everything, including accepting most of the responsibilities for other projects so that I could focus on *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America*; handling the ever-changing photo permissions and selection; and coordinating the assignment, review, and clean-up inherent in having 152 essays written or updated. Also noteworthy is Gloria Lam, who took on some of Liz's tasks when necessary. I thank Mark Mikula and Bernard Grunow for helping out in a pinch with their technological prowess; the expert reviewers, including Dean T. Alegado, Timothy Dunningan, Truong Buu Lam, Vasudha Narayanan, Albert Valdman, Vladimir Wertsman, and Kevin Scott Wong; and Rebecca Forgette, who deserves accolades for the improvement of the index.

Even though I laud the highly professional contributions of these individuals, I understand that as the editor, this publication is my responsibility.

SUGGESTIONS ARE WELCOME

The editor welcomes your suggestions on any aspect of this work. Please mail comments, suggestions, or criticisms to: The Editor, *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America*, The Gale Group, 27500 Drake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535; call 1-800-877-GALE [877-4253]; fax to (248) 699-8062; or e-mail galegroup.com.

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painting), New York City, c.1983, photograph by Jacques M.Chenet. Corbis. **Bulgarian; Bishop Andrey Velichky**, (receiving cross from swimmer), Santa Monica, California, 1939, photograph. Corbis/Bettmann. **Burmese Chart** (chart depicting the pronunciation and script for numbers and expressions), illustration. Eastword Publications Development. The Gale Group. **Cambodian girls standing on porch steps**, 1994, Seattle, Washington, photograph by Dan Lamont. Corbis. **Cambodian child, Angelina Melendez**, (standing in front of chart), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Cambodian; Virak Ui**, (sitting on bed), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Canadian American farmers in a field with a truck**, Sweetgrass, Montana, 1983, photograph by Michael S. Yamashita. Corbis. **Canadian; Donald and Kiefer Sutherland**, (standing together), Los Angeles, California, 1995, photograph by Kurt Kireger. Corbis. **Cape Verdean Henry Andrade** (preparing to represent Cape Verde in Atlanta Olympics), 1996, Cerritos, California, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Cherokee boy and girl** (in traditional dress), c.1939, photograph. National Archives and Records Administration. **Cherokee woman with child on her back fishing**, photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Chilean; Hispanic Columbus Day parade** (children dancing in the street), photograph by Richard I. Harbus. AP/Wide World Photos. **Chinese Chart** (depicting examples of pictographs, ideographs, ideographic combinations, ideograph/sound characters, transferable characters, and loan characters), illustration. Eastword Publications Development. The Gale Group. **Chinese Dragon Parade** (two people dressed in dragon costumes), photograph by Frank Polich. AP/Wide World Photos. **Choctaw family standing at Chucalissa**, photograph. The Library of Congress. **Choctaw school children and their teacher** (standing outside of Bascome School), Pittsburg County, photograph. National Archives and Records Administration. **Colombian Americans perform during the Orange Bowl Parade** (women wearing long skirts and blouses), photograph by Alan Diaz. AP/Wide World Photos. **Creek Council House** (delegates from 34 tribes in front of large house), Indian Territory, 1880, photograph. National Archives and Records Administration. **Creek; Marion McGhee (Wild Horse)**, doing Fluff Dance, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Creole; elderly white woman holding Creole baby on her lap**, 1953, Saba Island, Netherlands Antilles, photograph by Bradley Smith. Corbis. **Creole; Mardi Gras** (Krewe of Rex floats travelling through street), photograph by Drew Story. Archive Photos. **Creole; Two men presenting the Creole flag**,

Zydeco Festival, c.1990, Plaisance, Louisiana, photograph by Philip Gould. Corbis. **Creole woman quilting** (red and white quilt, in 19th century garb), Amand Broussard House, Vermillionville Cajun/Creole Folk Village, Lafayette, Louisiana, c.1997, photograph by Dave G. Houser. Corbis. **Croatian Americans** (man with child), photograph. Aneal Vohra/Unicorn Stock Photos. **Croatian boy holding ends of scissors-like oyster rake**, 1938, Olga, Louisiana, photograph by Russell Lee. Corbis. **Cuban Americans** (holding crosses representing loved ones who died in Cuba), photograph by Alan Diaz. AP/Wide World Photos. **Cuban family reunited in Miami, Florida**, 1980, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Cuban refugees** (older man and woman and three younger women), photograph. Reuters/Corbis-Bettmann. **Cuban children marching in Calle Ocho Parade**, photograph © by Steven Ferry. **Czech Americans** (at Czech festival), photograph. Aneal Vohra/Unicorn Stock Photos. **Czech immigrants** (six women and one child), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Czech women**, standing in front of brick wall, Ellis Island, New York City, 1920, photograph. Corbis/Bettmann. **Danish American women** (at ethnic festival), photograph. © Aneal Vohra/Unicorn Stock Photos. **Danish Americans** (women and their daughters at Dana College), photograph. Dana College, Blair Nebraska. **Dominican; Ysaes Amaro** (dancing, wearing mask with long horns), New York City, 1999, photograph by Mitch Jacobson. AP/Wide World Photos. **Dominican; Hispanic Parade**, Dominican women dancing in front of building (holding flower baskets), photograph © Charlotte Kahler. **Dutch Americans** (Klomp dancers perform circle dance), Tulip Festival, Holland, Michigan, photograph. © Dennis MacDonald/Photo Edit. **Dutch immigrants** (mother and children), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Dutch; Micah Zantingh**, (looking at tulips, in traditional Dutch garb), Tulip Festival, 1996, Pella, Iowa, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **English; Morris Dancers** (performing), photograph. Rich Baker/Unicorn Stock Photos. **English; British pub patrons**, Marty Flicker, Steve Jones, Phil Elwell, and Alan Shadrake (at British pub "The King's Head"), photograph by Bob Galbraith. AP/Wide World Photos. **Eritreans demonstrating against Ethiopian aggression**, in front of White House, 1997-1998, Washington, D.C., photograph by Lee Snider. Corbis. **Estonian Americans** (family sitting at table peeling apples), photograph. Library of Congress/Corbis. **Estonian Americans** (group of people, eight men, three woman and one little girl), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Ethiopian; Berhanu Adanne** (front left), surrounded by

Ethiopian immigrants Yeneneh Adugna (back left) and Halile Bekele (right front), celebrating his win of the Bolder Boulder 10-Kilometer Race, 1999, Boulder, Colorado, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Filipino Immigrants**, photograph. Photo by Gene Viernes Collection **Filipino; Lotus Festival** (Fil-Am family, holding large feather and flower fans), photograph by Tara Farrell. AP/Wide World Photos. **Finnish Americans** (proponents of socialism with their families), photograph. The Tuomi Family Photographs/Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. **Finnish Americans** (standing in line at festival), photograph. © Gary Conner /Photo Edit. **Finnish; Three generations of Finnish Americans**, Rebecca Hoekstra (l to r), Margaret Mattila, Joanna Hoekstra, with newspaper at kitchen table), 1999, Painesville, Michigan, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **French Americans** (woman playing an accordian) , photograph. © Joe Sohm/Unicorn Stock Photos. **French children in parade at Cape Vincent's French Festival**, photograph. Cape Vincent Chamber of Commerce. **French; Sally Eustice** (wearing French bride costume, white lace bonnet, royal blue dress), Michilimackinac, Michigan, c.1985, photograph by Macduff Everton. Corbis. **French-Canadian farmers**, waiting for their potatoes to be weighed (by woodpile), 1940, Aroostook County, Maine, photograph. Corbis. **French-Canadian farmer sitting on digger**, Caribou, Maine, 1940, photograph by Jack Delano. Corbis. **French-Canadian; Grandmother of Patrick Dumond Family** (wearing white blouse, print apron), photograph. The Library of Congress. **French-Canadian; Two young boys** (standing on road), photograph. The Library of Congress. **German immigrants** (little girl holding doll), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **German people dancing at Heritagefest**, photograph. Minnesota Office of Tourism. © Minnesota Office of Tourism. **German; Steuben Day Parade** (German Tricentennial Multicycle), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Greek American** (girl at Greek parade), photograph. Kelly-Mooney Photography/Corbis. **Greek American altar boys** (at church, lighting candles), photograph © Audrey Gottlieb 1992. **Greek; Theo Koulianos**, (holding cross thrown in water by Greek Orthodox Archbishop), photograph by Chris O'Meara. AP/Wide World Photos. **Guamanian boy in striped shirt leaning against doorjamb**, c.1950, photograph. Corbis/Hulton-Deutsch Collection. **Guatemalan boy and girl riding on top of van** (ethnic pride parade), 1995, Chicago, Illinois, photograph by Sandy Felsenthal. Corbis. **Guatemalan girls in traditional dress**, at ethnic pride parade, 1995, Chicago, Illinois, photograph by Sandy Felsenthal. Corbis. **Guatemalan; Julio Recinos**,

(covering banana boxes), Los Angeles, California, 1998, photograph by Damian Dovargnes. AP/Wide World Photos. **Gypsies; Flamenco** (wedding party group), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Gypsy woman** (performing traditional dance), photograph. © Russell Grundke/Unicorn Stock Photos. **Haitian; Edwidge Danticat**, Ixel Cervera (Danticat signing her book for Cervera), New York City, 1998, photograph by Beбето Matthews. AP/Wide World Photos. **Haitian; Fernande Maxton with Joseph Nelian Strong** (holding photo of Aristide), photograph by Beбето Matthews. AP/Wide World Photos. **Haitian; Sauveur St. Cyr**, (standing to the right of altar), New York City, 1998, photograph by Lynsey Addario. AP/Wide World Photos. **Hawaiian children wearing leis in Lei Day celebration, Hawaii**, 1985, photograph by Morton Beebe. Corbis. **Hawaiian group singing at luau, Milolii, Hawaii**, 1969, photograph by James L. Amos. Corbis. **Hawaiian man checking fish trap**, photograph. The Library of Congress. **Hawaiian women dancing**, Washington D.C., 1998, photograph by Khue Bui. AP/Wide World Photos. **Hmong; Vang Alben** (pointing to portion of Hmong story quilt), Fresno, California, 1998, photograph by Gary Kazanjian. AP/Wide World Photos. **Hmong; Moua Vang** (holding fringed parasol), Fresno, California, 1996, photograph by Thor Swift. AP/Wide World Photos. **Hopi dancer at El Tovar, Grand Canyon**, photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Hopi women's dance**, 1879, photograph by John K. Hillers. National Archives and Records Administration. **Hungarian American debutante ball**, photograph by Contessa Photography **Hungarian Americans** (man reunited with his family), photograph. Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University. **Hungarian refugees** (large group on ship deck), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Icelanders** (five women sitting outside of Cabin), photograph. North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies and Archives/North Dakota State University. **Icelandic girl kneeling, picking cranberries**, c.1990, Half Moon Lake, Wisconsin, photograph by Tom Bean. Corbis. **Indonesian; Balinese dancer wearing white mask, gold headdress and embroidered collar**, 1980-1995, Bali, Indonesia, photograph. CORBIS/David Cumming; Ubiquitous. **Indonesian; two Balinese dancers** (in gold silk, tall headdresses, with fans), Bali, Indonesia, photograph by Dennis Degan. Corbis. **Indonesian; Wayang Golek puppets** (with helmets, gold trimmed coats), 1970-1995, Indonesia, photograph by Sean Kielty. Corbis. **Inuit dance orchestra**, 1935, photograph by Stanley Morgan. National Archives and Records Administration. **Inuit dancer and drummers**, Nome, Alaska, c.1910, photograph. Corbis/Michael Maslan His-

toric Photographs. **Inuit wedding people**, posing outside of Saint Michael's Church, Saint Michael, Alaska, 1906, photograph by Huey & Laws. Corbis. **Iranian; Persian New Year celebrations**, among expatriate community (boy running through bonfire), c.1995, Sydney, Australia, photograph by Paul A. Souders. Corbis. **Irish girls performing step dancing in Boston St. Patrick's Day Parade**, 1996, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Irish immigrants** (woman and nine children), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Irish; Bernie Hurley**, (dressed like leprechaun, rollerblading), Denver, St. Patrick's Day Parade, 1998, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Irish; Bill Pesature**, (shamrock on his forehead), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Iroquois steel workers at construction site**, 1925, photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Iroquois tribe members**, unearthing bones of their ancestors, photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Israeli; "Salute to Israel" parade**, children holding up Israeli Flag, photograph by David Karp. AP/Wide World Photos. **Israeli; "Salute to Israel" parade**, Yemenite banner, New York, photograph by Richard B. Levine. Levine & Roberts Stock Photography **Italian Americans** (men walking in Italian parade), photograph. Robert Brenner/Photo Edit. **Italian immigrants** (mother and three children), photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Italian railway workers**, Lebanon Springs, New York, c.1900, photograph by H. M. Gillet. Corbis/Michael Maslan Historical Photographs. **Jamaican women playing steel drums in Labor Day parade** (wearing red, yellow drums), 1978, Brooklyn, New York, photograph by Ted Spiegel. Corbis **Jamaican; Three female Caribbean dancers at Liberty Weekend Festival** (in ruffled dresses and beaded hats), 1986, New York, photograph by Joseph Sohm. Corbis/ChromoSohm Inc. **Japanese American children**, eating special obento lunches from their lunchboxes on Children's Day, 1985, at the Japanese American Community and Cultural Center, Little Tokyo, Los Angeles, California, photograph by Michael Yamashita. Corbis. **Japanese American girl with baggage** (awaiting internment), April, 1942, photograph. National Archives and Records Administration. **Japanese American girls**, wearing traditional kimonos at a cherry blossom festival, San Francisco, California, photograph by Nik Wheeler. Corbis. **Japanese immigrants** (dressed as samurai), photograph. National Archives and Records Administration. **Jewish; Bar Mitzvah** (boy reading from the Torah), photograph. © Nathan Nourok/Photo Edit. **Jewish; Orthodox Jews** (burning hametz in preparation of Passover), photograph by Ed Bailey. AP/Wide World Photos. **Jewish; Senator Alfonse D'Amato with Jackie Mason** (at

Salute to Israel Parade), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Kenyan; David Lichoro**, (wearing "God has been good to me!" T-shirt), 1998, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Kenyan; Samb Aminata** (with Kenyan sculptures for sale), 24th Annual Afro American Festival, 1997, Detroit Michigan, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Korean American boy**, holding Korean flag, photograph by Richard B. Levine. Levine & Roberts Stock Photography. **Korean basic alphabet**, illustration. Eastword Publications Development. The Gale Group. **Korean; signs in Koreatown, NY** (Korean signs, people in lower left corner of photo), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Laotian women** (standing around Vietnam Veterans Memorial, wearing traditional Laos costumes), photograph by Mark Wilson. Archive Photos. **Laotian; Chia Hang, Pahoua Yang** (daughter holding mother's shoulders), Brooklyn Center, Minnesota, 1999, photograph by Dawn Villella. AP/Wide World Photos. **Latvian Americans** (mother, father, 11 children), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Latvian; Karl Zarins**, (Latvian immigrant holding his daughter), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Lebanese Americans**, demonstrating, Washington D. C., 1996, photograph by Jeff Elsayed. AP/Wide World Photos. **Liberian; Michael Rhodes**, (examining Liberian Passport Masks), at the 1999 New York International Tribal Antiques Show, Park Avenue Armory, New York, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Lithuanian Americans** (family of 12, men, women and children), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Lithuanian Americans** (protesting on Capitol steps), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Malaysian float at Pasadena Rose Parade, Pasadena, California**, c.1990, photograph Dave G. Houser. Corbis. **Maltese Americans** (girls in Maltese parade), photograph. © Robert Brenner/Photo Edit. **Maltese immigrant woman at parade**, New York City, photograph by Richard B. Levine. Levine & Roberts Stock Photography. **Mexican Celebration of the Day of the Dead festival** (seated women, flowers, food), c.1970-1995, photograph by Charles & Josette Lenars. Corbis. **Mexican soccer fans dancing outside Washington's RFK Stadium**, photograph by Damian Dovarganes. AP/Wide World Photos. **Mongolian "throat singer," Ondar**, performing at the Telluride Bluegrass Festival, 1999, Telluride, Colorado, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Mongolian wedding gown being modeled**, at the end of the showing of Mary McFadden's 1999 Fall and Winter Collection, New York, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **"Mormon emigrants," covered wagon caravan**, photograph by C. W. Carver. National Archives and Records Adminis-

tration. **Mormon family in front of log cabin**, 1875, photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Mormon Women** (tacking a quilt), photograph. The Library of Congress. **Moroccan; Lofti's Restaurant**, New York City, 1995, photograph by Ed Malitsky. Corbis. **Navajo family courtyard** (one man, one child, two women in foreground), photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Navajo protesters**, marched two miles to present grievances to tribal officials, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Navajo protesters** (walking, three holding large banner), 1976, Arizona, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Nepalese; Gelmu Sherpa rubbing "singing bowl,"** May 20, 1998, photograph by Suzanne Plunkett. AP/Wide World Photos. **Nez Perce family in a three-seated car**, 1916, photograph by Frank Palmer. The Library of Congress. **Nez Perce man in ceremonial dress** (right profile), c.1996, Idaho, photograph by Dave G. Houser. Corbis. **Nicaraguan girls in a Cinco de Mayo parade** (flower in hair, wearing peasant blouses), c.1997, New York, photograph by Catherine Karnow. Corbis. **Nicaraguan; Dennis Martinez**, (playing baseball), photograph by Tami L. Chappell. Archive Photos. **Norwegian Americans** (gathered around table, some seated and some standing), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Norwegian Americans** (Leikarring Norwegian dancers), photograph. © Jeff Greenberg/Photo Edit. **Ojibwa woman and child**, lithograph. The Library of Congress. **Ojibwa woman and papoose**, color lithograph by Bowen's, 1837. The Library of Congress. **Paiute drawing his bow and arrow** (two others in festive costume), 1872, photograph by John K. Hillers. National Archives and Records Administration. **Paiute woman** (grinding seeds in hut doorway), 1872, photograph by John K. Hillers. National Archives and Records Administration. **Paiute; Revival of the Ghost Dance**, being performed by women, photograph. Richard Erdoes. Reproduced by permission. **Pakistani American family in traditional dress**, photograph by Shazia Rafi. **Palestinean; Jacob Ratisi**, with brother John Ratisi (standing inside their restaurant), photograph by Mark Elias. AP/Wide World Photos. **Palestinian; Faras Warde**, (holding up leaflets and poster), Boston, Massachusetts, 1998, photograph by Kuni. AP/Wide World Photos. **Peruvian shepherd immobilizes sheep while preparing an inoculation**, 1995, Bridgeport, California, photograph by Phil Schermeister. Corbis. **Polish Americans** (woman and her three sons), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Polish; Kanosky Family**, (posing for a picture), August, 1941. Reproduced by permission of Stella McDermott. **Polish; Leonard Sikorasky and Julia Wesoly**, (at Polish parade), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Portuguese American** (man fish-

ing), photograph. © 1994 Gale Zucker. **Portuguese Americans** (children in traditional Portuguese dress), photograph. © Robert Brenner/Photo Edit. **Pueblo mother with her children** (on ladder by house), Taos, New Mexico, photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Pueblo; Row of drummers and row of dancers**, under cloudy sky, photograph by Craig Aurness. Corbis. **Pueblo; Taos Indians performing at dance festival**, c.1969, New Mexico, photograph by Adam Woolfit. Corbis. **Puerto Rican Day Parade** (crowd of people waving flags), photograph by David A.Cantor. AP/Wide World Photos. **Puerto Rican; 20th Annual Three Kings Day Parade** (over-life-size magi figures, Puerto Rican celebration of Epiphany), 1997, El Museo del Barrio, East Harlem, New York, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Puerto Rican; Puerto Rican New Progressive Party**, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Romanian Priests** (leading congregation in prayer), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Romanian; Regina Kohn**, (holding violin), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Russian Americans** (five women sitting in wagon), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Russian; Lev Vinjica**, (standing in his handicraft booth), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Russian; Olesa Zaharova**, (standing in front of chalkboard, playing hangman), Gambell, Alaska, 1992, photograph by Natalie Fobes. Corbis. **Salvadoran; Ricardo Zelada**, (standing, right arm around woman, left around girl), Los Angeles, California, 1983, photograph by Nik Wheeler. Corbis. **Samoan woman playing ukulele**, sitting at base of tree, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaii, 1960's-1990's, photograph by Ted Streshinsky. Corbis. **Samoan men, standing in front of sign reading "Talofa . . . Samoa,"** Laie, Oahu, Hawaii, 1996, photograph by Catherine Karnow. Corbis. **Scottish Americans** (bagpipers), photograph. © Tony Freeman/Photo Edit. **Scottish Americans** (girl performing Scottish sword dance), photograph. © Jim Shiopee/Unicorn Stock Photos. **Scottish; David Barron** (swinging a weight, in kilt), 25th Annual Quechee Scottish Festival, 1997, Quechee, Vermont, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Serbian; Jelena Mladenovic**, (lighting candle), New York City, 1999, photograph by Lynsey Addario. AP/Wide World Photos. **Serbian; Jim Pigford**, (proof-reading newspaper pages), Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1999, photograph by Gene J. Puskar. AP/Wide World Photos. **Sicilian Archbishop Iakovos** (standing in front of stage, spreading incense), photograph by Mark Cardwell. Archive Photos. **Sioux girl** (sitting, wearing long light colored fringed clothing), photograph. The Library of Congress. **Sioux Police**, (on horseback, in front of buildings), photograph. National Archives and

Records Administration. **Slovak immigrant** (woman at Ellis Island), photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Slovenian; Bob Dole** (listening to singing group), Cleveland, Ohio, 1996, photograph by Mark Duncan. AP/Wide World Photos. **Spanish American; Isabel Arevalo** (Spanish American), photograph. Corbis-Bettmann. **Spanish; United Hispanic American Parade** (group performing in the street, playing musical instruments), photograph by Joe Comunale. AP/Wide World Photos. **Swedish; Ingrid and Astrid Sjdbeck**, (sitting on a bench), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Swedish; young girl and boy in traditional Swedish clothing**, 1979, Minneapolis, Minnesota, photograph by Raymond Gehman. Corbis. **Swiss; Dr. Hans Kung**, (signing book for Scott Forsyth), 1993, Chicago, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Swiss; Ida Zahler**, (arriving from Switzerland with her eleven children), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Syrian children in New York City** (in rows on steps), 1908-1915, photograph. Corbis. **Syrian man with a food cart**, peddles his food to two men on the streets of New York, early 20th century, photograph. Corbis. **Syrian man selling cold drinks in the Syrian quarter**, c.1900, New York, photograph. Corbis. **"Taiwan Independence, No Chinese Empire"** Demonstration, protesters sitting on street, New York City, 1997, photograph by Adam Nadel. AP/Wide World Photos. **Thai; Christie Wong, Julie Trung, and Susan Lond** (working on float that will be in the Tournament of the Roses Parade), photograph by Fred Prouser. Archive Photos. **Tibetan Black Hat Dancers**, two men wearing identical costumes, Newark, New Jersey, 1981, photograph by Sheldan Collins. Corbis-Bettmann. **Tibetan Buddhist monk at Lollapalooza**, 1994, near Los Angeles, California, photograph by Henry Diltz. Corbis. **Tibetan; Kalachakra Initiation Dancers**, dancing, holding up right hands, Madison, Wisconsin, 1981, photograph by Sheldan Collins. Corbis. **Tibetan; Tenzin Choezam** (demonstrating outside the Chinese Consulate, "Free Tibet..."), 1999, Houston, Texas, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Tlingit girls wearing nose rings**, photograph by Miles Brothers. National Archives and Records Administration. **Tlingit mother and child**, wearing tribal regalia, Alaska/Petersburg, photograph by Jeff Greenberg. Archive Photos. **Tlingit**; attending potlach ceremony in dugout canoes, 1895, photograph by Winter & Pont. Corbis. **Tongan man at luau, adorned with leaves**, Lahaina, Hawaii, 1994, photograph by Robert Holmes. Corbis. **Trinidadian; West Indian American Day parade** (woman wearing colorful costume, dancing in the street), photograph by Carol Cleere. Archive Photos. **Turkish Parade**

(Turkish band members), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Turkish; Heripsima Hovnanian**, (Turkish immigrant, with family members), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Ukrainian Americans** (dance the Zaporozhian Knight's Battle), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Ukrainian; Oksana Roshetsky**, (displaying Ukrainian Easter eggs), photograph. UPI/Corbis-Bettmann. **Vietnamese dance troupe** (dancing in the street), photograph

by Nick Ut. AP/Wide World Photos. **Vietnamese refugee to Lo Huyhn** (with daughter, Hanh), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Vietnamese; Christina Pham**, (holding large fan), photograph. AP/Wide World Photos. **Virgin Islander schoolchildren standing on school steps**, Charlotte Amalie, Virgin Island, photograph. Corbis/Hulton-Deutsch Collection. **Welsh; Tom Jones**, photograph. AP/Wide World Photos.

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I NTRODUCTION

RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

The term multiculturalism has recently come into usage to describe a society characterized by a diversity of cultures. Religion, language, customs, traditions, and values are some of the components of culture, but more importantly culture is the lens through which one perceives and interprets the world. When a shared culture forms the basis for a “sense of peoplehood,” based on consciousness of a common past, we can speak of a group possessing an ethnicity. As employed here, ethnicity is not transmitted genetically from generation to generation; nor is it unchanging over time. Rather, ethnicity is invented or constructed in response to particular historical circumstances and changes as circumstances change. “Race,” a sub-category of ethnicity, is not a biological reality but a cultural construction. While in its most intimate form an ethnic group may be based on face-to-face relationships, a politicized ethnicity mobilizes its followers far beyond the circle of personal acquaintances. Joined with aspirations for political self-determination, ethnicity can become full-blown nationalism. In this essay, ethnicity will be used to identify groups or communities that are differentiated by religious, racial, or cultural characteristics and that possess a sense of peoplehood.

The “Multicultural America” to which this encyclopedia is dedicated is the product of the mingling of many different peoples over the course of several hundred years in what is now the United States. Cultural diversity was characteristic of this

continent prior to the coming of European colonists and African slaves. The indigenous inhabitants of North America who numbered an estimated 4.5 million in 1500 were divided into hundreds of tribes with distinctive cultures, languages, and religions. Although the numbers of “Indians,” as they were named by Europeans, declined precipitously through the nineteenth century, their population has rebounded in the twentieth century. Both as members of their particular tribes (a form of ethnicity), Navajo, Ojibwa, Choctaw, etc., and as American Indians (a form of panethnicity), they are very much a part of today’s cultural and ethnic pluralism.

Most Americans, however, are descendants of immigrants. Since the sixteenth century, from the earliest Spanish settlement at St. Augustine, Florida, the process of re peopling this continent has gone on apace. Some 600,000 Europeans and Africans were recruited or enslaved and transported across the Atlantic Ocean in the colonial period to what was to become the United States. The first census of 1790 revealed the high degree of diversity that already marked the American population. Almost 19 percent were of African ancestry, another 12 percent Scottish and Scotch-Irish, ten percent German, with smaller numbers of French, Irish, Welsh, and Sephardic Jews. The census did not include American Indians. The English, sometimes described as the “founding people,” only comprised 48 percent of the total. At the time of its birth in 1776, the United States was already a “complex ethnic mosaic,” with a wide variety of communities differentiated by culture, language, race, and religion.

The present United States includes not only the original 13 colonies, but lands that were subsequently purchased or conquered. Through this territorial expansion, other peoples were brought within the boundaries of the republic; these included, in addition to many Native American tribes, French, Hawaiian, Inuit, Mexican, and Puerto Rican, among others. Since 1790, population growth, other than by natural increase, has come primarily through three massive waves of immigration. During the first wave (1841-1890), almost 15 million immigrants arrived: over four million Germans, three million each of Irish and British (English, Scottish, and Welsh), and one million Scandinavians. A second wave (1891-1920) brought an additional 18 million immigrants: almost four million from Italy, 3.6 million from Austria-Hungary, and three million from Russia. In addition, over two million Canadians, Anglo and French, immigrated prior to 1920. The intervening decades, from 1920 to 1945, marked a hiatus in immigration due to restrictive policies, economic depression, and war. A modest post-World War II influx of refugees was followed by a new surge

subsequent to changes in immigration policy in 1965. Totalling approximately 16 million—and still in progress, this third wave encompassed some four million from Mexico, another four million from Central and South America and the Caribbean, and roughly six million from Asia. While almost 90 percent of the first two waves originated in Europe, only 12 percent of the third did.

Immigration has introduced an enormous diversity of cultures into American society. The 1990 U.S. Census report on ancestry provides a fascinating portrait of the complex ethnic origins of the American people. Responses to the question, “What is your ancestry or ethnic origin?,” were tabulated for 215 ancestry groups. The largest ancestry groups reported were, in order of magnitude, German, Irish, English, and African American, all more than 20 million.

Other groups reporting over six million were Italian, Mexican, French, Polish, Native American, Dutch, and Scotch-Irish, while another 28 groups reported over one million each. Scanning the roster of ancestries one is struck by the plethora of smaller groups: Hmong, Maltese, Honduran, Carpatho-Rusyns, and Nigerian, among scores of others. Interestingly enough, only five percent identified themselves simply as “American”—and less than one percent as “white.”

Immigration also contributed to the transformation of the religious character of the United States. Its original Protestantism (itself divided among many denominations and sects) was both reinforced by the arrival of millions of Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, etc., and diluted by the heavy influx of Roman Catholics—first the Irish and Germans, then Eastern Europeans and Italians, and more recently Hispanics. These immigrants have made Roman Catholicism the largest single denomination in the country. Meanwhile, Slavic Christian and Jewish immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe established Judaism and Orthodoxy as major American religious bodies. As a consequence of Near Eastern immigration—and the conversion of many African Americans to Islam—there are currently some three million Muslims in the United States. Smaller numbers of Buddhists, Hindus, and followers of other religions have also arrived. In many American cities, houses of worship now include mosques and temples as well as churches and synagogues. Such religious pluralism is an important source of American multiculturalism.

The immigration and naturalization policies pursued by a country are a key to understanding its self-conception as a nation. By determining who to admit to residence and citizenship, the dominant

element defines the future ethnic and racial composition of the population and the body politic. Each of the three great waves of immigration inspired much soul-searching and intense debate over the consequences for the republic. If the capacity of American society to absorb some 55 million immigrants over the course of a century and a half is impressive, it is also true that American history has been punctuated by ugly episodes of nativism and xenophobia. With the possible exception of the British, it is difficult to find an immigrant group that has not been subject to some degree of prejudice and discrimination. From their early encounters with Native Americans and Africans, Anglo-Americans established “whiteness” as an essential marker of difference and superiority. The Naturalization Act of 1790, for example, specified that citizenship was to be available to “any alien, being a free white person.” By this provision not only were blacks ineligible for naturalization, but also future immigrants who were deemed not to be “white.” The greater the likeness of immigrants to the Anglo-American type (e.g., British Protestants), the more readily they were welcomed.

Not all Anglo-Americans were racists or xenophobes. Citing Christian and democratic ideals of universal brotherhood, many advocated the abolition of slavery and the rights of freedmen—freedom of religion and cultural tolerance. Debates over immigration policy brought these contrasting views of the republic into collision. The ideal of America as an asylum for the oppressed of the world has exerted a powerful influence for a liberal reception of newcomers. Emma Lazarus’s sonnet, which began “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore,” struck a responsive chord among many Anglo-Americans. Moreover, American capitalism depended upon the rural workers of Europe, French Canada, Mexico, and Asia to man its factories and mines. Nonetheless, many Americans have regarded immigration as posing a threat to social stability, the jobs of native white workers, honest politics, and American cultural—even biological—integrity. The strength of anti-immigrant movements has waxed and waned with the volume of immigration, but even more with fluctuations in the state of the economy and society. Although the targets of nativist attacks have changed over time, a constant theme has been the danger posed by foreigners to American values and institutions.

Irish Catholics, for example, were viewed as minions of the Pope and enemies of the Protestant character of the country. A Protestant Crusade culminated with the formation of the American (or “Know-Nothing”) Party in 1854, whose battle cry

was “America for the Americans!” While the Know-Nothing movement was swallowed up by sectional conflict culminating in the Civil War, anti-Catholicism continued to be a powerful strain of nativism well into the twentieth century.

Despite such episodes of xenophobia, during its first century of existence, the United States welcomed all newcomers with minimal regulation. In 1882, however, two laws initiated a progressive tightening of restrictions upon immigration. The first established qualitative health and moral standards by excluding criminals, prostitutes, lunatics, idiots, and paupers. The second, the Chinese Exclusion Act, the culmination of an anti-Chinese movement centered on the West Coast, denied admission to Chinese laborers and barred Chinese immigrants from acquiring citizenship. Following the enactment of this law, agitation for exclusion of Asians continued as the Japanese and others arrived, culminating in the provision of the Immigration Law of 1924, which denied entry to aliens ineligible for citizenship (those who were not deemed “white”). It was not until 1952 that a combination of international politics and democratic idealism finally resulted in the elimination of all racial restrictions from American immigration and naturalization policies.

In the late nineteenth century, “scientific” racialism, which asserted the superiority of Anglo-Saxons, was embraced by many Americans as justification for imperialism and immigration restriction. At that time a second immigrant wave was beginning to bring peoples from eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean into the country. Nativists campaigned for a literacy test and other measures to restrict the entry of these “inferior races.” Proponents of a liberal immigration policy defeated such efforts until World War I created a xenophobic climate which not only insured the passage of the literacy test, but prepared the way for the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924. Inspired by racist ideas, these laws established national quota systems designed to drastically reduce the number of southern and eastern Europeans entering the United States and to bar Asians entirely. In essence, the statutes sought to freeze the biological and ethnic identity of the American people by protecting them from contamination from abroad.

Until 1965 the United States pursued this restrictive and racist immigration policy. The Immigration Act of 1965 did away with the national origins quota system and opened the country to immigration from throughout the world, establishing preferences for family members of American citizens and resident aliens, skilled workers, and refugees. The unforeseen consequence of the law of 1965 was

the third wave of immigration. Not only did the annual volume of immigration increase steadily to the current level of one million or more arrivals each year, but the majority of the immigrants now came from Asia and Latin America. During the 1980s, they accounted for 85 percent of the total number of immigrants, with Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans being the largest contingents.

The cumulative impact of an immigration of 16 plus millions since 1965 has aroused intense concerns regarding the demographic, cultural, and racial future of the American people. The skin color, languages, and lifestyles of the newcomers triggered a latent xenophobia in the American psyche. While eschewing the overt racism of earlier years, advocates of tighter restriction have warned that if current rates of immigration continue, the “minorities” (persons of African, Asian, and “Hispanic” ancestry) will make up about half of the American population by the year 2050.

A particular cause of anxiety is the number of undocumented immigrants (estimated at 200,000-300,000 per year). Contrary to popular belief, the majority of these individuals do not cross the border from Mexico, but enter the country with either student or tourist visas and simply stay—many are Europeans and Asians. The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 sought to solve the problem by extending amnesty for undocumented immigrants under certain conditions and imposing penalties on employers who hired undocumented immigrants, while making special provisions for temporary agricultural migrant workers. Although over three million persons qualified for consideration for amnesty, employer sanctions failed for lack of effective enforcement, and the number of undocumented immigrants has not decreased. Congress subsequently enacted the Immigration Act of 1990, which established a cap of 700,000 immigrants per year, maintained preferences based on family reunification, and expanded the number of skilled workers to be admitted. Immigration, however, has continued to be a hotly debated issue. Responding to the nativist mood of the country, politicians have advocated measures to limit access of legal as well as undocumented immigrants to Medicare and other welfare benefits. A constitutional amendment was even proposed that would deny citizenship to American-born children of undocumented residents.

Forebodings about an “unprecedented immigrant invasion,” however, appear exaggerated. In the early 1900s, the rate of immigration (the number of immigrants measured against the total population) was ten per every thousand; in the 1980s the

rate was only 3.5 per every thousand. While the number of foreign-born individuals in the United States reached an all-time high of almost 20 million in 1990, they accounted for only eight percent of the population as compared with 14.7 per cent in 1910. In other words, the statistical impact of contemporary immigration has been of a much smaller magnitude than that of the past. A persuasive argument has also been made that immigrants, legal and undocumented, contribute more than they take from the American economy and that they pay more in taxes than they receive in social services. As in the past, immigrants are being made scapegoats for the country’s problems.

Among the most difficult questions facing students of American history are: how have these tens of millions of immigrants with such differing cultures incorporated into American society?; and what changes have they wrought in the character of that society? The concepts of acculturation and assimilation are helpful in understanding the processes whereby immigrants have adapted to the new society. Applying Milton Gordon’s theory, acculturation is the process whereby newcomers assume American cultural attributes, such as the English language, manners, and values, while assimilation is the process of their incorporation into the social networks (work, residence, leisure, families) of the host society. These changes have not come quickly or easily. Many immigrants have experienced only limited acculturation and practically no assimilation during their lifetimes. Among the factors that have affected these processes are race, ethnicity, class, gender, and character of settlement.

The most important factor, however, has been the willingness of the dominant ethnic group (Anglo-Americans) to accept the foreigners. Since they have wielded political and social power, Anglo-Americans have been able to decide who to include and who to exclude. Race (essentially skin color) has been the major barrier to acceptance; thus Asians and Mexicans, as well as African Americans and Native Americans, have in the past been excluded from full integration into the mainstream. At various times, religion, language, and nationality have constituted impediments to incorporation. Social class has also strongly affected interactions among various ethnic groups. Historically, American society has been highly stratified with a close congruence between class and ethnicity, i.e., Anglo-Americans tend to belong to the upper class, northern and western Europeans to the middle class, and southern and eastern Europeans and African Americans to the working class. The metaphor of a “vertical mosaic” has utility in conceptualizing American society. A high degree of segregation

(residential, occupational, leisure) within the vertical mosaic has severely limited acculturation and assimilation across class and ethnic lines. However, within a particular social class, various immigrant groups have often interacted at work, in neighborhoods, at churches and saloons, and in the process have engaged in what one historian has described as “Americanization from the bottom UP.”

Gender has also been a factor since the status of women within the general American society, as well as within their particular ethnic groups, has affected their assimilative and acculturative experiences. Wide variations exist among groups as to the degree to which women are restricted to traditional roles or have freedom to pursue opportunities in the larger society. The density and location of immigrant settlements have also influenced the rate and character of incorporation into the mainstream culture. Concentrated urban settlements and isolated rural settlements, by limiting contacts between the immigrants and others, tend to inhibit the processes of acculturation and assimilation.

An independent variable in these processes, however, is the determination of immigrants themselves whether or not to shed their cultures and become simply Americans. By and large, they are not willing or able to do so. Rather, they cling, often tenaciously, to their old world traditions, languages, and beliefs. Through chain migrations, relatives and friends have regrouped in cities, towns, and the countryside for mutual assistance and to maintain their customary ways. Establishing churches, societies, newspapers, and other institutions, they have built communities and have developed an enlarged sense of peoplehood. Thus, ethnicity (although related to nationalist movements in countries of origin) in large part has emerged from the immigrants’ attempt to cope with life in this pluralist society. While they cannot transplant their Old Country ways intact to the Dakota prairie or the Chicago slums, theirs is a selective adaptation, in which they have taken from American culture that which they needed and have kept from their traditional culture that which they valued. Rather than becoming Anglo-Americans, they became ethnic Americans of various kinds.

Assimilation and acculturation have progressed over the course of several generations. The children and grandchildren of immigrants have retained less of their ancestral cultures (languages are first to go; customs and traditions often follow) and have assumed more mainstream attributes. Yet many have retained, to a greater or lesser degree, a sense of identity and affiliation with a particular ethnic group. Conceived of not as a finite culture

brought over in immigrant trunks, but as a mode of accommodation to the dominant culture, ethnicity persists even when the cultural content changes.

We might also ask to what have the descendants been assimilating and acculturating. Some have argued that there is an American core culture, essentially British in origin, in which immigrants and their offspring are absorbed. However, if one compares the “mainstream culture” of Americans today (music, food, literature, mass media) with that of one or two centuries ago, it is obvious that it is not Anglo-American (even the American English language has undergone enormous changes from British English). Rather, mainstream culture embodies and reflects the spectrum of immigrant and indigenous ethnic cultures that make up American society. It is the product of syncretism, the melding of different, sometimes contradictory and discordant elements. Multiculturalism is not a museum of immigrant cultures, but rather this complex of the living, vibrant ethnicities of contemporary America.

If Americans share an ideological heritage deriving from the ideals of the American Revolution, such ideals have not been merely abstract principles handed down unchanged from the eighteenth century to the present. Immigrant and indigenous ethnic groups, taking these ideals at face value, have employed them as weapons to combat ethnic and racial prejudice and economic exploitation. If America was the Promised Land, for many the promise was realized only after prolonged and collective struggles. Through labor and civil rights movements, they have contributed to keeping alive and enlarging the ideals of justice, freedom, and equality. If America transformed the immigrants and indigenous ethnic groups, they have also transformed America.

How have Americans conceived of this polyglot, kaleidoscopic society? Over the centuries, several models of a social order, comprised of a variety of ethnic and racial groups, have competed for dominance. An early form was a society based on caste—a society divided into those who were free and those who were not free. Such a social order existed in the South for two hundred years. While the Civil War destroyed slavery, the Jim Crow system of racial segregation maintained a caste system for another hundred years. But the caste model was not limited to black-white relations in the southern states. Industrial capitalism also created a caste-like structure in the North. For a century prior to the New Deal, power, wealth, and status were concentrated in the hands of an Anglo-American elite, while the workers, comprised largely of immigrants and their children, were the helots of the farms and the factories.

The caste model collapsed in both the North and the South in the twentieth century before the onslaught of economic expansion, technological change, and geographic and social mobility.

Anglo-conformity has been a favored model through much of our history. Convinced of their cultural and even biological superiority, Anglo-Americans have demanded that Native Americans, African Americans, and immigrants abandon their distinctive linguistic, cultural, and religious traits and conform (in so far as they are capable) to the Anglo model. But at the same time that they demanded conformity to their values and lifestyles, Anglo-Americans erected barriers that severely limited social intercourse with those they regarded as inferior. The ideology of Anglo-conformity has particularly influenced educational policies. A prime objective of the American public school system has been the assimilation of “alien” children to Anglo-American middle class values and behaviors. In recent years, Anglo-conformity has taken the form of opposition to bilingual education. A vigorous campaign has been waged for a constitutional amendment that would make English the official language of the United States.

A competing model, the Melting Pot, symbolized the process whereby the foreign elements were to be transmuted into a new American race. There have been many variants of this ideology of assimilation, including one in which the Anglo-American is the cook stirring and determining the ingredients, but the prevailing concept has been that a distinctive amalgam of all the varied cultures and peoples would emerge from the crucible. Expressing confidence in the capacity of America to assimilate all newcomers, the Melting Pot ideology provided the rationale for a liberal immigration policy. Although the Melting Pot ideology came under sharp attack in the 1960s as a coercive policy of assimilation, the increased immigration of recent years and the related anxiety over national unity has brought it back into favor in certain academic and political circles.

In response to pressures for 100 percent Americanization during World War I, the model of Cultural Pluralism has been offered as an alternative to the Melting Pot. In this model, while sharing a common American citizenship and loyalty, ethnic groups would maintain and foster their particular languages and cultures. The metaphors employed for the cultural pluralism model have included a symphony orchestra, a flower garden, a mosaic, and a stew or salad. All suggest a reconciliation of diversity with an encompassing harmony and coherence. The fortunes of the Pluralist model have fluctuated

with the national mood. During the 1930s, when cultural democracy was in vogue, pluralist ideas were popular. Again during the period of the “new ethnicity” of the 1960s and the 1970s, cultural pluralism attracted a considerable following. In recent years, heightened fears that American society was fragmenting caused many to reject pluralism for a return to the Melting Pot.

As the United States enters the twenty-first century its future as an ethnically plural society is hotly contested. Is the United States more diverse today than in the past? Is the unity of society threatened by its diversity? Are the centrifugal forces in American society more powerful than the centripetal? The old models of Angloconformity, the Melting Pot, and Cultural Pluralism have lost their explanatory and symbolic value. We need a new model, a new definition of our identity as a people, which will encompass our expanding multiculturalism and which will define us as a multiethnic people in the context of a multiethnic world. We need a compelling paradigm that will command the faith of all Americans because it embraces them in their many splended diversity within a just society.

SUGGESTED READINGS

On acculturation and assimilation, Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (1964) provides a useful theoretical framework. For a discussion of the concept of ethnicity, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, et al. “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12 (Fall 1992). *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, edited by Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA, 1980) is a standard reference work with articles on themes as well as specific groups; see especially the essay by Philip Gleason, “American Identity and Americanization.” Roger Daniels's *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1991) is the most comprehensive and up-to-date history. For a comparative history of ethnic groups see Ronald Takaki's *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (1993). On post-1965 immigration, David Reimers's *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (1985), is an excellent overview. A classic work on nativism is John Higham's, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism: 1860-1925* (1963), but see also David H. Bennett's *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (1988). On the Anglo-American elite see E. Digby Baltzell's *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy and Caste in America* (1964).

A CADIAN S

by
Evan Heimlich

Acadians brought a
solidarity with them
to Louisiana. As one
of the first groups to
cross the Atlantic
and adopt a new
identity, they felt
connected to each
other by their
common experience.

OVERVIEW

Acadians are the descendants of a group of French-speaking settlers who migrated from coastal France in the late sixteenth century to establish a French colony called Acadia in the maritime provinces of Canada and part of what is now the state of Maine. Forced out by the British in the mid-sixteenth century, a few settlers remained in Maine, but most resettled in southern Louisiana and are popularly known as Cajuns.

HISTORY

Before 1713, Acadia was a French colony pioneered mostly by settlers from the coastal provinces of Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, and Poitou—a region that suffered great hardships in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1628, famine and plague followed the end of a series of religious wars between Catholics and Protestants. When social tensions in coastal France ripened, more than 10,000 people left for the colony founded by Samuel Champlain in 1604 known as “La Cadie” or Acadia. The area, which included what is now Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and part of Maine, was one of the first European colonies in North America. The Company of New France recruited colonists from coastal France as indentured servants. Fishermen, farmers, and trappers served for five years to repay the company with

their labor for the transportation and materials it had provided. In the New World, colonists forged alliances with local Indians, who generally preferred the settlers from France over those from Britain because, unlike the British who took all the land they could, the coastal French in Acadia did not invade Indian hunting grounds inland.

The early French settlers called themselves “Acadiens” or “Cadiens” (which eventually became Anglicized as “Cajuns”) and were among the first Old World settlers to identify themselves as North Americans. The New World offered them relative freedom and independence from the French upper class. When French owners of Acadian lands tried to collect seigniorial rents from settlers who were farming, many Acadians simply moved away from the colonial centers. When France tried legally to control their profit from their trade in furs or grain, Acadians traded illegally; they even traded with New England while France and England waged war against each other.

As French colonial power waned, Great Britain captured Acadia in 1647; the French got it back in 1670 only to lose it again to the British in the 1690s. Acadians adapted to political changes as their region repeatedly changed hands. Before the British took the Nova Scotia region, they waged the Hundred Year War against French colonial forces in a struggle over the region’s territory. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which failed to define realistic boundaries for the French and English territories after Queen Anne’s War, converted most of the peninsula into a British colony. Despite British attempts to impose its language and culture, Acadian culture persisted. Large families increased their numbers and new settlers spoke French. The British tried to settle Scottish and other Protestant colonists in Acadia to change the region’s French-Catholic culture to a British-Protestant one. The French-speaking Acadians, however, held onto their own culture.

In 1745 the British threatened to expel the Acadians unless they pledged allegiance to the King of England. Unwilling to subject themselves to any king (especially the King of England who opposed the French and Catholics), Acadians refused, claiming that they were not allied with France. They also did not want to join the British in fights against the Indians, who were their allies and relatives. To dominate the region militarily, culturally, and agriculturally without interference, the British expelled the Acadians, dispersing them to colonies such as Georgia and South Carolina. This eventually led the British to deport Acadians in what became known as *Le Grand Dérangement*, or the Expulsion of 1755.

The roundup and mass deportation of Acadians, which presaged British domination of much of North America, involved much cruelty, as indicated by letters from British governor, Major Charles Lawrence. In an attempt to eliminate the Acadians from Acadia, the British packed them by the hundreds into the cargo holds of ships, where many died from the cold and smallpox. At the time, Acadians numbered about 15,000, however, the Expulsion killed almost half the population. Of the survivors and those who escaped expulsion, some found their way back to the region, and many drifted through England, France, the Caribbean, and other colonies. Small pockets of descendants of Acadians can still be found in France. In 1763 there were more than 6,000 Acadians in New England. Of the thousands sent to Massachusetts, 700 reached Connecticut and then escaped to Montreal. Many reached the Carolinas; some in Georgia were sold as slaves; many eventually were taken to the West Indies as indentured servants. Most, however, made their way down the Mississippi River to Louisiana. At New Orleans and other southern Louisiana ports, about 2,400 Acadians arrived between 1763 and 1776 from the American colonies, the West Indies, St. Pierre and Miquelon islands, and Acadia/Nova Scotia.

To this day, many Acadians have strong sentiments about the expulsion 225 years ago. In 1997, Warren A. Perrin, an attorney from Lafayette, Louisiana, filed a lawsuit against the British Crown for the expulsion in 1775. Perrin is not seeking monetary compensation. Instead, he wants the British government to formally apologize for the suffering it caused Acadians and build a memorial to honor them. The British Foreign Office is fighting the lawsuit, arguing it cannot be held responsible for something that happened more than two centuries ago.

According to *Cajun Country*, after Spain gained control of Louisiana in the mid-1760s, Acadian exiles “who had been repatriated to France volunteered to the king of Spain to help settle his newly acquired colony.” The Spanish government accepted their offer and paid for the transport of 1,600 settlers. When they arrived in Louisiana in 1785, colonial forts continued Spain’s services to Acadian pioneers (which officially began with a proclamation by Governor Galvez in February of 1778). Forts employed and otherwise sponsored the settlers in starting their new lives by providing tools, seed corn, livestock, guns, medical services, and a church.

A second group of Acadians came 20 years later. Louisiana attracted Acadians who wanted to rejoin their kin and Acadian culture. After decades of exile, immigrants came from many different regions. The making of “Acadiana” in southern

Louisiana occurred amid a broader context of French-speaking immigration to the region, including the arrival of European and American whites, African and Caribbean slaves, and free Blacks. Like others, such as Mexicans who lived in annexed territory of the United States, Cajuns and other Louisianans became citizens when the United States acquired Louisiana from Napoleon through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The diaspora of Acadians in the United States interweaves with the diaspora of French Canadians. In 1990, one-third as many Americans (668,000) reported to the U.S. Census Bureau as “Acadian/Cajun” as did Americans reporting “French Canadian” (2,167,000). Louisiana became the new Acadian homeland and “creolized,” or formed a cultural and ethnic hybrid, as cultures mixed. French settlers in Louisiana adapted to the subtropics. Local Indians taught them, as did the slaves brought from Africa by settlers to work their plantations. When French settlers raised a generation of sons and daughters who grew up knowing the ways of the region—unlike the immigrants—Louisianans called these native-born, locally adapted people “Creoles.” Louisianans similarly categorized slaves—those born locally were also “Creoles.” By the time the Acadians arrived, Creoles had established themselves economically and socially.

French Creoles dominated Louisiana, even after Spain officially took over the colony in the mid-eighteenth century and some Spanish settled there. Louisiana also absorbed immigrants from Germany, England, and New England, in addition to those from Acadia. Spanish administrators welcomed the Acadians to Louisiana. Their large families increased the colony’s population and they could serve the capital, New Orleans, as a supplier of produce. The Spanish expected the Acadians, who were generally poor, small-scale farmers who tended to keep to themselves, not to resist their administration.

At first, Spanish administrators regulated Acadians toward the fringes of Louisiana’s non-Indian settlement. As Louisiana grew, some Cajuns were pushed and some voluntarily moved with the frontier. Beginning in 1764, Cajun settlements spread above New Orleans in undeveloped regions along the Mississippi River. This area later became known as the Acadian coast. Cajun settlements spread upriver, then down the Bayou Lafourche, then along other rivers and bayous. People settled along the waterways in lines, as they had done in Acadia/Nova Scotia. Their houses sat on narrow plots of land that extended from the riverbank into the swamps. The

settlers boated from house to house, and later built a road parallel to the bayou, extending the levees as long as 150 miles. The settlement also spread to the prairies, swamps, and the Gulf Coast. There is still a small colony of Acadians in the St. John Valley of northeastern Maine, however.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

Soon after the Louisiana Purchase, the Creoles pushed many Acadians westward, off the prime farmland of the Mississippi levees, mainly by buying their lands. Besides wanting the land, many Creole sugar-planters wanted the Cajuns to leave the vicinity so that the slaves on their plantations would not see Cajun examples of freedom and self-support.

After the Cajuns had reconsolidated their society, a second exodus, on a much smaller scale, spread the Cajuns culturally and geographically. For example, a few Acadians joined wealthy Creoles as owners of plantations, rejecting their Cajun identity for one with higher social standing. Although some Cajuns stayed on the rivers and bayous or in the swamps, many others headed west to the prairies where they settled not in lines but in small, dispersed coves. As early as 1780, Cajuns headed westward into frontier lands and befriended Indians whom others feared. By the end of the nineteenth century, Cajuns had established settlements in the Louisiana-Texas border region. Texans refer to the triangle of the Acadian colonies of Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange as Cajun Lapland because that is where Louisiana “laps over” into Texas.

Heading westward, Cajuns first reached the eastern, then the western prairie. In the first region, densely settled by Cajuns, farmers grew corn and cotton. On the western prairie, farmers grew rice and ranchers raised cattle. This second region was thinly settled until the late 1800s when the railroad companies lured Midwesterners to the Louisiana prairies to grow rice. The arrival of Midwesterners again displaced many Cajuns; however, some remained on the prairies in clusters of small farms. A third region of Cajun settlement, to the south of the prairies and their waterways, were the coastal wetlands—one of the most distinctive regions in North America and one central to the Cajun image. The culture and seafood cuisine of these Cajuns has represented Cajuns to the world.

CAMPS

Life for Cajuns in swamps, which periodically flood, demanded adaptations such as building houses on stilts. When floods wrecked their houses, Cajuns

Reenactment of an early Acadian dining-room scene at the Babineau House in Caraquet, New Brunswick, Canada.



rebuilt them. In the late 1800s, Cajun swamp dwellers began to build and live on houseboats. Currently, mobile homes with additions and large porches stand on stilts ten feet above the swamps. Cajuns and other Louisianans also established and maintained camps for temporary housing in marshes, swamps, and woods. For the Acadians, many of whom were hunters and trappers, this was a strong tradition. At first, a camp was only a temporary dwelling in order to make money. Eventually, Cajuns did not need to live in camps, because they could commute daily from home by car or powerboat. By that time, however, Cajuns enjoyed and appreciated their camps. As settlements grew, so did the desire to get away to hunt and fish; today, many Cajun families maintain a camp for recreation purposes.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Cajuns have always been considered a marginal group, a minority culture. Language, culture, and kinship patterns have kept them separate, and

they have maintained their sense of group identity despite difficulties. Cajun settlement patterns have isolated them and Cajun French has tended to keep its speakers out of the English-speaking mainstream.

Acadians brought a solidarity with them to Louisiana. As one of the first groups to cross the Atlantic and adopt a new identity, they felt connected to each other by their common experience. Differences in backgrounds separated the Acadians from those who were more established Americans. Creole Louisianans, with years of established communities in Louisiana, often looked down on Acadians as peasants. Some Cajuns left their rural Cajun communities and found acceptance, either as Cajuns or by passing as some other ethnicity. Some Cajuns became gentleman planters, repudiated their origins, and joined the upper-class (white) Creoles. Others learned the ways of local Indians, as Creoles before them had done, and as the Cajuns themselves had done earlier in Acadia/Nova Scotia.

Because Cajuns usually married among themselves, as a group they do not have many surnames; however, the original population of Acadian exiles

in Louisiana grew, especially by incorporating other people into their group. Colonists of Spanish, German, and Italian origins, as well as Americans of English-Scotch-Irish stock, became thoroughly acculturated and today claim Acadian descent. Black Creoles and white Cajuns mingled their bloodlines and cultures; more recently, Louisiana Cajuns include Yugoslavs and Filipinos.

Economics helped Cajuns stay somewhat separate. The majority of Cajuns farmed, hunted, and/or fished; their livelihoods hardly required them to assimilate. Moreover, until the beginning of the twentieth century, U.S. corporate culture had relatively little impact on southern Louisiana. The majority of Cajuns did not begin to Americanize until the turn of the twentieth century, when several factors combined to quicken the pace. These factors included the nationalistic fervor of the early 1900s, followed by World War I. Perhaps the most substantial change for Cajuns occurred when big business came to extract and sell southern Louisiana's oil. The discovery of oil in 1901 in Jennings, Louisiana, brought in outsiders and created salaried jobs. Although the oil industry is the region's main employer, it is also a source of economic and ecological concern because it represents the region's main polluter, threatening fragile ecosystems and finite resources.

Although the speaking of Cajun French has been crucial to the survival of Cajun traditions, it has also represented resistance to assimilation. Whereas Cajuns in the oilfields spoke French to each other at work (and still do), Cajuns in public schools were forced to abandon French because the compulsory Education Act of 1922 banned the speaking of any other language but English at school or on school grounds. While some teachers labeled Cajun French as a low-class and ignorant mode of speech, other Louisianans ridiculed the Cajuns as uneducable. As late as 1939, reports called the Cajuns "North America's last unassimilated [white] minority;" Cajuns referred to themselves, even as late as World War II, as "*le français*," and all English-speaking outsiders as "*les Américains*."

The 1930s and 1940s witnessed the education and acculturation of Cajuns into the American mainstream. Other factors affecting the assimilation of the Cajuns were the improvement of transportation, the leveling effects of the Great Depression, and the development of radio and motion pictures, which introduced young Cajuns to other cultures. Yet Cajun culture survived and resurged. After World War II, Cajun culture boomed as soldiers returned home and danced to Cajun bands, thereby renewing Cajun identity. Cajuns rallied

around their traditional music in the 1950s, and in the 1960s this music gained attention and acceptance from the American mainstream. On the whole, though, the 1950s and 1960s were times of further mainstreaming for the Cajuns. As network television and other mass media came to dominate American culture, the nation's regional, ethnic cultures began to weaken. Since the 1970s, Cajuns have exhibited renewed pride in their heritage and consider themselves a national resource. By the 1980s, ethnicities first marginalized by the American mainstream became valuable as regional flavors; however, while Cajuns may be proud of the place that versions of their music and food occupy in the mainstream, they—especially the swamp Cajuns—are also proud of their physical and social marginality.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Cajun society closely knits family members and neighbors who tend to depend on each other socially and economically, and this cooperation helps to maintain their culture. According to *Cajun Country*, "The survival—indeed the domination—of Acadian culture was a direct result of the strength of traditional social institutions and agricultural practices that promoted economic self-sufficiency and group solidarity." Cajuns developed customs to bring themselves together. For example, before roads, people visited by boat; before electrical amplification and telephones, people sang loudly in large halls, and passed news by shouting from house to house. And when Cajuns follow their customs, their culture focuses inwardly on the group and maintains itself.

Cajuns maintain distinctive values that predate the industrial age. Foremost among these, perhaps, is a traditional rejection of protocols of social hierarchy. When speaking Cajun French, for instance, Cajuns use the French familiar form of address, *tu*, rather than *vous* (except in jest) and do not address anyone as *monsieur*. Their *joie de vivre* is legendary (manifested in spicy food and lively dancing), as is their combativeness. Cajun traditions help make Cajuns formidable, mobile adversaries when fighting, trapping, hunting, or fishing. Cajun boaters invented a flatboat called the *bateau*, to pass through shallow swamps. They also built European-style luggers and skiffs, and the *pirogue*, based on Indian dugout canoes. Cajuns often race *pirogues*; or, two competitors stand at opposite ends on one and try to make each other fall in the water first. Fishers hold their own competitions, sometimes called "fishing rodeos."

A main ingredient
in Louisiana
Acadian seafood
cooking is crawfish.



Cajuns value horses, too. American cowboy culture itself evolved partly out of one of its earliest ranching frontiers on Louisiana's Cajun prairies. Cajun ranchers developed a tradition called the barrel or buddy pickup, which evolved into a rodeo event. Today, Cajuns enjoy horse racing, trail-riding clubs, and Mardi Gras processions, called *courses*, on horseback.

Cajuns also enjoy telling stories and jokes during their abundant socializing. White Cajuns have many folktales in common with black Creoles—for example, stories about buried treasure abound in Louisiana. One reason for this proliferation was Louisiana's early and close ties to the Caribbean where piracy was rampant. Also, many people actually did bury treasure in Louisiana to keep it from banks or—during the Civil War—from invading Yankees. Typically, the stories describe buried treasure guarded by ghosts. Cajuns relish telling stories about moonshiners, smugglers, and contraband runners who successfully fool and evade federal agents.

Many Cajun beliefs fall into the mainstream's category of superstition, such as spells (*gris-gris*, to both Cajuns and Creoles) and faith healing. In legends, Madame Grandsdoigts uses her long fingers to pull the toes of naughty children at night, and the werewolf, known as *loup garou*, prowls. Omens appear in the form of blackbirds, cows, and the moon. For example, according to *Cajun Country*: "When the tips of a crescent moon point upward, [the weather] is supposed to be dry for a week. A halo of light around a full moon supposedly means clear weather for as many days as there are stars visible inside the ring."

CUISINE

Cajun cuisine, perhaps best known for its hot, red-pepper seasoning, is a blend of styles. Acadians brought with them provincial cooking styles from France. Availability of ingredients determined much of Cajun cuisine. Frontier Cajuns borrowed or invented recipes for cooking turtle, alligator, raccoon, possum, and armadillo, which some people still eat. Louisianans' basic ingredients of bean and rice dishes—milled rice, dried beans, and cured ham or smoked sausage—were easy to store over relatively long periods. Beans and rice, like gumbo and crawfish, have become fashionable cuisine in recent times. They are still often served with cornbread, thus duplicating typical nineteenth-century poor Southern fare. Cajun cooking is influenced by the cuisine of the French, Acadian, Spanish, German, Anglo-American, Afro-Caribbean, and Native American cultures.

Gumbo, a main Cajun dish, is a prime metaphor for creolization because it draws from several cultures. Its main ingredient, okra, also gave the dish its name; the vegetable, called "*guingombo*," was first imported from western Africa. Cayenne, a spicy seasoning used in subtropical cuisines, represents Spanish and Afro-Caribbean influences. Today Louisianans who eat gumbo with rice, usually call gumbo made with okra *gumbo févi*, to distinguish it from *gumbo filé*, which draws on French culinary tradition for its base, a *roux*. Just before serving, *gumbo filé* (also called *filé gumbo*) is thickened by the addition of powdered sassafras leaves, one of the Native American contributions to Louisiana cooking.

Cajuns thriftily made use of a variety of animals in their cuisine. *Gratons*, also known as cracklings, were made of pig skin. Internal organs were used in the sausages and *boudin*. White *boudin* is a spicy rice and pork sausage; red *boudin*, which is made from the same rice dressing but is flavored and colored with blood, can still be found in neighborhood *boucheries*. Edible pig guts not made into *boudin* were cooked in a *sauce piquante de débris* or entrail stew. The intestines were cleaned and used for sausage casings. Meat was carefully removed from the head and congealed for a spicy *fromage de tête de cochon* (hogshead cheese). Brains were cooked in a pungent brown sauce. Other Cajun specialties include *tasso*, a spicy Cajun version of jerky, smoked beef and pork sausages (such as *andouille* made from the large intestines), *chourice* (made from the small intestines), and *chaudin* (stuffed stomach).

Perhaps the most representative food of Cajun culture is crawfish, or mudbug. Its popularity is a relatively recent tradition. It was not until the mid-



This Acadian couple is enjoying dancing together at the annual Acadian festival.

1950s, when commercial processing began to make crawfish readily available, that they gained popularity. They have retained a certain exotic aura, however, and locals like to play upon the revulsion of outsiders faced for the first time with the prospect of eating these delicious but unusual creatures by goading outsiders to suck the “head” (technically, the thorax). Like lobster, crawfish has become a valuable delicacy. The crawfish industry, a major economic force in southern Louisiana, exports internationally. However, nearly 85 percent of the annual crawfish harvest is consumed locally. Other versions of Cajun foods, such as pan-blackened fish and meats, have become ubiquitous. Chef Paul Prudhomme helped bring Cajun cuisine to national prominence.

Cooking is considered a performance, and invited guests often gather around the kitchen stove or around the barbecue pit (more recently, the butane grill) to observe the cooking and comment on it. Guests also help, tell jokes and stories, and sing songs at events such as outdoor crawfish, crab, and shrimp boils in the spring and summer, and indoor gumbos in winter.

MUSIC

The history of Cajun music goes back to Acadia/ Nova Scotia, and to France. Acadian exiles, who had no instruments such as those in Santo Domingo, danced to *reels à bouche*, wordless dance music made by only their voices at stopping places on their way to Louisiana. After they arrived in Louisiana,

Anglo-American immigrants to Louisiana contributed new fiddle tunes and dances, such as reels, jigs, and hoedowns. Singers also translated English songs into French and made them their own. According to *Cajun Country*, “Native Americans contributed a wailing, terraced singing style in which vocal lines descend progressively in steps.” Moreover, Cajun music owes much to the music of black Creoles, who contributed to Cajun music as they developed their own similar music, which became zydeco. Since the nineteenth century, Cajuns and black Creoles have performed together.

Not only the songs, but also the instruments constitute an intercultural gumbo. Traditional Cajun and Creole instruments are French fiddles, German accordions, Spanish guitars, and an assortment of percussion instruments (triangles, washboards, and spoons), which share European and Afro-Caribbean origins. German-American Jewish merchants imported diatonic accordions (shortly after they were invented in Austria early in the nineteenth century), which soon took over the lead instrumental role from the violin. Cajuns improvised and improved the instruments first by bending rake tines, replacing rasps and notched gourds used in Afro-Caribbean music with washboards, and eventually producing their own masterful accordions.

During the rise of the record industry, to sell record players in southern Louisiana, companies released records of Cajun music. Its high-pitched and emotionally charged style of singing, which evolved so that the noise of frontier dance halls could be pierced, filled the airwaves. Cajun music

influenced country music; moreover, for a period, Harry Choates's string band defined Western swing music. Beginning in 1948, Iry Lejeune recorded country music and renditions of Amée Ardoin's Creole blues, which Ardoin recorded in the late 1920s. Lejeune prompted "a new wave of old music" and a postwar revival of Cajun culture. Southern Louisiana's music influenced Hank Williams—whose own music, in turn, has been extremely influential. "Jambalaya" was one of his most successful recordings and was based on a lively but unassuming Cajun two-step called "Grand Texas" or "L'Anse Couche-Couche." In the 1950s, "swamp pop" developed as essentially Cajun rhythm and blues or rock and roll. In the 1960s, national organizations began to try to preserve traditional Cajun music.

HOLIDAYS

Mardi Gras, which occurs on the day before Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent, is the carnival that precedes Lent's denial. French for "Fat Tuesday," Mardi Gras (pre-Christian Europe's New Year's Eve) is based on medieval European adaptations of even older rituals, particularly those including reversals of the social order, in which the lower classes parody the elite. Men dress as women, women as men; the poor dress as rich, the rich as poor; the old as young, the young as old; black as white, white as black.

While most Americans know Mardi Gras as the city of New Orleans celebrates it, rural Cajun Mardi Gras stems from a medieval European procession in which revelers traveled through the countryside performing in exchange for gifts. Those in a Cajun procession, called a *course* (which traditionally did not openly include women), masquerade across lines of gender, age, race, and class. They also play at crossing the line of life and death with a ritual skit, "The Dead Man Revived," in which the companions of a fallen actor revive him by dripping wine or beer into his mouth. Participants in a Cajun Mardi Gras *course* cross from house to house, storming into the yard in a mock-pillage of the inhabitant's food. Like a trick-or-treat gang, they travel from house to house and customarily get a series of chickens, from which their cooks will make a communal gumbo that night. The celebration continues as a rite of passage in many communities.

Carnival, as celebrated by Afro-Caribbeans (and as a ritual of ethnic impersonation whereby Euro- and Afro-Caribbean Americans in New Orleans chant, sing, dance, name themselves, and dress as Indians), also influences Mardi Gras as celebrated in southern Louisiana. On one hand, the

mainstream Mardi Gras celebration retains some Cajun folkloric elements, but the influence of New Orleans invariably supplants the country customs. Conversely, Mardi Gras of white, rural Cajuns differs in its geographic origins from Mardi Gras of Creole New Orleans; some organizers of Cajun Mardi Gras attempt to maintain its cultural specificity.

Cajun Mardi Gras participants traditionally wear masks, the anonymity of which enables the wearers to cross social boundaries; at one time, masks also provided an opportunity for retaliation without punishment. *Course* riders, who may be accompanied by musicians riding in their own vehicle, might surround a person's front yard, dismount and begin a ritualistic song and dance. The silent penitence of Lent, however, follows the boisterous transgression of Mardi Gras. A masked ball, as described in *Cajun Country*, "marks the final hours of revelry before the beginning of Lent the next day. All festivities stop abruptly at midnight, and many of Tuesday's rowdiest riders can be found on their knees receiving the penitential ashes on their foreheads on Wednesday."

Good Friday, which signals the approaching end of Lent, is celebrated with a traditional procession called "Way of the Cross" between the towns of Catahoula and St. Martinville. The stations of the cross, which usually hang on the walls of a church, are mounted on large oak trees between the two towns.

On Christmas Eve, bonfires dot the levees along the Mississippi River between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. This celebration, according to *Cajun Country*, has European roots: "The huge bonfires ... are descendants of the bonfires lit by ancient European civilizations, particularly along the Rhine and Seine rivers, to encourage and reinforce the sun at the winter solstice, its 'weakest' moment." Other holidays are uniquely Cajun and reflect the Catholic church's involvement in harvests. Priests bless the fields of sugar cane and the fleets of decorated shrimp boats by reciting prayers and sprinkling holy water upon them.

HEALTH ISSUES

Professional doctors were rare in rural Louisiana and only the most serious of conditions were treated by them. Although the expense of professional medical care was prohibitive even when it was available, rural Cajuns preferred to use folk cures and administered them themselves, or relied on someone adept at such cures. These healers, who did not make their living from curing other Cajuns, were called *traiteurs*, or treaters, and were found in every community.

They also believed that folk practitioners, unlike their professional counterparts, dealt with the spiritual and emotional—not just the physiological—needs of the individual. Each *traiteur* typically specializes in only a few types of treatment and has his or her own cures, which may involve the laying-on of hands or making the sign of the cross and reciting of prayers drawn from passages of the Bible. Of their practices—some of which have been legitimated today as holistic medicine—some are pre-Christian, some Christian, and some modern. Residual pre-Christian traditions include roles of the full moon in healing, and left-handedness of the treaters themselves. Christian components of Cajun healing draw on faith by making use of Catholic prayers, candles, prayer beads, and crosses. Cajuns' herbal medicine derives from post-medieval French homeopathic medicine. A more recent category of Cajun cures consists of patent medicines and certain other commercial products.

Some Cajun cures were learned from Indians, such as the application of a poultice of chewing tobacco on bee stings, snakebites, boils, and headaches. Other cures came from French doctors or folk cures, such as treating stomach pains by putting a warm plate on the stomach, treating ringworm with vinegar, and treating headaches with a treater's prayers. Some Cajun cures are unique to Louisiana: for example, holding an infection over a burning cane reed, or putting a necklace of garlic on a baby with worms.

Cajuns have a higher-than-average incidence of cystic fibrosis, muscular dystrophy, albinism, and other inherited, recessive disorders, perhaps due to intermarriage with relatives who have recessive genes in common. Other problems, generally attributed to a high-fat diet and inadequate medical care, include diabetes, hypertension (high blood pressure), obesity, stroke, and heart disease.

LANGUAGE

Cajun French, for the most part, is a spoken, unwritten language filled with colloquialisms and slang. Although the French spoken by Cajuns in different parts of Louisiana varies little, it differs from the standard French of Paris as well as the French of Quebec; it also differs from the French of both white and black Creoles.

Cajun French-speakers hold their lips more loosely than do the Parisians. They tend to shorten phrases, words, and names, and to simplify some verb conjugations. Nicknames are ubiquitous, such as “*tit* joe” or “*tit* black,” where “*tit*” is slang for

“*petite*” or “little.” Cajun French simplifies the tenses of verbs by making them more regular. It forms the present participle of verbs—e.g., “is singing”—in a way that would translate directly as “is after to sing.” So, “Marie is singing,” in Cajun French is “*Marie est apres chanter.*” Another distinguishing feature of Cajun French is that it retains nautical usages, which reflects the history of Acadians as boaters. For example, the word for tying a shoelace is *amerer* (to moor [a boat]), and the phrase for making a U-turn in a car is *virer de bord* (to come about [with a sailboat]).

Generally, Cajun French shows the influence of its specific history in Louisiana and Acadia/Nova Scotia, as well as its roots in coastal France. Since Brittany, in northern coastal France, is heavily Celtic, Cajun French bears “grammatical and other linguistic evidences of Celtic influence.” Some scattered Indian words survive in Cajun French, such as “bayou,” which came from the Muskhogean Indian word, “*bay-uk*,” through Cajun French, and into English.

Louisiana, which had already made school attendance compulsory, implemented a law in the 1920s that constitutionally forbade the speaking of French in public schools and on school grounds. The state expected Cajuns to come to school and to leave their language at home. This attempt to assimilate the Cajuns met with some success; young Cajuns appeared to be losing their language. In an attempt to redress this situation, the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) recently reintroduced French into many Louisianan schools. However, the French is the standard French of Parisians, not that of Cajuns. Although French is generally not spoken by the younger generation in Maine, New England schools are beginning to emphasize it and efforts to repeal the law that made English the sole language in Maine schools have been successful. In addition, secondary schools have begun to offer classes in Acadian and French history.

In 1976, Revon Reed wrote in a mix of Cajun and standard French for his book about Cajun Louisiana, *Lâche pas la patate*, which translates as, “Don’t drop the potato” (a Cajun idiom for “Don’t neglect to pass on the tradition”). Anthologies of stories and series of other writings have been published in the wake of Reed’s book. However, Cajun French was essentially a spoken language until the publication of Randall Whatley’s Cajun French textbook (*Conversational Cajun French I* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978]).

In the oilfields, on fishing boats, and other places where Cajuns work together, though, they

have continued to speak Cajun French. Storytellers, joke tellers, and singers use Cajun French for its expressiveness, and for its value as in-group communication. Cajun politicians and businessmen find it useful to identify themselves as fellow insiders to Cajun constituents and patrons by speaking their language.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Cajuns learned to rely on their families and communities when they had little else. Traditionally they have lived close to their families and villages. Daily visits were usual, as were frequent parties and dances, including the traditional Cajun house-party called the *fais-dodo*, which is Cajun baby talk for “go to sleep,” as in “put all the small kids in a back bedroom to sleep” during the party. Traditionally, almost everyone who would come to a party would be a neighbor from the same community or a family member. Cajuns of all ages and abilities participated in music-making and dancing since almost everyone was a dancer or a player.

In the 1970s, 76 percent of the surnames accounted for 86 percent of all Cajuns; each of those surnames reflected an extended family which functioned historically as a Cajun subcommunity. In addition to socializing together, a community gathered to do a job for someone in need, such as building a house or harvesting a field. Members of Cajun communities traditionally took turns butchering animals and distributing shares of the meat. Although *boucheries* were essentially social events, they were a useful way to get fresh meat to participating families. Today, *boucheries* are unnecessary because of modern refrigeration methods and the advent of supermarkets, but a few families still hold *boucheries* for the fun of it, and a few local festivals feature *boucheries* as a folk craft. This cooperation, called *coups de main* (literally, “strokes of the hand”), was especially crucial in the era before worker’s compensation, welfare, social security, and the like. Today such cooperation is still important, notably for the way it binds together members of a community.

A challenge to a group’s cohesiveness, however, was infighting. Fighting could divide a community, yet, on the other hand, as a spectator sport, it brought communities together for an activity. The *bataille au mouchoir*, as described in *Cajun Country*, was a ritualized fight “in which the challenger offered his opponent a corner of his handkerchief and the two went at each other with fists or knives, each holding a corner, until one gave up.” Organized

bare-knuckle fights persisted at least until the late 1960s. More recently, many Cajuns have joined boxing teams. Neighboring communities maintain rivalries in which violence has historically been common. A practice called *casser le bal* (“breaking up the dance”) or *prendre la place* (“taking over the place”) involved gangs starting fights with others or among themselves with the purpose of ending a dance. Threats of violence and other difficulties of travel hardly kept Cajuns at home, though. According to *Cajun Country*, “As late as 1932, Saturday night dances were attended by families within a radius of fifty miles, despite the fact that less than a third of the families owned automobiles at that time.”

Traditionally, Cajun family relations are important to all family members. Cajun fathers, uncles, and grandfathers join mothers, aunts, and grandmothers in raising children; and children participate in family matters. Godfathering and godmothering are still very important in Cajun country. Even non-French-speaking youth usually refer to their godparents as *parrain* and *marraine*, and consider them family. Nevertheless, traditionally it has been the mother who has transmitted values and culture to the children. Cajuns have often devalued formal education, viewing it as a function of the Catholic church—not the state. Families needed children’s labor; and, until the oil boom, few jobs awaited educated Cajuns. During the 1920s many Cajuns attended school not only because law required it and jobs awaited them, but also because an agricultural slump meant that farming was less successful then.

COURTSHIP

Although today Cajuns tend to date like other Americans, historically, pre-modern traditions were the rule. Females usually married before the age of 20 or risked being considered “an old maid.” A young girl required a chaperon—usually a parent or an older brother or uncle, to protect her honor and prevent premarital pregnancy, which could result in banishment until her marriage. If a courtship seemed to be indefinitely prolonged, the suitor might receive an envelope from his intended containing a coat, which signified that the engagement was over. Proposals were formally made on Thursday evenings to the parents, rather than to the fiancée herself. Couples who wanted to marry did not make the final decision; rather, this often required the approval of the entire extended family.

Because Cajuns traditionally marry within their own community where a high proportion of residents are related to one another, marriages between cousins are not unusual. Pairs of siblings

frequently married pairs of siblings from another family. Although forbidden by law, first-cousin marriages have occurred as well. Financial concerns influenced such a choice because intermarriage kept property within family groupings. One result of such marriages is that a single town might be dominated by a handful of surnames.

WEDDINGS

Cajun marriage customs are frequently similar to those of other Europeans. Customarily, older unmarried siblings may be required to dance barefoot, often in a tub, at the reception or wedding dance. This may be to remind them of the poverty awaiting them in old age if they do not begin families of their own. Guests contribute to the new household by pinning money to the bride's veil in exchange for a dance with her or a kiss. Before the wedding dance is over, the bride will often be wearing a headdress of money. Today, wedding guests have extended this practice to the groom as well, covering his suit jacket with bills.

One rural custom involved holding the wedding reception in a commercial dance hall and giving the entrance fees to the newlyweds. Another Cajun wedding custom, "flocking the bride," involved the community's women bringing a young chick from each of their flocks so that the new bride could start her own brood. These gifts helped a bride establish a small measure of independence, in that wives could sell their surplus eggs for extra money over which their husbands had no control.

RELIGION

Roman Catholicism is a major element of Cajun culture and history. Some pre-Christian traditions seem to influence or reside in Cajun Catholicism. Historians partly account for Cajun Catholicism's variation from Rome's edicts by noting that historically Acadians often lacked contact with orthodox clergymen.

Baptism of Cajun children occurs in infancy. Cajun homes often feature altars, or shrines with lawn statues, such as those of Our Lady of the Assumption—whom Pope Pius XI in 1938 declared the patroness of Acadians worldwide—in homemade grottoes made of pieces of bathtubs or oil drums. Some Cajun communal customs also revolve around Catholicism. For decades, it was customary for men to race their horses around the church during the sermon. Wakes call for mourners to keep company with each other around the deceased so

that the body is never left alone. Restaurants and school cafeterias cater to Cajuns by providing alternatives to meat for south Louisiana's predominantly Catholic students during Ash Wednesday and Lenten Fridays. Some uniquely Cajun beliefs surround their Catholicism. For example, legends say that "the Virgin will slap children who whistle at the dinner table;" another taboo forbids any digging on Good Friday, which is, on the other hand, believed to be the best day to plant parsley.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Coastal Louisiana is home to one of America's most extensive wetlands in which trapping and hunting have been important occupations. In the 1910s extensive alligator hunting allowed huge increases in *rat musqué* (muskrat) populations. Muskrat overgrazing promoted marsh erosion. At first the muskrats were trapped mainly to reduce their numbers, but cheap Louisiana muskrat pelts hastened New York's capture of America's fur industry from St. Louis, and spurred the rage for muskrat and raccoon coats that typified the 1920s. Cajuns helped Louisiana achieve its long-standing reputation as America's primary fur producer. Since the 1960s, Cajuns in the fur business have raised mostly nutria.

The original Acadians and Cajuns were farmers, herders, and ranchers, but they also worked as carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, fishermen, shipbuilders, trappers, and sealers. They learned trapping, trading, and other skills for survival from regional Indians. Industrialization has not ended such traditions. Workers in oil fields and on oil rigs have schedules whereby they work for one or two weeks and are then off work for the same amount of time, which allows them time to pursue traditional occupations like trapping and fishing.

Because present-day laws ban commercial hunting, this activity has remained a recreation, but an intensely popular one. Louisiana is located at the southern end of one of the world's major flyways, providing an abundance of migratory birds like dove, woodcock, and a wide variety of ducks and geese. A wide range of folk practice is associated with hunting—how to build blinds, how to call game, how to handle, call and drive packs of hunting dogs, and how to make decoys. Cajun custom holds that if you hunt or fish a certain area, you have the clear-cut folk right to defend it from trespassers. Shooting a trespasser is "trapper's justice." Certain animals are always illegal to hunt, and some others are illegal to hunt during their off-season. Cajuns sometimes cir-

cumvent restrictions on hunting illegal game, which is a practice called “outlawing.”

According to some claims, the modern American cattle industry began on the Cajun prairie almost a full century before Anglo-Americans even began to move to Texas. Learning from the Spanish and the Indians, Cajuns and black Creoles were among the first cowboys in America, and they took part in some of this country’s earliest cattle drives. Cattle rearing remains part of prairie Cajun life today, but the spread of agriculture, especially rice, has reduced both its economic importance and much of its flamboyant ways. In the nonagricultural coastal marshes, however, much of the old-style of cattle rearing remains.

Cajuns catch a large proportion of American seafood. In addition to catching their own food, many Cajuns are employees of shrimp companies, which own both boats and factories, with their own brand name. Some fisherman and froggers catch large catfish, turtles, and bullfrogs by hand, thus preserving an ancient art. And families frequently go crawfishing together in the spring.

The gathering and curing of Spanish moss, which was widely employed for stuffing of mattresses and automobile seats until after World War II, was an industry found only in the area. Cajun fishermen invented or modified numerous devices: nets and seines, crab traps, shrimp boxes, bait boxes, trotlines, and frog grabs. Moss picking, once an important part-time occupation for many wetlands Cajuns, faded with the loss of the natural resource and changes in technology. Dried moss was replaced by synthetic materials used in stuffing car seats and furniture. Now there is a mild resurgence in the tradition as moss is making a comeback from the virus which once threatened it and as catfish and crawfish farmers have found that it makes a perfect breeding nest.

Cajuns learned to be economically self-reliant, if not completely self-sufficient. They learned many of southern Louisiana’s ways from local Indians, who taught them about native edible foods and the cultivation of a variety of melons, gourds, and root crops. The French and black Creoles taught the Cajuns how to grow cotton, sugarcane, and okra; they learned rice and soybean production from Anglo-Americans. As a result, Cajuns were able to establish small farms and produce an array of various vegetables and livestock. Such crops also provided the cash they needed to buy such items as coffee, flour, salt, and tobacco, in addition to cloth and farming tools. A result of such Cajun agricultural success is that today Cajuns and Creoles alike still earn their livelihood by farming.

Cajuns traded with whomever they wanted to trade, regardless of legal restrictions. Soon after their arrival in Louisiana, they were directed by the administration to sell their excess crops to the government. Many Cajuns became bootleggers. One of their proudest historical roles was assisting the pirate-smuggler Jean Lafitte in an early and successful smuggling operation.

In the twentieth century, the Cajuns’ trading system has declined as many Cajuns work for wages in the oil industry. In the view of some Cajuns, moreover, outside oilmen from Texas—or “Takes-us”—have been depriving them of control over their own region’s resource, by taking it literally out from under them and reaping the profits. Some Cajun traders have capitalized on economic change by selling what resources they can control to outside markets: for example, fur trappers have done so, as have fishermen, and farmers such as those who sell their rice to the Budweiser brewery in Houston.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Cajuns, many of whom are conservative Democrats today, have been involved at all levels of Louisiana politics. Louisiana’s first elected governor, as well as the state’s first Cajun governor, was Alexander Mouton, who took office in 1843. Yet perhaps the most well known of Louisiana’s politicians is Cajun governor Edwin Edwards (1927-), who served for four terms in that office—the first French-speaking Catholic to do so in almost half a century. In recent decades, more Cajuns have entered electoral politics to regain some control from powerful oil companies.

MILITARY

Historically, Cajuns have been drafted and named for symbolic roles in pivotal fights over North America. In the mid-1700s in Acadia/Nova Scotia, when the French colonial army drafted Acadians, they weakened the Acadians’ identity to the British as “French Neutrals,” and prompted the British to try to expel all Acadians from the region. In 1778, when France joined the American Revolutionary War against the British, the Marquis de Lafayette declared that the plight of the Acadians helped bring the French into the fight. The following year, 600 Cajun volunteers joined Galvez and fought the British. In 1815, Cajuns joined Andrew Jackson in preventing the British from retaking the United States. Cajuns were also active in the American

Civil War; General Alfred Mouton (1829–1864), the son of Alexander Mouton, commanded the Eighteenth Louisiana Regiment in the Battle of Pittsburgh Landing (1862), the Battle of Shiloh (1863), and the Battle of Mansfield (1864), where he was killed by a sniper's bullet.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Thomas J. Arceneaux, who was Dean Emeritus of the College of Agriculture at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, conducted extensive research in weed control, training numerous Cajun rice and cattle farmers in the process. A descendent of Louis Arceneaux, who was the model for the hero in Longfellow's *Evangeline*, Arceneaux also designed the Louisiana Cajun flag. Tulane University of Louisiana professor Alc  Fortier was Louisiana's first folklore scholar and one of the founders of the American Folklore Society (AFS). Author of *L che pas la patate* (1976), a book describing Cajun Louisiana life, Revon Reed has also launched a small Cajun newspaper called *Mamou Prairie*.

ART

Lulu Olivier's traveling "Acadian Exhibit" of Cajun weaving led to the founding of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL), and generally fostered Cajun cultural pride.

CULINARY ARTS

Chef Paul Prudhomme's name graces a line of Cajun-style supermarket food, "Chef Paul's."

MUSIC

Dewey Balfa (1927–), Gladius Thibodeaux, and Louis Vinesse Lejeune performed at the 1964 Newport Folk Festival and inspired a renewed pride in Cajun music. Dennis McGee performed and recorded regularly with black Creole accordionist and singer Am d  Ardoin in the 1920s and 1930s; together they improvised much of what was to become the core repertoire of Cajun music.

SPORTS

Cajun jockeys Kent Desormeaux and Eddie Delahoussaye became famous, as did Ron Guidry, the

fastballer who led the New York Yankees to win the 1978 World Series, and that year won the Cy Young Award for his pitching. Guidry's nicknames were "Louisiana Lightnin'" and "The Ragin' Cajun."

MEDIA

PRINT

Acadiana Catholic.

Formerly *The Morning Star*, it was founded in 1954 and is primarily a religious monthly.

Contact: Barbara Gutierrez, Editor.

Address: 1408 Carmel Avenue, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501-5215.

Telephone: (318) 261-5511.

Fax: (318) 261-5603.

Acadian Genealogy Exchange.

Devoted to Acadians, French Canadian families sent into exile in 1755. Carries family genealogies, historical notes, cemetery lists, census records, and church and civil registers. Recurring features include inquiries and answers, book reviews, and news of research.

Contact: Janet B. Jehn.

Address: 863 Wayman Branch Road, Covington, Kentucky 41015.

Telephone: (606) 356-9825.

Email: info@acadiangenexch.com.

Acadiana Profile.

Published by the Acadian News Agency since 1969, this is a magazine for bilingual Louisiana.

Contact: Trent Angers, Editor.

Address: Acadian House Publishing, Inc., Box 52247, Oil Center Station, Lafayette, Louisiana 70505.

Telephone: (800) 200-7919.

Cajun Country Guide.

Covers Cajun and Zydeco dance halls, Creole and Caju restaurants, swamp tours, and other sites in the southern Louisiana region.

Contact: Macon Fry or Julie Posner, Editors.

Address: Pelican Publishing Co., 1101 Monroe Street, P.O. Box 3110, Gretna, Louisiana 70054.

Telephone: (504) 368-1175; or, (800) 843-1724.

Fax: (504) 368-1195.

Mamou Acadian Press.

Founded in 1955, publishes weekly.

Contact: Bernice Ardion, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 360, Mamou, Louisiana 70554.

Telephone: (318) 363-3939.

Fax: (318) 363-2841.

Rayne Acadian Tribune.

A newspaper with a Democratic orientation; founded in 1894.

Contact: Steven Bandy, Editor.

Address: 108 North Adams Avenue, P.O. Box 260, Rayne, Louisiana 70578.

Telephone: (318) 334-3186.

Fax: (318) 334-2069.

The Times of Acadiana.

Weekly newspaper covering politics, lifestyle, entertainment, and general news with a circulation of 32,000; founded in 1980.

Contact: James Edmonds, Editor.

Address: 201 Jefferson Street, P.O. Box 3528, Lafayette, Louisiana 70502.

Telephone: (318) 237-3560.

Fax: (318) 233-7484.

RADIO

KAPB-FM (97.7).

This station, which has a country format, plays "Cajun and Zydeco Music" from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. on Saturdays.

Contact: Johnny Bordelon, Station Manager.

Address: 100 Chester, Box 7, Marksville, Louisiana 71351.

Telephone: (318) 253-5272.

KDLP-AM (1170).

Country, ethnic, and French-language format.

Contact: Paul J. Cook.

Address: P.O. Box 847, Morgan City, Louisiana 70381.

Telephone: (504) 395-2853.

KJEF-AM (1290), FM (92.9).

Country, ethnic, and French-language format.

Contact: Bill Bailey, General Manager.

Address: 122 North Market Street, Jennings, Louisiana 70545.

Telephone: (318) 824-2934.

Fax: (318) 824-1384.

KQKI-FM (95.3).

Country, ethnic, and French-language format.

Contact: Paul J. Cook.

Address: P.O. Box 847, Morgan City, Louisiana 70380.

Telephone: (504) 395-2853.

Fax: (504) 395-5094.

KROF-AM (960).

Ethnic format.

Contact: Garland Bernard, General Manager.

Address: Highway 167 North, Box 610, Abbeville, Louisiana 70511-0610.

Telephone: (318) 893-2531.

Fax: (318) 893-2569.

KRVS-FM (88.7).

National Public Radio; features bilingual newscasts, Cajun and Zydeco music, and Acadian cultural programs.

Contact: Dave Spizale, General Manager.

Address: P.O. Box 42171, Lafayette, Louisiana 70504.

Telephone: (318) 482-6991.

E-mail: krvs@usl.edu.

KVOL-AM (1330), FM (105.9).

Blues, ethnic format.

Contact: Roger Cavaness, General Manager.

Address: 202 Galbert Road, Lafayette, Louisiana 70506.

Telephone: (318) 233-1330.

Fax: (318) 237-7733.

KVPI-AM 1050.

Country, ethnic, and French-language format.

Contact: Jim Soileau, General Manager.

Address: 809 West LaSalle Street, P.O. Drawer J, Ville Platte, Louisiana 70586.

Telephone: (318) 363-2124.

Fax: (318) 363-3574.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Acadian Cultural Society.

Dedicated to helping Acadian Americans better understand their history, culture, and heritage. Founded in 1985; publishes quarterly magazine *Le Reveil Acadien*.

Contact: P. A. Cyr, President.
Address: P.O. Box 2304, Fitchburg, Massachusetts
01420-8804.
Telephone: (978) 342-7173.

Association Nouvelle-Angleterre/Acadie.

Those interested in maintaining links among individuals of Acadian descent and their relatives in New England. Conducts seminars and workshops on Acadian history, culture, and traditions.

Contact: Richard L. Fortin.
Address: P.O. Box 556, Manchester, New
Hampshire 03105.
Telephone: (603) 641-3450
E-mail: rfortinnh@aol.com

**The Center for Acadian and
Creole Folklore.**

Located at the University of Southwestern Louisiana (*Université des Acadiens*), the center organizes festivals, special performances, and television and radio programs; it offers classes and workshops through the French and Francophone Studies Program; it also sponsors musicians as adjunct professors at the university.

**The Council for the Development of
French in Louisiana (CODOFIL).**

A proponent of the standard French language, this council arranges visits, exchanges, scholarships, and conferences; it also publishes a free bilingual newsletter.

Address: *Louisiane Française*, Boite Postale 3936,
Lafayette, Louisiana 70502.

**The International Relations Association
of Acadiana (TIRAA).**

This private-sector economic development group funds various French Renaissance activities in Cajun country.

The Madawaska Historical Society.

Promotes local historical projects and celebrates events important in the history of Acadians in Maine.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Visitors can see preservations and reconstructions of many nineteenth-century buildings at the Acadian Village and Vermilionville in Lafayette; the Louisiana State University, Rural Life Museum in Baton Rouge, and at the Village Historique Acadien at Caraquet.

Researchers can find sources at Nichols State University Library in Thibodaux; at the Center for Acadian and Creole Folklore of the University of Southwestern Louisiana; and at the Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana.

Acadian Archives.

Offers on-site reference assistance to its Acadian archives, and to regional history, folklore and Acadian life.

Contact: Lisa Ornstein, Director.
Address: University of Maine at Fort Kent, 25
Pleasant Street, Fort Kent, Maine 04743.
Telephone: (207) 834-7535.
Fax: (207) 834-7518.
E-mail: acadian@maine.maine.edu.

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Ancelet, Barry, Jay D. Edwards, and Glen Pitre (with additional material by Carl Brasseaux, Fred B. Kniffen, Maida Bergeron, Janet Shoemaker, and Mathe Allain). *Cajun Country*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991.

Brasseaux, Carl. *Founding of New Acadia, 1765-1803; In Search of Evangeline: Birth and Evolution of the Myth*. Thibodaux, Louisiana: Blue Heron Press, 1988.

The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Histories From the Federal Writers Project, 1938-1939, edited by C. Stewart Doty. Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1985.

Although the first Afghan arrivals to the United States were well educated and professionals, more recent immigrants had fewer experiences with Americans, less education, and, because they were not here for schooling, had fewer opportunities to become adept at English.

A F G H A N

by
Tim Eigo

A M E R I C A N S

OVERVIEW

Modern-day Afghanistan, torn by both civil and foreign wars, repeats the cycle of oppression, invasion, and turmoil that has plagued it for centuries. As the twenty-first century was about to begin, Afghan people struggled in their own land and flooded the globe in increasing numbers to escape dangers from within their borders and from without.

The Middle Eastern nation is large, about the size of the state of Texas, and is populated by about 15 million people. The vast majority, 85 percent, live in nomadic or rural settings. The country's literacy rate is about ten percent. Afghanistan is one of the world's poorest countries, made worse by almost constant warfare in the late twentieth century. It has been estimated that one out of every four Afghans lives as a refugee.

The people who inhabit Afghanistan are diverse. Although about 60 percent of the people are descendants of the native Pushtun, or Pathan, tribes, the population reflects the history of the many invaders who stopped to conquer the country or cross it on their way to other battles. One almost homogeneous characteristic of the people, however, is their religion. Almost all Afghans are Muslims. The introduction of Islam to the country by invading Arabs in the eighth and ninth centuries was one of Afghanistan's most important events.

Even as Afghanistan struggles with modern dilemmas, however, it continues to exhibit intense tribal and extended-family loyalties among its people. This characteristic can be divisive as Afghan politics are traditionally dominated by tribal factions and nepotism is common. However, this characteristic can serve as a valuable support for Afghans in the United States and elsewhere whose lives have been devastated by war.

HISTORY

Some of the earliest stirrings of the nation-state that would become Afghanistan occurred in 1747, when lands controlled by the Pushtuns were united. The confederation of tribes named its leader, Ahmad Khan Saduzay, and established the first independent Pushtun-controlled region in central Asia. Today, Saduzay is considered by some the father of Afghanistan.

As a nation name, the word “Afghanistan” is relatively recent. In ancient times, the land was known as Ariana and Bactria and it was named Khorasan in the Middle Ages. In the nineteenth century, the land acted as a buffer between distrustful nations, the British in India and the Russians. It was not until the 1880s that the territory united and was named Afghanistan.

Like all nations, Afghanistan’s geography has played a central role in its history. Relatively inaccessible, the mountainous country is landlocked, and is surrounded by countries whose interests, at times, have conflicted with those of Afghanistan. The country is surrounded by Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and China. The majority of the country is comprised of the forbidding mountain ranges of the Hindu Kush, where elevations rise as high as 24,000 feet (7,300 meters). Even the mountains provide a variety of challenges. In the southern part of the country, they are barren and rocky, whereas in the northeast part, they are snow-covered year-round. It is the snow that provides the bulk of the country’s water supply. Even this supply, however, comes to only about 15 inches of rain per year (38 centimeters). Thus, irrigation is vital for agriculture.

The climate of Afghanistan is similarly difficult. Due to the mountains, the range between summer and winter temperatures is large, as is the range between temperatures in the day and night. Although almost all regions experience some freezing weather, temperatures above 100 degrees Fahrenheit occur. The great winds of the western border area between Afghanistan and Iraq, however, provide some value. Using ancient technology

unique to the region, windmills grind the wheat harvested in June through September, the windy period during which wind speeds can get as high as 100 mph.

MODERN ERA

Sitting astride the historic crossroads of centuries of invaders, Afghanistan was not able to gain its true independence until 1919, when it shook loose of foreign influence. The nation adopted a new constitution in 1964 that contemplated the creation of a parliamentary democracy. However, internal political strife led to coups in 1975 and 1978. The second coup, backed by the Soviet Union and seen as pro-Russian and anti-Islamic, led to widespread uprisings. As a result, more than 400,000 refugees fled to Pakistan, and 600,000 more went to Iran. At first the Soviet Union lent its aid to suppress the uprisings, but then the Soviet Union invaded the country in 1979.

The Soviet invasion led to even greater numbers of refugees, about three million Afghans in Pakistan by 1981 and 250,000 in Iran. By 1991, the number of refugees had climbed to five million. The Soviet Union pulled out of Afghanistan in 1989. However, what it left behind was a nation in civil war. One of the most evident factions has been the Taliban, a group that has imposed strict adherence to Islamic law. Under the Taliban, even Kabul, the most westernized of Afghan cities, was the site of human rights violations in the name of religious fundamentalism.

THE FIRST AFGHANS IN AMERICA

Although early records are vague or nonexistent, the first Afghans to reach U.S. shores probably arrived in the 1920s or 1930s. It is known that a group of 200 Pushtuns came to the United States in 1920. Because of political boundaries in central Asia at that time, however, most of them were probably residents of British India (which today is in Pakistan). Some of them, however, were probably Afghan citizens.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Early Afghan immigrants to the United States were from the upper classes, highly educated, and had trained in a profession. Most of these immigrants in the 1930s and 1940s arrived alone or in family groups and some were married to Europeans.

From 1953 until the early 1970s, about 230 Afghans immigrated to the United States and

became American citizens. That number, of course, does not reflect those who arrived in the United States to earn a university degree and who returned to Afghanistan, or who visited here for other reasons. Due to political uncertainty in Afghanistan, 110 more immigrants were naturalized in only 4 more years, from 1973 to 1977. According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, resident alien status was granted to several thousand Afghans.

Large numbers of Afghan refugees began arriving in the United States in 1980 in the wake of the Soviet invasion. Some were officially designated as refugees, while others were granted political asylum. Others arrived through a family reunification program or by illegal entry. About 2,000 to 4,000 Afghans arrived every year until 1989, when the Soviet Union withdrew its troops. Estimates of the number of Afghan refugees in the United States ranged from 45,000 to 75,000.

As noted, most Afghans entered the United States as refugees in the 1980s. Since 1989, however, most have arrived under the family reunification criteria. In that case, a visa is contingent on the willingness of family members or an organization to guarantee their support for a set period of time. This process inevitably leads to immigrant groups settling near each other. Although the first Afghan arrivals to the United States were well educated and professionals, more recent immigrants had fewer experiences with Americans, less education, and, because they were not here for schooling, had fewer opportunities to become adept at English.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

During the 1920s and 1930s, the destinations of choice for highly educated Afghan immigrants were Washington, D.C., and major cities on the East or West Coast. That pattern of residing in large urban centers has remained consistent for Afghans, despite their reason for arrival or their socioeconomic group.

For example, when more than 40,000 Afghan refugees relocated to the Western Hemisphere in the 1980s, the largest groups settled in New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Toronto, Canada. The Bay Area of San Francisco has become a haven for Afghan refugees, who find the climate amenable, the California communities open to diversity, and, until 1994, the welfare system generous. It is estimated that 55 to 67 percent of all Afghan refugees live there. In their communities, the Afghans have opened grocery stores and restaurants and television and radio programs are available in their language. In the late twentieth century, Afghans could be found in every state of the Union.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The vast majority of Afghan refugees in the United States in 1999 were anything but satisfied inheritors of the American dream. Instead, they arrived here not through choice, but because of necessity, as they fled warfare in Afghanistan. Many were trained as professionals in Afghanistan but found work impossible to obtain in the United States, due to difficulties with the English language, depleted savings, or lack of a social support. Their sense of being aliens in a sometimes unwelcoming land tainted all of their efforts. Allen K. Jones, asserts in *An Afghanistan Picture Show*, that “[p]erhaps the most widespread issue concerning Afghans resettling in the U.S. is the psychological malaise or depression many experience. . . . Though they are grateful for having been able to come to the U.S., Afghans still feel they are strangers in America.”

The waves of immigrants from Afghanistan in the 1980s provide a snapshot of the strengths and challenges of the people. Whereas the early 1980s saw the arrival of educated and cosmopolitan Afghan immigrants, their more middle-class relatives arrived here by the late 1980s through family reunification. These newer arrivals were less educated, and some were illiterate in their own language as well as in English.

It is worth noting that, for many Afghan Americans, the United States was not their first country of refuge. Many escaped the violence of their own country by fleeing to Pakistan, for example. However, in Pakistan, women were confined to their homes, and when they went out, they had to do so completely veiled. In addition, health problems, as well as heat exhaustion, were common maladies. Similar problems confronted those who fled to Iran.

Afghan Americans may not define integration into U.S. society in the way that other immigrants might. For Afghan Americans, integration means earning enough to support their family, maintaining their cultural and traditional beliefs, and experiencing some stability and satisfaction, usually within their own community. As Juliene Lipson and Patricia Omidian noted in *Refugees in America*, for many Afghan Americans, at whatever social strata, integration does not mean assimilation. Although Afghans who have been in the United States for many years are more accustomed to U.S. culture, these researchers found little assimilation of Afghans into the American mainstream, no matter how long they were in the United States. Even among children and teens, where assimilation has

been found to be the greatest, most young people try to maintain their Afghan identity, and to change only superficially.

Like many immigrants, Afghans tend to settle in areas where there are already a large number of their own ethnic group present. This has occasionally led to increased difficulty with neighboring communities of other ethnicities, especially in places like California, which has experienced anti-immigrant feelings. The neighborhoods in which they settle also tend to be less expensive and sometimes more dangerous than those to which they are accustomed. Thus, many of those at most risk, such as the very old and the very young, remain inside, contributing to feelings of isolation and hindering acculturation.

The strength of the Afghan people in America lies in their strong sense of family and tribal loyalty. Although strained by the dispersal of extended families and by financial stresses, the loyalty binds the Afghan Americans to their cultural traditions, which they have largely transported unchanged from their homeland. Thus, faced with a bad situation, many Afghans chose to enter the United States because of their strong family connections. Once here, they have faced many obstacles. By the end of the 1990s, however, there were optimistic signs that many were achieving some measure of success while also maintaining ties to their cultural traditions.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Central to the Afghan way of life is storytelling, and many stories are so well known that they can be recited by heart at family and community gatherings. As in all cultures, some of the most renowned stories are those for children. These stories, usually with a moral lesson, are often about foolish people getting what they deserve. Other sources of narrative enjoyment are tales about the Mullah, respected Islamic leaders or teachers. In these stories, the narrator casts the Mullah as a wise fool, the one who appears to be foolish but who, later on, is shown to be intelligent and full of sage advice.

Heroism plays an important role in Afghan stories and many such tales are taken from *Shahnama*, *The Book of Kings*. In a geographic region that has been battled over, conquered, divided, and reunited, it is not surprising that what defines a hero is subject to some debate. For example, one popular story is about a real man who overthrew the Pushtun government in 1929. That same man is anything but a hero in a traditional Pushtun tale, however, which shows him to be a fool.

Love stories are also important to Afghans. In one tale, Majnun and Leilah, though in love, are separated and unable to reunite when they get older. Disappointed, they each die of grief and sadness.

Many Afghans believe in spirits, known as *jinns*, that can change shape and become invisible. These spirits are usually considered evil. Protection from *jinns* comes from a special amulet worn around the neck. *Jinns* even find their way into storytelling.

PROVERBS

Many proverbs arise from Afghan culture. The first day you meet, you are friends; the next day you meet, you are brothers. There is a way from heart to heart. Do not stop a donkey that is not yours. That which thunders does not rain; He who can be killed by sugar should not be killed by poison. What you see in yourself is what you see in the world. What is a trumpeter's job? To blow. When man is perplexed, God is beneficent. Vinegar that is free is sweeter than honey. Where your heart goes, there your feet will go. No one says his own buttermilk is sour. Five fingers are brothers but not equals.

CUISINE

As in many countries of the region, bread is central to the Afghan diet. Along with rice and dairy products, a flatbread called naan is an important part of most meals. This and other breads may be leavened or unleavened, and the process of cooking it requires speed and dexterity. Although any hot fire-clayed surface will suffice, Afghan bread typically is cooked inside a round container made of pottery with an opening in the top. After burying the container's bottom in the earth, it is heated by coals placed in the bottom. After forming the dough, the baker slaps it onto the rounded interior of the container, where it adheres and immediately begins cooking. It cooks quickly, and is served immediately. This method is used in many Afghan and Middle Eastern restaurants in the United States today.

Another important element of the Afghan meal is rice, cooked with vegetables or meats. The rice dishes vary from house to house and from occasion to occasion. They range from simple meals to elegant fare cooked with sheep, raisins, almonds, and pistachios. Because it is a Muslim country, pork is forbidden.

The usual drink in Afghanistan is tea. Green tea in the northern regions, and black tea south of the Hindu Kush mountains. Alcohol, forbidden by Islam, is not drunk.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

An Afghan man traditionally wears a long-sleeved shirt, which reaches his knees. His trousers are baggy and have a drawstring at the waist. Vests and coats are sometimes worn. In rural areas, the coats are often brightly striped. As for headgear, turbans are worn by most men. Traditionally, the turban was white, but now a variety of colors are seen.

Women wear pleated trousers under a long dress. Their heads are usually covered by a shawl, especially with the rise of the Mujahideen, militant fundamentalists. Because of the Mujahideen, a traditional piece of clothing has made a comeback, with a vengeance. The *chadri* is an ankle-length cloth covering, from head to toe and with mesh for the eyes and nose, worn by women. The *chadri* was banned in 1959 as Afghanistan modernized, but it has been required by the Mujahideen in the cities, especially Kabul.

DANCES AND SONGS

Afghan adults enjoy both songs and dancing. They do not dance with partners, the method more typical in the West. Instead, they dance in circles in a group, or they dance alone. A favorite pastime among men is to relax in teahouses listening to music and talking.

Afghan music is more similar to Western music than it is to any other music in Asia. Traditional instruments include drums, a wind instrument, and a stringed gourd. While swinging swords or guns, men will dance a war dance.

HOLIDAYS

A countryside filled with farm animals dyed a variety of colors is a sign that the most important annual Afghan holiday, *Nawruz*, has arrived. *Nawruz*, the ancient Persian new year celebration, occurs at the beginning of spring and is celebrated on March 21. An important *Nawruz* ceremony is the raising of the flag at the tomb of Ali, Muhammed's son-in-law, in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif. Pilgrims travel to touch the staff that was raised, and, on the fortieth day after *Nawruz*, the staff is lowered. At that time, a short-lived species of tulip blooms. The holiday is brightened by the arrival of special foods such as *samanak*, made with wheat and sugar. Sugar is expensive in Afghanistan, and its use indicates a special occasion. Another special dish is *haft miwa*, a combination of nuts and fruits. A religious nation, Afghanistan celebrates most of its holidays by following the Islamic calendar. The holidays include *Ramadan*, the month of fasting from dawn until dusk, and *Eid al-Adha*, a

sacrifice feast that lasts three days to celebrate the month-long pilgrimage to Mecca.

HEALTH ISSUES

Like all immigrants, Afghan Americans are affected by the conditions of the land they fled. Thus, it is worth noting what some researchers have found regarding the health of those Afghans at greatest risk, the children. One out of four Afghan children dies before the age of five, and more than one million of them are orphans. More than 500,000 are disabled. Because of land mines, more than 350,000 Afghan children are amputees. In 1996 the United Nations found that Kabul had more land mines than any other country in the world. Over one million Afghan children suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder.

Mental health issues related to the trauma of war are common among Afghan Americans, especially more recent arrivals. Dislocation, relocation, and the death of family members and friends all weigh heavily on an uprooted people. Posttraumatic stress disorder has been found in the Afghan American population. In addition, there is evidence of family stress based on changing gender roles in the face of American culture.

Many of the elderly Afghans, prepared to enter a period of heightened responsibility and respect, enter instead a period of isolation. Their extended families are dispersed and their immediate family members work long hours to make ends meet. Since they themselves do not speak English, they feel trapped in homes that they feel unable to leave. Even parents and youth suffer a sense of loss as they contend with social service agencies and schools that are unable to meet their needs. Women, often more willing than men to take jobs that are below their abilities or their former status, must deal with resentment in families as they become the primary breadwinners.

Among Afghan Americans who have been in the United States for a longer period of time there are fewer health and mental health problems and more satisfaction. Their increasing financial and career stability provides optimism for the newer group's eventual health and mental health.

One problem growing in severity among Afghan Americans is the use and abuse of alcohol. This issue is emerging in a population of people whose religion forbids the drinking of alcohol. This abuse stems from the traumas and stresses of upheaval and problems with money, jobs, and school. In such a traditionally abstinent group, abuse of alcohol leads to shame and loss of traditional culture.

LANGUAGE

There are two related languages spoken throughout Afghanistan. One is *Pashto*, spoken also by those who live in certain provinces of Pakistan. Pashto speakers have traditionally been the ruling group in the country. The other spoken language is *Dari*, which is a variety of Persian. Dari is more often used in the cities and in business. Whereas Pashto speakers make up one ethnic group, those who speak Dari come from many ethnicities and regions. Both Pashto and Dari are official languages of Afghanistan, and both are used by most Afghans who have schooling. In schools, teachers use the language that is most common in the region and teach the other as a subject.

When written, the two languages are more similar than when they are spoken. In written language, both Pashto and Dari use adaptations of the Arabic alphabet. Four additional consonants are added to that alphabet in Dari for sounds unique to Afghanistan. In Pashto, those four consonants are added as well as eight additional letters. Other languages spoken in Afghanistan stem from the Turkish language family, which are spoken primarily in the north.

In the United States, many Afghan Americans have adopted English. However, certain groups of Immigrants struggle to acquire the language. For example, many of the poorer immigrants, who were illiterate in their home country, find it difficult to learn English. On the other hand, younger immigrants demonstrate their ease in learning new languages by becoming adept at English. This facility with language aids the youth in their academic and career prospects, but it is a double-edged sword. As the member of a family who is the most adept at English, a child may be called upon to interact with authority figures outside of the family, such as school principals and social service agencies. Although this dialogue may be vital to the family's well-being, it upsets the traditional Afghan family hierarchy, and sometimes contributes to Afghan parents' despair at the loss of traditional ways.

Another dilemma faced by Afghan Americans is the combination of English words and phrases when they speak Dari or Pashto to each other. This combination of two languages has made communication among Afghan youth easier, but it has also created a serious problem in communication between children and their parents whose English language skills are very limited. Researchers have found that Afghan Americans tended to use Dari and Pashto in conversations related to intimacy and family life. They used English in conversations

related to status. Although such language combinations may aid communication when all speakers have similar skill levels in both languages, long-term mixture could lead to the loss of the Afghan language.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

To the Afghan people, the most important social unit is not the nation, but the family. An Afghan has obligations to both his or her immediate and extended families. The head of the family is unequivocally the father, regardless of social class or education. As economic pressures are brought to bear on Afghan Americans families, that dynamic has shifted in some cases, at times causing stress. The primary influence on Afghan American families are economic ones. Almost all immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s suffered a severe loss of status in their move to the United States, and have had to grow accustomed to their new situation.

EDUCATION

Education levels among Afghan Americans vary greatly. Many Afghan immigrants possess college degrees, often earned in the United States and some of them been able to achieve positions of prominence in American society. Other Afghan Americans have not been as fortunate. Many of them, whether college-educated or uneducated, entered the United States in desperate straits, in possession of little or no money, and immediately encountered a lowered horizon. For many of the immigrants, their difficulties were worsened by the educational system from which they emerged.

Literacy in Afghanistan is very low and the education system in that nation is rudimentary. The original schooling was available only in mosques, and even then it was provided to boys only. It was not until 1903 that the first truly modern school was created, in which both religious and secular subjects were taught. The first school for girls was not founded until 1923 in Kabul. The educational innovation that did emerge almost always did so in the most Western of cities, Kabul, where the University of Kabul opened its doors in 1946. Even there, however, there were separate faculties for men and women.

A terrible blow befell Afghan schooling when the Soviet Union invaded the country. Before the invasion, it was estimated that there were more than 3,400 schools and more than 83,000 teachers.

By the late 1990s, only 350 schools existed with only 2,000 teachers. The method of teaching in those schools was rote memorization. In the late twentieth century, failure to pass to the next grade was common in Afghanistan.

Immigrants to the United States in the 1980s and 1990s confronted a daunting economic landscape. Research has provided examples of Afghans who formerly earned a university degree at an American school years ago, and then returned to Afghanistan. When they had to flee their country in the 1980s, however, they found themselves without work in the United States. This was often due to poor English skills or outdated training, especially in medicine and engineering. Also significant, however, was their need to find work immediately. Often their family required public assistance, and the social workers instructed them to choose from the first few jobs that were offered. The result has been doctors and other trained professionals working low-paying, menial jobs, despite their education and training.

“One of the first differences I noticed in America is the size of families. In Afghanistan, even the smallest family has five or six kids. And extended-family members are very close-knit; brothers-and sisters-in-law, aunts and uncles, and grandparents all live together or nearby.”

M. Daud Nassery in 1988 in *New Americans: An Oral History: Immigrants and Refugees in the U.S. Today*, by Al Santoli (Viking Penguin, Inc., New York, 1988).

Young Afghan Americans confront their own challenges in the American school system. Unlike other immigrants who may have moved to the United States for increased economic or educational opportunities, Afghans were fleeing war. Those of school age may have spent years in refugee camps, where those who ran the camps felt that schools were not necessary for “short-term” stays. In American schools, these children may be placed in classrooms with far younger children, which can be a humiliating experience. When placed in English as a Second Language classes, however, Afghan American children, like most young immigrants, learn more quickly than do adults.

BIRTH

As in many cultures, the birth of a child is cause for celebration in an Afghan household. The birth of a boy leads to an elaborate celebration. It is not until

children are three days old that they are named and a name is chosen by an uncle on the father’s side of the family. At the celebration, the Mullah, a respected Islamic leader, whispers into the newborn’s ear “*Allah-u-Akbar*,” or “God is Great,” and then whispers the child’s new name. He tells the newborn about his or her ancestry and tells the child to be a good Muslim and to maintain the family honor.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Afghan and Afghan American women are strong, resourceful, and valuable members of their families. Although the father plays the dominant role in the community and extended family, the mother’s role should not be overlooked. Researchers have generally found that young Afghan American women have adapted to living in the United States better than their male counterparts. Afghan women have taken on occupations that would have been below their former status in Afghanistan, such as house-keeping. Although Afghan women in the United States may have taken jobs when in Afghanistan they would not have, they are still expected to clean and cook at home. As in their home country, they also have had to bear the burden of caring for children. In the United States, the difficulty of this task is compounded by the stresses that their youths endure as they adjust to life in America.

Afghan American women strive to understand their changed role in the United States. Some research has shown that they often have adjusted well. However, elderly Afghan American women have not done as well. They often feel isolated and lonely, at a time of their lives when they could have expected to be secure in the center of a loving extended family.

Because marriage and childbearing is considered the primary role for women, single Afghan American women contend with unique stresses. Often Afghan American men perceive their female counterparts as too Westernized to be suitable mates. They may prefer to marry women who live in Afghanistan or Pakistan.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

In Afghanistan, parents usually arrange the marriages of their children, sometimes when the couple is still very young. Once parents decide on a match, negotiations occur regarding the amount and kinds of gifts to be exchanged between the families. The groom’s family pays a “bride-price,” and the bride’s family pays a dowry. Once negotiations are complete, a “promis-

ing ceremony” occurs in which women from the groom’s family are served sweets and tea. Later, the sweets tray is sent to the bride’s family, filled with money, and the engagement is announced.

The wedding is a three-day affair and the groom’s family is responsible for the costs. On the first day, the bride’s family gets acquainted with the groom’s family. On the second day, the groom leads a procession on horseback, followed by musicians and dancers. Finally, on the third day there is a feast, singing, and dancing at the groom’s house. A procession brings the bride to the groom’s house, with the bride riding in front of the groom on horseback. On the third night that the ceremony is held. Called the “*nikah-namah*,” it is the signing of the marriage contract in front of witnesses.

FUNERALS

As an Afghan lies dying, the family gathers around and reads from the Koran. After he or she dies, his or her body is bathed by relatives who are the same gender as the deceased. The body is shrouded in a white cloth, and the toes are tied together. The body is buried as soon as possible, but it is never buried at night. When buried, the body must be able to sit up on the Day of Judgment; thus, the grave must be six feet long and at least two feet deep. The feet always point toward Mecca.

Mourning for the dead lasts a year, during which time prayers are held for the deceased on every Thursday night. On the one-year anniversary, the women of the family are released from mourning and no longer need to wear white. In Afghanistan, a flower or plant is never removed from a graveyard. It is believed that this would bring death to the family or release a spirit imprisoned in the plant’s roots.

RELIGION

Afghanistan is predominantly Muslim. Among Afghan Muslims, the vast majority follow the *Sunni* branch of Islam, which is also the most mainstream branch. About 10 to 20 percent are *Shi’ah* Muslims. In a largely inaccessible country like Afghanistan, the influence of Islam used to be peripheral, and a strict adherence to its tenets was not kept. This is no longer true in large cities such as Kabul, where the Mujahideen have imposed a fundamentalist view of religion.

In the United States, many conflicts with American society among and within Afghan Americans can be traced to Islamic traditions, history, and

identity. Muslims avoid alcohol and all pork products. During Ramadan—the period of fasting—eating, drinking, smoking, and sexual activity are forbidden during the day. Also difficult for Afghan American youth is the fact that Islam discourages marriage outside the faith. There is, however, a disparity in the consequences of these types of marriages based on gender. A son who marries a non-Muslim is accepted, because it is assumed that his new wife will convert to Islam. However, when a daughter marries a non-Muslim, she is shunned. She is seen as a traitor to her family and her religion.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Afghan Americans have found occupations in a variety of careers. The growing number of Afghan and Middle Eastern restaurants in this country is a testimony to their hard work and excellent cuisine. For many Afghan Americans who are college-educated, their positions in government or American industry are prestigious ones. For many other immigrants, the route to economic stability was in self-sufficiency. Thus, many exert themselves in sales of ethnic items at flea market and garage sales. Immigrants to the San Francisco Bay area have found work in computer components companies. Others, especially first-generation immigrants, work as taxi cab drivers, babysitters, and convenience store owners and workers. Their children, earning a high school diploma and college degree, soon move into their own professional careers in ways identical to that of all other Americans.

Afghan American men especially have found it difficult to achieve positions befitting their experience, education, and economic needs. They have often found it necessary to apply for public assistance, contributing to their sense of the difficulty of life in the United States. Even in those families that have achieved some measure of success and financial stability, there has been a cost, both in time expended and in the loss of traditions. In families in which virtually every member of the family works, perhaps at more than one job, the wholeness of a family becomes fragile, and the cultural roles played by each family member begin to disintegrate. This economic necessity extends even to the children in Afghan American families, who often work rather than engage in extracurricular activities or other community or school programs. The need to constantly work to survive inevitably contributes to an immigrant community’s sense of otherness, its isolation, and its lack of acculturation. Despite these obstacles, changes have come to the Afghan American com-

munity. These changes include increases in the rate of home ownership and increased numbers of youth going on to higher education and professional school.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Political activities of Afghan Americans by the 1990s were directed primarily toward ending the Soviet occupation of their home country. As such, they worked with organizations such as Free Afghanistan, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to lobby governments and organizations to exert pressure on Russia. The pronounced ethnic divisions that characterize the people of Afghanistan also serve to polarize Afghan Americans. Although those divisions may decrease over time, they sometimes play a role in local politics, and have interfered with the establishment of community service programs. The relations that Afghan Americans have with their home country demonstrate they were an immigrant people eager to return home. Because of continued fighting even after the Russian withdrawal, and often because of the fundamentalist rule, especially in Afghan urban areas, many Afghan Americans recognize that a return home is receding into the distant future.

RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN

A factor that strongly influences Afghan Americans' sense of tradition and culture is the maintenance of their close ties to family still in Afghanistan. This connection with their former country provides its share of tribulations as well. Because bloodshed is expected to continue in Afghanistan, and because few Afghan Americans expect to return to their homeland in the near future, they continue to suffer the trauma of hearing news of pain and suffering among their family and friends overseas. These sufferings include not only the civil war itself but also the continued displacement that it causes. Because it may take from six months (in Germany) to two or three years (in Pakistan) to obtain a visa to travel to the United States, their less fortunate family members experience deprivation and dwindling resources. Such a situation leads Afghan Americans to feel their distinctness in American culture even more, and perhaps to hold the West responsible for not doing enough to alleviate suffering overseas. It is common for Afghan Americans to send money to help their displaced relatives, because few organizations help these new refugees.

Another aspect of the relationship with Afghanistan is travel to Pakistan and Afghanistan to choose spouses for unmarried children and sib-

lings in the United States. It is often felt among Afghan Americans that an American spouse is unacceptable and that Afghan American women have often become too "Americanized" to be appropriate mates. These journeys back to Asia preserve the Afghan culture in the United States and reinforce cultural identity. This pattern also shows an emotional distance from the culture in which Afghan Americans now live.

Immigrants who are refugees from war are at distinct disadvantages to immigrants who choose to come to the United States for other reasons. However, it was the war in Afghanistan that has unified some segments of the Afghan American population, as it seeks to provide supplies and aid to Afghan rebels and, after the Russian withdrawal, to those trying to rebuild their lives. Some Afghan Americans also have become politically adept at demanding that the U.S. government act more strongly to support their country.

Although heterogeneous, the Afghan American community came together in a successful effort to provide humanitarian supplies to more than 600,000 refugees who had fled Kabul. Headed by the Afghan Women's Association International, based in Hayward, California, the group solicited and collected blankets, clothing, and food totaling 100,000 pounds and shipped them to Jalalabad. This, coupled with strong ties to family members still in Afghanistan, leads to a cultural bond that makes the community stronger.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Afghan Americans have proven themselves capable of many great things. However, aside from more traditional examples of success, such as academic achievement, an immigrant group's success may be measured in more mundane but often more culturally demonstrative ways. This success at assimilation was seen in Waheed Asim, a 19-year-old Afghan immigrant, who in 1990 was named Dominos Pizza's three-time national champion pizza maker. Asim worked at a store in Washington, DC and he held a world record for the fastest pizza assembly.

Another example of a young Afghan American who had made strides in a new country that her ancestors could never have imagined was 17-year-old Yasmine Begum Delawari. She is the daughter of Afghan immigrants and a Los Angeles high school student who was crowned the 1990 Rose Queen on October 24, 1989.

ACADEMIA

Mohammed Jamil Hanifi (1935–) is a professor of anthropology at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois, and has done much research on life in Afghanistan. He wrote *Islam and the Transformation of Culture* (Asia Publishing House, 1974) and *Historical and Cultural Dictionary of Afghanistan* (Scarecrow, 1976). Nake M. Kamrany (1934–) has had a distinguished career as a university professor in economics, primarily at the University of Southern California. His published works include *Peaceful Competition in Afghanistan: American and Soviet Models for Economic Aid* (Communication Service Corporation, 1969), *The New Economics of the Less Developed Countries* (Westview Press, 1978), *Economic Issues of the Eighties* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), and *U.S. Options for Energy Independence* (Lexington Books, 1982).

GOVERNMENT

Najib Ullah (1914–) has led a remarkable career of public service and university teaching. He served in the League of Nations Department of Foreign Office in the 1930s. He also served as the Afghan ambassador to India (1949–1954), to England (1954–1957), and to the United States (1957–1958). He works at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey, as a professor of history. His writings include *Political History of Afghanistan* (two volumes, 1942–1944), *Negotiations With Pakistan* (1948), and *Islamic Literature* (Washington Square, 1963).

MEDIA

PRINT

Afghanistan Council Newsletter.

A quarterly newsletter, published by the Afghanistan Council of the Asia Society, that publishes excerpts from other worldwide media regarding Afghanistan and news of Afghan organizations in the United States. It also prints feature articles, book reviews, and news summaries from Afghanistan.

Contact: Afghanistan Council of the Asia Society.
Address: 725 Park Avenue, New York,
New York 10021.

Afghanistan Mirror.

A national Islamic monthly publication.

Contact: Dr. Sayed Khalilullah Hashemyan.
Address: P.O. Box 408, Montclair, California 91763.
Telephone: (714) 626-8314.

Afghan News.

Address: 141-39-78 Road, #0342, Flushing,
New York 11755.
Telephone: (718) 361-0342.

Afghanistan Voice.

Address: P.O. Box 104, Bloomingdale,
New Jersey 07403.
Telephone: (973) 838-6072.

Ayendah E-Afghan.

Contact: Nisar Ahmad Zuri, Publisher and Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 8216, Rego Park,
New York 11374.
Telephone: 718-699-1666.

Critique & Vision.

An Afghan journal of culture, politics, and history.

Contact: Dr. S. Wali Ahmadi, Editor.
Address: Asian & Middle Eastern Languages &
Cultures, B-27 Cabell Hall, University of
Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903.

Nama-e-Khurasan.

A monthly publication of the Afghan Refugees' Cultural Society.

Contact: Mohammad Qawey Koshan, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 4611, Hayward, California
94540.
Telephone: (510) 783-9350.

Omaid Weekly.

Contact: Mohammad Qawey Koshan.
Address: P.O. Box 4611, Hayward, California
94540-4611.
Telephone: (510) 783-9350.

Voice of Peace.

Address: Afghanistan Peace Association, 5858
Mount Alifan Drive, Suite 109, San Diego,
California 92111.
Telephone: (619) 560-8293.

RADIO

"Azadi Afghan Radio" (WUST-AM 1120).

Contact: Omar Samad.
Address: 2131 Crimmins Lane, Falls Church,
Virginia 22043.
Telephone: (703) 532-0400.
Fax: (703) 532-5033.

“Da Zwanano Zagh” (AM 990).

Broadcast Sundays from 5 PM until 6 PM.

Address: P.O. Box 7630, Fremont, California 94537.

Telephone: (510) 505-8058.

E-mail: DZZ990AM@aol.com.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Afghan Community in America.

This organization provides aid to persons who are in need due to the war in Afghanistan.

Contact: Habib Mayar, Chairman.

Address: 139-15 95th Avenue, Jamaica, New York 11346.

Telephone: (212) 658-3737.

Afghan Refugee Fund.

Founded in 1983, the group supplies medical, vocational, and educational relief to Afghanistan refugees.

Contact: Robert E. Ornstein, President.

Address: P.O. Box 176, Los Altos, California 94023.

Telephone: (415) 948-9436.

Afghan Relief Committee, Inc. (ARC).

The ARC provides assistance to Afghans located throughout the world.

Contact: Gordon A. Thomas, President.

Address: 40 exchange Place, Suite 1301,
New York, New York 10005.

Telephone: (212) 344-6617.

Afghanistan Council of the Asia Society.

Founded in 1960, the Afghanistan Council seeks to introduce Afghan culture to the United States. Its coverage includes archeology, folklore, handicrafts, politics and history, and performing and visual arts. The Afghanistan Council also aids in producing and distributing educational materials.

Address: 725 Park Avenue, New York,
New York 10021.

Afghanistan Studies Association (ASA).

Organization of scholars, students, and others who seek to extend and develop Afghan studies. The ASA helps in the exchange of information between scholars; identifies and attempts to find funding for research needs; acts as a liaison between universities, governments, and other agencies; and helps

scholars from Afghanistan who are working in the United States.

Contact: Thomas E. Gouttierre, Director.

Address: c/o Center for Afghan Studies,
University of Nebraska, Adm. 238, 60th and
Dodge, Omaha, Nebraska 68182-0227.

Telephone: (402) 554-2376.

Fax: (402) 554-3681.

E-mail: world@unomaha.edu.

Online: <http://www.unomaha.edu/~world/cas/cas.html>.

Aid for Afghan Refugees.

Founded in 1980, this organization provides assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and helps in their relocation to Northern California.

Contact: Michael Griffin, President.

Address: 1052 Oak Street, San Francisco,
California 94117.

Telephone: (415) 863-1450.

Help the Afghan Children, Inc. (HTAC).

This organization, founded in 1993, is dedicated to helping Afghan children who are refugees and victims of warfare. It has opened clinics that were created and operated by Afghans. HTAC also has implemented home-based education program for girls.

Address: 4105 North Fairfax Drive, Suite 204,
Arlington, Virginia 22203.

Telephone: (703) 524-2525.

Society of Afghan Engineers.

Formed in 1993, this group seeks to foster international support and encourage financial and technical assistance for the reconstruction and prosperity of Afghanistan.

Address: 14011-F Saint Germain Court, Suite
233, Centreville, Virginia 20121.

Telephone: (703) 790-6699.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Afghanistan Research Materials Survey.

This research group aims to compile a comprehensive bibliography of all that has been written about Afghanistan, including many major unpublished writings. The group seeks to include works in European languages, Dari, Pashto, and Urdu. It also provides information about Afghan archives in Europe and the United States.

Contact: Professor Nake M. Kamrany.
Address: Department of Economics, University
of Southern California, University Park,
Los Angeles, California 90007.
Telephone: (213) 454-1708.

Center for Afghan Studies.

This Center, housed in a university department,
provides courses in all aspects of Afghan culture, in
addition to language training in Dari.

Contact: Thomas E. Gouttierre, Director.
Address: University of Nebraska, P.O. Box 688,
Omaha, Nebraska 68182.
Telephone: (402) 554-2376.
Fax: (402) 554-3681.
E-mail: world@unomaha.edu.
Online: [http://www.unomaha.edu/~world/cas/
cas.html](http://www.unomaha.edu/~world/cas/cas.html).

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About 70 percent of blacks are making progress in nearly every aspect of American life: the black middle-class is increasing, white-collar employment is on the rise, and although the growth of black political and economic power is slow, it remains steady.

AFRICAN AMERICANS

by
Barbara C. Bigelow

OVERVIEW

The continent of Africa, the second largest on the globe, is bisected by the equator and bordered to the west by the Atlantic Ocean and to the east by the Indian Ocean. Roughly the shape of an inverted triangle—with a large bulge on its northwestern end and a small horn on its eastern tip—it contains 52 countries and six islands that, together, make up about 11.5 million square miles, or 20 percent of the world's land mass.

Africa is essentially a huge plateau divided naturally into two sections. Northern Africa, a culturally and historically Mediterranean region, includes the Sahara desert—the world's largest expanse of desert, coming close to the size of the United States. Sub-Saharan, or Black Africa, also contains some desert land, but is mainly tropical, with rain forests clustered around the equator; vast savanna grasslands covering more than 30 percent of continent and surrounding the rain forests on the north, east, and south; some mountainous regions; and rivers and lakes that formed from the natural uplifting of the plateau's surface.

Africa is known for the diversity of its people and languages. Its total population is approximately 600 million, making it the third most populous continent on earth. Countless ethnic groups inhabit the land: it is estimated that there are nearly 300 different ethnic groups in the West African nation of Nigeria alone. Still, the peoples of Africa are

generally united by a respect for tradition and a devotion to their community.

Most of the flags of African nations contain one or more of three significant colors: red, for the blood of African people; black, for the face of African people; and green, for hope and the history of the fatherland.

HISTORY

Some historians consider ancient Africa the cradle of human civilization. In *Before the Mayflower*, Lerone Bennett, Jr., contended that “the African ancestors of American Blacks were among the major benefactors of the human race. Such evidence as survives clearly shows that Africans were on the scene and acting when the human drama opened.”

Over the course of a dozen centuries, beginning around 300 A.D., a series of three major political states arose in Africa: Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. These agricultural and mining empires began as small kingdoms but eventually established great wealth and control throughout Western Africa.

African societies were marked by varying degrees of political, economic, and social advancement. “Wherever we observe the peoples of Africa,” wrote John Hope Franklin in *From Slavery to Freedom*, “we find some sort of political organization, even among the so-called stateless. They were not all highly organized kingdoms—to be sure, some were simple, isolated family states—but they all ... [established] governments to solve the problems that every community encounters.” Social stratification existed, with political power residing in a chief of state or a royal family, depending on the size of the state. People of lower social standing were respected as valued members of the community.

Agriculture has always been the basis of African economics. Some rural African peoples worked primarily as sheep, cattle, and poultry raisers, and African artisans maintained a steady trade in clothing, baskets, pottery, and metalware, but farming was a way of life for most Africans. Land in such societies belonged to the entire community, not to individuals, and small communities interacted with each other on a regular basis. “Africa was ... never a series of isolated self-sufficient communities,” explained Franklin. Rather, tribes specialized in various economic endeavors, then traveled and traded their goods and crops with other tribes.

Slave trade in Africa dates back to the mid-fifteenth century. Ancient Africans were themselves slaveholders who regarded prisoners of war as sellable property, or chattel, of the head of a family.

According to Franklin, though, these slaves “often became trusted associates of their owners and enjoyed virtual freedom.” Moreover, in Africa the children of slaves could never be sold and were often freed by their owners.

Throughout the mid-1400s, West Africans commonly sold their slaves to Arab traders in the Mediterranean. The fledgling system of slave trade increased significantly when the Portuguese and Spanish—who had established sugar-producing colonies in Latin America and the West Indies, respectively—settled in the area in the sixteenth century. The Dutch arrived in Africa in the early 1600s, and a large influx of other European traders followed in ensuing decades with the growth of New World colonialism.

MODERN ERA

Much of Africa’s land is unsuitable for agricultural use and, therefore, is largely uninhabited. Over the centuries, severe drought and periods of war and famine have left many African nations in a state of agricultural decline and impoverishment. Still, most nations in Africa tend to increase their rate of population faster than the countries on any other continent.

Agriculture, encompassing both the production of crops and the raising of livestock, remains the primary occupation in Africa. The more verdant areas of the continent are home to farming communities; male members of these communities clear the farmland and often do the planting, while women usually nurture, weed, and harvest the crops.

Africa is very rich in oil, minerals, and plant and animal resources. It is a major producer of cotton, cashews, yams, cocoa beans, peanuts, bananas, and coffee. A large quantity of the world’s zinc, coal, manganese, chromite, phosphate, and uranium is also produced on the continent. In addition, Africa’s natural mineral wealth yields 90 percent of the world’s diamonds and 65 percent of the world’s gold.

Much of Africa had become the domain of European colonial powers by the nineteenth century. But a growing nationalistic movement in the mid-twentieth century fueled a modern African revolution, resulting in the establishment of independent nations throughout the continent. Even South Africa, a country long gripped by the injustice of apartheid’s white supremacist policies, held its first free and fair multiracial elections in the spring of 1994.

In 1999, South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a group organized to investigate

the crimes committed by the South African government under apartheid, announced that it had not been completely forthcoming in its account of the government's actions. Nevertheless, the commission issued strong reproaches of the government. "In the application of the policy of apartheid, the state in the period 1960–1990 sought to protect the power and privilege of a racial minority. Racism therefore constituted the motivating core of the South African political order, an attitude largely endorsed by the investment and other policies of South Africa's major trading partners in this period." P.W. Botha, former president of South Africa, was named as a major facilitator of apartheid, and Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, was chastised for establishing the Mandela United Football Club, a group that retaliated against apartheid with its own violence, torture, and murder.

South Africa is not the only African country to experience internal violence. In 1999, the United Nations disbanded and then re-deployed a peacekeeping force in Angola, a nation that has been suffering through a long civil war. In 1974, after 13 years of opposition from indigenous Angolans, Portugal withdrew as a colonial ruler of Angola and a struggle for power ensued. Although Angola is rich with fertile farming land and oil reserves, it has failed to tap into these resources because of its ongoing internal war.

The United Nations continued to seek justice in Rwanda in the wake of the genocide that occurred there in 1994. In 1999, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda charged former Women's Development and Family Welfare Minister Pauline Nyiramasuhuko with rape. She was not personally charged with rape; rather, Nyiramasuhuko was prosecuted, according to Kingsley Moghalu of the United Nations, "under the concept of command responsibility" for failing to prevent her subordinates from raping women during the 1994 uprising.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) continued to spread death in African countries in the 1990s. In Kenya in August of 1999, President Daniel Arap Moi announced that AIDS was killing approximately 420 Kenyans each day.

THE FIRST AFRICANS IN AMERICA

Most Africans transported to the New World as slaves came from sub-Saharan Africa's northwestern and middle-western coastal regions. This area, located on the continent's Atlantic side, now consists of more than a dozen modern nations, including Gabon, the Republic of the Congo, Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Upper Volta, the

Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Gambia, and Senegal.

Africans are believed to have traveled to the New World with European explorers—especially the Spanish and the Portuguese—at the turn of the fifteenth century. They served as crew members, servants, and slaves. (Many historians agree that Pedro Alonzo Niño, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his expedition to the New World, was black; in addition, it has been established that in the early 1500s, blacks journeyed to the Pacific with Spanish explorer Vasco Núñez de Balboa and into Mexico with Cortéz.) The early African slave population worked on European coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and sugar plantations in the West Indies, as well as on the farms and in the mines that operated in Europe's South American colonies.

Later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch, the French, and the English became dominant forces in New World slave trade, and by the early eighteenth century, colonization efforts were focusing on the North American mainland. In August of 1619, the first ship carrying Africans sailed into the harbor at Jamestown, Virginia, and so began the history of African Americans.

During the early years of America's history, society was divided by class rather than skin color. In fact, the first Africans in North America were not slaves, but indentured servants. At the dawn of colonial time, black and white laborers worked together, side by side, for a set amount of time before earning their freedom. According to Lerone Bennett, "The available evidence suggests that most of the first generation of African Americans worked out their terms of servitude and were freed." Using the bustling colony of Virginia as an example of prevailing colonial attitudes, Bennett explained that the coastal settlement, in its first several decades of existence, "was defined by what can only be called equality of oppression.... The colony's power structure made little or no distinction between black and white servants, who were assigned the same tasks and were held in equal contempt."

But North American landowners began to face a labor crisis in the 1640s. Indians had proven unsatisfactory laborers in earlier colonization efforts, and the indentured servitude system failed to meet increasing colonial labor needs. As Franklin reflected in *From Slavery to Freedom*, "Although Africans were in Europe in considerable numbers in the seventeenth century and had been in the New World at least since 1501, ... the colonists and their Old World sponsors were extremely slow in recognizing them as the best possible labor force for the tasks in the New World."

By the second half of the 1600s, however, white colonial landowners began to see slavery as a solution to their economic woes: the fateful system of forced black labor—achieved through a program of perpetual, involuntary servitude—was then set into motion in the colonies. Africans were strong, inexpensive, and available in seemingly unlimited supplies from their native continent. In addition, their black skin made them highly visible in the white world, thereby decreasing the likelihood of their escape from bondage. Black enslavement had become vital to the American agricultural economy, and racism and subjugation became the means to justify the system. The color line was drawn, and white servants were thereafter separated from their black comrades. Slave codes were soon enacted to control almost every aspect of the slaves' lives, leaving them virtually no rights or freedoms.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Between 10 and 12 million Africans are believed to have been imported to the New World between 1650 and 1850. The process began slowly, with an estimated 300,000 slaves brought to the Americas prior to the seventeenth century, then reached its peak in the eighteenth century with the importation of more than six million Africans. These estimates do not include the number of African lives lost during the brutal journey to the New World.

Slave trade was a profitable endeavor: the more slaves transported to the New World on a single ship, the more money the traders made. Africans, chained together in pairs, were crammed by the hundreds onto the ships' decks; lying side by side in endless rows, they had no room to move or exercise and barely enough air to breathe. Their one-way trip, commonly referred to as the Middle Passage, ended in the Americas and the islands of the Caribbean. But sources indicate that somewhere between 12 and 40 percent of the slaves shipped from Africa never completed the Middle Passage: many died of disease, committed suicide by jumping overboard, or suffered permanent injury wrestling against the grip of their shackles.

By the mid-1700s, the majority of Africans in America lived in the Southern Atlantic colonies, where the plantation system made the greatest demands for black labor. Virginia took and maintained the lead in slave ownership, with, according to Franklin, more than 120,000 blacks in 1756—about half the colony's total population. Around the same time in South Carolina, blacks outnumbered whites. To the North, the New England colonies maintained a relatively small number of slaves.

The continued growth of the black population made whites more and more fearful of a black revolt. An all-white militia was formed, and stringent legislation was enacted throughout the colonies to limit the activities of blacks. It was within owners' rights to deal out harsh punishments to slaves—even for the most insignificant transgressions.

The fight against the British during the Revolutionary War underscores a curious irony in American history: the colonists sought religious, economic, and political freedom from England for themselves, while denying blacks in the New World even the most basic, human rights. The close of the American Revolution brought with it the manumission, or release, of several thousand slaves, especially in the North. But the Declaration of Independence failed to address the issue of slavery in any certain terms.

By 1790, the black population approached 760,000, and nearly eight percent of all blacks in America were free. Free blacks, however, were bound by many of the same regulations that applied to slaves. The ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1788 guaranteed equality and "certain inalienable rights" to the white population, but not to African Americans. Census reports counted each slave as only three-fifths of a person when determining state congressional representation; so-called free blacks—often referred to as "quasi-free"—faced limited employment opportunities and restrictions on their freedom to travel, vote, and bear arms.

It was in the South, according to historians, that the most brutal, backbreaking conditions of slavery existed. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 greatly increased the profitability of cotton production, thereby heightening the demand for slaves to work on the plantations. The slave population in the South rose with the surge in cotton production and with the expansion of plantations along the western portion of the Southern frontier. But not all slaves worked on Southern plantations. By the second half of the nineteenth century, nearly half a million were working in cities as domestics, skilled artisans, and factory hands.

A growing abolitionist movement—among both blacks and whites—became a potent force in the 1830s. After a century of subjugation, many blacks in America who could not buy their freedom risked their lives in escape attempts. Antislavery revolts first broke out in the 1820s, and uprisings continued for the next four decades. Black anger, it seemed, could only be quelled by an end to the slave system.

Around the same time, a philosophy of reverse migration emerged as a solution to the black dilem-

ma. The country's ever-increasing African American population was cause for alarm in some white circles. Washington D.C.'s American Colonization Society pushed for the return of blacks to their fatherland. By the early 1820s, the first wave of black Americans landed on Africa's western coastal settlement of Liberia; nearly 1,500 blacks were resettled throughout the 1830s. But the idea of repatriation was largely opposed, especially by manumitted blacks in the North: having been "freed," they were now subjected to racial hatred, legalized discrimination, and political and economic injustice in a white world. They sought equity at home, rather than resettlement in Africa, as the only acceptable end to more than two centuries of oppression.

The political and economic turbulence of the Civil War years intensified racial troubles. Emancipation was viewed throughout the war as a military necessity rather than a human rights issue. In December of 1865, eight months after the Civil War ended, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted: slavery was abolished. But even in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the black population in the United States saw few changes in its social, political, and economic condition.

With no money, land, or livestock, freed slaves were hardly in a position to establish their own farming communities in the South. Thus began the largely exploitative system of tenant farming, which took the form of sharecropping. A popular post-slavery agricultural practice, sharecropping allowed tenants (most of whom were black), to work the farms of landlords (most of whom were white) and earn a percentage of the proceeds of each crop harvested. Unfortunately, the system provided virtually no economic benefits for the tenants; relegated to squalid settlements of rundown shacks, they labored as if they were still bound in slavery and, in most cases, barely broke even.

The price of cotton fell around 1920—a precursor to the Great Depression. Over the next few decades, the mass production and widespread use of the mechanical cotton picker signaled the beginning of the end of the sharecropping system. At the same time, the United States was fast becoming an industrial giant, and a huge labor force was needed in the North. This demand for unskilled labor, combined with the expectation of an end to the legal and economic oppression of the South, attracted blacks to northern U.S. cities in record numbers. On Chicago's South Side alone, the black population quintupled by 1930.

Migration to the North began around 1920 and reached its peak—with an influx of more than five million people—around World War II. Prior to

the war, more than three-quarters of all blacks in the United States lived in the southern states. In all, between 1910 and 1970, about 6.5 million African Americans migrated to the northern United States. "The black migration was one of the largest and most rapid mass internal movements of people in history—perhaps *the* greatest not caused by the immediate threat of execution or starvation," wrote Nicholas Lemann in *The Promised Land*. "In sheer numbers it outranks the migration of any other ethnic group—Italians or Irish or Jews or Poles—to this country."

But manufacturing jobs in the northern United States decreased in the 1960s. As the need for unskilled industrial laborers fell, hundreds of thousands of African Americans took government service jobs—in social welfare programs, law enforcement, and transportation sectors—that were created during President Lyndon Baines Johnson's presidency. These new government jobs meant economic advancement for some blacks; by the end of the decade, a substantial portion of the black population had migrated out of the urban ghettos.

The U.S. Census Bureau projects that by the year 2050, minorities (including people of African, Asian, and Hispanic descent) will comprise a majority of the nation's population. In 1991 just over 12 percent of the U.S. population was black; as of 1994, about 32 million people of African heritage were citizens of the United States. Within six decades, blacks are expected to make up about 15 percent of the nation's population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

History casts a dark shadow on the entire issue of black assimilation in the United States. For hundreds of years, people of African descent were oppressed and exploited purely on the basis of the blackness of their skin. The era of "freedom" that began in the mid-1780s in post-Revolutionary America excluded blacks entirely; black Americans were considered less than human beings and faced discrimination in every aspect of their lives. Many historians argue that slavery's legacy of social inequality has persisted in American society—even 130 years after the post-Civil War emancipation of slaves in the United States.

Legally excluded from the white world, blacks were forced to establish their own social, political, and economic institutions. In the process of building a solid cultural base in the black community,

they formed a whole new identity: that of the African American. African Americans recognized their African heritage, but now accepted America as home.

In addition, African Americans began to employ the European tactics of petitions, lawsuits, and organized protest to fight for their rights. This movement, which started early in the nineteenth century, involved the formation and utilization of mutual aid societies; independent black churches; lodges and fraternal organizations; and educational and cultural institutions designed to fight black oppression. As Lerone Bennett stated in *Before the Mayflower*: “By 1837 ... it was plain that Black people were in America to stay and that room had to be made for them.”

Some observers note that the European immigrants who streamed into America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also faced difficulties during the assimilation process, but these difficulties were not insurmountable; their light skin enabled them to blend more quickly and easily with the nation’s dominant racial fabric. Discrimination based on race appears to be far more deeply ingrained in American society.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In *Superstition and the Superstitious*, Eric Maple provided examples of common African folklore and beliefs. For example, when a pregnant woman walks under a ladder, she can expect to have a difficult birth. When someone sneezes, an African wishes that person “health, wealth, prosperity, and children.” In Nigeria it is believed that sweeping a house during the night brings bad luck; conversely, all evil things should be expelled from the house by a thorough sweeping in the morning. If a male is hit with a broom he will be rendered impotent unless he retaliates with seven blows delivered with the same broom. In Africa, ghosts are greatly feared because, according to Maple, “all ghosts are evil.” One Yoruba tribesman was quoted as saying: “If while walking alone in the afternoon or night your head feels either very light or heavy, this means that there is a ghost around. The only way to save yourself is to carry something that gives off a powerful odor.”

PROVERBS

A wealth of proverbs from African culture have survived through the generations: If you want to know the end, look at the beginning; When one door closes, another one opens; If we stand tall it is because we stand on the backs of those who came before us;

Two men in a burning house must not stop to argue; Where you sit when you are old shows where you stood in youth; You must live within your sacred truth; The one who asks questions doesn’t lose his way; If you plant turnips you will not harvest grapes; God makes three requests of his children: Do the best you can, where you are, with what you have now; You must act as if it is impossible to fail.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

African Americans have struggled against racial stereotypes for centuries. The white slaveholding class rationalized the institution of slavery as a necessary evil: aside from playing an integral part in the nation’s agricultural economy, the system was viewed by some as the only way to control a wild, pagan race. In colonial America, black people were considered genetically inferior to whites; efforts to educate and Christianize them were therefore regarded as justifiable.

The black population has been misunderstood by white America for hundreds of years. The significance of Old World influences in modern African American life—and an appreciation of the complex structure of traditional African society—went largely unrecognized by the majority of the nation’s nonblacks. Even in the latter half of the twentieth century, as more and more African nations embraced multiparty democracy and underwent massive urban and industrial growth, the distorted image of Africans as uncivilized continued to pervade the consciousness of an alarmingly high percentage of white Americans. As social commentator Ellis Cose explained: “Theories of blacks’ innate intellectual inadequacy provided much of the rationale for slavery and for Jim Crow [legal discrimination based on race]. They also accomplished something equally pernicious, and continue to do so today: they caused many blacks (if only subconsciously) to doubt their own abilities—and to conform to the stereotype, thereby confirming it” (Ellis Cose, “Color-Coordinated Truths,” *Newsweek*, October 24, 1994, p. 62).

For decades, these images were perpetuated by the American media. Prime-time television shows of the 1960s and 1970s often featured blacks in demeaning roles—those of servants, drug abusers, common criminals, and all-around threats to white society. During the controversial “blaxploitation” phase in American cinema—a period that saw the release of films like *Shaft* and *Superfly*—sex, drugs, and violence prevailed on the big screen. Though espoused by some segments of the black artistic community as a legiti-

mate outlet for black radicalism, these films were seen by many critics as alienating devices that glorified urban violence and drove an even greater wedge between blacks and whites.

African American entertainment mogul Bill Cosby is credited with initiating a reversal in the tide of media stereotypes. His long-running situation comedy *The Cosby Show*—a groundbreaking program that made television history and dominated the ratings throughout the 1980s—helped to dispel the myths of racial inferiority. An intact family consisting of well-educated, professional parents and socially responsible children, the show's fictional Huxtable family served as a model for more enlightened, racially-balanced programming in the 1990s.

By 1999, however, Hollywood seemed to be failing in its quest for more shows about blacks. The Fall 1999 television shows of the four major networks (ABC, NBC, CBS, and FOX) featured only a smattering of black characters. Black leaders called on the networks to rectify the situation, and the networks immediately responded by crafting black characters.

CUISINE

Most African nations are essentially agricultural societies. For centuries, a majority of men have worked as farmers and cattle raisers, although some have made their living as fishers. Planting, sowing, and harvesting crops were women's duties in traditional West African society. The task of cooking also seems to have fallen to women in ancient Africa. They prepared meals like fufu—a traditional dish made of pounded yams and served with soups, stew, roasted meat and a variety of sauces—over huge open pits.

Many tribal nations made up the slave population in the American South. Africans seem to have exchanged their regional recipes freely, leading to the development of a multinational cooking style among blacks in America. In many areas along the Atlantic coast, Native Americans taught the black population to cook with native plants. These varied cooking techniques were later introduced to southern American society by Africans.

During the colonial period, heavy breakfast meals of hoecakes (small cornmeal cakes) and molasses were prepared to fuel the slaves for work from sunup to sundown. Spoonbread, crab cakes, corn pone (corn bread), corn pudding, greens, and succotash—cooked over an open pit or fireplace—became common items in a black cook's repertoire in the late 1700s and the 1800s.

African Americans served as cooks for both the northern and southern armies throughout the Civil War. Because of the scarcity of supplies, the cooks were forced to improvise and invent their own recipes. Some of the dishes that sprang from this period of culinary creativity include jambalaya (herbs and rice cooked with chicken, ham, sausage, shrimp, or oysters), bread pudding, dirty rice, gumbo, and red beans and rice—all of which remain favorites on the nation's regional cuisine circuit.

The late 1800s and early 1900s saw the establishment of many African American-owned eateries specializing in southern fried chicken, pork chops, fish, potato salad, turkey and dressing, and rice and gravy. In later years, this diet—which grew to include pigs' feet, chitlins (hog intestines), collard greens (a vegetable), and ham hocks—became known as "soul food."

Food plays a large role in African American traditions, customs, and beliefs. Nothing underscores this point more than the example of New Year's Day, a time of celebration that brings with it new hopes for the coming months. Some of the traditional foods enjoyed on this day are black-eyed peas, which represent good fortune; rice, a symbol of prosperity; greens, which stand for money; and fish, which represents the motivation and desire to increase wealth.

A REVIVAL OF OTHER TRADITIONS

Over the centuries, various aspects of African culture have blended into American society. The complex rhythms of African music, for instance, are evident in the sounds of American blues and jazz; a growth in the study of American folklore—and the development of American-style folktales—can be linked in part to Africa's long oral tradition. But a new interest in the Old World began to surface in the 1970s and continued through the nineties. In an effort to connect with their African heritage, some black Americans have adopted African names to replace the Anglo names of their ancestors' slaveowners. In addition, increasing numbers of African American men and women are donning the traditional garb of their African brothers and sisters—including African-inspired jewelry, headwear, and brightly colored, loose-fitting garments called *dashikis*—to show pride in their roots.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to Christmas, New Year's Day, Easter Sunday, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, other dates throughout the calendar year hold a special significance for African Americans. For example, on June

19th of each year, many blacks celebrate a special day known as Juneteenth. Although the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared an end to slavery in the Confederacy, took effect on January 1, 1863, the news of slavery's end did not reach the black population in Texas until June 19, 1865. Union General Gordon Granger arrived outside Galveston, Texas, that day to announce the freedom of the state's 250,000 enslaved blacks. Former slaves in Texas and Louisiana held a major celebration that turned into an annual event and spread throughout the nation as free blacks migrated west and north.

From December 26th to January 1st, African Americans observe *Kwanzaa* (which means "first fruits" in Swahili), a nonreligious holiday that celebrates family, culture, and ancestral ties. This week-long commemoration was instituted in 1966 by Dr. Maulana Karenga to promote unity and pride among people of African descent.

Kwanzaa comes directly from the tradition of the agricultural people of Africa, who gave thanks for a bountiful harvest at designated times during the year. In this highly symbolic celebration, *mazeo* (crops) represent the historical roots of the holiday and the rewards of collective labor; *mekeka* (a mat) stands for tradition and foundation; *kinara* (a candleholder) represents African forebears; *muhindi* (ears of corn) symbolize a family's children; *zawadi* (gifts) reflect the seeds sown by the children (like commitments made and kept, for example) and the fruits of the parents' labor; and the *kikombe cha umoja* functions as a unity cup. For each day during the week of Kwanzaa, a particular principle or *nguzo saba* ("n-goo-zoh sah-ba") is observed: (Day 1): *Umoja* ("oo-moe-ja")—unity in family, community, nation, and race; (Day 2): *Kujichagulia* ("coo-gee-cha-goo-lee-ah")—self-determination, independence, and creative thinking; (Day 3): *Ujima* ("oo-gee-mah")—collective work and responsibility to others; (Day 4): *Ujamaa* ("oo-jah-mah")—cooperative economics, as in the formation and support of black businesses and jobs; (Day 5): *Nia* ("nee-ah")—purpose, as in the building and development of black communities; (Day 6): *Kuumba* ("coo-oom-bah")—creativity and beautification of the environment; (Day 7): *Imani* ("ee-mah-nee")—faith in God, parents, leaders, and the righteousness and victory of the black struggle.

For African Americans, the entire month of February is set aside not as a holiday, but as a time of enlightenment for people of all races. Black History Month, first introduced in 1926 by historian Carter G. Woodson as Negro History Week, is observed each February as a celebration of black heritage. A key tool in the American educational system's growing multicultural movement, Black History Month

was designed to foster a better understanding of the role black Americans have played in U.S. history.

HEALTH ISSUES

African Americans are at a high risk for serious health problems, including cancer, diabetes, and hypertension. Several studies show a direct connection between poor health and the problem of underemployment or unemployment among African Americans. One-third of the black population is financially strapped, with an income at or below the poverty level. Illnesses brought on by an improper diet or substandard living conditions are often compounded by a lack of quality medical care—largely a result of inadequate health insurance coverage.

Statistics indicate that African Americans are more likely to succumb to many life-threatening illnesses than white Americans. This grim reality is evident even from birth: black babies under one year of age die at twice the rate of white babies in the same age group. "When you collect all the information and search for answers, they usually relate to poverty," noted University of Iowa pediatrics professor Dr. Herman A. Hein in 1989 (Mark Nichols and Linda Graham Caleca, "Black Infant Mortality," *Indianapolis Star*, August 27, 1989, p. A-1). A lack of prenatal care among low-income mothers is believed to be the greatest single factor in the high mortality rate among African American infants.

A 1992 medical survey found that black Americans were more likely to die from cancer than white Americans: the age-adjusted cancer mortality rate was a full 27 percent higher for the nation's black population than the white population. African Americans also had a significantly lower five-year survival rate—only 38 percent compared to 53 percent for whites—even though the overall cancer incidence rates are actually *lower* for blacks than for whites. Black Americans who suffer from cancer seem to be receiving inferior medical treatment, and they are much more likely to have their cancer diagnosed only after the malignancy has metastasized, or spread to other parts of the body (Catherine C. Boring and others, "Cancer Statistics for African Americans," *CA* 42, 1992, pp. 7-17).

Hypertension, or high blood pressure, strikes a third more African Americans than whites. Although the Public Health Service reports that the hypertension is largely inherited, other factors such as poor diet and stress can play a key role in the development of the disorder. The effects of hypertension are especially devastating to the black population: blacks aged 24 to 44 are reportedly 18 times more likely than whites to suffer kidney failure as a

complication of high blood pressure (Dixie Farley, "High Blood Pressure: Controlling the Silent Killer," *FDA Consumer*, December 1991, pp. 28-33). A reduction in dietary fat and salt are recommended for all hypertensive patients. African Americans are believed to be particularly sensitive to blood pressure problems brought on by a high-salt diet.

Sickle cell anemia is a serious and painful disorder that occurs almost exclusively in people of African descent. The disease is believed to have been brought to the United States as a result of African immigration, and by the last decade of the twentieth century it had found its way to all corners of the world. In some African nations, two to three percent of all babies die from the disease. In the United States, one in every 12 African Americans carries the trait; of these, about one in 600 develops the disease. Sickle cell anemia is generally considered to be the most common genetically determined blood disease to affect a single ethnic group (Katie Krauss, "The Pain of Sickle Cell Anemia," *Yale-New Haven Magazine*, summer 1989, pp. 2-6).

Normal red blood cells are round, but the blood cells of sickle cell victims are elongated and pointed (like a sickle). Cells of this shape can clog small blood vessels, thereby cutting off the supply of oxygen to surrounding tissues. The pain associated with sickle cell anemia is intense, and organ failure can result as the disease progresses. By the late 1980s, researchers had begun to make strides in the treatment and prevention of some of the life-threatening complications associated with sickle cell anemia, including damage to the heart, lungs, immune system, and nervous system.

Although the threats to the health of African Americans are numerous and varied, the number one killer of blacks in the United States is violent crime. In the early 1990s, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta, Georgia, began viewing violence as a disease. In an October 17, 1994 press conference, CDC director David Satcher noted that homicide is the leading cause of death among black Americans aged 15 to 34. The severity of the problem has led the CDC to take an active role in addressing violence as a public health issue.

In November of 1990, the National Center for Health Statistics reported that while life expectancy for whites increased in the 1980s, life expectancy actually fell among African Americans during the latter half of the decade. African American men have a life expectancy of only 65.6 years—more than seven years lower than that of the average white American male (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). Census projections suggest that between 1995 and 2010, life expectancy should increase to 67.3 years for black men and 75.1 years for white men.

LANGUAGE

More than 1,000 different languages are spoken in Africa, and it is often difficult for even the most studied linguistic scholars to differentiate between separate African languages and the dialects of a single language. The multitudinous languages of Africa are grouped into several large families, including the Niger-Congo family (those spoken mainly in the southern portion of the continent) and the Afro-Asiatic family (spoken in northern Africa, the eastern horn of Africa, and Southwest Asia).

Africa has a very long and rich oral tradition; few languages of the Old World ever took a written form. Literature and history in ancient Africa, therefore, were passed from generation to generation orally. After the fourteenth century, the use of Arabic by educated Muslim blacks was rather extensive, and some oral literature was subsequently reduced to a more permanent written form. But, in spite of this Arab influence, the oral heritage of Africans remained strong, serving not only as an educational device, but as a guide for the administration of government and the conduct of religious ceremonies.

Beginning with the arrival of the first Africans in the New World, Anglo-American words were slowly infused into African languages. Successive generations of blacks born in America, as well as Africans transported to the colonies later in the slave trading era, began to use standard English as their principal language. Over the years, this standard English has been modified by African Americans to encompass their own culture, language, and experience.

The social change movements of the 1960s gave birth to a number of popular black expressions. Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, the music of hip-hop and rap artists became a culturally significant expression of the trials of black urban life. In her book *Talkin & Testifyin*, linguistic scholar Geneva Smitherman offers this explanation of the formation of a very distinctive black English: "In a nutshell: Black Dialect is an Africanized form of English reflecting Black America's linguistic-cultural African heritage and the conditions of servitude, oppression, and life in America. Black Language is Euro-American speech with Afro-American meaning, nuance, tone, and gesture. The Black Idiom is used by 80 to 90 percent of American Blacks, at least some of the time. It has allowed Blacks to create a culture of survival in an alien land, and as a by-product has served to enrich the language of all Americans."

As recounted in *Before the Mayflower*, scholar Lorenzo Turner found linguistic survivals of the



African Americans
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outside of the
nuclear family.

African past in the syntax, word-formations, and intonations of African Americans. Among these words in general use, especially in the South, are “goober” (peanut), “gumbo” (okra), “ninny” (female breast), “tote” (to carry), and “yam” (sweet potato). Additionally, Turner discovered a number of African-inspired names among Americans on the South Side of Chicago, including: “Bobo,” meaning one who cannot talk; “Geiji,” the name of a language and tribe in Liberia; “Agona,” after a country in Ghana; “Ola,” a Yoruban word meaning that which saves; and “Zola,” meaning to love.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In *From Slavery to Freedom*, Franklin pointed out that “the family was the basis of social organization. . . [and] the foundation even of economic and political life” in early Africa, with descent being traced through the mother. Historians have noted that Africans placed a heavy emphasis on their obligations to their immediate and extended family mem-

bers and their community as a whole. In addition, according to Franklin, Africans are said to have believed that “the spirits of their forefathers had unlimited power over their lives”; thus a sense of kinship was especially significant in the Old World.

Slavery exerted an undeniable strain on the traditional African family unit. The system tore at the very fiber of family life: in some cases, husbands and wives were sold to different owners, and children born into servitude could be separated—sold—from their mothers on a white man’s whim. But, according to Nicholas Lemann in *The Promised Land*, “the mutation in the structure of the black family” that occurred during slavery did not necessarily destroy the black family. Rather, the enduring cycle of *poverty* among African Americans seems to have had the strongest negative impact on the stability of the family.

As of March of 1992, the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated that 32.7 percent of African Americans lived below the poverty level (with family incomes of less than \$14,000). It is this segment of the underclass that defines the term “families in crisis.” They are besieged by poverty and further

challenged by an array of cyclical social problems: high unemployment rates; the issue of teenage pregnancy; a preponderance of fatherless households; inadequate housing or homelessness; inferior health care against a backdrop of high health hazards; staggering school drop-out rates; and an alarming incarceration rate. (One out of four males between the ages of 18 to 24 was in prison in the early 1990s.) Experts predict that temporary assistance alone will not provide long-term solutions to these problems. Without resolutions, impoverished black families are in danger of falling further and further behind.

Another third of all African American families found themselves in tenuous financial positions in the mid-1990s, corresponding with the prevailing economic climate of the United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These families faced increasing layoffs or job termination as the nation's once-prosperous industrial base deteriorated and the great business boom of the early 1980s faded. Still, they managed to hold their extended family units together and provide support systems for their children.

At the same time, more than 30 percent of African American families were headed by one or two full-time wage earners. This middle- and upper-middle-class segment of the nation's black population includes men and women who are second, third, or fourth generation college graduates—and who have managed to prosper within a system that, according to some observers, continues to breed legalized racism in both subtle and substantive ways. As models of community action and responsibility, these African American families have taken stock in an old African proverb: "It takes a whole tribe to raise one child."

EDUCATION

As early as the 1620s and 1630s, European missionaries in the United States began efforts to convert Africans to Christianity and provide them with a basic education. Other inroads in the black educational process were made by America's early white colonists. The Pennsylvania Quakers (members of a Christian sect known as the Society of Friends) were among the most vocal advocates of social reform and justice for blacks in the first century of the nation's history. Staunch opponents of the oppressive institution of slavery, the Quakers began organizing educational meetings for people of African heritage in the early 1700s; in 1774, they launched a school for blacks in Philadelphia. By the mid-1800s, the city had become a center for black learning, with public, industrial, charity, and private schools providing an education for more than 2,000 African American students.

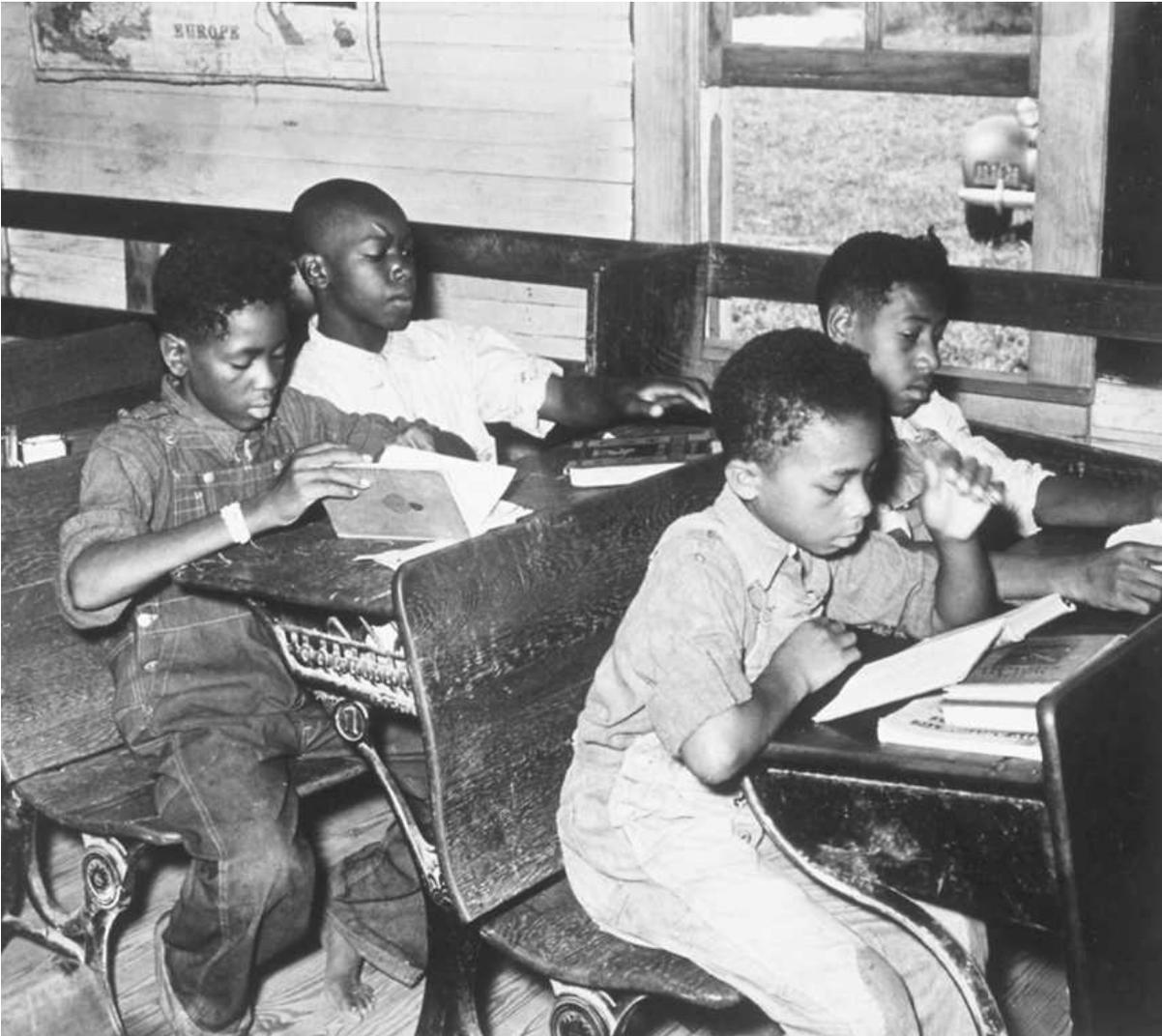
After the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, groups known as Freedmen's organizations were formed to provide educational opportunities to former slaves. Under the Freedmen's Bureau Acts passed by Congress in the 1860s, more than 2,500 schools were established in the South.

Over the next decade or so, several colleges opened for black students. In the late 1870s, religious organizations and government-sponsored land-grant programs played an important role in the establishment and support of many early black institutions of higher learning. By 1900, more than 2,000 black Americans would graduate from college.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a surge in black leadership. One of the best-known and most powerful leaders in the black community at this time was educator and activist Booker T. Washington. A graduate of Virginia's Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Washington set up a similar school in Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1881, with a \$2,000 grant from the Alabama legislature. Committed to the ideal of economic self-help and independence, the Tuskegee Institute offered teachers' training—as well as industrial and agricultural education—to young black men and women.

Activist Mary McLeod Bethune, the most prominent black woman of her era, also had a profound impact on black education at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1904, with less than two dollars in savings and a handful of students, she founded the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute in Florida. Devoted mainly to the education of African American girls, the Daytona Institute also served as a cornerstone of strength for the entire black community. The school later merged with Cookman's Institute, a Florida-based men's college, to become Bethune-Cookman College.

Bethune's efforts, and the struggles of dozens of other black educational leaders, were made in the midst of irrefutable adversity. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court sanctioned the practice of racial segregation: the court's ruling in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal" accommodations for blacks—and schools were among these accommodations. It took more than half a century for the *Plessy* decision to be overturned; in 1954, a major breakthrough in the fight for black rights came when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* case: "To separate [black] children from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.... Segregation with the sanction



In the 1930s, schools were segregated throughout the North and South. These boys went to school in Missouri.

of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.... In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (from the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, May 17, 1954, 347 U.S. 483).

Brown was clearly a landmark decision that set the tone for further social advancements among African Americans, but its passage failed to guarantee integration and equality in education. Even four decades after *Brown*, true desegregation in American public schools had not been achieved. The school populations in cities like Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles remain almost exclusively black, and high school drop-out rates in poor, urban, predominantly black districts are often among the highest in the nation—sometimes reaching more than 40 percent.

U.S. Census reports suggest that by the year 2000, the country will witness a change in the face of school segregation. Hispanics, unprotected by the

Brown decision, will outnumber blacks in the United States; the Hispanic community, therefore, will need to battle side by side with African Americans for desegregation and equity in education. As Jean Heller put it in the *St. Petersburg Times*, "The *Brown* decision outlawed *de jure* segregation, the separation of races by law. There is no legal remedy for *de facto* segregation, separation that occurs naturally. It is not against any law for whites or blacks or Hispanics to choose to live apart, even if that choice creates segregated school systems" (Jean Heller, *A Unfulfilled Mission*, *St. Petersburg Times* (Florida), December 10, 1989, p. 1A).

Not all attempts at school desegregation have failed. Heller points out that the East Harlem school district, formerly one of the worst in New York City, designed such an impressive educational system for its black and Hispanic students that neighboring whites began transferring into the district. Educational experts have suggested that the key to successful, nationwide school integration is the establishment of high quality educational facilities in segregated urban areas. Superior school systems in segregated cities, they argue, would discour-

age urban flight—thereby increasing the racial and economic diversity of the population—and bring about a natural end to segregation.

In 1990 the U.S. Department of Commerce reported that the gap between black and white high school graduation rates was closing. The department's census-based study showed an encouraging increase in the overall percentage of black high school graduates between 1978 and 1988. Only 68 percent of blacks and 83 percent of whites graduated from secondary school in 1978; ten years later, 75 percent of blacks and 82 percent of whites had graduated.

But studies show that fewer blacks than whites go on to college. Between 1960 and 1991, the percentage of black high school graduates who were enrolled in college or had completed at least one year of college rose from 32.5 to 46.1 percent, compared to a rise of 41 to 62.3 percent for white graduates (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). As the United States completes its move from a manufacturing society to an information-based, technological society, the need for highly educated, creative, computer-literate workers continues to grow.

In response to perceived inadequacies in black American education, a progressive philosophy known as Afrocentrism developed around 1980. An alternative to the nation's Eurocentric model of education, Afrocentrism places the black student at the center of history, thereby instilling a sense of dignity and pride in black heritage. Proponents of the movement—including its founder, activist and scholar Molefi Kete Asante—feel that the integration of the Afrocentric perspective into the American consciousness will benefit students of all colors in a racially diverse society. In addition, pro-Afrocentric educators believe that empowered black students will be better equipped to succeed in an increasingly complex world.

WEDDINGS

American tradition calls for the bride to have “something old, something new, something borrowed, and something blue” in her possession for luck on her wedding day. While modern African American couples marry in the western tradition, many are personalizing their weddings with an ancestral touch to add to the day's historical and cultural significance.

Among Africans, marriage represents a union of two families, not just the bride and groom. In keeping with West African custom, it is essential for parents and extended family members to welcome a man or woman's future partner and offer

emotional support to the couple throughout their marriage. The bonding of the families begins when a man obtains formal permission to marry his prospective bride.

In the true oral tradition, Africans often deliver the news of their upcoming nuptials by word of mouth. Some African American couples have modified this tradition by having their invitations printed on a scroll, tied with raffia, and then hand-delivered by friends. The ancestral influence on modern ceremonies can also be seen in the accessories worn by the bride and groom. On African shores, the groom wears his bride's earring, and the bride dons an elaborate necklace reserved exclusively for her.

Because enslaved Africans in America were often barred from marrying in a legal ceremony, they created their own marriage rite. It is said that couples joined hands and jumped over a broom together into “the land of matrimony.” Many twentieth-century black American couples reenact “jumping the broom” during their wedding ceremony or reception.

INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

In the three decades between 1960 and 1990, interracial marriages more than quadrupled in the United States, but the number remains small. By 1992 less than one percent of all marriages united blacks with people of another racial heritage (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993).

“America has often been referred to as a melting pot, a heterogeneous country made up of diverse ethnic, religious, and racial groups,” noted *Boston Globe* contributor Desiree French. But, in spite of the nation's diversity, it has taken more than 350 years for many Americans to begin to come to terms with the idea of interracial marriage (Desiree French, “Interracial Marriage,” *Sun-Sentinel* (Fort Lauderdale), January 25, 1990, p.3E; originally printed in the *Boston Globe*). As late as 1967, antimiscegenation laws (laws that prohibited the marriage of whites to members of another race) were still on the books in 17 states; that year, the U.S. Supreme Court finally declared such laws unconstitutional.

Surveys indicate that young Americans approaching adulthood at the dawn of the twenty-first century are much more open to the idea of interracial unions than earlier generations. A decline in social bias has led experts to predict an increase in cross-cultural marriages throughout the 1990s.

Still, according to the 1994 National Health and Social Life Survey, 97 percent of black women

In recent years African Americans have been branching out to many different faiths and practices.

are likely to choose a partner of the same race (John H. Gagnon, Robert T. Michael, Edward O. Laumann, and Gina Kolata, *Sex in America: A Definitive Survey* [Boston: Little Brown, 1994]). *Newsweek* magazine quoted one young black woman as saying that “relationships are complicated enough” without the extra stress of interracial tensions (Michael Marriott, “Not Frenzied, But Fulfilled,” *Newsweek*, October 17, 1994, p. 71). Conflict in the United States over black-white relationships stems from the nation’s brutal history of slavery, when white men held all the power in society. More than a century after the abolition of slavery, America’s shameful legacy of racism remains. According to some observers, high rates of abortion, drug abuse, illness, and poverty among African Americans seemed to spark a movement of black solidarity in the early 1990s. Many black women—“the culture bearers”—oppose the idea of interracial marriage, opting instead for racial strength and unity through the stabilization of the black family (Ruth Holladay, “A Cruel History of Colors Interracial Relationships,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 6, 1990, p. H-1).

RELIGION

In *From Slavery to Freedom*, John Hope Franklin described the religion of early Africans as “ancestor worship.” Tribal religions varied widely but shared some common elements: they were steeped in ritual, magic, and devotion to the spirits of the dead, and they placed heavy emphasis on the need for a knowledge and appreciation of the past.

Christianity was first introduced in West Africa by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Franklin noted that resistance among the Africans to Christianization stemmed from their association of the religion with the institution of slave trade to the New World. “It was a strange religion, this Christianity,” he wrote, “which taught equality and brotherhood and at the same time introduced on a large scale the practice of tearing people from their homes and transporting them to a distant land to become slaves.”

In the New World, missionaries continued their efforts to convert Africans to Christianity. As far back as 1700, the Quakers sponsored monthly Friends meetings for blacks. But an undercurrent of

anxiety among a majority of white settlers curbed the formation of free black churches in colonial America: many colonists felt that if blacks were allowed to congregate at separate churches, they would plot dangerous rebellions. By the mid-1700s, black membership in both the Baptist and Methodist churches had increased significantly; few blacks, however, became ordained members of the clergy in these predominantly white sects.

African Americans finally organized the first independent black congregation—the Silver Bluff Baptist Church—in South Carolina in the early 1770s. Other black congregations sprang up in the first few decades of the 1800s, largely as outgrowths of established white churches. In 1816 Richard Allen, a slave who bought his own freedom, formed the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in Philadelphia in response to an unbending policy of segregated seating in the city's white Methodist church.

An increase in slave uprisings led fearful whites to impose restrictions on the activities of black churches in the 1830s. In the post-Civil War years, however, black Baptist and Methodist ministers exerted a profound influence on their congregations, urging peaceful social and political involvement for the black population as Reconstruction-period policies unfolded.

But as segregation became a national reality in the 1880s and 1890s, some black churches and ministers began to advocate decidedly separatist solutions to the religious, educational, and economic discrimination that existed in the United States. AME bishop Henry McNeal Turner, a former Civil War chaplain, championed the idea of African migration for blacks with his “Back to Africa” movement in 1895—more than twenty years before the rise of black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey. By the early 1900s, churches were functioning to unite blacks politically.

Organized religion has always been a strong institution among African Americans. More than 75 percent of black Americans belong to a church, and nearly half attend church services each week (“America’s Blacks: A World Apart,” *Economist*, March 30, 1991). Black congregations reflect the traditional strength of community ties in their continued devotion to social improvement—evident in the launching of youth programs, anti-drug crusades, and parochial schools, and in ongoing efforts to provide the needy with food, clothing, and shelter.

Today, the largest African American denomination in the country is the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc. Many African Ameri-

cans belong to the AME and CME (Christian Methodist Episcopal) churches, and the Church of God in Christ—a Pentecostal denomination that cuts across socioeconomic lines—also has a strong black following. The 1990s saw a steady increase in black membership in the Islamic religion and the Roman Catholic church as well. (A separate African American Catholic congregation, not sanctioned by the church in Rome, was founded in 1989 by George A. Stallings, Jr.) Less mainstream denominations include Louis Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam, based on the black separatist doctrine of Elijah Muhammad. Though faulted by some critics for its seemingly divisive, controversial teachings, the Nation of Islam maintains a fairly sizeable following.

In 1995, black churches in the United States became the targets of arson. In what seemed to be a case of serial arsons, churches with black or mixed-race congregations were destroyed by fire. One church, the Macedonia Baptist Church in South Carolina sued four members of the Ku Klux Klan and the North and South Carolina klan organizations in civil court. In a stunning verdict, the jury ordered the Ku Klux Klan to pay \$37.8 million in damages to the Macedonia Baptist Congregation.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

When African Americans left the South in the early 1900s to move North, many migrants found jobs in manufacturing, especially in the automobile, tobacco, meat-packing, clothing, steel, and shipping industries; African Americans were hit especially hard by the decline of the nation’s manufacturing economy later in the century. In the 1960s, U.S. presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson launched a “war on poverty.” Some blacks were able to move out of the ghettos during these years, following the passage of the Civil Rights and Fair Housing Acts, the inauguration of affirmative action policies, and the increase of black workers in government jobs. But John Hope Franklin contended in *From Slavery to Freedom* that the Civil Rights Act of 1964, though “the most far-reaching and comprehensive law in support of racial equality ever enacted by Congress,” actually reflected only “the illusion of equality.”

Designed to protect blacks against discrimination in voting, in education, in the use of public facilities, and in the administration of federally-funded programs, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 led to the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the institution of

affirmative action programs to redress past discrimination against African Americans. Affirmative action measures were initiated in the mid-1960s to improve educational and employment opportunities for minorities; over the years, women and the handicapped have also benefited from these programs. But opponents of affirmative action have argued that racial quotas breed racial resentment.

A strong feeling of “white backlash” accompanied the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; racial tensions sparked violence across the country as blacks tried to move beyond the limits of segregation—economically, politically, and socially—in the latter half of the twentieth century. Still, more than three decades after the act’s passage, economic inequities persist in America.

The conservative policies of U.S. presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush dealt a serious blow to black advancement in the 1980s and early 1990s. The percentage of Americans living in poverty “rose in the 1980s, when the government [cut] back its efforts” to support social programs (Nicholas Lemann, “Up and Out,” *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, May 24-June 4, 1989, pp. 25-26). The budget cuts made by these Republican administrations drastically reduced black middle-class employment opportunities.

According to the U.S. Census, in 1991 the median family income for African Americans was \$18,807, nearly \$13,000 less than the median income for white families; 45.6 percent of black children lived below the poverty level, compared to 16.1 percent of white children; and black unemployment stood at 14.1 percent, more than twice the unemployment rate among whites.

But the outlook for African American advancement is encouraging. Experts predict that by the year 2000, blacks will account for nearly 12 percent of the American labor force. A strong black presence is evident in the fields of health care, business, and law, and a new spirit of entrepreneurship is burgeoning among young, upwardly-mobile African Americans. About 70 percent of blacks are making progress in nearly every aspect of American life: the black middle-class is increasing, white-collar employment is on the rise, and although the growth of black political and economic power is slow, it remains steady (Joseph F. Coates, Jennifer Jarratt, and John B. Mahaffie, “Future Work,” *Futurist*, May/June 1991, pp. 9-19). The other 30 percent of the black population, however, is trapped by a cycle of poor education, multigenerational poverty, and underemployment. The civil rights struggles of the 1990s and beyond, then, must be primarily economic in nature.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The abolitionist movement of the 1830s joined a multiracial coalition in the quest for black emancipation and equality. In addition to agitating for civil rights through traditional legal means, the abolitionists took a daring step by operating the legendary Underground Railroad system, a covert network of safe havens that assisted fugitive slaves in their flight to freedom in the North. “Perhaps nothing did more to intensify the strife between North and South, and to emphasize in a most dramatic way the determination of abolitionists to destroy slavery, than the Underground Railroad,” Franklin wrote in *From Slavery to Freedom*. “It was this organized effort to undermine slavery ... that put such a strain on intersectional relations and sent antagonists and protagonists of slavery scurrying headlong into the 1850s determined to have their uncompromising way.” Around 50,000 slaves are believed to have escaped to the northern United States and Canada through the Underground Railroad prior to the Civil War.

The reality of the black plight was magnified in 1856 with the Supreme Court’s decision in the case of *Dred Scott vs. Sandford*. A slave named Dred Scott had traveled with his master out of the slave state of Missouri during the 1830s and 1840s. He sued his owner for freedom, arguing that his journeys to free territories made him free. The Supreme Court disagreed and ruled that slaves could not file lawsuits because they lacked the status of a U.S. citizen; in addition, an owner was said to have the right to transport a slave anywhere in U.S. territory without changing the slave’s status.

The Union victory in the Civil War and the abolition of slavery under President Abraham Lincoln consolidated black political support in the Republican party. This affiliation lasted throughout the end of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth century—even after the Republicans began to loosen the reins on the Democratic South following the removal of the last federal troops from the area in 1876.

Earlier in the post-Civil War Reconstruction era, African Americans made significant legislative gains—or so it seemed. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution were intended to provide full citizenship—with all its rights and privileges—to all blacks. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, granted black American men the right to vote.

But the voting rights amendment failed in its attempts to guarantee blacks the freedom to choose at the ballot box. Poll taxes, literacy tests, and grand-

father clauses were established by some state and local governments to deny blacks their right to vote. (The poll tax would not be declared unconstitutional until 1964, with the passage of the Twenty-fourth Amendment.) These legalized forms of oppression presented seemingly insurmountable obstacles to black advancement in the United States.

Around the same time—the 1870s—other forms of white supremacist sentiment came to the fore. The so-called “Jim Crow” laws of segregation—allowing for legal, systematic discrimination on the basis of race—were accepted throughout the nation. Voting rights abuses persisted. And violence became a common tool of oppression: between 1889 and 1922, nearly 3,500 lynchings took place, mainly in the southern states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi, but also in some northern cities.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Booker T. Washington had gained prominence as the chief spokesperson on the state of black America and the issue of racial reconciliation. Recognized throughout the United States as an outstanding black leader and mediator, he advocated accommodationism as the preferred method of attaining black rights. His leading opponent, black historian, militant, and author W. E. B. Du Bois, felt it was necessary to take more aggressive measures in the fight for equality. Du Bois spearheaded the Niagara Movement, a radical black intellectual forum, in 1905. Members of the group merged with white progressives in 1910 to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). After Washington’s death in 1915, the NAACP became a greater force in the struggle for racial reform.

The massive black migration to the North in the 1920s showed that racial tension was no longer just a rural, southern issue. Anti-black attitudes, combined with the desperate economic pressures of the Great Depression, exerted a profound effect on politics nationwide. Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt attracted black voters with his “New Deal” relief and recovery programs in the 1930s. For 70 years blacks had been faithful to the Republican Party—the party of Lincoln. But their belief in Roosevelt’s “serious interest in the problem of the black man caused thousands of [African Americans] to change their party allegiance,” noted John Hope Franklin in *From Slavery to Freedom*. Housing and employment opportunities started to open up, and blacks began to gain seats in various state legislatures in the 1930s and 1940s.

World War II ushered in an era of unswerving commitment to the fight for civil rights. According to Franklin, the continued “steady migration of

[African Americans] to the North and West and their concentration in important industrial communities gave blacks a powerful new voice in political affairs. In cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland they frequently held the balance of power in close elections, and in certain pivotal states the [black vote] came to be regarded as crucial in national elections.” Progress was being made on all fronts by national associations, political organizations, unions, the federal branch of the U.S. government, and the nation’s court system.

President Harry S Truman, who assumed office on the death of Roosevelt in 1945, contributed to black advancement by desegregating the military, establishing fair employment practices in the federal service, and beginning the trend toward integration in public accommodations and housing. His civil rights proposals of the late 1940s came to fruition a decade later during President Eisenhower’s administration. The Civil Rights Act of 1957, also known as the Voting Rights Act of 1957, was the first major piece of civil rights legislation passed by Congress in more than eight decades. It expanded the role of the federal government in civil rights matters and established the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to monitor the protection of black rights.

But the Commission soon determined that unfair voting practices persisted in the South; blacks were still being denied the right to vote in certain southern districts. Because of these abuses, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was followed three years later by a second act that offered extra protection to blacks at the polls. In 1965, yet another Voting Rights Act was passed to eliminate literacy tests and safeguard black rights during the voter registration process.

The postwar agitation for black rights had yielded slow but significant advances in school desegregation and suffrage—advances that met with bold opposition from some whites. By the mid- to late-1950s, as the black fight for progress gained ground, white resistance continued to mount. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., took the helm of the fledgling civil rights movement—a multiracial effort to eliminate segregation and achieve equality for blacks through nonviolent resistance. The movement began with the boycott of city buses in Montgomery, Alabama, and, by 1960, had broadened in scope, becoming a national crusade for black rights. Over the next decade, civil rights agitators—black and white—organized economic boycotts of racist businesses and attracted front-page news coverage with black voter registration drives and anti-segregationist demonstrations, marches, and sit-ins. Bolstered by the new era of indepen-



These African Americans picket and march in protest of lunch counter segregation during the 1960s.

dence that was simultaneously sweeping through sub-Saharan Africa, the movement for African American equality gained international attention.

Around the same time, racial tensions—especially in the South—reached violent levels with the emergence of new white supremacist organizations and an increase in Ku Klux Klan activity. Racially-motivated discrimination on all fronts—from housing to employment—rose as Southern resistance to the civil rights movement intensified. By the late 1950s, racist hatred had once again degenerated into brutality and bloodshed: blacks were being murdered for the cause, and their white killers were escaping punishment.

In the midst of America’s growing racial tragedy, Democrat John F. Kennedy gained the black vote in the 1960 presidential elections. His domestic agenda centered on the expansion of federal action in civil rights cases—especially through the empowerment of the U.S. Department of Justice on voting rights issues and the establishment of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Civil rights organizations continued their peaceful assaults against barriers to integration, but black

resistance to racial injustice was escalating. The protest movement heated up in 1961 when groups like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) organized “freedom rides” that defied segregationist policies on public transportation systems. “By 1963,” wrote John Hope Franklin, “the Black Revolution was approaching full tide.”

Major demonstrations were staged that April, most notably in Birmingham, Alabama, under the leadership of King. Cries for equality met with harsh police action against the black crowds. Two months later, Mississippi’s NAACP leader, Medgar Evers, was assassinated. Soon demonstrations were springing up throughout the nation, and Kennedy was contemplating his next move in the fight for black rights.

On August 28, 1963, over 200,000 black and white demonstrators converged at the Lincoln Memorial to push for the passage of a new civil rights bill. This historic “March on Washington,” highlighted by King’s legendary “I Have a Dream” speech, brought the promise of stronger legislation from the president.

After Kennedy's assassination that November, President Johnson continued his predecessor's civil rights program. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 sparked violence throughout the country, including turmoil in cities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. The Ku Klux Klan stepped up its practice of black intimidation with venomous racial slurs, cross burnings, firebombings—even acts of murder.

The call for racial reform in the South became louder in early 1965. King, who had been honored with the Nobel Peace Prize for his commitment to race relations, commanded the spotlight for his key role in the 1965 Freedom March from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. But African Americans were disheartened by the lack of *real* progress in securing black rights. Despite the legislative gains made over two decades, John Hope Franklin noted that “between 1949 and 1964 the relative participation of [blacks] in the total economic life of the nation declined significantly.”

Black discontent over economic, employment, and housing discrimination reached frightening proportions in the summer of 1965, with rioting in the Watts section of Los Angeles. This event marked a major change in the temper of the civil rights movement. Nearly a decade of nonviolent resistance had failed to remedy the racial crisis in the United States; consequently, a more militant reformist element began to emerge. “Black Power” became the rallying cry of the middle and late 1960s, and more and more civil rights groups adopted all-black leadership. King's assassination in 1968 only compounded the nation's explosive racial situation. According to Franklin, King's murder symbolized for many blacks “the rejection by white America of their vigorous but peaceful pursuit of equality.” The Black Revolution had finally crystallized, and with it came a grave sense of loss and despair in the black community. The new generation of black leaders seemed to champion independence and separatism for blacks rather than integration into white American society.

Fear of black advancement led many whites to shift their allegiance to the Republican party in the late 1960s. With the exception of President Jimmy Carter's term in office from 1977 to 1981, Republicans remained in the White House for the rest of the 1970s and 1980s. But a new era of black activism arose with the election of Democratic president Bill Clinton in 1992. After a dozen years of conservatism under Presidents Reagan and Bush, Clinton was seen as a champion of “the people”—all people. Demonstrating a commitment to policies that would cut across the lines of gender, race, and

economics, he offered a vision of social reform, urban renewal, and domestic harmony for the United States. Once in office, Clinton appointed African Americans to key posts in his Cabinet, and the black population began wielding unprecedented influence in government. For example, the 102nd Congress included 25 African American representatives; the elections in 1993 brought black representation in the 103rd Congress up to 38.

Despite the advancements made by African Americans in politics and business, gang violence continued to plague African American communities in the 1990s. To encourage positive feelings, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and civil rights activist Phile Chionesu organized the Million Man March. On October 16, 1995, close to one million African American men converged on the nation's capital to hear speeches and connect with other socially conscious black men. The Reverend Jesse Jackson spoke at the event, as did poet Maya Angelou, Damu Smith of Greenpeace, Rosa Parks, the Reverend Joseph Lowery, and other luminaries.

In October 1997, African American women held their own massive march. The Million Woman March attracted hundreds of thousands of African American women to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where they experienced a sense of community and cohesion. The attendees heard speeches and discussed issues such as the rising prison populations, the idea of independent schools for black children, the use of alternative medicines, and the progress of black women in politics and business.

MILITARY

Brave African American men and women have advanced the cause of peace and defended the ideals of freedom since the 1700s. As far back as 1702, blacks were fighting against the French and the Indians in the New World. Virginia and South Carolina allowed African Americans to enlist in the militia, and, throughout the eighteenth century, some slaves were able to exchange their military service for freedom. African American soldiers served in the armed forces during the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, the Korean War, the Vietnam conflict, the Persian Gulf War, and during peacekeeping ventures in Somalia and Haiti. For nearly two centuries, however, segregation existed in the U.S. military—a shameful testament to the nation's long history of racial discrimination.

On March 5, 1770, prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution, a crowd of angry colonists gathered in the streets of Boston, Massachusetts, to

protest unjust British policies. This colonial rally—which would later be remembered as the Boston Massacre—turned bloody when British soldiers retaliated with gunfire. A black sailor named Crispus Attucks is said to have been the first American to die in the conflict. The death of Attucks, one of the earliest acts of military service by blacks in America, symbolizes the cruel irony of the revolutionary cause in America—one that denied equal rights to its African American population.

The American Revolution focused increased attention on the thorny issue of slavery. An underlying fear existed that enslaved blacks would revolt if granted the right to bear arms, so most colonists favored the idea of an all-white militia. Although some blacks fought at the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill in 1775, General George Washington issued a ban on the enlistment of slaves that summer; by November, he had extended the ban to all blacks, slave or free. However, the Continental Congress—apprehensive about the prospect of black enlistment in the British Army—partially reversed the policy in the next year. An estimated 5,000 blacks eventually fought in the colonial army.

Integration of the fledgling American Army ended in 1792, when Congress passed a law limiting military service to white men. More than half a century later, blacks were still unable to enlist in the U. S. military.

Many African Americans mistakenly perceived the Civil War, which began in April of 1861, as a war against slavery. But as Alton Hornsby, Jr., pointed out in *Chronology of African-American History*, “[President Abraham] Lincoln’s war aims did not include interference with slavery where it already existed.” Early in the struggle, the president felt that a stand “against slavery would drive additional Southern and Border states into the Confederacy,” a risk he could not afford to take at a time when the Union seemed dangerously close to dissolving. By mid-1862, though, the need for additional Union Army soldiers became critical. The Emancipation Proclamation, issued by Lincoln in 1863, freed the slaves of the Confederacy. With their new “free” status, blacks were allowed to participate in the Civil War. By the winter of 1864-65, the Union Army boasted 168 volunteer regiments of black troops, comprising more than ten percent of its total strength; over 35,000 blacks died in combat.

Between 300,000 and 400,000 African Americans served in the U.S. armed forces during World War I, but only 10 percent were assigned to combat duty. Blacks were still hampered by segregationist policies that perpetuated an erroneous notion of inferiority among the troops; however, the stellar

performance of many black soldiers during the era of the world wars helped to dispel these stereotypes. In 1940, for example, Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., became the first black American to achieve the rank of brigadier general. Over the next decade, his son, U.S. Air Force officer Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., distinguished himself as commander of the 99th Fighter Squadron, the 332nd Fighter Group, the 477th Bombardment Group, and the 332nd Fighter Wing.

Several hundred thousand blacks fought for the United States in World War II. Still, according to John Hope Franklin in *From Slavery to Freedom*, “too many clear signs indicated that the United States was committed to maintaining a white army and a black army, and ironically the combined forces of this army had to be used together somehow to carry on the fight against the powerful threat of fascism and racism in the world.”

In an effort to promote equality and opportunity in the American military, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, banning segregation in the armed forces. Six years later, the U.S. Department of Defense adopted an official policy of full integration, abolishing all-black military units. The late 1950s and early 1960s saw a steady increase in the number of career officers in the U.S. military. By the mid-1990s, close to 40 percent of the American military was black. Some social commentators feel that this disproportionately high percentage of African Americans in the military—the entire black population in the United States being around 12 percent—calls attention to the obstacles young black people face in forging a path into mainstream American business.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

African Americans have made notable contributions to American popular culture, to government policy, and to the arts and sciences. The following is a mere sampling of African American achievement:

EDUCATION

Alain Locke (1886–1954) was a prolific author, historian, educator, and drama critic. A Harvard University graduate and Rhodes Scholar, he taught philosophy at Howard University for 36 years and is remembered as a leading figure in the Harlem Renaissance. For more than three decades, social scientist and Spingarn medalist Kenneth B. Clark (1914–) taught psychology at New York’s City College; his work on the psychology of segregation

played an important part in the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. In 1987 dynamic anthropologist and writer Johnnetta B. Cole (1936–) became the first African American woman president of Spelman College, the nation's oldest and most esteemed institution of higher learning for black women. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1950–), a respected literary scholar, critic, and the chairman of Harvard University's African American Studies Department, offers a fresh new perspective on the related roles of black tradition, stereotypes, and the plurality of the American nation in the field of education; he is best known for championing a multicultural approach to learning.

FILM, TELEVISION, THEATER, AND DANCE

Actor Charles Gilpin (1878–1930) is considered the dean of early African American theater. In 1921, the former vaudevillian was awarded the NAACP Spingarn Award for his theatrical accomplishment. Richard B. Harrison (1864–1935) was an esteemed actor who gained national prominence for his portrayal of “De Lawd” in *Green Pastures*. For three decades Harrison entertained black audiences with one-man performances of William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar*, as well as readings of poems by Edgar Allan Poe, Rudyard Kipling, and Paul Laurence Dunbar. Actor, writer, director, and civil rights activist Ossie Davis (1917–) is committed to advancing black pride through his work. He has been a groundbreaking figure in American theater, film, and television for five decades.

Best known for her role as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*, Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952) was awarded the 1940 Oscar for best supporting actress—the first Oscar ever won by an African American performer. Actress and writer Anna Devere Smith (1950–), a bold and intriguing new force in American theater, examines issues like racism and justice in original works such as *Fires in the Mirror* and *Twilight: Los Angeles 1992*.

Dancer and choreographer Katherine Dunham (1910?–) has been called the mother of Afro-American dance. She is best known for blending elements of traditional Caribbean dance with modern African American rhythms and dance forms. Also a noted activist, Dunham went on a 47-day hunger strike in 1992 to protest U.S. policy on Haitian refugees.

Dancer and actor Gregory Hines has earned a place among the great African American entertainers. A tap dancer since childhood, Hines has acted in numerous plays and movies and has received many awards for his efforts. In 1999, Hines starred in his own television sitcom, “The Gregory Hines Show.”

Black Entertainment Television (BET) is a cable television network devoted to entertainment by and for African Americans. In 1999, the programmer announced the creation of an internet site for the network. BET.com was launched to attract more African Americans to the world wide web. BET founder and Chief Executive Officer Robert L. Johnson said, “BET.com is an effort to address how we can make African Americans a part of this economic engine the Internet has created.”

GOVERNMENT

Alexander Lucius Twilight, the first African American elected to public office, was sent to the Vermont legislature in 1836 by the voters of Orleans County. Less than a decade later, William A. Leidesdorf, a black political official, was named sub-consul to the Mexican territory of Yerba Buena (San Francisco); he also served on the San Francisco town council and held the post of town treasurer. Attorney and educator Charles Hamilton Houston (1895–1950) was a brilliant leader in the legal battle to erode segregation in the United States; his student, Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993), successfully argued against the constitutionality of segregation in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). A director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund for more than two decades, Marshall went on to become a U.S. Supreme Court justice in 1967. Career military officer Colin Powell (1937–) made his mark on American history as the first black chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a position he held from 1989 to 1993. Some political observers have pegged him as a U.S. presidential candidate in the 1996 elections. An early follower of Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson (1941–) became a potent force in American politics in his own right. In 1984 and 1988 he campaigned for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. presidency. Founder of Operation PUSH and the National Rainbow Coalition, Jackson is committed to the economic, social, and political advancement of America's dispossessed and disfranchised peoples. Attorney and politician Carol Moseley-Braun (1947–) won election to the U.S. Senate in 1992, making her the first black woman senator in the nation. Kweisi Mfume (born Frizzell Gray; 1948–), a Democratic congressional representative from Maryland for half a dozen years, became the chairman of the powerful Congressional Black Caucus in 1993. In 1997 he became president of the NAACP.

JOURNALISM

Frederick Douglass (1818–1875), the famous fugitive slave and abolitionist, recognized the power of

the press and used it to paint a graphic portrait of the horrors of slavery. He founded *The North Star*, a black newspaper, in 1847, to expose the reality of the black condition in nineteenth century America. John Henry Murphy (1840–1922), a former slave and founder of the *Baltimore Afro-American*, was inspired by a desire to represent black causes with honor and integrity. Activist and journalist T. Thomas Fortune (1856–1928), a staunch defender of black rights during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, used his editorial position at various urban newspapers in the North to crusade for an end to racial discrimination. Robert S. Abbott (1870–1940) was a key figure in the development of black journalism in the twentieth century. The first issue of his *Chicago Defender* went to press in 1905. Charlayne Hunter-Gault (1942–) broke the color barrier at the University of Georgia, receiving her degree in journalism from the formerly segregated institution in 1963. A national correspondent for public television’s *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, she has earned distinction for her socially-conscious brand of investigative reporting.

LITERATURE

Langston Hughes (1902–1967) was a major figure of the Harlem Renaissance, a period of intense artistic and intellectual activity centered in New York City’s black community during the early 1920s. The author of poetry, long and short fiction, plays, autobiographical works, and nonfiction pieces, Hughes infused his writings with the texture of urban African Americana. Pulitzer Prize-winning author Alex Haley (1921–1992) traced his African heritage, his ancestors’ agonizing journey to the New World, and the brutal system of slavery in the United States in his unforgettable 1976 bestseller *Roots*. Playwright Lorraine Hansberry (1930–1965), author of the classic play *A Raisin in the Sun*, was the first black recipient of the New York Drama Critics Circle Award. Bob Kaufman (1925–1986) was the most prominent African American beatnik poet, and he is considered by many to be the finest. Maya Angelou (1928–), renowned chronicler of the black American experience, earned national acclaim in 1970 with the publication of the first volume of her autobiography, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; she presented her moving original verse, *On the Pulse of Morning*, at the inauguration of U.S. president Bill Clinton in January 1993. Cultural historian and novelist Toni Morrison (1931–), author of such works as *The Bluest Eye*, *Tar Baby*, *Beloved*, and *Jazz*, was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1993. In the late 1980s, Terry McMillan (1951–) emerged as a powerful new voice on the literary scene; her 1992 novel *Waiting to Exhale* was a runaway bestseller.

MUSIC

African Americans have made a profound impact on the nation’s musical history. The blues and jazz genres, both rooted in black culture, exerted an unquestionable influence on the development of rock and soul music in the United States.

The blues, an improvisational African American musical form, originated around 1900 in the Mississippi Delta region. Some of its pioneering figures include legendary cornetist, bandleader, and composer W. C. Handy (1873–1958), often called the “Father of the Blues”; singing marvel Bessie Smith (1898–1937), remembered as the “Empress of the Blues”; and Muddy Waters (1915–1983), a practitioner of the urban blues strain that evolved in Chicago in the 1940s.

Jazz, a blend of European traditional music, blues, and Southern instrumental ragtime, developed in the South in the 1920s. Key figures in the evolution of jazz include New Orleans horn player and “swing” master Louis Armstrong (“Satchmo”; 1900–1971), who scored big with hits like “Hello, Dolly” and “What a Wonderful World”; Lionel Hampton (1909–), the first jazz musician to popularize vibes; trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie (1917–1993) a chief architect of a more modern form of jazz called “bebop”; singer Ella Fitzgerald (1918–), a master of improvisation who came to be known as “The First Lady of Song”; innovative and enigmatic trumpeter, composer, and bandleader Miles Davis (1926–1991), who pioneered the genre’s avant-garde period in the 1950s and electrified jazz with elements of funk and rock—beginning the “fusion” movement—in the late 1960s; and Melba Liston (1926–), trombonist, arranger, and leader of an all-female jazz group in the 1950s and 1960s.

Vocalist, composer, and historian Bernice Johnson Reagon (1942–), founder of the female *a cappella* ensemble Sweet Honey in the Rock, is committed to maintaining Africa’s diverse musical heritage.

In the field of classical music, Marian Anderson (1902–1993), one of the greatest contraltos of all time, found herself a victim of racial prejudice in her own country. A star in Europe for years before her American debut, she was actually barred from making an appearance at Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution in April of 1939—an incident that prompted First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt to resign from the organization. Shortly thereafter, on Easter Sunday, Anderson sang on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Composer and pianist Margaret Bonds (1913–1972) wrote works that explore the African American experience. Her best known compositions include *Migration*, a ballet;

Spiritual Suite for Piano; Mass in D Minor; Three Dream Portraits; and the songs “The Ballad of the Brown King” and “The Negro Speaks of Rivers.”

African Americans continue to set trends and break barriers in the music business, especially in pop, rap, blues, and jazz music. A partial list of celebrated African American musicians would include: guitarist Jimi Hendrix (1942–1970), Otis Redding (1941–1967), singer Aretha Franklin (1942–), Al Green (1946–), Herbie Mann (1930–), Miles Davis (1926–1991), saxophonist John Coltrane (1926–1967), founder of the group “Sly and the Family Stone” Sly Stone (Sylvester Stewart; 1944–), singer-songwriter Phoebe Snow (1952–), rap artist Snoop Doggy Dog (1972–), rap artist and record company executive Sean “Puffy” Combs (1969–), pop-star and cultural icon Michael Jackson (1958–), singer Lauryn Hill (1975?–), pianist-songwriter Ray Charles (1930–), singer Little Richard (1932–), singer Diana Ross (1944–), legendary blues guitarist B.B. King (1925–), rap artist Easy-E (Erykah Badu; 1963–1995), singer Billy Preston (1946–), and singer Whitney Houston (1963–).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Granville T. Woods (1856–1910) was a trailblazer in the fields of electrical and mechanical engineering whose various inventions include a telephone transmitter, an egg incubator, and a railway telegraph. His contemporary, George Washington Carver (1861?–1943), was born into slavery but became a leader in agricultural chemistry and botany—and one of the most famous African Americans of his era. Inventor Garrett A. Morgan (1877–1963), a self-educated genius, developed the first gas mask and traffic signal. Ernest Everett Just (1883–1915), recipient of the first Spingarn medal ever given by the NAACP, made important contributions to the studies of marine biology and cell behavior. Another Spingarn medalist, Percy Lavon Julian (1889–1975), was a maverick in the field of organic chemistry. He created synthesized versions of cortisone (to relieve the pain and inflammation of arthritis) and physostigmine (to reduce the debilitating effects of glaucoma).

Surgeon and scientist Charles Richard Drew (1904–1950) refined techniques of preserving liquid blood plasma. Samuel L. Kountz (1930–1981), an international leader in transplant surgery, successfully transplanted a kidney from a mother to a daughter—the first operation of its kind between individuals who were not identical twins. He also pioneered anti-rejection therapy in transplant patients. Benjamin Carson (1951–) is a pediatric neurosurgeon who gained international acclaim in 1987 by separating a pair of Siamese twins who were

joined at their heads. Medical doctor and former astronaut Mae C. Jemison (1957–) made history as the first black woman to serve as a mission specialist for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). She was a crew member on the 1992 flight of the space shuttle *Endeavour*.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Harriet Tubman (1820?–1913) was a runaway slave who became a leader in the abolitionist movement. A nurse and spy for the Union Army during the Civil War, she earned distinction as the chief “conductor” of the Underground Railroad, leading an estimated 300 slaves to freedom in the North. Attorney, writer, activist, educator, and foreign consul James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938) was an early leader of the NAACP and a strong believer in the need for black unity as the legal fight for civil rights evolved. He composed the black anthem “Lift Every Voice and Sing” in 1900. Labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979) fought for greater economic opportunity in the black community. A presidential consultant in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s and a key organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, Randolph is probably best remembered for his role in establishing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black union in the country, in 1925.

Ella Baker (1903–1986), renowned for her organizational and leadership skills, co-founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—groups that were at the forefront of civil rights activism in the United States. Mississippi native Fannie Lou Hamer (1917–1977) was an impassioned warrior in the fight for black voter rights, black economic advancement, and women’s rights. Rosa Parks (1913–) sparked the Montgomery bus boycott in December of 1955 when her refusal to give up her seat to a white passenger landed her in jail. Malcolm X (born Malcolm Little; 1925–1965) advocated a more radical pursuit of equal rights than Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), the champion of nonviolent resistance to racism. A fiery speaker who urged blacks to seize self-determination “by any means necessary,” Malcolm embraced the concept of global unity toward the end of his life and revised his black separatist ideas. In 1965 he was assassinated by members of the Nation of Islam—an organization with which he had severed earlier ties. Attorney and activist Marian Wright Edelman (1939–) founded the Children’s Defense Fund in 1973. Randall Robinson (1942?–), executive director of the human rights lobbying organization TransAfrica, Inc., has played a key role in influencing progressive U.S. foreign policy in South Africa, Somalia, and Haiti.

SPORTS

A Brooklyn Dodger from 1947 to 1956, Jackie Robinson (1919–1972) is credited with breaking the color barrier in professional baseball. In 1974 Frank Robinson (1935–), a former National and American League MVP, became the first black manager of a major league baseball franchise. Phenomenal Cleveland Brown running back Jim Brown (1936–), a superstar of the late 1950s and 1960s, helped change the face of professional football—a sport that for years had been dominated by whites. The on-court skills and charisma of two of the top NBA players of the 1980s and early 1990s, retired Los Angeles Laker Earvin “Magic” Johnson (1959–) and Chicago Bull Michael Jordan (1963–) left indelible marks on the game of basketball.

Track sensation Jesse Owens (1913–1980) blasted the notion of Aryan supremacy by winning four gold medals at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. Wilma Rudolph (1940–) overcame the crippling complications of polio and became the first American woman to win three Olympic gold medals in track and field. Always colorful and controversial, Olympic gold medalist and longtime heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali (born Cassius Clay; 1942–) was a boxing sensation throughout the 1970s and remains one of the most widely recognized figures in the sport’s history. Althea Gibson (1927–) and Arthur Ashe (1943–1993) both rocked the tennis world with their accomplishments: Gibson, the first black player ever to win at Wimbledon, was a pioneer in the white-dominated game at the dawn of the civil rights era. Ashe, a dedicated activist who fought against racial discrimination in all sports, was the first African American male to triumph at Wimbledon, the U.S. Open, and the Australian Open.

VISUAL ARTS

Sculptor Sargent Johnson (1888–1967), a three-time winner of the prestigious Harmon Foundation medal for outstanding black artist, was heavily influenced by the art forms of Africa. Romare Bearden (1914–1988) was a highly acclaimed painter, collagist, and photomontagist who depicted the black experience in his work. His images reflect black urban life, music, religion, and the power of the family. A series titled *The Prevalence of Ritual* is one of his best-known works. Jacob Lawrence (1917–), a renowned painter, has depicted through his art both the history of racial injustice and the promise of racial harmony in America. His works include the *Frederick Douglass* series, the *Harriet Tubman* series, the *Migration of the Negro* series, and *Builders*.

Augusta Savage (1900–1962), a Harlem Renaissance sculptor, was the first black woman to

win acceptance in the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors. *Lift Every Voice and Sing*, *Black Women*, and *Lenore* are among her notable works. Multimedia artist and activist Faith Ringgold (1930–) seeks to raise the consciousness of her audience by focusing on themes of racial and gender-based discrimination. Ringgold is known for weaving surrealist elements into her artworks; her storytelling quilt *Tar Beach* inspired a children’s book of the same title.

MEDIA

PRINT

African American Review.

Founded in 1967 as *Negro American Literature Forum*, this quarterly publication contains interviews and essays on black American art, literature, and culture.

Contact: Joe Weixlmann, Editor.

Address: Indiana State University, Department of English, Terre Haute, Indiana 47809-9989.

Telephone: (812) 237-2968.

Fax: (812) 237-3156.

Online: <http://web.indstate.edu/artsci/AAR/>.

Africa Report.

Founded in 1937, this periodical covers current political and economic developments in Africa.

Address: African-American Institute, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 949-5666.

Amsterdam News.

Now known as the *New York Amsterdam News*, this source was founded in 1909 and is devoted to black community-interest stories.

Address: Powell-Savory Corp., 2340 Frederick Douglass Boulevard, New York, New York 10027.

Telephone: (212) 932-7400.

Fax: (212) 222-3842.

Chicago Daily Defender.

Founded in 1905 by Robert S. Abbott as a black weekly newspaper, it is now a daily paper with a black perspective.

Address: 2400 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60616.

Telephone: (312) 225-2400.

Crisis.

The official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this monthly magazine, founded in 1910, features articles on civil rights issues.

Contact: Garland Thompson, Editor.

Address: 4805 Mt. Hope Drive, Baltimore, Maryland 21215.

Telephone: (212) 481-4100.

Online: <http://www.naacp.org/crisis/>.

Ebony and Jet.

Both of these publications are part of the family of Johnson Publications, which was established in the 1940s by entrepreneur John H. Johnson. *Ebony*, a monthly magazine, and *Jet*, a newsweekly, cover African Americans in politics, business, and the arts.

Contact: *Ebony*—Lerone Bennett, Jr., Editor; *Jet*—Robert Johnson, Editor.

Address: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 820 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

Telephone: (312) 322-9200.

Fax: (312) 322-9375.

Online: <http://www.ebony.com/jpcindex.html>.

Essence.

First published in 1970, this monthly magazine targets a black female audience.

Contact: Susan L. Taylor, Editor.

Address: Essence Communications, Inc., 1500 Broadway, 6th Floor, New York, New York 10036.

Telephone: (212) 642-0600.

Fax: (212) 921-5173.

Freedomways.

Founded in 1961, this source offers a quarterly review of progress made in the ongoing movement for human freedom.

Contact: Esther Jackson and Jean Carey Bond, Editors.

Address: 799 Broadway, Suite 542, New York, New York 10003.

Telephone: (212) 477-3985.

RADIO**WESL-AM (1490).**

Founded in 1934; gospel format.

Contact: Robert Riggins.

Address: 149 South 8th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois 62201.

Telephone: (618) 271-1490.

Fax: (618) 875-4315.

WRKS-FM (98.7).

Founded in 1941; an ABC-affiliate with an urban/contemporary format.

Contact: Charles M. Warfield, Jr., Director of Operations.

Address: 395 Hudson Street, 7th Floor, New York, New York 10014.

Telephone: (212) 242-9870.

Fax: (212) 929-8559.

TELEVISION**Black Entertainment Television (BET).**

The first cable network devoted exclusively to black programming, BET features news, public affairs and talk shows, television magazines, sports updates, concerts, videos, and syndicated series.

Contact: Robert Johnson, President and Chief Executive Officer.

Address: 1900 West Place N.E., Washington, D.C. 20018-1121.

Telephone: (202) 608-2000.

Online: <http://www.msбет.com>.

WGPR-TV, Channel 62, Detroit.

Groundbreaking black-owned television station that first went on the air September 29, 1975; began as an independent network; became a CBS-affiliate in 1994.

Contact: George Mathews, President and General Manager.

Address: 3146 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48207.

Telephone: (313) 259-8862.

Fax: (313) 259-6662.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Black Filmmaker Foundation (BFF).

Founded in 1978 to support and promote independently produced film and video work for African American artists.

Contact: Warrington Hudlin, President.

Addresses: 670 Broadway, Suite 304, New York, New York 10012.

Telephone: (212) 253-1690.

Black Resources, Inc.

A resource on race-related matters for corporations, government agencies, and institutions.

Address: 231 West 29th Street, Suite 1205,
New York, New York 10001.
Telephone: (212) 967-4000.

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF).

A nonprofit organization founded in 1940 to fight discrimination and civil rights violations through the nation's court system. (Independent of the NAACP since the mid-1950s.)

Contact: Elaine R. Jones, Director-Counsel.
Address: 99 Hudson Street, 16th Floor, New York,
New York 10013.
Telephone: (212) 219-1900.
Fax: (212) 226-7592.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Founded in 1910, the NAACP is perhaps the best-known civil rights organization in the United States. Its goals are the elimination of racial prejudice and the achievement of equal rights for all people.

Address: Headquarters—4805 Mt. Hope Drive,
Baltimore, Maryland 21215.
Telephone: For general information, contact New
York office—(212) 481-4100.
Online: <http://www.naacp.org/>.

National Black United Fund.

Provides financial and technical support to projects that address the needs of black communities throughout the United States.

Contact: William T. Merritt, President.
Address: 40 Clinton Street, 5th Floor, Newark,
New Jersey 07102.
Telephone: (973) 643-5122.
Fax: (973) 648-8350.
E-mail: nbuf@nbuf.org.
Online: <http://www.nbuf.org>.

The National Urban League.

Formed in 1911 in New York by the merger of three committees that sought to protect the rights of the city's black population. Best known for piloting the decades-long fight against racial discrimination in the United States, the National Urban League and its regional branches are also active in the struggle

for political and economic advancement among African Americans and impoverished people of all colors.

Contact: Hugh Price, CEO & President.
Address: 120 Wall Street, New York,
New York 10005.
Telephone: (212) 558-5300.
Fax: (212) 344-5332.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

An educational service agency founded in 1957 (with Martin Luther King, Jr., as its first president) to aid in the integration of African Americans in all aspects of life in the United States. Continues to foster a philosophy of nonviolent resistance.

Address: 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta,
Georgia 30303.
Telephone: (404) 522-1420.
Fax: (404) 659-7390.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society.

Founded in 1977 to encourage scholarly research in Afro-American history and genealogy.

Contact: Edwin B. Washington, Jr., Special
Information.
Address: P.O. Box 73086, T Street Station,
Washington, D.C. 20056-3086.
Telephone: (202) 234-5350.
E-mail: washingtoneb@erols.com.
Online: [http://www.rootsweb.com/~mdaahgs/
index.html](http://www.rootsweb.com/~mdaahgs/index.html).

The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH).

Originally named the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, this research center was founded by Dr. Carter G. Woodson in 1915. ASALH is committed to the collection, preservation, and promotion of black history.

Contact: Dr. Edward Beasley, President.
Address: 1401 14th Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20005.
Telephone: (202) 667-2822.
Fax: (202) 387-9802.
E-mail: asalb@earthlink.net.
Online: <http://artnoir.com/asalb.html>.

The Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change.

Founded in 1969 by Coretta Scott King to uphold the philosophy and work of her husband, the slain civil rights leader.

Contact: Dexter Scott King, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer; or Coretta Scott King, President.

Address: 449 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312.

Telephone: (404) 524-1956.

Fax: (404) 526-8901.

The Museum of African American Culture.

Preserves and displays African American cultural artifacts.

Address: 1616 Blanding Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29201.

Telephone: (803) 252-1450.

The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

An arm of the New York Public Library, the Schomburg Center was founded at the height of the Harlem Renaissance by historian Arthur A. Schomburg to preserve the historical past of people of African descent. It is widely regarded as the world's leading repository for materials and artifacts on black cultural life.

Contact: Howard Dodson, Jr., Director.

Address: 515 Malcolm X Boulevard, New York, New York 10037-1801.

Telephone: (212) 491-2200.

Fax: (212) 491-6760.

Online: <http://www.nypl.org/research/sc/sc.html>.

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A

LBANIAN

by
Jane Jurgens

AMERICANS

Albanians have succeeded in preserving a sense of communal identity, customs, and traditions in the numerous clubs, associations, and coffee-houses (*vatra*) that have been organized wherever Albanians live.

OVERVIEW

Albania is a mountainous country, 28,748 square miles in size, slightly larger than the state of Maryland. It is located in southeastern Europe and borders Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia on the north and east, Greece in the south and southeast, and the Adriatic Sea on the west. The name Albania was given by the Romans in ancient times (after a port called Albanopolis); but the Albanians themselves call their country Shqiptare (“Sons of the Eagle”). The majority of the country’s population of 3,360,000 consists of Albanians (more than 95 percent) in addition to assorted minorities: Greeks, Bulgarians, Gypsies, Macedonians, Serbs, Jews, and Vlachs. Followers of organized religions include Muslims (70%), Eastern Orthodox (20%), and Roman Catholics (10%). More than two million Albanians live in neighboring Balkan countries (e.g., Kosovo Region in Yugoslavia, Macedonia, and Turkey) as well as in other countries. The country’s capital is Tirana; the Albanian flag is red with a black double-edged eagle, the symbol of freedom. The national language is Albanian.

HISTORY

Albanians descend from the ancient Illyrians. Conquered by the Romans in the third century A.D., they were later incorporated into the Byzantine Empire (395 A.D.) and were subjected to foreign

invasions by Ghots, Huns, Avars, Serbs, Croats, and Bulgarians. In 1468 Albania became part of the Ottoman Empire despite strong resistance by Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeu (George Castrioti Skanderbeg, 1403–1468), who is the most outstanding hero of Albania's fight against foreign subjugation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Albania's fight for independence intensified under the leadership of Naim Frasheri (1846–1900), Sami Frasheri (1850–1904), and Andon Zaki Cajupi (1866–1930). During World War I, Albania became a protectorate of the Great Powers after a short period of independence in 1912. It once again gained full independence in 1920, first as a republic and since 1928 as a monarchy under King Ahmet Zogu (1895–1961). In 1939, Albania was invaded and occupied by Italy; it regained independence after World War II, but under a Communist regime (led by Enver Hoxha, 1908–1985), which outlawed religion and suppressed the people. After the collapse of communism in 1991, Albania became a free and democratic country with a multi-party parliamentary system under President Sali Berisha.

In 1997, investment pyramid schemes damaged the savings of more than 30 percent of the population. Armed rebellion against the government followed. After United Nations military intervention, order was restored, new elections were held, and a new Socialist alliance government came to power, led by president Rexhep Mejdani. In 1998 and 1999, especially during NATO's involvement in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia, more than 300,000 Kosovars (ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo) gained asylum in Albania.

THE FIRST ALBANIANS IN AMERICA

Few Albanians came to the United States before the twentieth century. The first Albanian, whose name is lost, is reported to have come to the United States in 1876, but soon relocated to Argentina. Kole Kristofor (Nicholas Christopher), from the town of Katundi, was the first recorded Albanian to arrive in the United States, probably between 1884 and 1886. He returned to Albania and came back to the United States in 1892. In *The Albanians in America*, Constantine Demo records the names of 16 other Albanians who either came with Kole or arrived soon after. They came from Katundi, located in southern Albania.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Albanians are the most recent group of Europeans to immigrate to the United States and their num-

bers have remained small. Prior to World War I, Albanians migrated to America because of poor economic conditions, political concerns, or to escape military conscription in the Turkish army. Many Albanians (between 20,000 and 30,000) who fled Albania for political reasons returned to Albania between 1919 and 1925. Many of these same Albanians re-migrated to the United States, intending to remain permanently in America. Another wave immigrated after Albania came under Communist control in 1944. After the fall of communism, Albanians began entering the United States in increasing numbers between 1990 and 1991. There are no accurate immigration statistics on the most recent immigration.

According to U.S. immigration statistics, between the years 1931 and 1975, the total number of Albanians entering the United States was 2,438. After 1982, the official number of Albanians entering the United States is as follows: 1983 (22); 1984 (32); 1985 (45); 1986 (n/a); 1987 (62); 1988 (82); 1989 (69); 1990 (n/a); 1991 (141). These immigration figures do not reflect accurately the number of Albanians living in the United States. The 1990 population census reports the number of people claiming at least one ancestor as Albanian at 47,710, although the total population in the United States may range from 75,000 to 150,000 or more. In 1999 the United States granted legal alien status to about 20,000 Kosovar refugees. They joined their families, friends, or charitable sponsors in America, but some only until the conflict in Kosovo subsided.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Early Albanian immigrants settled around Boston and then moved to other parts of Massachusetts where unskilled factory labor was plentiful. Prior to 1920, most of the Albanians who migrated to the United States were Orthodox Tosks from the city of Korce in southern Albania. Most were young males who either migrated for economic gain or were seeking political asylum and did not intend to remain permanently in the United States. They lived in community barracks or *konaks*, where they could live cheaply and send money home. The *konak* gradually gave way to more permanent family dwellings as more women and children joined Albanian men in the United States. Early Massachusetts settlements were established in Worcester, Natick, Southbridge, Cambridge, and Lowell. The 1990 census reveals that the largest number of Albanians live in New York City with a high concentration in the Bronx, followed by Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois, California, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Settlements of Albanians can be found in Chicago, Los Angeles, Denver, Detroit, New Orleans, Miami, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Current studies that fully record the experiences and the contributions of Albanian Americans in the United States do not exist. Albanian neighborhoods have tended to resist assimilation in the United States. The communities in New York and Massachusetts have tended to be restricted and interaction with other groups has been infrequent. Other groups of Albanians in the Midwest may have assimilated more quickly. In 1935, a newspaper reported that the Albanians were “not a clannish people . . . [they] associate freely with other nationalities, do business with them, partake of their common culture, and participate in a typically middle class way to the general life of the city” (Arch Farmer, “All the World Sends Sons to Become Americans,” *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, July 28, 1935). Albanians have often been confused with other ethnic groups, such as Greeks or Armenians. They have succeeded in preserving a sense of communal identity, customs, and traditions in the numerous clubs, associations and coffee-houses (*vatra*) that have been organized wherever Albanians live.

Most of the early Albanians who immigrated to the United States were illiterate. According to Denna Page in *The Albanian-American Odyssey*, it was estimated that of the 5,000 Albanians in America in 1906, only 20 of them could read or write their own language. Due to the strong efforts of community leaders to make books, pamphlets, and other educational materials (especially the newspaper, *Kombi*) available in the *konaks*, the rate of illiteracy declined significantly. By 1919, 15,000 of 40,000 Albanians could read and write their own language. Albanians remained suspicious of American ways of life and were often reluctant to send their children to American schools. Gradually, they accepted the fact that an education provided the foundation for a better way of life in America.

CUISINE

Albanian dishes have been heavily influenced by Turkey, Greece, Armenia, and Syria. Recipes have often been adapted and altered to suit American tastes. Albanians enjoy a variety of appetizers, soups, casseroles, pilaf, pies, stews, and desserts. Salads (*sallate*) are made with cabbage, lettuce, onions,

peppers, olives, and feta cheese. *Sallate me patate* is a potato salad. Soups are made with a variety of ingredients such as beans, chicken, lentils, and fish. *Pace*, a soup made with lamb's tripe, is served at Easter. Albanian pies, *lakror-byrek*, are prepared with a variety of *gjelle* (“filling”). Fillings may be lamb, beef, cabbage, leeks, onions, squash, or spinach, combined with milk, eggs, and olive oil. A *lakror* known as *brushtul lakror* is made with a cottage and feta cheese filling, butter and eggs. *Domate me qepe* is a *lakror* made with an onion and tomato filling. Stews are made with beef, rabbit, lamb, veal, and chicken, which are combined with cabbage, spinach, green beans, okra, or lentils. Favorites include *mish me patate* (lamb with potatoes), *comblek* (beef with onions) and *comblek me lepur* (rabbit stew). A popular dish with Albanian Italians living in Sicily is Olives and Beef Albanese-Siciliano, which consists of brown, salted beef cubes in a sauce of tomatoes, parsley, garlic, olives, and olive oil and served with *taccozzelli* (rectangles of pasta and goat cheese). *Dollma* is a term applied to a variety of stuffed dishes, which consist of cabbage, green peppers, or vine leaves, and may be filled with rice, bread, onions, and garlic. An Albanian American variation of the traditionally Greek lasagna-like dish, *moussaka*, is made with potatoes and hamburger instead of eggplant. Albanians enjoy a variety of candies, cookies, custards, sweet breads, and preserves. They include *halva*, a confection made with sugar, flour, butter, maple syrup, water, oil, and nuts; *te matur*, a pastry filled with butter and syrup; *baklava*, a filo pastry made with nuts, sugar, and cinnamon; *kadaif*, a pastry made with shredded dough, butter, and walnuts; and *lokume*, a Turkish paste. Popular cookies include *kurabie*, a butter cookie made without liquid; *finique*, a filled cookie with many variations; and *kuluraqka-kulture*, Albanian “tea cookies.” *Te dredhura*, *bukevale*, and *brustull* are hot sweet breads. Family members will announce the birth of a child by making and distributing *petulla*, pieces of fried dough sprinkled with sugar or dipped in syrup. Albanians enjoy Turkish coffee or Albanian coffee (*kafe*), Albanian whiskey (*raki*) and wine. *Kos*, a fermented milk drink, is still popular.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Albanian costumes have been influenced by Turkey, Greece, and Persian-Tartar designs. Albanian traditional costumes vary depending on the region. In countries where Albanians have established themselves, traditional costumes often distinguish the region in Albania from which the Albanian originally came. A man's costume from Malesia (Malci-

ja Vogel area), for example, consists of close-fitting woolen trousers with black cord trim, an apron of wool with a leather belt buckled over it, and a silk jacket with long dull red sleeves with white stripes. A long sleeveless coat may be worn over the jacket along with an outer, short-sleeved jacket (*dzurdin*). The head and neck may be covered with a white cloth. A style of male dress most often seen in the United States is the *fustanella*, a full, white pleated skirt; a black and gold jacket; a red flat fez with a large tassel (*puskel*); and shoes with black pompoms.

Women's clothing tends to be more colorful than the men's clothing. Northern Albanian costumes tend to be more ornamental and include a distinctive metal belt. Basic types of costume include a wide skirt (*xhublete*), long shirt or blouse (*krahol*), and a short woolen jacket (*xhoke*). The traditional costume of Moslem women may include a tightly pleated skirt (*kanac*) or large woollen trousers (*brekeshe*). Aprons are a pervasive feature in every type of women's costume and great variety is seen in their shape and embroidery. Many Albanian Americans often wear traditional costumes during Independence Day celebrations and other special occasions and social events.

HOLIDAYS

Since Albanian Americans are members of either Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Islamic faiths, many religious festivals and holy days are observed. November 28 is celebrated as Albanian Independence Day, the day that Albanians declared their independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1912. Many Albanian Americans also recognize the Kosova declaration of independence from Serbia on July 2, 1990.

DANCES AND SONGS

Although the Albanian musical tradition has been influenced by neighboring countries such as Greece, much of the musical folklore remains distinct. Albania has had a rich tradition of musical and theatrical activities. In 1915, Albanian Americans organized the Boston Mandolin Club and the Albanian String Orchestra. They also had amateur groups perform plays by Albanian authors. Because the heroic sense of life has always been part of Albanian life, ballads are often recited and sung in an epic-recitative form that celebrates not only fantastic heroes of the past but also more recent heroes and their deeds in modern history. Songs may be accompanied by traditional instruments such as the two stringed *cifteli*, a lute instrument, and *alahuta*, a one-stringed violin.

LANGUAGE

Albanian is probably part of the Illyrian branch of eastern Indo-European languages. It is a descendant of Dacian, one of the ancient languages that were among the Thracian-Phrygian group once spoken in Anatolia and the Balkan Peninsula. Its closest modern relative is Armenian. Today, Albanian is spoken in two major dialects (with many subdialects) in Albania and in neighboring Kosova—*Tosk* (about two-thirds of the population) and *Gheg* (the remaining one-third). A third dialect (*Arberesh*) is spoken in Greece and southern Italy. Throughout the centuries, Albania has endured numerous invasions and occupations of foreign armies, all of whom have left their influence on the language. Despite outside influence, a distinct Albanian language has survived. Albanians call their language “*shqip*.”

Until the early twentieth century, Albanians used the Greek, Latin, and Turko-Arabic alphabets and mixtures of these alphabets. In 1908, Albania adopted a standard Latin alphabet of 26 letters, which was made official in 1924. During the 1920s and 1930s, the government tried to establish a mixed *Tosk* and *Gheg* dialect from the Elbasan region as the official language. In 1952, a standardized Albanian language was adopted, which is a mixture of *Gheg* and *Tosk* but with a prevailing *Tosk* element. In addition to the letters of the Latin alphabet, the Albanian language adds: “dh,” “gf,” “ll,” “nj,” “rr,” “sh,” “th,” “xh,” and “zh.” Albanian is taught at such universities as the University of California-San Diego, University of Chicago, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, and Cleveland State University. Libraries with Albanian language collections include the Library of Congress, Chicago Public Library, Boston Public Library, New York Public Library (Donnel Library Center), and Queens Borough Public Library.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some common expressions in the Albanian language include: *Po* (“Yes”); *Jo* (“No”); *Te falemnderit/Ju falemnderit* (“Thank you”); *Po, ju lutem* (“Yes, please”); *Miredita* (“Hello” or “Good day”); *Miremengjes* (“Good Morning”); *Si jeni?* (“How are you?”); *Gezohem t’ju njoh* (“Pleased to meet you” or “morning”); *Mirembrema* (“Good evening”); *Naten e mire* (“Good night”); *Mirupafshim* (“Goodbye”); *Me fal/Me falni* (“Excuse me”); *Ne rregull* (“All right” or “Okay”); *S’ka perse* (“Don’t mention it”); *Gjuha vete ku dhemb dhemballa* (“The tongue follows the toothache”); *Shqiptare* (“Albanians”).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

THE CODE OF LEKE DUKAGJINI

The Kanun (*Kanuni I Leke Dukagjinit*) is an ancient set of civil, criminal, and family laws that still exerts influence on the lives of many Albanian Americans. The Kanun is traditionally ascribed to Leke Dukagjini (1460–1481), a compatriot and contemporary of Skanderberg. It sets forth rights and obligations regarding the church, family, and marriage. The code is based on the concepts of honor (*bessa*) and blood; the individual is obligated to guard the honor of family, clan, and tribe. The rights and obligations surrounding the concept of honor have often led to the blood feud (*gjak*), which frequently lasts for generations. At the time of King Zog in the 1920s, the blood feud accounted for one out of four male deaths in Albania. This code was translated into English and published in a bilingual text in 1989 in the United States. American attorneys brought the code to the attention of Albanian lawyers to help Albania codify their new legislation after the collapse of communism. According to a newspaper article, the code is “the central part of their legal and cultural identity” (*New York Times*, November 11, 1994, p. B-20).

The Kanun defines the family as a “group of human beings who live under the same roof, whose aim is to increase their number by means of marriage for their establishment and the evolution of their state and for the development of their reason and intellect.” The traditional Albanian household is a patriarchy in which the head of the household is the eldest male. The principal roles of the wife are to keep house and raise the children. The children have a duty to honor their parents and respect their wishes.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Although the Kanun considers a woman a superfluity in the household, many Albanian American women in the United States would strongly disagree. Historically, Albanian American women have borne the responsibility of preserving the memories, customs, and traditions of the Albanian homeland. A woman’s first obligation is to marry and raise a family. Girls have not been allowed as much freedom as boys and were not encouraged “to go out.” Instead, girls have been kept at home and taught domestic skills. Girls were sent through high school but not encouraged to pursue higher educa-



This photograph
was taken shortly
after this young
Albanian woman
entered the
United States.

tion and a career. After graduation and before marriage, women have often helped with the family business. Albanian women have usually married at an early age.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Albanian men outnumbered Albanian women in the United States by about three to one. Many Albanian men considered their stay in America temporary and therefore left their wives in Albania with the intent of making enough money to return home. During this period, when Albanian women were in short supply, Albanian men in the United States began to “order” wives from Albania. The man usually supplied the dowry, which compensated the girl’s parents for her fare to the United States.

Today many Albanian American women feel caught between two worlds. They often feel obligated to conform to the standards and mores of their community but, at the same time, are pressured to “Americanize.” Although many Albanian American women have pursued higher education and careers outside the home, many in the community still view these pursuits as inappropriate.

Albanian American women have only recently begun to organize. The *Motrat Qirjazi* (Sisters Qirjazi), the first Albanian-American women’s organization, was founded on March 27, 1993. The principal founder and current president is Shqipe Baba. This organization serves all Albanian women in the United States, assisting and supporting them in the pursuit of unity, education, and advancement.

WEDDINGS

Traditionally, Albanian weddings are arranged by parents or by an intermediary or matchmaker. The festivities may begin a week before the wedding (*jav' e nuses*—"marriage week"). Usually, an engagement ceremony is held between the two families and the bride is given a gold coin as a token of the engagement. A celebration is held at the home of the bride's parents and the future bride is given gifts and sweets. Refreshments are usually served. A second celebration is given by the family of the groom and the bride's family attends. At these celebrations, small favors of candy-coated almonds (*kufeta*) are exchanged. In Albania, a dowry is usually given but this custom is not followed in the United States.

A week before the ceremony, wedding preparations began. During this week, relatives and friends visit the homes of the couple and food preparation begins. A chickpea bread (*buke me qiqra*) is usually prepared. Gifts to the groom and the bride's trousseau and wedding clothes are displayed. A party is given in which family and friends attend. Members of the groom's family come to the house of the bride and invite her to the festivities. They carry wine, flowers, and a plate of rice, almond candy, and coins with a cake on top. The groom also invites the *kumbare* (godfather) and *vellam* (best man). The bride gives similar gifts. The party is a time of great rejoicing with food, drink, dancing, and singing. Around midnight, the bride and groom, with family and friends, go in opposite directions to three different bodies of water to fill two containers. Coins are thrown into the air at each stop for anyone to pick up.

On the day of the wedding, the bride is dressed, given a sip of wine by her parents along with their good wishes. Other family members give her money. The *vellam* brings in the bride's shoes, filled with rice and almond candy, wrapped in a silk handkerchief. Accompanied by singing women, the *vellam* puts the shoes on the bride and gives money to the person who assisted the bride in dressing. The *vellam* is encouraged to give everybody money. He throws coins into the air three times and everyone tries to get one coin. The groom's family accompanies the bride to the ceremony. The ceremony is followed by a reception. On the following day, the bride may be visited by her family, who bring sweets (*me peme*). One week after the ceremony, the couple is visited by friends and relatives. This is called "first visit" (*te pare*). After a few weeks, the bride's dowry may be displayed (in Albania) and the bride, in turn, distributes gifts to the groom's family. The couple is sent off with good wishes: "*te trashegojen e te plaken; jete te gjate me dashuri*" or "a long, happy, healthy life together" ("Albanian Customs," *Albanian Cookbook*

[Worcester, Massachusetts: Women's Guild, St. Mary's Albanian Orthodox Church] 1977).

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Traditionally, the one who tells friends and relatives that a child has been born receives a *siharik* (tip). Within three days after the birth, the family makes *petulla* (fried dough or fritters) and distributes them to friends and family. A hot sweet bread (*buevale*) may also be prepared for guests who visit the mother and child. A celebration is usually held on the third day where friends and relatives bring *petulla* and other gifts. In the Orthodox Church, this celebration may be delayed until the child is baptized. Traditionally, for Albanians of the Orthodox faith, the *kumbare* and *ndrikull* (godparents) choose the name of the child to be baptized. Many superstitions surround the birth of an Albanian child. Among older Albanian Americans many of these superstitions may still exist. Infants are especially vulnerable to the "evil eye" and many Albanian mothers will place a *kuleta* (amulet) on a new-born child. For Christians, the *kuleta* may be a small cross, and among Muslims, it may be a small triangular silver form (*hajmali*). Garlic may also ward off evil. A person who touches an Albanian child or offers a compliment is required to say "*Mashalla*" (as God wishes) to ward off the misfortune of the evil eye.

Among Orthodox Christians, birthdays are not traditionally observed. Instead, the family observes a "name's day" for the saint after whom the person is named. Family and friends may gather together and wish the person a "happy nameday" and "good health and long life." The family may serve guests fruit preserves (*liko*), pastries (*te embla*), Albanian whiskey (*raki*), and coffee (*kafe*). Guests would be formally served in the reception room (*ode*) or the living room (*vater*). The guests are treated with great courtesy and all formalities are observed.

RELIGION

Albanians in the United States are primarily Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, or Muslims. Currently, the Albanian Orthodox Church in the United States is divided into two ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The Albanian Orthodox Archdiocese in America (OCA) is an autocephalous church established in 1908 by Fan S. Noli, a major religious and political figure in the Albanian community. With a membership of around 45,000, it currently has 16 parishes nationwide. The current Primate is Metropolitan Theodosius. The headquarters of the Archdiocese, St. George Albanian Orthodox Cathe-



This ethnic Albanian refugee carefully shakes the dust off a prayer rug as he collects them while others continue to pray near the end of a Muslim prayer service at a refugee village at Fort Dix, New Jersey.

dral, is located in South Boston. One of the oldest chapters of the St. George Cathedral was organized in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1911. This chapter became the Church of Saint Mary's Assumption in 1915. The Albanian Orthodox Archdiocese of America, established in 1950 by Bishop Mark Lipa, is under the jurisdiction of the ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. This Archdiocese currently administers two churches, Saint Nicholas in Chicago and Holy Trinity in South Boston.

Albanian Roman Catholics began coming to the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. At present, three Albanian Catholic churches exist in the United States: Church of Our Lady of Shkodra, located in the Bronx, New York City, founded in 1969 and has a membership of 1,350; St. Paul Catholic Church, located in Warren, Michigan; and Our Lady of the Albanians, located in Beverly Hills, Michigan.

Albanian Muslims came to the United States around 1913. Currently, there are between 25,000 and 30,000 Albanian Muslims in the United States, primarily of the Sunni division within Islam. The Presidency of Albanian Muslim Community Cen-

ters in the United States and Canada was founded in 1992 by Imam Vehbi Ismail (1919–) in an attempt to provide unity for Muslims of Albanian heritage. The Presidency comprises 13 community centers or mosques located in Connecticut, Philadelphia, Toronto, New York, New Jersey, Florida, and Michigan. Albanian Americans of all faiths are welcome at these centers (for more information on Albanian Muslims, contact Imam Vehbi Ismail, Albanian Islamic Center, 20426 Country Club Road, Harper Woods, Michigan 48236).

A small sect of Muslims of the Bektaski Order, the First Albanian Teke Bektashiane in America, is located in Taylor, Michigan. The Order was founded in 1954. They have a small library and publish *The Voice of Bektashism*.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Albanians who came to the United States prior to 1920 were from rural backgrounds and worked as farmers, while others from the urban areas worked

as small shopkeepers and tradesmen. The large population of Albanians who settled in Massachusetts found work with the American Optical Company of Southbridge and the textile mills of New Bedford. Others worked as cooks, waiters, and bellhops. Albanians soon began opening their own businesses. The most successful Albanian businesses were fruit stores and restaurants. "By 1925...most Albanians of Greater Boston could claim ownership of over three hundred grocery and fruit stores" (Dennis Lazar, *Ethnic Community as it Applies to a Less Visible National Group: The Albanian Community of Boston, Massachusetts* [Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, doctoral dissertation, 1982], p. 6). Today Albanians are employed in a variety of professional and enterprises. The Ghegs and Kosovars have been especially successful in the Bronx area of New York City, selling and managing real estate.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Albanian Americans have always felt a strong attachment to Albania and have supported events that occur in the homeland. Both the Orthodox church and the Albanian press have played important roles in the awakening of Albanian nationalism in the United States. The early political efforts of Albanian Americans centered upon furthering the cause of Albania's independence from the Ottoman Empire by instilling a sense of pride in Albanian heritage. Early names in the nationalist movement were Petro Nini Luarasi, who founded the first Albanian national organization in America, the *Mali i Memedheut* ("Longing for the Homeland"), and Sotir Petsi, who founded *Kombi*, the first known Albanian weekly newspaper. *Kombi* actively supported an independent Albania, run by Albanians, within the Turkish empire. The circulation of this early newspaper was instrumental in reducing the rate of illiteracy among Albanians in the United States. Fan S. Noli was one of the most influential figures in the Albanian Nationalist movement in the United States. On January 6, 1907, he founded *Besa-Besen* ("Loyalty"), the first Albanian Nationalist organization in the United States. The founding of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America in 1908 was also a significant event in the life of Albanian Americans. To further Albania's freedom, Fan Noli began publication of *Dielli* ("The Sun") in 1909. A successor to *Kombi*, *Dielli* supported liberation for Albania. Faik Konitza became the first editor of *Dielli*. To further strengthen the cause, a merger of many existing Albanian organizations occurred in April 1912, becoming the Pan-Albanian Federation of America (*Vatra*). *Vatra*

became the principal organization to instill Albanians with a sense of national purpose.

Since the end of World War II, Albanian Americans have shown an increasing interest in American politics, as the process relates to Albanian issues. The Albanian Congressional Caucus has recently been formed with the support of congressional members Eliot Engle (NY-D), Susan Molinare (NY), and others. Its purpose is to promote Albanian causes with a focus on the plight of Albanians in Kosova. With the defeat of communism in Albania, many new immigrants have arrived in the United States. Several new immigrant aid societies, such as the New England Albanian Relief Organization, Frosinia Organization, and the Albanian Humanitarian Aid Inc., have been organized to assist newly arrived Albanian immigrants. Such organizations have also worked to assist Albanians in Albania.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Arshi Pipa (1920–), born in Scutari, Albania, taught humanities, philosophy, and Italian at various colleges and universities in Albania and in the United States. Nicholas Pano (1934–) is a professor of history and has served as the Dean of Arts and Sciences at Western Illinois University; he has made contributions to scholarly journals on the subject of Albania and is the author of *The People's Republic of Albania* (1968). Peter R. Prifti (1924–), author and translator, has made significant contributions to Albanian studies and has published widely on a variety of Albanian topics; he is the author of *Socialist Albania Since 1944* (1978). Stavro Sken-di (1906–1989), born in Korce, Albania, was Emeritus Professor of Balkan Languages and Culture at Columbia University from 1972 until his death.

BUSINESS

Anthony Athanas (1912–) is a community leader and has been a restaurateur in Boston for over 50 years.

COMMUNITY LEADERS

Constantine A. Chekrezi, an early supporter of the nationalist movement in Albania, briefly served as editor of *Dielli* in 1914 and published *Illyria* from March to November 1916; he is the author of *Albania Past and Present* (1919), which is considered to be the first work in English on Albania written by an

Albanian, *A History of Europe—Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (1921), an early history of Europe written in Albanian, and an English-Albanian Dictionary (1923). Christo Dako, an educator and a key figure in the early nationalist movement, is the author of *Albania, the Master Key to the Near East* (1919). Faik Konitza (1876–1942), was one of the more influential leaders of the Albanian community in America in the early twentieth century; he published the magazine *Albania* from 1897–1909 and was the editor of *Dielli* from 1909–1910, and 1921–1926; he also co-founded the Pan-American Federation of America in 1912, serving as its president from 1921–1926; he served as Minister Plenipotentiary of Albania from 1926–1939. Fan Stylian Noli (1865–1964) was one of the most well-known and distinguished historical personalities in the Albanian community; a major figure in the Albanian nationalist movement, Noli founded the Albanian Orthodox Church In America in 1908. Eftalia Tsina (1870–1953), the mother of physician Dimitra Elia, was an early promoter of Albanian social and cultural issues; in the 1920s, she founded *Bashkimi*, the first Albanian women’s organization in Boston.

ENTERTAINMENT

John Belushi (1949–1982), actor and comedian, is best known for his work on the original television series *Saturday Night Live* (1975–1979); his movies include: *Goin’ South* (1978), *National Lampoon’s Animal House* (1978), *Old Boyfriends* (1979), *The Blues Brothers* (1980), *Continental Divide* (1981), and *Neighbors* (1981). His brother, James (Jim) Belushi (1954–) is an actor and comedian who has been in films since 1978; his best-known films include: *The Principal* (1987), *Red Heat* (1988), *K-9* (1989), *Mr. Destiny* (1990), *Only the Lonely* (1991), *Curly Sue* (1991), and *Diary of a Hitman* (1992). Stan Dragoti (1932–) is a prominent director and producer who is best known for his work in movies and television; his best-known work as a movie director includes: *Dirty Little Billy* (1973), *Love at First Bite* (1979), *Mr. Mom* (1983), *The Man with One Red Shoe* (1985), *She’s Out of Control* (1989), and *Necessary Roughness* (1991).

JOURNALISM

Gjon Mili (1904–1984), a photographer for *Life* magazine and other magazines from 1939, is best known for his innovative and visionary work with color and high speed photography. His vivid images are well known to readers of *Life*; collections of his work are housed in the Museum of Modern Art (New York), Time-Life Library (New York), Massachusetts Insti-

tute of Technology (Cambridge), and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris). Donald Lambro (1940–) is a writer, political analyst, and investigative reporter whose writings include *The Federal Rathole* (1975), *Conscience of a Young Conservative* (1976), *Fat City: How Washington Wastes Your Taxes* (1980), *Washington—City of Scandals: Investigating Congress and Other Big Spenders* (1984) and *Land of Opportunity: The Entrepreneurial Spirit in America* (1986).

MEDICINE

Andrew and Dimitra Tsina Elia were early pioneers in the Albanian community in the field of medicine. Andrew Elia (1906–1991) graduated from Boston University Medical School in 1935 and was a practicing obstetrician and gynecologist in the Boston area. Dimitra Elia (1906–1965) was one of the first Albanian American women to practice general medicine in the United States.

MUSIC

Thomas Nassi (1892–), musician and composer, graduated from the New England Conservatory of Music in 1918; he trained choirs for the Cathedral of St. George in Boston and for churches in Natick, Worcester, and Southbridge, Massachusetts, between 1916–1918. He also arranged Byzantine liturgical responses in Albanian for mixed choirs.

POLITICS

Steven Peters (1907–1990) served as a research analyst in the U.S. State Department in 1945 and the Foreign Service in 1958; he is the author of *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers* and the government publications, *Area Handbook for the Soviet Union* and *Area Handbook for Albania*. Rifat Tirana (c. 1907–1952), an economist, was a member of the staff of the League of Nations in the 1930s; at the time of his death, he was serving as deputy chief of the U.S. Security Agency Mission to Spain; he authored *The Spoil of Europe* (1941). Bardhyl Rifat Tirana (1937–) served as co-chair of the Presidential Inaugural Committee (1976–1977) and director of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency (1977–1979).

SPORTS

Lee Constantine Elia (1937–), baseball player, coach, and manager, managed the Chicago Cubs (1982–1983) and the Philadelphia Phillies (1987–1988).

WRITING

Shqipe Malushi, poet, essayist, media information specialist and an active community leader, has published fiction, nonfiction, translations, essays, and newspapers articles; her works of poetry, written in Albanian and in English, include: *Memories of '72* (1972, in Kosova), *Exile* (1981), *Solitude* (1985), *Crossing the Bridges* (1990), and *For You* (1993); she has published *Beyond the Walls of the Forgotten Land* (1992), a collection of short stories, and *Transformation* (1988), a book of essays. She has also written and collaborated on several plays and screenplays. Loretta Chase (1949–), born in Worcester, Massachusetts, is a popular writer of romance novels for Regency and Avon Presses; her novels include: *Isabella* (1987), *Viscount Vagabond* (1988), and *Knaves Wager* (1990). Nexmie Zaimi is the author of *Daughter of the Eagle: The Autobiography of an Albanian Girl* (1937), which describes her immigrant experience, customs, and practices.

MEDIA

PRINT

Albanian Times.

Reports on happenings in the Albanian community in the United States and headlines from Albania.

Contact: Ilir Ikonomi, Editor.

Address: AlbAmerica Trade & Consulting International, 8578 Gwynedd Way, Springfield, VA 22153.

Dielli.

Albanian and English weekly, one of the oldest Albanian newspapers, published by the Pan Albanian Federation of America, *Vatra*. It publishes articles on social, cultural, and political events of interest to Albanians.

Contact: Agim Karagozi, Editor.

Address: 167 East 82nd Street, New York, New York 10028.

Telephone: (516) 354-6598.

Drita e Vertete (True Light).

Monthly bilingual of the Albanian Orthodox Diocese in America.

Contact: Rev. Bishop Mar Lipa.

Address: 523 East Broadway, South Boston, Massachusetts 02127-4415.

Telephone: (617) 268-7808.

Illyria.

Albanian and English bi-weekly published by the Illyrian Publishing Company featuring international news with a focus on news from the Balkans. Emphasis is currently on political events of interest to Albanian Americans; however, the paper is beginning to focus on local community events as well.

Contact: Ekrem Bardha, Publisher.

Address: 2321 Hughes Avenue, Bronx, New York 10458-8120.

Telephone: (718) 220-2000.

Fax: (718) 220-9618.

Liria Albania.

Albanian and English monthly published by the Free Albania Organization. Features local and national news on Albanian community life and events and news from Albania.

Contact: Shkelqim Begari, Editor.

Address: PO Box 15507, Boston, Massachusetts 02215-0009.

Telephone: (617) 269-5192.

Fax: (617) 269-5192.

RADIO

WCUW-FM.

“Albanian Hour” is the oldest continuous Albanian radio program in the country; it airs on Saturday from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m. It broadcasts local community news and events and international news from Albania. Lately, it focuses on concerns of new immigrants from Albania.

Contact: Demetre Steffon.

Address: 910 Main Street, Worcester, Massachusetts 01602.

Telephone: (508) 753-1012.

WKDM-AM.

“LDK Radio Program” (“Democratic League of Kosova”) airs on Friday, 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. It presents local news, community events, and international news.

Contact: Rooster Mebray, Producer.

Address: 449 Broadway, Second Floor, New York, New York 10013.

Telephone: (212) 966-1059; or (718) 933-6202.

WKDM-AM.

“Voice of Malesia” airs on Monday from 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. It features community events, music, interviews, and news from Albania.



Harry Bajraktari
poses in his
Bronx, New York,
office. He was
the publisher of
Illyria, an Albanian/
English newspaper

Contact: Gjeto Sinishtaj.
Address: 449 Broadway, Second Floor, New York,
New York 10013.
Telephone: (212) 966-1059; or (718) 898-0107.

WMEX-AM.

“Albanian Hour of Boston,” formerly, “Voice of Albania,” airs every Sunday evening from 8:00 to 9:00 p.m. It features local community news and events, music, and interviews as well as news from Albania.

Contact: David Kosta.
Address: P.O. Box 170, Cambridge, Massachusetts
02238.
Telephone: (617) 666-4803.

WNWK-FM.

“Festival of the Albanian Music” airs on Sundays, 8:30 to 9:00 p.m. and features music from Albania.

Contact: Louis Shkreli.
Address: 449 Broadway, New York, New York
10013.
Telephone: (212) 966-1059; or (718) 733-6900.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

At present, Albania is undergoing rapid changes and Albanian Americans are responding. Since the fall of the Communist government in Albania (1990–1992), several new relief organizations such as the Frosinia Organization (New York City), New England Albanian Relief Organization (Worcester, Massachusetts), and Albanian Humanitarian Aid Inc. (New York City) have been formed within the Albanian community to assist newly arrived immigrants. Second, many long standing Albanian organizations and associations in the United States are redefining their function in view of the new political order that now exists in Albania.

Albanian American Civic League.

Founded in 1986, the organization is dedicated to informing the American public about the political and social problems in Albania.

Contact: Joseph DioGuardi.
Address: 743 Astor Ave., Bronx, New York 10457.
Telephone: (718) 547-8909.

Albanian American National Organization (AANO).

Founded in 1938 as the Albanian Youth Organization, it is a non-denominational cultural organization open to all Albanians and Americans of Albanian descent.

Contact: Andrew Tanacea.

Address: 22 Dayton Street, Worcester,
Massachusetts 10609.

Telephone: (508) 754-9440.

Albanian American Society Foundation.

Charitable organization aimed to assist Kosovo Albanian refugees in the United States and abroad.

Address: 2322 Arthur Ave., Ste. 4, Bronx,
New York 10458.

Telephone: (718) 563-1971.

Fax: (718) 364-4362.

Albanian Catholic Institute (ACI).

Gathers and disseminates information on the state of religion in Albania; conducts research on Albania's religious and cultural history; maintains collection of materials pertaining to Albanian history.

Contact: Raymond Frost, Exec. Dir.

Address: University of San Francisco, Xavier Hall,
San Francisco, California 94117-1080.

Telephone: (415) 422-6966.

Fax: (415) 387-1867.

Albanian National Council.

Founded in 1988, the organization provides assistance to all people of Albanian descent regardless of religion.

Contact: Gjok Martini.

Address: 11661 Hamtramck, Michigan 48212.

Telephone: (313) 365-1133.

Pan-Albanian Organization, "Vatra."

Founded in 1912, *Vatra* is a national organization open to all Albanians 18 years of age and older. The organization is well known to all Albanians and has played an active political and cultural role in the

community. It has sponsored many charitable, cultural, and social events and publishes books on Albanian culture. The organization has provided scholarships for students of Albanian descent. *Vatra* has recently relocated from South Boston to New York. It continues to publish the newspaper *Dielli*.

Contact: Agim Karagjozni.

Address: 167 East 82nd Street, New York,
New York.

Telephone: (516) 354-6598.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Fan S. Noli Library.

The library and archives contain the papers of Fan S. Noli.

Address: Albanian Orthodox Archdiocese in
America, St. George Albanian Orthodox
Cathedral, 529 East Broadway, South Boston,
Massachusetts 02127.

Telephone: (617) 268-1275.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Demo, Constantine. *The Albanians in America: The First Arrivals*. Boston: Society of Fatbardhesia of Katundi, 1960.

Noli, Fan S. *Fiftieth Anniversary Book of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America, 1908–1958*. Boston: Pan-Albanian Federation of America, 1960.

Page, Denna L. *The Albanian-American Odyssey: A Pilot Study of the Albanian Community of Boston, Massachusetts*. New York: AMS Press, 1987.

Roucek, Joseph. "Albanian Americans." In *One America*, edited by Francis Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Prentice Hall, 1952; pp. 232-239.

A LGERIAN AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

Algeria is an Arab country in Northern Africa that gained independence from France in 1962. Bordering the Mediterranean Sea, between Morocco and Tunisia, Algeria is more than three times the size of Texas. Its name is Arabic for “the islands,” and it is believed to be a reference to the 998 kilometers of coastline beside the rocky islands of the Mediterranean. The country is mostly high plateau and desert with some mountains. The Sahara desert covers 80 percent of the entire country. Natural resources include petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, uranium, lead, and zinc. Algeria has the fifth-largest reserves of natural gas in the world, is the second largest gas exporter, and ranks fourteenth for oil reserves. Its population of 30 million speaks Arabic, the official language, as well as French and Berber dialects. Algeria’s ethnic mix is 99 percent Arab-Berber, with less than one percent European. The term Berber is derived from the Greeks, who used it to refer to the indigenous people of North Africa. Algerian Arabs, or native speakers of Arabic, include descendants of Arab invaders and of native Berbers. Since 1966, however, the Algerian census no longer has a category for Berbers. Algerian Arabs, the major ethnic group of the country, constitute 80 percent of Algeria’s people and are culturally and politically dominant. The lifestyle of Arabs varies from region to region. There are nomadic herders in the desert, settled cultiva-

Generally, Algerian Americans are less strict Muslims. Some don’t belong to any Islamic Center or mosque. A study of Muslim communities in the West showed the gradual loss of specifically Islamic values with each succeeding generation.

tors and gardeners in the Tell, and urban dwellers on the coast. Linguistically, the groups differ little from each other, except that dialects spoken by nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples are thought to be derived from Beduin dialects. The dialects spoken by the urban population of the north are thought to stem from those of early seventh-century invaders. Urban Arabs identify with the Algerian nation, whereas remote rural Arabs are more likely to identify with a tribe.

Islam is the state religion, and 99 percent of Algerians are Sunni Muslim, one of two Islamic sects into which Muslims split 30 years after the death of the religion's founder, the Prophet Mohammed. The remaining one percent of Algerians are Christians and Jews. The national capital is Algiers. The flag is described as two equal vertical bands of green and white with a red, five-pointed star within a red crescent. The crescent, star, and color green are traditional symbols of Islam.

HISTORY

Algeria was populated around 900 B.C. by Berbers, a group from North Africa that was influenced by Carthaginians, Romans, and Byzantines. The Romans urbanized Algeria and maintained a military presence there in the second century. Algeria was ruled next by Vandals, a Germanic tribe, who were in turn conquered by Byzantine Arabs, who brought the Islamic faith to the region. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, Algeria was part of the Ottoman Empire for 300 years, and became a distinct province between Tunisia and Morocco. European nations, and eventually the United States, were required to pay tribute to these countries of North Africa, which ruled the shipping lanes of the Mediterranean until the French invaded Algeria in 1830.

MODERN ERA

In 1834 France annexed Algeria, then a population of three million Muslims, as a colony. France developed Algerian agriculture, mining, and manufacturing, centering the economy around small industry and a highly developed export trade. Algerian and European groups formed two separate subcultures with very little interaction or intermarriage. Many Algerians lost their lands to colonists, traditional leaders were eliminated, and Muslims paid higher taxes than the European settlers. The colonial regime seriously hindered the overall education of Algerian Muslims who, prior to French rule, relied on religious schools to learn reading, writing, and

religious studies. The French refused to provide money to maintain mosques and schools, but spent money on the education of Europeans.

After World War I, a generation of Muslim leadership called the Young Algerians emerged. The first group to call for Algerian independence was the Star of North Africa, a group that formed in Paris in 1926. Then in World War II, Algerian Muslims supported the French, and after France's defeat by Germany, stripped Algerian Jews of their French citizenship. The Allies, with a force of 70,000 British and U. S. troops under Lt. Gen. Eisenhower, landed in Algiers and Oran in November 1942, and were joined by Algerian Muslims who fought for their homeland. At the end of the war, Algerians demanded the creation of an independent Algerian state federated with France. Instead, they were granted an Algerian Assembly allowing a small voice in self-government.

Algerians emerged from 132 years of rule by a European culture with the War of Independence (1954–1962). Nearly one million Algerians died during the War of Independence. The Arabization of Algerian society brought about this inevitable break with France. The French government had consistently maintained a tolerant position toward the survival of Arab culture in daily life and local political affairs. Upon independence, approximately one million Europeans, including 140,000 Jews, left Algeria. Most of those departing had French citizenship and did not identify with the Arab culture. In the early 1980s, the total foreign population was estimated at roughly 117,000. Of this number, about 75,000 were Europeans, including about 45,000 French. Many foreigners worked as technicians and teachers. Algeria and France continued many beneficial economic and preferential relationships.

After independence, the resultant one-party, secular government organized public-sector enterprises into state corporations in an economy described as Algerian socialism. But fundamental Islamists who wanted to redefine Algerian identity clashed with the existing political system. The push to become more Arabic was seen as a means of national unity and was used by the national government as a tool to ensure national sovereignty. After gaining independence, Algerian street signs and shop signs were changed to Arabic, despite the fact that 60 percent of the population at that time could not read Arabic. Fundamentalists wanted Algeria to totally eliminate the legacy from its colonial past, but Arabization was, and is, a controversial issue. In 1961 Algeria joined with other Arab nations to establish the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to take control of the

power of the international oil market. Laws in the 1990s required the Arabization of secondary school and higher education, and made Arabic the only legal language in government and politics.

The pressure to Arabize was resisted by Berber population groups, such as the Kabyles, the Chaouia, the Tuareg, and the Mzabt. The Berbers, who constitute about one-fifth of the Algerian population, had resisted foreign influences since ancient times. They fought against the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Ottoman Turks, and the French after their 1830 occupation of Algeria. In the fighting between 1954 and 1962 against France, Berber men from the Kabylie region participated in larger numbers than their share of the population warranted. Since independence, the Berbers have maintained a strong ethnic consciousness and a determination to preserve their distinctive cultural identity and language.

A new constitution in 1989 dropped the word socialists from the official description of the country and guaranteed freedom of expression, association and meeting, but withdrew the guarantee of women's rights granted in the 1976 constitution. This same year saw the formation of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), an umbrella organization for fundamentalist subgroups that sought to create a single Islamic state in which Islamic law is strictly applied. The FIS was banned by the government in 1992. In April of 1999, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, backed by Algeria's powerful military, won a presidential election in which all six other candidates withdrew to protest fraud. Bouteflika, 63, a former foreign minister, took 73.8 percent of the vote to become Algeria's first civilian president in more than three decades. There is an elected parliament, but the main opposition party, the Islamic Salvation Front, is still banned.

THE FIRST ALGERIANS IN AMERICA

From 1821 until 1830, only 16 immigrants from all of Africa arrived in the United States. From 1841 until 1850, 55 more arrived. In immigration records until 1899 and in census records until 1920, all Arabs were recorded together in a category known as "Turkey in Asia." Until the 1960s, North African Arabs were counted as "other African." Mass migrations of Muslims to the United States did not happen because Muslims feared that they would not be permitted to maintain their traditions. Census records suggest that only a few hundred Muslim men migrated between 1900 and 1914.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

More than 1 million Arabs live in the United States. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there were approximately 3,215 people of Algerian ancestry living in the United States. Of this group, 2,537 cited Algerian ancestry as their primary ancestry, and 678 people cited Algerian as second ancestry.

Algeria was introduced as an immigrant record category in 1975, and 72 Algerians immigrated that year. Immigrant numbers increased gradually so that by 1984 there were 197 immigrants. Fourteen were relatives of U.S. citizens, and 31 were admitted on the basis of occupational preference. In 1998, 1,378 Algerians were winners of the DV-99 diversity lottery. The diversity lottery is conducted under the terms of Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and makes available 50,000 permanent resident visas annually to persons from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.

The U.S. Census is not allowed to categorize by religion so the number of Islamic followers can not be counted. However, the census is permitted to list Arab ancestry. In many cases, Algerian immigrants are listed as "Other Arabs" when statistics are cited. Of the "other Arabs" category in the 1990 U.S. Census, 45 percent were married, 40 percent were female, and 60 percent were male.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Algerian Americans have settled in urban areas such as New York City, Miami, Washington, and Los Angeles. The 1990 U.S. Census lists New York City as the port of entry for 2,038 Algerians, followed by Washington with 357 Algerians, and Los Angeles as entry for 309 Algerians. Of the 48 Algerians who became American citizens in 1984, 12 settled in California, eight in Florida, four in New York, three in Texas, and 24 in other places. Many Algerian Americans came seeking a better education or to flee instability and religious persecution. Employment opportunities for professionals such as scientists, physicians, and academics result in a geographically wide settlement pattern of immigrants, often in communities without other Algerian Americans.

Still, Algerian Americans have created communities in university cities and urban areas such as Dallas, Austin and Houston, Texas, and Boston, Massachusetts, and North California. For example, in the late 1990s, there were an estimated 12,500 African immigrants from many different countries living in the Dallas area. The Algerian Americans often form association such as the Algerian Ameri-

can Association of Houston, a local community sponsoring events, providing an environment to preserve and promote the Algerian heritage within the American fabric. Many of these organizations aim at strengthening ties of friendship and cooperation between the United States and Algeria.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Many Algerian Americans are highly-educated Berbers with professional occupations. Most Algerian American women abandon the *hidjab*, the head scarf veil worn with a loose gown as a symbol of modest Islamic dress, when they arrive. Generally, they have fewer children, cook fewer meals, and gradually adapt to American social customs. There is no segregation of sexes at social gathering in homes and churches except among the most traditional Muslims. Algerian Americans sometimes have as much difficulty gaining acceptance among American-born African Americans as they do among whites. Algerian Americans who hold to Muslim beliefs purposely resist many aspects of assimilation as an expression of their religious beliefs. However, their children learn English and adapt to the new culture so that by the second and third generations, Algerian Americans are well assimilated and better educated than their parents. A study by Dr. Muzammil H. Siddiqi of Muslim immigrant communities in the West found that second generation Muslims compete for places at universities with ambitions of becoming doctors and engineers. The younger generation plans to own homes and cars. Between 70 and 80 percent of western Muslims do not feel bad about drinking, dancing, and dating. Most western couples select their own marriage partners, though most Muslim marriages are arranged in Algeria.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Algerian Americans continue the cultural traditions of Muslims. *Umma*, the Arabic word for “community,” makes no distinction between a citizen of a particular country and the worldwide Muslim community. Thus, the universal Arab society may move from country to country without losing their distinct culture. Muslims pray at a mosque on Friday, and in this way an American city’s Arab community comes together for the sharing of culture and identity. Once in a lifetime a devout Muslim makes the pilgrimage to Mecca, called the Hajj. Most Algerian Americans observe *Ramadan*, a month of fasting.

PROVERBS

Algerian culture is rich in proverbs. Examples include: “If you want the object to be solid, mold it out of your own Clay.” “None but a mule denies his origin.” “The friend is known in a time of difficulty.” “An intelligent enemy is better than an ignorant friend.” “The iron is struck while it is hot.” “Barber learn on the head of orphans.” “He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a palmetto cord.” “One day is in favor of you and the next is against you.” “God brings to all wheat its measure” meaning it is natural to marry a person of one’s own class or position. “Ask the experienced one, don’t ask the doctor” is the answer a woman gives when she is reproved for speaking ill of another woman. “Eye does not see, heart does not suffer” means to deliberately ignore a family member whose conduct is not good. “The forest is only burnt by its own wood” is the complaint of a parent whose child causes him trouble. “The son of a mouse will only turn out to be a digger” means that children become like their parents. “If your friend is honey, don’t eat it all” means that you should not demand too much from your friend. “He who mixes with the grocer smells his perfume” means you should be in the company of people from whom you may learn useful things.

CUISINE

Algerian cuisine has a distinctive flavor, due to its diverse cultural heritage. Algerian Americans enjoy many tasty vegetable soups such as *Chorba*, a lamb, tomato, and coriander soup served with slices of lemon. A popular Algerian salad is made with sweet red peppers, tomatoes, sliced cucumber, onion, anchovy, boiled eggs, and basil or cilantro seasoned with olive oil and vinegar.

Other favorites include entree variations of *couscous*, made of Baobab leaves, millet flour and meat. One variety of Algerian couscous is made with onion, zucchini yellow squash, red potatoes, green pepper, garbanzo beans, vegetable stock, tomato paste, whole cloves, cayenne, and turmeric. Favorite meat dishes include *Tagine*, made with chicken or lamb and flavored with olives or onions, okra or prunes, and the lamb dish *L’Ham El H’Lou* which is made with cinnamon, prunes and raisins. Algerian deserts are light and delicate. In keeping with the foods abundant in North Africa, many dishes feature honey and dates, but others, like crepes, reflect the French influence that helped shape Algeria.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Algerian costume, also worn with minor variations by Berbers, has been replaced for the most

part by European dress, except in rural areas. Traditionally, a man wore a loose cotton shirt, usually covered by another reaching to the knees, and an outer garment of white cotton or wool draped so that the right arm remained free below the elbow. On the head was a red fez with a piece of cloth wound around it as a turban. Shepherds wore a muslin turban, loose baggy pants, and a leather girdle around a cloak. The turban was wound so that a loop of material hanging below the chin could be pulled up to cover the face. Women of nomadic tribes did not cover their faces and they wore a shirt and pants less bulky than men's trousers, under one or more belted dresses of printed cotton. Modest Islamic dress for a woman was the hidjab, the head scarf worn with a loose gown that allowed nothing but the hands and face to be seen.

Berber men in Kabylia wore a *burnous*, a full-length cloak worn with a hood, woven out of very fine white or brown wool. The *fota*, a piece of cloth usually red, yellow and black, was worn at the hips by Kabyle women. Kabyle women wore brightly colored loose dresses with a woolen belt and head scarves. Taureg men, Algerians living in the south, wore a distinctive blue *litham*, a veil wound around the head to form a hood that covered the mouth and nose, and made a turban behind the head.

DANCES AND SONGS

Chaabi is a very popular brand of traditional Algerian folk music, characteristic of the region of Algiers. *Rai* (pronounced ra'yy) is a music style mixing modern, western rhythms and synthesizers and electronic magnification technology with a traditional music line. It originated in northwestern Algeria in the 1970s and has become popular throughout the world, spread through locally produced cassettes. The most prominent performers live in France. *Rai* is an Arabic word meaning "opinion." *Rai* has provoked the Algerian government, which banned it from being played on the radio until 1985, and militant fundamentalists, who have been responsible for the death of *rai* singer Cheb Hasni. Another musician, Cheb Khaled, known as the king of *rai*, left Algeria and lives in Paris.

HOLIDAYS

Algerian Americans follow the American custom of observing New Year's Day in January. The most important national Algerian holiday celebrated is the anniversary of the revolution on November 1, 1954. Additional Algerian holidays still observed include Labour Day on May 1, Commemoration

Day on June 19, and Algerian Independence Day on July 5. Algerians also observe *Ramadan*, the Islam month of fasting usually in January and *Eid Al-Fitr*, the Islamic feast that signifies the end of Ramadan, usually in February. *Eid Al-Adha*, the festival of sacrifice, is celebrated on the last day of the *haj*, the annual pilgrimage to Makkah required of all Muslims at least once in their lifetime in April. Algerians also celebrate *Hijriyya*, the calendar New Year, usually May and *Mawlid An-Nabi* (Prophet Mohammed's birthday) on July 29.

HEALTH ISSUES

Many Algerians suffer from tuberculosis, considered their most serious health problem. Second is trachoma, a fly-borne eye infection, which was directly or indirectly responsible for most cases of blindness. Waterborne diseases such as typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery, and hepatitis among all age-groups have also been a problem. These diseases are related to nutritional deficiencies, crowded living conditions, a general shortage of water, and insufficient knowledge of personal sanitation and modern health practices. Only a small part of the Algerian population has been entirely free from trachoma. In contrast, there are no known medical conditions specific to or more frequent among Algerian Americans.

LANGUAGE

Ethnic communities in Algeria were distinguished primarily by language, where 17 different languages were spoken. The original language of Algeria is *Tamazight* (Berber). Arabic was a result of the Islamic conquest. French was imposed by colonization, which in Algeria began earlier and ended later than in the other nations of the Maghreb, the term applied to the western part of Arab North Africa. Arabic encroached gradually, spreading through the areas most accessible to migrants and conquerors, but Berber remained the mother tongue in many rural areas. In the late 1990s, 14 percent of Algerians spoke Berber languages.

Arabic, the language of the majority and the official language of the country, is a Semitic tongue related to Hebrew, Aramaic, and Amharic. The dominant language throughout North Africa and the Middle East, Arabic was introduced in the seventh and eighth centuries AD to the coastal regions by the Arab conquerors. Written Arabic is psychologically and sociologically important as the vehicle of Islam and Arab culture and as the link with other Arab countries. Two forms are used, the classical Arabic of the Koran and Algerian dialectical Ara-

bic. Classical Arabic is the essential base of written Arabic and formal speech throughout the Arab world. The religious, scientific, historical, and literary heritage of Arabic people is transmitted in classical Arabic. Arabic scholars or individuals with a good classical education from any country with Arab heritage can converse with one another.

As in other Semitic scripts, in classical Arabic only the consonants are written. Vowel signs and other diacritical marks to aid in pronunciation are used occasionally in printed texts. The script is cursive, often used as decoration. Berber and Arabic have mixed so that many words are swapped. In some Arabic-speaking areas, the words for various flora and fauna are still in Berber, and Berber place-names are numerous throughout the country, some of them borrowed. Examples of Berber place-names are Illizi, Skikda, Tamanrasset, Tipasa, and Tizi Ouzou.

Berber is primarily a spoken language. There is an ancient Berber script called *tifinagh* that survives among the Tuareg of the Algerian Sahara, where the characters are used more for special purposes than for communication. Several Berber dialect groups are recognized in modern Algeria, but only Kabyle and Chaouia are spoken by any considerable number. The Chaouia dialect, which is distinguishable from but related to Kabyle, bears the mark and influence of Arabic. Separate dialects, however, are spoken by the Tuareg and by the Mزاب.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Before the War of Independence, the basic Algerian family unit was the extended family, and it consisted of grandparents, their married sons and families, unmarried sons, daughters (if unmarried, divorced or widowed with their children), and occasionally other related adults. The patriarchal structure of the family meant the senior male member made all major decisions affecting family welfare, divided land and work assignments, and represented the family in dealings with outsiders. Within the home, each married couple usually had their own rooms opening onto the family courtyard, and they prepared meals separately. Women spent their lives under male authority, either their father or husband, and devoted themselves entirely to the activities of the home. Children were raised by all members of the group, who passed on to them the concept and value of family solidarity.

In Algeria, women average 3.4 children per family. Because a woman gained status in her hus-

band's home when she produced sons, mothers loved and favored their boys, often nursing them longer than they nursed girls. The relation between a mother and her son remained warm and intimate, whereas the father was a more distant figure. Families expressed solidarity by adhering to a code of honor that obligated members to provide aid to relatives in need and, if moving to a city to find work, to seek out and stay with family members. Among Berber groups, the honor and wealth of the lineage were so important that blood revenge was justified in their defense.

In the early 1990s, Algeria continued to have one of the most conservative legal codes concerning marriage in the Middle East, strictly observing Islamic marriage requirements. The legal age for marriage is twenty-one for men, eighteen for women. Upon marriage the bride usually goes to the household, village, or neighborhood of the bridegroom's family, where she lives under the authority of her mother-in-law. Divorce and polygamy were permitted in the classical Muslim law of marriage. Today, divorce is more frequent than polygamy.

Algerian American families tend to be smaller and better educated. They prefer to live in separate quarters, have fewer children, and run their lives independently. Familial ties of loyalty and respect have loosened, and family relationships have been rearranged with respect to living space and decision making.

Marriage is traditionally a family rather than a personal affair and it is intended to strengthen existing families. An Islamic marriage is a civil contract rather than a sacrament, and consequently, representatives of the bride's interests negotiate a marriage agreement with representatives of the bridegroom. Although the future spouses must, by law, consent to the match, they usually take no part in the arrangements. The contract establishes the terms of the union and outlines appropriate recourse if they are broken.

EDUCATION

For Algerian Americans, education in the United States is an eye-opening experience because subject matter, especially history, is not taught from a pro-Islam perspective. In U.S. schools, religion is separated from course instruction by law, whereas Algerian schools are exactly opposite. When Algeria became independent in 1962, the government inherited an education system focused on European content and conducted in a foreign language by foreign teachers. By the 1990s, teachers were more than 90 percent Algerian at all levels. Algerians

redesigned the system to make it more suited to the needs of a developing nation. In the mid-1970s, the primary and middle education levels were reorganized into a nine-year system of compulsory basic education. The reforms of the mid-1970s included abolishing all private education. Since then, on the secondary level, pupils followed one of three tracks—general, technical, or vocational—and then sat for the baccalaureate examination before proceeding to one of the universities, state technical institutes, or vocational training centers, or directly to employment. There are ten universities in Algeria, accommodating over 160,000 students. Aside from the University of Algiers, there are universities and technical colleges in Oran, Constantine, Annaba, Batna, Tizi Ouzou and Tlemcen.

Reorganization was completed in 1989, although in practice the basic system remained divided between the elementary level, with 5.8 million students in grades one to nine, and the high school level, with 839,000 students. Although education has been compulsory for all children aged between 6 and 15 years of age since 1976, by 1989 nearly 40 percent of the entire population over 15 years of age still had no formal education. Despite government support for the technical training programs meant to produce middle- and higher-level technicians for the industrial sector, a critical shortage remained of workers in fields requiring technical skills.

Algerian society in the early 1990s did not encourage women to assume roles outside the home, and female enrollments remained slightly lower than might have been expected from the percentage of girls in the age-group. Many Algerian students also study abroad. Most go to France or other West European countries, various countries of Eastern Europe, and the United States.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

In Algeria women are traditionally regarded as weaker than men in mind, body, and spirit. The honor of the family depends largely on the conduct of its women. Consequently, women are expected to be decorous, modest, and discreet. The slightest implication of impropriety, especially if publicly acknowledged, can damage the family's honor. Female virginity before marriage and fidelity afterward are considered essential to the maintenance of family honor. If they discover a transgression, men are traditionally bound to punish the offending woman. Girls are brought up to believe that they are inferior to men and must cater to them and boys are taught to believe that they are entitled to that care.

In the traditional system, there was considerable variation in the treatment of women. In Arab tribes, women could inherit property, but in Berber tribes they could not. In Berber society, Kabyle women seem to have been the most restricted. A husband could not only divorce his wife by repudiation, but he could also forbid her remarriage. In contrast, Chaouia women could choose their own husbands.

The Algerian women's movement has made few gains since independence, and women in Algeria have fewer rights compared with women in neighboring countries of Tunisia and Morocco. Once the War of Independence was over, women who played a significant part in the war were expected to return to the home and their traditional roles by both the government and larger society. Despite this emphasis on women's customary roles, the government created the National Union of Algerian Women (Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes—UNFA) in 1962, as part of its program to mobilize various sectors of society in support of the socialism. About 6,000 women participated in the first march to celebrate International Women's Day. But the union failed to gain the support of feminists, and it did not attract membership among rural workers who were probably the most vulnerable to patriarchal traditions.

Another major gain was the Khemisti Law. Drafted by Fatima Khemisti, wife of a former foreign minister, the resolution raised the minimum age of marriage. Whereas girls were still expected to marry earlier than boys, the minimum age was raised to 16 years for girls and 18 years for boys. This change greatly facilitated women's pursuit of further education, although it fell short of the 19 year minimum specified in the original proposal. In 1964 the creation of Al Qiyam (values), a mass organization that promoted traditional Islamic values, diminished women's rights. The resurgence of the Islamic tradition was a backlash against the former French efforts to "liberate" Algerian women by pushing for better education and eliminating the veil.

Women's access to higher education has improved, even though rights to employment, political power, and autonomy are limited. Typically, women return to the home after schooling. Overall enrollment at all levels of schooling, from primary education through university or technical training, has risen sharply, and women represent more than 40 percent of students.

The National People's Assembly (APN) provided one of the few public forums available to women. But, in 1965 Boumediene suspended the APN. No female members were elected to the APN.

under Ben Bella, but women were allowed to propose resolutions before the assembly. In the 1950s and 1960s, no women sat on any of the key decision-making bodies, but nine women were elected to the APN when it was reinstated in 1976. However, women at local and regional levels did participate. By the late 1980s, the number of women in provincial and local assemblies had risen to almost 300.

The 1976 National Charter recognized women's right to education and referred to their role in the social, cultural, and economic facets of Algerian life. But in the early 1990s, the number of women employed outside the home remained well below that of Tunisia and Morocco. In 1981 a new family code backed by conservative Islamists curtailed provisions for divorce initiated by women and limited the restrictions on polygyny, but increased the minimum marriage age for both women and men to 18 and 21 years, respectively.

New women's groups emerged in the early 1980s, including the Committee for the Legal Equality of Men and Women and the Algerian Association for the Emancipation of Women. In 1984 the first woman cabinet minister was appointed. Since then, the government has promised the creation of several hundred thousand new jobs for women, although a difficult economic crisis made achievement of this goal unlikely. In the mid-1950s, about 7,000 women were registered as wage earners. By 1977, a total of 138,234 women, or 6 percent of the active work force, were engaged in full-time employment. Corresponding figures for the mid-1980s were about 250,000, or 7 percent of the labor force. Many women were employed in the state sector as teachers, nurses, physicians, and technicians. Although by 1989 the number of women in the work force had increased to 316,626, women still constituted only a little over 7 percent of the total work force. When the APN was dissolved in January 1992, few female deputies sat in it, and no women, in any capacity, were affiliated with the body that ruled Algeria in 1993. The resurgence of traditional Islamic groups threatened to further restrict the women's movement.

Feminist leader Khalida Messaoudi has written of the terrible reality of life in Algeria. Women have been betrayed and stripped of their rights as people by the government under the Family Code and then enslaved, terrorized, and murdered by the enemies of that same government. The extent of fundamentalist control over the roles of women is seen in the nation's response to world-class track champion Hassiba Boulmerka. After she won the 1,500-meter championship in 1991, fundamentalists in Algeria issued a *kofr*, a public disavowal because she bared

her legs in the race. When she won Olympic gold in Barcelona, the majority of Algerians congratulated her, but she remains a target of terrorism by fundamentalists. Hassiba Boulmerka makes public appearances to encourage young Algerian women to follow her example.

WEDDINGS

Only after a couple is engaged may they visit each other's homes and date. The wedding party and consummation occur later. The guests at the traditional wedding party expect to remain until the bride and groom retire to a room nearby and consummate the marriage. Then the bride's undergarments or bedclothes stained with hymenal blood are publicly displayed. Many couples opt to undertake only the legal engagement phase of the wedding ceremony, and forego the traditional family celebration.

FUNERALS

Muslim life is noted for the great respect shown to the dead. Burial takes place as quickly as possible, often within hours of death. The deceased is washed, wrapped in a shroud, and carried to a cemetery. A coffin may or may not be used. The body is placed in the grave with the face oriented toward Mecca. Either at the deathbed or at the grave, the *shahada*, the witness to God's oneness, is whispered in the ear of the deceased. A memorial service is held 40 days after the death, and friends and family gather to mourn. Cemeteries often include other buildings such as hostels, libraries, hospitals and kitchens for feeding the poor. Muslims hold festivals, gather for meetings, and even picnic in the great cemeteries of the cities.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Berbers represent one-fifth of the Algerian population and have worked to maintain a strong ethnic consciousness and preserve their cultural identity. The encroaching Islamic movement has resulted in conflicts. But generally Algerian Americans, even those of Berber descent, have no bitter rivalries with other ethnic groups.

RELIGION

Islam is the state religion, and 99 percent of Algerians are *Sunni* Muslim, the broader, more tolerant form of Islam. Generally, Algerian Americans are less strict Muslims. Some do not belong to any

Islamic Center or mosque. A study of Muslim communities in the West showed the gradual loss of specifically Islamic values with each succeeding generation. Because there are around one million Muslims living in the United States, there are mosques in many communities. Immigrants can join the community of Arabs by attending Friday prayers. The rise of the Muslim ethnic identity in the 1960s in the United States provided an identity with the American public. But, there is a continuing bias against some Arabs in the United States, often directed at particular countries such as Iran, Iraq, and Libya.

A key belief of Muslims is the concept of balance and moderation, signified by the religious concept of *sirat al-muataquin*, or keeping to the straight path of the Koran. Islam forbids eating pork, drinking alcohol, gambling, or lending money with excessive interest. Hisba, to promote what is right and prevent what is wrong, is the primary duty of every Muslim. A person converts to Islam at a local mosque by making a declaration of faith, followed by efforts to learn about and cultivate other aspects of Muslim life given by the Koran, the written message from God. This call to Islam, called *dawah*, comes through evangelical, enthusiastic converts who challenge others to accept Muslim beliefs.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Of the 197 Algerian immigrants in 1984, 116 were professionals and 81 had no occupation. Of this same group, 133 were spouses of Algerian Americans. Many Algerian Americans are employed as physicians, academics, and engineers. Overall, they have more education than the average Algerian.

In the Algerian labor force of 7.8 million, percentages by occupation are: government 29.5 percent, agriculture 22 percent, construction and public works 16.2 percent, industry 13.6 percent, commerce and services 13.5 percent, transportation and communication 5.2 percent. The unemployment rate in 1997 was 28 percent. Algeria's rapidly growing labor force of about 5.5 million unskilled agricultural laborers and semiskilled workers in the early 1990s accurately reflected the high rate of population growth. More than 50 percent of the labor force was between 15 and 34 years old. Almost 40 percent of the labor force either had no formal education or had not finished primary school and 20 percent of the labor force had completed secondary school or beyond. Women officially constituted only about seven percent of the labor force,

but that figure did not take into account women working in agriculture. Unskilled laborers constituted 39 percent of the total active work force, but nonprofessional skilled workers, such as carpenters, electricians, and plumbers, were in short supply because most tended to migrate. Algerian workers lacked the right to form multiple autonomous labor unions until the Law on Trade Union Activity was passed by the National Assembly in June of 1990.

Algerian American workers receive higher salaries and have more opportunities for advancement. In the United States, especially for women, the marketplace is more receptive to entrepreneurs. Back home in Algeria the entrepreneurial sector of society began to emerge as late as 1993. For most of Algeria's political history, the socialist orientation of the state precluded the development of a class of small business owners and resulted in strong public anti-capitalist sentiment. Economic liberalization under Benjedid transformed many state-owned enterprises into private entities and fostered the growth of an active and cohesive group of professional associations of small business owners, or *patronat*. The patronat has strongly supported government reforms, and has persisted in its lobbying efforts. The patronat consists of well over 10,000 members and is growing. Some of its member associations include the Algerian Confederation of Employers, the General Confederation of Algerian Economic Operators, and the General Union of Algerian Merchants and Artisans.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

A foreign policy lobbying organization of the Arab-American community, called the National Association of Arab-Americans, was founded in 1972 to the formulate and implement a nonpartisan U.S. policy agenda in the Middle East and Arab nations. The formation of the American-Arab Anti-discrimination Committee (ADC) in 1980 gave Algerian Americans an opportunity for political activity at a national level. The ADC is a non-sectarian, nonpartisan civil rights organization committed to defending the rights of people of Arab descent and promoting their rich cultural heritage. The ADC, which is the largest Arab-American grassroots organization in the United States, was founded by former Senator James Abourezk and has chapters nationwide. The ADC is at the forefront combating defamation and negative stereotyping of Arab Americans in the media and wherever else it is practiced. In doing so, it acts as an organized framework through which Arab Americans can channel their efforts toward unified, collective and effective advocacy. It also promotes a more bal-

anced U.S. Middle East policy and serves as a reliable source for the news media and educators. By promoting cultural events and participating in community activities, the ADC has made great strides in correcting anti-Arab stereotypes and humanizing the image of the Arab people. In all of these efforts, the ADC coordinates closely with other civil rights and human rights organizations on issues of common concern.

RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA

The United States and Algeria have endured a rocky relationship, starting at the beginning of U.S. history. European maritime powers paid the tribute demanded by the rulers of the privateering states of North Africa (Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco) to prevent attacks on their shipping by corsairs. No longer covered by British tribute payments after the American Revolution, U.S. merchant ships were seized and sailors enslaved. In 1794 the U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the construction of warships to deal with the privateering threat, but three years later it concluded a treaty with the ruler of Algiers, guaranteeing payment of tribute amounting to \$10 million over a 12 year period. Payments in ransom and tribute to the privateering states amounted to 20 percent of U.S. government annual revenues in 1800. In March of 1815, the U.S. Congress authorized naval action against the Barbary States and the then-independent Muslim states of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Commodore Stephen Decatur threatened Algiers with his guns and concluded a favorable treaty that the ruler repudiated shortly after.

The United States and Algeria continued to have competing foreign policy objectives. Algeria's commitment to strict socialism and the Islamists' commitment to a global revolution against Western capitalism and imperialism antagonized relations with the United States. The United States maintained good relations with France instead of Algeria following the War of Independence. Algeria broke diplomatic relations with the United States in 1967, following the June 1967 war with Israel, and U.S. relations remained hostile throughout the 1970s. A number of incidents aggravated the tenuous relationship between the two countries. These included the American intervention in Vietnam and other developing countries, Algerian sponsorship of guerrilla and radical revolutionary groups, American sympathies for Morocco in the Western Sahara, and continued support for Israel by the United States. Algeria's policy of allowing aid and landing clearance at Algerian airports for hijackers angered the United States.

In the 1980s, increased U.S. demands for energy and a growing Algerian need for capital and technical assistance resulted in increased interaction with the United States. In 1980 the United States imported more than \$2.8 billion worth of oil from Algeria and was Algeria's largest export market. Algeria's role as intermediary in the release of the 52 U.S. hostages from Iran in January 1981 and its retreat from a militant role in the developing world also encouraged better relations with the United States. In 1990 Algeria received \$25.8 million in financial assistance and bought \$1.0 billion in imports from the United States, indicating that the United States had become an important international partner. On January 13, 1992, following the military coup that upset Algeria's burgeoning democratic system, the United States issued a formal but low-key statement condemning the military takeover. The next day Department of State spokesmen retracted the statement, calling for a peaceful resolution, but offering no condemnation of the coup. Since then, the United States has accepted a military dictatorship in Algeria. The military government has opened the country to foreign trade.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Thelma Schoonmaker (1940–) is a filmmaker, born in Algiers, who edited *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *The Age of Innocence* (1993).

MEDIA

PRINT

The Amazigh Voice.

A newsletter published quarterly since 1992, it informs members and other interested persons about Amazigh (Berber) language and culture and acts as a medium for the exchange of ideas and information. It is distributed worldwide and is also available on the world wide web.

Address: The Newsletter of the Amazigh Cultural Association in America, P. O. Box 1763, Bloomington, Illinois 61702.

The News Circle/Arab-American Magazine.

The oldest independent Arab-American magazine in the United States. Founded in Los Angeles in 1972.

Address: P.O. Box 3684, Glendale, California 91221-0684.

Fax: (818) 246-1936.

TELEVISION

ARABESCO-TV.

Created by News Circle Publishing, Arabesco is a TV program aimed at disseminating Arab culture and tradition to America. It was founded in Los Angeles in 1995. It is a series of 29-minute episodes narrated in English and viewed mainly on Cable TV.

Address: P.O. Box 3684, Glendale, California 91221-0684.

Fax: (818) 246-1936.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Algerian-American Association of New England (AAANE).

This is a relief organization that facilitates the adaptation of Algerian-Americans to the American community, while maintaining and fostering their unique heritage. It hosts an Annual Algerian-American Business Conference. It utilizes educational programs and other appropriate means to foster greater awareness, understanding, and appreciation of the Algerian cultural and ethnic heritage.

Address: P.O. Box 380165, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238-0165.

Telephone: 617-284-9349.

E-mail: aaane@hotmail.com.

Algerian American Association of Northern California.

A non-profit organization established in 1992 to develop and strengthen ties between Algerian-Americans and their friends in Northern California in particular, and the nation in general. It serves to create and nurture a positive sense of cultural identity among Algerian-Americans and to preserve Algerian culture.

Address: P.O. Box 2213, Cupertino, California 95015.

Algerian American National Association.

This was the first cultural non-profit corporation with the goals of preserving the Algerian heritage. It serves as a platform of support for the new American citizens and promotes relations between the two countries with educational and cultural programs. It was established in 1987 as a non-sectarian association open to everyone.

Address: P. O. Box 19, Gracie Station, New York, New York 10028.

Telephone: (212) 309-3316.

Fax: (212) 348-8195.

Algerian Embassy.

Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra, Diplomatic representation in the United States

Address: 2118 Kalorama Road NW, Washington, DC 20008.

Telephone: (202) 265-2800.

Algerian Mission to the United Nations.

Address: 750 Third Ave., 14th Floor, New York, New York 10012.

Telephone: (212) 986-0595.

The Amazigh Cultural Association in America (ACAA), Inc.

This is a non-profit organization registered in the state of New Jersey. It is organized and operated exclusively for cultural, educational, and scientific purposes to contribute to saving, promoting, and enriching the Amazigh (Berber) language and culture.

Address: 442 Route 206 North, Suite 163, Bedminster, New Jersey 07921.

Telephone: (215) 592-7492.

American-Arab Anti-discrimination Committee.

This is a civil rights organization committed to defending the rights of people of Arab descent and promoting their rich cultural heritage.

Address: 4201 Connecticut Ave, N.W, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20008.

Telephone: (202) 244-2990.

National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA).

This is a premier foreign policy lobbying organization of the Arab-American community, which was founded in 1972. NAAA is dedicated to the formulation and implementation of an evenhanded and nonpartisan U.S. policy agenda in the Middle East.

Address: 1212 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 230, Washington, DC 20005.

Telephone: (202) 842-1840.

World Algerian Action Coalition, Inc.

This organization is dedicated to presenting a balanced and politically non-biased portrayal of the political, social, and economic conditions in Algeria.

Address: P.O. Box 34093, Washington, DC 20043.

Online: <http://www.waac.org>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Historical Text Archive, Mississippi State University.

This archive holds historical documents and maps.

Address: Mississippi State University, Starkville,
Mississippi 39762.

Telephone: (662) 325-3060.

Middle East & Islamic Studies Collection, Cornell University Library.

This collection contains political documents, studies, maps, and other printed artifacts on Algerian culture and history.

Contact: Ali Houissa, Middle East & Islamic
Studies Bibliographer .

Address: Collection Development Department,
504 Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca,
New York 14853.

Telephone: (607) 255-5752.

Online: <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast>.

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A MISH

by
Donald B. Kraybill

The Amish do not
actively evangelize.
They do welcome
outsiders, but
few make the
cultural leap.

OVERVIEW

The year 1993 marked the existence of 300 years of Amish life. Extinct in their European homeland, today they live in more than 200 settlements in 22 states and the Canadian province of Ontario. The Amish are one of the more distinctive and colorful cultural groups across the spectrum of American pluralism. Their rejection of automobiles, use of horse-drawn farm machinery, and distinctive dress set them apart from the high-tech culture of modern life.

HISTORY

Amish roots stretch back to sixteenth-century Europe. Impatient with the pace of the Protestant Reformation, youthful reformers in Zurich, Switzerland, outraged religious authorities by baptizing each other in January 1525. The rebaptism of adults was then a crime punishable by death. Baptism, in the dissidents' view, was only meaningful for adults who had made a voluntary confession of faith. Because they were already baptized as infants in the Catholic Church, the radicals were dubbed Anabaptists, or rebaptizers, by their opponents. Anabaptism, also known as the Radical Reformation, spread through the Cantons of Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands.

The rapid spread of Anabaptist groups threatened civil and religious authorities. Anabaptist

hunters soon stalked the Reformers. The first martyr was drowned in 1527. Over the next few decades, thousands of Anabaptists burned at the stake, drowned in rivers, starved in prisons, or lost their heads to the executioner's sword. The 1,200-page *Martyrs Mirror*, first published in Dutch in 1660 and later in German and English, records the carnage. Many Amish have a German edition of the *Martyrs Mirror* in their homes today.

The Swiss Anabaptists sought to follow the ways of Jesus in daily life, loving their enemies, forgiving insults, and turning the other cheek. Some Anabaptist groups resorted to violence, but many repudiated force and resolved to live peaceably even with adversaries. The flames of execution tested their faith in the power of suffering love, and although some recanted, many died for their faith. Harsh persecution pushed many Anabaptists underground and into rural hideaways. Swiss Anabaptism took root in rural soil. The sting of persecution, however, divided the church and the larger society in Anabaptist minds. The Anabaptists believed that the kingdoms of this world anchored on the use of coercion clashed with the peaceable kingdom of God.

By 1660 some Swiss Anabaptists had migrated north to the Alsace region of present-day France, which borders southwestern Germany. The Amish came into the picture in 1693 when Swiss and South German Anabaptists split into two streams: Amish and Mennonite. Jakob Ammann, an elder of the Alsatian church, sought to revitalize the Anabaptist movement in 1693. He proposed holding communion twice a year rather than the typical Swiss practice of once a year. He argued that Anabaptist Christians in obedience to Christ should wash each others' feet in the communion service. To promote doctrinal purity and spiritual discipline Ammann forbade fashionable dress and the trimming of beards, and he administered a strict discipline in his congregations. Appealing to New Testament teachings, Ammann advocated the shunning of excommunicated members. Ammann's followers, eventually called Amish, soon became another sect in the Anabaptist family.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Searching for political stability and religious freedom, the Amish came to North America in two waves—in the mid-1700s and again in the first half of the 1800s. Their first settlements were in southeastern Pennsylvania. Eventually they followed the frontier to other counties in Pennsylvania, then to Ohio, Indiana, and to other Midwestern states. Today Amish settlements are primarily located in

the mid-Atlantic and the Midwest regions of the United States. Very few Amish live west of the Mississippi or in the deep south. In Europe, the last Amish congregation dissolved about 1937.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Flowing with the rising tide of industrialization in the late nineteenth century, some clusters of Amish formed more progressive Amish-Mennonite churches. The more conservative guardians of the heritage became known as the Old Order Amish. In the twentieth century some Old Order Amish, hankering again after modern conveniences, formed congregations of New Order Amish in the 1960s. The small numbers of New Order Amish groups sometimes permit their members to install phones in their homes, use electricity from public utilities, and use tractors in their fields.

At the turn of the twentieth century the Old Order Amish numbered about 5,000 in North America. Now scattered across 22 states and Ontario they number about 150,000 children and adults. Nearly three quarters live in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana. Other sizeable communities are in Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, New York, and Wisconsin. A loose federation of some 900 congregations, the Amish function without a national organization or an annual convention. Local church districts—congregations of 25 to 35 families—shape the heart of Amish life.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Amish have been able to maintain a distinctive ethnic subculture by successfully resisting acculturation and assimilation. The Amish try to maintain cultural customs that preserve their identity. They have resisted assimilation into American culture by emphasizing separation from the world, rejecting higher education, selectively using technology, and restricting interaction with outsiders.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The word Amish evokes images of buggies and lanterns. At first glance Amish groupings across North America appear pressed from the same cultural mold. A deeper look reveals many differences among Amish groups. Some affiliations forbid milking machines while others depend on them. Mechanical hay balers widely used in some areas are taboo in others. Prescribed buggy tops are gray or



This photograph, taken in 1986, features an Amish family from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They are harvesting corn so that they may feed their livestock during the winter months.

black in many affiliations but other groups have white or yellow tops. Buttons on clothing are banished in many groups, but acceptable in others. The dead are embalmed in one settlement but not in another. Some bishops permit telephones in small shops, but others do not. Artificial insemination of livestock is acceptable in one district but not in another. In some communities virtually all the men are farmers, but in others many adults work in small shops and cottage industries. In still other settlements Amish persons work in rural factories operated by non-Amish persons. Practices vary between church districts even within the same settlement. Diversity thrives behind the front stage of Amish life.

Several distinctive badges of ethnic identity unite the Old Order Amish across North America: horse-and-buggy transportation; the use of horses and mules for field work; plain dress in many variations; a beard and shaven upper lip for men; a prayer cap for women; the Pennsylvania German dialect; worship in homes; eighth-grade, parochial schooling; the rejection of electricity from public utility lines; and taboos on the ownership of televisions and computers. These symbols of solidarity circumscribe the Amish world and bridle the forces of assimilation.

Amish life pivots on *Gelassenheit* (pronounced Ge-las-en-hite), the cornerstone of Amish values. Roughly translated, this German word means submission, yielding to a higher authority. In practice it entails self-surrender, resignation to God's will, yielding to others, self-denial, contentment, and a quiet spirit. The religious meaning of *Gelassenheit*

expresses itself in a quiet and reserved personality and places the needs of others above self. It nurtures a subdued self, gentle handshakes, lower voices, slower strides, a life etched with modesty and reserve. Children learn the essence of *Gelassenheit* in a favorite verse: "I must be a Christian child, / Gentle, patient, meek, and mild, / Must be honest, simple, true, / I must cheerfully obey, / Giving up my will and way."

Another favorite saying explains that JOY means Jesus first, Yourself last, and Others in between. As the cornerstone of Amish culture, *Gelassenheit* collides with the bold, assertive individualism of modern life that seeks and rewards personal achievement, self-fulfillment, and individual recognition at every turn.

The spirit of *Gelassenheit* expresses itself in obedience, humility, and simplicity. To Amish thinking, obedience to the will of God is the cardinal religious value. Disobedience is dangerous. Unconfessed it leads to eternal separation. Submission to authority at all levels creates an orderly community. Children learn to obey at an early age. Disobedience is nipped in the bud. Students obey teachers without question. Adults yield to the regulations of the church. Among elders, ministers concede to bishops, who obey the Lord.

Humility is coupled with obedience in Amish life. Pride, a religious term for unbridled individualism, threatens the welfare of an orderly community. Amish teachers also remind students that the middle letter of pride is I. Proud individuals display the spirit of arrogance, not *Gelassenheit*. They are

pushy, bold, and forward. What non-Amish consider proper credit for one's accomplishments the Amish view as the hankerings of a vain spirit. The Amish contend that pride disturbs the equality and tranquility of an orderly community. The humble person freely gives of self in the service of community without seeking recognition.

Simplicity is also esteemed in Amish life. Simplicity in clothing, household decor, architecture, and worship nurtures equality and orderliness. Fancy and gaudy decorations lead to pride. Luxury and convenience cultivate vanity. The tools of self-adornment—make-up, jewelry, wrist watches, and wedding rings—are taboo and viewed as signs of pride.

AMISH SURVIVAL

The Amish do not actively evangelize. They do welcome outsiders, but few make the cultural leap. Membership in some settlements doubles about every 20 years. Their growth is fueled by a robust birth rate that averages seven children per family. The defection rate varies by settlement, but is usually less than 20 percent. Thus, six out of seven children, on the average, remain Amish.

Beyond biological reproduction, a dual strategy of resistance and compromise has enabled the Amish to flourish in the modern world. They have resisted acculturation by constructing social fences around their community. Core values are translated into visible symbols of identity. Badges of ethnicity—horse, buggy, lantern, dialect, and dress—draw sharp contours between Amish and modern life.

The Amish resist the forces of modernization in other ways. Cultural ties to the outside world are curbed by speaking the dialect, marrying within the group, spurning television, prohibiting higher education, and limiting social interaction with outsiders. Parochial schools insulate Amish youth from the contaminating influence of worldly peers. Moreover, ethnic schools limit exposure to threatening ideas. From birth to death, members are embedded in a web of ethnicity. These cultural defenses fortify Amish identity and help abate the lure of modernity.

The temptations of the outside world, however, have always been a factor in Amish life. Instead of forbidding contact outright, the Amish tolerate the custom of *rumschpringen*, or running around. This custom allows Amish teenagers and young adults to flirt for a few years with such temptations as drinking, dating, and driving cars before they accept baptism and assume their adult responsibilities within the Amish community. Though such behavior is, for the most part, relatively mild, in recent years it has

included more extreme activities. In 1998, for example, two Amish men in Lancaster County were charged with selling cocaine to other young people in their community. And in 1999, as many as 40 Amish teenagers turned violent after a drinking spree and seriously vandalized a Amish farmstead. While community elders express increasing concern about such events, they stress that most youthful behavior does not exceed reasonable bounds.

The survival strategy of the Amish has also involved cultural compromises. The Amish are not a calcified relic of bygone days, for they change continually. Their willingness to compromise often results in odd mixtures of tradition and progress. Tractors may be used at Amish barns but not in fields. Horses and mules pull modern farm machinery in some settlements. Twelve-volt electricity from batteries is acceptable but not when it comes from public utility lines. Hydraulic and air pressure are used instead of electricity to operate modern machines in many Amish carpentry and mechanical shops. Members frequently ride in cars or vans, but are not permitted to drive them. Telephones, found by farm lanes and shops, are missing from Amish homes. Modern gas appliances fill Amish kitchens in some states and lanterns illuminate modern bathrooms in some Amish homes.

These riddles of Amish life often baffle and, indeed, appear downright silly to outsiders. In reality, however, they reflect delicate bargains that the Amish have struck between their desire to maintain tradition while enjoying the fruits of progress. The Amish are willing to change but not at the expense of communal values and ethnic identity. They use modern technology but not when it disrupts family and community stability.

Viewed within the context of Amish history, the compromises are reasonable ways of achieving community goals. Hardly foolish contradictions, they preserve core values while permitting selective modernization. They bolster Amish identity while reaping many benefits of modern life. Such flexibility boosts the economic vitality of the community and also retains the allegiance of Amish youth.

CUISINE

Food preferences among the Amish vary somewhat from state to state. Breakfast fare for many families includes eggs, fried potatoes, toast, and in some communities, commercial cereals such as Cornflakes and Cheerios. Typical breakfast foods in Pennsylvania also include shoofly pie, which is sometimes dipped in or covered with coffee or milk, stewed crackers in warm milk, mush made from

corn meal, and sausage. Puddings and scrapple are also breakfast favorites. The puddings consist of ground liver, heart, and kidneys from pork and beef. These basic ingredients are also combined with flour and corn meal to produce scrapple.

For farm families the mid-day dinner is usually the largest meal of the day. Noontime dinners and evening suppers often include beef or chicken dishes, and vegetables in season from the family garden, such as peas, corn, green beans, lima beans, and carrots. Mashed potatoes covered with beef gravy, noodles with brown butter, chicken potpie, and sauerkraut are regional favorites. For side dishes and deserts there are applesauce, corn starch pudding, tapioca, and fruit pies in season, such as apple, rhubarb, pumpkin, and snitz pies made with dried apples. Potato soup and chicken-corn-noodle soup are commonplace. In summer months cold fruit soups consisting of strawberries, raspberries, or blueberries added to milk and bread cubes appear on Amish tables. Meadow tea, homemade root beer, and instant drink mixes are used in the summer.

Food preservation and preparation for large families and sizeable gatherings is an enormous undertaking. Although food lies beyond the reach of religious regulations, each community has a traditional menu that is typically served at large meals following church services, weddings, and funerals. Host families often bake three dozen pies for the noontime meal following the biweekly church service. Quantities of canned food vary by family size and preference but it is not uncommon for a family to can 150 quarts of apple sauce, 100 quarts of peaches, 60 quarts of pears, 50 quarts of grape juice, and 50 quarts of pizza sauce.

More and more food is purchased from stores, sometimes operated by the Amish themselves. In a more progressive settlement one Amishwoman estimates that only half of the families bake their own bread. The growing use of instant pudding, instant drinks, snack foods, and canned soups reflects growing time constraints. The use of commercial food rises as families leave the farm and especially as women enter entrepreneurial roles.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The Amish church prescribes dress regulations for its members but the unwritten standards vary considerably by settlement. Men are expected to wear a wide brim hat and a vest when they appear in public. In winter months and at church services they wear a black suit coat which is typically fastened with hooks and eyes rather than with buttons. Men use suspenders instead of belts.

Amish women are expected to wear a prayer covering and a bonnet when they appear in public settings. Most women wear a cape over their dresses as well as an apron. The three parts of the dress are often fastened together with straight pins. Various colors, including green, brown, blue, and lavender, are permitted for men's shirts and women's dresses, but designs and figures in the material are taboo. Although young girls do not wear a prayer covering, Amish children are typically dressed similar to their parents.

HOLIDAYS

Sharing some national holidays with non-Amish neighbors and adding others of their own, the Amish calendar underscores both their participation in and separation from the larger world. As conscientious objectors, they have little enthusiasm for patriotic days with a military flair. Memorial Day, Veterans Day, and the Fourth of July are barely noticed. Labor Day stirs little interest. The witches and goblins of Halloween run contrary to Amish spirits: pumpkins may be displayed in some settlements, but without cut faces. And Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday slips by unnoticed in many rural enclaves.

Amish holidays earmark the rhythm of the seasons and religious celebrations. A day for prayer and fasting precedes the October communion service in some communities. Fall weddings provide ample holidays of another sort. Amish without wedding invitations celebrate Thanksgiving Day with turkey dinners and family gatherings. New Year's Day is a quiet time for family gatherings. In many communities a second day is added to the celebrations of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The regular holiday, a sacred time, flows with quiet family activities. The following day, or second Christmas, Easter Monday, and Pentecost Monday, provides time for recreation, visiting, and sometimes shopping. Ascension day, the day prior to Pentecost, is a holiday for visiting, fishing, and other forms of recreation.

Christmas and Easter festivities are spared from commercial trappings. Families exchange Christmas cards and gifts. Some presents are homemade crafts and practical gifts, but are increasingly store bought. Homes are decorated with greens but Christmas trees, stockings, special lights, Santa Claus, and mistletoe are missing. Although eggs are sometimes painted and children may be given a basket of candy, Easter bunnies do not visit Amish homes. These sacred holidays revolve around religious customs, family gatherings, and quiet festivities rather than commercial trinkets and the sounds of worldly hubbub. Birthdays are celebrated at home and school in

quiet, pleasant ways, with cakes and gifts. Parents often share a special snack of cookies or popsicles with school friends to honor a child's birthday.

HEALTH ISSUES

Contrary to popular misconceptions the Amish use modern medical services to some extent. Lacking professionals within their ranks, they rely on the services of dentists, optometrists, nurses, and physicians in local health centers, clinics, and hospitals. They cite no biblical injunctions against modern health care nor the latest medicine, but they do believe that God is the ultimate healer. Despite the absence of religious taboos on health care, Amish practices differ from prevailing patterns.

The Amish generally do not subscribe to commercial health insurance. Some communities have organized church aid plans for families with special medical costs. In other settlements special offerings are collected for members who are hit with catastrophic medical bills. The Amish are unlikely to seek medical attention for minor aches or illnesses and are more apt to follow folk remedies and drink herbal teas. Although they do not object to surgery or other forms of high-tech treatment they rarely employ heroic life-saving interventions.

In addition to home remedies, church members often seek healing outside orthodox medical circles. The search for natural healing leads them to vitamins, homeopathic remedies, health foods, reflexologists, chiropractors, and the services of specialized clinics in faraway places. These cultural habits are shaped by many factors: conservative rural values, a preference for natural antidotes, a lack of information, a sense of awkwardness in high-tech settings, difficulties accessing health care, and a willingness to suffer and lean on the providence of God.

Birthing practices vary in different settlements. In some communities most babies are born at home under the supervision of trained non-Amish midwives. In other settlements most children are born in hospitals or at local birthing clinics. Children can attend Amish schools without immunizations. Some parents follow the advice of family doctors or trained midwives and immunize their children, but many do not. Lax immunization is often due to cost, distance, misinformation, or lack of interest. Occasional outbreaks of German measles, whooping cough, polio, and other contagious diseases prompt public health campaigns to immunize Amish children. Amish elders usually encourage their people to cooperate with such efforts. In recent years various health providers have made special efforts to immunize Amish children.

Marriages within stable geographical communities and the influx of few converts restricts the genetic pool of Amish society. Marriages sometimes occur between second cousins. Such intermarriage does not always produce medical problems. When unique recessive traits are common in a closed community certain diseases simply are more likely to occur. On the other hand, a restricted gene pool may offer protection from other hereditary diseases.

A special type of dwarfism accompanied by other congenital problems occurs at an exceptionally high rate in some settlements. Higher rates of deafness have also been found. In the late 1980s, Dr. Holmes Morton identified *glutaric aciduria* in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Amish community. Unrecognized and untreatable before, the disease is a biochemical disorder with symptoms similar to cerebral palsy. Approximately one in every 200 Amish infants inherits the disease. By 1991, Dr. Morton had organized a special clinic that tested some 70 percent of Amish infants and treated those diagnosed with the disease in the Lancaster settlement.

Another condition, Crigler-Najjar syndrome, occurs more frequently among the Amish and the Mennonites than in the general population. The condition is difficult to treat, and can result in brain damage and early death. The Amish have worked eagerly with researchers who are studying a new type of gene therapy for the treatment of this disease. In 1989, the Amish community united, barn-raising style, to build the Clinic for Special Children in Strasburg, Pennsylvania, a facility that treats Crigler-Najjar patients.

LANGUAGE

The Amish speak English, German, and a dialect known as Pennsylvania German or Pennsylvania Dutch. The dialect is the Amish native tongue and should not be confused with the Dutch language of the Netherlands. Originally a German dialect, Pennsylvania Dutch was spoken by Germanic settlers in southeastern Pennsylvania. The folk pronunciation of the word German, *Deutsche*, gradually became *Dutch* in English, and eventually the dialect became known as Pennsylvania Dutch. Even the Amish who live outside of Pennsylvania speak the Pennsylvania German dialect. In Amish culture, the dialect is used mainly as a form of oral communication: it is the language of work, family, friendship, play, and intimacy.

Young children live in the world of the dialect until they learn English in the Amish school. Stu-

dents learn to read, write, and speak English from their Amish teachers, who learned it from their Amish teachers. But the dialect prevails in friendly banter on the playground. By the end of the eighth grade, young Amish have developed basic competence in English although it may be spoken with an accent. Adults are able to communicate in fluent English with their non-Amish neighbors. When talking among themselves, the Amish sometimes mix English words with the dialect, especially when discussing technical issues. Letters are often written in English, with salutations and occasional phrases in the dialect. Competence in English varies directly with occupational roles and frequency of interaction with English speakers. Ministers are often the ones who are best able to read German. Idioms of the dialect are frequently mixed with German in Amish sacred writings. Although children study formal German in school they do not speak it on a regular basis.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Pennsylvania Dutch greetings and other expressions include: *Gude Mariye*—Good morning; *Gut-n-Owed*—Good evening; *Wie geht's?*—How are you?; *En frehlicher Grischtsaag*—a Merry Christmas; *Frehlich Neiyahr*—Happy New Year; *kumm ball widder*—come soon again. When inviting others to gather around a table to eat, a host might say *Kumm esse*.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The *immediate family*, the *extended family*, and the *church district* form the building blocks of Amish society. Amish parents typically raise about seven children, but ten or more children is not uncommon. About 50 percent of the population is under 18 years of age. A person will often have more than 75 first cousins and a typical grandmother will count more than 35 grandchildren. Members of the extended family often live nearby, across the field, down the lane, or beyond the hill. Youth grow up in this thick network of family relations where one is rarely alone, always embedded in a caring community in time of need and disaster. The elderly retire at home, usually in a small apartment built onto the main house of a homestead. Because the Amish reject government aid, there are virtually no families that receive public assistance. The community provides a supportive social hammock from cradle to grave.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A church district comprises 25 to 35 families and is the basic social and religious unit beyond the family. Roads and streams mark the boundaries of districts. Members are required to participate in the geographic district in which they live. A district's geographic size varies with the density of the Amish population. As districts expand, they divide.

A bishop, two preachers, and a deacon share leadership responsibilities in each district without formal pay or education. The bishop, as spiritual elder, officiates at baptisms, weddings, communions, funerals, ordinations, and membership meetings. The church district is church, club, family, and precinct all wrapped up in a neighborhood parish. Periodic meetings of ordained leaders link the districts of a settlement into a loose federation.

The social architecture of Amish society exhibits distinctive features. Leisure, work, education, play, worship, and friendship revolve around the immediate neighborhood. In some settlements, Amish babies are born in hospitals, but they are also born at home or in local birthing centers. Weddings and funerals occur at home. There are frequent trips to other settlements or even out of state to visit relatives and friends. But for the most part the Amish world pivots on local turf. From home-canned food to homemade haircuts, things are likely to be done near home. Social relationships are multi-bonded. The same people frequently work, play, and worship together.

Amish society is remarkably informal and the tentacles of bureaucracy are sparse. There is no centralized national office, symbolic national figurehead, or institutional headquarters. Apart from schools, a publishing operation, and regional historical libraries, formal institutions simply do not exist. A loosely organized national committee handles relations with the federal government for all the settlements. Regional committees funnel the flow of Amish life for schools, mutual aid, and historical libraries, but bureaucracy as we know it in the modern world is simply absent.

The conventional marks of modern status (education, income, occupation, and consumer goods) are missing and make Amish society relatively homogeneous. The agrarian heritage places everyone on common footing. The recent rise of cottage industries in some settlements and factory work in others threatens to disturb the social equality of bygone years, but the range of occupations and social differences remains relatively small. Common costume, horse and buggy travel, an eighth-grade education, and equal-size tombstones embody the virtues of social equality.

These Amish families are gathered together to eat a traditional meal.



The practice of mutual aid also distinguishes Amish society. Although the Amish own private property, like other Anabaptists they have long emphasized mutual aid as a Christian duty in the face of disaster and special need. Mutual aid goes beyond barn raisings. Harvesting, quilting, birthing, marriages, and funerals require the help of many hands. The habits of care encompass all sorts of needs triggered by drought, disease, death, injury, bankruptcy, and medical emergency.

GENDER ROLES

Amish society is patriarchal. Although school teachers are generally women, men assume the helm of most leadership roles. Women can nominate men to serve in ministerial roles but they themselves are excluded from formal church roles; however, they can vote in church business meetings. Some women feel that since the men make the rules, modern equipment is permitted more readily in barns and shops than in homes. In recent years some women have become entrepreneurs who operate small quilt, craft, and food stores.

Although husband and wife preside over distinct spheres of domestic life, many tasks are shared. A wife may ask her husband to assist in the garden and he may ask her to help in the barn or fields. The isolated housewife is rarely found in Amish society. The husband holds spiritual authority in the home but spouses have considerable freedom within their distinctive spheres.

SOCIAL GATHERINGS

Various social gatherings bring members together for times of fellowship and fun beyond biweekly worship. Young people gather in homes for Sunday evening singing. Married couples sometimes gather with old friends to sing for shut-ins and the elderly in their homes. Work frolics blend work and play together in Amish life. Parents gather for preschool frolics to ready schools for September classes. End-of-school picnics bring parents and students together for an afternoon of food and games.

Quilting bees and barn raisings mix goodwill, levity, and hard work for young and old alike. Other moments of collective work (cleaning up after a fire, plowing for an ill neighbor, canning for a sick mother, threshing wheat, and filling a silo) involve neighbors and extended families in episodes of charity, sweat, and fun. Adult sisters, sometimes numbering as many as five or six, often gather for a sisters day, which blends laughter with cleaning, quilting, canning, or gardening.

Public auctions of farm equipment are often held in February and March and attract crowds in preparation for springtime farming. Besides opportunities to bid on equipment, the day-long auctions offer ample time for farm talk and friendly fun. Games of cornerball in a nearby field or barnyard often compete with the drama of the auction. Household auctions and horse sales provide other times to socialize. Family gatherings at religious holidays and summer family reunions link members into familial networks. Single women sometimes gather at a cabin or a home for a weekend of fun.



This group of Amish boys is watching a horse and mule auction in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This annual event attracts Amish farmers from throughout the Midwest.

Special meetings of persons with unique interests, often called reunions, are on the rise and attract Amish from many states: harnessmakers, cabinetmakers, woodworkers, blacksmiths, businesswomen, teachers, the disabled, and the like. The disabled have gathered annually for a number of years.

Among youth, seasonal athletics are common: softball, sledding, skating, hockey, and swimming. Volleyball is a widespread favorite. Fishing and hunting for small game are preferred sports on farms and woodlands. In recent years some Amishmen have purchased hunting cabins in the mountains where they hunt white-tailed deer. Deep-sea fishing trips are common summertime jaunts for men in Pennsylvania. Others prefer camping and canoeing. Pitching quoits is common at family reunions and picnics.

Leisure and pleasure have long been suspect in Amish life. Idleness is viewed as the devil's workshop. But the rise of cottage industries and the availability of ready cash has brought more recreational activities. Amish recreation is group oriented and tilted more toward nature than toward taboo commercial entertainment. The Amish rarely take vacations but they do take trips to other settlements and may stop at scenic sites. Some couples travel to Florida for several weeks in the winter and live in an Amish village in Sarasota populated by winter travelers from settlements in several states. Trips to distant sites in search of special medical care sometimes include scenic tours. Although some Amish travel by train or bus, chartered vans are by far the most popular mode. Traveling together with family, friends, and extended kin these mobile groups bond and build community life.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Amish culture and religion stresses separation from the world. Galvanized by European persecution and sanctioned by scripture, the Amish divide the social world into two pathways: the straight, narrow way to life, and the broad, easy road to destruction. Amish life embodies the narrow way of self-denial. The larger social world symbolizes the broad road of vanity and vice. The term world, in Amish thinking, refers to the outside society and its values, vices, practices, and institutions. Media reports of greed, fraud, scandal, drugs, violence, divorce, and abuse confirm that the world teems with abomination.

The gulf between church and world, imprinted in Amish minds by European persecution, guides practical decisions. Products and practices that might undermine community life, such as high school, cars, cameras, television, and self-propelled farm machinery, are tagged worldly. Not all new products receive this label, only those that threaten community values. Definitions of worldliness vary within and between Amish settlements, yielding a complicated maze of practices. Baffling to outsiders, these lines of faithfulness maintain inter-group boundaries and also preserve the cultural purity of the church.

WEDDINGS

The wedding season is a festive time in Amish life. Coming on the heels of the harvest, weddings are typically held on Tuesdays and Thursdays from late October through early December. The larger communities may have as many as 150 weddings in one

season. Fifteen weddings may be scattered across the settlement on the same day. Typically staged in the home of the bride, these joyous events may involve upwards of 350 guests, two meals, singing, snacks, festivities, and a three-hour service. The specific practices vary from settlement to settlement.

Young persons typically marry in their early twenties. A couple may date for one to two years before announcing their engagement. Bishops will only marry members of the church. The church does not arrange marriages but it does place its blessing on the pair through an old ritual. Prior to the wedding, the groom takes a letter signed by church elders to the bride's deacon testifying to the groom's good standing in his home district. The bride's deacon then meets with her to verify the marriage plans.

The wedding day is an enormous undertaking for the bride's family and for the relatives and friends who assist with preparations. Efforts to clean up the property, paint rooms, fix furniture, pull weeds, and pave driveways, among other things, begin weeks in advance. The logistics of preparing meals and snacks for several hundred guests are taxing. According to custom, the day before the wedding the groom decapitates several dozen chickens. The noontime wedding menu includes chicken roast—chicken mixed with bread filling, mashed potatoes, gravy, creamed celery, pepper cabbage, and other items. Desserts include pears, peaches, puddings, dozens of pies, and hundreds of cookies and doughnuts.

The three-hour service—without flowers, rings, solos, or instrumental music—is similar to an Amish worship service. The wedding includes congregational singing, prayers, wedding vows, and two sermons. Four single friends serve the bride and groom as attendants: no one is designated maid of honor or best man. Amish brides typically make their own wedding dresses from blue or purple material crafted in traditional styles. In addition to the groom's new but customary black coat and vest, he and his attendants often wear small black bow ties.

Several seatings and games, snacks, and singing follow the noon meal. Young people are paired off somewhat randomly for the singing. Following the evening meal another more lively singing takes place in which couples who are dating pair off—arousing considerable interest because this may be their first public appearance. Festivities may continue until nearly midnight as guests gradually leave. Some guests, invited to several weddings on the same day, may rotate between them.

Newly married couples usually set up house-keeping in the spring after their wedding. Until

then the groom may live at the bride's home or continue to live with his parents. Couples do not take a traditional honeymoon, but visit relatives on weekends during the winter months. Several newlywed couples may visit together, sometimes staying overnight at the home of close relatives. During these visits, family and friends present gifts to the newlyweds to add to the bride's dowry, which often consists of furniture. Young men begin growing a beard, the functional equivalent of a wedding ring, soon after their marriage. They are expected to have a "full stand" by the springtime communion.

FUNERALS

With the elderly living at home, the gradual loss of health prepares family members for the final passage. Accompanied by quiet grief, death comes gracefully, the final benediction to a good life and entry into the bliss of eternity. Although funeral practices vary from community to community, the preparations reflect core Amish values, as family and friends yield to eternal verities.

The community springs into action at the word of a death. Family and friends in the local church district assume barn and household chores, freeing the immediate family. Well-established funeral rituals unburden the family from worrisome choices. Three couples are appointed to extend invitations and supervise funeral arrangements: food preparation, seating arrangements, and the coordination of a large number of horses and carriages.

In the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, settlement a non-Amish undertaker moves the body to a funeral home for embalming. The body, without cosmetic improvements, returns to the home in a simple, hardwood coffin within a day. Family members of the same sex dress the body in white. White garments symbolize the final passage into a new and better eternal life. Tailoring the white clothes prior to death helps to prepare the family for the season of grief. Women often wear the white cape and apron worn at their wedding.

Friends and relatives visit the family and view the body in a room on the first floor of the home for two days prior to the funeral. Meanwhile community members dig the grave by hand in a nearby family cemetery as others oversee the daily chores of the bereaved. Several hundred guests attend the funeral in a barn or home typically on the morning of the third day after death. During the simple hour-and-a-half-long service, ministers read hymns and scriptures, offer prayers, and preach a sermon. There are no flowers, burial gowns, burial tents, limousines, or sculpted monuments.

The hearse, a large, black carriage pulled by horses, leads a long procession of other carriages to the burial ground on the edge of a farm. After a brief viewing and graveside service, pallbearers lower the coffin and shovel soil into the grave as the bishop reads a hymn. Small, equal-sized tombstones mark the place of the deceased in the community of equality. Close friends and family members then return to the home for a meal prepared by members of the local congregation. Bereaved women, especially close relatives, may signal their mourning by wearing a black dress in public settings for as long as a year. A painful separation laced with grief, death is nevertheless received gracefully as the ultimate surrender to God's higher ways.

EDUCATION

The Amish supported public education when it revolved around one-room schools in the first half of the twentieth century. Under local control, the one-room rural schools posed little threat to Amish values. The massive consolidation of public schools and growing pressure to attend high school sparked clashes between the Amish and officials in several states in the middle of the twentieth century. Confrontations in several other states led to arrests and brief stints in jail. After legal skirmishes in several states, the U.S. Supreme Court gave its blessing to the eighth-grade Amish school system in 1972, stating that "there can be no assumption that today's majority is 'right' and the Amish and others are 'wrong.'" The court concluded that "a way of life that is odd or even erratic but interferes with no rights or interests of others is not to be condemned because it is different."

Today the Amish operate more than 850 parochial schools for some 24,000 Amish children. Many of the schools have one room with 25 to 35 pupils and one teacher who is responsible for teaching all eight grades. A few Amish children attend rural public schools in some states but the vast majority go to parochial schools operated by the Amish.

A scripture reading and prayer opens each school day, but religion is not formally taught in the school. The curriculum includes reading, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, penmanship, history, and geography. Both English and German are taught. Parents want children to learn German to enhance their ability to read religious writings, many of which are written in formal German. Science and sex education are missing in the curriculum as are the other typical trappings of public schools: sports, dances, cafeterias, clubs, bands, choruses, comput-

ers, television, guidance counselors, principals, strikes, and college recruiters.

A local board of three to five fathers organizes the school, hires a teacher, approves curriculum, oversees the budget, and supervises maintenance. Teachers receive about \$25 to \$35 per day. The cost per child is roughly \$250 per year, nearly 16 times lower than many public schools where per pupil costs often top \$4,000. Amish parents pay public school taxes and taxes for their own school.

Schools play a critical role in the preservation of Amish culture. They not only reinforce Amish values, but also shield youth from contaminating ideas. Moreover, schools restrict friendships with non-Amish peers and impede the flow of Amish youth into higher education and professional life. Amish schools promote practical skills to prepare their graduates for success in Amish society. Some selective testing indicates that Amish pupils compare favorably with rural peers in public schools on standardized tests of basic skills.

Amish teachers, trained in Amish schools, are not required to be certified in most states. Often the brightest and best of Amish scholars, they return to the classroom in their late teens and early twenties to teach. Amish school directors select them for their ability to teach and their commitment to Amish values. Frequently single women, they typically drop their occupation if wed. Periodic meetings with other teachers, a monthly teachers' magazine, and ample common sense prepare them for the task of teaching 30 students in eight grades. With three or four pupils per grade, teachers often teach two grades at a time. Pupils in other classes ponder assignments or listen to previews of next year's lessons or hear reviews of past work. Classrooms exhibit a distinct sense of order amidst a beehive of activity. Hands raise to ask permission or clarify instructions as the teacher moves from cluster to cluster teaching new material every ten or 15 minutes. Some textbooks are recycled from public schools while others are produced by Amish publishers. Students receive a remarkable amount of personal attention despite the teacher's responsibility for eight grades. The ethos of the classroom accents cooperative activity, obedience, respect, diligence, kindness, and the natural world. Despite the emphasis on order, playful pranks and giggles are commonplace. Schoolyard play in daily recesses often involves softball or other homespun games.

Amish schools exhibit a social continuity rarely found in public education. With many families sending several children to a school, teachers may relate to as few as a dozen households. Teachers know parents personally and special circum-

stances surrounding each child. In some cases, children have the same teacher for all eight grades. Indeed, all the children from a family may have the same teacher. Amish schools are unquestionably provincial by modern standards. Yet in a humane fashion they ably prepare Amish youth for meaningful lives in Amish society.

RELIGION

At first glance the Amish appear quite religious. Yet a deeper inspection reveals no church buildings, sacred symbols, or formal religious education even in Amish schools. Unlike most modern religions, religious meanings pervade all aspects of Amish lives. Religion is practiced, not debated. Silent prayers before and after meals embroider each day with reverence. The Amish way of living and being requires neither heady talk nor formal theology.

The *Ordnung*, a religious blueprint for expected behavior, regulates private, public, and ceremonial behavior. Unwritten in most settlements, the *Ordnung* is passed on by oral tradition. A body of understandings that defines Amish ways, the *Ordnung* marks expected Amish behavior: wearing a beard without a mustache; using a buggy; and speaking the dialect. It also specifies taboos: divorce; filing a lawsuit; wearing jewelry; owning a car; and attending college. The understandings evolve over the years and are updated as the church faces new issues: embryo transplants in cattle; using computers and facsimile machines; and working in factories. Core understandings, such as wearing a beard and not owning a car, span all Old Order Amish settlements but the finer points of the *Ordnung* vary considerably from settlement to settlement.

Although ordained leaders update the *Ordnung* in periodic meetings, each bishop interprets it for his local congregation. Thus, dress styles and the use of telephones and battery-powered appliances may vary by church district. Once embedded in the *Ordnung* and established as tradition, the understandings rarely change. As new issues face the church, leaders identify those which may be detrimental to community life. Non-threatening changes such as weed-whackers and instant coffee may be overlooked and gradually slip into Amish life. Battery-powered video cameras, which might lead to other video entanglements with the outside world, would surely be forbidden.

Children learn the ways of the *Ordnung* by observing adults. The *Ordnung* defines the way things are in a child's mind. Teenagers, free from the supervision of the church, sometimes flirt with

worldly ways and flaunt the *Ordnung*. At baptism, however, young adults between the ages of 16 and 22 declare their Christian faith and vow to uphold the *Ordnung* for the rest of their life. Those who break their promise face excommunication and shunning. Those choosing not to be baptized may gradually drift away from the community but are welcome to return to their families without the stigma of shunning.

WORSHIP SERVICES

Worship services held in Amish homes reaffirm the moral order of Amish life. Church districts hold services every other Sunday. A group of 200 or more, including neighbors and relatives who have an "off Sunday," gather for worship. They meet in a farmhouse, the basement of a newer home, or in a shed or barn. A fellowship meal at noon and informal visiting follow the three-hour morning service.

The plain and simple but unwritten liturgy revolves around congregational singing and two sermons. Without the aid of organs, offerings, candles, crosses, robes, or flowers, members yield themselves to God in the spirit of humility. The congregation sings from the *Ausbund*, a hymnal of German songs without musical notations that date back to the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. The tunes passed across the generations by memory are sung in unison without any musical accompaniment. The slow, chant-like cadence means a single song may stretch over 20 minutes. Extemporaneous sermons, preached in the Pennsylvania German dialect, recount biblical stories as well as lessons from farm life. Preachers exhort members to be obedient to Amish ways.

Communion services, held each autumn and spring, frame the religious year. These ritual high points emphasize self-examination and spiritual rejuvenation. Sins are confessed and members reaffirm their vow to uphold the *Ordnung*. Communion is held when the congregation is at peace, when all members are in harmony with the *Ordnung*. The six- to eight-hour communion service includes preaching, a light meal during the service, and the commemoration of Christ's death with bread and wine. Pairs of members wash each others feet as the congregation sings. At the end of the communion service members give an alms offering to the deacon, the only time that offerings are collected in Amish services.

EXCOMMUNICATION

Baptism, worship, and communion are sacred rites that revitalize and preserve the *Ordnung*. But the

Amish, like other human beings, forget, rebel, experiment, and stray into deviance. Major transgressions are confessed publicly in a members meeting following the worship service. Violations of the *Ordnung*—using a tractor in the field, posing for a television camera, flying on a commercial airline, filing a lawsuit, joining a political organization, or opening a questionable business—are confessed publicly. Public confession of sins diminishes self-will, reminds members of the supreme value of submission, restores the wayward into the community of faith, and underscores the lines of faithfulness which encircle the community.

The headstrong who spurn the advice of elders and refuse to confess their sin face a six-week probation. The next step is the *Meidung*, or shunning—a cultural equivalent of solitary confinement. Members terminate social interaction and financial transactions with the excommunicated. For the unrepentant, social avoidance becomes a lifetime quarantine. If their stubbornness does not mellow into repentance, they face excommunication.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Amish life is rooted in the soil. Ever since European persecution pushed them into rural areas, the Amish have been farmers. The land has nurtured their common life and robust families. Since the middle of the twentieth century, some of the older and larger Amish settlements in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania have shifted to nonfarm occupations because of the pressure of urbanization. As urbanization devoured prime farmland, prices soared. Land, for example, in the heart of Pennsylvania's Lancaster Amish settlement sold for \$300 an acre in 1940. In the 1990s, the same land sold for \$8,000 to \$10,000 an acre. If sold for development, prices can double or even triple.

The shrinking and expensive farmland in some of the older settlements has forced a crisis in the Amish soul. The Amish have also contributed to the demographic squeeze with their growing population. The community has coped with the crisis in several ways. First, farms have been subdivided into smaller units with intensive cropping and larger concentrations of livestock. Second, some families have migrated to the rural backwaters of other states where farms could be purchased at much lower prices. Third, in some settlements a majority of families no longer farms, but works in small shops, rural factories, or in various trades. But even

ex-farmers insist that the farm remains the best place to raise a family.

The rise of cottage industries and small shops marks an historic turn in Amish life. Mushrooming since the 1970s, these new enterprises have reshaped Amish society. By the late 1990s, such small industries employed more than half the Amish adults in Lancaster County. Amish retail shops sell dry goods, furniture, shoes, hardware, and wholesale foods. Church members now work as carpenters, plumbers, painters, and self-trained accountants. Professionals, like lawyers, physicians, and veterinarians, are missing from Amish ranks because of the taboo on high school and college education. The new industries come in three forms. Home-based operations lodged on farms or by newly built homes employ a few family members and neighbors. Bakeshops, craft shops, hardware stores, health food stores, quilt shops, flower shops, and repair shops of all sorts are but a few of the hundreds of home-based operations. Work in these settings revolves around the family. A growing number of these small cottage industries cater to tourists but many serve the needs of Amish and non-Amish neighbors alike.

Larger shops and manufacturing concerns are housed in newly constructed buildings on the edge of farms or on commercial plots. These formal shops with five to ten employees manufacture farm machinery, hydraulic equipment, storage barns, furniture, and cabinetry. Some metal fabrication shops arrange subcontracts with other manufacturers. The larger shops are efficient and profitable. Low overhead, minimal advertising, austere management, modest wages, quality workmanship, and sheer hard work grant many shops a competitive edge in the marketplace.

Mobile work crews constitute a third type of industry. Amish construction groups travel to building sites for commercial and residential construction. The construction crews travel in hired vehicles and in some settlements they are permitted to use electric tools powered by portable generators and on-site electricity.

The rise of cottage industries may, in the long run, disturb the equality of Amish life by encouraging a three-tier society of farmers, entrepreneurs, and day laborers. Parents worry that youth working a 40-hour week with loose cash in their pockets will snub traditional Amish values of simplicity and frugality. The new industries also increase contact with the outside world which will surely prompt even more changes in Amish life. Despite the occupational changes, virtually no Amish are unemployed or receive government unemployment benefits.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Amish view government with an ambiguous eye. Although they support and respect civil government, they also keep a healthy distance from it. On the one hand, they follow biblical admonitions to obey and pray for rulers and encourage members to be law-abiding citizens. On the other hand, government epitomizes worldly culture and the use of force. European persecutors of the Anabaptists were often government officials. Modern governments engage in warfare, use capital punishment, and impose their will with raw coercion. Believing that such coercion and violence mock the gentle spirit of Jesus, the Amish reject the use of force, including litigation. Since they regulate many of their own affairs they have less need for outside supervision.

When civil law and religious conscience collide, the Amish are not afraid to take a stand and will obey God rather than man, even if it brings imprisonment. They have clashed with government officials over the use of hard hats, zoning regulations, Workers' Compensation, and building codes for schools. However, as conscientious objectors many have received farm deferments or served in alternative service programs during times of military draft.

The church forbids membership in political organizations and holding public office for several reasons. First, running for office is viewed as arrogant and out of character with esteemed Amish values of humility and modesty. Second, office-holding violates the religious principle of separation from the world. Finally, public officials must be prepared to use legal force if necessary to settle civic disputes. The exercise of legal force mocks the stance of non-resistance. Voting, however, is viewed as a personal matter. Although the church does not prohibit it, few persons vote. Those who do vote are likely to be younger businessmen concerned about local issues. Although voting is considered a personal matter, jury duty is not allowed.

The Amish pay federal and state income taxes, sales taxes, real estate taxes, and personal property taxes. Indeed, they pay school taxes twice, for both public and Amish schools. Following biblical injunctions, the Amish are exempt from Social Security tax. They view Social Security as a national insurance program, not a tax. Congressional legislation, passed in 1965, exempts self-employed Amish persons from Social Security. Amish persons employed in Amish businesses were also exempted by congressional legislation in 1988. Those who do not qualify for the exemption, Amish employees in non-Amish businesses, must pay Social Security without reaping its benefits. Bypassing Social Security not only severs

the Amish from old age payments, it also closes the spigot to Medicare and Medicaid.

The Amish object to government aid for several reasons. They contend that the church should assume responsibility for the social welfare of its own members. The aged, infirm, senile, and disabled are cared for, whenever possible, within extended family networks. To turn the care of these people over to the state would abdicate a fundamental tenet of faith: the care of one's brothers and sisters in the church. Furthermore, federal aid in the form of Social Security or Medicare would erode dependency on the church and undercut its programs of mutual aid, which the Amish have organized to assist their members with fire and storm damages and with medical expenses.

Government subsidies, or what the Amish call handouts, have been stridently opposed. Championing self-sufficiency and the separation of church and state, the Amish worry that the hand which feeds them will also control them. Over the years they have stubbornly refused direct subsidies even for agricultural programs designed for farmers in distress. Amish farmers do, however, receive indirect subsidies through agricultural price-support programs.

In 1967 the Amish formed the National Amish Steering Committee in order to speak with a common voice on legal issues related to state, and especially, federal government. The Steering Committee has worked with government officials to resolve disputes related to conscientious objection, zoning, slow-moving vehicle emblems, Social Security, Workers' Compensation, and the wearing of hard hats at construction sites. Informally organized, the Steering Committee is the only Amish organization which is national in scope.

THE FUTURE OF AMISH SOCIETY

The future shape of Amish life escapes prediction. Particular outcomes will be shaped not only by unforeseen external forces, such as market prices, government regulations, and rates of urbanization, but also by internal politics and the sentiments of particular Amish leaders. Without a centralized decision-making process, let alone a strategic planning council, new directions are unpredictable. Migrations will likely continue to new states and to the rural areas of states where the Amish presently live.

The willingness of many Amish to leave their plows for shops and cottage industries in the 1970s and 1980s signalled a dramatic shift in Amish life. Microenterprises will likely blossom and bring change to Amish life as they increase interaction with the outside world. These business endeavors

will probably alter the class structure and cultural face of Amish society over the years. But the love of farming runs deep in the Amish heart. Faced with a growing population, many families will likely migrate to more rural areas in search of fertile soil.

The cultural flavor of twenty-first century Amish life may elude forecast, but one pattern is clear. Settlements which are pressed by urbanization are the most progressive in outlook and the most updated in technology. Rural homesteads beyond the tentacles of urban sprawl remain the best place to preserve traditional Amish ways. If the Amish can educate and retain their children, make a living, and restrain interaction with the larger world, they will likely flourish into the twenty-first century. But one thing is certain: diversity between their settlements will surely grow, mocking the staid stereotypes of Amish life.

MEDIA

PRINT

Arthur Graphic Clarion.

Newspaper of the Illinois Amish country.

Contact: Allen Mann, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 19, Arthur, Illinois 61911.

Telephone: (217) 543-2151.

Fax: (217) 543-2152.

Die Botschaft.

Weekly English newspaper with correspondents from many states that serves Old Order Mennonite and Old Order Amish communities.

Contact: Brookshire Publications, Inc.

Address: 200 Hazel Street, Lancaster,
Pennsylvania 17608-0807.

The Budget.

Weekly Amish/Mennonite community newspaper.

Contact: George R. Smith, National Editor.

Address: Sugarcreek Budget Publishers, Inc., 134
North Factory Street, P.O. Box 249,
Sugarcreek, Ohio 44681-0249.

Telephone: (216) 852-4634.

Fax: (216) 852-4421.

The Diary.

Monthly publication that lists migrations, marriages, births, and deaths. It also carries news and feature articles.

Contact: Pequea Publishers.

Address: P.O. Box 98, Gordonville,
Pennsylvania 17529.

The Mennonite: A Magazine to Inform and Challenge the Christian Fellowship in the Mennonite Context.

Contact: J. Lorne Peachey, Editor.

Address: 616 Walnut Avenue, Scottsdale,
Pennsylvania 15683.

Telephone: (800) 790-2493.

Fax: (724) 887-3111.

E-mail: themennonite@gcmc.org.

Online: <http://www2.southwind.net/~gcmc/tm.html>.

Mennonite Quarterly Review.

Scholarly journal covering Mennonite, Amish, Hutterian Brethren, Anabaptist, Radical Reformation, and related history and religious thought.

Contact: John D. Roth, Editor.

Address: Mennonite Historical Society,
1700 South Main Street, Goshen College,
Goshen, Indiana 46526.

Telephone: (219) 535-7111.

Fax: (219) 535-7438.

E-mail: mqr@goshen.edu.

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage.

Founded in January of 1978. Quarterly historical journal covering Mennonite culture and religion.

Contact: David J. Rempel Smucker, Editor.

Address: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society,
2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster,
Pennsylvania 17602-1499.

Telephone: (717) 393-9745.

Fax: (717) 393-8751.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society (LMHS).

Individuals interested in the historical background, theology, culture, and genealogy of Mennonite and Amish related groups originating in Pennsylvania. Collects and preserves archival materials. Publishes the *Mirror* bimonthly.

Contact: Carolyn C. Wenger, Director.

Address: 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster,
Pennsylvania 17602-1499.

Telephone: (717) 393-9745.

Fax: (717) 393-8751.

National Committee for Amish Religious Freedom (NCARF).

Committee of professors, clergymen, attorneys, and others that provides legal defense for Amish people,

since the committee feels the Amish have religious scruples against defending themselves or seeking court action.

Contact: Rev. William C. Lindholm, Chair.

Address: 30650 Six Mile Road, Livonia, Michigan 48152.

Telephone: (734) 427-1414.

Fax: (734) 427-1419.

E-mail: wmlind@flash.net.

Online: <http://www.holycrosslivonia.org/amish>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Mennonite Historical Library.

Address: Goshen College, Goshen,
Indiana 46526.

Telephone: (219) 535-7000.

Ohio Amish Library.

Address: 4292 SR39, Millersburg, Ohio 44654.

Pequea Bruderschaft Library.

Address: P.O. Box 25, Gordonville,
Pennsylvania 17529.

The Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups.

Address: Elizabethtown College, One Alpha
Drive, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania 17022.

Telephone: (717) 361-1470.

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A PACHES

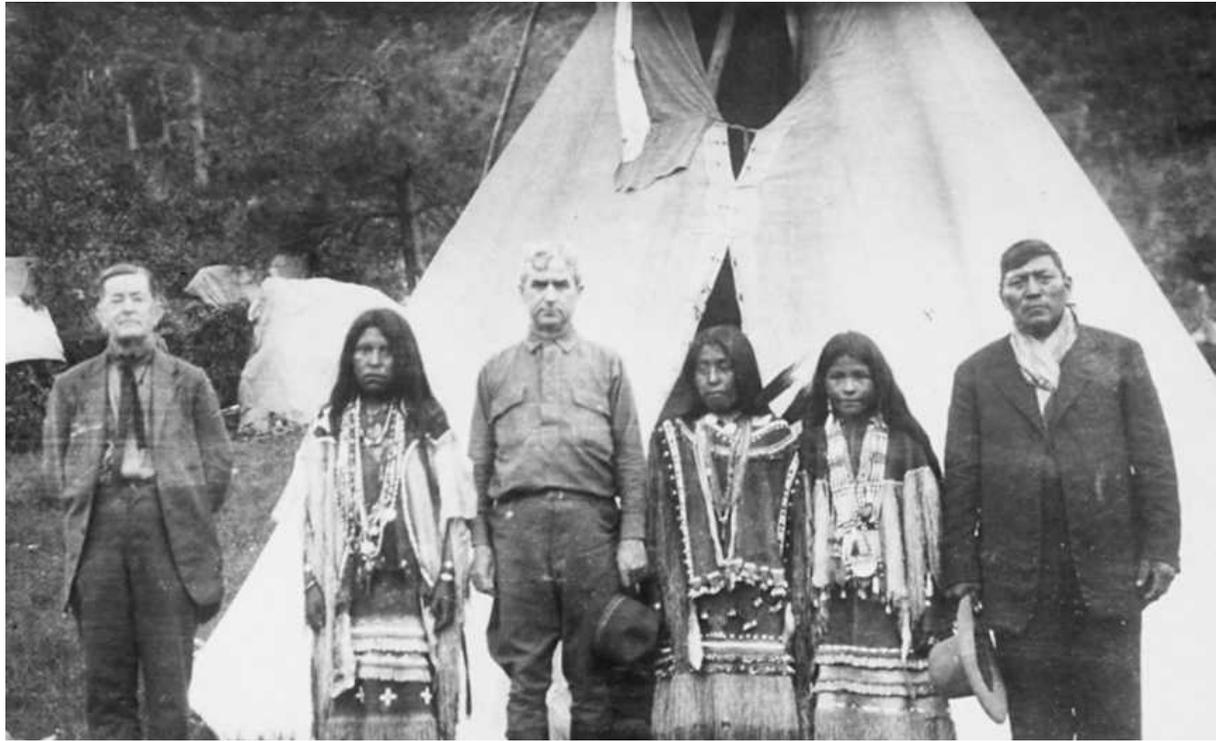
by
D. L. Birchfield

While adhering
strongly to their
culture in the face
of overwhelming
attempts to suppress
it, Apaches have
been adaptable at
the same time.

OVERVIEW

The name “Apache” is a Spanish corruption of “Apachii,” a Zuñi word meaning “enemy.” Federally recognized contemporary Apache tribal governments are located in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. Apache reservations are also located in Arizona and New Mexico. In Oklahoma, the Apache land was allotted in severalty under the General Allotment Act of 1887 (also known as the Dawes Act); Oklahoma Apaches became citizens of the new state of Oklahoma and of the United States in 1907. Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico were not granted U.S. citizenship until 1924. Since attempting to terminate its governmental relationship with Indian tribes in the 1950s, the United States has since adopted a policy of assisting the tribes in achieving some measure of self-determination, and the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld some attributes of sovereignty for Indian nations. In recent years Apache tribal enterprises such as ski areas, resorts, casinos, and lumber mills have helped alleviate chronically high rates of unemployment on the reservations, and bilingual and bicultural educational programs have resulted from direct Apache involvement in the educational process. As of 1990, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that 53,330 people identified themselves as Apache, up from 35,861 in 1980.

This photograph, taken on July 14, 1919 in Mescalero, New Mexico, features Apache Indians.



HISTORY

Apaches have endured severe economic and political disruptions, first by the Spanish, then by the Comanches, and later by the United States government. Apaches became known to the Spanish during authorized and illegal Spanish exploratory expeditions into the Southwest during the sixteenth century, beginning with the Coronado expedition of 1540, but including a number of others, at intervals, throughout the century. It was not until 1598, however, that Apaches had to adjust to the presence of Europeans within their homeland, when the expedition of Juan de Oñate entered the Pueblo country of the upper Rio Grande River Valley in the present state of New Mexico. Oñate intended to establish a permanent Spanish colony. The expedition successfully colonized the area, and by 1610 the town of Santa Fe had been founded. Until the arrival of the Spanish, the Apaches and the Pueblos had enjoyed a mercantile relationship: Pueblos traded their agricultural products and pottery to the Apaches in exchange for buffalo robes and dried meat. The annual visits of whole Apache tribes for trade fairs with the Pueblos, primarily at the pueblos of Taos and Picuris, were described with awe by the early Spaniards in the region. The Spanish, however, began annually to confiscate the Pueblo trade surpluses, thereby disrupting the trade. Nonetheless some Apaches, notably the Jicarillas, became friends and allies of the Spanish. A small group broke away from the Eastern Apaches in the 1600s and migrated into Texas and northern Mexico. This band became known as the Lipan Apaches and was subsequently enslaved by Spanish explorers and settlers

from Mexico in the 1700s. They were forced to work on ranches and in mines. The surviving Lipan Apaches were relocated to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico in 1903.

The historic southward migration of the Comanche Nation, beginning around 1700, was devastating for the Eastern Apaches. By about 1725 the Comanches had established authority throughout the whole of the Southern Plains region, pushing the Eastern Apaches (the Jicarillas north of Santa Fe, and the Mescaleros south of Santa Fe) into the mountains of the front range of the Rockies in New Mexico. Denied access to the buffalo herds, the Apaches turned to Spanish cattle and horses. When the Spanish were able to conclude a treaty of peace with the Comanches in 1786, they employed large bodies of Comanche and Navajo auxiliary troops with Spanish regulars, in implementing an Apache policy that pacified the entire Southwestern frontier by 1790. Each individual Apache group was hunted down and cornered, then offered a subsidy sufficient for their maintenance if they would settle near a Spanish mission, refrain from raiding Spanish livestock, and live peacefully. One by one, each Apache group accepted the terms. The peace, though little studied by modern scholars, is thought to have endured until near the end of the Spanish colonial era.

The start of the Mexican War with the United States in 1846 disrupted the peace, and by the time the United States moved into the Southwest at the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848, the Apaches posed an almost unsolvable problem. The Ameri-

cans, lacking both Spanish diplomatic skills and Spanish understanding of the Apaches, sought to subjugate the Apaches militarily, an undertaking that was not achieved until the final surrender of Geronimo's band in 1886. Some Apaches became prisoners of war, shipped first to Florida, then to Alabama, and finally to Oklahoma. Others entered a period of desultory reservation life in the Southwest.

MODERN ERA

Apache populations today may be found in Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico. The San Carlos Reservation in eastern Arizona occupies 1,900,000 acres and has a population of more than 6,000. The San Carlos Reservation and Fort Apache Reservation were administratively divided in 1897. In the 1920s the San Carlos Reservation established a business committee, which was dominated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The business committee evolved into a tribal council, which now runs the tribe as a corporation. The reservation lost most of its best farmland when the Coolidge Dam was completed in 1930. Mount Graham, 10,720 feet in elevation, is sacred land to the Apaches. It stands at the southern end of the reservation. The Tonto Reservation in east-central Arizona is a small community, closely related to the Tontos at Camp Verde Reservation.

The Fort Apache Reservation occupies 1,665,000 acres in eastern Arizona and has a population of more than 12,000. It is home to the Coyotero Apaches which include the Cibecue and White Mountain Apaches. Approximately half of the land is timbered; there is diverse terrain with different ecosystems depending upon the elevation, from 2,700 feet to 11,500 feet. Fort Apache was founded as a military post in 1863 and decommissioned in 1922. The Fort Apache Recreation Enterprise, begun in 1954, has created much economic activity, including Sunrise Ski Area, which generates more than \$9 million in revenue annually. In 1993, the White Mountain Apaches opened the Hon Dah (Apache for "Welcome") Casino on the Fort Apache Reservation.

The Camp Verde Reservation occupies approximately 500 acres in central Arizona. The reservation, in several small fragments, is shared by about an equal number of Tonto Apaches and Yavapai living in three communities, at Camp Verde, Middle Verde, and Clarksdale. About half of the 1,200 tribal members live on the reservation. Middle Verde is the seat of government, a tribal council that is elected from the three communities. The original tract of 40 acres, acquired in 1910, is at Camp

Verde. By 1916, an additional 400 acres had been added at Middle Verde. In 1969, 60 acres were acquired at Clarksdale, a donation of the Phelps-Dodge Company when it closed its Clarksdale mining operation, to be used as a permanent land base for the Yavapai-Apache community that had worked in the Clarksdale copper mines. An additional 75 acres of tribal land surrounds the Montezuma Castle National Monument. Approximately 280 acres at Middle Verde is suitable for agriculture. The tribe has the highest percentage of its students enrolled in college of any tribe in Arizona.

The Jicarilla Reservation occupies 750,000 acres in north-central New Mexico. There are two divisions among the Jicarilla, the Olleros ("Potmakers") and the Llaneros ("Plains People"). Jicarilla is a Spanish word meaning "Little Basket." In 1907, the reservation was enlarged, with the addition of a large block of land to the south of the original section. In the 1920s, most Jicarilla were stockmen. Many lived on isolated ranches, until drought began making sheep raising unprofitable. After World War II, oil and gas were discovered on the southern portion of the reservation, which by 1986 was producing annual income of \$25 million (which dropped to \$11 million during the recession in the early 1990s). By the end of the 1950s, 90 percent of the Jicarilla had moved to the vicinity of the agency town of Dulce.

The Mescalero Reservation occupies 460,000 acres in southeast New Mexico in the Sacramento Mountains northeast of Alamogordo. Located in the heart of a mountain recreational area, the Mescaleros have taken advantage of the scenic beauty, bringing tourist dollars into their economy with such enterprises as the Inn of the Mountain Gods, which offers several restaurants and an 18-hole golf course. Another tribal operation, a ski area named Ski Apache, brings in more revenue. The nearby Ruidoso Downs horse racing track also attracts visitors to the area. From mid-May to mid-September, lake and stream fishing is accessible at Eagle Creek Lakes, Silver Springs, and Rio Ruidoso recreation areas. The Mescaleros, like the Jicarilla, are an Eastern Apache tribe, with many cultural influences from the Southern Great Plains.

Apaches in Oklahoma, except for Kiowa Apaches, are descendants of the 340 members of Geronimo's band of Chiricahua Apaches. The Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war, first in 1886 at Fort Marion, Florida, then for seven years at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, and finally at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. By the time they arrived in Fort Sill on October 4, 1894, their numbers had been reduced by illness to 296 men, women and

children. They remained prisoners of war on the Fort Sill Military Reservation until 1913. In that year, a total of 87 Chiricahua were allotted lands on the former Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, not far from Fort Sill.

The Kiowa-Apache are a part of the Kiowa Nation. The Kiowa-Apache are under the jurisdiction of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Agency of the Anadarko Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In the 1950s, the Kiowa-Apache held two seats on the 12-member Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Business Committee. Elections for the Kiowa-Apache seats on the Business Committee were held every four years at Fort Cobb. The Kiowas and the Comanches now have separate business committees, which function as the equivalent of tribal governments, and the Kiowa-Apaches have remained allied with the Kiowas. The Kiowa-Apache are an Athapascan-speaking people. They are thought to have diverged from other Athapascans in the northern Rocky Mountains while the Southern Athapascans were in the process of migrating to the Southwest. They became allied with the Kiowas, who at that time lived near the headwaters of the Missouri River in the high Rockies, and they migrated to the Southern Plains with the Kiowas, stopping en route for a time in the vicinity of the Black Hills. Since they first became known to Europeans, they have been closely associated with the Kiowas on the Great Plains. The Lewis and Clark expedition met the Kiowa-Apaches in 1805 and recorded the first estimate of their population, giving them an approximate count of 300. The Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches eventually became close allies of the Comanches on the Southern Plains. By treaty in 1868 the Kiowa-Apaches joined the Kiowas and Comanches on the same reservation. A devastating measles epidemic killed hundreds of the three tribes in 1892. In 1901, the tribal estate was allotted to individual tribal members, and the remainder of their land was opened to settlement by American farmers. The Kiowa-Apache allotments are near the communities of Fort Cobb and Apache in Caddo County, Oklahoma. Official population reports for the Kiowa-Apaches put their numbers at 378 in 1871, 344 in 1875, 349 in 1889, 208 in 1896, and 194 in 1924. In 1951, historian Muriel Wright estimated their population in Oklahoma at approximately 400.

THE FIRST APACHES IN AMERICA

Apaches are, relatively speaking, new arrivals in the Southwest. Their language family, Athapascan, is dispersed over a vast area of the upper Western hemisphere, from Alaska and Canada to Mexico. Apaches have moved farther south than any other

members of the Athapascan language family, which includes the Navajo, who are close relatives of the Apaches. When Spaniards first encountered the Apaches and Navajos in the sixteenth century, they could not tell them apart and referred to the Navajo as *Apaches de Navajo*.

Athapascans are generally believed to have been among the last peoples to have crossed the land bridge between Siberia and Alaska during the last interglacial epoch. Most members of the language family still reside in the far north. Exactly when the Apaches and Navajos began their migration southward is not known, but it is clear that they had not arrived in the Southwest before the end of the fourteenth century. The Southwest was home to a number of flourishing civilizations—the ancient puebloans, the Mogollon, the Hohokum, and others—until near the end of the fourteenth century. Those ancient peoples are now believed to have become the Papago, Pima, and Pueblo peoples of the contemporary Southwest. Scholars at one time assumed that the arrival of the Apaches and Navajos played a role in the abandonment of those ancient centers of civilization. It is now known that prolonged drought near the end of the fourteenth century was the decisive factor in disrupting what was already a delicate balance of life for those agricultural cultures in the arid Southwest. The Apaches and Navajos probably arrived to find that the ancient puebloans in the present-day Four Corners area had reestablished themselves near dependable sources of water in the Pueblo villages of the upper Rio Grande Valley in what is now New Mexico, and that the Mogollon in southwestern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona and the Hohokam in southern Arizona had likewise migrated from their ancient ruins. When Spaniards first entered the region, with the expedition of Francisco de Coronado in 1540, the Apaches and Navajos had already established themselves in their homeland.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The Grand Apacheria, as it was known, the homeland of the Apaches, was a vast region stretching from what is now central Arizona in the west to present-day central and south Texas in the east, and from northern Mexico in the south to the high plains of what became eastern Colorado in the north. This region was divided between Eastern and Western Apaches. Eastern Apaches were Plains Apaches. In the days before the horse, and before the historic southward migration of the Comanche Nation, in the early 1700s, the Plains Apaches were the lords of the Southern Plains. Western Apaches lived primarily on the western side of the Conti-

mental Divide in the mountains of present-day Arizona and western New Mexico. When the Comanches adopted the use of the horse and migrated southward out of what is now Wyoming, they displaced the Eastern Apaches from the Southern Great Plains, who then took up residence in the mountainous country of what eventually became eastern New Mexico.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

While adhering strongly to their culture in the face of overwhelming attempts to suppress it, Apaches have been adaptable at the same time. As an example, approximately 70 percent of the Jicarillas still practice the Apache religion. When the first Jicarilla tribal council was elected, following the reforms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, ten of its 18 members were medicine men and five others were traditional leaders from chiefs' families. In 1978, a survey found that at least one-half of the residents of the reservation still spoke Jicarilla, and one-third of the households used it regularly. Jicarilla children in the 1990s, however, prefer English, and few of the younger children learn Jicarilla today. The director of the Jicarilla Education Department laments the direction such changes are taking, but no plans are underway to require the children to learn Jicarilla. At the same time, Jicarillas are demonstrating a new pride in traditional crafts. Basketry and pottery making, which had nearly died out during the 1950s, are now valued skills once again, taught and learned with renewed vigor. Many Apaches say they are trying to have the best of both worlds, attempting to survive in the dominant culture while still remaining Apache.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The most enduring Apache custom is the puberty ceremony for girls, held each summer. Clan relatives still play important roles in these ceremonies, when girls become Changing Woman for the four days of their *nai'es*. These are spectacular public events, proudly and vigorously advertised by the tribe.

EDUCATION

Many Apache children were sent to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania not long after the school was founded in 1879 by Richard Henry Pratt; a large group of them arrived in 1887. Government and mission schools were established among the Apache

es in the 1890s. These schools pursued vigorous assimilationist policies, including instruction only in English. By 1952, eighty percent of the Apaches in Arizona spoke English. Today, Apaches participate in decisions involving the education of their young, and this has resulted in exemplary bilingual and bicultural programs at the public schools at the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations, especially in the elementary grades. In 1959, the Jicarilla in New Mexico incorporated their school district with the surrounding Hispanic towns. Within 30 years, its school board included four Jicarilla members, including the editor of the tribal newspaper. In 1988, the Jicarilla school district was chosen New Mexico School District of the Year.

Some Apache communities, like the Cibecue community at White Mountain Reservation, are more conservative and traditional than others, but all value their traditional culture, which has proven to be enduring. Increasingly, especially in communities such as the White Mountain Reservation, education is being used as a tool to develop human resources so that educated tribal members can find ways for the tribe to engage in economic activity that will allow more of its people to remain on the reservation, thus preserving its community and culture.

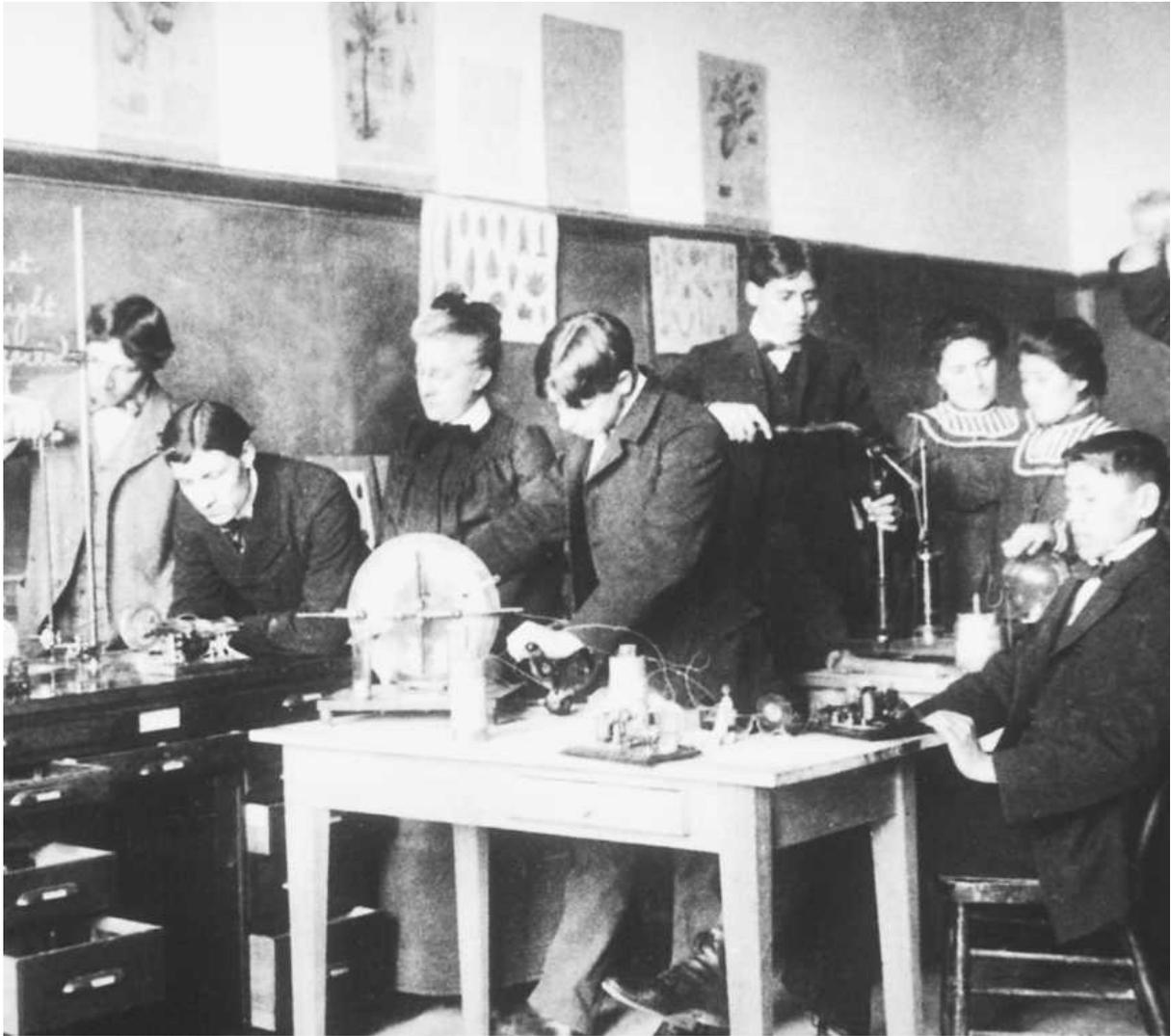
CUISINE

Baked mescal, a large desert agave plant, is a uniquely traditional Apache food and is still occasionally harvested and prepared. The proper season for harvesting is May or June, when massive red flowers begin to appear in the mescal patches; it requires specialized knowledge just to find them. The plant is dug out of the ground and stripped, leaving a white bulb two to three feet in circumference. A large cooking pit is dug, about 15 feet long, four feet wide, and four feet deep, large enough to cook about 2,000 pounds of mescal. The bottom of the pit is lined with stones, on top of which fires are built. The mescal is layered on top of the stones, covered with a layer of straw, and then with a layer of dirt. When cooked, the mescal is a fibrous, sticky, syrupy substance with a flavor similar to molasses. Portions are also dried in thin layers, which can last indefinitely without spoiling, and which provide the Apaches with lightweight rations for extended journeys.

CRAFTS

Reconstructed traditional houses of the Apache, Maricopa, Papago, and Pima are on display at the Gila River Arts and Crafts Museum in Sacaton, Arizona, south of Phoenix. The gift shop at the

These Apache boys and girls are conducting physics experiments at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, c. 1915.



museum sells arts and crafts from more than 30 tribes in the Southwest. Gift shops selling locally made traditional crafts can also be found at visitor centers, museums, or the tribal complex on the Apache reservations in Arizona and New Mexico. San Carlos Apache women are famous for their twined burden baskets. They are made in full size and in miniature. Another specialty is coiled basketry, featuring complex designs in black devil's claw. Mescalero Apache women also fashion sandals and bags from mescal fibers.

DANCES AND SONGS

Charlotte Heth, of the Department of Ethnomusicology, University of California, Los Angeles, has noted in a chapter in *Native America: Portrait of the Peoples* that "Apache and Navajo song style are similar: tense, nasal voices; rhythmic pulsation; clear articulation of words in alternating sections with vocables. Both Apache Crown Dancers and Navajo Yeibichei (Night Chant) dancers wear masks and sing partially in falsetto or in voices imitating the supernaturals."

The White Mountain Apache Sunrise Dance signifies a girl's entrance into womanhood. When a girl performs the elaborate dance she will be bestowed with special blessings. The ceremony involves the parents choosing godparents for the girl. Also, a medicine man is selected to prepare the sacred items used in the four-day event, including an eagle feather for the girl's hair, deer skin clothing, and paint made from corn and clay. The dance itself lasts three to six hours and is performed twice to 32 songs and prayers. The Crown Dance or Mountain Spirit Dance is a masked dance in which the participants impersonate deities of the mountains—specifically the *Gans*, or mountain spirits. The Apache Fire Dance is also a masked dance. Instruments for making music include the water drum, the hand-held rattle, and the human voice. Another traditional instrument still used in ritual and ceremonial events is the bullroarer, a thin piece of wood suspended from a string and swung in a circle. Not all dances are open to the public. Visitors should call the tribal office to find out when dances are scheduled at which they will be welcome. The Yavapai-Apache,



Mescalero Apache
Devil Dancers
perform at
powwows around
the country.

Camp Verde, Arizona, occasionally present public performances of the Mountain Spirit Dance. Oklahoma Apaches sometimes perform the Fire Dance at the annual American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma; and the San Carlos Apache, San Carlos, Arizona, and the White Mountain Apache, Whiteriver, Arizona, perform the Sunrise Dance and Mountain Spirit Dance throughout the summer, but their traditional dances are most easily observed at the San Carlos Tribal Fair and the White Mountain Tribal Fair.

HOLIDAYS

Apaches celebrate a number of holidays each year with events that are open to the public. The San Carlos Apache Tribal Fair is celebrated annually over Veterans Day weekend at San Carlos, Arizona. The Tonto Apache and Yavapai-Apache perform public dances each year at the Coconino Center for the Arts, Flagstaff, Arizona, on the Fourth of July. The White Mountain Apache host The Apache Tribal Fair, which usually occurs on Labor Day weekend, at Whiteriver, Arizona. The Jicarilla Apache host the Little Beaver Rodeo and Powwow, usually in late July, and the Goojiiya Feast Day on September 14-15 each year, at Dulce, New Mexico. The Mescalero Apache Gahan Ceremonial occurs each year on July 1-4 at Mescalero, New Mexico. Apaches in Oklahoma participate in the huge, week-long American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma, each August.

HEALTH ISSUES

Apaches have suffered devastating health problems from the last decades of the nineteenth century and throughout most of the twentieth century. Many of these problems are associated with malnutrition, poverty, and despair. They have suffered incredibly high rates of contagious diseases such as tuberculosis. Once tuberculosis was introduced among the Jicarilla, it spread at an alarming rate. The establishment of schools, beginning in 1903, only gave the tuberculosis bacteria a means of spreading rapidly throughout the entire tribe. By 1914, 90 percent of the Jicarillas suffered from tuberculosis. Between 1900 and 1920, one-quarter of the people died. One of the reservation schools had to be converted into a tuberculosis sanitarium in an attempt to address the crisis. The sanitarium was not closed until 1940.

Among nearly all Native peoples of North America, alcohol has been an insidious, destructive force, and the Apache are no exception. A recent study found that on both the Fort Apache Reservation and the San Carlos Reservation, alcohol was a factor in more than 85 percent of the major crimes. Alcohol, though long known to the Apache, has not always been a destructive force. Sharing the traditional *telapi* (fermented corn sprouts), in the words of one elder, "made people feel good about each other and what they were doing together." Alcohol as a destructive force in Apache culture is a phenomenon that dates from colonization, and it has been a byproduct of demoralization and despair. Tribal leaders have attempted to address the underlying health problems by trying to create tribal

enterprise, by fostering and encouraging bilingual and bicultural educational opportunities, and by trying to make it possible for Apaches to gain more control over their lives.

LANGUAGE

The Athapascan language family has four branches: Northern Athapascan, Southwestern Athapascan, Pacific Coast Athapascan, and Eyak, a southeast Alaska isolate. The Athapascan language family is one of three families within the Na-Dene language phylum; the other two, the Tlingit family and the Haida family, are language isolates in the far north, Tlingit in southeast Alaska, and Haida in British Columbia. Na-Dene is one of the most widely distributed language phyla in North America. The Southwestern Athapascan language, sometimes called Apachean, has seven dialects: Navajo, Western Apache, Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

For the Apaches, the family is the primary unit of political and cultural life. Apaches have never been a unified nation politically, and individual Apache tribes, until very recently, have never had a centralized government, traditional or otherwise. Extended family groups acted entirely independently of one another. At intervals during the year a number of these family groups, related by dialect, custom, intermarriage, and geographical proximity, might come together, as conditions and circumstances might warrant. In the aggregate, these groups might be identifiable as a tribal division, but they almost never acted together as a tribal division or as a nation—not even when faced with the overwhelming threat of the Comanche migration into their Southern Plains territory. The existence of these many different, independent, extended family groups of Apaches made it impossible for the Spanish, the Mexicans, or the Americans to treat with the Apache Nation as a whole. Each individual group had to be treated with separately, an undertaking that proved difficult for each colonizer who attempted to establish authority within the Apache homeland.

Apache culture is matrilineal. Once married, the man goes with the wife's extended family, where she is surrounded by her relatives. Spouse abuse is practically unknown in such a system. Should the marriage not endure, child custody quarrels are also unknown: the children remain with the wife's

extended family. Marital harmony is encouraged by a custom forbidding the wife's mother to speak to, or even be in the presence of, her son-in-law. No such stricture applies to the wife's grandmother, who frequently is a powerful presence in family life. Apache women are chaste, and children are deeply loved.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Apaches can be found pursuing careers in all the professions, though most of them must leave their communities to do so. Some are college faculty; others, such as Allan Houser, grand-nephew of Geronimo, have achieved international reputations in the arts. Farming and ranching continue to provide employment for many Apaches, and Apaches have distinguished themselves as some of the finest professional rodeo performers.

By 1925, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had leased nearly all of the San Carlos Reservation to non-Indian cattlemen, who demonstrated no concern about overgrazing. Most of the best San Carlos farmland was flooded when Coolidge Dam was completed in 1930. Recreational concessions around the lake benefit mostly non-Natives. By the end of the 1930s, the tribe regained control of its rangeland and most San Carlos Apaches became stockmen. Today, the San Carlos Apache cattle operation generates more than \$1 million in sales annually. Cattle, timber, and mining leases provide additional revenue. There is some individual mining activity for the semiprecious peridot gemstones. A chronic high level of unemployment is the norm on most reservations in the United States. More than 50 percent of the tribe is unemployed. The unemployment rate on the reservation itself is about 20 percent. U.S. Census Bureau figures show the median family income for Apaches was \$19,690, which is \$16,000 less than for the general population. Also, 37.5 percent of Apaches had incomes at or below the poverty level as of 1989.

A number of tribal economic enterprises offer some employment opportunities. The Fort Apache Timber Company in Whiteriver, Arizona, owned and operated by the White Mountain Apache, employs about 400 Apache workers. It has a gross annual income of approximately \$30 million, producing 100 million board feet of lumber annually (approximately 720,000 acres of the reservation is timberland). The tribe also owns and operates the Sunrise Park Ski Area and summer resort, three miles south of McNary, Arizona. It is open year-round, and contributes both jobs and tourist dollars

to the local economy. The ski area has seven lifts and generates \$9 million in revenue per year. Another tribally owned enterprise is the White Mountain Apache Motel and Restaurant. The White Mountain Apache Tribal Fair is another important event economically.

The Jicarilla Apache also operate a ski enterprise, offering equipment rentals and trails for a cross-country ski program during the winter months. The gift shop at the Jicarilla museum provides an outlet for the sale of locally crafted Jicarilla traditional items, including basketry, beadwork, feather work, and finely tanned buckskin leather.

Many members of the Mescalero Apache find employment at their ski resort, Ski Apache. Others work at the tribal museum and visitor center in Mescalero, Arizona. A 440-room Mescalero resort, the Inn of the Mountain Gods, has a gift shop, several restaurants, and an 18-hole golf course, and offers casino gambling, horseback riding, skeet and trap shooting, and tennis. The tribe also has a 7,000-head cattle ranch, a sawmill, and a metal fabrication plant. In 1995, the Mescaleros signed a controversial \$2 billion deal with 21 nuclear power plant operators to store nuclear waste on a remote corner of the reservation. The facility is scheduled to open in 2002, barring any legal challenges.

For the Yavapai-Apache, whose small reservation has fewer than 300 acres of land suitable for agriculture, the tourist complex at the Montezuma Castle National Monument—where the tribe owns the 75 acres of land surrounding the monument—is an important source of employment and revenue.

Tourism, especially for events such as tribal fairs and for hunting and fishing, provides jobs and brings money into the local economies at a number of reservations. Deer and elk hunting are especially popular on the Jicarilla reservation. The Jicarilla also maintain five campgrounds where camping is available for a fee. Other campgrounds are maintained by the Mescalero Apache (3), the San Carlos Apache (4), and the White Mountain Apache (18).

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Apache tribes are federally recognized tribes. They have established tribal governments under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (25 U.S.C. 461-279), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, and they successfully withstood attempts by the U.S. government to implement its policy during the 1950s of terminating Indian tribes. The Wheeler-Howard Act, however, while allowing some measure of self-determination in their affairs, has caused

problems for virtually every Indian nation in the United States, and the Apaches are no exception. The act subverts traditional Native forms of government and imposes upon Native people an alien system, which is something of a mix of American corporate and governmental structures. Invariably, the most traditional people in each tribe have had little to say about their own affairs, as the most heavily acculturated and educated mixed-blood factions have dominated tribal affairs in these foreign imposed systems. Frequently these tribal governments have been little more than convenient shams to facilitate access to tribal mineral and timber resources in arrangements that benefit everyone but the Native people, whose resources are exploited. The situations and experiences differ markedly from tribe to tribe in this regard, but it is a problem that is, in some measure, shared by all.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Apaches were granted U.S. citizenship under the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. They did not legally acquire the right to practice their Native religion until the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (42 U.S.C. 1996). Other important rights, and some attributes of sovereignty, have been restored to them by such legislation as the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1966 (25 U.S.C. 1301), the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975 (25 U.S.C. 451a), and the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (25 U.S.C. 1901). Under the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, the Jicarillas have been awarded nearly \$10 million in compensation for land unjustly taken from them, but the United States refuses to negotiate the return of any of this land. In *Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Jicarillas in an important case concerning issues of tribal sovereignty, holding that the Jicarillas have the right to impose tribal taxes upon minerals extracted from their lands.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

LITERATURE, ACADEMIA, AND THE ARTS

Apaches are making important contributions to Native American literature and the arts. Lorenzo Baca, of Mescalero Apache and Isleta Pueblo heritage, is not only a writer, but also a performing and visual artist who does fine art, sculpture, video, storytelling and acting. His poetry has been anthologized in *The Shadows of Light: Poetry and Photography*

of the *Motherlode and Sierras* (Jelm Mountain Publications), in *Joint Effort II: Escape* (Sierra Conservation Center), and in *Neon Powwow: New Native American Voices of the Southwest* (Northland Publishing). His audio recording, *Songs, Poems and Lies*, was produced by Mr. Coyote Man Productions. An innovative writer, his circle stories entitled “Ten Rounds” in *Neon Powwow* illustrate his imagination and capacity to create new forms of poetic expression. Jicarilla Apache creative writers Stacey Velarde and Carlson Vicenti present portraits of Native people in the modern world in their stories in the *Neon Powwow* anthology. Velarde, who has been around horses all her life and has competed in professional rodeos since the age of 13, applies this background and knowledge in her story “Carnival Lights,” while Vicenti, in “Hitching” and “Oh Saint Michael,” shows how Native people incorporate traditional ways into modern life.

White Mountain Apache poet Roman C. Adrian has published poetry in *Sun Tracks*, *The New Times*, *Do Not Go Gentle*, and *The Remembered Earth*. The late Chiricahua Apache poet Blossom Haozous, of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was a leader in the bilingual presentation of Apache traditional stories, both orally and in publication. One of the stories, “Quarrel Between Thunder and Wind” was published bilingually in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, the quarterly scholarly journal of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Jose L. Garza, Coahuilteca and Apache, is not only a leading Native American poet but a leading Native American educator as well. His poetry has appeared in such publications as *Akwe:kon Journal*, of the American Indian Program at Cornell University, *The Native Sun*, *New Rain Anthology*, *The Wayne Review*, *Triage*, and *The Wooster Review*. Garza is a professor at Edinboro University in Pennsylvania and is a regional coordinator of Wordcraft Circle of Native American Mentor and Apprentice Writers. In Wordcraft Circle, he organizes and helps conduct intensive writing workshops in which young Native writers from all tribes have an opportunity to hone their creative skills and learn how they can publish their work.

Other Apache writers include Lou Cuevas, author of *Apache Legends: Songs of the Wild Dancer* and *In the Valley of the Ancients: A Book of Native American Legends* (both Naturegraph); Jicarilla Apache scholar Veronica E. Velarde Tiller, the author of *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe* (University of Nebraska Press); and Michael Lacapa, of Apache, Hopi, and Pueblo heritage, the author of *The Flute Player*, *Antelope Woman: An Apache Folktale*, and *The Mouse Couple* (all Northland). Throughout the Apache tribes, the traditional literature and knowl-

edge of the people is handed down from generation to generation by storytellers who transmit their knowledge orally.

VISUAL ARTS

Chiricahua Apache sculptor Allan Houser has been acclaimed throughout the world for his six decades of work in wood, marble, stone, and bronze. Houser was born June 30, 1914, near Apache, Oklahoma. He died on August 22, 1994, in Santa Fe, New Mexico. His Apache surname was Haozous, which means “Pulling Roots.”

In the 1960s, Houser was a charter faculty member at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, where he began to cast statues in bronze. He taught until 1975. After retirement from teaching, he devoted himself full-time to his work, creating sculptures in bronze, wood, and stone. In April 1994, he presented an 11-foot bronze sculpture to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in Washington, D.C., as a gift from the American Indians to all people.

Houser was known primarily for his large sculptures. Many of these could be seen in a sculpture garden, arranged among pinon and juniper trees, near his studio. His work is included in the British Royal Collection, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado, the Museum of Northern Arizona at Flagstaff, Arizona, the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany, the Fine Arts Museum of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, New Mexico, the Apache Tribal Cultural Center in Apache, Oklahoma, the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the University Center in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Houser’s work has won many awards, including the Prix de West Award in 1993 for a bronze sculpture titled “Smoke Signals” at the annual National Academy of Western Art show at the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. “Smoke Signals” is now a part of the permanent collection of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame.

One of his best known works, a bronze statue of an Indian woman, titled “As Long as the Waters Flow,” stands in front of the state capitol of Oklahoma in Oklahoma City. At the University of Oklahoma, in Norman, two large Houser sculptures were on loan to the university and on display on the grounds of the campus at the time of his death. At the Fred Jones Jr. Museum on campus several Houser pieces from private Oklahoma collections were on view. Upon his death, the University of Oklahoma Student Association announced the creation of the Allan Houser Memorial Sculpture

Fund. The fund will be used to purchase a major Houser sculpture for permanent display on the University of Oklahoma campus.

Jordan Torres (1964–) is a Mescalero Apache sculptor from the tribe's reservation near Ruidoso, New Mexico. His work illustrates the Apache way of life. It includes "Forever," an alabaster sculpture of an Apache warrior carrying a shield and blanket; and a white buffalo entitled "On the Edge."

MEDIA

PRINT

Apache Drumbeat.

Address: Bylas, Arizona 85530.

Apache Junction Independent.

Community newspaper.

Contact: Jim Files, Editor.

Address: Independent Newspapers, Inc., 201 West Apache Trail, Suite 107, Apache Junction, Arizona 85220.

Telephone: (480) 982-7799.

Apache News.

Community newspaper founded in 1901.

Contact: Stanley Wright, Editor.

Address: Box 778, Apache, Oklahoma 73006.

Telephone: (405) 588-3862.

Apache Scout.

Address: Mescalero, New Mexico 88340.

Bear Track.

Address: 1202 West Thomas Road, Phoenix, Arizona 85013.

Center for Indian Education News.

Address: 302 Farmer Education Building, Room 302, Tempe, Arizona 85287.

Drumbeat.

Address: Institute of American Indian Arts, Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

Fort Apache Scout.

Bi-weekly community newspaper.

Address: Box 898, Whiteriver, Arizona 85941.

Telephone: (520) 338-4813.

Four Directions.

Address: 1812 Las Lomas, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131.

Gila River Indian News.

Address: Box 97, Sacaton, Arizona 85247.

Jicarilla Chieftain.

Contact: Mary F. Polanco, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 507, Dulce, New Mexico 87528.

Telephone: (505) 759-3242.

Fax: (505) 759-3005.

San Carlos Moccasin.

Address: P.O. Box 775, San Carlos, Arizona 85550.

Smoke Dreams.

High school newspaper for Apache students.

Address: Riverside Indian School, Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005.

Thunderbird.

High school newspaper for Apache students.

Address: Albuquerque Indian School, 1000 Indian School Road, N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103.

UTS'ITTISCTAAN'I.

Address: Northern Arizona University, Campus Box 5630, Flagstaff, Arizona 86011.

RADIO

KCIE-FM (90.5).

Jicarilla Apache radio station.

Contact: Warren Cassador, Station Manager.

Address: P.O. Box 603, Dulce, New Mexico 87528.

Telephone: (505) 759-3681.

Fax: (505) 759-3005.

KENN.

Address: 212 West Apache, Farmington, New Mexico 87401.

Telephone: (505) 325-3541.

KGAK-AM.

Address: 401 East Coal Road, Gallup, New Mexico 87301-6099.

Telephone: (505) 863-4444.

KGHR-FM (91.5).

Address: P.O. Box 160, Tuba City, Arizona 86519.
Telephone: (520) 283-6271, Extension 177.
Fax: (520) 283-6604.

KHAC-AM (1110).

Address: Drawer F, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.

KNNB-FM (88.1).

White Mountain Apache radio station. Eclectic and ethnic format 18 hours daily.

Contact: Phoebe L. Nez, General Manager.
Address: Highway 73, Skill Center Road, P.O.
Box 310, Whiteriver, Arizona 85941.
Telephone: (520) 338-5229.
Fax: (520) 338-1744.

KPLZ.

Address: 816 Sixth Street, Parker,
Arizona 85344-4599.
Address: 115 West Broadway Street, Anadarko,
Oklahoma 73005.
Telephone: (405) 247-6682.

KTDB-FM (89.7).

Address: P.O. Box 89, Pine Hill,
New Mexico 87321.

KTNN-AM.

Address: P.O. Box 2569, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.
Telephone: (520) 871-2582.

TELEVISION

KSWO-TV.

Address: P.O. Box 708, Lawton,
Oklahoma 73502.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Apache Tribe of Oklahoma.

Address: P.O. Box 1220, Anadarko,
Oklahoma 73005.
Telephone: (405) 247-9493.
Fax: (405) 247-9232.

Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma.

Address: Rural Route 2, Box 121, Apache,
Oklahoma 73006.
Telephone: (405) 588-2298.
Fax: (405) 588-3313.

Jicarilla Apache Tribe.

Address: P.O. Box 147, Dulce,
New Mexico 87528.
Telephone: (505) 759-3242.
Fax: (505) 759-3005.

Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma.

Address: P.O. Box 369, Carnegie,
Oklahoma 73015.
Telephone: (405) 654-2300.
Fax: (405) 654-2188.

Mescalero Apache Tribe.

Address: P.O. Box 176, Mescalero,
New Mexico 88340.
Telephone: (505) 671-4495.
Fax: (505) 671-4495.

New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs.

Address: 330 East Palace Avenue, Santa Fe,
New Mexico 87501.

New Mexico Indian Advisory Commission.

Address: Box 1667, Albuquerque,
New Mexico 87107.

San Carlos Apache Tribe.

Address: P.O. Box O, San Carlos, Arizona, 85550.
Telephone: (520) 475-2361.
Fax: (520) 475-2567.

Tonto Apache Tribal Council.

Address: Tonto Reservation No. 30,
Payson, Arizona 85541.
Telephone: (520) 474-5000.
Fax: (520) 474-9125.

White Mountain Apache Tribe.

Contact: Dallas Massey Sr., Tribal Council
Chairman.
Address: P.O. Box 700, Whiteriver,
Arizona 85941.
Telephone: (520) 338-4346.
Fax: (520) 338-1514.

Yavapai-Apache Tribe.

Address: P.O. Box 1188, Camp Verde, Arizona.

Telephone: (520) 567-3649.

Fax: (520) 567-9455.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Apache museums and research centers include: Albuquerque Museum in Albuquerque, New Mexico; American Research Museum in Santa Fe, New Mexico; Art Center in Roswell, New Mexico; Bacone College Museum in Muskogee, Oklahoma; Black Water Draw Museum in Portales, New Mexico; Coronado Monument in Bernalillo, New Mexico; Ethnology Museum in Santa Fe; Fine Arts Museum in Santa Fe; Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma; Great Plains Museum in Lawton, Oklahoma; Hall of the Modern Indian in Santa Fe; Heard Museum of Anthropology in Phoenix, Arizona; Indian Hall of Fame in Anadarko, Oklahoma; Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe; Maxwell Museum in Albuquerque; Milicent Rogers Museum in Taos, New Mexico; Northern Arizona Museum in Flagstaff; Oklahoma Historical Society Museum in Oklahoma City; Philbrook Museum in Tulsa; Southern Plains Indian Museum in Anadarko; State Museum of Arizona in Tempe; Stovall Museum at the University of Oklahoma in Norman; San Carlos Apache Cultural Center in Peridot, Arizona.

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In the 1950s and
1960s the Arab
countries resonated
with nationalist
ideologies, and
the Arab world
was filled with
promise and hope,
especially regarding
the question of
Palestine and Arab
national unity—two
of the burning issues
of the day.

A R A B A M E R I C A N S

by
Nabeel Abraham

OVERVIEW

Arab Americans trace their ancestral roots to several Arab countries. Lebanon is the homeland of a majority of Arab Americans, followed by Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, and Jordan. The Arab world consists of 21 countries that span from North Africa to the Persian Gulf.

HISTORY

Ethnic Arabs inhabited the Arabian Peninsula and neighboring areas. With the rise of Islam in the seventh century A.D. and its phenomenal expansion over parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe, Arabic culture and language spread to the newly conquered peoples. Over time the Arab identity lost its purely ethnic roots as millions in the Middle East and North Africa adopted the Arabic language and integrated Arab culture with that of their own.

MODERN ERA

Today, the term Arab is a cultural, linguistic, and to some extent, political designation. It embraces numerous national and regional groups as well as many non-Muslim religious minorities. Arab Christians, particularly in the countries of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent (Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Jordan) constitute roughly ten percent of the population. In Lebanon, Christians of various sects

approach just under half of the population, while in Egypt, Christians comprise between ten and 15 percent of the population.

ARABS IN AMERICA

According to the 1990 census, there were 870,000 persons in the United States who identified themselves as ethnically Arab or who emigrated from one of the 21 countries that constitute the contemporary Arab world. Previous estimates by scholars and Arab American community organizations placed the number of Arab Americans at between one and three million. The discrepancy is partly due to the standardization of Arabs in the United States, leading many to conceal their ethnic affiliation. The traditional suspicion of Middle Easterners toward government authorities seeking information of a personal nature compounds this problem. These two factors, along with standard problems in collecting census data, probably explain the discrepancy between the estimates of scholars and the actual census count. Considering these factors, a revised estimate likely would place the number of Arab Americans in the range of one to two million.

The 1990 census indicates that most Arab Americans are U.S. citizens (82 percent) even though only 63 percent were born in the United States. Arab Americans are geographically concentrated in a handful of cities and states. According to an essay in *American Demographics* by Samia El-Badry, over two-thirds of Arab Americans live in ten states while just three metropolitan areas (Detroit, New York, and Los Angeles-Long Beach) account for over one-third of the population.

Arab immigrants represent a tiny fraction of the overall migration to the United States, constituting less than three percent of the total. In her study of the census data, El-Badry found that more than 27,000 people from Arab countries immigrated to the United States in 1992, 68 percent more than those who arrived ten years earlier, not including Palestinians from Israel or Israeli-occupied territory. Approximately 20 percent of the 78,400 Arab immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1990 and 1992 were Lebanese. The remainder were from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq. The figures for Sudan and Yemen, though small in comparison, indicated rapid growth from these politically unstable countries.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Arabic-speaking immigrants arrived in the United States in three major waves. The first wave between

the late 1800s and World War I consisted mainly of immigrants from Greater Syria, an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire until the end of World War I. Following the breakup of the Empire, the province was partitioned into the separate political entities of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. The vast majority of immigrants in this wave were members of Christian minorities. Although some writers claim that these immigrants left their native countries for religious or political reasons, the evidence suggests that they were drawn to the United States and other countries by economic opportunity.

Of the approximately 60,000 Arabs who emigrated to the United States between 1899 and 1910, approximately half were illiterate, and 68 percent were single males. The early immigrants were mostly unskilled single men who had left their families behind. Like many economically motivated immigrants during this period, Arabs left with the intention of earning money and returning home to live out the remainder of their lives in relative prosperity.

The major exception to this pattern was a small group of Arab writers, poets, and artists who took up residence in major urban centers such as New York and Boston. The most famous of the group was Kahlil Gibran (1883-1931), author of *The Prophet* and numerous other works. Curiously, this literary circle, which came to be known as the Pen League (*al-Rabita al-Qalamiyya*) had a negligible influence on the early Arab American communities in the United States. The Pen League's greatest impact was on arts and letters in Lebanon, Egypt, and other Arab countries.

Early immigrants settled in the urban areas of the Northeast and Midwest, in states like New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Ohio. By 1940, a fifth of the estimated 350,000 Arabs resided in three cities—New York, Boston, and Detroit. In these urban areas, the immigrants clustered in ethnic neighborhoods. Although many found work in the industrial factories and textile mills that propelled the U.S. economy in the first half of the twentieth century, some also chose the life of itinerant salesmen, peddling dry goods and other sundry items across the American heartland. Others homesteaded on the Great Plains and in rural areas of the South.

Very few Arabic-speaking immigrants made their way across the Atlantic during the interwar period marked by the Great Depression and anti-immigrant sentiment. Immigration resumed, however, after the close of World War II, especially from the 1950s to the mid-1960s. Unlike the earlier influx, this second wave included many more Muslims. It also included refugees who had been dis-

placed by the 1948 Palestine War that culminated in the establishment of Israel. This period also witnessed the arrival of many Arabic-speaking professionals and university students who often chose to remain in the United States after completion of their training. Immigrants of the second wave tended to settle where jobs were available. Those with few skills drifted to the established Arab communities in the industrial towns of the East coast and Midwest, while those with professional skills ventured to the new suburbs around the major industrial cities or to rural towns.

In the mid-1960s, a third wave of Arab immigration began which continues to the present. According to El-Badry, more than 75 percent of foreign-born Arab Americans identified in the 1990 census immigrated after 1964, while 44 percent immigrated between 1975 and 1980. This influx resulted in part from the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 which abolished the quota system and its bias against non-European immigration.

The third wave included many professionals, entrepreneurs, and unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. These immigrants often fled political instability and wars engulfing their home countries. They included Lebanese Shiites from southern Lebanon, Palestinians from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, and Iraqis of all political persuasions. But many professionals from these and other countries like Syria, Egypt, and Jordan, and unskilled workers from Yemen also emigrated in search of better economic opportunities. Had conditions been more hospitable in their home countries, it is doubtful that many of these immigrants would have left their native countries.

RELATIONS WITH AMERICANS

Relations with the host society have been mixed. Early immigrants went largely unnoticed by the general population. They tended to settle in economically vibrant areas, which drew similar immigrants. Those who opted to homestead in the Midwest or farm in the South also blended into their surroundings. This same pattern carried over after the Second World War to the second wave of Arab immigration.

Relations, however, soured for members of the third wave and for native-born Arab Americans after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War. This situation worsened after the Arab oil embargo and the quadrupling of world oil prices that followed in the wake of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Arabs and Muslims were vilified as bloodthirsty terrorists, greedy oil sheiks, and religious fanatics by the mass

media, politicians, and political commentators. With the fall of the Shah and the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini to power in Iran (a large, non-Arab country) in 1979 came another oil shortage and price shock that further exacerbated anti-Middle Eastern sentiment in the United States.

For the better part of the 1980s, Arab Americans lived in an increasing state of apprehension as the Reagan Administration waged a war on international terrorism, and tensions ensued from the two U.S. attacks against Libya and U.S. involvement in Lebanon following Israel's 1982 invasion of that country. The hijacking of an American passenger plane in Europe en route to Lebanon triggered a backlash against Arab Americans, Muslims, and Middle Easterners in the United States. After another hijacking in 1985, on the morning of Friday, October 11, a bomb went off at the Los Angeles office of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), killing the organization's regional director, 41-year-old Alex Odeh. The previous day Odeh had appeared on a local television news program, where he opined that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its leader, Yasir Arafat, were not behind the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise liner in the Mediterranean. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) strongly hinted that the Jewish Defense League (JDL), or a similar Jewish extremist group, was behind the bombing and considered Odeh's murder the top terrorist act of 1985. The murder of Alex Odeh was clearly political and continues to be highly significant for Arab Americans.

The mid-1980s were the peak of anti-Arab hate crimes. In comparison, the Gulf crisis of 1991-1992 was relatively less lethal. Although there were many reports of assaults against Arab Americans, few incidents resulted in serious injuries and no one was killed. No Arab or Islamic community organizations were bombed, though many received threats and an incendiary device that apparently failed to explode was discovered at the American Muslim Council in San Diego. A few incidents during this period can be traced to the assassination in November 1990 of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the former leader of the Jewish Defense League. His murder triggered a rash of death threats and harassment against prominent Arab Americans.

U.S. law enforcement agencies have also violated the civil liberties of Arab Americans. Beginning in the 1960s, the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and other federal and local law enforcement agencies began surveillance of Arab student and community activities. The surveillance, code-named Operation Boulder, was the

result of an executive order signed by President Richard Nixon. The special measures included entry restrictions on foreign nationals, surveillance, information gathering on political activities and organizations, and even restrictions on Arab access to permanent resident status. Ostensibly the measures were designed to prevent Arab terrorists from operating in the country. This argument rang hollow as there had been no instances of Arab terrorism in the United States until that time. In fact, no incidents occurred for the next 25 years until the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center by Arab Muslim immigrants. Ironically, much of the FBI surveillance and questioning focused on constitutionally guaranteed activities involving the exercise of free speech and association.

On the morning of January 26, 1987, scores of INS, FBI, and police agents raided several houses in Los Angeles, arresting six Palestinians and the Kenyan wife of one of the arrested men. Several days later another Palestinian was arrested while sitting for an exam at a local community college. The eight were held in detention for nearly three weeks. The arrests reportedly were the culmination of a three-year-long FBI probe into the activities of Arab American activists. The L.A. Eight, as they came to be known, were originally charged under a little-used section of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. This law allowed the government to deport aliens who “knowingly circulate, distribute, print or display” material that advocates the overthrow of the U.S. government or who advocate or teach the “doctrines of world communism.” In court, attorneys for the government could produce nothing incriminating except magazines and other printed literature linking the defendants to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a nationalist guerilla group with Marxist overtones. Unable to make the subversion charge stick, the government moved to deport six of the Arab Americans on visa technicalities and tried to invoke other clauses of the McCarran-Walter Act. These attempts were thrown out of court as unconstitutional.

The L.A. Eight’s ordeal continued into 1994, as the government insisted on deporting them even though it failed to produce any evidence that the defendants had done anything illegal. Many civil libertarians who rallied to their defense feared the arrests were a blatant attempt by the government to chill the political activities of Arab Americans and others who opposed U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Their concern was heightened when a copy of a secret INS plan was obtained by the *Los Angeles Times* shortly after the arrests occurred. The plan revealed the existence of an interagency contingency plan to apprehend, detain, and deport

large numbers of Arab and Iranian students, permanent residents, and American citizens, in the event the President declared a state of emergency. According to the plan, a target group of less than 10,000 persons was scheduled for detention and deportation.

In 1997, the Clinton administration continued the detention of the L.A. Eight. Instead of holding the detainees under the anti-communism statute, though, the U.S. Department of Justice decided to continue the detention under a new anti-terrorism law. In February 1999, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the L.A. Eight was not entitled to immediate judicial review of their case. The Clinton administration continued the detention of the L.A. Eight. Instead of holding the detainees under the anti-communism statute, though, the U.S. Department of Justice decided to continue the detention under a new anti-terrorism law. In February of 1999, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the L.A. Eight was not entitled to immediate judicial review of their case.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Early Arab immigrants assimilated easily into American society facilitated by the fact that the majority were Christian. Aside from barely discernable Arabic names beneath anglicized surnames and a preference for some Old World dishes, they retained few traces of their ethnic roots. Many were successful, some achieving celebrity status.

At the turn of the century when the first wave immigrated, the Arab world still languished under Ottoman Turkish rule, then four centuries old. Arab and regional national consciousness was still nascent. By the time the second wave immigrants arrived in mid-century, the Arab world was in the process of shaking off the European colonial rule that had carved up much of the Middle East after the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I. In the 1950s and 1960s the Arab countries resonated with nationalist ideologies, and the Arab world was filled with promise and hope, especially regarding the question of Palestine and Arab national unity—two of the burning issues of the day. These ideological currents profoundly influenced many second-wave immigrants. The second wave of Arab immigrants was able to assimilate into mainstream society without much resistance. This wave tended to retain some distinctive features of its ethnic past because many of the newcomers were Muslim, contributing to the retention of a dis-

tinct cultural identity. The establishment of cultural clubs, political committees, and Arabic language schools helped maintain a cultural identity and a political awareness among many new arrivals and their children.

Arriving in the 1970s and 1980s, the third wave of Arab immigrants encountered a negative reception from the host society. Instead of assimilating, these new immigrants often opted to remain on the outskirts of society, even while adopting many American cultural mores. The third wave has been the driving force behind the recent upsurge in the establishment of Muslim schools, mosques, charities, and Arabic language classes.

Collectively many Arab Americans have experienced cultural marginalization. Arabs, Muslims, and Middle Easterners generally have been vilified in the news media, in Hollywood productions, in pulp novels, and in political discourse. Arab Americans cope with their marginality in one of three different ways: denying their ethnic identity; withdrawing into an ethnic enclave; or engaging mainstream society through information campaigns aimed at the news media, book publishers, politicians, and schools. The theme of these campaigns centers on the inherent unfairness of, and pitfalls in, stereotyping Arabs, Muslims, and Middle Easterners. In 1999, the cable television network TNT announced that it would never again show movies that blatantly bash Arabs and Arab Americans. Such films included *Shadow Warriors 2: Assault on Death Mountain* and *Thunder in Paradise*.

The types of Arab Americans who choose to deny their ethnic background cover the spectrum: recent arrivals, assimilated immigrants, and native-born. Among the American-born, denial takes the form of a complete break with one's ethnicity in favor of wholesale adoption of American culture. Others, particularly immigrants, tend to stress their distinctiveness from Arab and Islamic culture, as when Iraqi Christians stress their Chaldean identity as opposed to their Iraqi affiliation.

Arab Americans who opt to withdraw into an ethnic enclave tend to be recent immigrants. Running the gamut from unskilled workers to middle-class professionals, this group prefers to live in ethnic neighborhoods, or close to other members of the same group in the suburbs. They believe that their ethnic culture and religious traditions are alien to American culture, and hence need to minimize assimilation. Cultural marginalization is the price of living in American society.

Those who advocate engaging society head-on seek to win societal acceptance of Arab Americans as an integral part of America's cultural plurality.

The integrationists adopt several strategies. Some stress the common bonds between Arab or Islamic values and American values, emphasizing strong family ties. They also focus on the commonalities between Christianity and Islam. Others seek to confront anti-Arab stereotyping and racism by emphasizing that they are Americans who happen to be of Arab ancestry. Along with well-assimilated, native-born Arab Americans, this group also consists of foreign-born professionals who wish to maintain their ethnic identity free from stigmatization by the wider culture.

Foremost among the key issues facing the Arab American community is dealing with the rising numbers of new immigrants. The current stream of Arab immigrants is expected to increase as political instability and civil conflict within various Arab countries grows.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Customs center on hospitality around food, socializing with family and friends, and a preference to reside close to relatives. Arab Americans generally harbor negative attitudes toward dating and premarital sex, especially for females. Educational achievement and economic advancement are viewed positively, as are the maintenance of strong family ties and the preservation of female chastity and fidelity. Arab American beliefs about the United States are extremely positive, particularly regarding the availability of economic opportunities and political freedoms. Socially, however, Arab Americans feel that American society is highly violent, rather promiscuous, too lenient toward offenders, and somewhat lax on family values.

A common American stereotype about Arabs emphasizes that they are by definition Muslims and therefore are bloodthirsty, fanatical, and anti-Western. Another misconception is that Iranians are Arabs, when most Iranians are Persians who speak Farsi, an Indo-European language, which uses Arabic script. Arabic, on the other hand, belongs to the Semitic language family. Other misconceptions and stereotypes include: Arabs are desert nomads; however, only two percent of contemporary Arab society is nomadic; and, Arabs oppress women. While formal laws protecting women's equality are fewer in Arab countries than the United States, the prevalence of rape and physical abuse of women in the Arab world appears to be lower than in American society.

Stereotypes of Arab culture and society abound in Western literary works, scholarly research, and in the news and entertainment media. Typical of the

fiction genre is Leon Uris's celebrated novel *Exodus* (1958), in which the Arab country of Palestine is repeatedly depicted as a "fruitless, listless, dying land." Arabs opposed to the creation of the State of Israel are described as the "dregs of humanity, thieves, murderers, highway robbers, dope runners and white slavers." More generally, Arabs are "dirty," "crafty," and "corrupt." Uris amplified these characterizations in his 1985 work, *The Hajj*. These and other examples are examined in Janice J. Terry's *Mistaken Identity: Arab Stereotypes in Popular Writing* (1985). A study of the cultural antecedents of Arab and Muslim stereotyping in Western culture is found in Edward W. Said's highly acclaimed work, *Orientalism* (1978). News media coverage is critiqued in Said's *Covering Islam* (1981); television portrayals of Arabs are examined in Jack Shaheen's *The TV Arab* (1984).

CUISINE

The most pronounced dietary injunction followed by Arab Muslims is the religious prohibition on the consumption of pork. Many Arab Christians also disdain the consumption of pork, but for cultural reasons. Muslims are required to consume meat that is ritually slaughtered (*halal*). In response to the growing demand for *halal* meats, many enterprising Arab American grocers have in recent years set up *halal* meat markets.

Arab Americans have a distinctive cuisine centered on lamb, rice, bread, and highly seasoned dishes. The Middle Eastern diet consists of many ingredients not found in the average American kitchen, such as chick peas, lentils, fava beans, ground sesame seed oil, olive oil, olives, feta cheese, dates, and figs. Many Arab dishes, like stuffed zucchini or green peppers and stuffed grape or cabbage leaves, are highly labor-intensive.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Virtually no items of traditional clothing are worn by Arab Americans. The exception is the tendency of some immigrant women, particularly those from peasant stock, who wear traditional dress. Among the most dramatic are the colorfully embroidered dresses worn by some Palestinian women in certain neighborhoods of Detroit and Dearborn. More common are the plain-colored head scarfs worn by many Lebanese and other Arab Muslim females. Some Arab and other Muslim women occasionally don long, shapeless dresses, commonly called Islamic dresses, in addition to the head scarf.



Arab Americans
continue many of
their traditions and
celebrations in the
United States.

Men rarely wear traditional garb in public. At some traditional wedding parties individuals might don an Arab *burnoose*. Many foreign-born men of all ages are fond of carrying worry beads, which they unconsciously run through their fingers while engaging in conversation or while walking.

LANGUAGE

The Arabic language retains a classical literary form which is employed on formal occasions (oratory, speeches, and university lectures) and in most forms of writing, some novels and plays excepted. Everyday speech is the province of the many and varied regional and local dialects. It is these dialects and, in the case of highly assimilated Arab Americans, their remnants, that a visitor among Arab Americans is likely to encounter.

Each national group (Lebanese, Palestinian, Syrian, Egyptian, Yemeni, etc.) has its particular dialect, and within each group regional and local subdialects are found. For the most part, speakers of different dialects can make themselves understood to speakers of other dialects. This is especially true when closely related dialects (Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian, Jordanian) are involved, and less so among geographically distant dialects. The great exception is the Egyptian dialect which is familiar to most speakers of Arabic because of the widespread influence of the Egyptian movie and recording industries, and the dominant cultural role Egypt has traditionally played in the Middle East.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some basic Arabic greetings include: *marhaba* (“mar-ha-ba”)—hello, and its response *ahlen* (“ah-len”)—welcome (colloquial greetings in Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian, and Jordanian dialects). Egyptians would say: *Azayyak* (“az-zay-yak”)—How are you? and its response *quwayyas* (“qu-whey-yes”)—fine. A more formal greeting, readily understood throughout the Arabic-speaking world is: *asalaam ‘a laykum* (“a-sa-lamb ah-laykum”)—greetings, peace be upon you. The proper response is *wa ‘a laykum asalaam* (“wa-ah-laykum a-sa-lamb”)—and peace be upon you, too.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Arab society members of two or three generations dwell in a single household or, in wealthier families, in a family compound. This extended household centers around a married man and some of his adult sons and their families. A grandparent may also reside in the household. A variation on this structure is for several brothers and their respective families to reside in a compound with a grandparent and other elderly relatives.

Among Arab Americans, the large extended family constituting a single household is found only among recent immigrants. As families acculturate and assimilate they tend to form nuclear families with, occasionally, the addition of an elderly grandparent, and an unmarried adult child. Among less assimilated families, adult married children set up a household near their parents and married siblings. This arrangement allows the maintenance of extended family networks while enjoying the benefits of living in a nuclear family.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

American-style dating is virtually non-existent among all but the most assimilated Arab Americans. Dating conflicts with strict cultural norms about female chastity and its relationship to the honor of the woman and her family. The norm stipulates that a female should be chaste prior to marriage and remain faithful once wed. Similar standards apply to males, but expectations are reduced and the consequences of violations are not as severe. The ethics relating to female chastity cut across social class, religious denomination, and even ethnic lines, as they are found with equal vigor in virtually every Middle Eastern ethnic and national group. Real or alleged violations of the sexual mores

by a female damages not only her reputation and diminishes her chances of finding a suitable marriage partner, but also shames her family, especially her male kinsmen.

Among Arab American Muslims a type of dating is allowed after a woman undergoes a ritual engagement. In Islam, the enactment of the marriage contract (*kitab al-kitab*) amounts to a trial period in which the couple become acquainted with one another. This period can last months or even a year or more. If successful, the marriage will be consummated after a public ceremony. During this period, the family of an engaged woman will permit her to go out with the fiance but only with a chaperon. The fiance will pay her visits and the couple may be allowed to talk privately together, but this will be the only time they are allowed to be alone until the wedding. It is perfectly acceptable for one or both parties to terminate the engagement at this point rather than face the prospect of an unhappy marriage.

Arab culture prefers endogamous marriages—especially between cousins. This preference is, however, not uniform throughout Arab society. It is not strong among some Christian groups like Egypt’s Copts, and among certain educated elite. In general, the ideal marriage in Arab society is for a man to marry the daughter of his paternal uncle. The ideal is achieved in only a small percentage of all marriages. Marriages among cousins on either the paternal and maternal side are relatively common. The preference for cousin endogamy is found among immigrant families, but declines among highly assimilated and native-born Arab Americans.

Arranged marriages are common among recent immigrants. Arranged marriages run the gamut from the individual having no voice in the matter and no prior acquaintance with a prospective marriage partner to the family arranging a meeting between their son or daughter and a prospective mate they have selected. In the latter situation, the son or daughter will usually make the final decision. This pattern is prevalent among assimilated immigrant and native-born families, especially if they are educated or have high aspirations for their children. Some working-class immigrant families in Dearborn, Michigan, for example, arrange the marriage of their daughters, who are sometimes legal minors, to men in the home country. This practice seems to be limited to a small minority.

While not all Arab Americans practice cousin endogamy or engage in arranged marriages, most demonstrate a strong preference for religious endogamy in the selection of marriage partners. In this Arab Americans retain a deeply-rooted Middle Eastern bias. Middle Easterners do not approve of



These Arab American family members are standing in front of the Yemen Caf in Brooklyn, New York. Many Arab Americans live within an Arabized subculture that has enabled them to maintain their distinct ethnic culture.

inter-religious marriages. However, interdenominational marriages are not uncommon among educated Arab Americans. Arab Americans find it easier to marry a non-Arab of a different religious background than enter into an inter-religious marriage with a fellow Arab American. This is especially true of Arab American men, who unlike women, find it easier to marry an outsider. There is a powerful familial resistance to letting Arab American women marry outside the group. An Arab Muslim woman who was unable to find a mate from within her group, could marry a non-Arab Muslim (e.g., Pakistani, Indian, or Iranian). Arab Christian women facing a similar situation would opt to marry an outsider as long he was Christian.

In selecting a marriage partner, attention is paid to family standing and reputation. Since dating and other forms of mixing are virtually non-existent, there are few opportunities for prospective mates to meet, let alone learn about each other. Thus parents and other interested relatives must rely heavily on community gossip about a prospective suitor or bride. Under such conditions, the family standing of the prospective mate will be of major interest.

The strict segregation of the sexes is inevitably weakening because American society poses many opportunities for unrelated males and females to meet at school or on the job. Consequently, there is a detectable increase in the number of cases of romantic involvement among young Arab Americans in cities where large numbers of Arab Americans reside. But many of these relations are cut short by families because they fail to win their approval.

Divorce, once unheard of in Arab society, is increasingly making a presence among Arab Americans although it is nowhere near the proportions found among mainstream Americans. Recent immigrants appear less likely than assimilated Arab Americans to resolve marital unhappiness through divorce.

CHILDREN

Boys and girls are reared differently, though the degree is determined by the level of assimilation. Boys are generally given greater latitude than girls. At the extreme end of the spectrum, girls are

Young Arab
American women
have a greater
number of
freedoms growing
up in America than
in their homeland.



expected to marry at a relatively young age and their schooling is not considered as important as that of boys. High school is the upper limit for girls in very traditional immigrant homes, though some post-high school education is expected among educated households. The daughters of professionals are usually encouraged to pursue careers. Middle Eastern families tend to favor boys over girls, and this preference extends to wide segments of the Arab American community. In a few traditional homes, girls are not allowed to ride bicycles or play certain sports, while boys are otherwise indulged. The oldest son usually enjoys a measure of authority over younger siblings, especially his sisters. He is expected to eventually carry the mantle of authority held by the father.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Formal authority lies with the husband/father as it does in Arab society. Women play important roles in socializing children and preserving kinship ties and in maintaining social and religious traditions. The degree of hospitality in the home is held up as a measure of a family's standing among Arabs everywhere, and in this respect Arab Americans are no different. Guests are given a special place at the dinner table where they are feted in a ritual display of hospitality arranged by the women of the household.

Outside the home, the role of Arab American women has fluctuated with the ebb and flow of the immigration tide. As communities become assimilated, women tend to assume leadership roles in

community organizations in the mosque or church, or in community-wide endeavors like the organization of parochial schools. With each new influx of immigrants, assimilated women tend to lose ground in those institutions that attract new immigrants (e.g. the mosque). Quickly women who at one time were among the leadership find themselves taking a back seat or even ousted from the institution.

EDUCATION

Education is highly valued among wide segments of the community. Affluent households prefer private schools. Working class and middle class members tend to send their children to public schools. A recent trend in some Arab American Muslim communities is the growth of Islamic parochial schools. These schools, favored by recent immigrants of all classes, are still in their infancy.

In her analysis of the 1990 census data, El-Badry found that Arab Americans are generally better educated than the average American. The proportion of those who did not attend college is lower than the national average, while the number of those attaining master's degrees or higher is twice that of the general population. Foreign-born Arab professionals overwhelmingly prefer the fields of engineering, medicine, pharmacy, and the sciences in general. Although native-born Arab Americans can be found working in virtually every field, there is a preference for careers in business, medicine, law, and engineering.

There are few formalized traditions of philanthropy in the community. Arab Muslims, like all Muslims, are enjoined to give a certain percentage of their annual income to charity as a *zakat* (tithe). But large contributions to community projects are not part of the community's tradition.

HOLIDAYS

The three religious holidays celebrated by Arab American Muslims are also celebrated by Muslims everywhere. They are *Ramadan*, *Eid al-Fitr*, and *Eid al-Adha*. *Ramadan* is a month-long dawn-to-dusk fast that occurs during the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. Ramadan is a month of self-discipline as well as spiritual and physical purification. The fast requires complete abstinence from food, drink (including water), tobacco, and sex, from sunrise to sunset during the entire month. *Eid al-Fitr* marks the end of Ramadan. A cross between Thanksgiving and Christmas, the *Eid* is a festive and joyous occasion for Muslims everywhere. *Eid al-Adha*, the Feast of the Sacrifice, commemorates the Prophet Abra-

ham's willingness to sacrifice his son Ishmael in obedience to God. According to the Quran, the Muslim holy book which is considered to be the word of God, the Angel Gabriel intervened at the last moment, substituting a lamb in place of Ishmael. The holiday is held in conjunction with the *Hajj*, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, in which increasing numbers of American Muslims are participating.

Some Arab Muslim families celebrate the birth of Jesus at Christmas. Muslims recognize Jesus as an important prophet, but do not consider him divine. They use the occasion of Christmas to exchange gifts, and some have adopted the custom of decorating a Christmas tree. Arab American Christians observe major Christian holidays. Followers of Eastern rite churches (Egyptian Copts, Syrian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox) celebrate Christmas on the Epiphany, January 6. Easter is observed on the Sunday after Passover, rather than on the date established by the Roman church. In addition, the Eastern Churches, particularly the Coptic church, mark numerous religious occasions, saints' days, and the like, throughout the year.

RELIGION

Christians still comprise the majority of Arab Americans nationally. The Muslim component is growing fast, however, and in some areas, Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority of Arab Americans. Arab Christians are divided between Eastern rite churches (Orthodox) and the Latin rite (Uniate) churches (Maronites, Melkite, and Chaldean). In the beginning, all Middle Eastern churches followed Eastern rites. Over the centuries, schisms occurred in which the seceders switched allegiance to Rome, forming the Uniate churches. Although the Uniate churches formally submit to the authority of the Roman pope and conform to Latin rites, they continue to maintain their own patriarchs and internal autonomy. Like the Eastern churches, the Uniates also allow priests to marry (though monks and bishops must remain celibate). The Middle East churches retain distinct liturgies, which are recited in ancient Coptic, Aramaic, Syriac, or Chaldean depending upon the particular sect.

Arab Muslims are nominally divided between Sunni and Shiite (*Shia*), the two major branches of Islam. The schism dates to an early conflict in Islam over the succession of the *Caliphate*—leader—of the religious community following the death of the Prophet Muhammad. The Sunni faction won out, eliminating leaders of the opposing faction led by the Prophet's nephew, Ali, and his sons. Ali's followers came to be known as the *Shia*—the partisans.

Over time the Shiites developed some unique theological doctrines and other trappings of a distinct sect, although to Sunnis, the differences appear inconsequential. The majority of Arab American Muslims are Sunni. Arab Shiite Muslims are mostly from Lebanon and Iraq, as well as northern Yemen.

The most significant change Muslims make in adapting Islamic ritual to life in the United States is moving the Friday sabbath prayer to Sunday. For decades, Arab American Muslims have resigned themselves to the fact that, because of job and school obligations, they would not be able to observe Friday communal prayers, or *jumaa*. Recently, however, growing numbers of worshippers attend *jumaa*. Arab American Muslims also forego some of the five daily prayers devout Muslims are obligated to perform because of a lack of facilities and support from mainstream institutions. Technically, Muslims can pray at work or school if the employer or school authorities provide a place. Increasing numbers of devout Muslims insist on meeting their ritual obligations while on the job.

Religious disputes tend to be confined largely to competition between groups *within* the same sect rather than between sects. Thus, for example, in Dearborn, Michigan, which has a large population of Lebanese Shiites, competition is rife among various Shiite mosques and religious centers for followers from the Shiite community. Sunnis in the area generally belong to Sunni congregations, and are not viewed as potential recruits by the Shiites. Similarly, Arab Christian denominations tend to remain insular and eschew open rivalry with other denominations.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

In her review of the 1990 census data El-Badry estimated that 60 percent of Arab Americans work as executives, professionals, salespeople, administrative support, or service personnel, compared to 66 percent of the general population. Many Arab Americans are entrepreneurs or self-employed (12 percent versus seven percent of the general population).

Arab Americans are concentrated in sales; one out of five works in the retail sales industry, slightly higher than the U.S. average of 17 percent. Of these, El-Badry observes, 29 percent work in restaurants, from managers to busboys. Another 18 percent work in grocery stores, seven percent in department stores, and six percent in apparel and accessory outlets.

Data on Arab Americans receiving unemployment benefits are nonexistent. However, in the

southend neighborhood of Dearborn, where several thousand mostly recent Yemeni and Lebanese immigrants reside, many felt the brunt of the early 1980s economic recession which hit Detroit's automobile industry particularly hard.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Although politically marginalized, Arab Americans have attempted to gain a voice in U.S. foreign policy since the late 1960s. The first national organization dedicated to such a purpose was the Association of Arab American University Graduates, Inc. (AAUG). Founded in the aftermath of the devastating Arab defeat by Israel in the June 1967 war, the AAUG sought to educate Americans about the Arab, and especially the Palestinian, side of the conflict. The group continues to serve as an important forum for debating issues of concern to Arab Americans. The early 1970s saw the establishment of the first Arab American organization devoted exclusively to lobbying on foreign policy issues. Named the National Association of Arab Americans, the organization continues to function at present.

After a decade of increasing stereotypes of Arabs in the United States, a group of Arab Americans led by former Senator James Abourezk (1931–) of South Dakota founded the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in 1980. While not a lobby, ADC sensitizes the news media to issues of stereotyping. The organization has had less success with the entertainment media. More recently, the Arab American Institute (AAI) was established to encourage greater participation of Arab Americans in the electoral process as voters, party delegates, or candidates for office.

Arab American influence on local and state government is limited mainly to Dearborn and a few other localities where their numbers are sufficiently large to be felt by the political establishment. Get-out-the-vote campaigns have been moderately successful in this mostly immigrant, working-class community. Participation in unions is limited to the working class segment of the Arab American community. While the history of this participation remains sketchy and incomplete, individual contributions have not escaped notice. As early as 1912 an Arab striker was killed in the famous Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)-led strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts. In the 1930s, another Arab American labor activist, George Addes, played an important role in the left coalition inside the United Auto Workers leadership. In August 1973 Nagi Daifallah, a Yemeni farm worker active in the United Farm Workers Union, was bru-

tally gunned down with another organizer by a county sheriff. At the time, California was emerging as a center for Yemeni immigrant workers. Yemeni and other Arab automobile workers were also active in union activities in the Detroit area in the 1970s. During the October 1973 Arab Israeli War, an estimated 2,000 Arab workers protested the purchase of Israeli government bonds by the United Auto Workers union. Arab auto workers boycotted work on November 28, 1973, forcing the closing of one of two lines at a Chrysler assembly plant.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Arab Americans have made important contributions in virtually every field of endeavor, from government to belles lettres.

ACADEMIA

Among the many Arab American academics, Edward W. Said (1935–) stands out as a world-class intellectual. Born in Jerusalem, Palestine, and educated at Princeton and Harvard universities, Said has achieved international renown as a scholar in the fields of literary criticism and comparative literature.

ENTERTAINMENT

In the entertainment field several Arab Americans have achieved celebrity status, including singers Paul Anka (1941–) and Paula Abdul (1962–), actors Danny Thomas (1914-1991), Marlo Thomas (1938–), Vic Tayback (1930-1990), and Oscar winner F. Murray Abraham (1939–). Musicians include “Tiny Tim” (Herbert Khaury; 1922-1996) the ukelele-strumming, falsetto singer; surf guitarist Dick Dale (b. late 1930s); singer Tiffany (Tiffany Renee Darwish; 1972–); musician Frank Zappa (1940-1993); and G.E. Smith, former guitarist for the Saturday Night Live Band and frequent collaborator with musician Bob Dylan.

Arab Americans abound in the television and film industries. Jamie Farr (1934–) portrayed cross-dressing Corporal Klinger on the hit television sitcom *M*A*S*H**, and Moustapha Akkad produced the blockbuster *Halloween* thrillers. Khrystyne Haje starred on the television sitcom *Head of the Class* and was picked as one of the 50 most beautiful persons in the United States by *People Magazine*. Amy Yasbeck (1962–) and Tony Shalhoub (1953–) have become recognizable faces due to their work on the popular television sitcom *Wings*. On the

show, Yasbeck played the lustful, money-hungry Casey Chapel while Shalhoub portrayed Antonio Scarpacci, a lonely taxi driver. Shalhoub has also won acclaim for his roles in such films as *Barton Fink*, *Big Night*, *A Life Less Ordinary*, and *Men in Black*. No list of Arab American entertainers would be complete without mention of Casey Kasem (1933–), the popular radio personality who grew up in Detroit. Kathy Najimy (1957–) is an award-winning comic actor who played a nun in the movie *Sister Act*. Mario Kassab (1952–) is the head of Carolco Pictures, which helped make *Rocky*, *Rambo*, and the *Terminator* films.

Arab Americans have developed vibrant art communities. In Minneapolis, Minnesota, for example, the “Electric Arab Orchestra” entertains the city with its exciting blend of Arabian music and rock and roll. In the San Francisco Bay area of California, the Bay Area Arab Film Festival presents an annual review of Arab films. The festival was founded in 1997 by Arab Americans for the purpose of promoting Arab and Arab American cinema.

FASHION

Joseph Abboud (1950–) is the winner of several prestigious design awards.

GOVERNMENT

A number of Arab Americans have played prominent roles in government at the federal level. The first Arab American to be elected to the U.S. Senate was James Abourezk (1931–) of South Dakota. Abourezk earned a reputation as a fighter for Native American and other minority rights while in Congress. Current Senate majority leader, George Mitchell, Democrat from Maine (1933–) is the offspring of a Lebanese mother and an Irish father. The most prominent Arab American woman in national government is Donna Shalala (1941–). Prior to her appointment to a cabinet post as Secretary of Health and Human Services in the Clinton Administration, Shalala headed the University of Wisconsin. In the preceding administration, another Arab American, John Sununu (1941–), the son of Lebanese Palestinian immigrants, served as George Bush’s White House Chief of Staff. Beyond the official circles of government, consumer advocate Ralph Nader (1934–) ranks as one of the most prominent Arab Americans in the public eye. His activism has had a lasting impact on national policy.

Still other Arab American politicians include Michigan Senator Spencer Abraham and Representatives Nick Joe Rahall II, a Democrat from West Virginia, and Pat Danner, a Democrat from Kansas.

Former politicians include Senator James Abdnor of South Dakota, Representative Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio, Representative George Kasem of California, Representative Abraham Kazen, Jr., of Texas, Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut, and former Governor of Oregon Victor Atiyeh.

LITERATURE

In the field of poetry, several Arab Americans have achieved recognition. Sam Hazo (1928–) is an established American poet, as well as founder of the International Poetry Forum in Pittsburgh. Palestinian American Naomi Shihab Nye (1952–), and Lebanese American Lawrence Joseph (1948–) are also well-known poets. Helen Thomas (1920–), the White House reporter for United Press International, has covered the presidency since 1961. William Peter Blatty (1928–) is the author of the novel *The Exorcist*, and screenwriter Callie Khouri (1957–) received an Oscar award for Best Original Screenplay in 1990 for *Thelma and Louise*. Writer and director Tom Shadyac is responsible for *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective* and the 1998 remake of *The Nutty Professor*.

In 1999, USG Publishing announced the creation of a writing contest for Arab Americans. Called “Qalam” (Quest for Arab-American Literature of Accomplishment and Merit), the contest will recognize achievements by Arab Americans in the areas of poetry, fiction, and non-fiction. USG Publishing, based in Chicago, Illinois, publishes Arab American books and pamphlets among other materials.

SCIENCE

One of the most prominent Arab American scientists is Dr. Farouk El-Baz (1938–), who works for NASA as a lunar geologist and assisted in planning the Apollo moon landings. Dr. Michael DeBakey (1908–), the inventor of the heart pump now serves as the Chancellor of Baylor University’s College of Medicine. Dr. Elias Corey (1928–) of Harvard University won the 1990 Nobel Prize for Chemistry. George A. Doumani made discoveries that helped prove the theory of continental drift.

SPORTS

Doug Flutie (1962–) won the Heisman Trophy and quarterbacked the Toronto Argonauts to a championship in the Canadian Football League. Rony Seikaly (1965–), born in Lebanon, played center in the National Basketball Association for the New Jersey Nets. Jeff George (1967–) is a quarterback for the National Football League’s Minnesota Vikings.

MEDIA

The Arab American community has traditionally supported a number of local electronic (radio, cable and broadcast TV programs) and print media. The Arab American community is increasingly relying on nationally-produced programming.

PRINT

There have been only a couple of national, bilingual Arabic-English publications produced in the United States. First published in 1992, *Jusoor* ("Bridges") is a quarterly, which includes poetry and essays on politics and the arts. In 1996, a periodical called *Al-Nashra* hit the newstands. *Al-Nashra* has a web site at <http://www.arabmedia.com>. Listed below are several national publications of long standing that enjoy wide Arab American readership.

Action.

International Arabic newspaper (English and Arabic).

Contact: Raji Daher, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 416, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 972-0460.

Fax: (212) 682-1405.

American-Arab Message.

Religious and political weekly printed in Arabic and English; founded in 1937.

Address: 17514 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48203.

Telephone: (313) 868-2266.

Fax: (313) 868-2267.

Arab Studies Quarterly.

Magazine covering Arab affairs, the Middle East, and U.S. foreign policy.

Contact: William W. Haddad, Editor.

Address: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., 4201 Connecticut Avenue NW, Number 305, Washington, DC 20008.

Telephone: (202) 237-8312.

Fax: (202) 237-8313.

Jusoor: The Arab American Journal of Cultural Exchange.

Contact: Munir Akash, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 34163, Bethesda, Maryland 20827-0163.

Telephone: (301) 263-0289.

Fax: (301) 263-0255.

E-mail: jusoor@aol.com.

The Link.

Contact: John F. Mahoney, Executive Director.

Address: Americans for Middle East Understanding, Room 241, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 245, New York, New York 10115.

Telephone: (212) 870-2053.

Fax: (212) 870-2050.

E-mail: ameu@aol.com.

News Circle/Halqat al-Akhbar.

Monthly periodical that presents issues and news of the Arab American community and the Arab world.

Contact: Joseph Haiek, Editor.

Address: Box 3684, Glendale, California 91201.

Telephone: (818) 545-0333.

Fax: (818) 242-5039.

BROADCAST

Arab Network of America (ANA).

A national network that broadcasts Arab language radio and television programming in six metropolitan areas (Washington, D.C., Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and San Francisco).

Contact: Eptisam Malloulti, Radio Program Director.

Address: 150 South Gordon Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22304.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

Founded in 1980 by former Senator James Abourezk to combat negative and defamatory stereotyping of Arab Americans and their cultural heritage. This is the country's largest grass-roots Arab American organization.

Contact: Hala Maksoud, Ph.D., President.

Address: 4201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 244-2990.

Fax: (202) 244-3196.

E-mail: adc@adc.org.

Online: <http://www.adc.org>.

American Arabic Association.

Individuals interested in promoting a better understanding among Americans and Arabs through involvement in charitable and humanitarian causes; membership is currently concentrated in the eastern U. S. Supports Palestinian and Lebanese charities that aid orphans, hospitals, and schools. Current activities include: Project Loving Care, for children in Lebanon and Israel; Boys Town, for orphans in Jericho, Jordan. Sponsors seminars and educational and cultural programs; conducts lectures.

Contact: Dr. Said Abu Zahra, President.

Address: c/o Dr. Said Abu Zahra, 29 Mackenzie Lane, Wakefield, Massachusetts 01880.

Arab American Historical Society.

Encourages the preservation of Arab American history, publications, and art. Publishes quarterly *Arab American Historian*.

Contact: Joseph Haiek, Chair.

Address: P.O. Box 27278, Los Angeles, California 90027.

Fax: (818) 242-5039.

Arab American Institute (AAI).

Dedicated to involving Arab Americans in electoral politics, mobilizing votes and funds behind Arab American candidates at various levels of government. The Institute also encourages Americans to become involved in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Contact: Dr. James Zogby, President.

Address: 918 16th Street, N.W., Suite 601, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Telephone: (202) 429-9210.

Fax: (202) 429-9214.

E-mail: aai@arab.aai.org.

Arab Women's Council (AWC).

Seeks to inform the public on Arab women and their culture.

Contact: Najat Khelil, President.

Address: P.O. Box 5653, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Association of Arab American University Graduates, Inc. (AAUG).

The oldest national Arab American organization. Founded in the aftermath of the Arab defeat in the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War to inform Americans of the Arab viewpoint. AAUG's membership consists mostly of academics and other professionals. The organization sponsors intellectual forums and con-

ferences, and publishes books as well as the journal *Arab Studies Quarterly*.

Contact: Albert Mukhaiber, President.

Address: 2121 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20007.

Telephone: (202) 337-7717.

Fax: (202) 337-3302.

E-mail: aaug@igc.apc.org.

Attiyeh Foundation (AF).

Cultural and educational organization conducting projects about the Middle East. Works to promote awareness of Arab culture and history through people-to-people contact. Publishes *Ethnic Heritage in North America*.

Contact: Michael Saba, President.

Address: 1731 Wood Mills Drive, Cordova, Tennessee 38018-6131.

Najda: Women Concerned About the Middle East.

Promotes understanding between Americans and Arabs by offering educational programs and audio-visual presentations on Middle Eastern history, art, culture, and current events.

Contact: Paula Rainey, President.

Address: P.O. Box 7152, Berkeley, California 94707.

Telephone: (510) 549-3512.

National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA).

The major Arab American political lobby in Washington devoted to improving U.S.-Arab relations. Like ADC, NAAA also combats negative stereotypes of Arabs.

Contact: Khalil E. Jahshan, Executive Director.

Address: 1212 New York Avenue, N.W., Suite 230, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 842-1840.

Fax: (202) 842-1614.

E-mail: naaa-inc@erols.com.

Online: <http://www.steele.com/naaa/>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

There are two archives devoted to collecting the papers and related memorabilia of Arab Americans. There are no research centers or museums dedicated to Arab Americans.

The Faris and Yamna Naff Family Arab American Collection.

Contact: Alixa Naff.

Address: Archives Center, National Museum of History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Telephone: (202) 357-3270.

The Near Eastern American Collection.

Contact: Rudolph J. Vecoli, Director.

Address: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.

Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

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A ARGENTINEAN AMERICANS

by
Julio Rodriguez

Argentina's ethnically
diverse population
challenges any
attempt to ethnically
classify Argentinean
Americans.

OVERVIEW

The word Argentina is derived from the Latin word “argentum,” which in English means silver. For this reason Argentina is sometimes called “The Land of Silver.” The official name of the country is Republic of Argentina. Located in the southernmost section of South America, the Republic of Argentina comprises 2,791,810 square kilometers, just over 15 percent of the continent’s surface. Its area, including the South Atlantic islands and the Antarctic sector, covers 2.35 million square miles, which is about one-third the size of the United States. The 1991 Argentinean census counted more than 32 million people residing in the country. This amounts to 12 percent of the total South American population, making it the third most populous country on the continent after Brazil and Colombia. Approximately 90 percent of Argentineans are born Roman Catholics. About two percent of the population is Protestant and, according to recent Argentinean statistics, about 400,000 Jews live in Buenos Aires.

An ethnically diverse country, about 90 percent of the Argentinean population consists of immigrants from Italy and Spain and their descendants. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, other ethnic groups, including Germans, Poles, Welsh, Irish, Lebanese, Hungarians, Czechs, Danish, French, Jews, Japanese, Koreans, and Swiss also chose Argentina for settlement. Almost half of the immigrants who arrived during that period

eventually returned to their countries of origin. For many of them, Argentina was only a transitory haven. Motivated by the desire to escape the violence and poverty that plagued Europe during World War I, many immigrants set sail with the idea of improving their lot and eventually returning to Europe. In many cases, however, these immigrants remained in Argentina, either because they decided they had worked too hard to sell what had taken them so many years to obtain, or because their families and children had made Argentina their home. As a result, an atmosphere of nostalgia stemming from the impossibility of the immigrants' return to their homeland is deeply rooted in Argentinean culture, especially in its music. About 760,000 immigrants from Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Paraguay are also living in Argentina today.

GEOGRAPHY

Argentina is often considered a land with four geographical sections. The northwestern border lies in the Andes Mountains. South of the mountains, the country begins to flatten toward the tip of the continent, becoming rocky grassland. A high plateau region lies east of the Andes and slopes into a large, grassy area. This grassy area is drained by the Río Paraguay and Río Paraná, which themselves drain into the baylike Río de la Plata (River of Silver), the widest river on earth. The climate is mild in this region, the pampas, where two thirds of the people live.

EARLY HISTORY

About 300,000 American Indians were scattered throughout the large area that is now Argentina when the Spaniards arrived in the sixteenth century. These Indians fell into at least ten distinct groups with various lifestyles. The Guaraní, for example, farmed the fertile river valleys. More typical in the south were the Onas who lived by hunting animals such as the ostrich and seal and by gathering mollusks. Farther north, the Araucanians roamed the grasslands in bands of one to two hundred families, living off the wild animals that abounded in the area. Other tribes populating the area included the Incas in the northwest, the Charúas in the east, and the Quechuas, Tehuelches, and Huarpes in the central and western regions. The Pampas inhabited the plains of the same name.

SPANISH RULE

The arrival of explorer Juan Díaz de Solís in 1516 marked the beginning of 300 years of rule by Spain. More than 50 years would pass before Buenos Aires

was founded in 1580, and it was to remain little more than a village for the next two centuries. There were a sufficient number of Spanish women to generate pure Spanish families, and thus began the Creole (Spanish born in the New World) elite. Unions between Spanish men and Indian women produced mestizo offspring, who grew into the artisans and laborers of colonial towns or the herdspeople and wagoners of the early countryside. Black slaves entered the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, becoming servants and artisans, caring for livestock, and planting or harvesting.

In 1776 political leadership of the large area claimed by the Spanish crown was centered at Buenos Aires. British troops tried to seize Buenos Aires in 1806, but residents fought them off and a decade later, in 1816, declared independence from Spain at the urging of the national hero José de San Martín. Buenos Aires was made the country's capital in 1862.

MODERN ERA

In 1930 the national government experienced a military takeover, an event that would repeat itself time and again in the coming years. In 1943 Argentinean soldiers seized control while Colonel Juan Domingo Perón Sosa began to muster support from the lower classes. In 1946 Perón was elected president and proceeded to become the workers' champion, backing labor unions, social security, shorter hours, higher medical benefits, and so on. His charismatic second wife, Eva (Evita) Duarte, inspired the masses as well, but in the long run Perón's policies raised expectations that remained unfulfilled. Exiled in 1955, he returned to lead the country again in 1973, then died and was succeeded by his third wife, vice president María Estela Martínez de Perón, who was deposed in 1976. Thus began a period of fierce repression that is sometimes labeled the "dirty war." Lasting until 1983, this period was characterized by imprisonment, torture, and murder of opponents to the military. An alleged 15,000 to 30,000 Argentineans, many of them Jews, "disappeared" during this period, giving rise to the charge of anti-Semitism. Meanwhile the Argentinean military was defeated by Britain in a 1982 war over ownership of the Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands).

The Argentineans demonstrated against their government in 1982 and 1983, managing to elect Raúl Alfonsín president in 1983. Alfonsín's record as a champion of human rights and his reputation as a lawyer boded well for the people. Still, they are threatened by a history of military takeovers and the rising cost of living; the rise in prices was over a thousand percent in 1985.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Prior to the 1970s, Argentinean immigrants were classified by the U.S. government within the broad category of “Other Hispanics,” and immigration statistics from before that time do not exist. Nonetheless, Argentinean immigrants to the United States are a relatively new group. In 1970 there were 44,803 Argentinean immigrants in the United States. The 1990 U.S. Census, which counted 92,563 Argentines, indicates that nearly half of all Argentinean immigrants arrived in the United States in the last two decades alone.

Early Argentinean immigrants came to the United States, primarily during the 1960s, for greater economic opportunities. The majority of these immigrants were well-educated professionals, including a substantial number of medical doctors and scientists. Later immigrants—those who began to immigrate to the United States during the mid- to late-1970s—fled their homeland to escape political persecution during the “dirty war.” This group was more diverse and less educated than their predecessors, although their educational attainment tended to be higher than that of Argentina’s overall population.

In the 1970s, 20 percent of the Argentines in the United States resided in the New York metropolitan area. In the 1980s, this percentage increased to just over 23 percent. This is partially due to the fact that New York City already had a large Argentinean population as well as many Italian immigrants from other countries. (It is therefore expected that New York would attract Italian-Argentines.) New York City also has a number of organizations created to assist its large Argentinean population, including the Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce, which promotes business ventures between Argentina and the United States, and the Argentine-North American Association for the Advancement of Science, Technology and Culture. Overall, Argentinean Americans seem to prefer metropolitan areas, such as New York City, where 17,363 Argentinean Americans were counted in the 1990 U.S. Census, and Los Angeles, home for 15,115 Argentinean immigrants. The least preferred destinations are North Dakota and Montana, where only 15 Argentines were counted in each state.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Statistics show that Argentinean American immigrants, as a group, have fewer children than Argentines; young Argentinean Americans make up between 17 and 19 percent of the Argentinian American population.



This Argentinean dance troupe was performing in a Hispanic Day Parade.

There are also a higher proportion of married Argentinean American individuals at all ages, particularly between 20 and 29. Likewise, the number of separated and divorced individuals is significantly higher in the United States.

Argentina’s ethnically diverse population challenges any attempt to ethnically classify Argentinean Americans. Some common terms applied to the peoples of South America are “Hispanic” and “Latino.” These terms present problems when they are used to define Argentinean Americans as well as many other peoples from the Americas. The word “Hispanic” derives from the Latin word “Hispania,” a proper name in Latin that describes the area also known as the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal). To apply this term to Argentinean Americans, as does the questionnaire for the 1990 U.S. Census, excludes almost half of their population, most of whom are Italian born or of Italian descent. The term “Latino” also presents some major difficulties in describing the cultural and ethnic diversity of South America, which extends far beyond its Latin European heritage. The term Latin America bluntly excludes the native peoples of Central and South America, as well as its numerous immigrant groups who have little in common with the Latin European countries.

CUISINE

Argentinean cuisine is very rich and includes a variety of traditional recipes that have been passed on from generation to generation. Traditional Argentinian cuisine includes a variety of meats, such as beef and pork, and a variety of vegetables and fruits.

tinean cuisine is based on dishes made with vegetables and meat, such as the *mazamorra* (made with corn), *locro* (a meat and vegetable soup), and *empanadas* (meat turnovers).

Argentina is perhaps best known for its beef. As John Hamill wrote: "There is this secret place, south of the border, where polite society hasn't totally surrendered to the body sculptors and cholesterol cops. Down there, people in restaurants, perfectly respectable people, still openly order huge, rare steaks" ("Where the 'Bife' Is," *Travel Holiday* 174 [March 1991]: 36-38). The excellence of Argentinean beef is known worldwide. Traditional Argentinean specialties are *asado* (grilled meat and ribs), *parrillada*, (Argentinean mixed barbecue), and *empanadas*.

Immigrant groups have significantly contributed to the Argentinean cuisine. Along with the traditional dishes, Italian pasta is often the main course on the Sunday table. There is a popular belief that on the 29th of each month eating *ñoquis* (Italian pasta) brings good fortune. A ritual has evolved out of this belief and consists in placing money, usually a flattened bill that is tied up into a bow, under the plate. The Spanish settlers also contributed to the wealth of the Argentinean cuisine. Typically Spanish dishes are derived from pork, such as *chorizo* (sausage), bacon, and *jamón serrano* (pork ham cooked in salt).

Another Argentinean specialty is the *dulce de leche*, a type of thick caramel made with highly condensed milk. One of the most popular sweet treats in Argentina, it is usually eaten on toast spread over butter. Argentinean cuisine has evolved a variety of desserts and pastries based on this product.

MATE

A traditional Argentinean beverage is *mate*, a type of tea grown in the north of the country. The tea is prepared in a small potlike container, called a *mate*, which is usually made from a carved, dried gourd. Curing techniques, intended to protect the gourd from cracking when water is poured into it, vary according to the region of the country and determine the taste of the beverage. Probably the two most widely known curing techniques use milk or ashes. After being cured, *mate* is then prepared in the gourd by adding the tea, called *yerba mate*, and water. The tea is sipped directly from the gourd with a straw.

Mate is a highly traditional beverage, and with the passing of time it has developed a unique symbolism. For example, a host that provides cold and bitter *mate* expresses rejection or hard feelings

toward the guest. Contrarily, *mate* served sweet and hot expresses friendship, welcome, or affection. *Mate* also differs according to region. In central Argentina, for example, *mate* is usually prepared with boiling water and sugar. In the northeast, a particular form of *mate*, known as the *tereré*, consists of *mate* prepared with cold water and usually without any sugar.

LA SOBREMESA

A traditional Argentinean custom following meals is the *sobremesa*. This word lacks a precise equivalent in English, but it describes the time spent sitting at the table after a meal in conversation, providing family members a chance to exchange ideas and discuss various issues. Argentinean meals usually consist of a light breakfast, and a hearty lunch and dinner. Dinner is usually served after 9:00 p.m. In some regions of the country people still take a *siesta* after lunch. Even in rather big cities, such as Mendoza, this custom is still observed. Business hours have been adapted to this custom. Most activities cease soon after midday and restart at about 4:00 p.m. Even the street traffic significantly wanes during these hours.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

The most popular Argentinean character, often presented as a symbol of Argentinean tradition, is the *gaucho*. Although the *gaucho* is almost extinct, his attire is sometimes worn for parades and national celebrations such as the Day of Tradition. The attire of the *gaucho* has evolved with time. Originally, it consisted of a simple garment known as the *chiripá*, a diaper-like cloth pulled over lacy leggings, which was usually worn with a *poncho*. The *gaucho's* traditional pants became baggy trousers that were fastened with a leather belt adorned with coins and silver and an elaborate buckle. A neckerchief and a short-brimmed straw hat were also occasionally worn. A traditional Argentinean woman, or *china*, would typically wear a long loose dress, fastened at the waist and sleeves. Sometimes the material of the dress would have colorful patterns, typically flowery ones, which would match the flowers in her hair.

HOLIDAYS

One of the more popular Argentinean holidays is the Day of Tradition, celebrated on November 10. This festivity includes parades in the towns and cities of the country and folkloric shows known as



Geraldo Hernandez waves from the "Centro Argentino of New Jersey" float as it coasts down New York City's Fifth Avenue in the 1988 Hispanic American Parade.

peñas. In these *peñas* folkloric music is played by regional groups and traditional food, such as *asado* or *impendis*, is sold at small stands. In some *peñas* it is possible to attend a rodeo, where skillful horse riders, usually dressed as *gauchos*, display their equestrian abilities.

Due to the influence of immigrant groups, Christmas in Argentina is usually celebrated much like it is in Spain or Italy. A Christmas tree, usually artificial and covered by cotton snow, is set up in every home. Often, a manger is arranged under the tree to evoke the time when Jesus Christ was born. The nativity is also dramatized by religious groups at churches, theaters, or public squares during the week preceding Christmas. This practice is called *Pesebre Viviente* ("Living Manger"). Like Americans, Argentineans celebrate the coming of Santa Claus (called "Papá Noel"), who is said to travel in a deer-driven sleigh with Christmas presents for the children. The two most important family reunions take place during Christmas and New Year's. Christmas is traditionally considered a religious celebration, whereas New Year's is a national celebration. Among young people it is customary to have dinner

with their families, participate in the toast, which is often made at midnight, and afterward meet friends and dance until dawn. The Christmas dinner typically consists of a very rich meal, high in calories. The immigrant tradition has totally neglected the seasonal change and kept the traditional Christmas diet of the cold European winter, commonly serving *turrón* and *panetone* (Italian).

Another important religious celebration is Epiphany, which in Argentina is known as the Day of the Three Wise Men. It is celebrated on the sixth of January. Children are instructed by their parents to leave their shoes at the foot of the bed or under the Christmas tree. By their shoes, they are also supposed to leave a glass of water for the wise men, and some grass for the camels they ride. The children usually write a letter with their requests for presents and leave it with the shoes, water, and grass. The night of the fifth of January children typically go to bed very early in the evening, expecting to get up early to receive their presents. On the following morning, the sidewalks and public squares are filled with children playing with their new toys.

LANGUAGE

The official language of Argentina is Castilian Spanish. Nevertheless, other languages and dialects are still in use in some communities of the country. Among the native languages Guaraní is probably the most widespread; it is spoken mainly in the north and northeast of Argentina. Among the Spanish and Italian communities, some people speak their native tongues. In Buenos Aires, newspapers are published in English, Yiddish, German, and Italian. The variety of Spanish spoken in Argentina is referred to as “Spanish from the Río de la Plata.” This variety extends throughout Argentina and Uruguay and has some particular characteristics regarding phonology, morphology, and vocabulary.

Differences in phonology (pronunciation) can usually be associated with the geographic location of the speaker. For example, in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires the letters “y” and “ll” in Spanish are pronounced similarly to the English “j” in “John.” Elsewhere in the Americas or Spain those letters tend to be pronounced as the English “y” in “yawn.”

Probably the most significant morphological characteristic of Argentinean Spanish is the verb form for the second person singular pronoun, which in standard Spanish is *tú* (“you” singular, in informal conversational style), and in Argentinean Spanish is *vos*. The verb form accompanying this personal pronoun is different from its equivalent in standard Spanish. For example: *tú juegas* (you play) in standard Spanish, is *vos jugás* in Argentinean Spanish. In the present tense, this form can be derived from the conjugated verb of the second person plural used in Spain: *vosotros* (you all). The use of *vos* in Argentinean Spanish is known as *voseo*, and it is still the source of some controversy. Some Argentines believe this form to be incorrect and sometimes disrespectful. It has even been considered a national disgrace. The argument is that the use of the *voseo* form unnecessarily separates the Argentines and Uruguayans—who use it—from other Spanish-speaking peoples.

As in other South and Central American countries, local Spanish language has been enriched by numerous terms borrowed from native languages. For example, the words *vicuña* (vicuña) and *choclo* (corn, or *maíz* in standard Spanish) have been borrowed from the Quechua language. Immigrants have also made important linguistic contributions to the variety of Spanish spoken in Argentina, especially the Italians. In “Lunfardo” (Argentinean slang) there are countless words derived from Italian. Their usage is widespread in informal, everyday

language. For example, the verb *laburar* (to work) in Lunfardo comes from the Italian word *laborare*. The standard Spanish verb is *trabajar*. The common Argentinean greeting *chau*, which in Argentina is used to say “bye-bye,” comes from word *ciao*, which in Italian means “hello.”

In some cases, the linguistic influence of Castilian Spanish upon a community of speakers of a different language has given rise to a new language variety. For example in Belgrano (Buenos Aires) there is an important community of German immigrants. The variety of German spoken there is known as “Belgrano-Deutsch,” which uses terms such as the verb *lechen* (to milk; from *melken* in standard German), derived from the Spanish word *leche* (milk).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Because of their strong Spanish and Italian heritage, the Argentinean family is characterized by the close relationships traditionally maintained by these peoples. The family often extends to cousins, aunts, uncles, in-laws, and sometimes even the families of the in-laws. Grandparents play an important role within the family. In Argentina, family reunions are usually carried out on a weekly basis. Sundays and observed national holidays are often spent with relatives and friends, and typically an *asado* (Argentinean barbecue) or Italian pasta become the favorite choice for lunch. The family is often the focus of social life in Argentina, especially after marriage. Children usually spend a longer time living with their parents than they do in the United States. Sometimes they stay with them until they get married. Although this situation is at times imposed by economic necessity, there are also some gender biases in this respect. Women who live alone, for example, run the risk of being negatively labeled. In the cities this situation is better tolerated but it is still seen as odd. Argentinean families are usually not as geographically widespread as their American counterparts.

WEDDINGS

The wedding ceremony commonly consists of three main events. The first is the bride and bridegroom’s shower party, which varies according to the social class and region of the country. In the middle class it usually consists of parties separately organized for the bride and bridegroom by their friends. In most cases the parties are organized so as to surprise them

with tricks and *prendas*. The second event is the formal wedding, which is held before a state officer, usually a judge of the peace at the local civil registry. This establishes the matrimonial contract and the legal rights of the couple. Both the bridegroom and bride usually wear formal clothes for this event, which usually takes place in the morning during a business day. Two witnesses—commonly friends of the couple—are required to sign the entry in the book of civil matrimony. After the ceremony, the people present throw rice on the couple as they leave the building. Rice stands as a symbol for wishes of prosperity and fertility.

The third celebration consists of the church wedding ceremony, attended by the families and friends of bride and bridegroom. It is customary for the bridegroom not to see the bride before this ceremony. The belief is that if he does, it could bring bad luck to the couple. Therefore, the bride and bridegroom usually get dressed at their homes and meet in the church. After the ceremony, the newlywed couple greets friends and family at the entrance of the church and again rice is thrown on the couple, symbolizing economic prosperity and a fruitful marriage. Afterwards there is usually a party that is often very structured. The wedding pictures of almost any couple include these ritualized customs: cutting the cake and dancing the waltz. The wedding cake often has strings coming out of it that are attached to little gifts inside. Single women each pull a string and the item they receive symbolizes their romantic fate. For instance, if a woman pulls out a little ring then that means she will marry next; if she pulls out a thimble, she will never marry; and if she pulls out a lock—like a small padlock—her parents will not allow her to get married anytime soon.

BAPTISMS

Children have a very important role in Argentinean culture. Traditionally they are protected in the family from the world of adults. There are many celebrations that are actually intended for children, such as Epiphany, Christmas, the Day of the Children, and baptism. In a Catholic family baptism is the first ceremony in which children participate. During this ceremony the newborn is assigned its godparents, who are usually relatives or friends of the family. Traditionally, the Argentinean President becomes the godfather of the seventh son, which is a rare occurrence. The commitment that the godparents make includes providing advice and spiritual guidance to the godchild. Sometimes they are also expected to look after the children in case of the parents' unexpected death. To be a godparent

today is more a symbol of the confirmation of the close bond or friendship between the parents and the selected godparents. It is also very common to have a set of godparents for the wedding ceremony in Catholic families. Usually the godparents are another couple whose function is to give advice to the newlyweds on matrimonial matters.

LOS QUINCE

Another traditional party celebration, representing the turning point between adolescence and womanhood, is informally known as *Los Quince*. Held on a girl's fifteenth birthday, the celebration is usually organized by the relatives and friends of the teenage girl. She wears a dress similar to the white dress worn by brides, although the color can be other than white, like pink or light blue. Customarily, the father dances a waltz with his daughter after dinner, followed by the girl's godfather and her friends, while the rest of the guests stand in a circle. In some cases the whole family attends mass in church before the party.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The role of women in Argentinean society has changed in the last few decades. While daily tasks such as cooking, laundry, care of the children, and shopping are still the domain of women, the number of women who pursue careers in addition to fulfilling their roles as mothers and wives is increasing. Little by little, women are entering typically male-dominated fields such as politics, economics, engineering, and law. Argentina was, in fact, the first American country to have a woman president.

The situation of the Argentineans in the United States seems to be somewhat different. Married women seem to be more restricted in American society. In a recent study about migrant Argentinean women called "Migrant Careers and Well Being of Women," one of the interviewed subjects affirmed: "I only go out with my husband," "I live locked up," "I'm afraid to go out." In this report it is further stated that "for those married women who wanted to return to Argentina there was family conflict, since most husbands wished to remain permanently in the United States." Yet, "the unmarried seemed better adjusted and reported more freedom and less family pressure than in Argentina. 'A woman in the United States can live alone, work, travel, and nobody thinks anything bad of her. In Argentina they would think I am crazy.' 'As a single woman, I would have a more restricted life in Argentina—there is more machismo.'"

In Argentina it is usual for couples to ask their parents or a sibling to babysit for their children. These conveniences are often unavailable to immigrant women who may find it necessary to look after the children and postpone their own work or professional career. For example, in the report quoted above, an Argentinean immigrant woman stated: "I miss the family. I have to do everything at home by myself. If I lived in Argentina my mother, sister or friend would take care of the children sometimes. Here even when I don't feel well I have to continue working."

EDUCATION

Education is still praised by Argentineans as one of the most important assets an individual can have. In Argentina, private and public institutions offer a wide range of possibilities for elementary, high school, and university education. The choice between a public or private institution often depends on the economic capabilities of the family. In the last few years there has been a significant surge in the number of bilingual schools. Perhaps the most common combination is Spanish and English, but there are also renowned elementary and high schools that offer bilingual instruction in Spanish and Italian, or Spanish and German. Religious schools are also widespread, and during the last two decades they have started to open to coed education.

In Argentina education is mandatory from six to 14 years of age. Elementary school ranges from the first to the seventh year, while high school is optional and can comprise between five to seven years of study in some vocational schools. Universities are either private or government-financed. Government-financed universities are free and often the only admission requirement is completion of a high school degree, although some universities may request an entrance examination. Careers that enjoy a certain social prestige, like medicine, law, engineering, and economics, are popular career choices among young students. Because of such educational attainment, most Argentinean immigrants have assimilated relatively well in the United States, particularly in careers associated with science and academia.

RELIGION

The rituals and ceremonies of the Catholic church are widespread throughout Argentina. The Declaration of Rights, which prefaces the Argentinean

Constitution, states that the Roman Catholic religion shall be protected by the state since the majority of Argentineans profess this faith. Furthermore, the Constitution provides that the president of the country be a Roman Catholic. During the last decades the Argentinean Catholic church has undergone a significant crisis, reflected not only in absenteeism in the churches but also in the small number of seminary students and novices. It is therefore common for many Argentineans to affirm their religious beliefs and simultaneously confess their lack of involvement within the church. Among Argentinean immigrants in the United States there seems to be a corresponding trend.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many Argentineans in the United States are characterized by their high level of education: technicians, skilled workers, and professionals in general make up the majority of Argentinean immigrants in the United States. However, statistics show about 50 percent of the Argentineans who entered the United States from 1965 to 1970 were manual workers. Possibly this increase is due to the fact that periods of economic and political stability in Argentina had limited prospects not only for professionals but also for people involved in other occupations. Immigration then became more massive and included people from different social classes. The statistics showed that by 1970, the percentage of Argentineans with ten or more years of education was four times higher in the United States than in Argentina. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, about 21 percent of the Argentinean immigrants residing in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles and New York had a bachelor's degree or higher education.

The percentage of Argentineans between 25 and 59 years old in the workplace has been increasing. In 1980, 58 percent of Argentinean women immigrants between 25 and 59 years old could be found in the workplace, compared with 52 percent of the general female U.S. population and 24 percent in other South and Central American countries. The United States seems to offer women increased opportunities for employment. Male Argentinean Americans tend to participate in activities such as manufacturing industries, commerce, transportation, communication, and construction. They have a lower participation in activities such as agriculture, hunting, fishing, and silviculture.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Leopoldo Maximo Falicov is a physicist at the University of California, Berkeley and the author of *Group Theory and Its Physical Applications* (1966). Mathematician Luis Angel Caffarelli teaches at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. Harvard graduate Enrique Anderson-Imbert teaches Hispanic literature and has written several works on such Argentinean figures as Rubén Darío and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Dermatologist Irma Gigli is a director at the University of California, San Diego, who has also taught at Harvard Medical School and New York University Medical Center.

ARTS

Composer Lalo Schifrin wrote the music for the television series *Mission Impossible* and is well known for his film, classical, and jazz works. Opera director Tito Capobianco founded the San Diego Opera Center and the Pittsburgh Opera Center. Geny Dignac is a sculptor whose award-winning works have appeared in exhibits throughout the world.

SPORTS

Verónica Ribot-Canales became a U.S. citizen in September 1991. In April 1992 she switched her sports nationality from Argentina to the United States. She has competed in three Olympics, winning 12 South American titles for Argentina. Ribot-Canales has represented the United States since 1996.

MEDIA

Television in Spanish is available from Mexican broadcasts, which very rarely include any material for Argentineans. One of the most popular Argentinean Television channels is available through the Television Station SUR, in Miami, Florida.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce.

Located in New York City, this organization promotes business ventures between Argentina and the United States.

Contact: Carlos Alfaro, President.

Address: 10 Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 1001, New York, New York 10020.

Argentine Association of Los Angeles.

Provides information on Argentina and supports Argentinean American activities. Located in Los Angeles.

Argentine-North American Association for the Advancement of Science, Technology and Culture.

Professionals, academicians, and institutions working to promote scientific, technological, and cultural exchanges between Argentina and North America. Sponsors research programs and debates.

Contact: Victor Penchaszadeh, President.

Address: 234 West Delaware Avenue, Pennington, New Jersey 08534.

Casa Argentina.

Conducts activities that involve the Argentine culture, including folkloric dances, movies, music, and books.

Contact: Antonio Pesce, President.

Address: c/o Francisco Foti, 5940 West Grand Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60639-2740.

Telephone: (773) 637-4288.

Embajada Argentina en Washington, D.C. (Argentine Embassy).

Provides information on Argentina.

Address: 1600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (202) 238-6400.

Fax: (202) 332-3171.

E-mail: embajadaargentina@worldnet.att.net.

Online: <http://www.embajadaargentina-usa.org/>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Argentinean Information Service Center (AISC).

This center provides information about conditions in Argentina to governmental and nongovernmental institutions. AISC has also compiled a list of individuals who were abducted, imprisoned, or killed in Argentina during the late 1970s. Supports organizations and activities that internationally promote respect for human rights and democracy. Holds bimonthly meetings.

Contact: Víctor Penchaszadeh, M.D.,
Executive Secretary.
Address: 32 West 82nd Street, Suite 7-B, New
York, New York 10024.
Telephone: (212) 496-1478.

**Sociedad Sanmartiniana de Washington
(San Martín Society of Washington, D.C.).**

This society promotes study and historic research on Argentinean General José de San Martín's life and work. Sponsors periodic commemorative ceremonies, including San Martín's birthday (February 25, 1778), Argentinean Independence Day (July 9, 1816), and the anniversary of San Martín's death (August 17, 1850). Holds annual meetings and publishes periodicals.

Contact: Cristian García-Godoy, President.
Address: 1128 Balls Hill Road, McLean,
Virginia 22101.
Telephone: (703) 883-0950.
Fax: (703) 883-0950.
E-mail: cggodoy@email.msn.com.
Online: <http://www.barnews.com/sanmartin/>.

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A ARMENIAN AMERICANS

by
Harold Takooshian

The U.S. Armenian
community is best
viewed as the
product of two sets
of intense, opposing
forces—centripetal
pressures binding
Armenians closer
together, and
centrifugal pressures
pushing them apart.

OVERVIEW

The estimated 700,000 Americans of Armenian ancestry are descended from an ancient nation located at the borders of modern Russia, Turkey, and Iran. Through much of the past 4,000 years, Armenians have been a subjugated people with no independent state until September 23, 1991, when the Soviet Union dissolved and the 3,400,000 people in that area voted to form a new Republic of Armenia.

HISTORY

The Armenian homeland lies at the crossroads of Asia Minor, which links Europe with the Middle and Far East. The plateau's original settlers, beginning about 2800 B.C., were the various Aryan tribes of Armens and Hayasas who later melded to form the Urartu civilization and kingdom (860-580 B.C.). These settlers developed advanced skills in farming and metal work. The Armenian civilization managed to survive despite a steady succession of wars and occupations by much larger groups, including the Hittites, Assyrians, Parthians, Medes, Macedonians, Romans, Persians, Byzantines, Tartars, Mongols, Turks, Soviet Russians, and now Azerbaijanis, in the 25 centuries that followed. The capital city of Armenia today, Yerevan (population 1.3 million), celebrated its 2,775th anniversary in 1993.

The long history of the Armenian nation has been punctuated by triumphs over adversity. In 301

A.D., the small kingdom of Armenia became the first to adopt Christianity as its national religion, some 20 years before Constantine declared it the state religion of the Roman empire. In 451, when Persia ordered a return to paganism, Armenia's small army defiantly stood firm to defend its faith; at the Battle of Avarair, Persia's victory over these determined martyrs proved so costly that it finally allowed Armenians to maintain their religious freedom. By the time European Crusaders in the twelfth century entered the Near East to "liberate" the Holy Land from the Moslems, they found prosperous Armenian communities thriving among the Moslems, while maintaining the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and other Christian sites. Under 400 years of Ottoman Turkish rule (1512-1908), the Christian Armenian minority—an industrious, educated elite within the Sultan's empire—had risen to a position of trust and influence. One such subject of the Sultan, Calouste Gulbenkian, later became the world's first billionaire through negotiations with seven Western oil companies that sought Arabian oil in the 1920s.

“I should like to see any power of the world destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people, whose history is ended, whose wars have been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, whose literature is unread, whose prayers are no longer answered.... For when two of them meet anywhere in the world, see if they will not create a new Armenia!

William Saroyan, 1935.

During World War I (1915-1920), with the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the rise of Pan-Turkish nationalism, the Turkish government attempted to eradicate the Armenian nation in what is now termed “the first genocide of the twentieth century.” One million Turkish Armenians were slaughtered, while the other million survivors were cast from their Anatolian homeland into a global diaspora that remains to this day.

THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC

On May 28, 1918, facing death, some Armenians declared an independent Armenian state in the northeast corner of Turkey. Facing the stronger Turkish army, the short-lived Republic quickly accepted Russian protection in 1920. In 1936 it became the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), the smallest of the Union's 15 republics, occupying only

the northeastern ten percent of the territory of historic Armenia. (The remaining 90 percent in Eastern Turkey lies empty of Armenians today.) Though Stalin successfully encouraged some 200,000 diaspora Armenians to “return” to Soviet Armenia after World War II, the Stalin years were marked by political and economic oppression. On September 23, 1991, with the Soviet Union dissolving, citizens of Armenia overwhelmingly voted to form another independent republic. As of 1995, Armenia is one of only two of the 15 former Soviet states not headed by a former communist, now maintaining a free press and vigorous new multi-party system that it has not had before.

Armenia is still recovering from a severe 1988 earthquake that destroyed several cities and killed some 50,000 people. Also since 1988, Armenia has been embroiled in a painful armed conflict with larger, Moslem Azerbaijan, resulting in a blockade of Armenia, and dire shortages of food, fuel, and supplies. The fighting is over Nagorno-Karabakh, an ethnic Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan which wants to break away from Azerbaijani rule. A cease-fire went into effect in 1994 but little progress has been made towards a permanent peaceful resolution. Disagreements within the government over the peace process led to the resignation of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrossian in 1998. He was replaced by his prime minister, Robert Kocharian. Meanwhile, the four million Armenians in the diaspora energetically extended their support for Armenia's survival.

Among the 15 Soviet republics, Armenia was the smallest; its 11,306 square miles would rank it 42nd among the 50 U.S. states (it is about the size of Maryland). It was also the most educated (in per capita students), and the most ethnically homogeneous, with 93 percent Armenians, and 7 percent Russians, Kurds, Assyrians, Greeks, or Azeris. The capital city of Yerevan (population 1,300,000) was nicknamed the Silicon Valley of the USSR because of its leadership in computer and telecommunications technology. The huge statue of Mother Armenia, sword in hand, facing nearby Turkey from downtown Yerevan, symbolizes how citizens in the Armenian republic historically see themselves as stalwart guardians of the homeland, in the absence of the far-away *spuurk* (diaspora Armenians).

Although the independent Republic of Armenia has existed since 1991, it is misleading to term it a homeland like, for example, Sweden is for Swedish Americans, for a few reasons. First, for almost all of the past 500 years, Armenians have had no independent state. Second, communism's avowed policy of quashing nationalists within its 15 republics rendered the status of the previous Soviet

republic and its citizens as questionable among most diaspora Armenians. Third, this Republic occupies only the northeastern ten percent of the territory of historic Armenia, including only a few of the dozen largest Armenian cities of pre-1915 Turkey—cities now empty of Armenians in Eastern Turkey. Only a small fraction of the ancestors of today's Armenian Americans had any contact with the Russified northern cities of Yerevan, Van, or Erzerum. A recent survey finds that 80 percent of U.S. Armenian youth express an interest to visit the Republic, yet 94 percent continue to feel it important to regain the occupied part of the homeland from Turkey. Modern Turkey does not allow Armenians into parts of Eastern Turkey, and less than one percent of American Armenians have “repatriated” to the Armenia Republic.

IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Like ancient Phoenicians and Greeks, Armenians' affinity for global exploration stretches back to the eighth century B.C. By 1660, there were 60 Armenian trading firms in the city of Amsterdam, Holland, alone, and Armenian colonies in every corner of the known earth, from Addis Ababa to Calcutta, Lisbon to Singapore. At least one old manuscript raises the possibility of an Armenian who sailed with Columbus. More documented is the arrival of “Martin the Armenian,” who was brought as a farmer to the Virginia Bay colony by Governor George Yeardley in 1618—two years before the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock. Still, up to 1870, there were fewer than 70 Armenians in the United States, most of whom planned to return to Anatolia after completing their training in college or a trade. For example, one was pharmacist Kristapor Der Seropian, who introduced the class book concept while studying at Yale. In the 1850s, he invented the durable green dye that continues to be used in printing U.S. currency. Another was reporter Khachatur Osganian, who wrote for the *New York Herald* after graduating from New York University; he was elected President of the New York Press Club in the 1850s.

The great Armenian migration to America began in the 1890s. During these troubled final years of the Ottoman Empire, its prosperous Christian minorities became the targets of violent Turkish nationalism and were treated as *gıavours* (non-Moslem infidels). The outbreaks of 1894-1895 saw an estimated 300,000 Turkish Armenians massacred. This was followed in 1915-1920 by the government-orchestrated genocide of a million more Armenians during World War I. This tumult caused massive Armenian immigration to America in three waves. First, from 1890-1914, 64,000 Turkish

Armenians fled to America before World War I. Second, after 1920, some 30,771 survivors fled to the United States until 1924, when the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act drastically reduced the annual quota to 150 for Armenians.

The third wave to America began following World War II, as the 700,000 Armenians who earlier had been forced from Turkey into the Middle East faced paroxysms of rising Arab/Turkish nationalism, Islamic fundamentalism, or socialism. The large and prosperous Armenian minorities were driven westward to Europe and America—first from Egypt (1952), then Turkey again (1955), Iraq (1958), Syria (1961), Lebanon (1975), and Iran (1978). Tens of thousands of prosperous, educated Armenians flooded westward toward the safety of the United States. Though it is hard to say how many immigrants constituted this third wave, the 1990 U.S. Census reports that of a total of 267,975 Americans who have Armenian ancestry, more than 60,000 came in the decade of 1980-1989 alone, and more than 75 percent of them settled in greater Los Angeles (Glendale, Pasadena, Hollywood). This third wave has proven the largest of the three, and its timing slowed the assimilation of the second-generation Armenian Americans. The influx of fiercely ethnic Middle Eastern newcomers caused a visible burgeoning of Armenian American institutions starting in the 1960s. For instance, Armenian day schools began appearing in 1967, and numbered eight in 1975, the first year of the Lebanese civil war; since then, they have increased to 33 as of 1995. A 1986 survey confirmed that the foreign-born are the spearhead of these new ethnic organizations—new day schools, churches, media, political, and cultural organizations—which now attract native as well as immigrant Armenians (Anny P. Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* [New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992]; cited hereafter as Bakalian).

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA

The first wave of Armenians in America flooded into greater Boston and New York, where some 90 percent of the immigrants joined the handful of relatives or friends who had arrived earlier. Many Armenians were drawn to New England factories, while others in New York started small businesses. Using their entrepreneurial backgrounds and multilingual skills, Armenians often found quick success with import-export firms and acquired a distorted reputation as “rug merchants” for their total domination of the lucrative oriental carpet business. From the East Coast, growing Armenian communities soon expanded into the Great Lakes regions of

These traditional
Armenian
American rug
weavers travelled
around the country
displaying their
ancient talent.



Detroit and Chicago as well as the southern California farming areas of Fresno and Los Angeles. Armenian communities may also be found in New Jersey, Rhode Island, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

Since the 1975 Lebanese civil war, Los Angeles has replaced war-torn Beirut as the “first city” of the Armenian diaspora—the largest Armenian community outside of Armenia. The majority of Armenian immigrants to the United States since the 1970s has settled in greater Los Angeles, bringing its size to between 200,000 and 300,000. This includes some 30,000 Armenians who left Soviet Armenia between 1960 and 1984. The Armenian presence in Los Angeles makes this U.S. city one of the few that is noticeable to the general public. Though the community has no full-time television or radio station, it currently supports about a dozen local or syndicated television or radio programs designed for Armenian-speaking audiences. Since 1979, UniArts Publications has published a bilingual Armenian Directory White/Yellow Pages that lists 40,000 households, thousands of local businesses, and hundreds of Armenian organizations among its 500 pages. The community bustles with Armenian media and publishers, some 20 schools and 40 churches, one college, and all sorts of ethnic specialty shops and businesses. The community also has its problems. The number of LEP (Limited English Proficiency) Armenian students in local public schools has leapt from 6,727 in 1989 to 15,156 in 1993, creating a shortage of bilingual teachers. Even more perturbing is the growing involvement of Armenian youth with weapons, gangs, and substance abuse. Some of the thousands

of newcomers from the former Soviet Union have been accused of bringing with them a *jarbig* (crafty) attitude that evokes embarrassment from other Armenians and resentment and prejudice from *odars* (non-Armenians). In response, the Armenian community has tried to meet its own needs with two multiservice organizations: the Armenian Evangelical Social Service Center and the Armenian Relief Society.

Armenians estimate their own number to be between 500,000 and 800,000 in the United States plus 100,000 in Canada. These estimates include all those with at least one Armenian grandparent, whether or not they identify with Armenians. Assuming an estimate of 700,000, the four largest U.S. concentrations are in southern California (40 percent, or 280,000), greater Boston (15 percent, or 100,000), greater New York (15 percent, or 100,000), and Michigan (10 percent, or 70,000). Since so few Armenians entered America prior to World War I, and so many since World War II, the majority of U.S. Armenians today are only first-, second-, or third-generation Americans, with very few who have all four grandparents born on U.S. soil. Official U.S. Census figures are more conservative than Armenian estimates. The 1990 Census counted 308,096 Americans who cite their ancestry as “Armenian,” up from 212,621 in 1980. One hundred fifty thousand report Armenian as the language spoken at home in 1990, up from 102,387 in 1980. Between 1992 and 1997, nearly 23,000 Armenians emigrated to the United States, according to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER AMERICANS

The majority of Armenians were not so much “pulled” to America by opportunity as they were “pushed” to America by bloodshed within their native country. Still, traditional Armenian culture so closely resembles American values that many Armenians feel they are “coming home” to America and make an easy transition to its free-market economy and social values. A large percentage of immigrants become wealthy businesspeople or educated community leaders within a decade or two of arrival, and feel a kinship with U.S. natives.

American society’s reception of Armenians is equally friendly. Armenians have experienced little prejudice in the United States. Armenians are a tiny minority, barely noticed by most Americans because Armenian newcomers are typically multilingual, English-speaking Christians arriving in tight-knit families in which the head of household is an educated professional, skilled craftsman, or businessperson readily absorbed into the U.S. economy. Armenian culture encourages women’s education (dating back to its fifth century Canon Law), so many women also have training or work experience. Since most move in a “chain migration,” with families already in the United States to receive them, new arrivals have assistance from their families or from the network of U.S. Armenian organizations. In their personal values too, Armenians were dubbed “The Anglo-Saxons of the Middle East” by British writers of the 1800s, because they had the reputation of being industrious, creative, God-fearing, family-oriented, frugal businesspeople who leaned towards conservatism and smooth adaptation to society. Examples of anti-Armenian sentiment are few.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Throughout the diaspora, Armenians have developed a pattern of quick acculturation and slow assimilation. Armenians quickly acculturate to their society, learning the language, attending school, and adapting to economic and political life. Meanwhile, they are highly resistant to assimilation, maintaining their own schools, churches, associations, language, and networks of intramarriage and friendship. Sociologist Anny Bakalian observes that across generations, U.S. Armenians move from a more central “being Armenian” to a more surface “feeling Armenian,” expressing nostalgic pride in their heritage while acting fully American.

The U.S. Armenian community is best viewed as the product of two sets of intense, opposing

forces—centripetal pressures binding Armenians closer together, and centrifugal pressures pushing them apart. Centripetal forces among Armenians are clear. More than most U.S. nationalities, diaspora Armenian youth and adults feel like the proud guardians charged with protecting their ancient, highly-evolved culture—its distinctive language, alphabet, architecture, music, and art—from extinction. This sense of duty makes them resist assimilation. They tenaciously maintain their own schools, churches, associations, language, local *hantesses* (festivals) and networks of intramarriage and friendship. Today’s U.S. Armenian community is bound together by a network of Armenian groups including, for example, some 170 church congregations, 33 day schools, 20 national newspapers, 36 radio or television programs, 58 student scholarship programs, and 26 professional associations. Anthropologist Margaret Mead suggested that over the centuries, diaspora Armenians (like Jews) have developed a tight-knit family structure to serve as a bulwark against extinction and assimilation (*Culture and Commitment* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1978]). There is merit to the sentiment expressed by some Armenians that America’s culture has evolved for less than 400 years since the 1600s, at a time when Armenian culture was already 2,500 years into its evolution.

Meanwhile, centrifugal forces also can be strong, driving Armenians out of their community. Due to political and religious schisms, the many groups often duplicate or even compete with one another, creating ill feelings. The American-born and youths, in particular, often view organization leaders as “out-of-touch,” while others avoid Armenian organizations due to the plutocratic tendency to allow their wealthy sponsors to dictate organization policy. Unlike most U.S. nationalities, there is no coordinating body at all among the many wealthy Armenian groups, often leading to discord and a vying for leadership. The few recent efforts at community coordination (like the compilation of the *Armenian Almanac*, *Armenian Directory*, and *Who’s Who*) are the efforts of well-intentioned individuals, not funded community groups. Perhaps the emergence, in 1991, of a stable Armenian Republic for the first time in 500 years may serve as a stabilizing force within the diaspora. Meanwhile, it is not clear how many U.S. Armenians have left behind their community, if not their heritage, due to divisive forces within it.

PROVERBS

The Bible is the source of most Armenian adages. Armenians also share with their Moslem Turkish

Norik Shahbazian, a partner in Panos Pastries, shows off a tray of several varieties of baklava and tasty Armenian desserts.



neighbors the sayings of “Hojah,” a mythical character who teaches listeners by his sometimes foolish, sometimes wise example. Other popular Armenian sayings are: We learn more from a clever rival than a stupid ally; It burns only where the fire falls; Wherever there are two Armenians there are at least three opinions; Mouth to mouth, the splinter becomes a log; The older we get, the more our parents know; Jealousy first hurts the jealous; Money brings wisdom to some, and makes others act foolish; In marriage, as in death, you go either to heaven or to hell; I’m boss, you’re boss. So who grinds the flour?; Lock your door well: don’t make a thief of your neighbor; The evil tongue is sharper than a razor, with no remedy for what it cuts; The fish begins to smell from its head; Fear the man who doesn’t fear God; A narrow mind has a broad tongue; A sweet tongue will bring the snake from its hole; See the mother, marry the girl.

CUISINE

The Armenian woman is expected to take pride in her kitchen, and pass this skill on to her daughters. Nutritionally, the Armenian diet is rich in dairy, oils, and red meats. It emphasizes subtlety of flavors and textures, with many herbs and spices. It includes nonmeat dishes, to accommodate Lent each spring. Since so much time and effort is needed—for marinating, stuffing, stewing—U.S. Armenian restaurants lean toward the expensive multi-course evening fare, not fast food or take-out. Traditional Armenian foods fall into two categories—the shared and the distinctive.

The shared part of the Armenian diet is the Mediterranean foods widely familiar among Arabs, Turks, Greeks. This includes appetizers like *humus*, *baba ganoush*, *tabouleh*, *madzoon* (yogurt); main courses like *pilaf* (rice), *imam bayildi* (eggplant casserole), *foule* (beans), *felafel* (vegetable fritters), meat cut into cubes called *kebabs* for barbecue (*shish kebab*) or boiling (*tass kebab*), or ground into *kufta* (meatballs); bakery and desserts like pita bread, *baklava*, *bourma*, *halawi*, *halvah*, *mamoul*, *lokhoom*; and beverages like espresso, or *oghi* (raisin brandy).

The distinctive part of the Armenian diet is unlikely to be found outside an Armenian home or restaurant. This includes appetizers like Armenian string cheese, *manti* (dumpling soup), *tourshou* (pickled vegetables), *tahnabour* (yogurt soup), *jajik* (spicy yogurt), *basterma* (spicy dried beef), *lahmajun* (ground meat pizza), *midia* (mussels); main courses like *bulghur* (wheat), *harisse* (lamb pottage), *boeregs* (flaky pastry stuffed with meat, cheese, or vegetables), *soujuk* (sausage), *tourlu* (vegetable stew), *sarma* (meat/grain fillings wrapped by grape or cabbage leaves), *dolma* (meat/grain fillings stuffed into squash or tomatoes), *khash* (boiled hooves); bakery and desserts like *lavash* (thin flat bread), *katah* (butter/egg pastry), *choereg* (egg/anise pastry), *katayif* (sweets), *gatnabour* (rice pudding), *kourabia* (sugar cookies), *kaymak* (whipped cream); and beverages like *tahn* (a tart yogurt drink).

Traditional recipes go back 1,000 years or more. Though demanding, their preparation has become almost a symbol of national survival for Armenians. A vivid example of this occurs each September in the Republic of Armenia. Armenians gather by the thousands at the outdoor grounds of Musa Ler to share *harrise* porridge for two days. This celebrates the survival of a village nearly exterminated in the Turkish genocide in 1918 (as described in Franz Werfel’s novel, *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*).

HOLIDAYS

Traditional holidays celebrated by Armenian Americans include January 6: Armenian Christmas (Epiphany in most other Christian churches, marking the three Magi’s visit to Christ); February 10: St. Vartan’s Day, commemorating martyr Vartan Mamigonian’s battle for religious freedom against the Persians in 451 A.D.; religious springtime holidays such as Lent, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter; April 24: Martyrs’ Day, a day of speeches and marches remembering the first day in 1915 of the Turkish genocide of some one million Armenians in Anatolia; May 28: Independence Day, celebrating the short-lived freedom of the



Maro Partamian, a mezzo soprano, waits to rejoin her choir during the christmas liturgy at the St. Vartan Armenian Cathedral in New York.

Republic of Armenia from 1918-1920, after 500 years of Turkish suzerainty; and September 23: the declaration of independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.

LANGUAGE

The Armenian language is an independent branch of the Indo-European group of languages. Since it separated from its Indo-European origins thousands of years ago, it is not closely related to any other existing language. Its syntactical rules make it a concise language, expressing much meaning in few words. One unique aspect of Armenian is its alphabet. At the time Armenians converted to Christianity in 301, they had their own language but, with no alphabet, they relied on Greek and Assyrian for writing. One priest, Mesrob Mashtots (353-439), resigned his high post as the royal Secretary to King Vramshabouh when he received God's call to become an evangelist monk. With inspired scholarship, in 410 he literally invented the unique new characters of an alphabet that captured the array of sounds of his language in order to pen the Holy Scriptures in his own Armenian tongue. Immediately, his efforts ushered in a golden age of literature in Armenia, and the nearby Georgians soon commissioned Mesrob to invent an alphabet for their language. Armenians today continue to use Mesrob's original 36 characters (now 38), and regard him as a national hero.

The spoken Armenian of Mesrob's era has evolved over the centuries. This classical Armen-

ian, called *Krapar*, is used now only in religious services. Modern spoken Armenian is now one language with two dialects world-wide. The slightly more guttural "Eastern" Armenian is used among 55 percent of the world's 8 million Armenians—those in Iran, in Armenia, and in the post-Soviet nations. "Western" is used among the other 45 percent in every other nation throughout the diaspora—the Middle East, Europe, and the Americas. With effort, speakers of the two dialects can understand each other's pronunciation, much the way Portuguese can comprehend Spanish.

Because more than half of these ancient people now live dispersed outside their homeland, the intense fear of cultural extinction among diaspora Armenians has resulted in a lively debate. Many Armenians wonder if the speaking of Armenian is essential for future national survival. A recent U.S. survey found that 94 percent of Armenian immigrants to the United States feel their children should learn to speak Armenian, yet the actual percentage who can speak Armenian dropped dramatically from 98 percent among the first generation to just 12 percent among third-generation Americans (Bakalian, p. 256). The Armenian day school movement is not nearly sufficient to reverse or even slow this sharp decline in Armenian-language speakers. The 1990 U.S. Census found that 150,000 Americans report speaking Armenian at home.

Armenian is taught at several American colleges and universities, including Stanford University, Boston College, Harvard University, the University of Michigan, and the University of

Pennsylvania to name a few. Library collections in the Armenian language may be found wherever there is a large Armenian American population. Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, New York, Detroit, and Cleveland public libraries all have good Armenian language holdings.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some common expressions in Armenian are: *Parev*—Hello; *Inch bes es?*—How are you? *Pari louys*—Good morning; *Ksher pari*—Good night; *Pari janabar*—A good trip!; *Hachoghootiun*—Good luck; *Pari ygak*—Welcome; *Ayo*—Yes; *Voch*—No; *Shnor hagalem*—Thank you; *Pahme che*—You're welcome; *Abris*—Congratulations!; *Oorish or ge desnevink*—See you again; *Shnor nor dari*—Happy new year; *Shnor soorp dznoort*—Merry Christmas; *Kristos haryav ee merelots*—Easter greeting Christ is risen!; *Ortnial eh harutiun Kristosi!*—Easter reply Blessed is Christ risen!; *Asvadz ortne kezi*—God bless you; *Ge sihrem*—I like you/it; *Hye es?*—Are you Armenian?

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In her book *Culture and Commitment*, anthropologist Margaret Mead singled out Jewish and Armenian nationalities as two examples of cultures in which children seem unusually respectful and less rebellious towards their parents, perhaps because these groups had come so close to extinction in the past. In 1990, the President of the Armenian International College in California surveyed a representative sample of 1,864 Armenians in public and private schools in 22 states, ages 12 to 19, to derive this snapshot of “the future of the Armenian community in America”: more speak English at home (56 percent) than Armenian (44 percent). Some 90 percent live with two parents, and 91 percent report excellent or good relations with them. Some 83 percent plan for college. Some 94 percent feel it important to have faith in God. Among those involved in an Armenian church, 74 percent are Apostolic, 17 percent Protestant, seven percent Catholic. Only five percent do not identify as “Armenian” at all. Some 94 percent felt somehow affected by the 1988 earthquake in Armenia. These findings confirm a positive view of Americans proud of their heritage.

Education has been a high priority in Armenians' ancestral culture. One Canadian sponsor of hundreds of young Armenians into Canada later described them as “school crazy” in their eagerness to

complete an education. A 1986 survey of 584 Armenian Americans found that 41 percent of immigrants, 43 percent of first generation, and 69 percent of second-generation Armenians, had completed a college degree. Another survey of Armenian adolescents in 1990 found 83 percent plan to attend college. The 1990 U.S. Census similarly found that 41 percent of all Armenian-ancestry adults reported some college training—with a baccalaureate completed by 23 percent of men and 19 percent of women. Though these data vary, they all confirm a picture of a people seeking higher education.

Armenian day schools now number 33 in North America, educating some 5,500 pupils. Though their prime goal was to foster ethnic identity, evidence also documents their academic excellence in preparing students, in at least two ways. These schools achieve unusually high averages on standardized national tests like the California Achievement Tests, even though the majority of their pupils are foreign-born ESL (English as a Second Language) students. Graduates of these schools typically go on to scholarships and other successes in their higher education.

Notable here is the growth of Armenian studies within U.S. universities over the past 30 years. Some 20 U.S. universities now offer some program in Armenian studies. As of 1995, more than a half-dozen of these have established one or more endowed chairs in Armenian studies within a major university: University of California, Berkeley; University of California, Los Angeles; California State University, Fresno; Columbia University; Harvard University; and the Universities of Michigan and Pennsylvania.

SURNAMES

Armenians have distinctive surnames, which their familiar “ian” endings make easily recognizable. Most Armenians in Anatolia took surnames with “ian” meaning “of”—such as Tashjian (the tailor's family) or Artounian (Artoun's family)—in about the eighteenth century. A U.S. survey found that 94 percent of traditional Armenian surnames today end in “-ian” (like Artounian), with only six percent ending in “yan” (Artounyan), “-ians” (Artounians), or the more ancient “-ooni” (Artooni). In still other cases, Armenians can often detect surnames just by their Armenian root, despite some other suffix adjusted to fit a diaspora Armenian into a local host nation—such as Artounoff (Russia), Artounoglu (Turkey), Artounescu (Romania). With intermarriage or assimilation in the United States, more Armenians are shedding their distinc-

tive surnames, typically for briefer ones. The “ian” suffix is especially common among East European Jews (Brodian, Gibian, Gurian, Millian, Safian, Slepian, Slobodzian, Yaryan), perhaps indicating some historic link in this region.

RELIGION

When Christ’s apostles Thaddeus and Bartholemew came to Armenia in 43 and 68 A.D., they found a pagan nation of nature-worshippers; the land was dotted with temples for a pantheon of gods resembling those of nearby Greece and Persia. Armenian authorities eventually executed the two preachers, in part because of Armenian listeners’ receptivity to the Gospel. In 301 King Trdates III was the last Armenian king to persecute Christians, before his dramatic conversion to Christianity by the miracles of “Gregory the Illuminator.” Armenia thus became the world’s first Christian nation, a major breakthrough for those early believers, and a source of continuing pride to Armenians today. Trdates III appointed Gregory the Church’s first Catholicos in 303, and the Cathedral he erected in Echmiadzin, Armenia, continues today as the seat of the supreme Catholicos of the worldwide Armenian Apostolic Church. In 506 doctrinal differences caused the Armenian and Constantinople churches to divide, and the Armenian Apostolic Church remains an orthodox church today. Few nations have been so transfixed by their religion as Armenians. With the single exception of some 300 Jews in Armenia, there is no other known group of non-Christian Armenians today, making Christianity practically a defining feature of being Armenian. Moreover, Armenians’ Christian heritage had led not only to repeated martyrdoms, but also to a number of key elements of their modern culture.

Today, practicing Christian Armenians fall into one of three church bodies—Roman Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox. The smallest of these is the Armenian Rite of the Roman Catholic Church, which includes nearly 150,000 worldwide members. Of these, an estimated 30,000 Armenian Catholics are in one of the ten U.S. parishes within the relatively new North American Diocese, established in 1981 in New York City. It was back in the twelfth century that Western Europe and the Armenians re-established contact, when Middle East Armenians extended hospitality to the passing Crusaders. In the late 1500s the Vatican’s Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith began the Roman Catholic Church’s outreach to its “separated” Armenian brethren. In 1717 Father Mekhitar of Sebaste (1675-1749) began forming the Mekhitarist Order’s

Armenian seminary and research center on the Isle of San Lazzaro in Venice, Italy, which remains known today for its erudition on Armenian affairs. The Church also formed the Armenian Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Rome in 1847, an order best known today for the 60 Armenian schools it has opened around the world. The current Superior General of the Vatican’s Jesuit Order, Hans Kolvenbach, is an expert in Armenian studies, further indicating the close relationship between Roman Catholic and Armenian Christianity.

In the United States Armenian priests are elected by laymen and ordained by bishops, but confirmed by the Patriarch, who resides in Armenia. There are lower priests (called *kahanas*) who are allowed to marry. The Armenian Catholic Church also has higher servants of God (called *vartabeds*) who remain celibate so that they may become bishops. The liturgy is conducted in classical Armenian and lasts three hours, but the sermons can be delivered in both English and Armenian.

Protestantism among Armenians dates back to American missionary activity in Anatolia, beginning in 1831. At that time, there was a fundamentalist reform movement within the ranks of the highly traditional Armenian orthodox Church, which closely paralleled the theological views of American Protestants. In this way, missionaries indirectly inspired reform-minded Armenians to form their own Protestant denominations, principally Congregationalist, Evangelical, and Presbyterian. Today, ten to 15 percent of U.S. Armenians (up to 100,000) belong to one of 40 Armenian Protestant congregations, most of them in the Armenian Evangelical Union of North America. These Armenians have a reputation as an unusually educated and financially prosperous segment within the U.S. Armenian community.

By far the largest church group among U.S. Armenians is the original orthodox Apostolic Church founded by Saint Gregory in 301, and currently includes 80 percent of practicing Armenian Christians in the United States. Many non-Armenians admire the beauty of its Divine Liturgy, spoken in old Armenian (*Krapar*). The Church has some 120 parishes in North America. Due to the division following Archbishop Tourian’s assassination in 1933, 80 of these are under the Diocese, the other 40 under the Prelacy. Compared with other denominations, there are two points to note about this Church. First, it typically does not portend to influence its members on social issues of the day—like birth control, homosexuality, or school prayer. Second, it does not proselytize among non-Armenians. A 1986 survey found that only some 16 percent

of U.S. Armenians have joined a non-Armenian church—a figure that increases in proportion to their length of stay on U.S. soil (Bakalian, p. 64).

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Due to the quick assimilation and divided nature of the Armenian American community, precise data on the demographics of this group—their education, occupations, income, family size, and dynamics—is lacking. Still, there is a wealth of fairly uniform impressionistic information on the Armenian community's tendencies. The majority of early Armenian immigrants took unskilled jobs in wire mills, garment factories, silk mills, or vineyards in California. Second-generation Armenian Americans were a more professional lot and often obtained managerial positions. Third-generation Armenian Americans, as well as Armenian immigrants who came after World War II, were well-educated and largely attracted to careers in business; they also have a penchant toward engineering, medicine, the sciences, and technology. One Armenian group, which sponsored some 25,000 Armenian refugees into the United States from 1947-1970, reports that these refugees tended to do well economically, with a surprisingly large fraction achieving affluence within their first generation in the United States, primarily by working long hours in their own family businesses.

Though U.S. Census data is admittedly imprecise, especially on ethnic issues, this picture of the Armenian community emerges from the 1990 reports: Of the total of 267,975 Americans who report their ancestry as Armenian, fully 44 percent of these are immigrants—21 percent prior to 1980, and fully 23 percent in 1980-1990. The self-reported mean household income averaged \$43,000 for immigrants and \$56,000 for native-born, with eight percent of immigrants and 11 percent of natives reporting in excess of \$100,000 annually. Eighteen percent of immigrant families and three percent of American-born families fell below the poverty line.

Another profile is yielded in a 1986 sociological survey of 584 New York Armenians: some 40 percent were immigrants, and four out of five of these are from the Middle East. Their three largest occupations were business owners (25 percent), professionals (22 percent), and semi-professionals (17 percent). Median income was about \$45,000 annually. Only 25 percent sympathized with one of the three Armenian political parties (primarily Dashnags), with the remaining 75 percent neutral or indifferent (Bakalian, p. 64).

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

As the Armenian American community swelled after World War I, so did tensions within it. A few Armenian political parties—Dashnags, Ramgavars, Hunchags—disagreed over acceptance of the Russian-dominated Armenian republic. This conflict came to a head on December 24, 1933 in New York's Holy Cross Armenian Church, when Archbishop Elishe Tourian was surrounded and brutally stabbed by an assassination team in front of his stunned parishioners during the Christmas Eve service. Nine local Dashnags were soon convicted of his murder. Armenians ousted all Dashnags from their Church, forcing these thousands to form their own parallel Church structure. To this day, there continues to be two doctrinally identical yet structurally independent Armenian Church bodies in America, the original Diocese and the later Prelacy. As of 1995, efforts continue to reunite them.

With regard to American politics, Armenian Americans have been active in almost every level of government. Notable politicians include Steven Derounian (1918–), a U.S. congressman who represented New York from 1952 to 1964 and Walter Karabian (1938–), who was a California State Senator for several years.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Over the years, diaspora Armenians have been fortunate to contribute to the economies and cultures of the nations in which they live, including the United States. Their most visible contributions seem to be in the arts, science and technology (particularly medicine), and business. Up to now they have been least involved in law and the social sciences. In 1994, the first *Who's Who among Armenians* in North America was published in the United States. Among notable Armenian Americans, three clearly stand out for the visibility of their Armenian heritage. First and foremost is author William Saroyan (1908-1981) who, among other things, declined the 1940 Pulitzer Prize for his play "The Time of Your Life," because he felt such awards distract artists. Another is George Deukmejian (1928–), the popular Republican governor of California from 1982-1990, who in 1984 was among those considered as a vice-presidential running-mate for his fellow Californian Ronald Reagan. Third is Vartan Gregorian (1935–), the director of the New York Public Library from 1981-1989, who went on to become the first foreign-born President of an Ivy-League college—Brown University.

ACADEMIA

Armenian American university presidents have included Gregory Adamian (Bentley), Carnegie Calian (Pittsburgh Theological), Vartan Gregorian (Brown), Barkev Kibarian (Husson), Robert Mehrabian (Carnegie Mellon), Mihran Agbabian (the new American University of Armenia, affiliated with the University of California system).

ART

Visual artists include painter Arshile Gorky (Vostanig Adoian, 1905-1948); photographers Yousef Karsh, Arthur Tcholakian, Harry Nalchayan; and sculptors Reuben Nakian (1897-1986) and Khoren Der Harootian. Musical notables include singer/composers Charles Aznavour, Raffi, Kay Armen (Manoogian); sopranos Lucine Amara and Cathy Berberian, and contralto Lili Chookasian; composer Alan Hovhanness; violin maestro Ivan Galamian; and Boston Pops organist Berj Zamkochian. Entertainers in film and television include many Armenians who have changed their distinctive surnames—Arlene Francis (Kazanjian), Mike Connors (Krikor Ohanian), Cher (Sarkisian) Bono, David Hedison (Hedisian), Akim Tamiroff, Sylvie Vartan (Vartanian), director Eric Bogosian, and producer Rouben Mamoulian (who introduced the modern musical to Broadway, with *Oklahoma!* in 1943). Others include cartoonist Ross Baghdasarian (creator of “The Chipmunks” cartoon characters), film producer Howard Kazanjian (*Return of the Jedi* and *Raiders of the Lost Ark*), and screenwriter Steve Zallian, (*Awakenings* and *Clear and Present Danger*) who won an Oscar for the 1993 movie *Schindler’s List*.

COMMERCE

Business leaders today include tycoon Kirk Kerkorian (of Metro Goldwyn-Mayer [MGM]), Stephen Mugar (founder of Star Markets in New England), industrialist Sarkis Tarzian, and Alex Manoogian, founder of the Masco Corporation, a conglomerate of building products companies.

LITERATURE

In addition to William Saroyan, notable Armenian American writers include novelist Michael Arlen (Dikran Kouyoumdjian), his son Michael J. Arlen, Jr., and Marjorie Housepian Dobkin.

MEDICINE

Noted physicians are Varaztad Kazanjian (1879-1974, “the father of plastic surgery”), and Jack

Kevorkian, physician and controversial proponent of doctor-assisted suicide.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

In addition to Governor Deukmejian are Edward N. Costikyan (1924-) of New York City, and Garabed “Chuck” Haytaian of New Jersey. Lawyers include activist Charles Garry (Garabedian), and Raffi Hovannissian, the recent Foreign Minister of Armenia.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Raymond Damadian (inventor of Magnetic Resonance Imaging [MRI]), and U.S. astronaut James Bagian.

SPORTS

Sports figures include Miami Dolphins football player Garo Yepremian; football coach Ara Parseghian; basketball coach Jerry Tarkanian; race-car sponsor J. C. Agajanian; Major League Baseball pitcher Steve Bedrossian.

MEDIA

PRINT

Armenian International Magazine.

Founded in 1989, this unprecedented monthly newsmagazine seems modeled after *Time* in content and format. AIM has quickly become a unique source of current facts and trends among Armenians worldwide, offering up-to-date news and features.

Contact: Salpi H. Ghazarian, Editor.

Address: Fourth Millennium, 207 South Brand Boulevard, Glendale, California 91204.

Telephone: (818) 246-7979.

Fax: (818) 246-0088.

E-mail: aim4m@well.com.

Armenian Mirror-Spectator.

Weekly community newspaper in Armenian and English founded in 1932.

Contact: Ara Kalaydjian, Editor.

Address: Baikar Association, Inc.,
755 Mt. Auburn Street, Watertown,
Massachusetts 02172.

Telephone: (617) 924-4420.

Fax: (617) 924-3860.

Armenian Observer.

Contact: Osheen Keshishian, Editor.
Address: 6646 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles,
California 90028.

Armenian Reporter International.

Since 1967, an independent, English-language Armenian news weekly, considered by some the newspaper of record for the diaspora.

Contact: Aris Sevag, Managing Editor.
Address: 67-07 Utopia Parkway, Fresh Meadows,
New York 11365.
Telephone: (718) 380-3636.
Fax: (718) 380-8057.
Email: armreport@compuserve.com.
Online: <http://www.armenianreporter.com/>.

Armenian Review.

Since 1948, a quarterly academic journal on Armenian issues, published by the largest Armenian political party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

Address: 80 Bigelow Avenue, Watertown,
Massachusetts 02172.
Telephone: (617) 926-4037.

Armenian Weekly.

Periodical on Armenian interests in English.

Contact: Vahe Habeshian, Editor.
Address: Hairenik Association, Inc.,
80 Bigelow Avenue, Watertown,
Massachusetts 02172-2012.
Telephone: (617) 926-3974.
Fax: (617) 926-1750.

California Courier.

English language ethnic newspaper covering news and commentary for Armenian Americans.

Contact: Harut Sassounian, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 5390, Glendale,
California 91221.
Telephone: (818) 409-0949.

UniArts Armenian Directory Yellow Pages.

Founded in 1979. An annual directory of the entire Armenian community in southern California—listing 40,000 families and thousands of businesses, and listing a bilingual reference section listing hundreds of community organizations and churches.

Contact: Bernard Berberian, Publisher.
Address: 424 Colorado Street, Glendale,
California 91204.

Telephone: (818) 244-1167.

Fax: (818) 244-1287.

RADIO

KTYM-AM (1460).

Armenian American Radio Hour, started in 1949, offers two bilingual programs totalling three hours per week in greater Los Angeles.

Contact: Harry Hadigian, Director.
Address: 14610 Cohasset Street, Van Nuys,
California 91405.
Telephone: (213) 463-4545.

TELEVISION

KRCA-TV (Channel 62).

“Armenia Today,” a daily half-hour show describing itself as “the only Armenian daily television outside Armenia;” it is carried on 70 cable systems in southern California.

Address: Thirty Seconds Inc., 520 North Central
Avenue, Glendale, California 91203.
Telephone: (818) 244-9044.
Fax: (818) 244-8220.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Armenian Assembly of America (AAA).

Founded in 1972, AAA is a nonprofit public affairs office that tries to communicate the Armenian voice to government, increase the involvement of Armenians in public affairs, and sponsor activities fostering unity among Armenian groups.

Contact: Ross Vartian, Executive Director.
Address: 122 C Street, Washington, D.C. 20001.
Telephone: (202) 393-3434.
Fax: (202) 638-4904.
E-mail: info@aaainc.org.
Online: <http://www.aaainc.org>.

Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU).

Founded in 1906 in Egypt by statesman Boghos Nubar, this wealthy service group operates internationally, with some 60 chapters in North America. AGBU resources are targeted onto specific projects chosen by its Honorary Life President and Central Committee—sponsoring its own schools, scholarships, relief efforts, cultural and youth groups, and, since 1991, a free English-language newsmagazine.

More than any major diaspora group, AGBU has had close ties with Armenia, in both the Soviet and post-Soviet eras.

Contact: Louise Simone, President.
Address: 55 E. 59th St., New York,
NY 10022-1112.
Telephone: (212) 765-8260.
Fax: (212) 319-6507.
E-mail: agbuny@aol.com.

Armenian National Committee (ANC).

Founded in 1958, the ANC has 5,000 members and is a political lobby group for Armenian Americans.

Contact: Vicken Sonentz-Papazian,
Executive Director.
Address: 104 North Belmont Street, Suite 208,
Glendale, California 91206.
Telephone: (818) 500-1918.
Fax: (818) 246-7353.

Armenian Network of America (ANA).

Founded 1983. A nonpolitical social organization with chapters in several U.S. cities, ANA is of special appeal to young adults in the professions.

Contact: Greg Postian, Chairman.
Address: P.O. Box 1444, New York,
New York 10185.
Telephone: (914) 693-0480.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF).

Founded in 1890 in Turkey, the ARF, or Dashnags, is the largest and most nationalistic of the three Armenian political parties.

Contact: Silva Parseghian, Executive Secretary.
Address: 80 Bigelow Street, Watertown,
Massachusetts 02172.
Telephone: (617) 926-3685.
Fax: (617) 926-1750.

Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America.

The largest of the several independent Christian churches among Armenians, directly under the supreme Catholicos in Echmiadzin, Armenia.

Contact: Archbishop Khajag Barsamian.
Address: 630 Second Avenue, New York,
New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 686-0710.

Society for Armenian Studies (SAS).

Promotes the study of Armenia and related geo-

graphic areas, as well as issues related to the history and culture of Armenia.

Contact: Dr. Dennis R. Papazian, Chair.

Address: University of Michigan, Armenian
Research Center, 4901 Evergreen Road,
Dearborn, Michigan 48128-1491.

Telephone: (313) 593-5181.

Fax: (313) 593-5452.

E-mail: papazian@umich.edu.

Online: <http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/SAS>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The 1990 Armenian American Almanac identified 76 libraries and research collections in the United States, scattered among public and university libraries, Armenian organizations and churches, and special collections. Of special value are the university collections at the University of California, Los Angeles (21,000 titles), Harvard University (7,000), Columbia University (6,600), University of California, Berkeley (3,500), and the University of Michigan.

Armenian Library and Museum of America (ALMA).

ALMA houses a library of over 10,000 volumes and audiovisual materials, and several permanent and visiting collections of Armenian artifacts dating as far back as 3000 B.C.

Address: 65 Main Street, Watertown,
Massachusetts 02172.
Telephone: (617) 926-ALMA.

National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (NAASR).

NAASR fosters the study of Armenian history, culture, and language on an active, scholarly, and continuous basis in American institutions of higher education. Provides a newsletter, *Journal of Armenian Studies*, and a building housing its large mail-order bookshop, and a library of more than 12,000 volumes, 100 periodicals, and diverse audio-visual materials.

Address: 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont,
Massachusetts 02478-3049.
Telephone: (617) 489-1610.
Fax: (617) 484-1759.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Armenian American Almanac, third edition, edited by Hamo B. Vassilian. Glendale, California: Armenian Reference Books, 1995.

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Mirak, Robert. *Torn between Two Lands*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Takooshian, Harold. "Armenian Immigration to the United States Today from the Middle East," *Journal of Armenian Studies*, 3, 1987, pp. 133-55.

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Wertsman, Vladimir. *The Armenians in America, 1616-1976: A Chronology and Fact Book*. Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1978.

A SIAN INDIAN AMERICANS

by
Tinaz Pavri

Asian Indians have quietly permeated many segments of the American economy and society while still retaining their Indian culture.

OVERVIEW

India, the most populous country in South Asia, is a peninsula. Bounded by Nepal and the Himalaya mountains to the north, Pakistan to the northwest, the Indian Ocean to the south, the Arabian Sea to the west, and the Bay of Bengal to the east, India occupies about 1,560,000 square miles.

Second in population only to China, India is home to around 900 million people of diverse ethnicity, religion, and language. About 82 percent of all Indians are Hindus. Approximately 12 percent are Muslims, while smaller minorities include Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, and Zoroastrians. While official Indian languages include Hindi, which is spoken by about 30 percent of the population, and English, hundreds of dialects are also spoken in India.

India's capital is the modern city of New Delhi in northern India, and its flag is the "tricolor," which boasts three equal stripes of orange, white, and green. The white stripe is in the middle, and has at its center a wheel or *chakra*. This *chakra* originates from a design that appears in a temple in Ashoka. It was popularized by its use on Mohandas Gandhi's political party flag during the Indian independence movement.

HISTORY

One of the world's oldest civilizations, the Indus Valley civilization (2500-1700 B.C.), flourished across

present-day India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. Dravidians comprised India's earliest ethnic group. They gradually moved south as migrating Aryan tribes entered the region. These tribes established many empires, including the Nanda and Gupta kingdoms in northern India. Alexander the Great invaded northern India in the fourth century B.C.

The Islamic presence in southern India occurred around the eighth century A.D., via sailors from establishments in Kerala and Tamilnadu. Furthermore, about the tenth century A.D. Islamic raiders began their invasions of India. The earliest invaders were the Turks, followed by members of the Moghuls Dynasty in about 1500 A.D. The Moghul Dynasty established a thriving empire in North India. These Muslim invasions resulted in the conversion of a section of the populace to Islam, establishing forever a significant Muslim society in India.

MODERN ERA

By 1600 the British established a presence in India through the East India Company, a trading company that exported raw materials like spices out of India to the West. Britain then strengthened its hold over its Indian colony by installing a parliament, courts, and bureaucracy. Several independent Hindu and Muslim kingdoms, however, continued to exist within the broader framework of British rule. The British army existed to maintain internal order and control uprisings against the colonizing government by the Indian people.

In 1885 the British sanctioned the formation of the Indian National Congress, of which an offshoot, the Congress party, remains one of India's most important political parties. The British hoped that this political party would serve to quell growing resistance to British rule by co-opting some of India's most politically aware and educated individuals into working within the bounds of British rule. Instead, the Indian National Congress became the vehicle through which Indians coordinated their struggle for freedom from British rule. An indigenous independence movement spearheaded by men like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru—later free India's first prime minister—gained strength in the early twentieth century.

India's movement for independence was marked by nonviolence as hundreds of thousands of Indians responded to Mahatma Gandhi's call for *satyagraha*, which means to be steadfast in truth. *Satyagraha* involved nonviolent protest through passive noncooperation with the British at every level. Indians simply refused to participate in any activity over which there was British supervision,

thus making it impossible for the British to continue to govern India.

Britain formally relinquished its hold over India in 1947, and two sovereign countries, India and Pakistan, were created out of British India. The partition was a result of irreconcilable differences between Hindu and Muslim leadership. It was decided that India was the land of the Hindus and Pakistan would be the land of the Muslims. Modern India, however, is a secular nation.

Nehru and his political party, the Congress, remained in power until his death in 1964. Leaving a lasting legacy, Nehru molded independent India's economy, society, and polity. Lal Bahadur Shastri became India's second prime minister, and upon his death was succeeded by Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi, who remained in power until 1977 when, for the first time, the Congress lost in parliamentary elections to the opposition Janata party. Indira's loss was largely due to the increasingly authoritarian tactics she had adopted before she was voted out of power. Morarji Desai, the leader of the Janata party, then became India's fourth prime minister.

Indira Gandhi and the Congress were returned to power in 1980, and upon her assassination in 1984, her son, Rajiv Gandhi, was elected prime minister. In 1994 the Congress, with Narasimha Rao as the prime minister, is once again in office, and is instituting unprecedented and far-reaching economic reforms in the country. The Rao government has succeeded in some measure in dismantling the old Nehruvian, socialist-style restrictions on the economy and on private industry. Today, India's exports have increased significantly, its foreign exchange reserves are at their highest levels in decades, and the economy appears robust.

Economic liberalization, however, has caused widening discrepancies between the wealthy and the poor in India. Moreover, a rising tide of religious fundamentalism and intolerance in recent years are threatening India's otherwise promising future. For the first time in decades, a powerful political party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (Bharateeyah Juntah) or the Indian People's Party, has challenged the prevalent belief in and acceptance of India's secularism, maintaining instead that India is a Hindu state. The party has found widespread support in some areas of India and in some sections of the Asian Indian community in the United States and Europe. Thus far, however, the government has functioned within the parameters of India's democratic institutions.

THE FIRST ASIAN INDIANS IN AMERICA

In many accounts, immigrants to the United States from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are referred to

as Asian Indians. The first Asian Indians or Indian Americans, as they are also known, arrived in America as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, about 2,000 Indians, most of them Sikhs (a religious minority from India's Punjab region), settled on the west coast of the United States, having come in search of economic opportunity. The majority of Sikhs worked in agriculture and construction. Other Asian Indians came as merchants and traders; many worked in lumber mills and logging camps in the western states of Oregon, Washington, and California, where they rented bunkhouses, acquired knowledge of English, and assumed Western dress. Most of the Sikhs, however, refused to cut their hair or beards or forsake the wearing of the turbans that their religion required. In 1907 about 2,000 Indians, alongside other immigrants from China, Japan, Korea, Norway, and Italy worked on the building of the Western Pacific Railway in California. Other Indians helped build bridges and tunnels for California's other railroad projects.

Between 1910 and 1920, as agricultural work in California began to become more abundant and better paying, many Indian immigrants turned to the fields and orchards for employment. For many of the immigrants who had come from villages in rural India, farming was both familiar and preferable. There is evidence that Indians began to bargain, often successfully, for better wages during this time. Some Indians eventually settled permanently in the California valleys where they worked. Despite the 1913 Alien Land Law, enacted by the California legislature to discourage Japanese immigrants from purchasing land, many Asian Indians bought land as well; by 1920 Asian Indians owned 38,000 acres in California's Imperial Valley and 85,000 acres in the Sacramento Valley. Because there was virtually no immigration by Indian women during this time, it was not unheard of for Indian males to marry Mexican women and raise families.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, about 100 Indian students also studied in universities across America. During the summers, it was not uncommon for Indian students in California to work in the fields and orchards alongside their countrymen. A small group of Indian immigrants also came to America as political refugees from British rule. To them, the United States seemed the ideal place for their revolutionary activities. In fact, many of these revolutionaries returned to India in the early part of the twentieth century to assume important roles in the struggle for India's independence.

The turn of the century also saw increasing violence against Asian Indians in the western

states. Expulsions of Indians from the communities in which they worked were occasionally organized by other Euro-American workers. Some Indians who had migrated for economic reasons returned to India after they had saved respectable sums of money in America; others stayed, putting down roots in the West. The immigration of Indians to America was tightly controlled by the American government during this time, and Indians applying for visas to travel to the United States were often rejected by U.S. diplomats in major Indian cities like Bombay and Calcutta. The Asiatic Exclusion League (AEL) was organized in 1907 to encourage the expulsion of Asian workers, including Indians. In addition, several pieces of legislation were introduced in the United States, specifically the congressional exclusion laws of 1917 and 1923, that attempted either to restrict the entry of Indians and other Asians or to deny them residence and citizenship rights in America. Some of these were defeated while others were adopted. For instance, a literacy clause was added to a number of bills, requiring that immigrants pass a literacy test to be considered eligible for citizenship, thus effectively barring many Indians from consideration for citizenship.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In July 1946, Congress passed a bill allowing naturalization for Indians and, in 1957, the first Asian Indian senator, Dalip Saund, was elected to Congress. Like many early Indian immigrants, Saund came to the United States from Punjab and had worked in the fields and farms of California. He had also earned a doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. While more educated and professional Indians began to enter America, immigration restrictions and tight quotas ensured that only small numbers of Indians entered the country prior to 1965. Overall, approximately 6,000 Asian Indians immigrated to the United States between 1947 and 1965.

From 1965 onward, a second significant wave of Indian immigration began, spurred by a change in U.S. immigration law that lifted prior quotas and restrictions and allowed significant numbers of Asians to immigrate. Between 1965 and 1974, Indian immigration to the United States increased at a rate greater than that from almost any other country. This wave of immigrants was very different from the earliest Indian immigrants—Indians that emigrated after 1965 were overwhelmingly urban, professional, and highly educated and quickly engaged in gainful employment in many U.S. cities. Many had prior exposure to Western society and education and their transition to the United States was

therefore relatively smooth. More than 100,000 such professionals and their families entered the U.S. in the decade after 1965.

Almost 40 percent of all Indian immigrants who entered the United States in the decades after 1965 arrived on student or exchange visitor visas, in some cases with their spouses and dependents. Most of the students pursued graduate degrees in a variety of disciplines. They were often able to find promising jobs and prosper economically, and many became permanent residents and then citizens.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The 1990 U.S. census reports 570,000 Asian Indians in America. About 32 percent are settled in the Northeast, 26 percent in the South, 23 percent in the West, and 19 percent in the midwestern states. New York, California, and New Jersey are the three states with the highest concentrations of Asian Indians. In California, where the first Indian immigrants arrived, the cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles are home to the oldest established Asian Indian communities in the United States.

In general, the Asian Indian community has preferred to settle in the larger American cities rather than smaller towns, especially in New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago. This appears to be a reflection of both the availability of jobs in larger cities, and the personal preference of being a part of an urban, ethnically diverse environment, one which is evocative of the Indian cities that many of the post-1965 immigrants came from. Still, there are sizeable Asian Indian communities in suburban areas, including Silver Springs (Maryland), San Jose and Fremont (California), and Queens (New York).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Asian Indians have quietly permeated many segments of the American economy and society while still retaining their Indian culture. Most Asian Indian families strive to preserve traditional Indian values and transmit these to their children. Offspring are encouraged to marry within the community and maintain their Indian heritage. The occupational profile presented by the Asian Indian community today is one of increasing diversity. Although a large number of Asian Indians are professionals, others own small businesses or are employed as semi- or nonskilled workers. Asian Indian are sometimes stereotyped in American society as industri-

ous, prosperous, and professionally and educationally advanced.

The Asian Indian community in the United States is an ethnically diverse one. One can distinguish among subgroups who trace their roots to different regions or states within India, who speak different languages, eat different foods, and follow distinct customs. Some of the most populous Indian groups within the United States are Gujaratis, Bengalis, Punjabis, Marathis, and Tamils. They come from a number of the Indian states, or regions, each of which has its own language. It is more likely that these subgroups will interact socially and celebrate important occasions with members of their own subcommunity rather than the larger Indian community. Indians are also encouraged to marry within their subgroups. However, there are occasions, like the celebration of India's day of independence, when the Asian Indian community will come together.

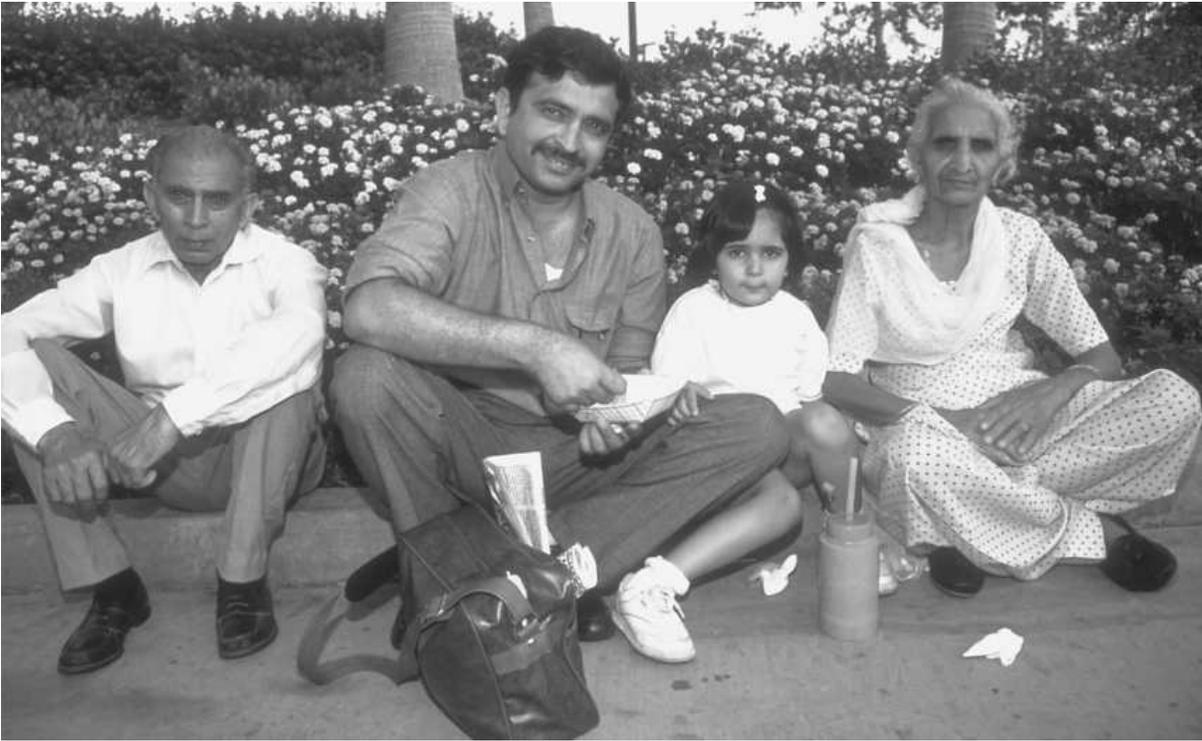
CUISINE

The majority of Asian Indian Americans have retained diets rooted in Indian cuisine. Indian food is prepared with a variety of spices, including cumin, turmeric, chili powder, ginger, and garlic. All Asian Indians eat a variety of *dals* (lentils), beans, and *chaval* (rice) dishes. Hindus generally will not eat beef for religious reasons, while Muslims eschew pork. Second-generation Asian Indians are more likely to ignore these religious taboos. (italicized terms are in Hindi, and are not recognized in South India)

Tandoori, clay-baked chicken or fish marinated in yogurt and spices, is a popular North Indian dish. *Biryani*, or flavored rice with vegetables and meats, is served on festive occasions, often accompanied by a cooling yogurt sauce called *raita* (rye-tah). Southern Indian dishes like *masala*, *dosai* crepes filled with spiced potatoes or *idlis* (idlees), and steamed rice cakes, are also popular. Indian cuisine is largely dependent on the region of India from which a subcommunity traces its roots. Caste also plays a role.

Green chutneys made of mint or coriander accompany a variety of savory fritters like the triangular, stuffed samosas. Pickled vegetables and fruits like lemons or mangoes are popular accompaniments to meals. A variety of unleavened breads like *naans*, *rotis* (roetees), and *parathas* are also widely eaten. Finally, "sweetmeats" like halva and burfi can often round off a festive meal.

Traditional Indian cooking tends to be a time-consuming process, and Asian Indians in the United States have developed shortcuts involving



Asian Indian American families often revere their older members and allow them to live within the nuclear family home if necessary.

mechanical gadgets and canned substitutes in preparing Indian meals. However, most families continue to eat freshly-prepared Indian food for the main meal of the day. Indeed, the evening meal often serves as the time when the family will get together to discuss their daily activities. The average Asian Indian family tends not to eat out as often as other American families because of the importance accorded to eating together at the family table. Meal preparation still tends to be the domain of the females of the house, and while daughters are often expected to help, sons are not generally expected to assist in the kitchen.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES AND ACCESSORIES

Many Asian Indian women wear the sari—yards of colorful embroidered or printed silk or cotton wrapped around the body—at community functions and celebrations like weddings. At such occasions, both men and women might also wear the *kameez* or *kurta*, also made of silk or fine cotton, a long shirt worn over tight-fitting leggings. Shawls made of silk or wool and elaborately embroidered or woven with gold or silver threads or beads and draped around the shoulders are an added touch to women's costumes. Women might wear a *bindi*, or ornamental dot, which sometimes indicates they are married, but is also worn as a fashion accessory on their foreheads at celebrations.

Indians are very fond of gold jewelry, and many women wear simple gold ornaments like rings, earrings, bangles, and necklaces daily, and more elabo-

rate ones at special occasions. Jewelry is often passed down through the generations from mother to daughter or daughter-in-law.

DANCES AND MUSIC

Asian Indian preferences in music range from Indian classical music, which might include instruments such as the stringed sitar, the tabla, or drums, and the harmonium, to popular music from Indian films and the West. Indian classical music dates back several thousand years and gained a wider audience after India's independence. Indian film music, often a fusion of Indian and Western rock or pop music, also has a widespread following both in India and within the community in the United States.

Carnatic music, the classical music of south India, commonly employs such musical instruments as the *veena*, a stringed instrument, and a range of violins. Carnatic music usually accompanies Bharata Natyam, a classical dance in which dancers perform portions of mythological tales, emulating ancient temple carvings of men and women with their body, hand, and eye movements.

Indian folk dances like the exuberant Bhangra from the Punjab region are popular at celebratory gatherings of the community. In this dance, dancers throw their arms in the air and simulate the actions of the farmer at work with his sickle. Traditional Bhangra music is increasingly being fused with elements of hip-hop, rap, and reggae, and bands like Alaap or Toronto's Dhamak are popular with younger members of the community.

Asian Indian cuisine has become quite popular in the United States over the past decade, giving many Asian Indian American families thriving restaurant businesses.



HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS

In addition to universal celebrations like International New Year's Day, Asian Indians celebrate India's day of independence from the British on August 15 and Republic Day on January 26. Many religious celebrations are also observed, the most important being *Diwali* (deevalee), the festival of lights celebrating the return home of the Lord Rama, and *Holi* (hoelee), the Hindu festival of colors celebrating spring. On these days, sweets are distributed among friends and family. Oil lamps, or *diyas*, are lit on *Diwali*. The community often organizes a traditional dinner with entertainment to mark the holiday. Major festivals for Muslims include *Eid-ul-Fitr*, which marks the end of *Ramadan*, the month of fasting. It is celebrated with prayers and visits with friends. Asian-Indian Christians celebrate Christmas and Easter. The Navaratri (*nava* meaning "nine" and *ratri* meaning "night/s") is one of the most famous and popular festivals in India and is the major festival for diaspora Indians. Tens of thousands of Gujaratis dance the *garbha* during this Fall celebration.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

Most Asian Indians accept the role of modern medicine and pay careful attention to health matters. Ayurvedic medicine has many adherents within the community. Ayurveda emphasizes spiritual healing as an essential component of physical healing and bases its cures on herbs and natural ingredients such as raw garlic and ginger. Ayurveda also

focuses on preventive healing. One of its most famous proponents is Deepak Chopra, an India-born doctor whose book *Ageless Body, Timeless Mind* makes a case for the practice of Ayurveda and has sold over a million copies in the United States. Homeopathic medicine also has adherents among the community.

Some members of the Asian Indian American community practice yoga. The ancient practice of Yoga dates back several thousand years. It combines a routine of exercise and meditation to maintain the balance between body and mind. Practiced correctly, Yoga is said to enable the individual to relieve him or herself of daily stresses and strains and to achieve his or her full potential as a human being. Various *asanas* or poses are held by the individual in practicing Yoga.

Asian Indians are less inclined to seek out assistance for mental health problems than they are for physical health problems. This relates to the low levels of consciousness about, and prevailing stigmas attached to mental health issues in India. The traditional Indian belief has been that mental problems will eventually take care of themselves, and that the family rather than outside experts should take care of the mentally ill. This attitude might change as prevailing societal beliefs about mental health are assimilated by the community.

LANGUAGE

India is a multi-lingual country with over 300 dialects. About 24 of these dialects are spoken by over a million people. This diversity is reflected in the Asian Indian community in America. First-generation Indians continue to speak their native language within the family—with spouses, members of the extended family, and friends within the community. Most also speak English fluently, which has made the transition to American society easier for many Indian immigrants.

Regional differences are prevalent. Hindi is spoken mostly by immigrants from northern India, and is generally not spoken by South Indians. Immigrants from the states of southern India speak regional languages like Tamil, Telegu, or Malayalam. A substantial number of immigrants from western India, particularly those from the state of Gujarat, continue to speak Gujarati, while those from the region of Bengal speak Bengali. Most second- and third-generation Asian Indians understand the language spoken by their parents and extended family, but tend not to speak it themselves. Many Indians are multilingual and speak

several Indian languages. Thus, a Gujarati speaker is likely to know Hindi as well.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Asian Indian greetings tend to be in Hindi or Hindustani, and include such greetings as *Namaste* (Namastay), the equivalent of “hello.” This greeting is usually accompanied by the palms of one’s hands pressed together against the chest among some North Indians. *Aap kaise hai* is the equivalent of the universal query “How are you?” *Theek* (fine) is the response. For Muslims, the traditional Islamic greetings of *inshallah* (“insha-allah”)—God willing, or *Salaam Aleikum* (“sullahm allaykum”)—God be with you, are the most common.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

For the most part, Asian Indians tend to live in nuclear families in the United States, although it is common for members of the extended family, particularly grandparents, to visit for months at a time. It has also been fairly common, particularly from 1965 on, for Asian Indians to encourage their siblings to emigrate from India, and to provide them with financial and emotional support until they are well settled in the United States. Family ties are very strong, and it is considered the responsibility of more prosperous members to look after their less well-to-do relatives. Relatively low percentages of Asian Indian families receive public assistance. This is due to both relative affluence in the community and the tendency for extended family members to provide financial support in times of need.

Dating is not a traditional Indian custom, and Asian Indian parents tend to frown upon the practice, although they are slowly yielding to their offspring’s demands to be allowed to date. The preference is still for the selection of a marriage partner from within the subgroup of the larger community and with the full approval and consent of the parents. Family or community members are often involved in the selection of a suitable mate. The family and educational backgrounds of the potential partner are thoroughly examined before introductions are made. Asian Indians believe that their children will be happier if they are married to someone who shares the same history, tradition, religion, and social customs and who will be able to impart these values to their children, thus ensuring the continuity of the community. They believe that such marriages made within the community tend to

be more stable and longer lasting than those that cross community borders.

Asian Indians value education highly. A great percentage of all Asian Americans attend college for a minimum of four years. This percentage is much higher than any other ethnic group in America. Many also attend graduate school and pursue such professions as medicine, business administration, and law.

Asian Indian women have made great progress in recent years in both India and the United States. In India Indira Gandhi once held the highest seat in government—that of the prime minister. In the United States, while many women continue to perform the traditional household tasks of cooking and caring for children, a greater number of Asian Indian women, particularly second- and third-generation women, are pursuing their own professional careers and life choices.

WEDDINGS

Weddings in the North Indian community are often elaborate affairs, sometimes stretching over several days. In traditional Hindu ceremonies the bride and groom exchange garlands of flowers and circle a ceremonial fire three to seven times. The bride often wears a red sari and gold ornaments. She might also have her hands and feet painted in intricate designs with henna, a tradition called *mehendi*. The groom might wear the traditional North Indian dress of a *churidar kameez*, or tight leggings made of silk or fine cotton, and a long shirt, or opt for a western-style suit. A Brahman priest conducts the ceremony.

Dancing and music is fairly common at Indian American weddings, a result of the assimilation of American customs. Some weddings might include *shehnai* music, or a thin, wailing music played on an oboe-like instrument. This music is traditionally played at Hindu weddings in India. Feasts of traditional foods are prepared for guests and traditional Hindu or Muslim rites are observed. Often, family members prepare the feast themselves, although it is increasingly common to engage professional caterers.

FUNERALS

Asian Indian families can expect a lot of community support upon the death of a family member. Members of the community provide both comfort and material help in times of bereavement. After priests offer prayers, the Hindu dead are cremated. In India the cremation traditionally takes place on a wooden pyre and the body, which is often dressed in gold-ornamented clothing, burns over several

hours. This is in contrast to electric cremation in the United States. Garlands of flowers, incense sticks, and *ghee* (purified melted butter) are placed on the stretcher along with the body. In India as well as in the United States, it is traditional for the males of the family play the primary roles in the final rites; women play smaller roles during this ceremony. Asian Indian Muslims are buried in cemeteries according to Islamic tradition and Christians in accordance with Christian beliefs.

RELIGION

The earliest Hindu *mandir*, or temple, the “old temple,” existed in San Francisco as early as 1920, but in general the religious needs of Hindu Asian Indians prior to the 1950s were served mainly through ethnic and community organizations like the Hindu Society of India. Since the 1950s, Hindu and Sikh temples have increasingly been built for worship in cities with high concentrations of Asian Indians like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, while Asian Muslims worship at mosques and Christians at existing churches. There are now more than a hundred places of worship for Asian Indians around the United States.

All Hindus, regardless of their regional differences and the particular gods they worship, tend to worship at available temples. While Hindus are functionally polytheistic, they are philosophically monotheist. Brahman priests typically lead the service and recite from the scriptures. Services can be conducted in either Sanskrit, Hindi, or the regional languages. *Poojas*, or religious ceremonies that celebrate auspicious occasions like the birth of a child, are also performed by the priests. While some priests serve full time, others might have a second occupation in addition to performing priestly duties.

While some Asian Indians visit temples regularly, others limit their visits to important religious occasions. Since Hinduism tends to be less formally organized than other religions like Christianity, prayer meetings can also be conducted at individuals' homes. It is also quite common for Asian Indian homes to have a small room or a part of a room reserved for prayer and meditation. Such household shrines are central to a family's religious life.

Many Asian Indians practice Islam, meaning “submission to God.” Similar to Christianity, followers of Islam believe in the prophet Muhammad, who was ordered by the angel Gabriel in 610 A.D. to spread God's message. Muhammad recorded the angel's revelations in the *Koran*, the Muslim holy book. There are five requirements, or Pillars, of

Islam: (1) Confession that there is “no god but God” and Muhammad is the messenger of God; (2) Pray five times daily; (3) Giving of alms; (4) Fasting in daylight hours for the Muhammadan month of Ramadan; and (5) Pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. While Muslims regard the message of Islam as eternal and universal, their individual lives have demonstrated a variety of orientations toward traditional and popular patterns.

The Asian Indian community in America also includes small numbers of Buddhists, followers of Gautama Buddha, and Jains, followers of Mahavira. The most unique feature of the Jain religion, which was founded in the sixth century B.C., is its belief in the doctrine of *ahimsa*, or nonviolence. This belief leads Jains to practice strict vegetarianism, since they cannot condone the killing of animals. The Jains in the United States have their own temples for worship. Buddhists, Jainists, and Hindus all place a great value on personal austerity and are concerned with the final escape from the cycle of birth and rebirth known as reincarnation.

Small but significant Zoroastrian or Parsi communities have settled in cities such as New York and Los Angeles. The Parsees came to India as refugees from Arab-invaded Persia in the ninth and tenth centuries. They are about 100,000 strong in India and have made significant economic and social contributions to the country. Earliest reports of Parsi immigrants to the United States date from the turn of this century, when groups of Parsees entered this country as merchants and traders.

Of all the Asian Indian religious communities, the Sikhs are the oldest and tend to be the most well organized in terms of religious activity. Sikhism is different from Hinduism in its belief in one God. Sikhs follow the teachings of Guru Nanak, the founder of the religion, and worship in temples called *Gurudwaras* (Gurudwaaras). Services in *Gurudwaras* are held about once a week as well as on religious occasions. Tenets of the Sikh religion include wearing a turban on the head for males and a symbolic bangle called a *Kara* around their wrists. In addition, Sikh males are required not to cut their hair or beards. This custom is still followed to by many in the community; others choose to give up the wearing of the turban and cut their hair.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The economic profile of Asian Indians has changed dramatically. While the first immigrants were agricultural and manual laborers, today, significant

numbers of Asian Indians are engaged in professions such as medicine, accounting, and engineering. Many Asian Indians who entered the United States as students remained and became respected professors and academics. In fact, a recent study indicates that a higher percentage of Asian Indians is engaged in managerial positions today than any other ethnic group in the United States.

Indian immigrants to the United States sometimes have been unable to practice the profession for which they were trained in India due to either a lack of employment opportunities or the lack of American certification. In such cases, like law, for instance, they have either chosen alternative occupations or have retrained themselves in another field. Doctors and engineers have been among the most successful in finding employment in the field within which they were trained.

Many Asian Indians own small businesses like travel agencies, Indian groceries, and garment stores, particularly in neighborhoods like Flushing, in Queens, New York, where a strong Asian Indian community exists. Asian Indians own or operate about 50 percent of the motels in the United States, and almost 37 percent of all hotels and motels combined. Extended families often help relatives with the initial investment necessary to buy a motel, further strengthening Asian Indians' dominance of this business niche. Around 70 percent of all Indian motel owners share the same surname, Patel, indicating that they are members of the Gujarati Hindu subcaste.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Indian immigrants were actively involved in the struggle for residence and citizenship rights in the early part of the twentieth century. Inspiring leaders like Dalip Saund, who later became a congressman in 1957, and rebels like Taraknath Das mobilized the Indian community in California to strike back against anti-Indian violence and exclusion. The Ghadar Party, organized by Indians and Sikhs, was formed in San Francisco between 1913 and 1914 to realize the goal of revolution in India; it then organized in the United States around the immigration issue.

Later generations of Asian Indians have tended not to play particularly active roles in modern American politics. Only about 25 percent of the community are registered voters and some Asian Indians continue to identify themselves with the politics of India rather than America. There are signs, however, that this noninvolvement is changing. Since the 1980s, the community has actively

raised funds for their candidates of choice. Many young Asian Indians are working on Capitol Hill and in state legislatures gaining valuable experience for the future, and some politicians are now beginning to realize the power of the community to raise capital. During the 1988 presidential campaign, the Asian Indian community raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for candidates in both parties. The Association of Indians in America launched a successful campaign to have Asian Indians included within the "Asian or Pacific Islander" category rather than the "Caucasian/White" category in the census, believing that the conferring of this minority status would bring benefits to the community. Accordingly, Asian Indians are today classified under the "Asian or Pacific Islander" category.

Asian Indians in the United States engaged in unprecedented political activity when armed conflict broke out in 1999 between India and Pakistan over the contested area of Kashmir. Asian Indian immigrants began to lobby Congress and write letters to the editors of American newspapers in support of India's position. In addition, they sent thousands of dollars to aid Asian Indian soldiers and their families. Asian Indian activists have increasingly used the Internet to garner support in the United States for Asian Indian causes. The American division of the Bharatiya Janata Party, for example, has launched an intensive e-mail campaign to urge support for the Hindu nationalist cause.

Geographically dispersed as they are, the residence patterns of Asian Indians has generally prevented them from forming powerful voting blocs. Historically, a greater percentage of Asian Indians has tended to vote for Democratic rather than Republican candidates.

RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Asian Indians have retained close ties to India, maintaining contact with friends and relatives and often travelling to India at regular intervals. They have remained interested in Indian politics because of these ties, and have contributed to the election campaigns of Indian politicians. Contributions from the Asian Indian community to different political parties in India are also quite common, as is the phenomenon of Indian political party leaders travelling to the United States to make their case to the community.

India considers its Indian communities abroad very important. Even though there has been concern over the years of a "brain drain" from India, or a phenomenon where India's best talent moved to America and Europe, the feeling today is that India can still gain both economically and culturally from

its emigrants. Indians who have emigrated abroad are viewed as ambassadors for India, and it is hoped that their achievements will make the country proud. Indeed, unique achievements by Asian Indians in America and Europe are often showcased by the Indian media.

In times of natural disaster like floods or earthquakes in India, the Asian Indian American community has sent generous contributions. Second generation Asian Indian students have demonstrated an interest in travelling to India on study projects. In recent times, Asian Indians are watching the liberalizing economic reforms unfurled by the Narasimha Rao government in India with great interest and noting potential avenues for trade and investment. Many Asian Indians maintain nonresident (NRI) savings accounts in India through which they are able to make investments in private businesses in different parts of the country.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Asian Indians serve as distinguished faculty members at prestigious universities and colleges all over the United States. The following constitute only a handful of the many Asian Indians who have made names for themselves in academia. Arjun Appaduravi is an anthropologist with the University of Chicago University and editor of *Public Culture*. Jagdish Bhagwati (1934–), a renowned economist specializing in the economics of underdevelopment, has also written several books on the subject. He is currently a faculty member at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Shyam Bhatiya (1924–) is a geographer on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. Pramod Chandra is an art history professor at Harvard. Kuldeep Prakash Chopra (1932–), a physicist, teaches at Old Dominion University and has served as a science advisor to the governor of Virginia. Shanti Swarup Gupta (1925–), a statistician, has taught statistics and mathematics at Stanford and Purdue universities and is the recipient of numerous awards in the field. Jayadev Misra (1947–), a computer science educator and winner of several national awards in software and hardware design, is a professor of computer science at the University of Texas at Austin. Rustum Ray (1924–) has been a member of the faculty at Pennsylvania State University since 1950 and has held many visiting positions, including that of science policy fellow at the

Brookings Institution during 1982-83. Gayatu Chakravarti Spivak is a respected literary critic and professor at Columbia University. Ramesh Tripathi (1936–) has been on the ophthalmology faculty at the University of Chicago since 1977 and has earned numerous awards in his field.

ART

Natvar Bhavsar (1934–) is a painter who has held a number of one-man shows at galleries like the Max Hutchinson Gallery in New York and the Kenmore Gallery in Philadelphia. His work is part of the permanent collections of museums such as the Boston Fine Arts Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York.

CULINARY ARTS

Madhur Jaffrey is the author of several popular books on Indian cuisine and the broader cuisine of East Asia. She has written, among others, *Madhur Jaffrey's World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking*, *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*, and *A Taste of India*. Her book *A Taste of the Far East* won the James Beard award for cookbook of the year in 1994. She has also appeared on the television series "Indian Cookery and Far Eastern Cookery."

FILM

Ismail Merchant is a world-renowned film producer. Along with his partner James Ivory, the Merchant-Ivory team has produced and directed such award-winning films as *A Room with a View* (1986), *Howard's End* (1990), and *The Remains of the Day* (1993). In his own right, Merchant has produced *The Courtesans of Bombay* and *In Custody*. Merchant is also a successful cookbook author, having written *Ismail Merchant's Indian Cuisine*, which was named by the *New York Times* as one of the best cookbooks of the year, and, more recently, *Ismail Merchant's Passionate Meals*. Director Mira Nair has directed *Mississippi Masala*, starring Denzel Washington, and *Salaam, Bombay*. Both films deal with the adjustments Asian Indians must make while living in the United States.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Dalip Saund (1899-1973) became a U.S. congressman in 1957. Born in the Punjab region of India, he immigrated to the United States in 1920. He earned a Ph.D. in Mathematics from the University of Cal-

ifornia, Berkeley and was one of the earliest activists fighting for the citizenship and residence rights of Asian Indians in the United States.

Many Asian Indian Americans have been appointed to administrative positions. Joy Cherian was Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner from 1990 to 1994. Cherian was first appointed by President Ronald Reagan to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in 1987. In 1982 Cherian founded the Indian American Forum for Political Education and today runs a consulting firm. Sambhu Banik, a Bethesda psychologist, was appointed in 1990 as executive director of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation. Kumar Barve (1958–), a Democrat from Maryland, was elected vice chairman of the Montgomery County's House delegation in 1992. Barve became the first Asian Indian in the country to be elected to a state legislature. Bharat Bhargava was appointed assistant director of Minority Business Development Authority by President George Bush. Dinesh D'Souza, a graduate of Dartmouth and an outspoken conservative, was appointed a domestic policy advisor in the Reagan administration. He is a first generation Asian Indian, having come to the United States as an undergraduate student, and is the author of *Illiberal Education: Politics of Sex and Race on Campus*. D'Souza is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). T.R. Lakshmanan was head of the Bureau of Statistics in the Transportation Department. Arthur Lall (1911–) has been involved in numerous international negotiations, has written extensively on diplomacy and negotiations, including the 1966 book *Modern International Negotiator*, and has taught at Columbia University. President Bush named Gopal S. Pal a member of the board of regents, Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences under the U.S. Defense Department. Arati Prabhakar served as research director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, Department of Commerce. Zach Zachariah of Florida was President Bush's 1992 finance committee chairman in that state, and had the distinction of raising the most funds of any one person in that campaign. Three Asian Indians have won elections as mayors: John Abraham in Teaneck, New Jersey, David Dhillon in El Centro, California; and Bala K. Srinivas in Holliswood Park, Texas.

JOURNALISM

Pranay Gupte was born in India. He has served as a foreign correspondent for the *New York Times* and is the author of a number of books, including *Vengeance* (1985), which chronicled the years

immediately after the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and *The Crowded Earth: People and the Politics of Population*.

LITERATURE

Notable nonfiction writers include Dinesh D'Souza, author of the 1991 best-seller *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*, and Ravi Batra, an economist whose *The Great Depression of 1990* and *Surviving the Great Depression of 1990* also attained best-seller status. Deepak Chopra, an endocrinologist turned ayurvedic practitioner, has published a series of highly successful books, including *Ageless Body, Timeless Mind: The Quantum Alternative to Growing Old* (1993).

Asian Indian American fiction writers include such figures as Bharati Mukherjee (1940–), professor of English at Columbia University, who was awarded the National Book Critics Circle Award for *The Middleman and Other Stories* (1988), Gita Mehta, whose works include *Karma Cola: Marketing the Mystic East* (1979) and the novel *A River Sutra* (1993), Ved Mehta (1934–) winner of a 1982 McArthur Foundation "genius" award and author of works such as his autobiography *Face to Face* (1957) and the autobiographical novel *Daddyji* (1972), and Vikram Seth, whose *A Suitable Boy* (1993) has been compared to the works of Austen and Tolstoy. Shashi Tharoor wrote *Reasons of State* (1982) and *The Five-Dollar Smile and Other Stories* (1993) and Anita Desai's *In Custody* (1985) was made into a film in 1994. Folklorist and poet A.K. Ramamijan wrote *Speaking of Siva*. Kirin Narayan is the author of *Love, Stars, and All That* (1994), a novel about Asian Indian experiences in the United States.

Dhan Gopal Mukerji was one of the first Asian Indian Americans to write for children. His works include both animal fantasies like *The Chief of the Herd* (1929) and novels, such as *Gay Neck: The Story of a Pigeon*, which won the Newbery Medal in 1927.

MUSIC

Zubin Mehta (1936–), musician and conductor, was born in Bombay, India. He was born in the Zoroastrian faith, the religious minority in India that traces its ancestry to ninth-century Persia. He has served as music director of a number of orchestras, including the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Israel Philharmonic, and the New York Philharmonic. Most recently, he has been engaged in gala productions with the "three tenors," Luciano Pavarotti, José Carerras, and Plácido Domingo. He

has won the New York City Mayor's Liberty Award. Several Indian musicians have established schools in the United States to keep Indian culture alive among young Asian Indians. One such musician is Ali Akbar Khan, a North Indian classical musician who formed a school in California's Bay Area.

RELIGION

Prabhupada Bhaktivedanta (1896-1977) was the leader of the Hare Krishna movement, which emerged in the 1970s in North America and Europe. At the age of 69 Bhaktivedanta immigrated to the United States, preaching the worship of Krishna in New York. Hare Krishna is organizationally embodied in the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). While he quickly gained an international following, Bhaktivedanta also experienced the harsh criticism of the anticult movement. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (1911-) arrived in the United States in 1959, as a missionary of traditional Indian thought. Mahesh founded the Spiritual Regeneration Movement, whose purpose was to change the world through the practice of Transcendental Meditation.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Asian Indians have made numerous advancements in science and technology. The following individuals only represent a small sample. Hargobind Khorana (1922-) won the 1968 Nobel Prize in Medicine for the United States. He has held professorships at many distinguished universities worldwide. Vijay Prabhakar practiced medicine for many years with the Indian Health Service, a branch of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, which provides health care to Native Americans. He is the recipient of numerous awards, including the Public Service Health Award. Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar (1910-), a theoretical astrophysicist, won the 1983 Nobel Prize in Physics. He has also held professorships at many prestigious institutions. Amar Bose (1929-) is the founder, chairman of the board and technical director of the Bose Corporation, known for its innovative stereo speaker systems. Bose is also a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

MEDIA

ELECTRONIC NEWSGROUPS

The following newsgroups are available on the Internet: The newsgroup alt.india.progressive provides

information on events in the United States geared toward promoting ethnic and religious harmony within the Indian community in the United States and in India; the newsgroup soc.culture.indian.info provides information on cultural and social events of interest to Asian Indians; the newsgroup clari.world.asia.india provides up-to-date news on events in India.

PRINT

India Abroad.

This weekly newspaper was first published in 1970, making it the oldest Asian Indian newspaper in the United States. It focuses on news about the community in the United States, on issues and problems unique to the community, and on news from India.

Contact: Gopal Raju, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 43 West 24th Street, New York, New York 10010.

Telephone: (212) 929-1727.

India Currents.

This is a monthly newsmagazine focusing on issues of interest to the Asian Indian community.

Contact: Arvind Kumar, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 71785, San Jose, California 95151.

Telephone: (408) 774-6966.

News India.

This weekly newspaper features articles and news on India and the Asian Indian community.

Contact: John Perry, Editor.

Address: Hannah Worldwide Publishing, 244 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10001.

Telephone: (212)-481-3110.

Fax: (212) 889-5774.

RADIO

There are many FM and AM radio programs broadcast in Hindi across the United States. In addition, there are some programs that are broadcast in other regional Indian languages like Gujarati, Marathi, or Tamil. Most of these originate in cities with significant Asian Indian populations. Some Hindi radio programs include KEST-AM in San Francisco, California; WSBC-AM in Chicago, Illinois; WEEF-AM in Highland Park, Illinois; WAIF-FM in Cincinnati, Ohio; and KPFT-FM in Houston, Texas.

TELEVISION

Asian Indian programs are common on cable channels in U.S. cities with large communities like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. In addition, TV Asia telecasts news and feature programs of interest to the Indian community nationally on the International Channel.

Address: TV Asia, c/o The International Channel, 12401 West Olympic Boulevard, Bethesda, Maryland 20814.
Telephone: (310) 826-2426.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

A distinction must be made between organizations that base membership upon an encompassing Asian Indian identity and those that are linked more closely to different regions and states within India, such as the Maharashtrian or Tamil organizations in different U.S. states. In addition, religion-based groups like the Sikh or Zoroastrian organizations also exist. The following is a list of organizations that serve all Asian Indians without distinction of religion, language, or region.

Association of Indians in America.

Immigrants of Asian Indian ancestry living in the United States. Seeks to continue Indian cultural activities in the United States and to encourage full Asian Indian participation as citizens and residents of America.

Contact: Dr. Nirmal Matoo, President.
Address: 68-15 Central Avenue, Glendale, New York 11385.
Telephone: (718) 697-3285.
Fax: (718) 497-5320.

Network of Indian Professionals (NetIP).

Nonprofit group seeking to help Asian Indian Americans advance personally and professionally. Also works to improve the community.

Address: 268 Bush Street, #2707, San Francisco, California 94104.
Online: <http://www.netip.org>.

National Association of Americans of Asian Indian Descent (NAAOID).

Primary membership is business and professional Asian Indians. Protects and promotes economic, social, and political rights and interests of Asian Indians.

Contact: Dr. Sridharta Kazil, President.
Address: 3320 Avenue A, Kearney, Nebraska 68847-1666.
Telephone: (308) 865-2263.
Fax: (308) 865-2263.

National Federation of Indian American Associations (NFIAA).

Represents interests of Asian Indians in the United States and promotes Indian culture and values. Attempts to influence legislation in favor of the community.

Contact: Thomas Abraham, Chair.
Address: P.O. Box 1413, Stamford, Connecticut 06904.
Telephone: (516) 421-2699.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Dharam Hinduja India Research Center.

Autonomous center within Columbia University Department of Religion that studies Indian traditions of knowledge from the Vedas to modern times with a focus on practical application.

Contact: Mary McGee, Director.
Address: 1102 International Affairs Building, 420 West 118 Street, MC 3367, New York, New York 10027.
Telephone: (212) 854-5300.
Fax: (212) 854-2802.
E-mail: dhirc@columbia.edu.
Online: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/dhirc>.

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AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALANDER AMERICANS

by
Ken Cuthbertson

OVERVIEW

Since immigration statistics usually combine information about New Zealand with that of Australia, and because similarities between the countries are great, they are linked in this essay also. The Commonwealth of Australia, the world's sixth largest nation, lies between the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Australia is the only country in the world that is also a continent, and the only continent that lies entirely within the Southern Hemisphere. The name Australia comes from the Latin word *australis*, which means southern. Australia is popularly referred to as "Down Under"—an expression that derives from the country's location below the equator. Off the southeast coast lies the island state of Tasmania; together they form the Commonwealth of Australia. The capital city is Canberra.

Australia covers an area of 2,966,150 square miles—almost as large as the continental United States, excluding Alaska. Unlike the United States, Australia's population in 1994 was only 17,800,000; the country is sparsely settled, with an average of just six persons per square mile of territory as compared to more than 70 in the United States. This statistic is somewhat misleading, though, because the vast Australian interior—known as the "Outback"—is mostly flat desert or arid grassland with few settlements. A person standing on Ayers Rock, in the middle of the continent, would have to travel at least 1,000 miles in any direction to reach the

Australians and New Zealanders in the United States assimilate easily because they are not a large group and they come from advanced, industrialized areas with many similarities to the United States in language, culture, and social structure.

sea. Australia is very dry. In some parts of the country rain may not fall for years at a time and no rivers run. As a result, most of the country's 17.53 million inhabitants live in a narrow strip along the coast, where there is adequate rainfall. The southeastern coastal region is home to the bulk of this population. Two major cities located there are Sydney, the nation's largest city with more than 3.6 million residents, and Melbourne with 3.1 million. Both cities, like the rest of Australia, have undergone profound demographic change in recent years.

New Zealand, located about 1,200 miles to the southeast of Australia, comprises two main islands, North Island and South Island, the self-governing Cook Island and several dependencies, in addition to several small outlying islands, including Stewart Island, the Chatham Islands, Auckland Islands, Kermadec Islands, Campbell Island, the Antipodes, Three Kings Island, Bounty Island, Snares Island, and Solander Island. New Zealand's population was estimated at 3,524,800 in 1994. Excluding its dependencies, the country occupies an area of 103,884 square miles, about the size of Colorado, and has a population density of 33.9 persons per square mile. New Zealand's geographical features vary from the Southern Alps and fjords on South Island to the volcanoes, hot springs, and geysers on North Island. Because the outlying islands are scattered widely, they vary in climate from tropical to the antarctic.

The immigrant population of Australia and New Zealand is predominantly English, Irish, and Scottish in background. According to the 1947 Australian census, more than 90 percent of the population, excluding the Aboriginal native people, was native-born. That was the highest level since the beginning of European settlement 159 earlier, at which time almost 98 percent of the population had been born in Australia, the United Kingdom, Ireland, or New Zealand. Australia's annual birth rate stands at just 15 per 1,000 of population, New Zealand at 17 per 1,000. These low numbers, quite similar to U.S. rates, have contributed only nominally to their population, which has jumped by about three million since 1980. Most of this increase has come about because of changes in immigration policies. Restrictions based on a would-be immigrant's country of origin and color were ended in Australia in 1973 and the government initiated plans to attract non-British groups as well as refugees. As a result, Australia's ethnic and linguistic mix has become relatively diversified over the last two decades. This has had an impact on virtually every aspect of Australian life and culture. According to the latest census data, the Australian

and British-born population has dropped to about 84 percent. Far more people apply to enter Australia each year than are accepted as immigrants.

Australia enjoys one of the world's highest standards of living; its per capita income of more than \$16,700 (U.S.) is among the world's highest. New Zealand's per capita income is \$12,600, compared with the United States at \$21,800, Canada at \$19,500, India at \$350, and Vietnam at \$230. Similarly, the average life expectancy at birth, 73 for an Australian male and 80 for a female, are comparable to the U.S. figures of 72 and 79, respectively.

HISTORY

Australia's first inhabitants were dark-skinned nomadic hunters who arrived around 35,000 B.C. Anthropologists believe these Aborigines came from Southeast Asia by crossing a land bridge that existed at the time. Their Stone Age culture remained largely unchanged for thousands of generations, until the coming of European explorers and traders. There is some evidence that Chinese mariners visited the north coast of Australia, near the present site of the city of Darwin as early as the fourteenth century. However, their impact was minimal. European exploration began in 1606, when a Dutch explorer named Willem Jansz sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria. During the next 30 years, Dutch navigators charted much of the northern and western coastline of what they called New Holland. The Dutch did not colonize Australia, thus in 1770 when the British explorer Captain James Cook landed at Botany Bay, near the site of the present city of Sydney, he claimed the whole of the east coast of Australia for Britain, naming it New South Wales. In 1642, the Dutch navigator, A. J. Tasman, reached New Zealand where Polynesian Maoris were inhabitants. Between 1769 and 1777, Captain James Cook visited the island four times, making several unsuccessful attempts at colonization. Interestingly, among Cook's crew were several Americans from the 13 colonies, and the American connection with Australia did not end there.

It was the 1776 American Revolution half a world away that proved to be the impetus for large-scale British colonization of Australia. The government in London had been "transporting" petty criminals from its overcrowded jails to the North American colonies. When the American colonies seized their independence, it became necessary to find an alternate destination for this human cargo. Botany Bay seemed the ideal site: it was 14,000 miles from England, uncolonized by other European powers, enjoyed a favorable climate, and it was

strategically located to help provide security for Great Britain's long-distance shipping lines to economically vital interests in India.

"English lawmakers wished not only to get rid of the 'criminal class' but if possible to forget about it," wrote the late Robert Hughes, an Australian-born art critic for *Time* magazine, in his popular 1987 book, *The Fatal Shore: A History of Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787-1868*. To further both of these aims, in 1787 the British government dispatched a fleet of 11 ships under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip to establish a penal colony at Botany Bay. Phillip landed January 26, 1788, with about 1,000 settlers, more than half of whom were convicts; males outnumbered females nearly three to one. Over the 80 years until the practice officially ended in 1868, England transported more than 160,000 men, women, and children to Australia. In Hughes' words, this was the "largest forced exile of citizens at the behest of a European government in pre-modern history."

In the beginning, most of the people exiled to Australia from Great Britain were conspicuously unfit for survival in their new home. To the Aborigines who encountered these strange white people, it must have seemed that they lived on the edge of starvation in the midst of plenty. The relationship between the colonists and the estimated 300,000 indigenous people who are thought to have inhabited Australia in the 1780s was marked by mutual misunderstanding at the best of times, and outright hostility the rest of the time. It was mainly because of the vastness of the arid Outback that Australia's Aboriginal people were able to find refuge from the bloody "pacification by force," which was practiced by many whites in the mid-nineteenth century.

Australia's population today includes about 210,000 Aboriginal people, many of whom are of mixed white ancestry; approximately a quarter of a million Maori descendants currently reside in New Zealand. In 1840, the New Zealand Company established the first permanent settlement there. A treaty granted the Maoris possession of their land in exchange for their recognition of the sovereignty of the British crown; it was made a separate colony the following year and was granted self-governance ten years later. This did not stop white settlers from battling the Maoris over land.

Aborigines survived for thousands of years by living a simple, nomadic lifestyle. Not surprisingly the conflict between traditional Aboriginal values and those of the predominant white, urbanized, industrialized majority has been disastrous. In the 1920s and early 1930s, recognizing the need to pro-

tect what remained of the native population, the Australian government established a series of Aboriginal land reserves. Well-intentioned though the plan may have been, critics now charge that the net effect of establishing reservations has been to segregate and "ghettoize" Aboriginal people rather than to preserve their traditional culture and way of life. Statistics seem to bear this out, for Australia's native population has shrunk to about 50,000 full-blooded Aborigines and about 160,000 with mixed blood.

Many Aborigines today live in traditional communities on the reservations that have been set up in rural areas of the country, but a growing number of young people have moved into the cities. The results have been traumatic: poverty, cultural dislocation, dispossession, and disease have taken a deadly toll. Many of the Aboriginal people in cities live in substandard housing and lack adequate health care. The unemployment rate among Aborigines is six times the national average, while those who are fortunate enough to have jobs earn only about half the average national wage. The results have been predictable: alienation, racial tensions, poverty, and unemployment.

While Australia's native people suffered with the arrival of colonists, the white population grew slowly and steadily as more and more people arrived from the United Kingdom. By the late 1850s, six separate British colonies (some of which were founded by "free" settlers), had taken root on the island continent. While there still were only about 400,000 white settlers, there were an estimated 13 million sheep—*jumbucks* as they are known in Australian slang, for it had quickly become apparent that the country was well suited to production of wool and mutton.

MODERN ERA

On January 1, 1901, the new Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed in Sydney. New Zealand joined the six other colonies of the Commonwealth of Australia: New South Wales in 1786; Tasmania, then Van Diemen's Land, in 1825; Western Australia in 1829; South Australia in 1834; Victoria in 1851; and Queensland. The six former colonies, now refashioned as states united in a political federation that can best be described as a cross between the British and American political systems. Each state has its own legislature, head of government, and courts, but the federal government is ruled by an elected prime minister, who is the leader of the party that wins the most seats in any general election. As is the case in the United States, Australia's federal government consists of a bicameral legislature—a 72-

member Senate and a 145-member House of Representatives. However, there are some important differences between the Australian and American systems of government. For one thing, there is no separation of legislative and executive powers in Australia. For another, if the governing party loses a “vote of confidence” in the Australian legislature, the prime minister is obliged to call a general election.

King George V of England was on hand to formally open the new federal parliament at Melbourne (the national capital was moved in 1927 to a planned city called Canberra, which was designed by American architect Walter Burley Griffin). That same year, 1901, saw the passage by the new Australian parliament of the restrictive immigration law that effectively barred most Asians and other “colored” people from entering the country and ensured that Australia would remain predominantly white for the next 72 years. Ironically, despite its discriminatory immigration policy, Australia proved to be progressive in at least one important regard: women were granted the vote in 1902, a full 18 years before their sisters in the United States. Similarly, Australia’s organized labor movement took advantage of its ethnic solidarity and a shortage of workers to press for and win a range of social welfare benefits several decades before workers in England, Europe, or North America. To this day, organized labor is a powerful force in Australian society, far more so than is the case in the United States.

In the beginning, Australians mainly looked west to London for commerce, defense, political, and cultural guidance. This was inevitable given that the majority of immigrants continued to come from Britain; Australian society has always had a distinctly British flavor. With Britain’s decline as a world power in the years following World War I, Australia drew ever closer to the United States. As Pacific-rim neighbors with a common cultural ancestry, it was inevitable that trade between Australia and the United States would expand as transportation technology improved. Despite ongoing squabbles over tariffs and foreign policy matters, American books, magazines, movies, cars, and other consumer goods began to flood the Australian market in the 1920s. To the dismay of Australian nationalists, one spinoff of this trend was an acceleration of the “Americanization of Australia.” This process was slowed only somewhat by the hardships of the Great Depression of the 1930s, when unemployment soared in both countries. It accelerated again when Britain granted former colonies such as Australia and Canada full control over their own external affairs in 1937 and Washington and Canberra moved to establish formal diplomatic relations.

As a member of the British Commonwealth, Australia and America became wartime allies after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Most Australians felt that with Great Britain reeling, America offered the only hope of fending off Japanese invasion. Australia became the main American supply base in the Pacific war, and about one million American G.I.s were stationed there or visited the country in the years 1942 to 1945. As a nation considered vital to U.S. defense, Australia was also included in the lend-lease program, which made available vast quantities of American supplies with the condition that they be returned after the war. Washington policymakers envisioned that this wartime aid to Australia also would pay huge dividends through increased trade between the two countries. The strategy worked; relations between the two nations were never closer. By 1944, the United States enjoyed a huge balance of payments surplus with Australia. Almost 40 percent of that country’s imports came from the United States, while just 25 percent of exports went to the United States. With the end of the war in the Pacific, however, old antagonisms resurfaced. A primary cause of friction was trade; Australia clung to its imperial past by resisting American pressure for an end to the discriminatory tariff policies that favored its traditional Commonwealth trading partners. Nonetheless, the war changed the country in some fundamental and profound ways. For one, Australia was no longer content to allow Britain to dictate its foreign policy. Thus when the establishment of the United Nations was discussed at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, Australia rejected its former role as a small power and insisted on “middle power” status.

In recognition of this new reality, Washington and Canberra established full diplomatic relations in 1946 by exchanging ambassadors. Meanwhile, at home Australians began coming to grips with their new place in the post-war world. A heated political debate erupted over the future direction of the country and the extent to which foreign corporations should be allowed to invest in the Australian economy. While a vocal segment of public opinion expressed fear of becoming too closely aligned with the United States, the onset of the Cold War dictated otherwise. Australia had a vested interest in becoming a partner in American efforts to stem the spread of communism in Southeast Asia, which lies just off the country’s northern doorstep. As a result, in September 1951 Australia joined the United States and New Zealand in the ANZUS defense treaty. Three years later, in September 1954, the same nations became partners with Britain, France, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand in the Southeast Asia Treaty

Organization (SEATO), a mutual defense organization which endured until 1975.

From the mid-1960s onward, both of Australia's major political parties, Labor and Liberal, have supported an end to discriminatory immigration policies. Changes to these policies have had the effect of turning Australia into something of a Eurasian melting pot; 32 percent of immigrants now come from less-developed Asian countries. In addition, many former residents of neighboring Hong Kong relocated to Australia along with their families and their wealth in anticipation of the 1997 reversion of the British Crown colony to Chinese control.

It comes as no surprise that demographic diversification has brought with it changes in Australia's economy and traditional patterns of international trade. An ever-increasing percentage of this commerce is with the booming Pacific-rim nations such as Japan, China, and Korea. The United States still ranks as Australia's second largest trading partner—although Australia no longer ranks among America's top 25 trading partners. Even so, Australian American relations remain friendly, and American culture exerts a profound impact on life Down Under.

THE FIRST AUSTRALIANS AND NEW ZEALANDERS IN AMERICA

Although Australians and New Zealanders have a recorded presence of almost 200 years on American soil, they have contributed minimally to the total immigration figures in the United States. The 1970 U.S. Census counted 82,000 Australian Americans and New Zealander Americans, which represents about 0.25 percent of all ethnic groups. In 1970, less than 2,700 immigrants from Australia and New Zealand entered the United States—only 0.7 percent of the total American immigration for that year. Data compiled by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service indicates that about 64,000 Australians came to the United States in the 70 years from 1820 to 1890—an average of just slightly more than 900 per year. The reality is that Australia and New Zealand have always been places where more people move to rather than leave. While there is no way of knowing for certain, history suggests that most of those who have left the two countries for America over the years have done so not as political or economic refugees, but rather for personal or philosophical reasons.

Evidence is scarce, but what there is indicates that beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, most Australians and New Zealanders who immigrated to America settled in and around San Francisco, and to

a lesser extent Los Angeles, those cities being two of the main west coast ports of entry. (It is important to remember, however, that until 1848 California was not part of the United States.) Apart from their peculiar clipped accents, which sound vaguely British to undiscerning North American ears, Australians and New Zealanders have found it easier to fit into American society than into British society, where class divisions are much more rigid and as often as not anyone from “the colonies” is regarded as a provincial philistine.

PATTERNS OF IMMIGRATION

There is a long, albeit spotty, history of relations between Australia and New Zealand and the United States, one that stretches back to the very beginnings of British exploration. But it was really the California gold rush in January 1848 and a series of gold strikes in Australia in the early 1850s that opened the door to a large-scale flow of goods and people between the two countries. News of gold strikes in California was greeted with enthusiasm in Australia and New Zealand, where groups of would-be prospectors got together to charter ships to take them on the 8,000-mile voyage to America.

Thousands of Australians and New Zealanders set off on the month-long transpacific voyage; among them were many of the ex-convicts who had been deported from Great Britain to the colony of Australia. Called “Sydney Ducks,” these fearsome immigrants introduced organized crime into the area and caused the California legislature to try to prohibit the entry of ex-convicts. Gold was but the initial attraction; many of those who left were seduced upon their arrival in California by what they saw as liberal land ownership laws and by the limitless economic prospects of life in America. From August 1850 through May 1851, more than 800 Aussies sailed out of Sydney harbor bound for California; most of them made new lives for themselves in America and were never to return home. On March 1, 1851, a writer for the *Sydney Morning Herald* decried this exodus, which had consisted of “persons of a better class, who have been industrious and thrifty, and who carry with them the means of settling down in a new world as respectable and substantial settlers.”

When the Civil War raged in America from 1861 to 1865, immigration to the United States all but dried up; statistics show that from January 1861 to June 1870 just 36 Australians and New Zealanders made the move across the Pacific. This situation changed in the late 1870s when the American economy expanded following the end of the Civil

War, and American trade increased as regular steamship service was inaugurated between Melbourne and Sydney and ports on the U.S. west coast. Interestingly, though, the better the economic conditions were at home, the more likely Australians and New Zealanders seem to have been to pack up and go. When times were tough, they tended to stay home, at least in the days before transpacific air travel. Thus, in the years between 1871 and 1880 when conditions were favorable at home, a total of 9,886 Australians immigrated to the United States. During the next two decades, as the world economy faltered, those numbers fell by half. This pattern continued into the next century.

Entry statistics show that, prior to World War I, the vast majority of Australians and New Zealanders who came to America did so as visitors en route to England. The standard itinerary for travelers was to sail to San Francisco and see America while journeying by rail to New York. From there, they sailed on to London. But such a trip was tremendously expensive and although it was several weeks shorter than the mind-numbing 14,000-mile ocean voyage to London, it was still difficult and time-consuming. Thus only well-to-do travelers could afford it.

The nature of relations between Australians and New Zealanders with America changed dramatically with the 1941 outbreak of war with Japan. Immigration to the United States, which had dwindled to about 2,400 persons during the lean years of the 1930s, jumped dramatically in the boom years after the war. This was largely due to two important factors: a rapidly expanding U.S. economy, and the exodus of 15,000 Australian war brides who married U.S. servicemen who had been stationed in Australia during the war.

Statistics indicate that from 1971 to 1990 more than 86,400 Australians and New Zealanders arrived in the United States as immigrants. With few exceptions, the number of people leaving for the United States grew steadily in the years between 1960 and 1990. On average, about 3,700 emigrated annually during that 30-year period. Data from the 1990 U.S. Census, however, indicates that just over 52,000 Americans reported having Australian or New Zealander ancestry, which represents less than 0.05 percent of the U.S. population and ranks them ninety-seventh among ethnic groups residing in the United States. It is unclear whether all of those 34,400 missing persons returned home, migrated elsewhere, or simply did not bother to report their ethnic origin. One possibility, which seems to be borne out by Australian and New Zealander government statistics, is that many of those who have left those countries for the United

States have been people born elsewhere—that is, immigrants who moved on when they did not find life in Australia or New Zealand to their liking. In 1991, for example, 29,000 Australians left the country permanently; 15,870 of that number were “former settlers,” meaning that the rest were presumably native-born. Some members of both groups almost certainly came to the United States, but it is impossible to say how many because of the dearth of reliable data on Australian and New Zealander immigrants in the United States, where they live or work, or what kind of lifestyles they lead.

What is apparent from the numbers is that for whatever reason the earlier pattern of staying in their homeland during hard times has been reversed; now whenever the economy slumps, more individuals are apt to depart for America in search of what they hope are better opportunities. During the 1960s, just over 25,000 immigrants from Australia and New Zealand arrived in the United States; that figure jumped to more than 40,000 during the 1970s, and more than 45,000 during the 1980s. In the late 1980s and early 1990s a deep worldwide recession hit the resource-based economies of Australia and New Zealand hard, resulting in high unemployment and hardship, yet immigration to the United States remained steady at about 4,400 per year. In 1990, that number jumped to 6,800 and the following year to more than 7,000. By 1992, with conditions improving at home, the number dropped to about 6,000. Although U.S. Immigration and Naturalization service data for the period does not offer a gender or age breakdown, it does indicate that the largest group of immigrants (1,174 persons) consisted of homemakers, students, and unemployed or retired persons.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

About all that can be said for certain is that Los Angeles has become the favorite port of entry into the country. Laurie Pane, president of the 22-chapter Los Angeles-based Australian American Chambers of Commerce (AACC), suspects that as many as 15,000 former Australians live in and around Los Angeles. Pane surmises that there may be more Australians living in the United States than statistics indicate, though: “Australians are scattered everywhere across the country. They’re not the sort of people to register and stay put. Australians aren’t real joiners, and that can be a problem for an organization like the AACC. But they’re convivial. You throw a party, and Australians will be there.”

Pane’s conclusions are shared by other business people, academics, and journalists involved with the

Australian or New Zealander American community. Jill Biddington, executive director of the Australia Society, a New York-based Australian American friendship organization with 400 members in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut notes that without reliable data, she can only guess that the majority live in California because it is similar to their homeland in terms of lifestyle and climate.

Dr. Henry Albinski, director of the Australia-New Zealand studies center at Pennsylvania State University, theorizes that because their numbers are few and scattered, and because they are neither poor nor rich, nor have they had to struggle, they simply do not stand out—"there aren't stereotypes at either end of the spectrum." Similarly, Neil Brandon, editor of a biweekly newsletter for Australians, *The Word from Down Under*, says he has seen "unofficial" estimates that place the total number of Australians in the United States at about 120,000. "A lot of Australians don't show up in any legitimate census data," says Brandon. Although he has only been publishing his newsletter since the fall of 1993 and has about 1,000 subscribers all across the country, he has a firm sense of where his target audience is concentrated. "Most Aussies in the U.S. live in the Los Angeles area, or southern California," he says. "There are also fair numbers living in New York City, Seattle, Denver, Houston, Dallas-Forth Worth, Florida, and Hawaii. Australians aren't a tightly knit community. We seem to dissolve into American society."

According to Harvard professor Ross Terrill, Australians and New Zealanders have a great deal in common with Americans when it comes to outlook and temperament; both are easy going and casual in their relationships with others. Like Americans, they are firm believers in their right to the pursuit of individual liberty. He writes that Australians "have an anti-authoritarian streak that seems to echo the contempt of the convict for his keepers and betters." In addition to thinking like Americans, Australians and New Zealanders do not look out of place in most American cities. The vast majority who immigrate are Caucasian, and apart from their accents, there is no way of picking them out of a crowd. They tend to blend in and adapt easily to the American lifestyle, which in America's urban areas is not all that different from life in their homeland.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Australians and New Zealanders in the United States assimilate easily because they are not a large

group and they come from advanced, industrialized areas with many similarities to the United States in language, culture, and social structure. Data about them, however, must be extrapolated from demographic information compiled by the Australian and New Zealander governments. Indications are that they live a lifestyle strikingly similar to that of many Americans and it seems reasonable to assume that they continue to live much as they always have. Data show that the average age of the population—like that of the United States and most other industrialized nations—is growing older, with the median age in 1992 at about 32 years.

Also, there has been a dramatic increase in recent years in the number of single-person and two-person households. In 1991, 20 percent of Australian households had just one person, and 31 percent had but two. These numbers are a reflection of the fact that Australians are more mobile than ever before; young people leave home at an earlier age, and the divorce rate now stands at 37 percent, meaning that 37 of every 100 marriages end in divorce within 30 years. While this may seem alarmingly high, it lags far behind the U.S. divorce rate, which is the world's highest at 54.8 percent. Australians and New Zealanders tend to be conservative socially. As a result, their society still tends to be male-dominated; a working father, stay-at-home mother, and one or two children remains a powerful cultural image.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Australian historian Russell Ward sketched an image of the archetypal Aussie in a 1958 book entitled *The Australian Legend*. Ward noted that while Aussies have a reputation as a hard-living, rebellious, and gregarious people, the reality is that, "Far from being the weather-beaten bushmen of popular imagination, today's Australian belongs to the most urbanized big country on earth." That statement is even more true today than it was when it was written almost 40 years ago. But even so, in the collective American mind, at least, the old image persists. In fact, it was given a renewed boost by the 1986 movie *Crocodile Dundee*, which starred Australian actor Paul Hogan as a wily bushman who visits New York with hilarious consequences.

Apart from Hogan's likeable persona, much of the fun in the film stemmed from the juxtaposition of American and Aussie cultures. Discussing the popularity of *Crocodile Dundee* in the *Journal of Popular Culture* (Spring 1990), authors Ruth Abbey and Jo Crawford noted that to American eyes Paul Hogan was Australian "through and through." What is

more, the character he played resonated with echoes of Davy Crockett, the fabled American woodsman. This meshed comfortably with the prevailing view that Australia is a latter-day version of what American once was: a simpler, more honest and open society. It was no accident that the Australian tourism industry actively promoted *Crocodile Dundee* in the United States. These efforts paid off handsomely, for American tourism jumped dramatically in the late 1980s, and Australian culture enjoyed an unprecedented popularity in North America.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Australian and New Zealander society from the beginning has been characterized by a high degree of racial and ethnic homogeneity. This was mainly due to the fact that settlement was almost exclusively by the British, and restrictive laws for much of the twentieth century limited the number of non-white immigrants. Initially, Aboriginals were the first target of this hostility. Later, as other ethnic groups arrived, the focus of Australian racism shifted. Chinese goldminers were subject to violence and attacks in the mid-nineteenth century, the 1861 Lambing Riots being the best known example. Despite changes in the country's immigration laws that have allowed millions of non-whites into the country in recent years, an undercurrent of racism continues to exist. Racial tensions have increased. Most of the white hostility has been directed at Asians and other visible minorities, who are viewed by some groups as a threat to the traditional Australian way of life.

There is virtually no literature or documentation on the interaction between Australians and other ethnic immigrant groups in the United States. Nor is there any history of the relationship between Aussies and their American hosts. This is not surprising, given the scattered nature of the Australian presence here and the ease with which Aussies have been absorbed into American society.

CUISINE

It has been said that the emergence of a distinctive culinary style in recent years has been an unexpected (and much welcomed) byproduct of a growing sense of nationalism as the country moved away from Britain and forged its own identity—largely a result of the influence of the vast number of immigrants who have come into the country since immigration restrictions were eased in 1973. But even so, Australians and New Zealanders continue to be big meat eaters. Beef, lamb, and seafood are standard

fare, often in the form of meat pies, or smothered in heavy sauces. If there is a definitive Australian meal, it would be a barbecue grilled steak or lamb chop.

Two dietary staples from earlier times are *dampier*, an unleavened type of bread that is cooked over a fire, and *billy* tea, a strong, robust hot drink that is brewed in an open pot. For dessert, traditional favorites include peach melba, fruit-flavored ice creams, and *pavola*, a rich meringue dish that was named after a famous Russian ballerina who toured the country in the early twentieth century.

Rum was the preferred form of alcohol in colonial times. However, tastes have changed; wine and beer are popular nowadays. Australia began developing its own domestic wine industry in the early nineteenth century, and wines from Down Under today are recognized as being among the world's best. As such, they are readily available at liquor stores throughout the United States, and are a tasty reminder of life back home for transplanted Aussies. On a per capita basis, Aussies drink about twice as much wine each year as do Americans. Australians also enjoy their ice cold beer, which tends to be stronger and darker than most American brews. In recent years, Australian beer has earned a small share of the American market, in part no doubt because of demand from Aussies living in the United States.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Unlike many ethnic groups, Australians do not have any unusual or distinctive national costumes. One of the few distinctive pieces of clothing worn by Australians is the wide-brimmed khaki bush hat with the brim on one side turned up. The hat, which has sometimes been worn by Australian soldiers, has become something of a national symbol.

DANCES AND SONGS

When most Americans think of Australian music, the first tune that springs to mind tends to be "Waltzing Matilda." But Australia's musical heritage is long, rich, and varied. Their isolation from western cultural centers such as London and New York has resulted, particularly in music and film, in a vibrant and highly original commercial style.

The traditional music of white Australia, which has its roots in Irish folk music, and "bush dancing," which has been described as similar to square-dancing without a caller, are also popular. In recent years, home-grown pop vocalists such as Helen Reddy, Olivia Newton-John (English-born but raised in Australia), and opera diva Joan



The didgeridoo is a traditional Australian instrument, recreated here by artist/musician Marko Johnson.

Sutherland have found receptive audiences around the world. The same holds true for Australian rock and roll bands such as INXS, Little River Band, Hunters and Collectors, Midnight Oil, and Men Without Hats. Other Australian bands such as Yothu Yindi and Warumpi, which are not yet well known outside the country, have been revitalizing the genre with a unique fusion of mainstream rock and roll and elements of the timeless music of Australia's Aboriginal peoples.

HOLIDAYS

Being predominantly Christian, Australian Americans and New Zealander Americans celebrate most of the same religious holidays that other Americans do. However, because the seasons are reversed in the Southern Hemisphere, Australia's Christmas occurs in midsummer. For that reason, Aussies do not share in many of the same yuletide traditions that Americans keep. After church, Australians typically spend December 25 at the beach or gather around a swimming pool, sipping cold drinks.

Secular holidays that Australians everywhere celebrate include January 26, Australia Day—the country's national holiday. The date, which commemorates the 1788 arrival at Botany Bay of the first convict settlers under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, is akin to America's Fourth of July holiday. Another important holiday is Anzac Day, April 25. On this day, Aussies everywhere pause to honor the memory of the nation's soldiers who died in the World War I battle at Gallipoli.

LANGUAGE

English is spoken in Australia and New Zealand. In 1966, an Australian named Afferbeck Lauder published a tongue-in-cheek book entitled, *Let Stalk Strine*, which actually means, "Let's Talk Australian" ("Strine" being the telescoped form of the word Australian). Lauder, it later turned out, was discovered to be Alistair Morrison, an artist-turned-linguist who was poking good-natured fun at his fellow Australians and their accents—accents that make lady sound like "lydy" and mate like "mite."

On a more serious level, real-life linguist Sidney Baker in his 1970 book *The Australian Language* did what H. L. Mencken did for American English; he identified more than 5,000 words or phrases that were distinctly Australian.

GREETINGS AND COMMON EXPRESSIONS

A few words and expressions that are distinctively "Strine" are: *abo*—an Aborigine; *ace*—excellent; *billabong*—a watering hole, usually for livestock; *billy*—a container for boiling water for tea; *bloke*—a man, everybody is a bloke; *bloody*—the all-purpose adjective of emphasis; *bonzer*—great, terrific; *boomer*—a kangaroo; *boomerang*—an Aboriginal curved wooden weapon or toy that returns when thrown into the air; *bush*—the Outback; *chook*—a chicken; *digger*—an Aussie soldier; *dingo*—a wild dog; *dinki-di*—the real thing; *dinkum*, *fair dinkum*—honest, genuine; *grazier*—a rancher; *joey*—a baby kangaroo; *jumbuck*—a sheep; *ocker*—a good, ordi-

nary Aussie; *Outback*—the Australian interior; *Oz*—short for Australia; *pom*—an English person; *shout*—a round of drinks in a pub; *swagman*—a hobo or bushman; *tinny*—a can of beer; *tucker*—food; *ute*—a pickup or utility truck; *whinge*—to complain.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Again, information about Australian or New Zealander Americans must be extrapolated from what is known about the people who reside in Australia and New Zealand. They are an informal, avid outdoor people with a hearty appetite for life and sports. With a temperate climate all year round, outdoor sports such as tennis, cricket, rugby, Australian-rules football, golf, swimming, and sailing are popular both with spectators and participants. However, the grand national pastimes are somewhat less strenuous: barbecuing and sun worshipping. In fact, Australians spend so much time in the sun in their backyards and at the beach that the country has the world's highest rate of skin cancer. Although Australian and New Zealander families have traditionally been headed by a male breadwinner with the female in a domestic role, changes are occurring.

RELIGION

Australian Americans and New Zealander Americans are predominantly Christian. Statistics suggest that Australian society is increasingly secular, with one person in four having no religion (or failing to respond to the question when polled by census takers). However, the majority of Australians are affiliated with two major religious groups: 26.1 percent are Roman Catholic, while 23.9 percent are Anglican, or Episcopalian. Only about two percent of Australians are non-Christian, with Muslims, Buddhists, and Jews comprising the bulk of that segment. Given these numbers, it is reasonable to assume that for those Australian emigrants to the United States who are churchgoers, a substantial majority are almost certainly adherents to the Episcopalian or Roman Catholic churches, both of which are active in the United States.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

It is impossible to describe a type of work or location of work that characterizes Australian Americans or New Zealander Americans. Because they have been

and remain so widely scattered throughout the United States and so easily assimilated into American society, they have never established an identifiable ethnic presence in the United States. Unlike immigrants from more readily discernable ethnic groups, they have not established ethnic communities, nor have they maintained a separate language and culture. Largely due to that fact, they have not adopted characteristic types of work, followed similar paths of economic development, political activism, or government involvement; they have not been an identifiable segment of the U.S. military; and they have not been identified as having any health or medical problems specific to Australian Americans or New Zealander Americans. Their similarity in most respects to other Americans has made them unidentifiable and virtually invisible in these areas of American life. The one place the Australian community is flourishing is on the information superhighway. There are Australian groups on several online services such as CompuServe (PACFORUM). They also come together over sporting events, such as the Australian rules football grand final, the rugby league grand final, or the Melbourne Cup horse race, which can now be seen live on cable television or via satellite.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

There is no history of relations between Australians or New Zealanders in the United States with the Australian or New Zealand governments. Unlike many other foreign governments, they have ignored their former nationals living overseas. Those who are familiar with the situation, say there is evidence that this policy of benign neglect has begun to change. Various cultural organizations and commercial associations sponsored directly or indirectly by the government are now working to encourage Australian Americans and American business representatives to lobby state and federal politicians to be more favorably disposed toward Australia. As yet, there is no literature or documentation on this development.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ENTERTAINMENT

Paul Hogan, Rod Taylor (movie actors); Peter Weir (movie director); Olivia Newton-John, Helen Reddy, and Rick Springfield (singers).

MEDIA

Rupert Murdoch, one of America's most powerful media magnates, is Australian-born; Murdoch owns a host of important media properties, including the *Chicago Sun Times*, *New York Post*, and the *Boston Herald* newspapers, and 20th Century-Fox movie studios.

SPORTS

Greg Norman (golf); Jack Brabham, Alan Jones (motor car racing); Kieren Perkins (swimming); and Evonne Goolagong, Rod Laver, John Newcombe (tennis).

WRITING

Germaine Greer (feminist); Thomas Keneally (novelist, winner of the 1983 Booker Prize for his book *Schindler's Ark*, which was the basis for Stephen Spielberg's 1993 Oscar winning film *Schindler's List*), and Patrick White (novelist, and winner of the 1973 Nobel Prize for Literature).

MEDIA

PRINT

The Word from Down Under: The Australian Newsletter.

Address: P.O. Box 5434, Balboa Island, California 92660.

Telephone: (714) 725-0063.

Fax: (714) 725-0060.

RADIO

KIEV-AM (870).

Located in Los Angeles, this is a weekly program called "Queensland" aimed mainly at Aussies from that state.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Australian Association.

This organization encourages closer ties between the United States and Australia.

Contact: Michelle Sherman, Office Manager.

Address: 1251 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020.

150 East 42nd Street, 34th Floor, New York, New York 10017-5612.

Telephone: (212) 338-6860.

Fax: (212) 338-6864.

E-mail: Ameraust@mindspring.com.

Online: <http://www.australia-online.com/aaa.html>.

Australia Society.

This is primarily a social and cultural organization that fosters closer ties between Australia and the United States. It has 400 members, primarily in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

Contact: Jill Biddington, Executive Director.

Address: 630 Fifth Avenue, Fourth Floor, New York, New York 10111.

Telephone: (212) 265-3270.

Fax: (212) 265-3519.

Australian American Chamber of Commerce.

With 22 chapters around the country, the organization promotes business, cultural, and social relations between the United States and Australia.

Contact: Mr. Laurie Pane, President.

Address: 611 Larchmont Boulevard, Second Floor, Los Angeles, California 90004.

Telephone: (213) 469-6316.

Fax: (213) 469-6419.

Australian-New Zealand Society of New York.

Seeks to expand educational and cultural beliefs.

Contact: Eunice G. Grimaldi, President.

Address: 51 East 42nd Street, Room 616, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 972-6880.

Melbourne University Alumni Association of North America.

This association is primarily a social and fund raising organization for graduates of Melbourne University.

Contact: Mr. William G. O'Reilly.

Address: 106 High Street, New York, New York 10706.

Sydney University Graduates Union of North America.

This is a social and fund raising organization for graduates of Sydney University.

Contact: Dr. Bill Lew.

Address: 3131 Southwest Fairmont Boulevard, Portland, Oregon. 97201.

Telephone: (503) 245-6064

Fax: (503) 245-6040.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Asia Pacific Center (formerly Australia-New Zealand Studies Center).

Established in 1982, the organization establishes exchange programs for undergraduate students, promotes the teaching of Australian-New Zealand subject matter at Pennsylvania State University, seeks to attract Australian and New Zealand scholars to the university, and assists with travel expenses of Australian graduate students studying there.

Contact: Dr. Henry Albinski, Director.

Address: 427 Boucke Bldg., University Park,
PA 16802.

Telephone: (814) 863-1603.

Fax: (814) 865-3336.

E-mail: pac9@psu.edu.

Australian Studies Association of North America.

This academic association promotes teaching about Australia and the scholarly investigation of Australian topics and issues throughout institutions of higher education in North America.

Contact: Dr. John Hudzik, Associate Dean.

Address: College of Social Sciences, Michigan
State University, 203 Berkey Hall, East
Lansing, Michigan. 48824.

Telephone: (517) 353-9019.

Fax: (517) 355-1912.

E-mail: Hudzik@ssc.msu.edu.au.

Edward A. Clark Center for Australian Studies.

Established in 1988, this center was named after a former U.S. Ambassador to Australia from 1967 to 1968; it conducts teaching programs, research projects, and international outreach activities that focus on Australian matters and on U.S.-Australia relations.

Contact: Dr. John Higley, Director.

Address: Harry Ransom Center 3362, University
of Texas, Austin, Texas 78713-7219.

Telephone: (512) 471-9607.

Fax: (512) 471-8869.

Online: <http://www.utexas.edu/depts/cas/>.

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AUSTRIAN AMERICANS

by
Syd Jones

During the years
1901-1910 alone,
over 2.1 million
Austrian citizens
arrived on these
shores to become
one of the ten
most populous
immigrant groups in
the United States.

OVERVIEW

A mountainous landlocked country located in south-central Europe, Austria encompasses an area of 32,377 square miles, roughly the size of the state of Maine. Bordered to the west by Switzerland and Liechtenstein, to the south by Italy and the former Yugoslavia, to the east by Hungary, and to the north by the Czech and Slovak Republics as well as Germany, Austria lies at the center of political and geographic Europe. Two-thirds of Austria's land mass is located in the Alpine region, with its highest peak, the Grossglockner, reaching 12,457 feet.

With a population of 7,587,000, Austria has maintained zero population growth in the last half of the twentieth century. It is a German-speaking country. Eighty-five percent of its population are Roman Catholic while only six percent are Protestant. Vienna, the capital of the Federal Republic of Austria, also doubles as one of the nine autonomous provinces that constitute the federation. The Austrian flag is a simple red-white-red arrangement of horizontal stripes with the Austrian coat of arms in the center.

HISTORY

Austria's very name denotes its history. Ostmark or Ostarichi ("eastern provinces" or "borderland") as it was known in the time of Charlemagne, became over time the German Österreich, or Austria in

Latin. As an eastern kingdom—more bulwark than principality, more fortress than palace—Austria bordered the civilized world. The first human inhabitants of this rugged environment were Stone Age hunters who lived 80,000 to 150,000 years ago. Permanent settlements were established in early Paleolithic times. Though little remains of that distant period, an early Iron Age settlement was unearthed at Hallstatt in the western lake district of present-day Austria. The Celts arrived around 400 B.C., and the Romans, in search of iron-ore deposits, invaded 200 years later. The Romans established three provinces in the area by 15 B.C. They introduced the grape to the hills surrounding the eastern reaches of the Danube near a settlement they called Vin-dobona, later known as Wien, or Vienna in English.

For the next four centuries the Romans fought Germanic invasions, eventually losing, but establishing a fortification line along the Danube River, upon which many modern Austrian cities are built. With the fall of Rome, barbarian tribes such as the Bavarians from the west and Mongolian Avars from the east settled the region, bringing new cultural influences. One Germanic tribe, the Franks, were particularly interested in the area, and by the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne succeeded in subduing the other claimants, Christianizing the region and creating a largely Germanic province for his Holy Roman Empire. This Ostmark, or eastern borderland, did not hold long. Incursions from the east by the Magyars around 900 A.D. unsettled the region once again, until the Magyars too were subdued.

The political and territorial concept of Austria came about in 976 when the eastern province was granted to the house of Babenberg. For the next three centuries that family would rule the eastern borderland, eventually choosing Vienna as their seat. By the twelfth century Austria had become a duchy and a flourishing trade center. With the death of the line of Babenberg in 1246, the duchy was voted first to Ottokar II, king of Bohemia, who was defeated in battle by a member of a Swiss noble house, Rudolf IV of Habsburg. The Habsburgs would rule not only Austria, but large parts of Europe and the New World as well until 1918. The Habsburgs created a central European empire around the region of Austria and extending into Bohemia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Spain, and the Netherlands. Throughout their rule, the empire acted as a bulwark against eastern invasion by Turks and Magyars, and through both diplomacy and strategic marriages, the Habsburgs established a civilization that would be the envy of the world. Under such emperors as Rudolf, Charles V, and the empress Maria Theresa, universities were established and Vienna became synonymous with music,

fostering such composers as Franz Haydn, Wolfgang Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, and Johannes Brahms.

When the Napoleonic Wars ended the power of the Holy Roman Empire, the Austrian or Habsburg Empire took its place in central Europe and its foreign minister, Clemens Metternich-Winneburg, consolidated power to make a unified German state. The democratic revolutions of 1848 temporarily destabilized the country, but under the rule of Franz Joseph a strong government again rose to power. The Austrian Empire faced increasing nationalistic pressure, however. First the Magyars in Hungary won a compromise with Vienna, creating the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867. Other ethnic minorities in the polyglot empire pressed for independence, and eventually, with the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914 by a Serbian extremist, the world was plunged into a war that destroyed the Austrian Empire.

In 1918, with the abdication of the last Habsburg, Karl I, the modern Republic of Austria was founded. Now a smaller country, it comprised only the original Germanic provinces with seven million inhabitants. Operating under severe economic hardship, Austria was annexed by Germany in 1938 led by Adolf Hitler, a former Austrian who had become chancellor of Germany. Until 1945, Austria was part of the Third Reich, an ambivalent ally to Germany in the Second World War. With the defeat of Germany, the republic was again restored in Austria, but the country was occupied jointly by the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union until the state treaty of 1955 ensured Austria's permanent neutrality. Austria was no longer a bulwark against the east, but a buffer state between two competing ideologies. As a neutral country, Austria became the site of many United Nations organizations, and blending a market economy with a state partnership, its economy flourished. With the fall of the Soviet empire, Austria has rediscovered its former role as the geographic center of a new and revitalized Europe.

THE FIRST AUSTRIANS IN AMERICA

Austrian emigration patterns have been difficult to determine. There was no state known as Austria until 1918; prior to then the sprawling Habsburg Empire, an amalgam of a dozen nationalities, encompassed the idea of Austria. Thus Austrian immigration can rightly be seen as the immigration of Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian, Serbian, and Croatian peoples as well as a plethora of other national and ethnic groups. Additionally, immigrants themselves

were often unclear about their countries of origin. A German-speaking person born in Prague in 1855, for example, was Czech, but also part of the larger Austrian Empire—Austrian, in fact, but may have considered himself German. Immigrants thus may have listed Czech, Austrian, and/or German as their country of origin. This study will confine itself to German Austrian emigration patterns.

The earliest documented German Austrian settlers in America were some 50 families of Protestants from Salzburg who arrived in the colony of Georgia in 1734 after fleeing religious persecution. Granted free passage and land, they established the settlement of Ebenezer near Savannah. Despite initial difficulties with poor land, sickness, and a relocation of their community, they grew and prospered as new families of immigrants arrived. Although the Revolutionary War witnessed the destruction of their settlements, one of these Austrian settlers, Johann Adam Treutlen, became the first elected governor of the new state of Georgia.

Few Austrians immigrated to the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century; fewer than 1,000 Austrians were listed in official surveys by 1850. Those who did come settled in Illinois and Iowa and were supported by 100 to 200 Catholic priests sent from both Germany and Austria to oversee the settlers' religious training and education. The Leopoldine Stiftung, an Austrian foundation that supported such missionaries, funded priests not only for the newly emigrated, but also for the Native Americans. Priests such as Francis Xavier Weninger (1805-1888) spread the Gospel to Austrian immigrants in the Midwest and black slaves in New Orleans. Bishop Frederic Baraga (1797-1868) was one of the most active priests among the Native Americans, working and preaching in northern Michigan. John Nepomuk Neumann (1811-1860) established numerous schools in the Philadelphia area and was a proponent of the retention of German culture and language.

Tyrolean provided a further segment of early nineteenth-century immigration to America. Mostly peasants, these Tyroleans came to the new world in search of land, yet few had the money they needed to turn their dreams into reality. Other early emigrants fled the oppressive Metternich regime, such as Dr. Samuel Ludvigh (1801-1869), a democratic intellectual who eventually founded *Die Fackel*, a well-known German-language periodical in Baltimore. The 1848 revolutions in Austria saw a small but influential tide of political refugees. These so-called Forty-eighters were mostly anticlerical and held strong antislavery views as well. Though they were few in number, they had a lasting influence on

not only politics and journalism, but also in medicine and music. They were mostly free-thinking, well-educated liberals who found assimilation a wearisome process in their newly adopted country. Their presence also upset the conservative Americans. Among these Forty-eighters were many Austrian Jews. Most of the Forty-eighters became abolitionists in America, joining the new Republican party despite the fact that the Democratic party traditionally showed more openness to immigrants. It has been conjectured that their votes helped Abraham Lincoln win the 1860 presidential election.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Immigration statistics are difficult to interpret for the years between 1861 and 1910, as the U.S. Bureau of Immigration categorized all the inhabitants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire together. During these decades immigration swelled, with estimates of German-speaking Austrians in the United States reaching 275,000 by 1900. Immigrants were encouraged by relaxed emigration laws at home; by the construction of more railways, which allowed easy access to the ports of Europe from their mountainous homeland; by general overpopulation in Europe; and by migration from the farm to the city as Western society became increasingly industrialized. America thus became a destination for displaced Austrian agrarian workers. Many Austrians found employment in the United States as miners, servants, and common laborers. Others flocked to the cities of the Northeast and Midwest—New York, Pittsburgh, and Chicago—where many first- and second-generation Austrians still live. The 1880s witnessed massive immigration to the United States from all parts of Europe, Austria included, with over five million coming to America in that ten-year period. But if peasants were being displaced from the land in Austria, much the same situation was at play in the American midwest where mechanization was revolutionizing agriculture. Thus, newly arrived immigrants, dreaming of a plot of farm land, were largely disappointed. Many of these new arrivals came from Burgenland, an agricultural province to the southeast of Vienna.

During the years 1901-1910 alone, over 2.1 million Austrian citizens arrived on these shores to become one of the ten most populous immigrant groups in the United States. The Austrians—Catholic or Jewish and cosmopolitan—avoided rural Protestant conservative America. Fathers left families behind in Austria, hoping to save money working in Chicago stockyards and Pennsylvania cement and steel factories. More than 35 percent of them returned to their native home with their savings.

With the onset of the First World War, Austrian immigration stopped for a time. Even during the postwar period of 1919 to 1924, fewer than 20,000 Austrians came to the United States, most of them from Burgenland. The passage of a restrictive immigration law in 1924 further curtailed Austrian immigration, first to a limit of 785 and then to 1,413 persons per year. Austrian immigration slowed to a trickle during the years of the Depression.

A new wave of immigrants from Austria began arriving in the late 1930s. Unlike earlier immigrants who were largely unskilled laborers from the provinces, these new arrivals were mostly well-educated urban Jews fleeing Hitler's new regime. In 1938 Austria had become incorporated into the Third Reich and anti-Semitism had become a daily fact of life. In the three-year period between the *Anschluss*, or annexation by Germany, and the outbreak of all-out war in 1941, some 29,000 Jewish Austrians emigrated to the United States. These were generally highly skilled professionals in medicine, architecture, law, and the arts and included men of international renown: composers Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) and Erich Korngold (1897-1957); author Franz Werfel (1890-1945); and stage and film directors such as Max Reinhardt (1873-1943) and Otto Preminger (1906-1986). The Jewish Austrian intellectual elite was, in fact, scattered around the globe in the diaspora caused by the Second World War.

Some 40,000 Austrians entered the United States from 1945-1960. U.S. immigration quotas again limited and diverted immigration to other countries such as Canada and Australia. Recent Austrian immigration has been negligible, as Austria has built itself into a wealthy industrial state. The 1990 U.S. census listed 948,558 citizens of Austrian ancestry, only 0.4 percent of the total population. However, it is estimated that in the years from 1820 to 1960, 4.2 million or ten percent of the immigrants who arrived in America came from Austro-Hungary and the states succeeding it.

SETTLEMENT

The first sizable wave of Austrian immigrants tended to settle in the urbanized centers of the northeastern United States, especially in New York City. They were also populous in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. Allentown, Pennsylvania, for example, had an Austrian-born population of 6,500 in 1930, the largest single ethnic minority in that town. Recent emigration has changed this trend somewhat. The 1990 census reports the largest single concentration in New York, followed by large contingents in both California and Florida.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In general, Austrian immigrants have quickly assimilated in America. Part of a multi-ethnic melange in their original homeland, Austrians were accustomed to the melting pot and were quick to pick up new languages and customs once in America. Dr. Harry Zohn (1922–), professor of German literature at Brandeis University, voices a sentiment typical of many Austrian Americans: "I'm an American who just happened to be born in Vienna." Zohn, a refugee from Nazism, was one of the fortunate few whose entire family managed to escape. Once in the United States, Zohn quickly adapted to the culture and language, though never losing his intellectual and spiritual ties to Middle Europe, writing in both German and English about Austrian literature and culture (E. Wilder Spaulding, *The Quiet Invaders: The Story of Austrian Impact upon America* [Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag, 1968]).

On the whole, Austrians tend to differentiate themselves strongly from German immigrants whom they see as more chauvinistic and domineering. Austrians in America like to think of themselves as more cosmopolitan, sophisticated, and tolerant than their German neighbors. As a group, Austrian immigrants have not drawn attention to themselves. Moreover, they are, somewhat to their dismay, often lumped together with German immigrants and have thus suffered from the same stereotypes as the Germans in America. Both world wars of this century resulted in Americans often having negative attitudes toward Germany. In the First World War, the two groups were derogatorily called Dutchy, from the German word *Deutsch*. Names sounding German, such as Braun and Schmidt, were changed overnight to Brown and Smith. Austrians and Germans became, for many Americans, the enemy within. Other stereotypes persisted even in peacetime, including the beer-swilling Austrian, and the pleasure-loving, wine-sipping, charming proponents of *Gemütlichkeit* or coziness.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Austrian traditions, maintained most faithfully by those living in the mountainous region of Western Austria, center mainly around the seasons. *Fasching* is an old winter custom that traditionally takes place in February. In its pagan form, it was an attempt to drive out the evil spirits of winter and prepare for spring. Processions of villagers dressed in varieties of masked costumes and ringing cow bells symbolized the fight of spring against winter. Some of these processions still take place in parts of Tyrol

and Styria, but the *Fasching* has generally evolved into a procession of carnival balls linked with Lent and the passion of Easter.

Similarly, the old spring festivals wherein village children would parade with boughs decorated with ivy and pretzels to celebrate the reawakening of the sun, have been replaced by Palm Sunday and Corpus Christi celebrations. May Day and the dance around the maypole is still a much-celebrated event in villages all over Austria. The festival of the summer solstice, announced by bonfires on the hills, still takes place in parts of Salzburg, under the name of St. John's Night.

Harvest festivals of autumn, linked with apple and wine gathering, have a long tradition throughout Austria. Harvest fairs are still a vital part of the autumn season, and the wine harvest, from grape picking and pressing through the various stages of wine fermentation, is an affair closely monitored by many Austrians. The pine bough outside a winery signals customers that new wine is available. The thanksgiving festival of St. Leonard, patron saint of livestock, is a reminder of a pagan harvest celebration.

Perhaps best known and most retained by Austrian immigrants in America are traditions of the Christmas season, the beginning of which is marked by St. Nicholas Day on December 6. Good children are rewarded with apples and nuts in their stockings, while bad ones receive only lumps of coal. Caroling and the Christmas tree are but two of the Austrian and German contributions to the American celebrations of yuletide. One of the best-known Christmas carols, "Silent Night," was written by an Austrian.

As many customs and beliefs from Austria have been incorporated by the Catholic Church, many Austrian Americans have retained the feast days of their native country, though without the pageantry or connection to their original purpose. The Austrian custom of placing a pine tree atop newly constructed houses has become a traditional ceremony for American ironworkers as well, many of whom were of Central European origin. The fir tree, as mentioned, has become a staple of American Christmas. Yet overall, Austrian customs have become barely recognizable in America.

CUISINE

Austrian cuisine relies heavily on meat, especially pork. The famous dish *wienerschnitzel*, pork or veal fried in bread crumbs, is among the many recipes that were imported along with the immigrants. *Goulasch*, a spicy Hungarian stew, is another item that has found its way onto the American table, as

has *sauerkraut*, both a German and Austrian specialty. Sausages, called *wurst* in German, have become so popular in America that names such as *wiener* (from *wienerwurst*) and *frankfurter* (from Frankfurt in Germany) are synonymous with a whole class of food. Pastries and desserts are also Austrian specialties; Austrian favorites include cake such as *Sachertorte*, a heavy chocolate concoction closely connected with Vienna's Hotel Sacher; *linzertorte*, more of a tart than cake, stuffed with apricot jam; and the famous pastry *apfelstrudel*, a flaky sort of pie stuffed with apples. The list of such sweets is lengthy, and many of them have found places, under different names, as staples of American cuisine. Breads are another Austrian contribution to the world's foods: the rye breads of both Germany and Austria are dense and longlasting with a hearty flavor.

Austrian beer, such as the light lagers and heavier *Bock*—brewed for Christmas and Easter—is on par with the better known German varieties. Early immigrants of both nationalities brought the fondness for barley and hops with them, and many Austrians founded breweries in the United States. Wines, especially the tart white wines of the Wachau region of the Danube and the refined, complex varietals of Gumpoldskirchen to the south of Vienna, have become world famous as well. The Austrian love for the new wine, or *heuriger*, is witnessed by dozens of drinking songs. The simple wine tavern, owned and operated by the vintner and his family, combines the best of a picnic with dining out.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

In Austria, the traditional costumes or *trachten*, are still fashionable, not only for the rural population, but for city-dwellers as well. Most typical and best known by those outside Austria is the *dirndl*. Both village girls and Viennese matrons can be seen wearing this pleated skirt covered by a brightly colored apron and surmounted by a tight-fitting bodice. White blouses are worn under the bodice, sometimes embroidered, sometimes with lace. For men the typical *trachten* is the *steirer anzug*, a collarless variation of a hunting costume, usually gray with green piping and trim, which can be worn for both formal and informal occasions. The *wetterfleck*, a long loden cape, is also still worn, as are knickers of elk hide or wool. *Lederhosen*, or leather shorts, associated with both Germany and Austria, are still typical summer wear in much of Austria.

DANCES AND SONGS

From simple *lieder*, or songs, to symphonies and operas, Austrian music has enriched the cultural life

Austrian American
Arnold
Schwarzenegger, in
his role as
president of the
President's Council
on Physical Fitness
and Sports, meets
with President
George Bush at the
White House in
January 1990.



of the Western world. Vienna in particular was the home of native Austrian and German composers alike who created the classical idiom. Men such as Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms developed symphony and chamber music. More modern composers such as Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler, and Arnold Schoenberg—the latter immigrated to the United States—expanded the boundaries of tonality and structure in music composition.

Austria is also synonymous with the waltz, developed from an earlier peasant dance and made famous through the music of Johann Strauss and Joseph Lanner. The Viennese operetta has also influenced the musical taste of the world, helping to develop the form of the modern musical. Johann Strauss, Jr., is only one of many who pioneered the form, and a Viennese, Frederick Loewe, helped to transform it on Broadway by writing the lyrics to such famous musicals as *My Fair Lady* and *Camelot*.

HOLIDAYS

Beyond such traditional holidays as Christmas, New Year's, and Easter, Austrian Americans cannot be

said to celebrate various feast and seasonal days as a group. The more cosmopolitan immigrants from Vienna, for example, were and are much more internationalist in outlook than fellow Austrian immigrants from Burgenland, who hold to more traditional customs even in the United States. This latter group, former residents of a rural, agricultural area and generally Catholic, are more likely to observe such traditional feasts as St. Leonard's Day in November, St. Nicholas Day on December 6, and Corpus Christi in June, as well as such seasonal festivities as harvest festivals for wine in October.

HEALTH ISSUES

The medical tradition in Austria is long and noteworthy. The Viennese have contributed medical innovations such as antiseptics and new therapies such as psychoanalysis to the world. Austrian Americans place a high value on health care. They also bring with them the idea of medical care as a birthright, for in Austria such care has been part of a broad government-run social program during much of the twentieth century. There are no documented congenital diseases specific to Austrian Americans.

LANGUAGE

Austria and Germany are, to paraphrase Winston Churchill's famous quip about England and America, two countries separated by a common language. That Austria is a German-speaking country seems to come as a surprise to many Americans. Germans also have great fun scratching their heads over Austrianisms (e.g., the German *kartoffel* becomes *erdapfel*, or apple of the earth, in Austria). However, Austrian German, apart from a lighter, more sing-song accent and some regional words, is no different from true German than Canadian English is from American English. The umlaut (ä, ö, ü) is the primary diacritical mark over vowels, and is sometimes expressed by an "e" after the vowel instead of employing the diacritic.

As English is an offshoot of Old German, there are enough similarities between the two languages to make language assimilation a reasonably easy task for Austrian Americans. The "v" for "w" confusion is an especially difficult phonetic problem, as German has no unaspirated pronunciation of "w." Another pronunciation difficulty is the English diphthong "th" for which German has no equivalent, resulting in the thick "s" so caricatured by stage and screen actors.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Typical Austrian greetings and farewells include the more formal Germanisms such as *Guten Tag* ("gooten tahg")—Good day; *Guten Abend* ("gooten ahbend")—Good evening; and *Auf Wiedersehen* ("ouf veedersayen")—Good-bye. More typically Austrian are *Grüss Gott* ("groos gote")—literally Greetings from God, but used as Hello or Hi; and *Servus* ("sairvoos")—both Hello and Good-bye, used by younger people and between good friends. Other polite expressions—for which Austrian German seems to have an overabundance—include *Bitte* ("bietuh")—both Please and You're welcome; *Danke Vielmals* ("dahnka feelmahls")—Thanks very much; and *Es tut mir sehr leid* ("es toot meer sair lied")—I'm very sorry. Seasonal expressions include *Frohe Weihnachten* ("frohuh vienahkten")—Merry Christmas; and *Prosit Neujahr* ("proezit noy yahr")—Happy New Year. *Zum wohl* ("tzoom vole")—To your health—is a typical toast.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Initially, many of the immigrants from Austria were males who came to America to earn and save

money and then to return home. Most often, these early immigrants would live together in crowded rooming houses or primitive hostels in urban centers of the industrial northeastern United States. As permanent immigration patterns replaced this more nomadic style, the structure of the Austrian family became transplanted to America. Typically a tight nuclear family that seldom included a grandmother, the Austrian family has few of the characteristics of the extended Mediterranean family. The father ruled the economic life of the family, but the strong matriarch was boss at home. As in Austria, male children were favored. Sundays were a sacrosanct family time together. In general, few outsiders were allowed the informal "Du" greeting or even invited into the home.

This tight structure soon broke down, however, in the more egalitarian American environment. Austrian immigrants tended overall to assimilate rapidly into their new country, adapting to the ways of America and being influenced by the same cultural trends that affected native-born Americans: the increasing importance of the role of women in the twentieth century; the decline of the nuclear family, including a rising divorce rate; and the mobility of citizens—both geographically and economically. The variety of Austrian immigrants also changed in this century. Once mainly agrarian workers who congregated in urban areas despite their desire to settle on the land, immigrants from Austria—especially after the First World War—tended to be better educated with a larger world view. The flight of the Jewish Austrian intelligentsia during the Nazi period especially affected the assimilation patterns. These professional classes placed a high premium on education for both male and female children. Thus Austrian immigrants became skilled workers and professionals.

RELIGION

Mostly Roman Catholic, Austrians brought their religion with them to America. Austrian missionaries, mainly Jesuits, baptized Native Americans and helped chart the New World from the seventeenth century on. But by the nineteenth century that mission had changed, for newly arrived Austrian immigrants, disdained by Irish Catholic priests who spoke no German, were clamoring for Austrian priests. Partly to meet this need and partly to convert new souls to Catholicism, the Leopoldine Stiftung or Foundation was established in 1829. Collecting weekly donations throughout the Habsburg Empire, the foundation sent money and priests into North America to bring faith to the frontier.

Through such contributions over 400 churches were built on the East Coast, in the Midwest, and in what was then known as Indian country further west. The Jesuits were especially active during this period in cities such as Cincinnati and St. Louis. The Benedictines and Franciscans were also represented by both priests and nuns. These priests founded bishoprics and built congregations in the thousands. One unfortunate reaction to this was an intensification of nativist tendencies, or anti-immigrant sentiments. This influx of priests was looked upon as a conspiracy to upset the balance of the population in America with Roman Catholics imported from Europe. For many years such nativist sentiments made it difficult for Austrian immigrants to fully assimilate into American society.

On the whole, the formal traditions and rights of the Church in the United States and in Austria were the same, but external pressures differed. Thus, as with the U.S. population in general, Austrian Americans in the twentieth century have become more secular, less faith-bound. New waves of Austrian immigrants, especially those fleeing Nazism, also changed the religious makeup of the groups as a whole. For the most part, arrivals between 1933 and 1945 were Jewish.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

As with all examinations of Austrian immigration, occupational statistics suffer from the inconsistent distinction between ethnic groups among the Austro-Hungarian immigrants. German-speaking Austrians did settle in the center of the country to become farmers, but in what numbers is unclear. Prior to 1900 Austro-Hungarian immigrants were also laborers, saloon keepers, waiters, and steel workers. Statistics that are available from 1900, however, indicate that a high proportion of later arrivals found work as tailors, miners, and peddlers. By the mid-twentieth century, these same occupational trends still prevailed, with tailoring and the clothing industry in general employing large numbers of Austrian Americans. The food industry was also heavily weighted with Austrians: bakers, restaurateurs, and meatpackers. Mining was also a predominant occupation among Austrians.

In the half-century since then, Austrian Americans have branched out into all fields: medicine, law, entertainment, management, and technology, as well as the traditional service industries where many of them started as new immigrants.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The earliest notable political influence that Austrian Americans wielded came through the pens and the votes of the Forty-eighters. These liberal refugees from the failed revolts of 1848 were strongly abolitionist and pro-Lincoln. Later arrivals during the half-century of mass immigration from Austro-Hungary (1860-1910) packed the ranks of unskilled labor and of America's fledgling labor movement. Indeed, the deaths of ten Austro-Hungarian laborers during the 1897 mining strike in Lattimer, Pennsylvania, prompted a demand for indemnity by the embassy of Austro-Hungary.

Immigrants in the 1930s and 1940s tended to have strong socialist beliefs and formed organizations such as the American Friends of Austrian Labor to help promote labor issues. During World War II an Austrian government in exile was attempted in the United States, but fighting between factions of the refugees, specifically between Social Democrats and Christian Socialists, prevented any concerted action on that front. The creation of the Austrian battalion—the 101st Infantry Battalion—became the center of a debate that raged among Austrian Americans. Groups such as Austria Action and the Austrian Labor Committee opposed such a formation, fearing it would become the vanguard of the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy under Otto von Habsburg after the war. On the other side, the Free Austrian Movement advocated such a battalion, even if it meant aligning the right with the left among the recruits. A scant six months after its formation, the Austrian battalion was disbanded. Despite this failure, the debate occasioned by the creation of the battalion had helped to bring to the forefront of American discussion the role of Austrian Americans and of Austria itself in the Second World War. Not only were Austrian Americans not interned, but Austria itself, in the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, was declared one of the first victims of Nazism, and the restoration of its independence was made an Allied war aim.

Little information on Austrian American voting patterns exists, though early Jewish Austrian immigrants and Austrian socialists tended to vote Democrat rather than Republican. Interesting in this context is the career of Victor Berger (1860-1929), an Austrian who not only influenced Eugene V. Debs in becoming a socialist, but also became the first socialist to sit in the House of Representatives in Washington.

Austrians of the first generation, on the whole, maintain close links with Austria, returning period-

ically to their place of birth. Even Jewish Austrians who had to flee the Holocaust return to visit and sometimes to retire in their homeland.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Austrian Americans have made lasting contributions in all fields of American life, though seldom are their Austrian roots emphasized. From the arts to the world of science, this immigrant population has made its mark.

ACADEMIA

Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950) was a well-known critic of Marxism and an authority on business cycles. Another notable Austrian American economist was Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973), a critic of the planned economies of socialist countries. Other Austrian Americans in the fields of literature and history have done much to generate interest in Austria and Central Europe: Harry Zohn is a much-published professor of German literature at Brandeis University, and the Viennese Robert A. Kann's (1906-1981) *A History of the Habsburg Empire* has become a standard reference. R. John Rath helped to centralize Austrian studies with his center at Rice University and then at the University of Minnesota. These are only a few of the many notable Austrian American historians at work in this country.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Austrian artists who came to the United States include the painter George Peter (b. 1860), who immigrated to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1885, painted Civil War themes, and eventually became director of the Milwaukee museum. Others include the artist and architect Joseph Urban (1872-1933); the sculptor and architectural designer Karl Bitter (1867-1915); Joseph Margulies, born in Austria in 1896, who painted and etched scenes of the New York ghetto; and René d'Hamoncourt (b. 1901) from Vienna, who eventually became director of contemporary art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Max Fleischer (b. 1885) was one of the pioneers of the animated cartoon on film whose creations include Betty Boop and Popeye. The exodus from Austria caused by the rise of Hitler brought to the United States such distinguished painters as the modernist Wilhelm Thoeny (1888-1949); the expressionist painters Franz Lerch (b. 1895) and Max Oppenheimer (1885-1956); and the graphic

artist, John W. Winkler (b. 1890). Among architects of note are Karl Bitter, mentioned above, and John L. Smithmeyer (1832-1908), who was the architect of the Library of Congress. Best known of all Austrian American architects was Richard Neutra (1892-1970), whose name is synonymous with the steel and concrete structures he pioneered in California. Other more modern architects include R. M. Schindler (1887-1953) and Victor Gruen (1903-?), who emigrated in 1938 and whose environmental architecture helped transform such cities as Los Angeles, Detroit, and Fort Worth. Frederick John Kiesler (1896-1965) was known as an innovative architect, whose set designs, interiors, and bold floating architectural designs earned him a reputation as a maverick and visionary.

BUSINESS

Franz Martin Drexel (1792-1863), a native of Voralberg, founded the banking house of Drexel and Company in Philadelphia, which later gave rise to the House of Morgan. Another immigrant from Voralberg, John Michael Kohler (1844-1900), built one of the largest plumbing outfitters in the United States and introduced the enamel coated bathtub. August Brentano (1831-1886) was an impoverished Austrian immigrant who turned a newspaper stand into a huge bookshop chain. The development of department stores in America also owes a debt to Austrian Americans Nathan M. Ohrbach (1885-?), founder of the Ohrbach stores, and Joe Weinstein (b. 1894), founder of the May stores. John David Hertz (1879-1961), an Austrian Czech, made his name synonymous with rental cars. Austrian American fashion designers have included Nettie Rosenstein (b. 1893), a winner of the prestigious Coty award for clothing design, and the Vienna-born Rudi Gernreich (1922-) who created the topless bathing suits of the 1960s. In the world of publishing, Frederick Ungar, a refugee from the Hitler era, created a well-respected New York house, as did Frederik Amos Praeger (1915-). Tourism in the United States has also been enhanced by the Austrian-style ski resorts and schools in Sun Valley developed by Felix Schaffgotsch, with a ski school operated by Hans Hauser. The Arlberg technique in skiing was promoted by Hannes Schneider (1890-1955) in Jackson, New Hampshire, and later resorts such as Aspen and Heavenly Valley were made famous by their Austrian instructors. In technology, the 1978 invention of a text scanner by the Austrian American Ray Kurzweil (1948-) has opened a new world for blind readers.

JOURNALISM

Among journalists, the foremost name is Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911). Though claimed by both Hungarians and Austrians, Pulitzer spoke German and had a Hungarian father and an Austrian mother. The founder of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and owner of the *New York World*, Pulitzer's name is remembered for the prize in journalism that he endowed. He was one of many Austro-Hungarians involved in journalism in nineteenth-century America. Others include Gustav Pollak (1848-1919), a contributor to *The Nation* and the *Evening Post*, and Joseph Keppler (1838-1894), an innovator in color cartoons and owner of the humorous magazine *Puck*. A more recent publishing venture involving an Austrian American is the *New Yorker*, whose founding president, Raoul H. Fleischmann (1885-1969), was born in Bad Ischl, Austria. Other more current Austrian American journalists include the one-time associate editor of the *Boston Globe*, Otto Zausmer; an editor for the *Christian Science Monitor*, Ernest S. Pisko; and Erwin Knoll (1928-1994), a Vienna-born journalist and longtime editor of *The Progressive*.

LAW AND SOCIETY

One of the best-known Austrian Americans in the law was Felix Frankfurter (1882-1965), a native of Vienna, who was a justice on the Supreme Court for 23 years. The Spingarn Medal, awarded yearly to an outstanding African American leader, was created by Joel Elias Spingarn (1875-1939), one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the son of an Austrian immigrant.

LITERATURE

Franz Werfel (1890-1945), though born in Prague, was a thoroughly Austrian writer. He and his wife fled the Nazis and came to the United States in 1940. His *Song of Bernadette* became a best seller in the United States, and the Werfels settled in Beverly Hills. The children's writer and illustrator Ludwig Bemelmans (1898-1962) was born in South Tyrol and settled in New York as a youth. His famous Madeline stories continue to charm young readers. Hermann Broch (1886-1951), one of the most influential of modern Austrian writers, known for such novels as *The Sleepwalkers* and *The Death of Virgil*, was another refugee from Hitler's Europe and taught at both Princeton and Yale. Frederic Morton (1925-), born in Vienna and educated in New York, has written many nonfiction books of renown, among them *The Rothschilds* and *A Nervous Splendor: Vienna 1888-1889*.

MEDICINE

Among Austrian American Nobel laureates in medicine were Karl Landsteiner (1868-1943), the discoverer of blood types, and the German Austrian Otto Loewi (1873-1961), a co-winner of the Nobel for his work in the chemical transmission of nerve impulses. Loewi came to New York University after he was driven out of Graz by the Nazis. Many other Austrian Americans have also left their mark in the United States both as practitioners and educators, but perhaps none so methodically as the psychoanalysts who spread Sigmund Freud's work to America. These include A. A. Brill (1874-1947), the Columbia professor and Freud translator; Heinz Werner (1890-1964); Paul Federn; Otto Rank (1884-1939), a Freud disciple; and Theodor Reik (1888-1969), the New York psychoanalyst. This group of immigrants was not limited to Freudians, however. Alexandra Adler (b. 1901), daughter of Alfred Adler, who is generally known as the second great Viennese psychoanalyst, came to the United States to work at both Harvard and Duke. Bruno Bettelheim (1903-1990) was also a native of Vienna; he became known for his treatment of autistic children and for his popular writings. The list of those both in medicine and mental health who were driven out of Austria during the reign of Hitler is long and impressive.

MUSIC

Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), creator of the 12-tone system and a pioneer of modern music, fled the rise of Nazism in 1933 and continued composing and teaching at both the University of Southern California and the University of California, Los Angeles. Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957), a Viennese composer best known for his opera *Die tote Stadt*, immigrated to the United States in 1934 and composed and conducted film scores in Hollywood. Ernst Křenek (1900-1991), also a Viennese, was a modernist whose fame was built through his incorporation of jazz and opera in his *Jonny spielt auf*. He taught at Vassar for many years. Frederick Loewe (b. 1904), a native Viennese, was the lyricist in the team of Lerner and Loewe who helped transform the American musical. The folk singer and actor Theodore Bikel (1924-) was born in Vienna and came to the United States via Israel and London. Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961), brother of the philosopher and a pianist of note, settled in New York after 1938. Having lost his right arm in the First World War, Wittgenstein became famous for playing with one hand, and major composers such as Maurice Ravel wrote music for the left hand for him. The longtime general manager of New York's

Metropolitan Opera, Rudolf Bing (b. 1902), was also Austrian, born in Vienna. Bruno Walter (1876-1962), a German conductor who became a naturalized Austrian and then fled Hitler, was famous for his recordings of Mahler and Mozart and his conducting at the Met and with the New York Philharmonic. Another conductor, Erich Leinsdorf (1912-1993), also found fame in America with a longtime association with the Boston Symphony.

SCIENCE

Three of Austria's four Nobel Prize winners in physics immigrated to the United States. They include Victor Franz Hess (1883-1964), the discoverer of cosmic rays; Isidor Isaac Rabi (1898-1988), a physicist at Columbia; and Wolfgang Pauli (1900-1958). George Paul Sutton (1920-) immigrated to the United States in 1920 and contributed greatly in the development of rockets and missiles. Otto Halpern (b. 1899-) also contributed to the defense effort of his new homeland by his invention of a counter-radar device. A fair assortment of world class mathematicians also arrived in America from Austria. Among these, Richard von Mises (1883-1953) had a distinguished career at Harvard. Distinguished biologists include Spaeth Hauschka (b. 1908) and Erna Altura Werber; among chemists are Ludwig F. Andrieth (b. 1901), Oskar Paul Wintersteiner (b. 1898), Ernst Berl (1877-1946), who came to the United States to work on explosives and chemical warfare, and Hermann Francis Mark (b. 1895), whose work in synthetic plastics led to the development of such materials as nylon and orlon.

STAGE AND SCREEN

The earliest contribution of Austrian Americans is found in the theater. Many of the earliest theater houses in this country were built by Austrian immigrants who brought their love for theater with them. Prominent arrivals from Austria include the impresario Max Reinhardt (1873-1943). Famous for his *Everyman* production at the Salzburg Festival and for a school of dramatics in Vienna, Reinhardt worked in Hollywood and New York after immigrating to escape the Nazis. Other Austrian Americans include such well-known stage and screen actors as Rudolph Schildkraut (1895-1964), who starred for De Mille in Hollywood, Paul Muni (1895-1967), Hedy Lamarr (1915-), Oscar Homolka (1898-1978), and Arnold Schwarzenegger (1947-). An impressive group of film directors also hail from Austria: Erich von Stroheim (1885-1957), whose film *Greed* is considered a modern masterpiece; Joseph von Sternberg (1894-1969), the

father of gangster films; Fred Zinnemann (1907-), the director of *High Noon*; Billy Wilder (1906-) whose many accomplishments include *The Apartment* and *Sunset Boulevard*; and Otto Preminger (1906-1986), a boyhood friend of Wilder's in Vienna and director of such film classics as *Exodus* and *Anatomy of a Murder*.

MEDIA

PRINT

Austria Kultur.

This bimonthly publication is published by the Austrian Cultural Institute, an agency funded by the Austrian government to represent Austrian culture in the United States. It concentrates on cultural affairs such as exhibitions and exchanges.

Contact: Wolfgang Waldner, Editor.

Address: 11 East 52nd Street, New York, New York, 10022.

Telephone: (212) 759-5165.

Austrian Information.

Newsletter/magazine on Austrian news, events, and personalities published monthly by the Austrian Press and Information Service.

Address: 3524 International Court NW, Washington, D.C. 20008-3027.

Telephone: (202) 895-6775.

Fax: (202) 895-6722.

E-mail: austroinfo@austria.org.

Online: <http://www.austria.org>.

Ariadne Press.

Publishes studies on Austrian culture, literature, and film; works of Austrian American writers; and translations of Austrian authors.

Address: 270 Goins Court, Riverside, California 92507.

Telephone: (909) 684-9202.

Fax: (909) 779-0449.

Other regional German-language newspapers and magazines such as California's *Neue Presse* and the *Staats Zeitung* operate throughout the United States, though none are specifically oriented to or targeted at an Austrian readership.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

Though the short-wave broadcasts of the Austrian Broadcasting Company, ORF, can be picked up in the

United States, and various cable networks air German-language programming on their international channels, there is no domestically produced programming that targets the Austrian American audience.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

In general, Austrian Americans, because of diverse interests and ethnic backgrounds, have tended to favor small regional organizations and clubs over national ones. Most of these societies are organized by province of origin, and those of the Burgenland contingent are the most pervasive. In addition, urban areas such as Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and Miami Beach tend to have associations for the promulgation of Austrian culture. Other Austrian societies and organizations are united by such common themes as music or literature, or by shared history as with those who fled Austrian Nazism or Hitler. The following are a sampling of regional fraternal and cultural associations.

Austrian American Club, Los Angeles.

Contact: Othmar Friedler, President.

Address: P.O. Box 4711, North Hollywood,
California 91607.

Telephone: (310) 634-0065.

Austrian American Council Midwest.

Contact: Gerhard Kaes, President.

Address: 5411 West Addison Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60641-3295.

Telephone: (312) 685-4166.

Austrian American Council Northeast.

The six chapters of this nonprofit organization have a common goal: to deepen the friendship and understanding between the United States and Austria. To this end, members facilitate cultural and educational exchange between the two countries and also participate in humanitarian efforts such as *SOS Kinderdorf*, an outreach to disadvantaged children in both Europe and the United States.

Contact: Juliana Belcsak, President.

Address: 5 Russell Terrace, Montclair,
New Jersey 07042.

Telephone: (201) 783-6241.

Austrian American Council Southeast.

Contact: Alfred Marek, President.

Address: P.O. Box 337, 33 Monsell Court,
Roswell, Georgia 30077.

Austrian American Council Southwest.

Contact: Christa Cooper, President.

Address: 1535 West Loop South, Suite 319a,
Houston, Texas 77027.

Telephone: (713) 623-2233.

Austrian American Council West.

Contact: Veronika Reinelt, Vice-President.

Address: 2701 Forrester Drive, Los Angeles,
California 90064.

Telephone: (310) 559-8770.

Austrian-American "Enzian" Club,

Colorado Springs.

Contact: Helga Jonas, President.

Address: 29 Circle Sea Road, Fountain,
Colorado 80817.

Telephone: (719) 382-7639.

Austrian-American Federation, Incorporated.

Contact: Dr. Clementine Zernik, President.

Address: 31 East 69th Street, New York,
New York, 10021.

Telephone: (212) 535-3261.

Austrian American Film Association (AAFA).

Promotes Austrian film culture, history, and New Austrian Film; presents annual symposium on the relationship between Austria and Hollywood; and publishes on topics regarding Austrian and Austrian American filmmakers.

Contacts: Professor Robert von Dassanowsky and
Dr. Gertraud Steiner Daviau, Co-directors.

Online: <http://web.uccs.edu/vapa/aafa/aafa.htm>.

Austrian Society of Arizona.

Contact: Wolfgang Klien, President.

Address: 4501 North 22nd Street, Phoenix,
Arizona 85016.

Telephone: (602) 468-1818.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Austrian Cultural Institute.

Part of the cultural affairs section of the Austrian Consulate General, the institute is responsible for cultural and scientific relations between Austria and the United States. It maintains a reference library specializing in Austrian history, art, and folk-

lore, and organizes lectures and panel discussions as well as educational exchanges.

Address: 950 Third Avenue, 20th Floor, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 759-5165.

Fax: (212) 319-9636 .

E-mail: desk@aci.org.

Online: <http://www.aci.org/>.

Center for Austrian Studies.

Located at the University of Minnesota, the center conducts research on Austrian history and publishes both a newsletter, three times annually, as well as the *Austrian History Yearbook*.

Contact: Richard L. Rudolph, Director.

Address: University of Minnesota, 314 Social Sciences Building, 267 Nineteenth Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

Telephone: (612) 624-9811.

Fax: (612) 626-9004.

E-mail: casahy@maroon.tc.umn.edu.

International Arthur Schnitzler Research Association.

Maintains a Schnitzler archive at the University of California, Riverside, and encourages and conducts research on that Austrian playwright and novelist as well as contemporaries of Schnitzler. It publishes the quarterly *Modern Austrian Literature*.

Contact: Jorun B. Johns.

Address: Department of Literature and Languages, University of California, Riverside, Riverside, California 92521.

Telephone: (909) 787-5603.

Fax: (909) 684-9202.

E-mail: jjohns@wylie.csusb.edu.

Society for Austrian and Habsburg History.

Focuses on central European history, and on Austria in particular. For scholars interested in research.

Contact: Ronald Coons.

Address: Department of History, University of Connecticut, 241 Glenbrook Road, Storrs, Connecticut 06269-2103.

Telephone: (203) 486-3722.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Goldner, Franz. *Austrian Emigration 1938 to 1945*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979.

Spaulding, E. Wilder. *The Quiet Invaders: The Story of the Austrian Impact upon America*. Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag, 1968.

Vertreibung der Vernunft: The Cultural Exodus from Austria, edited by Friedrich Stadler and Peter Weibel. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1995.

While the arranged marriage is still the predominant custom in Bangladesh, except among the educated elite, this practice is slowly changing in the United States, where dating and individual choice is the mainstream custom.

BANGLADESHI AMERICANS

by
J. Sydney Jones

OVERVIEW

Bangladesh, which means the “Land of the Bengalis” in the Bengali language, is a republic located in Southeast Asia. Almost entirely surrounded by India, of which it was a part until 1947, Bangladesh is bounded to the east, north, and west by that larger country, and to the southeast by Myanmar, formerly Burma. To the south of the country lies the Bay of Bengal. Formally known as the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, Bangladesh won its independence in 1971 after a bloody civil war. The war left much of the nation and its economy in ruins. Fully two-thirds of Bangladesh is made up of low-lying delta land, through which the many arms of the Ganges, Brahmaputra, and Meghna Rivers flow to the sea. Annual flooding is both a gift and a curse, providing the nutrients and water supply for Bangladesh’s three-crop rice production, but also displacing thousands of Bangladeshis annually. The country has a warm climate and often experiences devastating cyclones and hurricanes.

With an area of 55,598 square miles (144,000 square kilometers), Bangladesh is approximately the size of Wisconsin. Yet it has a population of more than 130 million according to a 1996 estimate. It is thus one of the most densely populated countries in the world, with more than 2,300 people per square mile. The population is made up primarily of cultural and ethnic Bengalis, similar to their Indian neighbors in West Bengal. There is also an Urdu-

speaking minority known as Biharis, who originally came from the Indian state of Bihar during the 1947 partition and stayed on after Bangladesh's independence in 1971. In addition, there is a large mixture of Islamic settlers from Arabia, Persia, and Turkey, who began arriving in the region in the eighth century A.D. In southeastern Bangladesh, there are also several hundred thousand tribal people who live in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Although Bangladesh is primarily a Muslim country, there are also Hindu and Christian minorities. Bengali (or Bangla) and Urdu are the principal languages of Bangladesh, although English is commonly spoken as the second language. The capital of the country is Dhaka, and another major city is Chittagong. About 70 percent of the population live in rural areas and agriculture is the primary industry. Jute, rice, and tea are major agricultural products.

HISTORY

While Bangladesh only gained its independence in 1971, the area it occupies has a long cultural history. Originally known as Bengal, the region of the eastern Indian subcontinent around the Bay of Bengal has been settled since the first centuries of the Christian era and has a recorded history of over two millennia. The earliest inhabitants of the region were of mixed Mongoloid, Austric, and Dravidian heritage. This early civilization had highly developed arts, trade, and agriculture. Between 2000 and 1500 B.C., much of this was swept aside after invasions by Aryans, which brought the Sanskrit language and Vedic Hinduism to India. Bangladeshis are primarily descendants of the non-Aryan inhabitants of the region.

Bengal has a rich literary heritage, as written records in Bengali date back to the ninth or tenth century. Under the Buddhist Pala kings, Bengal was first unified politically between the eighth and twelfth centuries. At the height of its power in the early ninth century, this Pala empire included all of Bengal and most of Assam and Bihar.

The Hindu Sena empire took the place of the Pala empire in the late eleventh century but by about 1200 was already suffering from repeated incursions by invading Muslim armies led by Muhammad Bhaktyar. Muslim domination lasted until the Battle of Plassey in 1757, in which the British, under Robert Clive, defeated the Muslim ruler of the region and established British rule. However, more than 500 years of Muslim rule in the area left a lasting legacy. Bengali Muslim rulers generally sponsored the arts and sciences at their courts

and became patrons of poets, both Hindu and Muslim. A high point of Bengali literature was reached between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this time period, large numbers of Bengali, especially in the east, converted from Hinduism and Buddhism to Islam. This had a lasting effect in the region, in effect creating two Bengals—one in the west that was Hindu, and one in the east that was Muslim.

MODERN ERA

With the defeat of the Muslim ruler Siraj-ud-Daula at the Battle of Plassey, Bengal fell under British rule. In 1905, the British partitioned Bengal into Muslim and Hindu areas, but the partition lasted only until 1912. Thereafter, Bengal remained a unified part of the British Raj until 1947. Two legacies of British rule were the English language and a European-style educational system.

During the nearly two centuries of British rule, the rift between Muslims and Hindus increasingly widened. Muslims believed that Hindus received better treatment and gained advancement more rapidly than they did. With the end of the Raj, the stage was thus set for a partition of the two religious groups. India remained primarily Hindu, while the state of Pakistan was formed for Muslims. East Bengal became East Pakistan, separated from West Pakistan by more than 1,000 miles, and by a part of the nation of India.

Relations between the two regions of the country were poor from the outset, as the Bengalis distrusted their fellow countrymen in Pakistan. East and West Pakistan were culturally and linguistically distinct from one another; the only thing held in common by the regions was religion. In the 1950s, East Pakistan resisted an attempt by Urdu-speaking West Pakistan to make Urdu the official language of the entire country. Though East Pakistan was occupied by the majority of the population of the new country of Pakistan, and accounted for most of the foreign exchange, through its rice and jute production and the activities of the port of Chittagong, it held less political power than West Pakistan. Fewer than 13 percent of Pakistani government employees were Bengali, and less than 10 percent of high-ranking army officials were from the eastern wing of the newly constituted Pakistan. Only 36 percent of the national budget was spent in East Pakistan.

By the early 1960s, an independence movement began to form under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib). However, in 1966, Sheikh Mujib was imprisoned on conspiracy charges. Three years later, a new president in Pak-

istan allowed free elections in an attempt to alleviate an increasingly tense political situation. Unrest in East Pakistan had led leaders in West Pakistan to fear a possible revolution. But when Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League won overwhelmingly in East Pakistan on a platform of autonomy for that region, creating a new majority in the national assembly, West Pakistan simply postponed the assembly. This effort to forestall autonomy led to a general strike in March of 1971, which was put down by Pakistani soldiers. East Pakistan subsequently proclaimed its independence. West Pakistan declared East Pakistan a rebel province and sent its professional army to end the insurrection, outlawing the Awami League and jailing Sheikh Mujib once again. Terror tactics were used, and lists of teachers, students, and other professionals were gathered; these people became the targets of assassination. Some ten million people fled to India while the Bengalis fought a guerrilla-style war against the well-armed military.

In December of 1971, India allied itself with Bangladesh and in a two-week war defeated the Pakistani forces. The government in exile returned from Calcutta to Dhaka and Sheikh Mujib was released from Pakistani prison to become the first leader of the newly named Bangladesh. Finally, in 1973, Pakistan recognized the new state. But the war for independence had been costly. It is estimated that three million Bengalis died in the fighting and more than a million homes were destroyed. In addition, tea plantations in northern Sylhet and jute mills were destroyed. Many of the millions who had fled the country returned after independence only to find their homes and villages in ruins. However, a new nation, Bangladesh, had been formed, made up of former east Bengal as well as the former Sylhet district of Assam.

When Sheikh Mujib attempted to create a stronger central government in 1975 and banned all political parties but his own Awami League, he was killed in a coup led by army officers. Another coup led to the rule of General Zia in 1977 until his assassination in 1981. In 1982, General Ershad took over from a civilian government but was forced to resign in 1990. The widow of General Zia, Begum Zia, became the first female prime minister of the country in 1991. She was succeeded by Sheikh Hasina Wajid, who was sworn in as prime minister in 1996. This led to the coalition of the Awami League and the Jatiya party.

Bangladesh celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1996, but it still has far to go to accomplish all four of its originally stated aims: democracy, secularism, socialism, and nationalism. A fledgling democracy, it has weathered several attempts at dic-

tatorship and has made room within its borders for diverse religious groups. Yet huge problems exist. Overpopulation, frequent natural catastrophes (including the 1970 cyclone and tidal wave that killed 300,000, the 1988 floods, and the 1991 cyclone which caused the deaths of 139,000), as well as impoverished conditions have led to immigration pressures since independence in 1971.

THE FIRST BANGLADESHIS IN AMERICA

As the nation-state of Bangladesh did not come into existence until 1971, there were no Bangladeshi immigrants per se to the United States until after that time. However, immigrants from the Bengali region to America have been arriving since 1887. Their numbers were small, in part because of the discriminatory immigration laws that allowed citizenship only to white Caucasians. These immigrants included dissident student activists, both Hindu and Muslim, who fled to the United States after the partition of Bengal in 1905 at the hands of British viceroy George Lord Curzon. Small groups of these male students settled on the West Coast, in San Francisco, Oregon, and Washington. Such student immigrants were from both West and East Bengal and numbered only in the hundreds.

Merchant marines also immigrated in small numbers in the early years of the twentieth century. Escaping poverty, they simply jumped ship after docking in New York or San Francisco. As anti-miscegenation laws forbade their marrying white women, this first wave of male immigrants from Bengal married mostly Mexican, black, or mixed-race women and also formed communities with these ethnic groups.

Though some of the early Bengali immigrants, such as the student activist Taraknath Das, tested the discriminatory immigration and naturalization laws, little changed in the first half of the twentieth century. Das was able to gain citizenship by proving to a clerk that anthropologists officially labeled his race Caucasian. A handful of Bengali and Indian immigrants won citizenship on these grounds, until the 1924 Immigration Act further restricted citizenship rights. Court battles ensued, and finally in 1946, naturalization was granted to Indians, including both Muslim and Hindu Bengalis. A quota of 100 immigrants per year was set, and in 1965, Indian and Pakistani immigrants were given the same status as other nationalities.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

With the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, official records were of emigration from that country, sep-

arate from that of Indians and Bengalis. In the 1960s, just prior to independence, many East Bengalis fled to the United States to avoid political persecution, or, in the case of religious minorities, to avoid religious discrimination. This first wave of immigrants was generally composed of professionals, well educated and affluent.

Since 1971, the number of immigrants from this region has increased annually. In 1973, 154 Bangladeshi immigrants arrived in the United States; 147 in 1974; 404 in 1975, and 590 in 1976. These immigrants were mostly younger males who were leaving behind the hard economic and political times of the still developing Bangladesh. The overpopulation of the region and subsequent poverty are the main reasons for such emigration from Bangladesh.

By 1980, there were an estimated 3,500 Bangladeshi in the United States, 200 of whom had already become U.S. citizens. They settled in every state of the union but were concentrated in the urban areas of New York, New Jersey, and California. Fully a third of these early immigrants were professionals, and many of the remaining two-thirds were white-collar workers. These trained professionals, seeking a better life in America, created a brain drain for Bangladesh, adding to that country's difficulties in establishing itself. This first wave of Bangladeshi immigrants was young, between 10 and 39 years old and more than 60 percent male. About half of these immigrants were already married when they arrived, with families awaiting immigration once the spouse was settled. They formed civic organizations and clubs in the locales where they settled, and they tended to keep to their ethnic and religious communities. Bangladeshi immigrants typically supported Democratic candidates as a result of Republican support for Pakistan during the independence movement.

More recent immigration waves have brought much larger numbers of both documented and undocumented immigrants from Bangladesh. Between 1982 and 1992, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization service legally admitted 28,850 Bangladeshi. From 1988 to 1993, some 6,000 Bangladeshis also won visas through a lottery. But there is also a large number of undocumented Bangladeshis living in the United States. Some estimates are as high as 150,000, with more than 50,000 living in the metropolitan New York area alone. Other large enclaves of Bangladeshis can be found in Los Angeles, Miami, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. In Los Angeles, the Bangladeshi community is centered in and around the downtown area, where shop and restaurant signs are often in Bengali.

Recent immigrants from Bangladesh also include groups of the Hill Peoples of Chittagong, who are distinct in culture from the Bengalis of Bangladesh and left Bangladesh to escape repression by the government. In addition, there are Bangladeshis who immigrated to the United States indirectly, who initially moved to the Middle East, Australia, or Africa for work before arriving in America. Though recent immigrants tend to be more geographically mobile than the first wave of immigrants from Bengal and Bangladesh, most still preserve strong ties to Bangladesh and become involved in local organizations that reflect their religious or geographical affiliations in their home country.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Bangladeshis are fairly recent arrivals to the United States and tend to maintain ethnic enclaves in the areas where they settle. Having recently won a war of independence and the right to self-identity in the subcontinent, the immigrants who flee the poverty of the country attempt to preserve their newfound Bangladeshi identity in this country. Whereas other immigrant groups have had several generations to assimilate, Bangladeshi Americans are largely in their first generation. Although Bangladeshi Americans are sometimes stereotyped into the larger Muslim community of Arabs because most Bangladeshis are Muslim, these immigrants have a distinct identity. As Katy Gardner pointed out in her study of the Bangladeshi diaspora, *Global Migrants, Local Lives*, Bangladeshis take their sense of home with them. "Rather than rigidly bound locales, *desh* [country or home] and *bidesh* [foreign country] are fluid categories, which are dynamically interrelated. Since *desh* is where the social group is located, it can be recreated *bidesh*."

PROVERBS

Bengali is a language rich in proverbs, many of them reflecting the moral values and ethics of a rural, agrarian society. Homey virtues are represented in the saying, "All are kings in their own houses," while meeting one's own consequences are reflected in "Like sin, like atonement." Food becomes a metaphor in many proverbs: "Have I drawn a harrow over your ripe corn?" is said to someone who, without reason, is angry at the other; and "He has spoiled my rice when just ready!" is used to describe a situation when something, after much effort, begins to take effect and then is set back or ruined by some outside force or person.

Ignorant actions are mocked in proverbs such as “Cutting the root below and watering the bush above,” and “’Tis standing below the tree while felling.” Things that last briefly are caught in the phrase, “’Tis a palm tree’s shade,” while “An ocean of wisdom” can be applied to wise men and fools alike, the latter with a sarcastic voice. Doing one’s best in spite of all is reflected in “One puts on a rag rather than go naked,” while the effects of inattention are summed up in “He hears at one ear, but it goes out at the other.” Along the same lines, giddy oversight is summed up in “Blind with both his eyes open!” and the futility of striving for the unreachable is represented in “’Tis sand mixed up with molasses.” Peasant irony and understanding of material realities is represented in “He who has money may ask for judgment.”

CUISINE

Rice is the mainstay of the Bangladeshi diet. In Bangladesh the cultivation of this crop occupies 80 percent of the cultivated land and is grown in three crops. A summer rice, *aus*, is harvested in July or August, after which the autumn rice, or *amon*, is planted, still using the water from monsoon season. A third crop, the winter rice, *boro*, is grown in December through April.

In addition to this staple, Bangladeshis eat all sorts of fish, another mainstay in the Bangladeshi diet. Meat is also consumed, except pork, which is forbidden by Islamic tradition. Like much of the food on the subcontinent, Bangladeshi cuisine is highly spiced. Curries are popular, as is rice pilaf, and Bangladeshi cuisine is also noted for a variety of milk-based sweets.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

In Bangladesh one of the few overt differences between Muslims and Hindus is in traditional dress. Muslim men tend to wear a sarong-like garment, the *lungi*, which is tied around the waist. This garment is worn with a short vest. Muslim men also wear beards, traditional in many Muslim cultures. Hindu men, however, wear the *dhoti*, a pleated white garment that is brought between the legs and tied in front. The educated classes of men often wear loose-fitting, lightweight cotton trousers called pajamas (from which the English word is derived) with a collarless, knee-length shirt, known as the *panjabi*. For formal attire, they wear modified Western suits. For traditional ceremonies, such as weddings, the *sherwani* and *churidar*, a calf-length tunic and tight-fitting trousers, are often seen, accompanied by a turban.

Hindu women wear the *sari*, while their Muslim counterparts wear the *burqa* in public, a long black or white garment that covers them from head to foot and has a veil. Such *burqas* are rarely seen in the United States, but women here often wear the *sawar-chamise*, loose pants and a long shirt combination in vibrant colors. On traditional occasions the *sari* is often worn.

DANCES AND SONGS

Bengali tradition is rich in music and dance, and much of it is story-based. This strong folk tradition has remained alive in many Bangladeshi American communities, where holidays and festival times are celebrated with Bangladeshi dance and song as well as with drama and poetry. Many of the string and percussion instruments employed are common to the subcontinent as a whole.

There are four main categories of music in the culture: classical, light classical, devotional, and popular. Of the first category, the two best known are Hindustani devotional songs, *dhrupad*, and a blending of Indian and Perso-Arab systems known as *khayal*. Devotional music includes forms that are typical to the subcontinent, such as the Sufi Muslim *Qawwali* music and *kirtan*. In its popular music, however, Bangladesh proves to be most original, developing forms for which there are no real equivalents outside the borders of Bangladesh. Characterized by spontaneity and high energy, these include *bhatiali*, *bhawaiya*, *jari*, *sari*, *marfati*, and *baul*.

Bangladeshi culture also has highly developed forms of dance, including such classical dances as *kathakali* and *bharata-natya*, both of which are typical throughout the subcontinent. However, specific to Bangladesh are indigenous dances such as *dhali*, *baul*, *maipuri*, and snake dances. These harken back to tribal and communal life and describe various aspects of that lifestyle. These dances are performed on certain festival days. In both music and dance, improvisation is considered the primary goal.

HOLIDAYS

While the Bangladeshi American community joins in such universal celebrations as New Year’s, and in such American festivities as July Fourth and Thanksgiving, the real festival and holiday occasions for them are religious in nature. For Muslim Bangladeshis, the two most important holidays are Eid-ul-Fitr, which marks the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting, and Eid-ul-Azha, the festival of sacrifice, which observes the pilgrimage to Mecca. For Hindu Bangladeshis, important holidays are

Diwali, the festival of lights celebrating the return home of the lord Rama, and Holi, the festival of colors that welcomes the return of spring. These holidays are often celebrated with an exchange of visits between friends and relatives, and increasingly with festivals of song and dance. *Qawaali* music is often played to celebrate the Muslim holy days. Additionally, Hindus celebrate *pujas*, or festivals, honoring various gods and goddesses.

HEALTH ISSUES

No specific disease or illness has been identified as being specific to Bangladeshi Americans. The community as a whole accepts the practices of Western medicine, though many still work within the framework of the alternative medical practices of the subcontinent, including, among some Hindus, adherence to the Ayurvedic beliefs in spiritual healing and the use of herbs for preventive treatment.

LANGUAGE

Bengali, or Bangla, is the language spoken by most of the people of Bangladesh as well as those in the Indian states of Bengal and parts of Assam. More than 200 million people worldwide speak Bengali, making it one of the world's most widely spoken language groups. Part of the Indo-Iranian subfamily of the Indo-European family of languages, Bengali is derived from Sanskrit and further subdivided into the Indic group of languages, which includes Hindi and Urdu.

For the Bangladeshi, Bengali is more than a language, it is a cultural identity. One of the first measures West Pakistan employed in the 1950s in its attempt to incorporate East Pakistan, was to proclaim Urdu the national language of the country. The failure of this measure was a foreshadowing for what would happen to that country. After independence, English in street and commercial signs was replaced with Bengali. Though English continues to be a strong second language in Bangladesh, Bengali is the official language of government and education. Immigrants to the United States thus maintain pride in their language.

Until the 1930s, formal Bengali, *sadhu bhasa*, was used for literary, printed matter, while the colloquial language, *calit bhasa*, was the medium of more informal discourse. Now, however, the colloquial is used for all forms. Various dialects exist in different regions of the country; those of Sylhet, Chittagong, and Noakhali are particularly affected by Arab-Persian influences. Loanwords from Eng-

lish, Arabic, Portuguese, Persian, and Hindi are also common, reflecting the history of the nation. Famous writers in Bengali include the Nobel Prize winner Rabindranath Tagore, a Hindu, whose poems, songs, and stories so lovingly document Bengali life, and Kazi Nazrul Islam, a Muslim poet who is widely known as the voice of Bengali nationalism and independence.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

A Muslim nation, Bangladesh largely escaped the defining caste system of its Hindu neighbor India. Social organization in the rural districts is based on the village or "family (*paribar* or *gushti*), generally consisting of a complete or incomplete patrilineally extended household (*chula*) and residing in a homestead (*bari*)," according to *Bangladesh: A Country Study*, edited by James Heitzman and Robert L. Worden. The idea of nuclear family is somewhat alien; this is combined into the larger unit of extended family house, sometimes called the *ghar*.

From this basic (*bari*) level, extended kinship ties are also patrilineally, based on real or assumed relationships. Such a kinship system becomes incredibly complex, and there are a variety of words to describe relatives of varying degrees. Thus "uncle" for example can have several names. The father's brother is called *chacha*, while the mother's brother is *mama*; the father's sister's husband is *phupha*, and the mother's sister's husband is *kalu*.

Bangladeshi society is woven together by this intricate kinship system, and even those not related by blood but who are simply older and thus worthy of respect become an aunt (*chachi*) or uncle (*chacha*), grandfather (*dada*) or grandmother (*dadi*). The use of such kinship names even extends to people of the same generation, who become brother or sister. Thus, in the United States, Bangladeshis may find some initial difficulty in using people's names instead of kinship titles.

The *bari*, or household, consists of an extended family, typically married sons on the paternal side. Great respect is shown the father or *abba*, and mother, *amma*. Older brothers are also shown such respect. This model, however, tends to break down in the United States, where the necessities of earning a living often send both parents out into the workforce. Though Bangladeshi Americans of the first generation see themselves primarily as members of a complex family relationship rather than as individuals making their own way in the world, the coming generations will likely feel the same individualizing soci-

etal pressures that other immigrant groups have experienced. The typical *bari* relationship of Bangladesh has already been altered to more of the nuclear family model of the United States wherein unmarried children reside with parents until they are married and then move away to their own new family.

EDUCATION

While in Bangladesh the rate of illiteracy is still relatively high, education is also valued. The Bangladeshi educational system was laid down during the time of British rule; there are now more than 600 colleges in the country. This same emphasis on education accompanies the immigrant to the United States. Indeed, many Bangladeshis have come to the United States on student visas and have stayed on after graduation.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

As with the rest of the subcontinent, women in Bangladeshi society have been traditionally relegated to the home and the role of nurturers while the men were the breadwinners. Women were expected to be demure and even shy in front of strangers, and above all respectful of their husbands. This role was given even stricter meaning in Muslim society, in which women often lived in *purdah*, confined to the home and living separately from men from the age of puberty. Though such gender roles are breaking down in the Bangladeshi community in the United States, women in the first generation of arrivals tend to adhere more closely to the Bangladeshi model than to the mainstream American model. Even in Bangladesh, however, these roles are breaking down, especially among the educated elite, as witnessed by the election of a female prime minister in 1991.

WEDDINGS

Arranged marriages are still common in the Bangladeshi American community. Young Bangladeshi men living in the United States generally marry other Bangladeshis, flying back to Bangladesh for the ceremony with a bride chosen for him by his family. Arranged marriages have long been the custom throughout the subcontinent, and the prospective groom's parents set out to find a bride for him of equal status and of lesser age. Tradition and logic dictate that there should be a match between the two in financial matters as well as educational level and religious beliefs. Young couples, after they have been selected for each other, may exchange photos and even talk with

each other long distance before the marriage. The fact that a prospective son-in-law lives in the United States is a plus for a Bangladeshi bride's family, promising enhanced opportunities for the couple.

As marriage is a civil contract rather than a religious sacrament in Islam, the marriage contract largely represents the interests of families involved rather than merely the couple getting married. The bride price paid by the groom's family is an insurance against divorce, which can be summarily given in Islam. After the birth of a child, especially a male child, the worth of the new bride rises in the eyes of the husband's family. While arranged marriages are still the predominant custom in Bangladesh except among the educated elite, this practice is slowly changing in the United States, where dating and individual choice are customary.

The wedding ceremony itself can be an extended celebration lasting several days. Muslim rites are generally observed for such ceremonies, which are accompanied by feasting and the signing of the marital agreement by bride and groom. Often the wedding is held at community centers and accompanied by traditional Bangladeshi or Bengali music.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Bangladeshi Americans are predominantly Muslim but these religious ties stretch thinly across cultural lines. Bangladeshi Americans are thus a tightly knit group. Bengali by heritage, Bangladeshi Americans, as individuals, often affiliate with that ethnic minority in the United States, even though Bengalis from India tend to be Hindu. Depending on the degree of religious tension in their homeland, Bengalis of both religious persuasions may associate with each other because of their shared cultural bonds. However, at the group level, the Bangladeshi community generally separates itself from Indian Bengalis, reflecting the national boundaries of their homeland.

RELIGION

More than 85 percent of Bangladeshis follow the tenets of Islam, the state religion of Bangladesh since 1988. Most of them are of the Sunni sect with a small number of Shi'ite Muslims, mostly the descendants of Iranian immigrants. Only about ten percent of the population is Hindu; the remaining population consists of Buddhists, Christians, and followers of various other sects.

For Muslims, the center of their beliefs is Allah, the one God, as well as in the words of the prophet Muhammad, as written down in the Koran

or Quran. Muslims pray five times daily, facing Mecca. A charitable religion, Islam believes in helping the poor. Other notable aspects of the religion are its prohibitions against the consumption of pork or alcohol. Ramadan, or Ramzan in Bengali, is a lunar month of fasting: no food or drink is taken from sunrise to sunset, while weekly visits to a mosque occur on Fridays. This is all something of a hardship in a country such as America with a relatively small Muslim community. Bangladeshi Americans living in more rural areas often have to drive a great distance to reach the nearest mosque. At such mosques they worship with other Muslims from all over the world.

The Hindus of Bangladesh worship many gods and goddesses, including Brahma, the God of Creation, and Surya, the Sun God. These Hindu believers also follow the belief in reincarnation as well as in the caste system, though the Bangladeshi version of this is much more fluid than its Indian counterpart.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Traditionally, the more educated and skilled classes of Bangladeshi society were able to immigrate to the United States. Early statistics gathered with the first decade of Bangladeshi immigrations showed that a third of these immigrants had professional training and the vast majority of the rest had marketable skills. They typically worked in professions such as engineering, economics, architecture, and medicine.

However, the new wave of immigration, partly swelled with visa lottery winners, has among its numbers immigrants with fewer skills and less education. While the new wave includes a large number of computer technicians who find work in Silicon Valley in California, many also are unskilled and work in convenience stores, drive cabs, or find work in other service industries such as hotels. Many street vendors in New York are also of Bengali extraction, some Asian Indian, some Bangladeshi. As the Bangladeshi community continues to grow, new businesses such as restaurants, grocery stores, and travel agencies open, owned by other Bangladeshis, to serve the community.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Consisting, unofficially, of 150,000 members, the Bangladeshi American community does not wield political clout, even when organized for a specific

legislative initiative. Allied with other Muslim groups, however, their voice in political matters is magnified. Most Bangladeshis vote Democratic and stay in close touch with the situation in their homeland. Many immigrants travel to Bangladesh annually, and most send money back to relatives still living in Bangladesh.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Because Bangladeshi Americans are a recent and relatively small immigrant group, their contributions have not been widely publicized. One of the best known Bangladeshis worldwide is Muhammad Yunus, who earned his doctorate at Vanderbilt University in the United States and taught economics for seven years in America before returning to Bangladesh, where he established the Grameen Bank. Following the tenets of Islam with its emphasis on obligatory charity, Yunus established loans for the poor, which have revolutionized banking in Asia and allowed legions of women, in particular, to establish small-scale businesses of their own.

MEDIA

PRINT

Bangla Patrika.

Address: 42-23 43rd Avenue, Queens, New York 11102.

Telephone: (718) 482-9923.

Weekly Bangalee.

Address: 86-26 Queens Blvd., Elmhurst, New York 11373.

Telephone: (718) 639-1176.

Fax: (718) 565-8102.

Weekly Parichoy.

Address: 37-11 Seventy-third Street, Jackson Heights, New York 11372.

Telephone: (718) 458-5960.

Fax: (718) 458-3484.

E-mail: parichoy@pipeline.com.

TELEVISION

WNVC-TV (56).

Carries Asian programming on Saturday mornings.

Contact: Dan Ward.

Address: 8101-A Lee Highway, Falls Church,
Virginia 22042.
Telephone: (703) 698-9682.
Fax: (703) 849-9796.
Online: <http://www.wnvc.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Bangladesh Association for the Senior Citizens.
Address: 132-32 Hillside Avenue, Richmond Hill,
New York 11418-1926.
Contact: Ghulam Mainuddin.

Bangladesh Association of Texas.
Address: c/o Iskander Khan, 4325 Grason Drive,
Grand Prairie, Texas 75052-0000.

Bangladeshi American Foundation.
An organization founded to promote youth and
community development as well as a positive image
of Bangladesh. Holds an annual meeting to cele-
brate the achievements of Bangladeshi Americans.
Contact: M. Badrul Haque.
Address: P.O. Box 61544, Potomac, Maryland
20859-1544.

Bangladeshi Medical Association of North America (BMA).
Seeks to bring together physicians who are from or
were trained in Bangladesh to network for further
training or placement in North America.
Contact: F. Hasan, M.D., President.
Address: c/o S. Hasan, 1575 Woodward Avenue,
Suite 210, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48302.
Telephone: (313) 338-8182.
Fax: (248) 338-9520.

ProBaSh (Probashy Bangladeshi Shomity).
According to the website, "a politically and reli-
giously neutral, non-profit, international, Internet-
based society of expatriate Bangladeshis working for
the betterment of Bangladesh."
Contact: Zunaid Kazi.

E-mail: zunaid@kazi.net.
Online: <http://virtualbangladesh.com/probash>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Institute of Bangladesh Studies.
Consortium of member colleges and universities
organized to encourage and support research on the
history and culture of Bangladesh.
Contact: Dr. Syedur Rahman, Director.
Address: Pennsylvania State University, Hubert H.
Humphrey Fellowship Program, Rider II
Building, Room 312, 227 West Beaver
Avenue, University Park, Pennsylvania 16802.
Telephone: (814) 865-0436.
Fax: (814) 865-8299.
E-mail: sxr17@psu.edu.

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BARBADIAN AMERICANS

by
Lloyd E. Mulraine

The Barbadian
connection with
America dates
back to the 1660s,
when close links
were established
between Barbados
and the Carolinas.

OVERVIEW

Proudly referred to as “Little England” by her islanders, Barbados, a small Caribbean country, is the easternmost island in the West Indies island chain, which stretches from southeast Florida to the northern coast of South America. Its nearest neighbor, St. Vincent, is due west. The island is one-sixth the size of Rhode Island, the smallest state of the United States; it is 21 miles (30 km) long and 14 miles (22 km) across at its widest point, with a surface area of 166 square miles (431 sq. km). Although relatively flat, Barbados is composed mostly of coral, rising gently from the west coast in a series of terraces to a ridge in the center. Its highest point is Mt. Hillaby, reaching 1,104 feet (336 m).

According to the *1994 Caribbean Basin Commercial Profile*, the population of Barbados in December 1992 was 258,000—52.1 percent of which was female, and 47.9 percent male. Ninety-two percent were of African ethnic origin, four percent white, one percent Asian Indian, and three percent of mixed race. About 70 percent live in the urban area that stretches along the sheltered Caribbean Sea side of the island from Speightstown in the north, to Oistins in the south, and St. Philip in the southeast. The remainder live in villages scattered throughout the countryside, ranging in size from 100 to 3000 persons. Population density is among the highest in the world at 1589.7 people per square mile. The official language of Barbados is English, and the capital is Bridgetown.

There are over 100 denominations and religious sects in Barbados. Seventy percent of the population nominally belongs to the Anglican/Episcopal church, an important heritage of the island's long, unbroken connection with England. The rest belong to such religious groups as Methodist, Moravian, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Seventh-day Adventist, Pentecostal, and a host of others. Adult literacy is approximately 99 percent. The national flag, flown for the first time at midnight November 30, 1966, consists of three equal vertical stripes of ultramarine, gold, and ultramarine with a broken trident in the center of the gold stripe.

HISTORY

The word Barbados (pronounced "bar-bay-dos") comes from Las Barbadas, the name given to the island by the Portuguese who landed there in the early sixteenth century. They named it after the fig tree that grew in abundance on the island, and whose branches had great mats of twisted fibrous roots looking like beards hanging to the ground. Barbados is a derivative of *barbudo*, the Portuguese name for one who has a thick beard.

According to historical accounts, from c. 350 A.D. to the early sixteenth century, various Amerindian civilizations flourished in Barbados. The first wave of settlers, now called Barrancoid/Saladoid, occupied the island from c. 350-650 A.D. The Spaniards in the sixteenth century referred to them as Arawaks. They originated in the Orinoco basin in South America. Archeological findings reveal that they were skilled in farming, fishing, and ceramics. In about 800 A.D. a second wave of Amerindian migrants occupied the island. They were expert fishermen and grew crops of cassava, potato, and maize. They also produced cotton textile goods and ceramics. A third wave of migrants settled on the island during the mid-thirteenth century. The Spaniards called them Caribs. More materially developed and politically organized, they subdued and dominated their predecessors.

In 1625, when the first English ship, the *Olive Blossom*, on a return visit from Brazil to England, accidentally arrived in Barbados, Captain John Powell and his crew claimed the island on behalf of King James I. They found the island uninhabited. The Amerindians had long departed. During the early sixteenth century, they were victims of the Spaniards' slave raiding missions, and were forced to work on the sugar estates and the mines of Hispaniola and elsewhere.

MODERN ERA

The party of English mariners who arrived in Barbados on May 14, 1625, were the first Europeans to begin its colonization. On February 17, 1627, the *William and John*, bearing English settlers and ten African slaves captured from the Portuguese at sea, landed at the present site of Holetown village, and founded the second British colony in the Caribbean, the first being St. Kitts in 1623. The 80 pioneer settlers who disembarked the ship survived on subsistence farming, and exported tobacco and cotton. John Powell, Jr., served as the colony's first governor from April to July 1627. During that same year, Powell also brought 32 Indians from Guiana. They were to live as free people while teaching the English the art of tropical agriculture and regional political geography.

Powell's expedition was financed by Sir William Courteen, an Englishman, but later it was argued that Courteen had no settlement rights to Barbados since he received no royal patent. On July 22, 1627, Charles I granted a patent to James Hay, the first Earl of Carlisle, for the settlement of Barbados. He assumed the status of Lord Proprietor. This Proprietary Patent of 1627 gave the Earl authority to make laws for Barbados with the consent, assent, and approbation of the freeholders.

Due to an error, another royal patent was issued to the Earl of Pembroke, giving him legal ownership of Barbados but creating conflict and confusion on the island. As Carlisle and Pembroke contended for political supremacy over Barbados, the Powell faction, through bold defiance of both contenders, managed to stay in charge of the government. On April 1, 1628, a second patent was issued to Carlisle, revoking that of Pembroke, and Charles Wolverton was appointed Governor of Barbados. When he arrived there, he appointed a group of 12 men to assist him in the administration of the infant colony. In later years a ruling council was appointed by the English government, generally in accordance with the advice of the governor, and its members were usually chosen from the wealthiest and most influential planters. Barbados experienced much political turmoil and instability from 1627 to 1629. On June 30, 1629, Henry Hawley arrived on the island and assumed the governorship. He was a strong, ruthless ruler whose leadership helped to establish political and economic conditions for the development of a society dominated by a small landed elite.

In 1636 Hawley issued a proclamation that henceforth all blacks and Indians brought to the island, and their offspring, were to be received as life-long slaves, unless there existed prior agreements to the contrary. Barbados thus developed into the first

successful English slave plantation society in the New World. Negroes and Indians who worked for white landowners were considered heathen brutes and were treated as chattel. At the same time, there developed a white underclass of indentured servants consisting of voluntary workers, political refugees, transported convicts, and others. By 1640 the social structure of the island consisted of masters, servants, and slaves. The slaves and their posterity were subject to their masters forever, while servants were indentured for five years. After serving their terms, most indentured servants were released from any commitment to their masters. Many were supplied with money and land to start their own farms. The population of the colony grew rapidly, and by 1640 there were 40,000 people living in Barbados, mostly English yeomen farmers and indentured servants drawn there by the opportunity to acquire cheap land and to compete in an open economic system. Fifteen percent of the population were African slaves.

In 1637 sugar cane cultivation was introduced from Brazil. Production of tobacco, the island's main crop, declined as a result of competition from the American colonies, heavy duties imposed by England, and falling prices. Barbadian soil was ideal for the new crop, and the sugar industry prospered, attracting white planters and merchants from a number of European countries. By 1650 Barbados was considered the richest colony in the New World. Planters discovered that African slaves could work much harder in the tropical climate than white indentured servants. In the 1630s the island's black population was less than 800. By 1643 this number increased to slightly less than 6,000 and by 1660, a mere 20 years after the introduction of sugar cane to the island, Barbados developed into a plantation-dominated society in which slaves outnumbered whites by a two-to-one margin. It is estimated that between 1640 and 1807, the year the British Parliament abolished the slave trade in British territory, including Barbados, that some 387,000 African slaves were brought to Barbados as victims of the slave trade. Many of these African slaves were the ancestors of present day Barbadians. The history of Barbados is to a great extent a history of oppression and resistance, the toil and struggles of African Barbadians toward a just and free society.

The slaves were never content under oppression, and they yearned for freedom. In the seventeenth century, several planned rebellions were aborted because of informants. For example, in 1675 two slaves planning rebellion were overheard by a slave woman named Anna, also known as Fortuna, who immediately told her master about the plan. It is recorded that she was recommended for freedom as recompense for her great service to her

country, but there is no record that this freedom was ever granted. In 1692 another near rebellion was aborted. Many slaves were executed or died in prison after plots were discovered. The only actual outbreak of armed revolt was the rebellion of 1816.

During the seventeenth century, a new class of Barbadians—mulattos fathered by white masters and their black slave women—began to populate the colony. They were called coloreds, and many of them were freed by their masters/fathers. By the eighteenth century a small community of free persons of mixed racial identity existed in the colony.

Free-coloreds were a problem both for white Barbadians who were determined to exclude them from white society, and for the slaves whom the free-coloreds despised. Whites made every effort to attach the stigma of racial and genetic inferiority to them. As a result, discriminatory legislation was passed in 1721 that stated that only white male Christian citizens of Great Britain who owned at least ten acres of land or a house having an annual taxable value of ten pounds could vote, be elected to public office, or serve on juries.

Despite exclusion by whites, free-coloreds sought to distance themselves from their slave ancestry, sometimes even from their own mothers, and took a strong pro-slavery stand when imperial legislative action at the beginning of the nineteenth century tended toward improvement of the slaves' condition. By 1831 the franchise was extended to free-colored men; however, the property-owning requirements continued to apply to all voters. Thus, only a small minority gained voting rights. With the advent of a general emancipation, the free-colored people lost their status as a separate caste.

In 1833 the British Parliament passed a law that would free the slaves in the West Indies the following year. The Barbados House of Assembly was hostile to the new law, but finally passed it, and the slaves in Barbados, like the rest of the West Indies, became free on August 1, 1834. However, the emancipated people were not entirely free; they were subjected to a four-year apprenticeship period. In addition, the Contract Act was passed in 1840, which in essence gave the planters a continued hold on the emancipated slaves, a condition that lasted well into the next century.

Samuel Jackman Prescod, the first colored man to hold office in Barbados, was elected to the House of Assembly in 1843. Prescod was one of the leading political figures of nineteenth-century Barbados. He became associated with the anti-slavery movement, and by 1838 he was the most popular spokesman for the emancipated people who were still denied the privileges of true freedom. He was editor of *The Lib-*

eral, a radical newspaper that expressed the grievances of the disadvantaged colored people and of the black working class. He fought for franchise reform, but the country did not gain universal adult suffrage until 1950, almost a century later.

In 1958, Barbados and nine other British Caribbean territories joined together to form the West Indian Federation, a separate nation within the British Commonwealth. Grantley Adams, the first premier of Barbados, became the Prime Minister of the Federation. This new nation hoped to achieve self-government, economic viability, and independence, but the Federation collapsed in 1962. Barbados finally gained its independence on November 30, 1966, under Prime Minister Errol Barrow. Presently, Barbados is a sovereign and independent state within the British Commonwealth.

THE FIRST BARBADIANS IN AMERICA

Barbadian connection with America dates back to the 1660s, when close links were established between Barbados and the Carolinas. Sir John Colleton, a prominent Barbadian planter, was among the first to suggest the establishment of a colony there, and in 1670 a permanent colony was established in what is known today as Charleston, South Carolina. Many prominent Barbadian merchants and planters subsequently migrated to Carolina, among them Sir John Yeamans, who became governor. These Barbadians contributed knowledge, lifestyle, and sugar economy, along with place names, and dialect to Carolina. For example, Gullah, the dialect of the Carolina coast and islands, resembles Barbadian dialect. After the nineteenth-century Emancipation, Barbadians became a part of the flow of West Indian immigrants into the United States.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first major wave of West Indian immigrants, including Barbadians, to the United States took place between 1901 and 1920, with a total of 230,972 entering the country. The majority were unskilled or semi-skilled laborers who came in search of economic opportunities. A substantial number were employed in low-paying service occupations and menial jobs that nonetheless offered higher wages than they could earn at home.

Between 1931 and 1950 West Indian immigration to the United States declined, due partly to an immigration restriction law that imposed a quota system heavily weighted in favor of newcomers arriving from northern and western European countries. The Great Depression was another factor in

the drop in West Indian immigration, which reached a significant low in the 1930s.

A second wave began in the 1950s and peaked in the 1960s, when 470,213 immigrants arrived in the United States. More West Indians entered the United States during this decade than the total number that entered between 1891 and 1950. Between 1965 and 1976 a substantial number of immigrants from the Caribbean entered the United States, Barbados alone accounting for 17,400 of them. A large percentage of this wave of immigrants consisted of professional and technical workers forced to leave home because of limited economic opportunities in the Caribbean.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Most Barbadian immigrants have settled in the New York metropolitan area. *The 1990 Census of Population Report* shows that over 82 percent live in the Northeast, with over 62 percent in New York. More than 11 percent live in the South, approximately four percent live in the West, and almost two percent live in the Midwest. The five states with the highest Barbadian populations are New York, with 22,298; Massachusetts, with 3,393; Florida, with 1,770; New Jersey, with 1,678; and California, with 1,160. Unlike Chinese Americans or Italian Americans, Barbadians—or West Indians, for that matter—do not occupy small enclaves in the cities of America where they live. They instead tend to settle wherever they can find jobs or affordable housing, and they strive for upward mobility and opportunities to improve their lives.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Although Barbadian Americans do not necessarily choose to live in close proximity to fellow Barbadians, they share a bond no matter where they locate. That bond is their pride in, and loyalty to, Barbados—no matter how long they might live in America, they look to Barbados as home. They maintain their connection with Barbados by reading its newspapers, by keeping abreast of events at home, and by remaining actively involved in the politics of the island.

Barbadians have a culture that is uniquely their own. It might be described as Euro-African, although ten years after England outlawed the slave trade, only seven percent of emancipated Barbadians were African-born, significantly less than in most of the other British Caribbean colonies. Thus

the relative loss of much of the African culture perhaps accounts for the prominence of European culture on Barbados. Although vestiges of African dialects remain in the language, proverbs, tuk band, folk music, and foods such as *conkie* and *coucou*, there is a noticeable absence of African religions such as Voodoo and Shango, or Kele found on other Caribbean islands. Fewer words of African origin have become part of the Barbadian vocabulary than of those of other West Indian islands.

Barbadian Americans also maintain a number of organizations that help unite them. Chief of these are the Barbados Associations, which meet annually. In addition, Barbadians belong to cricket clubs, social clubs, student clubs, and professional organizations. Unfortunately, the social class differences upheld in Barbados have been transferred to America and affect these organizations. However, one event transcends all class barriers: the annual West Indian Carnival celebrated in some large American cities. The West Indian Carnival is a celebration of national costumes, food, drink, music, and dancing in the streets as well as an occasion when all class barriers are removed, at least for the moment.

Although Barbadian Americans fit well into mainstream American life and culture, they usually prefer to marry partners from Barbados. Second in choice is another West Indian, followed by an American of West Indian parentage or another foreign non-white. Most Barbadian-Americans raise their children with Barbadian values, such as respect for elders and concern for family members, especially siblings. Education is high on their list of priorities, and industry and responsibility follow close behind.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Barbadians have a variety of traditions that are handed down from generation to generation, especially by word of mouth. Many traditions may be traced to Africa or Europe. For example, one Barbadian custom that was influenced by English settlers is the belief that saying “rabbit rabbit” on the first day of every month will ensure good luck for that month. Many Barbadian beliefs, however, are rooted in the country’s own distinct culture. For example, a baby should be allowed to cry at times because crying is believed to help develop the voice. Children should not cry during the night though, because a duppy (ghost) might steal the infant’s voice, making it hoarse the next day. It is believed that first born children, or children born on Christmas day, are destined to be stupid.

There are also many customs regarding funerals. It is traditional to bury the dead without shoes so

that, when the duppy is walking around, it will not be heard. It is also considered unwise to enter a graveyard if one has a sore, as this will make it very difficult for the sore to heal. After returning home from a funeral, one should enter the house backwards to stop duppies from entering the house as well. Walking backwards is effective because once the duppy walks in your footsteps, it will be facing away from the door, and will be fooled into leaving. Opening an umbrella indoors is another method for inviting duppies into the house. Therefore, an umbrella should be placed unopened in a corner to dry.

CUISINE

The national dish of Barbados is *coucou* and flying fish. *Coucou* is a corn flour paste prepared exactly as it was done in some parts of Africa, where it was called *foo-foo*. Sometimes it is prepared with okra, which is allowed to boil into a slimy sauce. The corn flour is then added and stirred in, shaped into balls, and served with flying fish steamed in a rich gravy. Flying fish may also be fried in a batter or roasted.

Another traditional Barbadian meal is *conkie*, which is a delicacy in Ghana, where it is known as *kenkey*. *Conkie* is a form of bread made of Indian corn flour with sweet potato, pumpkin, and other ingredients. The dough is wrapped in the broad leaf of the banana plant, which is singed in boiling water and allowed to steam until cooked. Although *conkie* can be eaten at any time of the year, it is now eaten mainly at Independence time. Pepper-pot is another Barbadian specialty. It is a concoction of hot pepper, spice, sugar, cassareep, and salted meat, such as beef and/or pork, and is eaten with rice or another starch. This dish, too, originated in Ghana.

Another popular Barbadian dish is pudding and souse, traditionally a special Saturday meal. The intestines of the pig are meticulously cleaned and stuffed with such ingredients as sweet potatoes, pepper, and much seasoning and allowed to boil until cooked. Sometimes the blood of the pig is included in the ingredients. When this occurs, the dish is called black pudding. Souse is made from the head and feet of the pig pickled with breadfruit or sweet potatoes and cooked into a stew. It is usually served with the pudding.

DANCES

Barbados is an island rich in forms of entertainment; songs and dance are the chief forms of amusement. Some of Barbados’s traditional dance forms such as the Joe and Johnny dance no longer exist on the island, but the Maypole dance can still

be found there. Many modern dance groups, influenced to some extent by African culture, have sprung up across the island. Nightly entertainment at hotels and clubs consists of a floor show of limbo dancing, folk dance, and live bands. Many talented performers dressed in colorful costumes provide professional and enjoyable productions at local theaters. The Crop Over festival features costume bands, folk music, and calypso competitions. Barbadian Americans often return home for these festivities, and they carry on these traditions in America whenever they have the opportunity to do so.

HOLIDAYS

Barbadians refer to all of their holidays as “Bank Holidays.” These include New Year’s Day, January 1; Errol Barrow Day, January 21; Good Friday, late March or early April; Easter Monday; May Day, May 2; Whit Monday, usually in May; Kadooment Day, August 1; United Nations Day, October 3; Independence Day, November 30; Christmas Day, December 25; and Boxing Day, December 26. Many of these holidays are clearly religious holidays, influenced by the presence of the Anglican Church on the island. Good Friday is an especially important holiday in Barbados.

Until recently, almost everyone attended church services on Good Friday, which normally lasted from noon until three o’clock in the afternoon. All secular activities, such as card playing, dominoes, and swimming were avoided on that day. Women attending church wore black, white, or purple dresses as a sign of mourning for Christ’s crucifixion.

There are many beliefs associated with Good Friday. One tradition holds that if the bark of a certain kind of tree is cut at noon on that day, blood oozes from the tree; another holds that before sunrise animals can be seen kneeling in prayer. Still another tradition teaches that if one breaks a fresh egg into a glass of water at noon and sets the glass in the sun for awhile, the egg white will settle into a certain formation, such as a coffin, a ship, or a church steeple. Each of these shapes is a sign of major importance for the future of the one who broke the egg: A coffin signifies death; the ship means travel; and the church indicates upcoming marriage.

Perhaps one of the most festive celebrations in Barbados is Crop Over, which was most likely influenced by the Harvest Festival of the Anglican church and the Yam Festivals of West Africa. Historical evidence indicates that as early as 1798 a manager of Newton Plantation in Barbados held a dinner and dance for the slaves, in celebration of the completion of the sugar-cane harvest. It was

revived in 1973 as a civic festival.

Crop Over takes place during the last three weeks of June through the first week of July. The early portion of the festival is dominated by events in the rural areas: fairs, cane-cutting competitions, open-air concerts, “stick licking,” native dancing, and handicraft and art displays. On the first Saturday in July, the celebration moves to Bridgetown. Sunday is known as Cohobblepot, and is marked by various cultural events and the naming of the Crop Over Queen. The finale occurs on Monday, or Kadooment, during which there are great band competitions and a march from the National Stadium to the Garrison Savannah. There Barbadians burn an effigy of a man in a black coat and hat called Mr. Harding, which symbolizes the ending of hard times.

It is not practical for Barbadians living in America to observe many of these holidays, but Christmas and New Year’s, which are also holidays in America, are celebrated much the same way as they are in Barbados with overeating, drinking, dancing, and the exchange of gifts. Many Barbadian Americans return to Barbados for Crop Over.

PROVERBS

It is said that at one time a Barbadian hardly spoke a dozen sentences without speaking a proverb. Barbadians still, without conscious effort, decorate their speech with proverbs. A few examples of these appear below. They were preserved by G. Addison Forde in his work *De Mortar-Pestle: A Collection of Barbadian Proverbs*, 1987: Duh is more in de mortar dan de pestle; If crab don’ walk ‘bout, crab don’ get fat; Cockroach en’ had no right at hen party; De higher de monkey climb, de more ‘e show ‘e tail; Donkey en’ have no right in horse race; Don’ wait till de horse get out to shut de stable door; Play wid puppy an’ ‘e lick yuh mout.

LANGUAGE

Barbadians, known as “Bajans,” have a unique dialect, and it is said that no matter how many years a Bajan spends away from Barbados, he or she never loses the dialect, which is also called “Bajan.” The use of standard English depends to a great extent on the level of education of the speaker, but even many highly educated Bajans use certain colloquialisms that are not used by other speakers in the Caribbean. In ordinary social settings, Bajans prefer to speak Bajan, but when the occasion warrants it, they slip into a language that is more nearly standard English. There are also regional differences in

speech on the island. Especially noticeable is the difference in speech of those who live in the parishes of St. Lucy and St. Philip.

Bajan is a language much like the creole spoken in other areas of the Caribbean or in West Africa. Some creoles have an English base, while others have a French base, but each is a language. Some educators discourage the use of Bajan, but to discontinue its use is to rob Barbadians of a vital part of their cultural heritage. Even after spending many years abroad, Barbadian Americans continue to speak Bajan. Bajan has a distinctive accent whether spoken by white or black, or by educated or uneducated Barbadians. Among certain peculiarities of the language, pointed out by linguists, is the use of compounds that in standard English are redundant. Examples are “boar-hog,” meaning boar; “sparrow-bird,” meaning a sparrow; and “big-big,” meaning very large. Although there are fewer words of African origin in the language than in some of the other creoles, such words as *coucou*, *conkie*, *winnah*, and *backra* are definitely African in origin.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Like most West Indians, Barbadians are family oriented. Any disruption to the family affects all concerned. Typically, the father is head of the home—he is the “boss.” The roles of family members are clearly defined, and Barbadians follow them rigorously. There is man’s work, woman’s work, and children’s work. Even though both parents might work outside the home, the woman is responsible for all domestic chores such as cooking, grocery shopping, laundering, and keeping the family clean. Children’s chores include washing dishes, sweeping the house and yard, getting rid of garbage, and taking care of domestic animals. The father brings home the money to feed and keep the family, and he is often revered by the rest of the family.

The extended family is also a vital part of family life. Often, grandparents live in the home with their children and grandchildren. Aunts, uncles, and cousins, along with godparents and even close friends, may make up a family unit. Any disruptions, problems, or family changes affect all the members of the family. For example, a family member’s departure because of marriage, a family feud, or to travel abroad is an occasion of tremendous concern for everyone.

Barbadians who immigrate to America do so for social, political, educational, or economic reasons. All come “to better themselves.” Most Barbadian Americans leave behind spouses and/or chil-

dren with promises to send for them as soon as possible. The separation puts a tremendous emotional strain on the family members, especially children who are often left behind with grandparents, other family members, or friends. Often it is the male head of the home who precedes the family, and when he arrives, he is faced with a reality that falls short of his expectations. The job he thought he would get evades him, and he must settle for one far below his abilities and qualifications, which places him in a lower wage bracket. Sometimes he finds himself doing menial jobs among disgruntled and even racist coworkers. He may become disillusioned and humiliated, and his self-esteem may sink to an extremely low level. Worst of all, the anticipated reunion of the family, instead of taking place as soon as possible, may have to be postponed indefinitely because of lack of funds and other problems. Despite these hardships, the Barbadian typically does not seek public assistance. He works hard to achieve his goal, and eventually, he is able to have his family join him. The younger members quickly adapt to their new environment and American lifestyles, while the older members maintain the values of home.

Many Barbadian Americans, however, arrive professionally and technically prepared for the job market. Others enter trade-schools, colleges, universities, and professional schools to be trained, and afterwards fill many professional and technical positions in this country. Some become lawyers, physicians, university professors, accountants, nurses, and professional counselors. They make outstanding contributions to American life and culture. Barbadian Americans, like other West Indians, are friendly people. They will go out of their way to render assistance to others. They interact well with such minorities as Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Central Americans, South Americans, Asians, and Europeans. On the whole, they integrate well into mainstream American society.

WEDDINGS

Most weddings in Barbados are performed in a church. Weddings are always held on Saturday because it is considered bad luck to get married on Friday. Traditionally, the bride wears a white gown and a veil. The groom, who arrives before the bride, sits in the front of the church with his best man. He is not supposed to look back until the bride arrives inside the church, at which time he stands and waits until she arrives at his side. A minister then performs the ceremony, which varies according to the wishes of the couple or the status of the family. At the end of the ceremony, the wedding party

leaves the church and drives in a procession to the reception hall or house, honking their horns as they drive along. The uninvited guests usually leave their businesses and hang around the church or on the side of the road to see the bride. Several superstitions are associated with marriage. The bride must never make her own wedding dress, and it should remain unfinished until the day of the wedding; the gown's finishing touches should be done while the bride is dressing for the wedding. It is bad luck if the bridegroom sees the wedding dress before the day of the wedding; if it rains on the day of the wedding (especially if the bride gets wet); or if a cat or a dog eats any of the wedding cake.

“I left Barbados because the jobs were scarce. I decided to take a chance and come to this new country. There were a lot of us from the West Indies. We heard this was a good, new country where you had the opportunity to better your circumstances.

Lyle Small in 1921, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

RELIGION

Because there is no record of the religion of the first settlers on Barbados, the Amerindians, the first documented religion on the island was the Anglican church. It is almost certain that the early slaves brought their religions from Africa to the island, but the absence of records deprives us of this information. At the time of settlement of Barbados by the English, Anglicanism was the state religion in England. It is not surprising that this religion was brought to the island and became the dominant church in Barbados for many years. The island was divided into 11 parishes in the seventeenth century, and today these parishes still exist. There is a church in each parish, along with other meeting places. Until 1969 the church was fully endowed and established by the government, and it enjoyed the privileges of a state church, with its bishops and clergy paid from general tax receipts.

In the seventeenth century, Irish indentured servants brought Roman Catholicism to Barbados, and Jews and Quakers were among other religious groups that also arrived on the island, followed by Moravians and Methodists in the late eighteenth century. In the late nineteenth century the Christian Mission and other revivalist religions appeared, and today there are over 100 Christian religions as well as Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism in Barbados.

Anglicanism has lost much of its religious influence, although it still claims 70 percent of the population, most of whom are nominal members. Barbadians who emigrate do not leave their religion behind them.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Like most immigrants, Barbadian Americans come to America to “better themselves” economically. At home, economic opportunities do not keep pace with population growth, and salaries and wages are deplorably low. Over 82 percent settle in the Northeast region of the United States, 76 percent in New York state alone. Some find occupation in professional and technical fields, but the vast majority work as clerical workers, operators, craftsmen, foremen, sales workers, private household workers, service workers, managers, officials, foremen, and laborers; a very few work as farm managers and laborers. To enter the job market, many accept low-paying jobs they would consider beneath them at home. Except for the professional and technical workers, Barbadians' income is usually much lower than that of many other immigrant groups. Nevertheless, they make much more than they would at home. Because they believe in upward mobility, many Barbadians attend technical and professional schools and colleges, and they quickly qualify themselves for better paying jobs.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Unlike most of the other Caribbean islands settled by Britain, for almost 350 years Barbados experienced unbroken British colonial rule. The country's government is structured after the British Parliament. The Barbadian Parliament consists of a Senate and a House of Assembly. Twenty-one senators are appointed by the Governor-general (the Queen's representative), 12 on the advice of the prime minister, two recommended by the opposition, and seven at the governor's discretion. In the House of Assembly there are a speaker and 27 members who are elected by the people. The term of office is five years. The main political parties in Barbados are the Democratic Labor Party, Barbados Labor Party, and the National Democratic Party.

Associated with Barbados politics are the names of such leaders as Sir Grantley Herbert Adams (1898-1971), first premier of Barbados and Prime Minister of the Federation of the Indies; and Errol Walton Barrow (1920-1987), Premier and first

prime minister of Barbados. These men influenced the politics of the island. In 1954, when a ministerial system of government was introduced, Adams became the first premier of Barbados, and the island gained internal self-government. On November 30, 1966, under Barrow, Barbados became an independent nation and a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Barbadians have a passion for politics, especially Barbados politics. At home or abroad, two very important topics of discussion in which the vast majority of Barbadians engage are politics and cricket. It seems that the average Barbadian is more politically literate and involved than other West Indians. Their passionate love for their country is no doubt a major factor in their political involvement. Because of their pride in, and attachment to, their homeland, Barbadian Americans remain actively involved in the politics of Barbados. Many zealously continue to monitor changes and developments in government, and to support financially their favorite parties at home while demonstrating a passive interest in American politics.

RELATIONS WITH BARBADOS

Barbadian Americans passionately love their homeland. Barbadians never truly leave home and they keep abreast of developments there by purchasing American editions of Barbadian newspapers or by having copies mailed to them from Barbados. They actively correspond with family and friends at home who inform them of the latest events on the island. They also maintain ties with relatives and friends, many of whom they financially assist, and whenever possible, they spend vacations in Barbados.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACTIVISM

Prince Hall (1735?-1807) was an important black leader in the eighteenth century. Accounts of his birth, parentage, early life, and career vary, but it is widely accepted that Hall was born in Bridgetown, Barbados, in about 1735 to an English man and a woman of African descent, and that he came to America in 1765. Prince Hall was both an abolitionist and a Masonic organizer. Because of his organizing skill, a charter for the establishment of a lodge of American Negroes was issued on April 29, 1787, authorizing the organization in Boston of African Lodge No. 459, a "regular Lodge of Free and accepted Masons, under the title or denomination

of the African Lodge," with Prince Hall as master. Prince Hall was also an abolitionist and spokesman. He was one of eight Masons who signed a petition on January 13, 1777, requesting the Massachusetts state legislature to abolish slavery and declaring it as incompatible with the cause of American independence. He was later successful in urging Massachusetts to end its participation in the slave trade. He established the first school for colored children in his home in Boston in 1800. Hall ranks among the most significant black leaders in his day.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

As early as the 1670s, Barbadians have contributed to American government. Many prominent Barbadians immigrated to Carolina during that decade, among them was Sir John Yeamans, who became governor of the colony that is known today as South Carolina.

In the twentieth century, Shirley Chisholm, born in 1924 to Barbadian parents, became a politician of great stature in America. Although Chisholm was born in Brooklyn, New York, she spent the first ten years of her life in Barbados, where she received much of her primary education under the strict eye of her maternal grandmother. She gave credit for her later educational success to the well-rounded early training she received in Barbados. In 1964 Chisholm ran for the New York State Assembly and won the election. She fought for rights and educational opportunities for women, blacks, and the poor. She served in the State Assembly until 1968, then she ran for the United States Congress. Chisholm won the election to the U.S. House of Representatives and became the first black woman ever to be elected to the House, where she served with distinction from 1969 to 1982. In 1972 Chisholm made an unprecedented bid for the Presidential nomination of the Democratic party. She was the first black and first woman to run for the presidency. She is also the founder of the chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women.

JOURNALISM

Robert Clyde Maynard (1937-1993), newspaper editor and publisher, was the son of Barbadian parents who immigrated to the United States in 1919. Robert was born in Brooklyn, New York, where he grew up in the Bedford-Styvesant section. Although his parents insisted on sound study habits and strong work ethic, Maynard dropped out of high school. Nevertheless, at an early age, he developed an interest in writing, which he pursued. After a

series of jobs with various newspapers, he became the first black person in the United States to direct editorial operations for a major daily newspaper in 1979, when the Gannett Company appointed him editor of the *Oakland Tribune*. As editor, Maynard also launched a well-received morning edition of the paper. In 1983 Maynard bought the Oakland Tribune, Inc. from Gannett, becoming the first black person in the United States to own a controlling interest in a general-circulation city daily, and the first big-city editor of any race in recent times to buy out his paper. His contributions to the field of journalism in America place him in the ranks of outstanding Americans.

LITERATURE

Paule Marshall, daughter of Barbadian parents, occupies a prominent place in black literature. Shortly after the First World War, Paule Marshall's parents migrated from Barbados to Brooklyn, New York, where Paule was born in 1929. After graduating from college, she became a writer. Marshall's writing combines her West Indian and Afro-American heritages. Her novel, *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, is about a Barbadian girl growing up in Brooklyn. Much of her work deals with life in Barbados where, as a child, she spent time with her grandmother.

MEDIA

PRINT

Carib News.

In-depth weekly newspaper published for English-speaking Caribbean readers living in America.

Contact: Carl Rodney, Editor.

Address: 15 West 39th Street, 13th Floor, New York, New York 10018.

Telephone: (212) 944-1991.

RADIO

Barbadian Americans do not own radio stations in America, but a few stations broadcast programs targeted toward English-speaking Caribbean audiences.

WLIB-AM (1250).

Located in New York City, this station broadcasts music, sports, and news from the Caribbean on Fridays and Saturdays from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Telephone: (212) 447-1000.

WNJR-AM (1430).

Located in Newark, New Jersey, this station broadcasts music, news, sports, and interviews with well-known Caribbean personalities. Focuses on Caribbean audiences, Saturday 9 a.m. to 12 noon.

Contact: Randy Dopwell.

Address: One Riverfront Plaza, Suite 345, North Newark, New Jersey 07102.

Telephone: (201) 642-8000.

WNWK-FM (105.9).

Also in Newark, New Jersey, WNWK broadcasts Reggae music, news, sports, and educational shows targeted to Caribbean audiences in the tristate area of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, 5 p.m. to midnight, Monday through Friday.

Contact: Emil Antonoff.

Address: One Riverfront Plaza, Suite 345, North Newark, New Jersey 07102.

Telephone: (212) 966-1059.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Barbadian Americans maintain a limited number of local organizations in the larger cities where they live, and a national Barbados Association. Cricket is the national game of Barbados, hence in many communities in America cricket clubs compete on a friendly basis. There are also professional, social, and educational clubs organized by various groups. The Barbados Association has annual activities where Barbadians celebrate their Bajan heritage.

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Basques recognize a person's right to claim Basque ethnicity if he or she has only one Basque ancestor, and encourage Basques scattered throughout the country to participate actively in the many associations and festivals that have sprung up since the 1960s.

BASQUE AMERICANS

by Elizabeth Shostak

OVERVIEW

The Basque Country is not an independent state but a region in the western Pyrenees that straddles the border between France and Spain. Measuring only about 100 miles from end to end, Basque Country is about the size of Maryland and borders the Bay of Biscay to the north, France to the northeast, and Spain to the south and west. In Spain, where six-sevenths of its territory lies, the Basque Country was established as an “autonomous community” in 1979. The Basque Country in Spain consists of the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, Navarre, and Vizcaya (Bizkaia). Its capital is Vitoria (Gasteiz), and other principal cities include San Sebastian and Bilbao. In France, the Basque Country comprises the regions of Labourd, Basse Navarre, and Soule. It is estimated that the Basque Country has 2.5 to 3 million inhabitants, of which only about 200,000 are French nationals. Much of the Basque Country is composed of rugged mountains, and the terrain is suitable for intensive cultivation on small farms. Parts of the Basque Country have also become heavily industrialized.

HISTORY

Though the Basques are perhaps the oldest civilization on the European continent, their precise origin remains unknown. The Basques lived in the Pyrenees before the arrival of Indo-European tribes

during the second millennium B.C. Unlike other groups on the Iberian peninsula, they were not conquered by the Moors; Banu Quasi, however, who founded the Basque kingdom of Navarre in 824 A.D., was a convert to Islam. Evidence shows that the Basques also successfully defended themselves against invasions from earlier groups, including the Visigoths, the Franks, and the Normans. Navarre was the first and only Basque political state, and during the reign of King Santxo the Great (999-1035) many Basque-speaking regions were unified under its jurisdiction. The kingdom withstood many challenges and was able to maintain independence for 1,200 years. In 1512, however, Castilian (Spanish) forces conquered and occupied the kingdom. The northern section of the region was ceded to France, and the rest was incorporated into Spanish territory.

Because Arab invaders did not vanquish the Basques, the Spanish Crown considered them *hidalgos*, or noblemen. This status allowed individuals of relatively modest backgrounds to find powerful positions within civic and church administrations. During the years when Spain concentrated on building colonies in the New World, several of the Basque elite were given important government posts in Latin America. In this way, a tradition of emigration was established among the Basques. In both France and Spain, the Basques enjoyed a large degree of political autonomy as well as economic and military privileges, which were codified in *fueros*, bodies of traditional Basque law.

MODERN ERA

By the late eighteenth century, political turmoil in France and in Spain took its toll among the Basques. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic campaigns brought invading armies to Basque territory in France; soon thereafter, during the 1830s, the Basques in Spain supported the conservative pretender to the Spanish throne, Don Carlos, whose cause was brutally defeated. His supporters were forced to flee the country, and many Basques made their way to Spanish colonies in America. When the Basques supported the Carlist rebellion of the 1870s, the Spanish government retaliated by abolishing the *fueros*.

The creation of the Spanish Republic in 1931 caused split loyalties in the Basque Country. The regions of Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya, and Alava supported the republic, hoping that the government would grant them autonomous status. Navarre however, vigorously opposed the republic. The ensuing civil war attracted international attention. The Nazi

bombing of the Vizcayan city of Guernica, memorialized in a painting of that name by Picasso, was seen as a brutal suppression of Basque nationalist hopes. At the war's end in 1937, many Basques went into exile. When dictator Francisco Franco assumed power, his government instituted harsh anti-Basque policies, most notoriously the suppression of the Basque language.

When Franco's rule ended in the 1970s and the liberal Spanish monarchy was established, Basques pushed for self-governing status. The statute of autonomy recognized the Basque Country as an autonomous community in 1979, but radical Basque factions were not satisfied. The military wing of the *Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna* ("Basque Homeland and Liberty") is thought to be responsible for several bombings and other terrorist activities intended to publicize the Basques' demands for complete political independence.

THE FIRST BASQUES IN AMERICA

Renowned as seafarers, Basque fishermen and sailors had probably reached American waters well before the voyage of Columbus in 1492. They were among the first Europeans to hunt whales off the northeastern coast of North America. When Columbus recruited his sailing crew, Basques made up the largest ethnic group on board, and they continued to participate in voyages across the Atlantic during the earliest years of European exploration of the continent. A few educated Basques held administrative posts in Spanish California, and several of the Spanish priests who founded missions there in the late 1500s were Basques. But large-scale immigration to the United States did not begin until the late 1800s.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The California Gold Rush brought the first waves of Basque immigrants to the United States, but most of these adventurers did not come directly from Europe. They were Basques who had immigrated earlier to Spanish colonies in South America. During the period of Spanish colonization, Basques from Spain had often taken administrative posts overseas. Political exiles also found their way to South America. In the 1820s, Basque immigrants were welcomed in Argentina, where they were able to get unused rangeland on which to raise sheep. Here, they developed the ranching and herding skills that they eventually brought to North America.

When gold was discovered in California in 1848, Basques in South America were well-posi-

tioned to take advantage of the opportunity. They could sail quickly to California, arriving well in advance of Europeans or even residents of America's eastern regions. Many European-born Basques who were living in South America came to California by this route. Large numbers of French Basques also came directly from Europe, sailing around the South American continent to San Francisco. Though it is difficult to determine the precise number of Basques who came to the United States during the Gold Rush, since many were counted as South Americans, it is evident that at least several hundred entered the country in 1848.

“We were in the foothills of the Basque country, but night had fallen and everything about us was lost in obscurity. Yet, as fleeting as glimpses out of memory, scenes that told us where we were, caught and hung momentarily in the passing headlights of our car, and then were gone in the darkness. There was a little boy in a beret and short trousers, and under his arm a loaf of bread that seemed as long as he was. There was a crude, wooden cart pulled by two oxen, whose nodding heads kept rhythm with the gay fringes on their horns. There was a girl in a scarf and bright peasant dress, visiting with her young man at the juncture of a country lane, whose eyes our lights brushed in passing, and whose laughter tinkled after us in the night like tiny bells.”

Robert Laxalt, *Sweet Promised Land*, (Harper & Brothers Publishing, New York, 1957).

Basque immigrants were not successful with mining and soon migrated from the gold fields to the ranchlands of southern California. Familiar with the South American style of ranching, the Basques quickly began to establish themselves in the area as herders. Because herding was an isolating activity, the job attracted single men, primarily between the ages of 16 and 30; Basque women were almost nonexistent in the United States until these men became financially established and sent for wives back in Europe. As Basques entered the ranching business, they began to raise sheep, which proved more resilient than cattle to drought and flooding. The type of ranching Basques had learned in South America, transhumance, also proved successful. It required sheep to be moved across a large open area according to seasonal needs. The animals wintered in lowland areas that the Basques either leased or purchased, and they summered in the high grazing lands of the Sierra Nevada mountains. Conditions in the west proved quite suitable for tran-

shumance. Between 1869 and 1870, the number of sheep in Los Angeles County tripled, while the number of cattle decreased by 71 percent.

As their operations expanded, Basques in the United States began to send back to Europe for additional helpers. This pattern became so common that, according to California Basque herder Louis Irigaray in his memoir *A Shepherd Watches, a Shepherd Sings*, Basques in Europe expected one son to enter the priesthood, one to learn local artisan skills, and one to go to America to earn money and then return. The pattern of recruitment continued until strict immigration laws in 1924 limited the annual quota of Spanish nationals to a mere 131; these regulations effectively stopped any additional immigration from the Basque Country. After World War II, however, the situation changed. Shepherders had become so scarce that Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada sponsored legislation to exempt European herders from immigration quotas. Within about the next decade, more than 5,000 European Basques applied for jobs on American ranches. After 1970, however, Basque immigration slowed significantly in the wake of improved economic conditions in the Basque Country.

Because they intermarried and because many of the first Basque immigrants were counted as “Chileans,” an umbrella term for all South Americans, it is difficult to determine the precise number of Basque Americans in the United States by the end of the twentieth century. In U.S. Census data from 1990, only 47,956 U. S. residents identified themselves as of Basque ethnicity, though this number may be lower than the actual population. Another estimate suggests a range of between 50,000 and 100,000. By the 1990s, it was thought that American immigration to the Basque Country had surpassed Basque immigration to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Los Angeles became the center of the Basque community in California in the 1840s and remained its largest settlement through the late 1800s. By 1886, about 2,000 Basques lived in Los Angeles, and the city's downtown area had a distinct Basque district, complete with Basque boardinghouses and handball courts. Many southern California place names are of Basque origin. As Basques increased their herds, however, the California ranges became crowded. By 1870, Basques began to spread into northern California and also Nevada, where gold and silver strikes had created a booming economy and an increased demand for sheep to feed the new miners. During the 1890s, Basques moved into Oregon and

southern Idaho. By 1910, Basques had spread into all the open-range areas of the West.

The success Basque immigrants found in sheep-herding caused significant conflict, however, with the area's settled ranchers, especially cattle ranchers. At the time, grazing was permitted on public lands on a first-come basis, but ranchers who owned private holdings wanted to use adjacent public ranges as their own exclusive property. These settled ranchers resented the presence of itinerant Basque sheepherders and began harassing them and spreading anti-Basque sentiment. When the national forest system was created, most of the mountain rangeland in the West became part of that system. Though some grazing was still permitted, rights were denied to aliens and to herders who did not own ranch property—a practice that, in effect, targeted Basques. In 1934, the Taylor Grazing Act placed almost all remaining public rangeland under federal control, with the same grazing restrictions. This law effectively ended itinerant herding, and, coming at the height of the Great Depression, caused severe economic hardship to the Basque community. As a result, many Basque shepherds returned to Europe. Those who had been able to buy land, however, remained in the United States and sometimes prospered.

Though the Taylor Grazing Act damaged the livelihood of Basque Americans, it also ended the intense competition for rangeland, which improved attitudes toward Basque herders. By the mid-twentieth century, Basque sheepherders had become extremely scarce, since older generations were dying and new immigration from Europe was prohibited by harsh quotas. As a consequence, the sheep industry suffered, and by the World War II era the shortage of herders became so acute that federal legislation was enacted to encourage new immigration of sheepherders from the Basque Country. This act prompted the arrival of more than 5,000 new immigrants between 1957 and 1970. By the late twentieth century, however, the American sheep industry was in serious decline, decreasing the need for new immigrants to take herding jobs. Basques often remained in the business, however, as ranch owners and managers.

Although most Basque immigrants are found in the western parts of the country, some communities were established on the east coast. When the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, Basques from Europe did not have to sail all the way around South America to reach California. They could make the much shorter ocean journey to New York City, and then take the train from there to the western states. Though many did in fact follow this

plan, some remained in the city and established a small but close-knit Basque community there. Small Basque communities also sprang up in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Washington, D.C., and Florida.

Immigration patterns among the Basques reflected their regional distinctions in Europe. Those who settled in California, central Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana were generally from France or Navarre, while those who moved to northern Nevada, Idaho, and Oregon came from the Spanish province of Vizcaya. These groups have tended to remain relatively separate in the United States.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Basques who worked as sheepherders experienced a lonely life. They spent long months alone on the range, moving from place to place. When they returned to the towns at the end of the season, they rented rooms at Basque boardinghouses, known as *ostatuak* or *hotelak*, where they could socialize with their countrymen, speak their native language, and enjoy Basque food and drink. These boardinghouses served an essential role in maintaining Basque culture among a group who were scattered over a wide geographic area. They also became places where Basque men could meet potential wives among the young women recruited from the Basque Country to work as boardinghouse maids. Other men, once they were financially established, sent back to Europe for their sweethearts, who joined them in the United States. In this way, Basque American families maintained a strong ethnic identity through the first generation. Often, other young male relatives from the Basque Country came to help with the herds, further cementing family bonds.

The conflict between established ranchers and itinerant Basque sheepherders created some prejudice toward Basque immigrants and caused economic and political discrimination against them. Some families recall hearing epithets like “dirty black Basco” or “tramp.” Even worse was the physical intimidation they suffered because of landed interests during the height of the western range wars, during which their camps were sometimes vandalized and their herds killed. Yet Basques were also respected as hard workers who were frugal with their money and conservative in their politics. And, as Caucasians, Basques did not suffer hostility based on race. After federal legislation ended competition for grazing rights, anti-Basque sentiment began to disappear. By the later decades of the twentieth cen-

These young Basque American children are dressed traditionally to perform at a town celebration.



ture, the Basque shepherd had acquired a highly romantic image—the opposite of the negative stereotype from earlier years.

Basque immigrants tended to remain clannish at first, socializing with other Basques—often from the same villages in Europe—and patronizing Basque businesses. However, by the second and third generations, this pattern began to change. Inter-marriage with other ethnic groups became more common, and many parents urged their children to learn English—to the extent that, by 1970, only about 8,000 Basque Americans knew their ancestral language. In addition, Basques assimilated well because, unlike some immigrant groups, Basque Americans were scattered over a vast land area and never established an ethnic majority in any town or even county. It was imperative, therefore, Basques immigrants did business with and live among an ethnically different majority. At the same time, it is possible that their relatively small numbers motivated Basque Americans to emphasize their ethnic traditions more consciously than larger immigrant groups have done. The Basques recognize a person's right to claim Basque ethnicity if he or she has only one Basque ancestor and encourage Basques scattered throughout the country to participate actively in the many associations and festivals that have sprung up since the 1960s.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The Basque identity is based on a deeply held sense of the Basques' distinctness from other cultures.

Their language, for example, includes many negative terms for non-Basques. Though Basques accepted Christianity, they maintained belief in some supernatural creatures, including *Tartaro*, a one-eyed giant who is usually outwitted by human beings. Basques also tell stories of the *Basa-Jaum* and his wife, *Basa-Andre*, wild forest creatures who are sometimes depicted as mischievous beings, but who at other times are described as an ogre and a witch. Basque fairies are called *Laminak* and, like fairies in Celtic legend, they supposedly live underground. Basque folktales often mention *astiya* (witches), sorcerers, magicians, and the Black Sabbath.

Elaborate masquerades or folk plays, part dance and part theater, are an ancient part of Basque culture. Scholars have found links between these events and Greek drama, as well as Medieval miracle and mystery plays. Many come from the romances of Charlemagne and others are taken from Biblical or classical subjects. Characters often include such villains as devils, infidels, demons, Turks, and sometimes Englishmen, and the action emphasizes the struggle between good and evil. The forces of good always prevail. Actors dress in colorful costumes and incorporate song, dance, and exaggerated gestures into their performances. Often, a chorus plays an important part. Masquerades have served as the basis for some of the more intricate dances performed by Basque American dance troupes.

PROVERBS

Ancient Basque proverbs reflect peasant values of hard work and shrewd judgment: "God is a good worker, but He loves to be helped," or "A cheap donkey will eat much straw." The Basque love of home and independence can be found in sayings such as "Heavy is the hand of foreigners" and "A foreign land is a land of wolves." In a more humorous vein, the Basques say, "Old bachelors and old maids are either too good or too bad," "Gold, women, and linen should be chosen by daylight," and "Satisfy the dog with a bone and a woman with a lie." About wealth, they wonder, "Is there any river with clear water?" meaning "Is there any wealth that is honestly obtained?" Some have observed a cynical note in such sayings as "A golden key will unlock any door," or "Marriage of love, life of sadness."

CUISINE

Basque cuisine, based on simple peasant dishes made with fresh ingredients, is admired as one of the most delicious in Europe. Food is a serious and

pleasurable thing for the Basques, who emphasize fresh, home-grown ingredients and simple preparation. Salt-cod (*bacalao*) and beans are staple ingredients of the Basque Country table, and olive oil, garlic, tomatoes, and peppers are often used. Farmers traditionally make their own cheese from sheep's milk and also mill their own cider (*sidrería*). Snacks or appetizers (*tapas*) are popular, as are the spicy sausages known as *txistorras*. *Chorizo* sausage is also commonly served. Tuna, anchovies, and sardines are also popular. When meat is served at the Basque table, it is usually lamb or sometimes ham. Main dishes are customarily accompanied by a simple salad, often made with vegetables picked minutes before from the household garden, and are almost always served with the region's Rioja wines. Festive dishes include *pastel vasco* or *gâteau basque*, a custard-filled cake essential for any celebration. Another special dessert is *intzaursala*, a creamy dish made with ground walnuts boiled with water and sugar and then cooked with milk.

According to María José Sevilla in *Life and Food in the Basque Country*, the cuisine enjoyed by Basques in France differs from that among Basques in Spain. French Basques live farther inland, and their food is based more on meat than on fish. Similarly, Basques in the United States have had to adapt their cooking to ingredients readily available in the western areas of the country. Lamb replaced fish as a food staple for Basque herders and ranchers, and beans and potatoes were also regularly cooked. Even during his lonely months out on the range, the Basque herder would always cook himself a hearty meal—often, a lamb stew with potatoes and beans—and consume it with sourdough bread and plenty of robust red wine. Herders continued this practice even during the Prohibition years, when the sale of alcohol was outlawed in the United States. Somehow, Basques made sure that red wine was always available. In some cases, they even insisted that their employment contract include a quota of wine as part of their regular supplies.

Barbecues have been very popular among Basque Americans; home-made *chorizo* and red wines are plentiful at these events. Because Basque boardinghouses served dinners to large numbers of residents, this “family style” dining around a large table came to be considered a Basque tradition—although it is one that evolved in response to American conditions, and is not customary in Europe. Although Basque Americans make up a very small percentage of the U.S. population, Basque restaurants are plentiful in several areas of the country. Throughout the western states, both large and small cities boast Basque restaurants, which are patronized not only by customers of

Basque ancestry but also by the larger American population.

MUSIC

Music is extremely important in Basque culture. Old songs are sung at festivals, and summer music camps in the United States enable children to learn traditional instruments such as the *txistu* (flute) and the tambourine. Basque musicians also play the violin and accordion. Though Basque musicians are very skilled, their tradition emphasizes song more than instrumental accompaniment. Central to Basque musical culture are the *Bertsolariak*, poets who compete in festivals by improvising songs on any subject. Though *Bertsolari* competitions are common at Basque American gatherings, Nancy Zubiri points out in *A Travel Guide to Basque America* that all the *Bertsolariak* in the United States by the 1990s were from the Basque Country, and not American-born. The linguistic fluency required by the art form, specialists believe, has been almost impossible to acquire in the United States.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Perhaps the most recognizable piece of traditional Basque attire is the *txapella*, or beret, worn by many Basque men as they go about their daily business or socialize. It is also an essential part of ceremonial costumes. Male dancers typically wear white pants and shirts, with a red *geriko* (sash) around their waists. Sometimes they wear long white stockings with elaborate red lacings up to the knee, and a pair of bells just below the knee to ward off evil spirits. They wear white shoes with red laces. Some dance costumes include a black vest, and the men always wear the *txapella*. Women dancers also wear white stockings with elaborate lacings. Their blouses are white, and their full skirts are sometimes green (more common among Basques of French origin) and sometimes red (among Basques of Spanish origin). The women wear black vests, and white head scarves. On their feet they wear *abarkak*, or leather shoes.

DANCES AND SONGS

Dance is a central and very colorful part of Basque life. According to the southern California Basque dance troupe *Gauden Bat*, there are over 400 different Basque folk dances, many of which are associated with particular regions. Only men perform traditional or ritual dances, while both men and women perform recreational dances, or *jota*. Many of the most celebrated Basque folk dances involve arm

There is a large, active community of Basque Americans in Boise, Idaho. This couple is participating in a festival.



movements with sticks, swords, or hoops and demand great agility. John Yursa, an expert in Basque culture, has emphasized the influence of Basque dances on other traditions, pointing out that many steps in modern ballet may have derived from Basque folk dances.

Basque Americans began organizing dance festivals as early as the 1930s, and these festivals have expanded since the 1960s. The Oinkari Basque Dancers of Idaho, wncorporated in 1964, have toured extensively at Basque American cultural events as well as at such venues as the World's Fair exhibitions (1962, 1964, 1971, and 1974) and the Wolf Trap Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. The Oinkari Basque Dancers list an extensive repertoire that includes both secular and religious dances. One of their most colorful dances is from the *Zuberoa'ko Maskarada*, or Zuberoan masquerades. Scholars believe that it originated as part of an ancient fertility rite. Dancers come forward one by one and perform individual steps around a wine glass, finally stepping onto it and then leaping away. Another thrilling dance is the *Amaia'ko Ezpata Dantza*, the sword dance of *Amaia*, based on the history of the Basques in the seventh century. Eighteen men, formed to represent two armies, perform the piece, which involves high kicks and spinning twists.

In the *Xemein'go Dantza*, a dance symbolizing the struggle between good and evil, a dozen sword-bearing men dance in a circle around their leader, who is believed to represent St. Michael, the archangel. They then hoist him onto their swords and lift him above their heads, as two men dance in

front. The *Kaxarranka*, a dance from the fishing town of Lekeitio, is performed to honor St. Peter, patron saint of fishermen. In this dance, six to eight men carry a large arch on which a man dances high above their heads. The procession winds through the town, stopping at designated areas. The *Donibane*, based on a traditional Basque dance, was adapted by Jon Onatibia. It is usually performed at night around an open fire and is associated with the feast of St. John. The *Euzkadi*, of pagan origin, is danced around a huge bonfire meant to scare away evil spirits.

Songs are also integral to Basque cultural functions. Among the best known are "*Gernika'ko Arbol*," which honors the Tree of Gernika, a symbol of Basque democracy, and "*Boga, Boga*," which describes the difficult life of fishermen. "*Aitoren Ixkuntz Zarra*" tells of the beauties of the Basque language and urges the Basque people to speak their native tongue. Indeed, Basque choirs have been organized in the United States as a means of preserving the Basque language and culture. The *Anaiak Danok* ("we are all brothers") performed in Boise, Idaho, during the 1970s. It later became the Biotzetik Basque Choir.

HOLIDAYS

The biggest holiday among Basques is the feast of their patron saint, Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order. It is celebrated on the last weekend in July, and includes a mass and picnic, music, dancing, and sports contests. Basque Americans in dif-

ferent states also organize specific festivities throughout the year. In Boise, they have held an annual Shepherders' Ball since 1929. Basque Americans have also held several *jaialdi*, or international festivals, at which athletes, musicians, and dancers from the Basque Country and the United States have performed.

HEALTH ISSUES

Though there have been no health or psychological issues identified as specific to Basque Americans, Basques do have distinct physiological traits. Of all European peoples, Basques have the highest rate of blood type O and the lowest incidence of blood type B. They also have the highest rate in the world of Rh negative blood factor.

LANGUAGE

The Basque language, *Euskara* (also spelled *Euskera*) has ancient origins that have remained obscure. Linguists have been unable to establish a relationship between the Basque language and any other known language groups. Although some faint similarities with Finnish, Georgian, and Quechua have been found, these remain inconclusive. The fact that several Basque words for tools derive from the root word for "stone" has led specialists to suggest that the language is among the most ancient in Europe, and may link Basque culture to the prehistoric people who created the Lascaux cave paintings.

Basque is considered a particularly difficult language to learn. Basques joke that the devil himself spent years trying to learn the language in order to be able to tempt the Basque people, but after seven years had mastered only two words, *ez* and *bai* (no and yes). The basic structure of *Euskara* uses agglutination, or the practice of adding prefixes or suffixes to words to create different meanings. Though *Euskara* shows influences from Celtic and Iberian languages as well as from Latin, it has remained largely unchanged for centuries. It has not, however, enjoyed a strong literary tradition. Because of Latin's primacy during the Middle Ages, works in *Euskara* were not transcribed in writing; instead, the language was passed down orally. The first printed book in *Euskara* did not appear until 1545. Some scholars consider this a central reason that the Basque did not produce a particularly rich literature.

Several regional dialects of Basque include *Guipuzcoan*, *Iparralde*, *Alto Navarro Septentrional*, *Alto Navarro Meridional*, *Biscayan*, and *Anvala*.

Souletin, spoken by Basques in France, is the dialect most distinct from the others. Because this proliferation of dialects was a hindrance to greater Basque unity in Europe, a unified Basque language known as *Batua* was developed. Verb forms in *Batua* were modeled on the Guipuzcoan and Iparralde dialects. *Batua* also standardized spelling. It has not, however, been introduced to the United States, where Basque speakers continue to use the dialects they inherited from their immigrant ancestors.

One estimate from the late 1990s suggests that Basque is spoken by close to a million people in the Basque Country, but other accounts place the number around 700,000. About 8,100 people in the United States count themselves as *Euskaldunak*, or Basque speakers. The language was suppressed in Spain during Franco's dictatorship, but interest in preserving *Euskara* has increased since the 1960s.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

When Basque Americans get together, they often exclaim "Zapiak Bat!" This expression means "The seven are one," and refers to the seven provinces that comprise the Basque Country. Another saying emphasizing unity is "Gauden-Bat," which means "Let us be one." And the expression "Aurak ikasi zazue Euskeraz mintzatzan" ("Young children must learn to speak Basque") shows the importance Basque Americans place on their linguistic heritage.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The Basques' solitary lifestyle caused Basque immigrants to develop a high degree of independence and self-sufficiency. For herders out on the high ranges or ranchers at remote settlements, opportunities for socializing were few. Eager and diligent workers, they preferred to work for themselves or for a family business when possible. Basque Americans did not begin organizing cultural groups until about the 1930s, but even then Basques of French origin and those of Spanish origin had little contact with one another. In 1973, however, a group of Basque Americans formed the North American Basque Organizations, Inc., to unite the various local groups and promote more interaction among Basque Americans of different backgrounds. In *A Travel Guide to Basque America*, Zubiri observed that though Basque Americans continue to harbor some regional differences, they consider it important to present a unified Basque culture to the outside world.

EDUCATION

Basque culture in general emphasized hard work and independence over intellectual pursuits. These values transplanted well to the American West, where academic learning was not considered necessary to succeed in agricultural work or entrepreneurial endeavors. Often growing up on isolated ranches, children in Basque American families had relatively limited access to good schools, and their parents tended not to emphasize higher learning. According to William A. Douglass in *Amerikanuak*, Basque American children often excelled in high school but were less likely than others to go on to college. For this reason, proportionally few Basque Americans have entered the professions.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women in Basque American households often worked hard alongside their husbands to make their ranches or small businesses work. Women packed food and supplies to send out to the herders, and also cooked, sewed, and performed countless physical chores around the ranch. Though in many ways this kind of work resembled the responsibilities held by Basque women in Europe, in the American West families often lived at far greater distances from one another than they had in the Basque Country and were much more isolated. Louis Irigaray, a California Basque shepherd, wrote in his memoir that his mother found ranch life boring and profoundly lonely. In towns, Basque American women also played significant roles. Paquita Garatea, a professor of history at Grays Harbor college in Aberdeen, Washington, researched women's work in Basque American communities for her master's thesis. She found that many boardinghouses and hotels were run not by men, but by their wives.

COURTSHIP

During the first decades of Basque immigration, many men sent back to their native villages in Europe for brides. If the man had accumulated enough to afford the trip himself, he might return to the Basque Country to choose a wife from his own village. Other men asked a matchmaker to arrange marriages for them. Many Basque boardinghouses employed a few maids from the Basque Country, who were frequently courted and wed by the hotels' patrons. In later generations, however, men more often courted local women.

WEDDINGS

Basque American weddings are often gala affairs, with the entire Basque community in attendance.

After the church ceremony, a large feast is held, complete with good wine, music, song, and dance. Weddings provide a welcome opportunity to socialize and strengthen community ties.

FUNERALS

Funerals are taken very seriously by Basques and serve as an occasion for Basque Americans to affirm their ethnic bonds. They consider it important to attend funerals of other Basques even when they scarcely know the family involved and sometimes travel hundreds of miles to be present. This funerary obligation was of particular importance during the early 1900s, when many Basques in America lived isolated lives on the range and had few social contacts. Their families back in the Basque Country worried that these men might die alone, deprived of a proper burial ceremony. Consequently, the Basque American community took great care to bury each of their dead with due ceremony. Often, they hired a photographer to take a picture of the group gathered around the deceased's coffin at the cemetery, to send back to his family in Europe as proof that his community had not abandoned him. Sometimes, the deceased's native village in Basque Country would also hold a funeral for him, using a block of wood for a coffin.

In America, Basques have formed associations to help provide flowers and memorial services for their deceased. In Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, and Venezuela they established their own burial crypts and cemeteries. Basque associations in New York City and Boise offer their members burial insurance. Basque funerals follow the rituals of the Catholic church, and if a Basque priest is available, he offers the funeral mass in *Euskara*. Until about the mid-1940s, it was customary to hold a *gauela*, or wake, at the home of the deceased or at a Basque hotel. It was also traditional to make a financial donation for a mass for the deceased, a practice that the mourners reciprocated when the occasion arose. After the ceremony, a funeral feast was always held.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Basques have lived successfully among different ethnic groups in the United States. Because of their small numbers, they have had to work and associate with many non-Basques; but have also supported each other through clubs, sports, and other activities. Though Basque Americans express a deep appreciation of their distinct culture they tolerate intermarriage.

RELIGION

The Basques were the earliest civilization on the Iberian peninsula to be converted to Christianity, which occurred in the seventh century A.D. (one source says tenth century). The Roman Catholic Church continues to play an important role in the lives of Basque Americans. According to Father Jean Elicagaray, isolated shepherders often kept their faith by repeating the prayers and hymns they had learned by heart in *Euskara*, and having the Catholic liturgy available in their native language was very important. Since around 1960, the U.S. Catholic Conference has sponsored a Basque priest from France to minister to Basque Americans in the western states and to celebrate masses in *Euskara*; these are broadcast by many radio stations throughout the West. Catholic rituals such as baptisms and first communions are important social as well as religious events for the Basque community.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Basque Americans are unique in that they are the only ethnic group in the country associated almost exclusively with one business, sheepherding. Yet, significant as their presence has been in that industry, they have also succeeded in several other enterprises. They have traditionally worked in agricultural jobs or at manual labor. In addition to ranching and herding, Basque Americans have opened small businesses such as dairy farms, or turned their boardinghouses into restaurants. Less often, they have taken urban jobs in meat-packing plants, bakeries, or construction. Relatively few Basque Americans, however, have entered professional fields—a trend that some have linked to the group's traditional indifference toward higher education. However, a few Basque Americans have successfully entered politics.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Most Basques who settled in the American West expected their stay to be temporary. They planned to work for a few years, save their money, and then return to the Basque homeland. Though, in the end, many remained in the United States, their ambivalence about where they should finally settle caused many to delay the process of obtaining U.S. citizenship. Thus their political involvement was relatively low in the first few generations of Basque immigrants. Like the majority of the population in the western states, Basque Americans have generally

supported conservative causes and the Republican party. Although Basques have served as mayors or other local officials, few have sought higher office. Paul Laxalt (1922—) became governor of Nevada and was then elected to the U.S. Senate, making him the only Basque to be elected to a federal post. Peter T. Cenarrusa (1917—) served as the Idaho secretary of state, and Anthony Yturri (1914—) served several terms in the Oregon senate. In Nevada, Peter Echeverria (1918—) served as a state legislator and as chairman of the Nevada Gaming Commission. John Garamendi, a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, spent several years in California state politics after a Peace Corps stint in Ethiopia. He was elected to the state assembly and then to the state senate, where he served 14 years. Despite several subsequent failed campaigns, he was elected as California Insurance Commissioner in 1990. Garamendi ran for governor in 1994.

MILITARY

During World War I, many Basque immigrants were harshly criticized for refusing to serve in the U.S. army. Some who were drafted chose to renounce their new U.S. citizenship to avoid service. Often, these men were denied the chance to reapply for citizenship—a condition that deprived them of grazing rights in the western states. This apathy toward military service was consistent with the Basque pattern of indifference toward political causes in either Spain or France. Douglass reports that throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, the rate of military evasion in the Basque provinces was consistently high. Military service was not a significant issue among Basque Americans, however, in World War II. Idaho Secretary of State Pete Cenarrusa, for example, proudly cites his record as a Marine fighter pilot during that war. He retired with the rank of major.

RELATIONS WITH THE BASQUE COUNTRY

Basque Americans have remained generally indifferent to political events in either France or Spain. Even the Basque separatist cause has elicited little enthusiasm from Basques in the United States. While some groups and individuals in Idaho have denounced Spanish government crackdowns on Basque separatist activities, other Basques throughout the West have expressed no interest in the matter, which they consider an urban and middle-class movement unrelated to their rural concerns. This attitude differs markedly from the views of Basques throughout Mexico and South America, who have generally showed strong support for Basque nationalism.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

The University of Nevada, Reno, has developed an acclaimed Basque Studies program. It offers course work in Basque language, history, and culture and publishes the Basque Book Series, which numbers more than 30 titles.

ART

Though Basque American individuals have not established themselves as notable visual artists, immigrant shepherders developed an anonymous art form unique in the American West. The herders carved the trunks of aspen trees, often cutting their initials and dates into the bark, but sometimes adding short thoughts, poems, or drawings—usually about women or sex. As time passed, the aspen would produce scar tissue around the cuts in a manner that outlined them. As many as 500,000 such carved trees may exist in the western states. One carver who signed his name “Borel” appeared to have had some formal art training. The trees he carved are near Kyburz Flat in California’s Tahoe National Forest. Dr. Joxe Mallea of the University of Nevada, Reno, who has specialized in the study of Basque tree carvings and has been instrumental in their preservation on public land, called Borel “an amazing carver.”

The single most significant piece of art for Basque Americans is the National Basque Monument in Nevada. Unveiled in Reno on August 27, 1989, the five-ton bronze piece was created by renowned Basque sculptor Nestor Basterretxea, who named it *Bakardade* (Solitude). The sculpture depicts a shepherd carrying a lamb on his back under a full moon. Not all Basque Americans appreciated the memorial’s abstract design, and some complained that it did not adequately memorialize their history. Yet the committee that approved the design felt that the memorial would stimulate discussion about the Basque cultural heritage.

JOURNALISM

Two Basque language newspapers were published in the Los Angeles area during the late 1800s. Lawyer Martin Bascailluz published *Escualdun Gazeta*, the first newspaper in the world printed exclusively in the Basque language, during the 1880s. When Bascailluz’s reputation suffered after his alleged mismanagement of a wealthy client’s estate, the paper folded and was succeeded by *California’ko Eskual Herria*, published by

journalist José Goytino. During the 1890s, the large population of Basques in central California prompted the *Bakersfield Daily Californian* to print occasional articles in Basque, and during the 1930s, the *Boise [Idaho] Capital News* also included stories in Basque. From 1973 to 1977, Brian Wardle, a non-Basque, published *The Voice of the Basques* from Boise. Basques in the San Francisco area, the majority of whom were of French origin, subscribed to *Le Californienne*, which later became *Journal Français d’Amerique*.

LITERATURE

Basque Americans have been relatively slow to establish a literary tradition, in part because so much of their background was based on an oral culture. In addition, most of the Basque intelligentsia who emigrated chose to go to South America rather than the United States, leaving the American West with virtually no foundation to support Basque literature. One writer, however, has received extensive recognition. Robert Laxalt, brother of politician Paul Laxalt, has earned critical acclaim for his books exploring the Basque American experience. In *The Basque Hotel* (1993), he chronicles the coming-of-age of a young boy whose parents run a boardinghouse in Nevada. *Child of the Holy Ghost* (1992) tells of his journey to the Basque Country to discover his parents’ roots, and *The Governor’s Mansion* (1994) recounts how the oldest son enters politics in Nevada. *Sweet Promised Land* (1988), Laxalt’s first book, is a memoir of his immigrant father. Laxalt has also published the novella *A Cup of Tea in Pamplona* (1993) and text for the photo essay *A Time We Knew: Images of Yesterday in the Basque Homeland* (1990).

MUSIC

Among the more celebrated Basque American musicians is accordion player Jim Jausoro. Jausoro and his partner, Domingo Ansotegui, began playing dance music at Basque festivals and gatherings in the 1940s and eventually became quite well-known. Since 1960, Jausoro has played regularly for Boise’s *Oinkari* dancers. In 1985, he was chosen as one of twelve master traditional artists in the United States to receive the National Heritage Award from the National Endowment for the Arts. Jausoro has also received a lifetime achievement award from the North American Basque Organization.

SPORTS

Basques have brought several unique sports to America, and they enjoy participating in athletic contests at festivals. Many of these events can be traced to the

physical work Basques did in the Pyrenees. Wood chopping is a very popular event at Basque American festivals, as are weight carrying and stone lifting, all of which allow athletes to demonstrate their skill as well as their strength and endurance. Handball games are also an essential part of Basque American life. *Pelota*, or handball, was developed from the medieval game of *jeu de paume*. According to Zubiri, Basques invented the basic modern handball game as well as several variations. *Jai alai*, played with basket-like extensions (*txistera*) that are fastened to the wrist, is probably the best-known of these variations. Basque immigrants began building *pelota* courts soon after they arrived in the United States, and their love of the sport is considered an important factor in unifying the American Basque community. From the earliest days of Basque immigration, weekly *pelota* matches were held throughout the western states, enabling people scattered over a large geographic area to get together for competitions. Until World War II, every significant Basque community in the United States had one or more *pelota* courts. *Jai alai*, on the other hand, has been most popular in Florida, the first state to boast a professional team. *Mus*, a card game, is another common pastime when Basque Americans get together.

MEDIA

PRINT

Basque Studies Program Newsletter.

Semiannual publication covering the Basque Studies Program and Basque-related news. Carries articles about Basques in old and new worlds and news of research in Basque studies. Recurring features include notices of books, films, and program activities and announcements.

Contact: Linda White, Editor.

Address: University of Nevada, Getchell Library/322, Reno, Nevada 89557-0012.

Telephone: (702) 784-4854.

Fax: (702) 784-1355.

E-mail: basque@unr.edu.

Online: <http://www.scs.unr.edu/~bstudies> .

Journal of Basque Studies in America.

Published by the Society of Basque Studies in America.

Contact: Jose Ramon Cengotitabengoa.

Address: 19 Colonial Gardens, Brooklyn, New York 11209.

Telephone: (718) 745-1141.

Fax: (718) 745-2503.

E-mail: sbsa@gte.net.

RADIO

Several radio stations in rural western areas have featured or continue to broadcast Basque radio programs. These programs include music, local community announcements, and sometimes even church services in Basque.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Basque Center.

Provides meeting space and social activities, rehearsal space for Oinkari Basque Dancers and Boise'ko Gasteak Dancers (a children's group).

Address: 601 Grove Street, Boise, Idaho 83702.

Basque Educational Organization (BEO).

Founded in 1983; offers Basque language, dance, music, and sports classes; sponsors theater and educational programs; maintains museum and reference library.

Contact: Martin Minaberry, Coordinator.

Address: P.O. Box 640037, San Francisco, California 94164-0037.

Telephone: (650) 583-4035.

Fax: (707) 769-9077.

North American Basque Organizations, Inc. (NABO).

Umbrella organization which includes 31 local clubs; maintains cultural relations with Basque government, French Basque Cultural Institute, and other international centers; sponsors music festivals, summer camps, and sports events; maintains website; publishes newsletter.

Address: 1101 Court Street, Elko, Nevada 89801.

E-mail: bobech@isat.com

Online: <http://www.naboinc.com>

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Basque Museum and Cultural Center.

Maintains museum displays, classrooms, archives, research library; exhibits include preserved Basque home and boardinghouse.

Address: 611 Grove Street, Boise, Idaho 83702.

Telephone: (208) 343-2671.

E-mail: basqmusm@micron.net.

Society of Basque Studies in America (SBSA).
Founded in 1978; sponsors art exhibits, speakers' bureau and hall of fame; conducts research; publishes *Journal of Basque Studies in America* (annual).
Contact: Jose Ramon Cengotitabengoa, President.
Address: c/o Ignacio R. M. Galbris, 19 Colonial Gardens, Brooklyn, New York 11209.
Telephone: (718) 745-1141.
Fax: (630) 369-5207.
E-mail: sga@gte.net.

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BELARUSAN AMERICANS

by
Vituat Kipel

OVERVIEW

The Republic of Belarus is a newly independent country which, prior to August 25, 1991, was known as the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. Since 1922 it had formed part of the Soviet Union. Geographically it is located in what is virtually the center of Europe, occupying 80,154 square miles (207,600 square kilometers). It is bounded by Poland to the west, Russia to the east, Ukraine to the south, and Lithuania/Latvia to the north and northwest. Its flag has two horizontal stripes, one red and one green, with a vertical thin margin of red and white embroidery. The capital city is Minsk, and the official languages are Belarusian and Russian.

The country's population is 10.5 million, with 80 percent Belarusians, 13.2 percent Russians, 4.1 percent Polish, and 2.9 percent Ukrainians, the rest comprising Tatars, Jews, and Gypsies. More than 3 million Belarusians live outside Belarus, especially in Russia, Ukraine, Canada, and the United States. About 80 percent belong to the Eastern orthodox Church; another 15 to 18 percent are Roman Catholic; the remainder are Catholic (Byzantine Rite), Baptist, Old Believer, Muslim, or Jewish.

Because the Belarusians' ethnic territory is divided among several neighboring states, it is difficult to present a clear picture of a Belarusian state, nationhood, and historical development. Part of the confusion stems from terminology. As political concepts, the terms "Byelorussia," "Byelorussian," and

The Belarusian
American
Association,
together with a
number of other
groups, developed
a system of
supplementary
secondary schools
in Belarusian
communities where
the American-born
generations receive
education in the
language, culture,
and religious
traditions of
Belarus.

since 1991, “Belarus” and “Belarusans,” are all relatively new. For most Americans, the term “Byelorussia” was not known until the end of World War II, when the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic became a charter member of the newly forming United Nations. Prior to World War II the terms more familiar to Americans were “White Russia” and “White Russians” or “White Ruthenia” and “White Ruthenians.” The term “White” in these various formulations is simply the literal translation of “byelo-” or “byela-.”

HISTORY

The tribes who were the antecedents of present-day Belarusians began to organize into individual principalities around such cities as Polotsk, Smalensk, and Turov as early as the ninth and tenth centuries. During the twelfth century these principalities moved closer, forming a unified structure and establishing the core of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which became an important political power as a commonwealth in eastern Europe over the next several centuries. As these Belarusian principalities gave rise to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Belarusian became recognized as the official language of this state. The city of Navahradak, in the earlier period, and the city of Vilna, in the later period, served as the capitals of this large, multinational, influential state.

Gradually the Grand Duchy of Lithuania came under the strong cultural influence of Poland. The upper strata of society became dissociated from the broader mass of the population, in part, by embracing Roman Catholicism, largely accepting the Polish forms of Catholicism, which in turn created religious inequality and social unrest. These factors destabilized the Grand Duchy, weakening it militarily and politically. Meanwhile in the east, the state known as Muscovy grew stronger and began its expansion westward. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Muscovy moved into the territory of the Grand Duchy and farther west into Poland.

BELARUS UNDER RUSSIAN OCCUPATION

The beginnings of Russian domination over the Belarusian territories go back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the easternmost parts of Belarus were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Then, in a series of successful advances, Russia invaded and annexed the core of ethnic Belarusian lands in 1772, 1793, and 1795. Russian policies toward Belarus were uncompromising in their call for the territories to undergo Russian

acculturation. Such Russification was systematically justified and encouraged. This approach remained vigorous through the reigns of successive tsars and the decades of the Soviet regime.

The nineteenth century witnessed an active implementation of Russian policies in Belarus. The term *Belarus* was abolished and replaced by the deliberately vague geographical concept, “Northwest Territory.” The use of the Belarusian language was outlawed and all communication was ordered to be exclusively in Russian. Beginning in the 1830s the government adopted a policy of forced deportation of Belarusians to the northern regions of the Empire. Uprisings in Belarus in 1831 and 1863 to 1864 provoked policies of unprecedented harshness regarding Russification, exploitation of the land, and oppression of the populace. The result of these policies was the reduction of Belarus to the status of a colony; it was denied its own governmental bodies and was supervised in all things by appointed administrators. A further result was the creation of an enormous surplus of the local labor force which, in turn, caused a large wave of emigration. Thus, beginning with the last two decades of the nineteenth century and into the early years of World War I, hundreds of thousands of Belarusian peasants migrated out of their homeland to Siberia and the United States.

Although the Russian administrators exerted considerable effort to uproot any characteristics of Belarusian separateness—political or cultural—an ethnic awareness among Belarusians began to emerge toward the last quarter of the nineteenth century. From there on, the revival in self-awareness gained in numbers and in strength. In 1902 the first Belarusian political party, the Belarusian Revolutionary *Hramada*, was established. This was soon followed by numerous cultural and religious organizations, publishing groups, and a teachers’ union. However, the real impetus for a widespread revival of Belarusian consciousness and development of a mass movement was the appearance of Belarusian-language newspapers: first, the short-lived *Nasa Dola* (1906), and then its successor, *Nasa Niva* (1906-15), both published in Vilna. This latter newspaper played a particularly important role in assembling the most active leaders of the Belarusian intelligentsia.

MODERN ERA

The high point of Belarusian political activities during the pre-war period and the World War I years was the convening of the all-Belarusian Congress in December 1917 in the capital city of Minsk. The Council, elected at this Congress in 1918, adopted

a resolution declaring the independence of Belarus in the form of the Belarusian Democratic Republic. This new democratic state was short-lived, however. Bolshevik armed forces interrupted the Congress and overran the Republic.

The Bolsheviks moved quickly to catch up with the national aspirations of the people. On January 1, 1919, they proclaimed the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (abbreviated as the BSSR). This event had a positive influence on the general populace as the leadership of the newly established Belarusian Soviet Republic improved the economy, political administration, educational system, and cultural life. Many Belarusian emigrants from Western Europe and the United States returned to their homeland. Unfortunately, according to the terms of the Treaty of Riga, signed in 1921, a significant part of Belarusian ethnic territory was given over to the new Polish state.

Belarusian national life in both halves—the eastern, under the Soviets, and the western, under the Poles—flourished during the early and mid-twenties. In both areas there were hundreds of Belarusian schools, publishing houses, and other expressions of cultural life. The Belarusian national movement reached its peak in eastern and western Belarus during the 1920s.

Uncomfortable with the growth of the Belarusian national movement, Polish administrators in the middle of the 1920s began to curb Belarusian political activities, close Belarusian schools, outlaw Belarusian-language newspapers, and harass their religious communities. By the beginning of the 1930s the Belarusian movement in Poland had been totally crushed, with its leaders either imprisoned or emigrated—primarily to Soviet Belarus. The systematic persecution of nationally conscious Belarusian in Soviet Belarus began several years later. Soviet Belarus experienced several waves of intermittent purges, the peak years being 1930, 1933, and 1937 to 1938. The official explanation for these pogroms was that the party was struggling with the “National Democrats,” i.e., with the Belarusian intelligentsia and nationally democratically minded citizens.

The major parts of the Belarusian nation—the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic and Western Belarus—were reunited into a single state in September 1939 when Soviet troops occupied the eastern part of the Polish state. The occupation of Western Belarus by the Soviet armed forces proved costly to the Belarusians: thousands of Belarusians were deported to Siberia, numerous leaders were shot, and all Belarusian activities were suppressed.

The German *Wehrmacht* occupied Belarusian territory within a few weeks after the beginning the

German-Soviet War, on June 22, 1941. A number of Belarusian political leaders cooperated with the German occupiers, but any hope of new political freedom under German rule was dashed by the spring of 1944 when the Soviet army advanced westward and occupied Belarusian territory.

World War II devastated Belarus. Over nine thousand villages, two hundred towns, and approximately six million Belarusians were lost. The territory of Belarus was once again balkanized. Parts of Belarusian ethnic territory were included in Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, with the largest portion given to the Russian Federation. Hundreds of thousands of Belarusians were resettled in Siberia, while thousands of others emigrated as a result of the war. Almost two decades would pass before Belarus could heal the material wounds resulting from World War II.

Surprisingly, despite the denigration and mistreatment of Belarusian culture, a sizable segment of the population and the intelligentsia resisted Russification. A powerful revival process became evident by 1985. Belarusian schools began to open, the Supreme Soviet adopted a Constitution proclaiming the Belarusian language the official language of the Republic, and numerous societies fostered a new esteem for the language and culture. The national revival also led to the emergence of the Belarusian Popular Front, a national political movement functioning as a democratic opposition party in the parliament of the republic. Although Belarus became an independent state in 1991 by seceding from the former Soviet Union and recorded some progress on the path toward democracy and free market economy, the election of Alexander Lukashenko as president in 1994 marked a turn toward increasing international isolation. Lukashenko's government decimated its opposition and the free press while enforcing a policy of harsh discipline and strict centralism. In an attempt to reintegrate with Russia, Lukashenko signed the Community of Belarus and Russia treaty in 1996 and the Union of Belarus and Russia in 1997.

BELARUSIAN IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA

Some believe that the earliest Belarusian immigrants in America settled in the Colony of Virginia in the early 1600s. The reason is that Captain John Smith, who became the first Governor of Virginia in 1608, had visited Belarus in 1603. In his *True Travels*, Captain Smith recalls that he came to “Rezechica, upon the River Niper in the confines of Lithuania,” and then he narrates how he traveled through southern Belarus, as Zora Kipel related in her article (*Zapisy*, Volume 16, 1978). Thus, it is possible that Smith

brought Belarusians with him to Virginia, together with Polish or Ukrainian manufacturing specialists.

Mass emigration from Belarus began slowly during the final decades of the nineteenth century and lasted until World War I. At the outset emigration from Belarus was directed toward the industrial cities in Poland, to Riga, St. Petersburg, the mines in Ukraine and Siberia, and later, to the United States. Libava and northern Germany were the main points of departure while New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore were the main gates of entry to the United States. Unfortunately for the Belarusian immigrants, their ethnicity was not properly registered when they arrived. They were routinely registered as Russians (having Russian Imperial passports and being of the Eastern Orthodox religion) or as Poles, if they were Roman Catholics.

Belarusians who arrived in the United States after World War I were predominantly political immigrants, mainly from western Europe and Poland. They numbered only a few thousand persons but were able to found several Belarusian organizations. A few Belarusians, mainly the children of Jewish Belarusian marriages, came to the United States between the late 1930s and the end of 1941.

POSTWAR IMMIGRATION

Belarusians arrived in sizable numbers in the post-World War II period, from 1948 to the early 1950s. During this period about 50,000 Belarusians immigrated to the United States; for the most part, they were people with “displaced person” status who had left Europe for political reasons. They represented a very broad spectrum of the Belarusian nation, sharing one trait in common: fervent anti-Communism. The great majority of them were nationally conscious Belarusians filled with the political resolve to reestablish an independent democratic Belarusian state, the Belarusian Democratic Republic. They came from a variety of countries, the majority of them from West Germany and Austria, but many from Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, and other countries in South America and north Africa. These lands had been their first stop-overs after the events of World War II had prompted them to leave Belarus. These immigrants represented several distinct categories: former prisoners of war of the Polish and Soviet armies; former emigres who had left Belarus shortly after World War I or in 1939, when the Soviets invaded Poland; persons who had worked in Germany during the war as *Ostarbeiters*; refugees who had fled Belarus in 1943 or 1944; and post-World War II defectors and dissidents.

Emigration waves from Belarus during the 1980s and 1990s have been relatively small as com-

pared with previous waves. People have emigrated for various reasons: political, economic, and filial (to reunite with families). Most of these immigrants are of Jewish Belarusian background. The political and economic situation in Belarus in the mid 1990s suggests that immigration should continue and increase in size, especially by individuals who are rejoining family members in the United States.

Because official databases in the United States are unable to provide accurate numbers of Belarusians entering the country, widely varying figures have appeared in print. Attempts have been made in Belarus by various researchers to calculate the number of Belarusians emigrating to the United States. On the high end, Belarusian researchers count between 1 and 1.5 million while the Belarusian Institute of Arts and Sciences (U.S.) computes between 600,000 and 650,000. The 1980 U.S. census counted 7,328 but the 1990 census tallied only 4,277. Such large discrepancies might be resolved somewhat by the 2000 U.S. census unless this variance is due to decreased identification with Belarusian ancestry.

SETTLEMENT

Since no one mapped the distribution of Belarusian immigrants to America when they arrived, it is impossible to reconstruct precise settlement patterns. Only general outlines are possible. The criteria for distribution and settlement tended to be based on the availability of unskilled jobs, proximity to landsmen, and the decision of the sending agent as to which port in the United States the immigrant should be sent. There is evidence of Belarusian settlement all over the United States, from Alaska to Florida, with the greatest numbers concentrated in the states between Illinois and New York. Belarusian population tends to be heaviest in industrial cities and mining regions. For the majority of immigrants, their first stops were New York City; Jersey City, Bayonne, the Amboys, Passaic, Newark, South River, and other small towns in New Jersey; cities such as Cleveland and Akron in Ohio; and Gary, Indiana, Chicago, Illinois, Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A smaller number of Belarusians went to farms in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Belarusian American Association, together with a number of other groups, developed a system of supplementary secondary schools in Belarusian

communities where the American-born generations receive education in the language, culture, and religious traditions of Belarus. The task of representing Belarusian culture at various venues throughout the United States has been assumed by choirs, theatrical groups, musical and dance ensembles. One such dance ensemble, located in the New York metropolitan area, is headed by Dr. Alla Romano, a faculty member at the City University of New York. This group, *Vasilok*, has performed widely and often in the United States as well as in the Bielastok region and in Belarus itself.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Many customs with roots in Belarus (some of which are shared with neighboring Slavic nations) are observed by Belarusian Americans. Belarusian customs typically interweave elements of nature, especially agriculture, with pagan and Christian components. Most customs are related to the calendar, ceremonial events, and games. Although the life styles of our modern, technological age are not conducive to maintaining many of these folk traditions, it is remarkable how many of them have survived. This is especially evident when one examines the 36 volumes on Belarusian ethnography published as *Bielaruskaja Narodnaja Tvorcasc* by the Academy of Sciences in Minsk, Belarus, between 1977 and 1993.

CUISINE

Cuisine plays an important role in manifesting the hospitality, cordiality, and friendliness implicit in the traditional Belarusian greeting, "A guest in the house is God in the house." Since Belarus is located in the forest, grain, and potato belts of eastern Europe, Belarusian cooking reflects the riches of the land. Favorite dishes include a wide variety of grains, a diversity of mushrooms, meats, and many kinds of fish dishes. There are, of course, a number of items which Belarusians share in common with their Slavic neighbors: *halubcy* (stuffed cabbage), *borscht*, and *kaubasa* (kielbasy). One popular comestible well known to many Americans is the bagel. The traditional bagel comes from the town of Smarhon in the northwestern part of Belarus. But unquestionably the most famous food of Belarus is the potato. The Belarusian housewife has close to 100 ways of preparing potato dishes for every occasion.

Traditional dishes include *draniki* (fried potato pancakes) and *babka* (oven-baked, mashed potatoes and lard); various sauces such as *mochanka* (made from mushrooms) and *poliuka* which accompanies *bliny* (another variety of potato pancake) or

meat dishes; soups such as *zaticirki* combined with meatballs or dough balls; and desserts such as *kisel'* (fruit jellies).

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The most visible and expressive Belarusian folk art is found in national apparel, where the predominant colors are red, white, black, and occasionally green. Symmetric and geometric designs are the most common features of Belarusian decorative patterns.

There are distinct patterns, designs, and materials for men and women. A woman's holiday dress of homespun material consists of a white linen blouse, always ornamented with embroidery or a woven design; an apron, usually of white linen with embroidery; a long pleated skirt of colorful woolen material; a vest, laced or buttoned in the front, often with slits from the waist down; and a headdress. The man's costume is composed of linen trousers and a shirt. The shirt is long, always embroidered, and worn with a hand-woven belt or sash.

DANCES AND SONGS

Scholars trace the origins of Belarusian music to pagan times. A national characteristic is the tendency to form instrumental groups. Every village in the home country has its own musicians and that pattern has been replicated in the United States, with virtually every Belarusian community having its own orchestra. The most commonly used instruments are the violin (*skrypka*), accordion (*bajan*), cymbals, pipe (*dudka*), and the tambourine.

An important part of the Belarusian musical heritage is the huge repertoire of songs, suitable for every occasion, including birth, marriage, death, entering military service, the change of seasons, work, and leisure. Belarusians sing solos, duets, and harmonize in ensembles and choirs. The rich and elaborately lyrical songs which form the basis of Belarusian folk music have a special appeal for Belarusians. Singing is often accompanied by one or more instruments, very often the *husli* (psaltery). The lullaby is especially popular in Belarusian families. Generations of children have grown up learning the lyrics to these songs sung to them by their mothers and grandmothers.

Dancing has similarly enjoyed a millennium-long life span in Belarus and this tradition continues in America. Belarusian folk dancing is characterized by the richness of its composition, uncomplicated movements, and small number of rapid steps. Folk dances are often accompanied by song expressing the feelings, work habits, and life

style of the people. Ethnographers have identified over one hundred Belarusian folk dances, many of which are performed in America. The legacy of song and dance is an aspect of the native culture that is shared by both old and new immigrants, transcending chronological barriers.

HOLIDAYS

Holiday seasons are filled with traditional Belarusian practices and customs. The Christmas season, for example, includes many unique customs. One of the most cherished and carefully preserved traditions is the celebration of *kuccia*, a very solemn and elaborate supper on Christmas Eve. Twelve or more dishes are prepared and served. Each dish is served in a specific order, with a portion set aside for the ancestors. The pot holding the *kuccia* (a special barley confection) is placed in the corner of the room, under the icons. After the family says grace, the *kuccia* is the first course served. Another widely observed custom is the decoration of the Christmas tree with hand-made Belarusian ornaments. As a rule, the entire family takes part in the ceremony, with the oldest family members contributing most of the craftsmanship. Caroling, an old Christmas tradition, is solidly maintained by Belarusian Americans both of the older and younger generations, with the latter employing this custom as a means of fundraising for organizational purposes.

The Easter season is another occasion for the observance of many traditional customs. The season begins with a period of fasting, followed by *Vierbnica* (Palm Sunday), and a competition of flower bouquets. Following the Easter Liturgy, the priest blesses colored eggs, sausage, *babka* (special Easter bread), and cheese. An Easter breakfast, *Razhavieny*, is held in the parish hall where traditional foods are served. Easter Sunday is given over to visiting friends and relatives, and to playing various games, such as cracking the Easter eggs.

The most widely observed sanctified feastday is that of St. Euphrosynia of Polacak, the Patron Saint of Belarus. Her feast day, May 23, is traditionally celebrated by all Belarusians. Belarusian Americans also have a special devotion to St. Cyril of Turov, whose feastday falls on April 28. The Mother of God of Zyrovicy is the patroness of many Belarusian churches. Her patronal feast is May 20. Other church-related customs and anniversaries observed by Belarusian Americans are the Smalensk Marian icon, *Adzihitrya* (Guide), observed on August 10, the Feast of Pentecost/Whitsunday, and the Feast of All the Saints of Belarus (the third Sunday after Pentecost). Belarusian Roman Catholics observe the

feast of Our Lady of Vostraja Brama in Vilna on November 16; and St. Mary of Budslau on July 2, among others.

Non-religious holidays include: March 25, which celebrates Belarus's independence from Russia in 1918; August 25, celebrating the second independence from the former Soviet Union (1991). Both are important to Belarusian Americans, many of whom came immigrated due to their desire to be free of communist rule.

CRAFTS

Among the Belarusian crafts that are widespread in the United States are woven rugs and embroidered table covers and bedspreads. Hand-woven belts and embroidered towels are perhaps most prized. Towels have particular significance because of the numerous solemn occasions when they are employed—weddings, christenings, and adorning icons. Belarusian American families have dozens of towels for all types of events. Pottery, straw incrustations, and woodcarving are also popular age-old Belarusian crafts practiced throughout the United States. These items are typically adorned with simple geometric designs and are put to more practical uses, rather than kept as *objets d'art*.

LANGUAGE

The Belarusian language is a part of the East Slavic group of languages which includes Ukrainian and Russian. The language of Belarusian Americans has specific features. In everyday use many Americanisms have entered the Belarusian language, but are often so assimilated to the lexical and phonological patterns of Belarusian that they do not seem foreign to the language. A peculiar phenomenon is the language of thousands of Belarusian immigrants who came prior to World War I. These people claimed to speak Russian but were in fact speaking a Russified Belarusian, often with the admixture of Yiddish words. Unfortunately, because of the lack of language professionals working for the U.S. Census, this melange of languages stemming from a Belarusian base was recorded as Russian.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The modern Belarusian American family no longer interacts in these fashions for the most part, but during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the fol-

lowing characteristics were common. The Belarusan family was a large, communal group. Incorporating distant relatives or even strangers, the family was held together by the work each contributed to the farm rather than by blood relationships. Most often the father or grandfather acted as family head. He assigned the men jobs and acted as trustee for the family property, which was collectively owned. Some of the family leader's authority remains. At family gatherings, for example, the head sits in the place of honor, with the other men grouped by rank around him.

FAMILY NAMES

Widespread and recognizable, traditional Belarusan surnames include Barsuk, Kalosha, Kresla, Savionak, and Sienka. Belarusan surnames are often based on geographical origin, e.g., Babruiski, Minskii, Mogilevskii, Slutski, Vilenski. Many others derive from baptismal names, e.g., Jakubau, Haponau, Kazimirau, or such diminutives as Jakubionak and Hapanionak. The most typical Belarusan surnames are those with the suffixes "ovich" or "ievich," such as Dashkievich, Mickievich, Zmitrovich. Others derive from occupations, e.g., Dziak, Hrabar, Mular.

RELIGION

After World War II Belarusans began to establish their own distinct churches in America. The majority of Belarusan immigrants were of the Eastern Orthodox faith. The formal organization of Belarusan Orthodox activities dates from 1949 to 1950, when parishes began to be founded as parishes of the Belarusan Autocephalous Orthodox Church (BAOC). Organizational work for the BAOC began in North America under the guidance of Archbishop Vasil, who established his residence in New York City. Archbishop Mikalaj of Toronto has become the Primate of this jurisdiction, which includes parishes in the states of New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Michigan. Several Belarusan parishes in Illinois, New Jersey, and New York are within the jurisdiction of Archbishop Iakovos, the Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch for North and South America. The BAOC conducts an extensive school program and is involved in providing aid to Chernobyl victims. The liturgical services are conducted in Belarusan.

Belarusan Catholics of the Latin Rite have not formed parishes of their own in the United States. Consequently, Belarusan American Roman

Catholics have devoted themselves to civic activities within the Belarusan Orthodox communities, while occasionally enjoying a visiting Catholic priest of Belarusan descent. Belarusan Catholics of the Byzantine-Slavic Rite (Uniates), organized their own parish in Chicago, primarily through the efforts of two Belarusan activists, Rev. John Tarasevich and his nephew Rev. Uladzimir Tarasevich.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

RELATIONS WITH BELARUS

The idea of Belarusan statehood and separateness began to surface in non-Belarusan publications such as the newspapers *Novyi Mir*, *Russkii Golos*, and *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. These Russian American newspapers not only published materials of interest to Belarusan immigrants, but wholeheartedly supported Belarusan independence and the establishment of Belarusan ethnic organizations. In these ways—contacts with the homeland and through the printed word—the concepts of national separateness, national self-awareness, and Belarusan independence were communicated to the Belarusan American immigrant communities, inspiring them to come together and form specifically Belarusan ethnic organizations.

The political activities of Belarusan groups consist mainly of lobbying various political groups and individual political leaders to support the idea of a democratic and independent Belarusan state. The Belarusan American Association is a champion in this undertaking. For more than forty years this group has written thousands of memoranda and visited hundreds of legislators at all levels, soliciting political support for Belarus's movement for independence. During the past 20 years, under the leadership of Anton Shukeloyts, this organization has achieved an outstanding record of support for political dissidents and for the Belarusan National Front in the homeland.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Several Belarusan Americans have made noteworthy contributions to American society and to the Belarusan community. An early attempt to form a Belarusan landmen's circle was made by Dr. Aleksandr Sienkievich and some of his friends in Baltimore, Maryland, between 1910 and 1912. Although he recognized the need for such an organization, he soon became involved with the anarchist movement

in the United States and was lost to the Belarusian movement. Viable Belarusian organizations were established in Chicago in the 1920s by such people as Anton and Jan Charapuks, Jazep Varonka, Rev. John Tarasevich, Makar Ablazhej, and a number of others who maintained contact with the Belarusian national movement in the homeland. Varonka, in particular, had already distinguished himself in Belarus by serving as the prime minister of the Belarusian National Republic before coming to the United States in 1923. He also started the first Belarusian newspaper in the United States, *The White Ruthenian Tribune* (1926) and pioneered radio broadcasts in the Belarusian language (1929).

After World War II, several Belarusian Americans distinguished themselves, including: Jan Zaprudnik (1927–), author of books on Belarus and Belarusians in America, former editor of Radio Liberty (Belarus section), and specialist in ethnic groups in the former Soviet Union; Zora Kipel (1928–), author and assistant Chief of Slavic Division at the New York Public Library; Galina Rusak, artist and professor at Rutgers University; Tamara Staganovich, a leading artist; and Natalla Arsenienieva (1902-1997), a prolific poet.

MEDIA

PRINT

Biellarus/The Belarusian.

A monthly Belarusian-language newspaper, established in 1950 by the Belarusian American Association, that chronicles the Belarusian presence in the United States and promotes the idea of Belarusian independence.

Contact: Jan Zaprudnik, Editor.

Address: 166-34 Gothic Drive, Jamaica,
New York 11432.

Telephone: (908) 247-1822.

Fax: (908) 418-9838.

Biellaruski Dumka.

A semi-annual publication, with Belarusian and English text, dealing with politics, cultural events, and art in the United States and abroad.

Contact: Joseph Leschanka, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 26, South River,
New Jersey 08882-0026.

Biellaruski Moladz.

Quarterly publication intended for young Belarusians; includes materials on history, culture, and heritage preservation.

Contact: Raisa Stankevich, Editor.

Address: PO Box 1123, New Brunswick, New
Jersey 08903-1123.

Telephone: (212) 380-2036.

Zapisy/Annals.

Publishes new writings in Belarusian literature, art, history, poetry, and book reviews.

Contact: Vitaut Kipel, Editor.

Address: Belarusian Institute of Arts and Sciences,
230 Springfield Ave., Rutherford,
New Jersey 07070.

Telephone: (201) 933-6807.

Fax: (201) 438-4565.

Journals include *Belarusian Thought* (South River, New Jersey), *Polacak* (Cleveland, Ohio), and *Biellarusan Review* (Torrance, California).

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Immigrants arriving after World War II were anxious to establish organizations that would promote Belarusian consciousness and maintain their heritage here. They were active and vocal proponents of an independent Belarusian state and an independent Belarusian religious community. Among the first secular and religious organizations established by these immigrants were: United Whiteruthenian American Relief Committee, headquartered in South River, New Jersey (established in 1949); Belarusian American Association, Inc. (established in New York City in 1949 and chartered in Albany, New York, in 1950); the Byelorussian American Youth Organization (established in Cleveland, Ohio in 1951 and affiliated with the Belarusian American Association); the Belarusian American Congress Committee (established in 1951); the Belarusian American Academic Society, a student organization (established in 1951); the Association of Biellarusians in Illinois (established in 1953); several dozen women's organizations, veterans, various professional groups (physicians, poets, and writers); the Belarusian American Union (established in New York in 1965); and other smaller youth groups, such as scouts, YMCA groups, and several religious societies. These Belarusian organizations offer social, political, cultural, educational, recreational, and religious programs and activities. Over the past 40 years or more, about one hundred new Belarusian groups have been formed in dozens of states. These diverse organizations share two common characteristics: their anti-Communist stance; and their commitment to the goal of an independent and democratic Belarusian state.

The following is a list of some of the more prominent Belarusian organizations:

Belarusian Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Reference and documentation center for Belarus, its history, literature, arts, and more, as well as on Belarusian Americans and their accomplishments in the United States. Maintains a collection of more than 5,000 books and periodicals.

Contact: Vitaut Kipel, President.

Address: 230 Springfield Avenue, Rutherford, New Jersey 07070.

Telephone: (201) 933-6807.

Fax: (201) 438-4565.

Belarusian Congress Committee of America (BCCA).

Provides information about Belarus and Americans of Belarusian descent; supports the development of independent Belarus.

Contact: Russell R. Zavistovich, President.

Address: 724 West Tantallon Drive, Fort Washington, Maryland 20744.

Telephone: (301) 292-2610.

Fax: (301) 292-8140.

Belarusian-American Association in USA.

Established in 1949. Concerned with Belarus history and political events, Belarusian American history and achievements, Belarusian American publishing activities.

Contact: Jan Zaprudnik.

Address: 166-34 Gothic Drive, Jamaica, New York 11432.

Telephone: (908) 247-1822.

Fax: (908) 418-9838.

Byelorussian American Women Association (BAWA).

Aims to preserve national identity, cultural heritage, and traditions.

Contact: Vera Bartul, President.

Address: 146 Sussex Drive, Manhasset, New York 11030.

Telephone: (516) 627-9195.

Byelorussian American Youth Organization.

Established in 1950, with members between 15 and 35 years old, its aim is to preserve Belarusian language, culture, and heritage. Sponsors folk dances and student scholarships.

Contact: George Azarko.

Address: PO Box 1123, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903.

Telephone: (732) 560-8610.

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Belgian Americans
have excelled in
many fields,
especially in
music, science,
medicine, education,
and business.

BELGIAN AMERICANS

by
Jane Stewart Cook

OVERVIEW

Belgium, whose official name is the Kingdom of Belgium, is a densely populated country not much larger than the state of Maryland. It covers an area of 11,781 square miles (30,519 square kilometers), bounded on the north by The Netherlands, on the west by France, and on the east by Germany. The tiny nation of Luxembourg lies to the south. This strategic location has earned Belgium the sobriquet, “crossroads of Europe.” Brussels, its capital city, is just a three-hour drive to The Hague, the capital of The Netherlands, and Paris, and the capital of France.

The country is divided into three regions: Northern Lowlands, Central Lowlands, and Southern Hilly Region. Its highest point is the Botrange Mountain (2,275 feet), and its major rivers are the Schelde, the Sambre, and the Meuse, which are important transportation routes. Approximately ten million people call Belgium home. The Flemish, those residing in Flanders, the northern half of the country, speak Dutch. They make up the majority of Belgium’s population. Wallonia, the region closest to France, is occupied by the French-speaking Walloons. About one percent of the population speaks German, principally those who reside near the former West German border. About 98 percent of Belgians are Catholic. Protestants and those of the Jewish and Muslim faiths make up the remainder. Belgium’s political system is that of a constitu-

tional monarchy, with the monarch having limited powers. The national flag, adopted in 1830, is a vertical tricolor of black, yellow, and red.

HISTORY

From approximately 57 B.C. to A.D. 431, Rome ruled over Gaul, an area of what is now France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany. The land was then inhabited by independent tribes of Celtic origin. Julius Caesar's account of his efforts to subdue the area gives us the first written record of what came to be called Belgium. The Romans looked on Belgium as a defensive barrier to the Franks, Germanic tribes that eventually settled in what is now Flanders. Language patterns followed the settlement patterns. Germanic speech evolved into Dutch in the north, and the Latin of Rome developed into French in the south. These language patterns, which were established by the third century, A.D., have altered only slightly up to the present day.

With the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the Franks held sway for more than 550 years. With the death of Charlemagne in 814, the country was divided into France, the Holy Roman Empire (Germany), and the "Middle Kingdom," a buffer state comprised of the Lowlands and Belgium. Feudal states developed, and in the later Middle Ages the dukes of Burgundy ruled the Low Countries. In 1516, Belgium became a possession of Spain and remained so until 1713, when the country was given to Austria as settlement in the War of the Spanish Succession. Belgium was annexed by France in 1795, and placed under the rule of The Netherlands after Napoleon's defeat in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. In 1830, Belgium declared its independence, adopted a constitution, and chose its first king, Leopold I. He was succeeded in 1865 by his son, Leopold II.

MODERN ERA

During World War I, Belgium was overrun by Germany. More than 80,000 Belgians died. Under the personal command of their "soldier king," Albert I, Belgium managed to hold on until the arrival of the Allied forces in 1918. History repeated itself in World War II when Hitler bombed Belgium into submission and took its king, Leopold III, prisoner. The arrival of Allied forces in 1944 was followed by the Battle of the Bulge, which would decide the war's outcome. Belgium rebuilt its war-torn country, became a founding member of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and by the 1960s was enjoying a prosperous economy. Belgium has been a leader in the movement toward

European economic integration, and in 1958 became a founding member of the European Economic Community.

THE FIRST BELGIANS IN AMERICA

It is said that when Henry Hudson sailed up the New York river that now bears his name, three Flemings were aboard the ship. Certainly the Belgians participated in the early settlement (seventeenth century) of what is now Manhattan. Many historians believe that Peter Minuit, who acted as purchasing agent for the West Indian Company when Manhattan Island was bought from the resident Native Americans, was a Walloon, or at least of Belgian heritage. And it is known that his secretary, Isaac de Rasiers, was a Walloon.

Henry C. Bayer, in his book *The Belgians, First Settlers in New York and in the Middle States*, discussed Belgian settlements at Wallabout, Long Island, and Staten Island, as well as in Hoboken, Jersey City, Pavonia, Communipaw, and Wallkill, New Jersey. These place names are derived from both the Walloons who settled there, as well as from the Dutch version of Walloon words used to describe a locale. For example, Hoboken is named after a town in Belgium. Pavonia got its name when a Fleming, Michael Pauw, purchased land on the Jersey shore. Translating his own name, Pauw (which in Flemish and Dutch means "peacock") into Latin, he got "Pavonia." Wallkill is the Dutch word for "Walloon's Stream." Elsewhere, the Walloomsac River in Vermont derives its name from the Walloons who settled on the east branch of the Hoosac River in New York. Belgian settlements were also established during the seventeenth century in Connecticut, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. These were settled primarily by Walloons, many of whom came to America on ships owned by the West India Company, whose founder, William Usselinx, was Flemish.

A notable name connected with America's early history is Lord Baltimore, whose family were prominent aristocrats in Flemish Belgium. Belgian officers also fought during the Revolutionary War. To note a few: Charles De Pauw, a Fleming who accompanied Lafayette to America; Ensign Thomas Van Gaasbeck, Captain Jacques Rapalje, and Captain Anthony Van Etten, all of New York; and Captain Johannes Van Etten of Pennsylvania.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Belgians came to America in greatest numbers during the nineteenth century. They came for reasons

no different than many other Western Europeans—financial opportunity and a better life for their families. Belgian immigration records do not appear until 1820. From 1820 to 1910, immigration is listed at 104,000; from 1910 to 1950, 62,000 Belgians came to the United States. During the period 1847 to 1849, when disease and economic deprivation were the lot for many in Belgium, emigration numbers of those leaving for America reached 6,000 to 7,000 a year. During this time, most of those coming to the United States were small landowners (farmers), agricultural laborers, and miners; crafts people such as carpenters, masons and cabinetmakers; and other skilled tradespeople, such as glass blowers and lace makers. In later years, especially after the two World Wars, many middle class and urban professionals left Belgium for this country, seeking work in our universities, laboratories, and industrial corporations. Altogether, it is estimated that from 1820 to 1970, approximately 200,000 Belgian immigrants settled in the United States. Each year since 1950, a fixed quota of 1,350 has remained unfilled, and it is calculated that by 1981, Belgians represented no more than 0.4 percent of the foreign-born population.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Nineteenth-century settlement patterns followed work opportunities. For example, the glass industry in the East attracted many to West Virginia and Pennsylvania. Detroit, Michigan, attracted building tradespeople. Door, Brown, and Kewaunee Counties in Wisconsin attracted those seeking farmland. Considerable numbers came to Indiana. Substantial pockets of Belgian Americans can also be found in Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, Kentucky, Florida, Washington, and Oregon. Many towns and cities across the United States bear the names of their counterparts in Belgium: Liege, Charleroi, Ghent, Antwerp, Namur, Rosiere, Brussels.

Michigan and Wisconsin have the largest population of Belgian Americans, with the above-named Wisconsin counties having the largest rural settlement in the United States. The Belgian American settlement in Detroit took place mainly between 1880 and 1910. Most of these new arrivals were skilled Flemish crafts people. Detroit's early industrial and manufacturing growth was fueled in great part by their skills in the building trades and transportation. According to Jozef Kadijk, whose 1963 lecture at Loyola University in Chicago appears in *Belgians in the United States*, approximately 10,000 residents of Detroit at that time were born in Belgium. Taking their descendants into account is said to increase that figure to 50,000.

Most of the Wisconsin Belgians were Walloons from the areas of Brabant and Liege, Belgium. They began arriving in substantial numbers by 1853, following the lure of farmland that could be purchased from 50 cents to \$1.25 an acre. Here they cleared fields, felled trees, and built rude log shelters to house their families. Writing back home of their satisfaction with their new lives, they soon were joined by thousands of their fellow countrymen. The 1860 census shows about 4,300 foreign-born Belgians living in Brown and Kewaunee Counties.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Belgians are also Western Europeans, and as such, presented a familiar religious and cultural background to others in their new homeland. Stereotypical notions as to traits of character often depict the Dutch-influenced Fleming as reserved, stubborn, practical, and vigorous, while the passion of France is observed in the Walloon's wit, extroversion, and quickness of mind and temper. It is true that whether Flemish or Walloon, the influences of The Netherlands, Germany and France upon their language, religion, and social customs were evident. This helped to make their assimilation easier—although they sometimes met with a strong anti-Catholic sentiment, which equated allegiance to the Church with disloyalty to America, and was prevalent in many parts of the United States. However, the Walloons who settled in Northeast Wisconsin found their way made easier because of the established French Catholic communities. In general, the Flemings, with higher education levels and sought-after job skills, suffered less prejudice than the Walloons, the majority of whom were poor, unskilled, and illiterate. But through their industry and thrift, these poor farmers soon won the respect of their neighbors. In time, Belgian Americans became admired not only for their industry and down-to-earth outlook, but also for their sociable character and friendly manner. Belgian hospitality and the retention of many old-world customs and traditions gave color and vitality to the communities in which they resided. Another factor which both hastened assimilation and fostered ethnic pride was the tragic experience of Belgium during the World Wars. The sympathy extended to Belgian Americans by others led them to re-emphasize their origins and culture.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

It is said that a Belgian, whether Fleming or Walloon, is an inveterate hand shaker. On meeting,

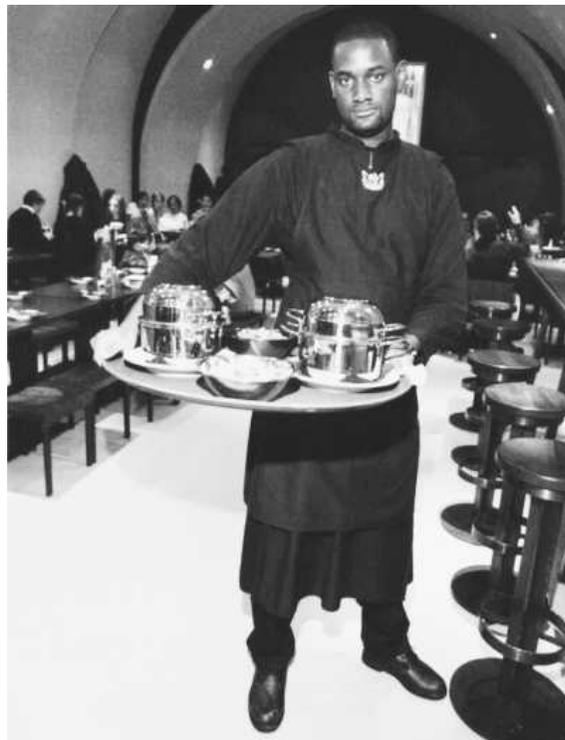
greeting, and parting, prolonged handshakes are the rule. This custom is thought to stem from ancient times, when a man's handshake proved he held no weapon. The Belgians' belief in the value of the community and their sturdy outlook on life have helped them recover from plague, famine, two World Wars, and economic depression. Those characteristics have also contributed to the progress and well-being of Belgian Americans. For example, in 1871, a devastating forest fire in Wisconsin (known as the "Peshtigo Fire") destroyed land, farms, and residences in an area six miles wide and 60 miles long. The Belgian communities of northeast Wisconsin were swept away, leaving 5,000 homeless to face the coming winter. It is significant of their determination and resilience that by 1874 these communities were completely rebuilt. An interesting architectural variant can be found in Door County, Wisconsin, as a direct result of the disastrous fire. Up to that time, most homes were built of wood, because it was plentiful and cheap. Red brick homes and buildings began to appear—sturdy and square in design, trimmed in white, and reminiscent of the Belgium homeland. Even today, many fine examples of this form of architecture can be found throughout the Belgian farming communities in Wisconsin.

Many Belgian Americans lived long distances from hospitals or doctors; many could not afford medical services. Therefore folk remedies and home cures were common. A poultice made of flax seed and applied to the chest was thought to help with fever and colds. "King of Pain" liniment for aches and sprains, "Sunrise Herb Tea" for constipation, and cobwebs placed on wounds to stop bleeding were other remedies used.

Every ethnic group that came to America in the nineteenth century could not help but be influenced by other cultures. As ties with the old country weakened, these groups became more and more "Americanized." And, for the most part, they were eager to do so. But all groups, to some degree, kept land-of-origin customs and beliefs alive through religious and social practices. Belgian Americans have been very successful in preserving their secular and religious traditions.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

In the early days, rural populations tended to remain homogeneous, separated mainly by distance from other communities. They relied on others of their own group to help them survive. Strong identification with one's own kind gave comfort and protection to those sharing a common language and



Belgian Americans
finally found
their niche in
American business
with a few very
popular Belgian
restaurants opening
in the 1990s.

heritage. Because of proximity, urban populations began to interact with other ethnic groups (mainly Catholics) earlier than those in rural areas. In time, greater access to transportation, employment and education, and the settlement of other nationalities nearby caused the sociable Belgians to seek interaction with others outside their group. Proud of their heritage, they have used it to enlighten and enrich their encounters with others.

CUISINE

Belgians have a love affair with food and revere the act of eating. To rush through a meal is thought to be uncivilized behavior. Belgian food is hearty and rich and often accompanied by beer. Indeed, there are more than 300 varieties of beer brewed in Belgium and the amount of beer consumed, per capita, is second only to Germany. Although many dishes in Belgian cooking are the same for the Flemish and the Walloons, there are differences. For example, Flemish cooking features sweet-salt and sweet-sour mixtures (sauerkraut and pickles). Nutmeg is a favored spice in Flemish cooking. Walloon cuisine is based on French techniques and ingredients. Garlic is a favored seasoning. As in Belgium, a typical Belgian American family meal begins with a thick vegetable soup, followed by meat and vegetables. Pork sausages made with cabbage and seasonings are called *tripes à l'djote* (or Belgian tripe); *boulettes* are meatballs. *Djote*, or "jut" is cooked cabbage and potatoes seasoned with browned butter, pepper, salt, and nutmeg, while *potasse* is a dish of potatoes, red cabbage and side pork. A homemade cottage cheese

called *kaset* is often included with the meal. This spreadable cheese is cured in crocks and used like butter. For dessert, there is Belgian pie, which is an open-faced tart filled with custard or cottage cheese, then topped with layers of prunes or apples. A pastry called *cougrou* and shaped like the baby Jesus is a special Christmas treat for Walloons. A waffle-like cookie called *bona* or *guillette* is made with a special baking iron and is also served by Walloons at Christmas. The Belgian waffle, called *gället*, although a traditional food eaten on New Year's Day, has been Americanized and is commonly found on restaurant menus. Some traditional Flemish foods include: *geperste kop*, or head cheese, which is not cheese but the renderings from a pig's head, ears, and stomach made into a jelly-like product; *olie bollen*, a raised doughnut made with apples, and *advocaat*, a liqueur made of grain alcohol, vanilla, eggs, milk, and sugar.

Belgian women are known for their expertise in bread baking. Long ago, huge outdoor ovens were used for baking. The bakehouse was made of masonry and fieldstone, with walls two feet thick. The oven protruded from one end, and was also made of masonry and stone. The bakehouse chimney and interior of the oven were red brick. These white-washed structures were often trimmed in green and their walls supported grape vines, whose fruit was used for making jelly. Their large ovens could bake as many as 50 loaves of bread at one time. And, after the bread was finished baking, the oven was just hot enough for baking pies. Some of these picturesque ovens still exist in rural Belgian American communities, although few of them are still in use.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Wooden shoes called *sabots* (Walloon) or *klompen* (Flemish) were traditional footwear for men, women, and children. Like the people of Belgium, they wore these shoes outdoors; they were left by the door when entering the house. Some immigrants brought the knowledge and the tools for making wooden shoes with them from Belgium. Belgian Americans who could afford them wore wooden shoes decorated with carvings of leaves and flowers. Children sometimes used their wooden shoes as skates or sleds. The early immigrants were usually clothed in homespun cloth and caps. Belgian lace, the fine handwork which originated in sixteenth-century Flanders, was often used to trim religious vestments, altar cloths, handkerchiefs, table cloths, napkins, and bed linens. This fine art was practiced by Belgian immigrants in every area of settlement in the United States. When celebrating the Kermis, which is a Belgian harvest festival,

the organizers of the Kermis wore red, white, and blue sashes while leading the people of the community in a procession to the church to give thanks.

DANCES AND SONGS

At the Kermis festivities (described below), revolutionary songs of the old country were sung, such as the Brabanconne and the Marseillaise. During the procession to the church, a dance called "Dance of the Dust" would be done on the dirt road. This dance honors the soil from which the harvest is reaped. At social get-togethers, drinking songs such as the Walloon song, "Society of the Long Clay Pipe," and songs of Belgium towns and cities, such as "Li Bia Bouquet," which honors the province of Namur, are sung. The local band, which usually consisted of cornets, slide trombone, violin, clarinet, and bass drum, played at weddings, festivals, and other social occasions, offering waltzes, quadrilles, and two-steps.

RECREATION

Archery clubs, pigeon racing, and bicycling clubs were forms of organized recreation for many Flemish Belgians. Gradually these organizations died out, but some existed until the 1960s and 1970s. Bowling, music societies, and drama clubs were formed by both Flemish and Walloon communities. Bowling is still a favorite form of recreation. A card game called "conion" was a popular pastime in taverns. The men fished, trapped, and hunted. Informally, women met to socialize and do needlework and sewing. Their work took on an additional aspect during World Wars I and II, when they supplied the Red Cross with articles of clothing and other needed materials for the war effort. Children skated, sledded, and played ball. Both boys and girls enjoyed games of chase and hide and seek. For rural children, berry picking in the company of their mothers was also recreation. Women enjoyed the preserving of fruits and berries, often gathering together as they did with their sewing groups.

HOLIDAYS

The festival of Kermis (also Kermis or Kermess) celebrates the abundant harvest. It generally lasted for six consecutive weeks. It is said that the first Kermis in America was initiated in 1858 by Jean Baptiste Macaux, a native of Grand-Leez, Belgium. Masses were held to give thanks, and there was much feasting, dancing, and singing. Games were played—among them the card game called

“conion” and a greased pole climb. The celebration of Kermis has persisted to the present day in rural Belgian American communities.

Assumption Day on August 15 honors the Virgin Mary and her ascension into heaven. In the rural areas, a field mass was part of the celebration. This holiday celebration began in the morning, with clergy clad in white vestments and a choir singing Gregorian chant.

On the last Monday in May, people gathered to petition the Virgin for her blessings on their new plantings. This solemn holiday is called Rogation Day. A procession would be made to the church or shrine honoring the Virgin Mary. Young girls dressed in white with long veils would strew flowers along the way.

Belgian Americans celebrate traditional religious holidays such as Christmas and Easter. They also celebrate St. Nicholas Day, which comes on December 6. In the early days, men of the community would dress up like St. Nicholas (the Dutch version of our Santa Claus) and go from house to house, leaving candy and small presents for the children. Today, for many Belgian Americans, this holiday marks the beginning of the Christmas season.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented physical or mental afflictions that affect Belgians any more than affect the general population. They have access to health and life insurance through their employers, or at their own expense. However, in the early days, beneficial societies were formed to provide this coverage, usually for a nominal monthly fee. These benefits often exist in some form today, to the extent that membership is held in various Belgian fraternal and religious organizations.

LANGUAGE

In Belgium, geographic circumstances determine which language is spoken. Those residing in northern Belgium speak Flemish, which is derived from Dutch and German. Those Belgians from the south speak Walloon, which is a French patois derived from Latin. Because of their proximity to France, Walloons hold the French language in high regard, using it as the standard for their own. On the other hand, the Flemings share many of the customs and beliefs, as well as the Dutch language, with the people of The Netherlands. A minority—about one percent of Belgium’s population—speak German.

Because of geographic and cultural circumstances, a natural language boundary exists in Belgium. In the past, attempts to force an official adoption of either French or Dutch by towns along the language boundary caused great dissension among the people. To settle these disputes, laws were passed in the early 1960s making the language boundary permanent. As a result, both Dutch and French are the official languages, and two distinct cultures flourish side by side. Many Belgians switch back and forth between the two languages, using their native dialect with family and friends and either Dutch or French in public or formal situations. But even though both Dutch and French are the official languages of the country, they are still not regarded by Belgians as equal in value. The following proverbs illustrate how the two are viewed: French in the parlor, Flemish in the kitchen; You speak the language of the man whose bread you eat; It is necessary to cease being Flemish in order to become Belgian. Flemish proverbs include: *Stel niet uit tot morgen wat je heden kunt doen* (Delay not until tomorrow what you can do now); *Wie hierbinnen komt zijn onze vrienden* (Those who enter here are our friends); *Avondrood brengt water in de sloot* (Red sky at night brings water in the stream); *Beter een half ei dan een lege dop* (Better half an egg than an empty shell); *Zwijgen en denken kan niemand krenken* (Silence and thinking hurts no one).

Belgian immigrants in the United States used the primary language of their homeland in Belgium. The Flemish and Walloon languages were commonly used by first-generation Belgians until World War I. Gradually, most Belgian Americans lost the ability to speak either Walloon or Flemish. Immigrant parents were eager to have their children learn English, and today few retain more than a word or two in the old language. Individuals who were at least 50 years old in the middle 1970s spoke the Walloon language in a family environment but had to speak English in school. Punished by teachers when they did speak Walloon, they raised their own children to speak English and spoke Walloon only with Belgians of their own generation (Françoise Lempereur in *Belgians in the United States*).

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

The following greetings and expressions are in Dutch or French, depending upon whether the Belgian speaker is Flemish or Walloon. Dutch: *Goedemorgen* (“ghooderMORghern”)—Good morning; *Goedemiddag* (“ghooderMiddahkh”)—Good afternoon; *Dank u* (“dahnk ew”)—Thank you; *Ja/Nee* (“yaa/nay”)—Yes, No; *Vrolijk Kerstfeest* (“VROAlerk KEHRSTfayst”)—Merry Christmas; *Veel geluk*

("vayl gherLURK")—Good luck. French: *Bonjour* ("bohng-zhoor")—Hello, good day; *Au revoir* ("ohr-vwahr")—Good bye; *Bonsoir* ("bohng-swahr")—Good evening; *A demain* ("ah duh-mahng")—Until tomorrow; *Eh bien* ("ay b'yahng")—Well; *Très bien* ("treh b'yahng")—Very well; *Voilà* ("vwah-lah")—Here you are; *Bon* ("bohng")—Good

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Belgian immigrants who arrived in America during the nineteenth century were immediately concerned with survival. Those who settled in the Midwest often came with only a few meager possessions. Often, they set down in what was then wilderness, and they needed all their mental and physical resources to make it through their first winter. The fact that there was no way for them to return to their homes in Belgium, and the comfort and assistance of the Catholic clergy pulled them through. These early families set to work clearing the land, building shelters, and planting crops. Men, women, and children all worked in the fields and tended the animals. Others, who lived in cities, took work where they could find it to support their families. The most fortunate were those that came with craft skills—a growing America needed these workers, and they readily found employment. As they became established in their new country, they began to form organizations to help the sick and poor among them. They also maintained ties with those they left behind in Belgium. As a result, many more came to join their friends and relatives in the new land. As years went by, the crude homesteads and rocky fields became productive family farms; job opportunities in the cities led many Belgian Americans to become business owners or to enter a profession.

Belgian American families tended to be large. There were strong social and religious taboos against divorce. Rural women were expected to work in the fields as well as in the home. Traditional roles for men and women were observed, and any deviation was often censured. Even though it was not uncommon for widows to carry on their deceased husband's occupation, especially that of farming, it was frowned upon if women assumed a community leadership role, except on a social basis. Children also had chores to do at an early age, and gender-based chores were commonly assigned. On farms, they also helped with planting and harvest, and as a result, were often absent from school during those times of the year. However, these early immigrants respected teachers and education. Parochial schools were established, but they also sent their children to the

public schools. While most second-generation young women attended elementary school, most did not go on to high school. However, teaching was an approved vocation for women.

Belgian American populations are heavily concentrated in the Midwest. Whether rural or city dwelling, the second and third generations tended to carry on the work traditions of their forebears. Detroit, for example, has many Belgian descendants employed in the building and related trades. Well-kept Belgian farms dot small Wisconsin communities, even though many farmers may work second jobs at paper mills or at other occupations for their main source of income. As with most ethnic groups that arrived here during the nineteenth century, Belgian Americans have taken advantage of what America had to offer, combined it with their own unique talents and strengths, and enriched it with their contributions. Today, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of nineteenth-century Belgian immigrants have assimilated fully into the educational and occupational roles of twentieth-century society.

WEDDINGS

The young bride (16 to 20 years was a common marrying age) prepared for her wedding by filling her hope chest with hand made quilts, tablecloths, and linens. Her friends often gave her a bridal shower. It was taken for granted that she would marry within the Catholic religion. Rural communities often held twilight wedding masses so the men would have time to be out of the fields.

A typical wedding celebration lasted all day and all night. It was common for 300 to 600 people to be invited. In the old days, the wedding couple went from house to house, extending a personal invitation. Once held in the bride's family home, the celebration is now often held at a local hall or country club. It was customary for neighbor women to help prepare the food, and preparation took many days. A very festive atmosphere surrounded the entire event. The guests ate and drank all day, and in the evening there was a wedding dance. The gift opening took place after the wedding dinner, and gifts were displayed for all the guests to see. Money was rarely given as a gift. Many of these same customs apply today, especially in the more homogeneous Belgian communities.

CATECHISM AND FIRST COMMUNION

Religious instruction for young people begins early. Catechism studies prepare children for first commu-

nion, which usually takes place at age 12. Children study under the guidance of a priest for about three years, and are confirmed in their teens. Boys often served as altar boys when they became communicants. Today, girls are allowed this privilege in some Catholic churches as well. These religious rites of passage are celebrated by family and friends with parties and gift-giving.

FUNERALS

After announcement of a death, a wake is held for friends and family. It is customary to have an open casket for viewing of the deceased. The body is taken to the church for a Catholic mass the following day. Funeral masses in memory of the dead person are held throughout the year, having been paid for by relatives and friends. A funeral dinner is held for all mourners. The dinner is usually put on by a group of church women, whose special task is supplying this service to members of the church. It is customary for friends and neighbors to send food to the home of the deceased. Other funeral customs from the past still persist in some form today. The rosary is still said at the wake. A procession of vehicles from the church to the cemetery is a usual occurrence. The wearing of dark, or black, clothing is observed today by only the most traditional mourners, but once was an expected ritual for the family. This usually went on for at least one year. During this time family members did not attend festive or social events. Tying a purple or black ribbon on the door of the dead person's home and the wearing of a black arm band by men in the family were other mourning customs of an earlier time.

RELIGION

The majority of Belgian Americans are of the Roman Catholic faith, although some are Presbyterians and Episcopalians. By 1900, Belgian religious orders were thriving in 16 states. The Sisters of Notre Dame, from Namur, Belgium, were successful in establishing bilingual schools in 14 of those states; the Benedictines built missions in the western part of the country, and the Jesuits, who founded St. Louis University in 1818, were able to expand the reach of the University through the use of Belgian teachers and benefactors. But Belgian immigrants often were without churches of their own, mainly because they assimilated at a faster rate in the more populous areas, attending Catholic churches founded by other ethnic Catholics, such as the German or French. However, two of the more

homogeneous groups, those in Door County, Wisconsin, and those in Detroit, Michigan, were successful in establishing churches of their own.

In 1853, a Belgian missionary, Father Edward Daems, helped a group of immigrants establish a community in Northeast Wisconsin in an area called Bay Settlement. They called it *Aux premiers Belges*—The first Belgians. By 1860, St. Hubert's Church in Bay Settlement and St. Mary's in Namur were built. Other Belgian churches established during the nineteenth century in Door County were St. Michael's, St. John the Baptist, and St. Joseph's. In 1861, the French Presbyterian Church was established in Green Bay. Small roadside chapels were also built to serve those who lived too far away to attend parish churches regularly. The chapels were named by worshipers in honor of patron saints.

In 1834, Father Bonduel of Commnes, Belgium, became the first priest to be ordained in Detroit. The first Catholic College (1836) was operated by Flemish Belgian priests, and the first school for girls was founded by an order of Belgian nuns in 1834. By 1857, Catholics in Detroit were a sizable group. However, they had still had no church of their own and were, at that time, worshipping with other Catholics at St. Anne's Church. This was remedied in 1884, when the first Belgian parish was established.

With the consolidation of many Catholic parishes throughout the United States, even Belgian Americans in small, stable communities may no longer attend an ethnically affiliated church. As with, for example, the German Catholic and the French Catholic parish churches, many Belgian Catholic parishes have died out or have merged with other parishes in this age of priest shortages and financial hardship.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

At first, little heed was paid to the American system of government. Exercising the right to vote and to have an influence in local affairs came gradually, as Belgian Americans learned the English language and began to establish leadership among themselves. Soon they began to draw upon these leaders for various offices—town assessor, justice of the peace, superintendent of schools. As a group, they realized the power of their vote, and as time went on, began to exert great influence in the communities where they resided. Independent of spirit, they were prone to band together politically to solve their problems, rather than passively waiting for outsiders to order their affairs.

On a national scale, Belgian Americans responded as a distinct group to Belgium's tragic experience during the two World Wars. The Flemings, especially, made a strong effort to avoid being associated in people's minds with the Germans. In general, assimilation was hastened by wartime experiences. Belgian American veterans' and fraternal organizations came into being during this time.

MILITARY

Belgian Americans fought in America's War of Independence. The Civil War came shortly after the greatest influx of Belgian immigrants; and as American citizens, many were called to serve. In rural communities this caused great hardship, as women and children struggled to support themselves by working the farms alone. Belgian Americans fought in both World Wars. Their efforts were made more poignant by the fact that, in both Wars, Belgium was devastated by the German army. It is noted that during World War I, Belgian Americans gave so generously to the children who were victims of that war, that an official delegation from Belgium was sent to the United States in 1917 to honor their efforts. In a reverse effort, Edgar Sengier, the director of the Union Mine in Belgium, showed foresight in shipping all of Belgium's supply of radium and uranium ore to the United States. This kept this valuable material out of Hitler's hands. This ore was of tremendous value in the Manhattan project—America's plan to build the atomic bomb. Belgian Americans also served in subsequent military engagements in Korea and Vietnam.

RELATIONS WITH BELGIUM

Very few immigrants returned to Belgium, but the tie between the old country and the new has never been severed. From the beginning, letters went back and forth, telling of conditions in America and urging those left behind to join the new arrivals. As years went by, Belgians gradually became "Americanized." But even so, the connection with Belgium remained. The outpouring of aid from Belgians in the United States during World War I and World War II is certainly proof of that. Organizations such as the World War Veterans sent groups to Belgium and also received official delegations from there—often at the highest political and governmental levels. The Belgian American Educational Foundation grew out of the World War I Commission for the Relief of Belgium. This organization promotes and facilitates exchanges among the academic, artistic, and scientific communities of Belgium and the United States. The religious connection between the two

countries remains strong, basically because of the ongoing work of Catholic missions in the United States by such Belgian Catholic orders as the Norbertines and the Crosiers (Holy Cross Fathers). Even more so, the modern-day interest in researching one's forebears has led many Belgian Americans to reconnect with their mother country. Whether Walloon or Fleming, pride in one's ancestry and customs is reflected in this interest. Since the 1970s, librarians across the country, and especially in the Midwest, note the rise in requests for genealogical information in this search for Belgian roots.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Belgian Americans have excelled in many fields, especially in music, science, medicine, education, and business. Many are unsung, appreciated, and lauded only by their peers and in their own communities. Others have received national, and in some instances, international, recognition for their achievements. Some of their accomplishments are listed in the following sections.

ACADEMIA

Charles Raw was an important nineteenth-century archaeologist and museum curator whose career centered on the study of American archeology; in 1881, he was appointed curator of Archeology at the National Museum, where he established his reputation as the foremost American archaeologist. George Sarton (1884-1956) was a brilliant science historian, who traced the cultural and technical evolution of science from its beginnings to modern day. Others who made significant contributions to their academic specialty are economist Robert Triffin (1911-1993) and economic historian Raymond de Roover (1904-1972).

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Washington Charles De Pauw (b. 1822) was an industrialist whose method of manufacturing plate glass secured his fortune; much of his wealth was used to benefit the city of New Albany, Indiana, where his plant was located. Peter Corteville (1881-1966) founded the Belgian Press, a Detroit printing company that published a prominent Belgian American weekly newspaper, the *Gazette van Detroit*, which at one point attained a circulation of almost 10,000.

EXPLORERS AND MISSIONARIES

Catholic missionary-explorers were active across America from the seventeenth century on. Two of the most notable are Father Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan, and Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, a Jesuit. Father Hennepin (1614-1705) joined the 1678 La Salle expedition to explore the Mississippi River; he was the first European to sketch and describe the Niagara Falls. In 1683, he wrote a comprehensive treatment of the Upper Mississippi Valley; 60 editions of this book were published in most of the major European languages. Father de Smet (1801-1873) was a notable pioneer in the exploration of the nineteenth-century frontier. From 1845 to 1873, he traveled thousands of miles in undeveloped Western territory. As a missionary, perhaps his most important work was with the Native Americans, and he played a prominent role in the final peace treaty with the Sioux leader, Sitting Bull.

LITERATURE

Georges Simenon (1903–) is famous for his psychological detective stories and is the creator of the popular Inspector Maigret. He is the author of more than 200 works. He came to the United States during World War II, and later lived in Switzerland.

MEDICINE

Father Joseph Damien De Veuster (1840-1889) devoted his life to the care of lepers in Hawaii; better known as Father Damien, he contracted leprosy himself in 1885. He was beatified by the Catholic Church in 1993, 104 years after his death. Albert Claude (1898-1983) was a joint recipient in 1974 of the Nobel Prize in Medicine for his work on the structure of the cell; he was also a pioneer in the development of the electronic microscope. Of more recent note: Charles Schepens (1919–) has made important contributions in the field of ophthalmology. Emile Boulpaep (1938–) discovered physicochemical characteristics of cell membranes that provided insight into a number of kidney and heart disorders. He was awarded the prestigious Christoffel Plantin prize in 1992, which honors the achievements of Belgians living in other countries.

MUSIC

Practitioners of the carillon art have flourished in the United States. The carillon is a bell tower comprised of fixed chromatically tuned bells which are sounded by hammers controlled from a keyboard. More than 150 carillons are located across the United States, on university campuses, botanical gardens,

parks, and cathedrals. The 52-bell carillon in Ghent, Belgium, is 700 years old and was the largest in the world until it was surpassed in 1925 by the 53-bell carillon at the Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York City. Its present carillonneur, Jos D'hollander is one of the foremost in the country. Other famous carillonneurs were Antoon Brees, Riverside Church of New York and Cranbrook Church in Detroit, and Camiel Lefevre of Bok Tower in Florida. Lefevre was the first graduate of the world's first carillon school in Mechelen, Belgium, which was founded in 1922 and funded by the Belgian American Education Foundation. F. Gordon Parmentier, a Green Bay, Wisconsin native, is a world-recognized composer of symphonies and opera. Robert Gorin (b. 1898) was a French language poet who lived in the United States during World War II. He created the National Jazz Foundation, and was one of the world's foremost jazz authorities.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Karel J. Van de Poele (1846-1895) is known as “the father of the electric trolley.” By 1869, his electrical streetcars were operating in Detroit. He founded the Van de Poele Electric Light Company and invented the dynamo, which served to power American industry in its early days. Jean-Charles Houzeau de Lehaie (1820-1888) has been called the “Belgian von Humboldt” for his work in the fields of astronomy, mathematics, physics, botany, politics, journalism, and literature. He was born in Belgium and arrived in New Orleans in 1857. He was actively involved in politics at the time of the Civil War and campaigned against slavery. Ernest Rebecq Solvay (1838-1922) invented the process of manufacturing sodium carbonate with ammoniac. He built his first factory in a town named in his honor, Solvay, New York. Leo Baekeland (1863-1944) was a chemist who invented the substance bakelite, a synthetic resin which ushered in an industrial design revolution and was the forerunner of the modern plastics industry. He also invented the photographic paper called Velox. Karel Bossart (1904-1975) was called the father of the Atlas missile. His engineering work in the missile field culminated in 1958, when he received the U. S. Air Force's Exceptional Civilian Award for developing the first intercontinental ballistic missile. He was a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Gaston De Groote (b. 1915) was the commander of the *Savannah*, the world's first nuclear-powered cargo passenger ship. George Washington Goethals (1858-1928) is known as the builder of the Panama Canal. An engineer, administrator, and soldier, he spent seven years overseeing its construction, and was the Canal Zone's first civil governor. Georges Van Biesbroeck

(1880-1974) was an astronomer at Yerkes Observatory in Wisconsin. He is noted for verifying Einstein's theory that light is slightly distorted in the area of the solar corona.

MEDIA

PRINT

Two Flemish newspapers, the *Gazette van Moline* and *Gazette van Detroit*, were the largest Belgian publications in the early twentieth century. The *Gazette van Moline*, founded in 1907, was the first Flemish newspaper in the United States. It ceased publication in 1921. The *Gazette van Detroit* was founded in 1914, and was still publishing into the 1980s, although at a greatly reduced circulation. In 1964, the year of its fiftieth anniversary, its circulation was approximately 5,000. Newsletters are prevalent among Belgian associations and heritage societies in the United States. Listed below are two examples of the type:

Belgian Laces.

Official quarterly bulletin of the Belgian Researchers, Inc., and the Belgian American Heritage Society. Described as "the link between people of like ancestry and like interest on both sides of the ocean."

Contact: Leen Inghels, Editor.

Address: Fruitland Lane, LaGrande, Oregon 97850.

Telephone: (503) 963-6697.

Gazette Di Waloniye Wisconsin.

A French-language quarterly periodical that serves to connect the Belgian Americans of Northeastern Wisconsin with those in Belgium.

Contact: Willy Monfils, Editor.

Address: 770 Chemin de la Boscaille, B-7457,
Walhain, Belgium.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

Belgian Radio and Television.

Broadcasts daily and frequency can be tuned in for listening anywhere in the United States and Canada.

Address: P.O. Box 26, B-1000, Brussels, Belgium.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Belgian American Societies exist in areas of Belgian settlement throughout the United States. Most of these associations came into being in the early

decades of the twentieth century, and served as social and cultural outlets for those of Belgian descent. In time, these local and state organizations formed regional federations, such as the Federation of Belgian American Societies of the Midwest and the United Belgians Societies. Many of these societies are still active, and the following state organization serves as an example of the type:

Belgian American Association.

Founded in 1945, the association has a membership of 4,000 individuals and firms united to better relationships between the United States and Belgium. Its focus is to foster awareness and appreciation between the two countries. Activities include a cultural conference, roundtable talks, organization of meetings for business people, film showings, luncheons and dinners in honor of important American visitors to Belgium, and organization of trips to the United States. The Association maintains liaison with similar groups abroad, informs members of available travel and education opportunities, operates exchange programs, sponsors fund raising and relief activities, and participates in related legislative activities. The Association also publishes a monthly newsletter.

Contact: Louis Van Refelgham, President.

1201 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Ste. 500,
Washington, DC 20044.

Telephone: (301) 977-9897.

Belgian American Chamber of Commerce.

Founded in 1925, it has a membership of 500 Belgian exporters and American importers of Belgian products. It publishes the *Belgian American Trade Review*, a quarterly journal that contains company profiles, information on Belgian products, new members list, and Port of Antwerp news.

Contact: Robert Coles, Executive Director.

Address: Empire State Building, 350 Fifth
Avenue, Suite 1322, New York, New York,
10118-1322.

Telephone: (212) 967-9898.

Belgian American Foundation.

Founded in 1920, the foundation has 250 members. It promotes closer relations and exchange of intellectual ideas between Belgium and the United States through fellowships granted to graduate students of one country for study and research in the other. Assists higher education and scientific research. Commemorates the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and associated organizations during World War I.

Contact: Emile Boulpaep, President.
Address: 195 Church Street, 10th Floor, New Haven, Connecticut 06510-2009.
Telephone: (203) 777-5765.

Belgian American Heritage Society of West Virginia.

Founded in 1992, has as its purpose the social and intellectual advancement of West Virginia Belgians. Serves as a resource for those interested in Belgian genealogy, history, and culture.

Contact: Rene V. Zabeau, President.
Address: 223 S. Maple Ave., Clarksburg, West Virginia 26301.
Telephone: (304) 624-4464.

Belgian National Tourist Office.

Founded in 1947, it promotes travel and tourism to Belgium. It also provides information services and maintains a speakers bureau and publishes *Belgium Newsbreaks* five times yearly.

Address: 780 3rd Avenue #1501, New York, New York 10017-2024.
Telephone: (212) 758-8130.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Belgian Culture Center of West Illinois.

Promotes Flemish history and culture, and provides leadership in perpetuating Belgian heritage and teaching the values of Belgian culture.

Contact: Mary Morrissey, Archivist.
Address: 712 Eighteenth Avenue, Moline, Illinois 61265-3837.
Telephone: (309) 762-0167.

The Belgian Researchers.

Provides books, periodicals, and other materials for genealogical research. Principal objective: "Keep our Belgian heritage alive in our hearts and in the hearts of our posterity." Publishes *Belgian Laces*, the official quarterly newsletter.

Contact: Pierre L. Inghels, President and Editor.
Address: Fruitland Lane, LaGrande, Oregon 97850.
Telephone: (503) 963-6697.

Genealogical Society of Flemish Americans.

Provides information and library materials pertaining to Flemish genealogical research. Publishes *Flemish American Heritage*.

Address: 18740 Thirteen Mile Road, Roseville, Michigan 48066.

University of Wisconsin—Green Bay Special Collections Library/Belgian American Ethnic Resource Center.

The center is a cooperative project of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin—Green Bay. Of special interest in the Center's holdings are materials on persons of Belgian descent, whose families originally settled in Brown, Kewaunee, and Door counties. These materials include family papers, church records, photographs, oral history interviews, and records of school districts and towns.

Contact: Debra L. Anderson, Special Collections Librarian.
Address: 2420 Nicolet Drive, Green Bay, Wisconsin, 54311-7001.
Telephone: (414) 465-2539.

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As with many tribes,
a revitalization of
tribal traditions and
customs grew in
the late twentieth
century with
education initiatives
leading the way.

B L A C K F O O T

by

Richard C. Hanes and
Matthew T. Pifer

OVERVIEW

The Blackfoot Nation is actually a confederation of several distinct tribes, including the South Piegan (or Pikuni), the Blood (or Kainai), the North Piegan, and the North Blackfoot (or Siksika). They traditionally called each other Nizitapi, or “Real People.” The name Blackfoot reportedly derived from the black-dyed moccasins worn by some tribal members at the time of early contact with non-Indians. The Blackfoot are also known as the Blackfeet. The Blood, Siksika, and Piegan freely intermarried, spoke a common language, shared the same cultural traits, and fought the same enemies. This confederation traditionally occupied the northwest portion of the Great Plains from the northern reaches of the Saskatchewan River of western Saskatchewan and southern Alberta, Canada, to the Yellowstone River in central Montana including the headwaters of the Missouri River. The Northern Blackfoot live farthest north, the Blood and North Piegan in the middle just north of the Canadian border, and the South Piegan furthest south along the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountains in northern Montana. The confederation had more than one tribal leader. Each tribe consisted of a number of hunting bands, which were the primary political units of the tribe. Each of these bands was headed by both a war leader and a civil leader, the former chosen because of his reputation as a warrior, and the later chosen because of his eloquent oratory.



The Blackfoot were
one of many tribes
to rely on buffalo
for survival.

In 1809, fur trapper and explorer Alexander Henry estimated the North Blackfoot population at 5,200. In 1832, artist George Catlin estimated the population of the entire confederation at 16,500. By 1840, the population began decreasing significantly from epidemics of diphtheria in 1836 and smallpox in 1837, and from increasing warfare. One southern group of 2,000 in central Montana known to some as Small Robes reportedly disappeared altogether. Still, the Blackfoot reigned over the northern Plains region of southern Alberta and northern Montana into the mid-nineteenth century. By 1896, however, only 1,400 Blackfoot lived in Montana.

As a member of the Algonquian language family, the Blackfoot are related to other Algonquian-speaking tribes whom ethnologists believe migrated onto the plains from the eastern woodlands several centuries before contact with whites. Some Blackfoot do not readily accept that historic interpretation. In *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*, John C. Ewers stated that the Blackfoot were the “earliest Algonquian residents of the plains.” Consequently, their culture is a Plains culture, revolving around warfare, buffalo, and the horse.

During the nineteenth century, the Blackfoot confederation was the most powerful of the Northern Plains Native groups, actually impeding to some extent the westward U.S. expansion.

HISTORY

Central to their traditional economy, the Blackfoot relentlessly followed the enormous herds of buffalo. In the time before the horse and firearms, commonly known as the “Dog Days,” the Blackfoot used arrows and lances in wars with traditional enemies, including the Shoshone, the Plains Cree, the Sioux, the Flathead, and the Assiniboin. Often, they allied in battle with their neighbors the Gros Ventre and the Sarcee. Domesticated dogs carried Blackfoot belongings by pulling a loaded *travois* consisting of two long poles attached to the dog’s sides. After acquiring horses and firearms around the middle of the eighteenth century, the Blackfoot became the most powerful tribe of the Northern Plains. By the mid-nineteenth century, they had pushed their enemies, particularly the Shoshone, Flathead, and Kootenai, west across the Rocky Mountains.

In the mid-eighteenth century, fur trappers exploring westward, with the hope of establishing trading relationships with the Native population, were the first non-Indians to visit this region. The first trapper to provide an extensive written record of the Blackfoot was David Thompson, an agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, who traveled into Blackfoot territory in 1787. From this date until the near extermination of buffalo in 1883, the relationship between the trading companies and the Blackfoot was important to the Blackfoot's economic and social lives. Trading posts not only introduced them to new technologies, such as guns, but also to new diseases. Smallpox epidemics devastated the Blackfoot population in 1781, 1837, and 1869.

The Blackfoot became respected as an aggressive military force, attacking and destroying several trading posts in their territory. Stories of such events terrified the settlers moving west, who applied to their governments for protection. Due to such concerns, as well as the desire to acquire Blackfoot land, a number of treaties and agreements were negotiated that led to the Blackfoot ceding

“The buffalo have disappeared, and the fate of the buffalo has almost overtaken the Blackfeet.”

George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People*, (Scribner's, New York, 1892).

much of their territory. In 1855, the Blackfoot signed their first treaty, known as Lame Bull's Treaty, after the powerful Piegan chief who signed it. This treaty ceded most of the 26 million acre composing traditional Blackfoot territory within U.S. borders. A reserve was left for their exclusive use. New treaties in 1865 and 1868 significantly decreased the size of their territory along the southern boundary. Continued pressures from expanding white settlements led to hostile resistance by some Blackfoot. In retaliation, the U.S. Cavalry, commanded by Major Eugene M. Baker, indiscriminately massacred 173 Blackfoot in 1870 at Heavy Runner's Piegan's camp on the Marias River.

In 1874, an executive order further reduced the Blackfoot territory in Montana and formally established a reservation on the east flanks of the Rocky Mountains next to the Canadian border. To the north, the Canadian government established reservations in Alberta for the Blackfoot in 1877 through Treaty No. 7, which ceded much of their traditional Native territory. The Blacks reserved almost 350,000 acres, the North Blackfoot over 178,000 acres, and the North Piegan over 113,000

acres. Additional land in the United States was relinquished through agreements in 1887 and 1896. The 1896 a land sale agreement for \$1.5 million sold an area that soon became part of Glacier National Park in 1910. The conditions of that agreement continue to be at issue with respect to tribal use of park lands. The modern-day reservation boundaries were essentially set by this time. Lands within the reservation were allotted to individual tribal members between 1907 and 1911 under the General Allotment Act of 1887. This process led to so-called “excess” lands falling into non-Indian ownership.

MODERN ERA

In *Modern Blackfeet: Montanans on a Reservation*, Malcolm McFee studied the changing culture of the Blackfoot after the buffalo's disappearance in 1883. He pointed to two significant periods divided by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The first period lasted from 1884, with the onset of famine caused by the near extermination of the buffalo, to 1935. This period was characterized by Blackfoot dependency on the reservation agent for food and other essential supplies. In addition, there was a massive cultural change due to the new sedentary, agricultural lifestyle. The second period, stretching from 1935 to the 1960s, was characterized by self-sufficiency and self-government, which the Indian Reorganization Act encouraged. Today the Blackfoot Reservation has an established government and an active population. Many Blackfoot support themselves through ranching, industry, and oil and natural gas exploration.

The Blackfoot have always been concerned with their traditional land, recognizing it as sacred and important to their survival. This concern is reflected today in the Blackfoot claim for priority rights over the water resources on the reservation, rights to certain natural resources within the boundaries of Glacier National Park as specified in the 1896 agreement, and the appropriate use of reservation lands by both members and non-members. The traditional values represented in the Blackfoot's concern for the land are also evident in the tribe's ongoing concern over the preservation of their culture. Other issues include the development of industry, the use of oil and natural gas resources, and the maintenance of ranches on the reservation.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Four reservations compose the Blackfoot nation today. The only one in the United States, the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, borders the east

boundary of Glacier National Park. It is over 1.5 million acres in size, containing a diverse landscape of mountains and hills, and lakes and rivers. The other three are all located in Alberta, Canada: the Blackfoot Reserve on the Bow River, the Blood Reserve situated between the Belly and St. Mary rivers, and the smaller Piegan Reserve located a short distance west of the Blood Reserve on the Oldman River. By the 1990s, 15,000 Blackfoot lived on the Canadian reserves, while 10,000 lived on the U.S. reservation.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The Blackfoot avoid eating fish or using canoes, because they believe that rivers and lakes hold special power through habitation of Underwater People called the *Suyitapis*. The *Suyitapis* are the power source for medicine bundles, painted lodge covers, and other sacred items. A traditional disdain for fishing persists for many, despite the rich on-reservation fisheries.

The Blackfoot traditionally relied on the buffalo for food, clothing, shelter, and much of their domestic and military equipment. The pervasive use of the buffalo in Blackfoot culture provides the basis for Alfred Vaughan's claim, recorded by John C. Ewers, that the buffalo was the Blackfoot's "Staff of Life." Until the buffalo's near extermination in the early 1880s, they roamed the plains in extraordinarily large herds. Several hunting methods were used throughout Blackfoot history, such as the "buffalo surround" and cliff drives. However, once the Blackfoot acquired the horse and mastered its use, they preferred charging the buffalo on their fast and well-trained "buffalo runners." This method of hunting brought together both courage and skill, traits which the Blackfoot valued most highly.

The traditional shelter of the Blackfoot was a *tipi* that normally housed one family of about eight individuals. According to Ewers, the typical household was composed of two men, three women, and three children. About 19 pine poles, each averaging 18 feet in length, comprised the *tipi*'s frame. Between six and 20 buffalo skins, often decorated with pictures of animals and geometric designs, covered the poles. Furnishings included buffalo robe beds and willow backrests. The *tipi*'s design allowed for easy movement, a necessity given the traditionally nomadic nature of the Blackfoot-hunting lifestyle. After the buffalo's disappearance and the creation of reservations during the latter half of the

nineteenth century, the log cabin replaced the *tipi*, becoming a symbol of the new sedentary lifestyle. Ranching and agriculture then became the primary means of survival.

CUISINE

Buffalo meat, the staple of the Blackfoot diet, was boiled, roasted, or dried. Dried meat was stored in rawhide pouches. It was also made into pemmican, a mixture of ground buffalo meat, service berries, and marrow grease. Pemmican was an important food source during the winter and other times when buffalo were scarce. In addition to buffalo, men hunted larger game, such as deer, moose, mountain sheep, antelope, and elk. The Blackfoot supplemented their diet with berries and other foods gathered from the plains. Women gathered roots, prairie turnips, bitterroot, and camas bulbs in the early summer. They picked wild service berries, choke cherries, and buffalo or bull berries in the fall, and gathered the bark of the cottonwood tree, enjoying its sweet interior. Fish, reptiles, and grizzly bears were, except for a few bands, considered unfit for consumption.

MUSIC

The Blackfoot used two types of drums. For the Sun Dance, a section of tree trunk with skin stretched over both ends was traditionally used. The other type of percussion instrument was like a tambourine with hide stretched over a broad wooden hoop. Rattles were traditionally used for various ceremonies, with the type varying with the particular ceremony. Some were made of hide, others of buffalo hooves. Also, whistles with single holes were used in the Sun Dance.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditionally, the Blackfoot made their clothing from the hides of buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope. The women tailored dresses for themselves from the durable and pliable skins of antelope or mountain sheep. These dresses were ankle length and sleeveless, with straps to hold them up. They were decorated with porcupine quills, cut fringes, and simple geometric designs often colored with earth pigments. In the winter, separate skin sleeves were added to these dresses along with a buffalo robe. The women also wore necklaces of sweet-grass and bracelets of elk or deer teeth. Clothing changed as contact with white traders increased. Many women began to use wool and other types of cloth to make many of their garments. The buffalo robe, however,

for reasons of both warmth and comfort, remained important through the nineteenth century.

The men wore antelope or mountain sheep skin leggings, shirts, breechcloths, and moccasins. In the winter they wore a long buffalo robe, often decorated with earth pigments or plant dyes and elaborate porcupine quill embroidery. They also wore necklaces made from the claws and teeth of bears, and from braided sweet grass. In general, this dress was common among Blackfoot men until the last decade of the nineteenth century. At this time what was called “citizen’s dress,” according to John C. Ewers, became popular, due to both pressure from missionaries and the disappearance of the buffalo. “Citizen’s dress” consisted of a coat, trousers, and moccasins, which were preferred over the inflexible shoes of the white man.

DANCES AND SONGS

Traditionally, the Blackfoot had numerous dance societies, each having a social and religious function. Dances, usually performed at summer gatherings, reflected Blackfoot emphasis on hunting and war. Men were honored in the dances for bravery in battle or for generosity in sharing meat from a hunt. The Blackfoot Sun Dance was a major annual dance ceremony involving the construction of a special circular lodge. The actual dance involved men fasting and praying, and dancing from the wall to a central pole and back inside the Sun Dance lodge. Voluntary piercing of the chest for ritual purposes was sometimes a concluding feature of the dance.

Today, the Blackfoot hold the North American Indian Days Celebration in Browning, Montana every July. The large pow wow draws Native peoples from throughout the region for singing, dancing, and socializing. Blackfoot customs were the subject of a 1982 film, *The Drum is the Heart*, produced by Randy Croce. The film traces how long-standing Blackfoot traditions are still a part of modern celebrations. The film shows ceremonial costumes, tipi decoration, social interactions, and the ongoing role of pow wows.

HEALTH ISSUES

The Blackfoot believe spirits to be an active and vital of everyday life. Therefore, they viewed illness as the visible presence of an evil spirit in a person’s body. Consequently, such illness required the expertise of a professional medicine man or woman who had acquired, through a vision, the ability to heal the sick by removing evil spirits. In their visions a supernatural power instructed the medicine people,

who then called upon this power to assist them during healing ceremonies. John C. Ewers in *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* observed that upon the conclusion of the traditional healing ceremony a medicine person might physically remove some object from the sick person, presenting it as proof that the ceremony had been successful. Lesser injuries, such as cuts, were treated with medicinal herbs. The medicine person commonly acquired such knowledge through an apprenticeship. Traditionally, horses were offered as payment for a medicine person’s services. Today, the Blackfeet Indian Hospital, operated under the Indian Health Service, is located in Browning and provides local health services to the Blackfeet Reservation.

LANGUAGE

The Blackfoot Indians’ Algonquian dialect is related to the languages of several Plains, Eastern Woodlands, and Great Lake region tribes. Ewers stated that by migrating west, the Blackfoot encountered Athapaskan-, Shoshonean-, and Siouan-speaking tribes, which distinguished their particular dialect, along with isolation from other Algonquian-speaking tribes. Although the Blackfoot did not have a syllabary, they did record their traditional stories and important events, such as wars, in pictographs on the internal and external surfaces of tipis, and on their buffalo robes. Like other Native groups attempting to preserve their languages, a resurgence occurred in the use of the Blackfoot language by the end of the twentieth century.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Examples of the Blackfoot language and words include: *Tsá kaanistáópíhpa?* — How are you?; *Amo(i)stsi mūinisti iikááhsiiyaawa* — These berries are good; *Póóhsapoot!* — Come here!; *Nitsíksstaa nááhksoyssi* — I want to eat; *Kikáta’yáakohkottsspommóóhpa?* — Can I help you?; *Tsimá kásitokoyihpa?* — Where do you live?; *Isstónnatsstoyiwa* — It’s extremely cold; *ookáán* — Sundance; *Ássa!* — Hey!; *Inihkatsimat!* — Help!; and, *Wa’piski-wiya’s* — White man.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

During the dark years of 1884 to 1910, when the Blackfoot population was at its low ebb, Western educational facilities were introduced to the Mon-

tana reservation. Holy Family Mission, a Catholic boarding school, was the earliest educational institution on the Blackfoot reservation. A government boarding school followed the boarding school, and later, day schools. These schools strongly focused on assimilating Blackfoot students into American society, forbidding the practice of traditional customs, including native language use. Federal programs in the 1930s provided funds for college and vocational education. Over 120 Blackfoot held college degrees by 1950.

As with many tribes, a revitalization of tribal traditions and customs grew in the late twentieth century with education initiatives leading the way. The Blackfoot's Algonquian language and their traditional cultural values are taught today through head-start programs in primary and secondary schools on the reservation. Similar programs have also been created for adults at neighboring colleges, such as the Blackfeet Community College in Browning, Montana. Strengthening the sense of community through a continued identification with their heritage is one goal of these programs. They also help the Blackfoot overcome such social problems as alcoholism, poverty, and crime. The Blackfeet Community College, established in 1976, became fully accredited by 1985. The college is a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES). The two-year school had 400 students by the early 1990s. Tribal members have assumed leadership roles in AISES through the years. Judy M. Gobert was Treasurer of AISES in 1999 while teaching at the Salish-Kootenai College in Pablo, Montana. Gerald "Buzz" Cobell was on the AISES board. Old Sun Community College is located in Gleichen, Alberta on the North Blackfoot Reserve.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

A major traditional activity of Blackfoot women was hide tanning. Tanning was long and hard work. Hides were staked on the ground fur-side down and scraped to remove all fat and meat and then they were flipped over to scrape off all of the hair. The scraping continued until the skin became soft and clean. To produce softer skins, the hide was rubbed with mixtures of animal brains, liver, and fat. After drying in the sun, the hide was then soaked in water, rolled in a bundle, and cured. After curing, the hide was again stretched and scraped. Each hide took many hours. The worth of Blackfoot women was largely judged by the number and quality of hides they produced. Women were also responsible for butchering, curing, and preparing meat. Other roles for Blackfoot women included making, erecting, and

owning the tipis. According to John C. Ewers in *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri*, many of the more popular Blackfoot traditional healers were women.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Marriage traditionally played an important role in both the social and economic lives of the Blackfoot. Marriages were arranged by close friends or relatives or were prearranged by the bride's parents when she was still a child. Before any wedding could take place, the man needed to convince the bride's father, relatives, or friends that he was worthy. This condition of marriage meant he had to prove that he was a powerful warrior, a competent hunter, and an economically stable husband. Due to these requirements, very few men married before the age of 21. Exchanging gifts was central to the marriage ceremony. Both the groom and the bride's families offered horses, household goods, and robes. After the wedding, the new couple lived either in their own hut or in that of the husband's family.

FUNERALS

After dying, individuals were traditionally dressed in ceremonial clothes, their faces were painted, and they were wrapped in buffalo robes. The body was then buried atop a hill, down in a ravine, or placed between the forks of a tree. Both men and women mourned the death of loved ones by cutting their hair, wearing old clothes, and smearing their faces with white clay. The possessions of the deceased were distributed according to a verbal will. When no verbal will existed, custom called for the band members to take whatever possessions they could gather before others claimed them. However, when a prominent leader died, his possessions were left within his lodge, and his horses were shot. The spirit of the deceased did not leave this world, but traveled to the Sand Hills, an area south of the Saskatchewan River. Although invisible, spirits lived there much as they had in life, and often communicated with the living as they passed through this region.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Military societies, called *aïmikiks*, were a basic element of Blackfoot society. The Blackfoot had strong and friendly relations with the Athapascan-speaking Sarcee to the north and were generally friendly with the Gros Ventre. But long term enemies existed among the Nez Percés, the Flathead, the Northern Shoshoni, the Crow, the Cree, the Assiniboine, and

This is an example
of a Blackfoot
burial platform.



others. War leaders were believed to possess supernatural powers acquired through visions guaranteeing success. Hostile interaction with other tribes was a means of acquiring honor, usually accomplished through the capture of property. Successful exploits were exhibited on tipi covers or buffalo robes. Honor came through being exposed to danger more than actually killing an enemy. These interactions with other groups were an important means of gaining better social standing. The military societies also served domestic services, such as policing camps, overseeing camp moves, and organizing defense from external threats.

RELIGION

“All of the Blackfeet universe,” Malcolm McFee stated in *Modern Blackfeet: Montanans on a Reservation*, “was invested with a pervasive supernatural power that could be met with in the natural environment.” The Blackfoot sought these powers, believing the life of the land and their own lives were irrevocably bound. An animal’s power or the power of a natural element would frequently be

bestowed upon an individual in a dream. The animal, often appearing in human form, provided the dreamer with a list of the objects, songs, and rituals necessary to use this power. The dreamer gathered the indicated items and placed them into a rawhide pouch called a medicine bundle. The power of this bundle and the associated songs and rituals were used in many social and religious ceremonies. The most powerful medicine bundle among the Blackfoot was the beaver medicine bundle. According to Ewers, this bundle was used by the Beaver Men to charm the buffalo, and to assist in the planting of the sacred tobacco used in the medicine pipe ritual performed after the first thunder was heard. Medicine bundles were continually traded among members of the tribe in elaborate ceremonies, in which the physical pouch and its constituent power were literally transferred from one owner to another.

Primary to the traditional Blackfoot religious life was the communal Sun Dance, held in the middle of the summer. The Sun Dance was a sacred celebration of the sun that was initiated by a “virtuous” woman in one of the Blackfoot bands. A woman who pledged, or “vowed” to take on the responsibil-

ities of sponsoring the Sun Dance was called the “vow woman.” Typically, the vow woman took on the position as a display of gratitude to the sun for the survival of someone in the vow woman’s family. If, for example, a brother or sister had somehow narrowly escaped death, a woman in that person’s family would seek to become the vow woman. The vow woman was required to fast prior to the Sun Dance, to prepare food for the Sun Dance, to buy a sacred headdress, and to learn complex prayers.

As word spread about the vow woman and the location of the Sun Dance, bands of Blackfoot drifted toward the site of the Sun Dance and began to prepare the Sun Dance Lodge at the center of a circle camp. Once the Sun Dance lodge was erected around the central cottonwood pole, the dance began and lasted four days. During this time, the dancers, who had taken their own sacred vows, fasted from both food and water. They called to the sun, through sacred songs and chants, to grant them power, luck, or success. Some pierced their breasts with sticks, which were then attached to the center pole by rawhide ropes. The dancers pulled away from the pole, until these skewers tore free. Other men and women would cut off fingers or pieces of flesh from their arms and legs.

The Sun Dance was considered barbaric by the Catholic missionaries. Father J. B. Carroll, for example, opined that the Sun Dance reminded the Blackfeet “of the darkest days of heathenism and bloodshed, because it is the day on which they parade as real savages in their war paints and war dances.” William E. Farr, author of *The Reservation Blackfeet, 1882-1945*, agrees that the Sun Dance may have allowed the Blackfeet to bridge the gap between the past and the present, but he adds that the Sun Dance was “a series of sacred acts, sacrifice, and vision, an annual renewal — one that gave the Blackfeet enough presence and strength to go on for another year. Although the missionaries tried to suppress the Sun Dance in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, it has never totally disappeared and has experienced a renewal in recent times.

Catholicism was a major religion among the Blackfoot through the twentieth century. Catholic Jesuits, or “Black Robes,” were the first Christian missionaries to reach the Blackfoot bands. In 1859, Catholic Jesuits erected the St. Peter’s Mission near Choteau on the Teton River. The Methodist Church arrived shortly after the Jesuits did, and they made their own inroads into Blackfoot spiritual life. Agent John Young, a Methodist minister, managed to get the Jesuits banned from the Blackfoot reservation during the Starvation Winter of 1883-1884, but the Jesuits, led by Peter Prando, set up shop just

across the reservation boundary on the south side of Birch Creek. Although Christianity maintains a presence in the Blackfoot community, traditional religious practices involving medicine bundles, the Sun Dance, and sweat baths are still practiced.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Blackfoot followed the movements of buffalo in bands composed of 20 to 30 families. The territory ranged from the edge of the Saskatchewan forests in the north to the Missouri River country to the south. With the near extinction of buffalo herds in 1883, the traditional economy was destroyed and many died from starvation. The winter of 1883-1884 was so particularly devastating that it became known locally as the Starvation Winter. By the early twentieth century, the government carried out irrigation projects employing many tribal members. By 1915, the emphasis shifted from farming to ranching. Some prospered grazing their own herds, while others leased their lands to stockraisers for little return. The tribe lost over 200,000 acres through this period due to their inability to pay taxes. Approximately thirty percent of the reservation fell into non-Indian hands.

In the 1920s, a Five Year Industrial Program was begun that encouraged planting vegetable gardens and small fields of grain. This initiative relieved some economic problems. The 1930s brought federal works programs. Many Blackfoot took part in the Works Progress Administration projects and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Later in the century, the Blackfoot won two substantial monetary judgements from the United States. Monies were awarded in compensation for irregularities associated with the 1888 relinquishment of vast areas in eastern Montana. A \$29 million settlement for unfair federal accounting practices with tribal funds was awarded in 1982.

Under the guidance of prominent tribal leader Earl Old Person, a major recreational complex, an industrial park, a museum and research center, housing developments, and a community center were constructed on the reservation. Blackfeet Writing Company of Browning, Montana was established in 1971, is a successful company that makes pens and pencils. Other ventures including lumber mills and the purchase of the American Calendar Company in 1988 have been less successful.

The Blackfoot, along with six other tribes including the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Crow, formed

the Montana Indian Manufacturer's Network to promote jobs for Indians in economically depressed areas. The foundation was the subject of a 1992 film, *Tribal Business in the Global Marketplace*, produced and written by Carol Rand and directed by Thomas Hudson. In addition, leasing lands for grazing and oil and gas exploration has provided relatively steady income to the Blackfoot. In 1997 the Blackfoot signed an agreement with the K2 Energy Corporation to begin oil and gas exploration on Montana reservation lands. Despite these initiatives, an unemployment rate of over 50 percent persisted through the 1990s.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Blood tribal leader Crowfoot (1830-1890) was born at Blackfoot Crossing near where Calgary, Alberta was later founded. In his youth he moved from the Blood to Northern Blackfoot tribe where he gained a reputation as a warrior, leader, and orator. Crowfoot was leader of the Canadian Blackfoot during the transitional period from their traditional economy based on buffalo hunting to reservation-based farming. Foreseeing the need to establish friendly relations with the Euroamericans, Crowfoot represented the Blackfoot, Bloods, Piegans, and Sarcees in 1877 treaty negotiations that led to establishment of governmental relations with the Canadian government. Crowfoot maintained peaceful relations with Canada, even during hostilities in 1885 involving other Native Canadians. Crowfoot continued his leadership role during the early reservation period, traveling to Montreal as his people's representative to meet with the prime minister. Crowfoot's name provided the basis for a 1968 film titled *The Ballad of Crowfoot*, which was produced by Barrie Howells and directed by Willie Dunn. The film looked at the history of western Canada through the eyes of Native populations.

For the Blackfoot of Montana, the 1934 Indian Recognition Act began their modern economic and political development. Under the authority of the act, the Blackfoot chose to write a constitution establishing a tribal council. The governmental changes placed remaining tribally owned lands into a more stable federal trust status and provided loans for economic pursuits, such as raising livestock and for education. Each Blackfoot reservation is governed by a general council headed by a single chairman. The Montana Blackfoot reservation, for example, is lead by the Tribal Business Council composed of nine members elected to two year terms. The council is headquartered in Browning, the largest of five reservation communities. To qual-

ify for tribal programs, tribal members carry identification cards showing their enrollment number and blood quantum degree.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART

Gerald Tailfeathers (1925-1975), one of the first Native Canadians to become a professional artist, was born at Stand Off, Alberta among the Blood branch of Blackfoot. His talents for painting were recognized early in life, and Tailfeathers attended the School of Fine Arts in Banff, Alberta and the Provincial School of Technology and Art in Calgary. Tailfeathers depicted Blackfoot peoples in late nineteenth century settings such as buffalo hunting ceremonies. His style was considered pictorial in its portrayals.

EDUCATION

Richard Sanderville (c. 1873-1957), part Piegan, grew up on the Montana Blackfoot Reservation and became a student in the use of traditional sign language. He inherited this interest from his father and grandfather who also served as interpreters between the Blackfoot and Euroamericans from the fur trade era onward. He was among the first group of Blackfoot enrolled at the famed Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Sanderville later served on the Blackfoot tribal council. Seeking to relieve the poverty of the area in the 1920s, he helped organize the Piegan Farming and Livestock Association. Sanderville helped develop the Dictionary of the Indian Sign Language with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C. in the 1930s. He was also instrumental in establishing the Museum of the Plains Indian on the Blackfoot Reservation in 1941 in an effort to preserve tribal history.

Vivian Ayoungman (1947-) was born east of Calgary, Alberta in the Siksika Indian Nation to a ranching family. Ayoungman earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Calgary in secondary education in 1970 before going on to earn a Ph.D. from Arizona State University in Phoenix. While at University of Calgary she helped establish the Indian Student University Program, where she served as counselor. Ayoungman was elected to the board of directors and later served as academic vice president of Old Sun Community College in the 1970s. Following graduate studies, Ayoungman returned to Calgary where she became director of education for the Treaty Seven Tribal Council. Throughout her

career, Ayongman has presented many talks promoting the image of Native Canadians and their traditional values and cultural traits.

Ed Barlow was a noted educator in Montana, serving as superintendent of the Browning Public Schools. He was the first American Indian appointed to the Montana State Board of Education before becoming regional director for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the Minneapolis Area Office.

LITERATURE

King Kuka (1946–) was born in Browning, Montana and attended the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico in the mid-1960s. Kuka's poetry has been published in several works, including *The Whispering Wind* (1991) and *Voices of the Rainbow* (1992). Kuka is also a painter and a sculptor.

One of the more noted tribal members in the arts is Blackfoot novelist James Welch (b. 1940). Welch was born on the Blackfeet Reservation in Browning and also has kinship ties to the Gros Ventre of northeastern Montana. After graduating from the University of Montana, Welch has employed his Native background in writing about the human relationship to the natural landscape, Indian mythology, cultural traditions, tribal history, and the plight of Native life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He published a collection of poems in *Riding Earthboy 40* in 1971 and the novel *Winter in the Blood* in 1974. In *Killing Custer* (1994), Welch presents the Native perspective on the epic Battle of Little Horn. Other works include *The Death of Jim Loney* (1979), *Fools Crow* (1986), and *The Indian Lawyer* (1990). Welch has been recognized as one of the early influential writers in American Indian literature. Welch teaches contemporary American Indian literature on occasion at Cornell University in New York.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Architect Douglas Cardinal (1934–) was born in Red Deer, Alberta in Canada. His father was a member of the Northern Blackfoot. Cardinal graduated with a degree in architecture from the University of Texas in 1963. He quickly achieved a reputation as innovator in architectural design by combining Native traditions with advanced technology. The firm Douglas Cardinal, Architect, Limited of Ottawa, Ontario, Canada designed several Indian education centers, the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec and the master campus plan for the Institute of American Indian Arts in

Santa Fe. The firm involved in the initial design of the National Museum of the American Indian, proposed for the National Mall in Washington, D.C.

SOCIAL ISSUES

James Gladstone (1887-1971) became the first Native Canadian to serve as a senator in the Canadian Parliament. Gladstone, born at Mountain Hill in the Northwest Territory, grew up on the Blood Blackfoot Reservation in Alberta. A successful farmer on the Blood Reserve, he was the first Blood to have electricity or use a tractor. He became active in representing Native Canadian concerns before the national government in the late 1940s. Gladstone founded the Indian Association of Alberta in 1939, serving as president of the organization from 1948 to 1954 and again in 1956. Gladstone was appointed senator in 1958 and served 17 years. He was a strong proponent for protecting the traditions of Native Canadians, as well as economic improvement. He also delivered the first Parliament speech in Blackfoot language. During his tenure, treaty Indians received the right to vote in national elections. He was named Outstanding Indian of the Year in the 1960s.

Earl Old Person (1929–) became one of the most highly esteemed and honored individuals in the state of Montana, as well as the nation. He was born in Browning, Montana to Juniper and Molly (Bear Medicine) Old Person, who were from prominent families on the Blackfoot Reservation in northern Montana. By the time he was seven, he had started his long career of representing Native Americans, presenting Blackfoot culture in songs and dances at statewide events. In 1954, at the age of 25, Old Person became the youngest member of the Blackfoot Tribal Business Council. He was elected as its chairman ten years later in 1964 and, except for two years, held that position into the 1990s. Old Person also served as president of the National Congress of American Indians from 1969 to 1971 and president of the Affiliated Tribes of the Northwest from 1967 to 1972. He was chosen in 1971 as a member of the board of the National Indian Banking Committee. In 1977, he was appointed task force chairman of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Reorganization. He was charged with the task of recommending to the Secretary of the Interior changes in BIA policy that were desired by Indian leaders throughout the nation. He won the prestigious Indian Council Fire Award in 1977 and has traveled extensively meeting with many dignitaries and celebrities. In July of 1978, Old Person was given the honorary lifetime appointment as chief of the Blackfoot Nation. In 1990 he was elected vice-president of the National Congress

of American Indians (NCAI), a national political interest group that lobbies on behalf of U.S. tribes. Old Person, through his gentle demeanor and sincere desire to help others, has done much to promote the ideas of Native Americans in the United States and further positive relations between Indian communities and U.S. society.

Forrest J. Gerrard (1925–) became Assistant Secretary of Interior for Indian Affairs during the 1970s oversight management of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Born in Browning, Montana, Gerrard flew 35 combat missions as an Air Force pilot in World War II before returning home to represent American Indians before the U.S. government. He was director of the Office of Indian Affairs for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare before being appointed to Assistant Secretary position.

VISUAL ARTS

George Burdeau (1944–), a member of the Blackfoot, received a degree in communications from the University of Washington before undertaking graduate work and studies at the Anthropology Film Center and Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Burdeau went on to produce, direct, or write more than 20 film and television productions. Early in his career he worked on Native American subjects for Public Broadcasting System before working for the major television networks after the mid-1980s. Burdeau became director of the Communication Arts Department at the Institute of American Indian Arts.

MEDIA

Blackfeet Tribal News.

A newspaper providing information about current events of the Blackfoot, published by Blackfeet Media.

Address: Blackfeet Community College,
P.O. Box 819, Browning, Montana 59417.
Telephone: (406) 338-7755.

Glacier Reporter.

Contact: Brian Kavanagh, Publisher.
Address: Box R, Browning, Montana
59417-0317 USA.
Telephone: (406) 338-2090.
Fax: (406) 338-2410.

Montana Inter-Tribal Newsletter.

Address: 6301 Grand Avenue, Department of
Indian Affairs, Billings, Montana 59103.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Blackfeet Community College.

Tribally-controlled two-year college chartered by the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council in 1974.

Contact: Carol Murray, President.
Address: Highway 2 and 89, P.O. Box 819,
Browning, Montana 59417.
Telephone: (406) 338-5411.
E-mail: uanet141@gemini.oscs.montana.edu.
Online: <http://www.montana.edu/wwwbcc/>.

Blackfeet Crafts Association.

Handles retail sales and mail orders for crafts produced by Blackfoot tribal members.

Contact: Mary F. Hipp.
Address: P.O. Box 51, Browning, Montana 59417.

Blackfeet Tribe.

Address: P.O. Box 850, Browning, Montana 59417.
Telephone: (406) 338-7276.

Montana Inter-Tribal Policy Board.

The Board seeks to represent and advance the economic and social well-being of Montana's Native population. It promotes social services, economic development, natural resource development, and law enforcement among other services.

Contact: Roland Kennedy.
Address: P.O. Box 850, Browning, Montana 59417.
Telephone: (406) 652-3113.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Montana Historical Society Museum.

Founded in 1865, information is available on the culture history of Montana, including newspapers, photograph archives, unpublished diaries and manuscripts, and an extensive library. The Museum also publishes the quarterly periodical, *The Magazine of Western History*.

Contact: Susan R. Near.
Address: 225 N. Roberts, Helena, Montana 59620.
Telephone: (406) 444-2394.

Museum of the Plains Indian and Crafts Center.

Founded in 1938, the museum is operated by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States

Department of Interior, promoting the historic and contemporary Native American arts of Northern Plains Native cultures.

Contact: Loretta Pepion.

Address: P.O. Box 400, Browning, Montana 59417.

Telephone: (406) 338-2230.

University of Wyoming Anthropology Museum.

The museum contains cultural heritage information of the Northern Plains cultures of the United States.

Contact: Dr. Charles A. Reher, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 3431, Laramie, Wyoming
82071-3431.

Telephone: (307) 766-5136.

Fax: (307) 766-2473.

E-mail: anthro@uwyo.edu, arrow@uwyo.edu.

Online: <http://www.uwyo.edu/AS/anth/index.htm>.

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Like the immigrants
from most Central
and South American
countries, Bolivian
Americans have
relatively high levels
of income and
education, despite
the economic
difficulties in their
homeland.

BOLIVIAN AMERICANS

by
Tim Eigo

OVERVIEW

Bolivia, the only landlocked country in the Western Hemisphere, is home to almost eight million people. Twice as large as Texas, Bolivia is a multi-ethnic society. Of all the South American countries, Bolivia has the largest percentage (60 percent) of indigenous Indians. The next largest ethnic group in the Bolivian population is the *mestizos*, those of mixed-race heritage; they make up 30 percent. Finally, 10 percent of the Bolivian population are of Spanish origin.

These figures mask the true breadth of the Bolivian population map. The largest ethnic groups are the highland Indians—the Aymara and the Quechua. The most ancient people of the Andes may be the ancestors of the Aymara, who formed a civilization as early as 600 A.D. The rural lowland regions are home to more ethnic diversity. Other Indian groups include the Kallawayas, the Chipayas, and the Guarani Indians. Ethnicities from most of the other South American countries are represented in Bolivia, as well as people of Japanese descent and origin. Those known as Spanish are called “Whites,” not so much for their skin color as for their social status, identified by physical characteristics, language, culture, and social mobility. The blending and intermarriage of races for over 500 years has made Bolivia a heterogeneous society.

Bolivia is bordered to the west by Chile and Peru, to the south by Argentina, to the southeast by

Paraguay, and to the east and north by Brazil. One of the most striking features of Bolivia, its high plateau, or *Altiplano*, is also home to most of its population. The *Altiplano* sits between two chains of the Andes mountains and it is one of the highest inhabited regions in the world, reaching an average height of 12,000 feet. Although it is cold and windswept, it is the most densely populated region of the country. The valleys and ridges of the Andes' eastern slopes are called the *Yungas*, where 30 percent of the country's population lives and 40 percent of the cultivated land sits. Finally, three-fifths of Bolivia are sparsely populated lowlands. The lowlands include savannas, swamps, tropical rainforests, and semi-deserts.

HISTORY

To those in the relatively recently settled Western Hemisphere—and, in fact, to most people anywhere in the world—the length of Bolivian history is staggering. When the Spanish arrived to conquer and subjugate South America in the 1500s, they found a land that had been populated and civilized for at least 3,000 years. Early settlements of Amerindians probably lasted until about 1400 B.C. For another thousand years, an Amerindian culture known as *Chavin* existed in Bolivia and Peru. From 400 B.C. until 900 A.D., the *Tiahuanaco* culture thrived. Its center for ritual and ceremonies was on the shores of Lake Titicaca, the largest navigable lake in the world and a dominant part of Bolivia's geography. The *Tiahuanaco* culture was highly developed and prosperous. It had superb transportation systems, a road network, irrigation, and striking building techniques.

The Aymara Indians subsequently invaded, probably from Chile. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Peruvian Incas swept into the land. Their rule continued until the arrival of the Spaniards in the 1530s. Spaniard rule was known as the colonial period, and was marked by the development of cities, the cruel oppression of the Indians, and the missionary work of Catholic priests. The struggle for independence from Spain began in the seventeenth century, and the most significant rebellion occurred when the Aymara and Quechua united at the end of the eighteenth century. Their leader was eventually captured and executed, but the rebels continued to resist, and for more than 100 days, about 80,000 Indians besieged the city of La Paz. General Antonio Jose de Sucre, who fought alongside Simon Bolivar, finally gained independence from Spain in 1825. The new nation was a republic, with a senate and a house of representatives, an executive branch, and a judiciary.

Almost as soon as Bolivia obtained its independence, it lost two disastrous wars to Chile, and in the process, lost its only coastal access. It lost a third war in 1932, this time with Paraguay, which further reduced its land holdings. Even at the end of the twentieth century, such setbacks continued to weigh heavily on the Bolivian psyche and affected political actions in the capital city of La Paz.

Bolivia's historic success at getting valuable riches from beneath its soil has been a mixed blessing. Only a few years after the arrival of the Spaniards, silver was discovered near the city of Potosi. Although Indian legend warned that the silver should not be mined, the Spaniards instituted a complex mining system to retrieve the ore from *Cerro Rico* ("Rich Hill"). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw Bolivia's most valuable resource flow into the coffers of Spanish royalty. Much of the silver supply was exhausted after only 30 years, and a new method of extracting the ore was needed. Methods using highly poisonous mercury were developed, and allowed the extraction of lower-grade ore for centuries. The cold and inaccessible region around Potosi rapidly became the most populated city in Spanish America; by about 1650, its population was 160,000. However, for those who had to work beneath *Cerro Rico*, almost always Amerindians, the good fortune of mining meant injury, sickness, and death. Thousands died beneath the steep slopes.

MODERN ERA

In addition to being a silver exporter, Bolivia also became a leading supplier of tin for the world's markets. Ironically, working conditions in the mines led to the evolution of Bolivia's modern political state. Conditions in the mines continued to be so abhorrent that a workers' party, the National Revolutionary Movement, or MNR, formed. Under the leadership of President Paz Estenssoro in the 1950s, the MNR nationalized the mines, taking them from private companies and transferring ownership to the government. The MNR also began important land and industrial reforms. For the first time, Indians and other working poor had an opportunity to own the land that they and their ancestors had toiled on for generations.

From the 1970s onward, Bolivia suffered setbacks due to rampant inflation, other deteriorating economic conditions, and a series of military dictators. However, by the end of the twentieth century, some measure of economic stability had returned. Bolivia's economy has always been dominated by mining, cattle and sheep herding but the growth of coca leaves became a major problem by the 1980s. From the leaves, coca paste can be made illegally,

which then is used in the manufacture of cocaine. In the 1990s, the Bolivian government sought to reduce the drug trade. The illegal manufacture and sale of cocaine has been a major point of contention between the United States and Bolivia. In Washington, D.C., Bolivia, like other countries, must be regularly “certified” as a partner that is working hard to end the drug trade; this process is often politically charged and lengthy, leaving poor nations that are dependent on U.S. trade, grants, and credits to bide their time. This process is made difficult by the fact that coca leaves have always been a part of the daily lives of millions of Bolivians. It is not uncommon to see rural Bolivians chewing coca leaves.

Bolivian immigrants arrive in the United States with advantages not shared by many other immigrant groups. Bolivian Americans stand out from other immigrant groups because, unlike others who flee brutal regimes, Bolivians travel to the United States seeking greater economic and educational opportunities. As such, they fare better than do those who seek political asylum, such as the Salvadorans and Nicaraguans. Also, Bolivians usually come from large cities, and adapt more easily to urban American areas. They are well-educated and have high professional aspirations. Their families are usually intact, and their children do well in school because the parents come from a higher educational background. In the 1990s, Stephanie Griffith, an activist in immigrant communities stated that, of all recent immigrants, the Bolivians come closest to achieving the national dream.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Since 1820, more than one million immigrants from Central and South America have settled in the United States, but who they were or where they came from remains a mystery. It was not until 1960 that the U.S. Census Bureau categorized these immigrants by their nation of origin. In 1976, the Census Bureau estimated that Central and South Americans from Spanish-speaking countries made up seven percent of the Spanish-origin population in the United States. In addition, the size of the Bolivian American community has been difficult to ascertain because many Bolivians arrive in the United States with tourist visas and stay indefinitely with friends or family. Because of this, and because the total number of Bolivian immigrants to this country has been relatively small, estimates of Bolivian immigration waves to the United States may be impossible to determine.

U.S. Census figures show that, in the 10 years between 1984 and 1993, only 4,574 Bolivians became U.S. citizens. The annual rate of immigra-

tion is steady, ranging from a low in 1984 of 319 to a high in 1993 of 571. The average number of Bolivians naturalized every year is 457. In 1993, 28,536 Bolivians were admitted into the United States. In the same year, only 571 Bolivian immigrants were naturalized as U.S. citizens. This low rate of naturalization reflects the rates of other Central and South American communities. This suggests that Bolivian Americans have a continued interest in Bolivia, and hold open the possibility of returning to South America in the future.

Although relatively few Bolivians immigrate to the United States, those who do are often clerical and administrative workers. This exodus, or “brain drain,” of educated workers has harmed Bolivia and South America as a whole. It is a middle-class migration from one of the poorest nations in the world. Of all South American immigrants, Bolivia’s immigrants represent the highest percentage of professionals, from 36 percent in the mid-1960s to almost 38 percent in 1975. In comparison, the average percentage of professional immigrants from other South American countries was 20 percent. These educated workers largely travel to American cities on the coasts of this country, settling in urban centers on the West Coast, the Northeast, and the Gulf states. There, they and most immigrants find a comfortable population of people with similar histories, status, and expectations.

The largest communities of Bolivian Americans are in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. For example, an estimate from the early 1990s indicated that about 40,000 Bolivian Americans lived in and around Washington, D.C.

Like most South American immigrants, most travelers from Bolivia to the United States enter through the port of Miami, Florida. In 1993, of 1,184 Bolivian immigrants admitted, 1,105 entered through Miami. These numbers also disclose just how small the Bolivian exodus has been. In the same year, for example, Colombian immigrants to the United States numbered almost 10,000.

American families adopt a small number of Bolivian children. In 1993, there were 123 such adoptions, with 65 girls adopted and 58 boys adopted. The majority of those children were adopted when they were less than one year old.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Bolivian Americans generally find that their skills and experience prepare them well for life in the United States. However, by the late twentieth cen-



At the 45th Anniversary of the U.S. granting citizenship to Puerto Rico in New York, Gladys Gomez of the Bronx gets to represent her home country of Bolivia. She is holding a U.S. and a Puerto Rican flag.

tury, anti-immigrant sentiments were growing, particularly toward Mexican American immigration, and these feelings often failed to distinguish between Central and South Americans and between legal and illegal immigration. Thus, the move to the United States is challenging for Bolivians.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Bolivian Americans seek to instill in their children a strong sense of the culture of the country from which they emigrated. As such, children's education includes Bolivian history, traditional dances, and music. In modern-day Bolivia some belief in the gods of the ancient Inca remains. Although these pre-Columbian beliefs are today little more than superstition, they are often followed strictly, by Indians and non-Indians alike. To the Quechua Indians, respect must be given to *Pachamama*, the Incan earth mother. *Pachamama* is seen as a protective force, but also a vengeful one. Her concerns range from the most serious events of life to the most mundane, such as chewing the first coca leaf of the day. Before beginning a journey, Indians often

leave some chewed coca by the side of the road as an offering. The average highland Indian may purchase a *dulce mesa*—sweets and colored trinkets—at a witchcraft and folk medicine market to give to *Pachamama*. Even among more worldly Bolivians, respect for her is seen in the practice of pouring a portion of a drink on the ground before taking the first sip, in recognition that all treasures of this world come from the earth. Another ancient god who plays a role in everyday life is *Ekeko*, “dwarf” in Aymara. Especially favored among Mestizos, he is believed to oversee the finding of a spouse, providing shelter, and luck in business.

One famous Bolivian tale is about the mountain, Mount Illimani, which towers over the city of La Paz. According to the legend, there once were two mountains where one now stands, but the god who created them could not decide which he liked more. Finally, he decided it was Illimani, and threw a boulder at the other, sending the mountaintop rolling far away. “*Sajama*,” he said, meaning, “Go away.” Today, the distant mountain is still called *Sajama*. The shortened peak that sits next to Illimani is today called *Mururata*, meaning beheaded.

ART SPANNING TWO CONTINENTS

Events occurring in the late 1990s provided an opportunity for Bolivia and the United States to assess their relationship and for Bolivian Americans to feel pride in both of their cultures. In a landmark case for native people seeking to maintain their cultural heritage, the Aymara people of Coroma, Bolivia, with the help of the U.S. Customs Service, had 48 sacred ceremonial garments returned that had been taken from their village by North American antiquities dealers in the 1980s. The Aymara people believed the textiles to be the property of the entire Coroman community, not owned by any one citizen. Despite this, some community members, facing drought and famine during the 1980s, were bribed into selling the garments. An art dealer in San Francisco, California, when threatened with legal action, returned 43 of the textiles. Five more textiles held by private collectors were also returned.

CUISINE

As in most countries, the Bolivian diet is influenced by region and by income. Most meals in Bolivia, however, include meat, usually served with potatoes, rice, or both. Another important carbohydrate is bread. Near Santa Cruz are large wheat fields, and Bolivia imports large quantities of wheat from the United States. In the highlands, potatoes are the staple food. In the lowlands, the staples are rice, plantain, and yucca. Fewer fresh vegetables are available to those in the highlands.

Some popular Bolivian recipes include *silpancho*, pounded beef with an egg cooked on top; *thimpu*, a spicy stew cooked with vegetables; and *fricase*, pork soup seasoned with yellow hot pepper. Also central to the urban Bolivian diet is street food, such as *saltenas*, oval pies, stuffed with various fillings and eaten as a quick meal. They are similar to *empanadas*, which are usually filled with beef, chicken, or cheese. Diets in the lowlands include wild animals such as the armadillo. The most common Bolivian drink is black tea, which is usually served strong with lots of sugar.

In urban areas, most Bolivians eat a very simple breakfast and a large, relaxed, and elaborate lunch. On weekends, lunch with friends and family is a major event. Often, lunch guests remain long enough to stay for dinner. In La Paz a popular dish is *anticuchos*, pieces of beef heart grilled on skewers. The cuisine in rural areas is simpler and only two meals are eaten per day. Native families usually eat outside. Bolivians who live in rural areas are often uncomfortable eating in front of strangers. Therefore, when they must eat in a restaurant, they often

face toward a wall. Eating in front of strangers makes a Bolivian in rural areas feel uncomfortable. Thus, men, particularly, will face a wall when they eat if they must do so away from home.

MUSIC

The use of pre-Columbian musical instruments remains an important part of Bolivian folklore. One of those instruments is the *siku*, a series of vertical flutes bound together. Bolivian music also uses the *charango*, which is a cross between the mandolin, guitar, and banjo. Originally, the soundbox of the *charango* was made from the shell of an armadillo, which gave it a unique sound and appearance. During the 1990s, Bolivian music began to incorporate lyrics into mournful Andean music. Thus, a new genre of songs was created.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditionally, Bolivian men living on the *Altiplano* would wear homemade trousers and a poncho. Today, they are more likely to wear factory-made clothes. For headgear, however, the *chulla*, a woolen cap with earflaps, remains a staple of the wardrobe.

Traditional native clothing for women includes an apron over a long skirt and many underskirts. An embroidered blouse and cardigan is also worn. A shawl, which is usually in the form of a colorful rectangle, serves many purposes, from carrying a child on the back to creating a shopping pouch.

One of the more striking types of Bolivian clothing is the bowler hat worn by Aymara women. Known as a *bombin*, it was introduced to Bolivia by British railway workers. It is uncertain why more women tend to wear the *bombin* than men. For many years, a factory in Italy manufactured *bombins* for the Bolivian market, but they are now made locally by Bolivians.

DANCES AND SONGS

More than 500 ceremonial dances can be traced to Bolivia. These dances often represent important events in Bolivian culture, including hunting, harvesting, and weaving. One dance performed at festivals is the *diablada*, or devil dance. The *diablada* was originally performed by mine workers seeking protection from cave-ins and successful mining. Another famous festival dance is the *morenada*, the dance of the black slaves, which mocked the Spanish overseers who brought thousands of slaves into Peru and Bolivia. Other popular dances include the *tarqueada*, which rewarded the tribal authorities who managed

land holdings for the past year; a llama-herding dance known as the *llamerada*; the *kullawada*, which is known as the dance of the weavers; and the *wayno*, a dance of the Quechua and the Aymara.

In the United States, traditional Bolivian dances are popular among Bolivian Americans. During the late twentieth century, Bolivian dances began to appeal to a broader audience as well. The participation of groups of Bolivian folk dancers from around the country has increased. In Arlington, Virginia, which has a large community of Bolivian Americans, folk dancers participated in about 90 cultural events, nine major parades (including the Bolivian National Day Festival), and 22 smaller parades and festivals in 1996. The dancers also participated in almost 40 presentations in schools, theaters, churches, and other venues. Sponsored by the Pro-Bolivia Committee, an umbrella organization of arts and dance groups, these Bolivian folk dancers performed before 500,000 spectators. Millions more watched the performances on television. Held every year on the first Sunday of August, the Bolivian National Day Festival is sponsored by the Arlington Department of Parks and Recreation and attracts about 10,000 visitors.

HOLIDAYS

Bolivian Americans maintain strong ties to their former country. This is emphasized by the fervor with which they celebrate Bolivian holidays in the United States. Because Bolivian Americans are primarily Roman Catholic, they celebrate the major Catholic holidays such as Christmas and Easter. They also celebrate Bolivia's Labor Day and Independence Day on August 6.

Festivals in Bolivia are common and often fuse elements from the Catholic faith and from pre-Colombian custom. The Festival of the Cross is celebrated on May 3 and originated with the Aymara Indians. Another Aymara festival is *Alacitas*, the Festival of Abundance, which takes place in La Paz and the Lake Titicaca region. In *Alacitas*, honor is given to Ekeko, who brings good luck. One of the most famous of Bolivia's festivals is the carnival in Oruro, which takes place before the Catholic season of Lent. In this mining town, workers seek the protection of the Virgin of the Mines. During the Oruro festival, the *diablada* is performed.

LANGUAGE

The three official languages of Bolivia are Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara. Formerly dismissed as simply the languages of poor Indians, Quechua and

Aymara have gained favor due to increasing attempts to preserve Bolivia's customs. Quechua is primarily an oral language, but it is one with international importance. Originally spoken during the Incan empire, Quechua is still spoken by about 13 million people in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, and Chile. About three million people in Bolivia and Peru speak Aymara. It has survived for centuries despite efforts to eliminate its use. Spanish remains the predominant language in Bolivia, however, and is used in all modern forms of communication, including art, business, and broadcasting. Bolivia is also home to dozens of other languages, most spoken by only a few thousand people. Some of the languages are indigenous, whereas others arrived with immigrants, such as the Japanese.

Bolivian Americans, when they do not speak English, usually speak Spanish. In their careers and family life in the United States, immigrants have found these two languages to be the most useful. Bolivian American schoolchildren new to the United States, for whom English is a second language, have experienced increased difficulties becoming adept at English as support and funding for bilingual education shrinks in the United States.

GREETINGS

Nonverbal communication is important to Bolivians when they meet and converse. Bolivians who are descended from Europeans often use their hands when they speak, whereas indigenous people from the highlands normally remain immobile. Similarly, urban dwellers often greet each other with a single kiss on the cheek, especially if they are friends or acquaintances. Men usually shake hands and perhaps embrace. Indigenous people shake hands very lightly and pat each others' shoulders as if to embrace. They do not embrace or kiss. Bolivian Americans tend to utilize expansive gestures when they communicate. This is due to the fact that most Bolivian Americans are of European extraction and are more likely to have emigrated to the United States.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

In colonial times, only upper-class men were educated, either privately or in schools run by the Catholic Church. In 1828, President Antonio Jose de Sucre ordered public schools to be established in all states, known as departments. Primary, secondary, and vocational schools soon became available to all Boli-

vians. Education is free and compulsory for children between 7 and 14 years of age. In rural areas of Bolivia, however, schools are underfunded, people are spread far and wide across the countryside, and children are needed to work on the farms.

Bolivian females tend to be less educated than their male counterparts. Only 81 percent of girls are sent to school, compared to 89 percent of boys. It is common practice for parents to send their daughters to government-run schools, while sons receive a better education in private schools.

Education levels among Bolivian Americans tend to be high. Most Bolivian immigrants are high school or college graduates, and they often obtain jobs in corporations or in government. As with other immigrant and minority populations in the United States, schools have been created that are specifically designed to serve the needs of Bolivian American students and preserve cultural traditions and values. For example, at the Bolivian School in Arlington, Virginia, roughly 250 students practice their math and other lessons in Spanish, sing “Que Bonita Bandera” (“What a Pretty Flag”) and other patriotic Bolivian songs, and listen to folk tales in native dialects.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

For Bolivians, birthdays are important events and are almost always accompanied by a party. The party usually begins around 6:00 or 7:00 in the evening. Guests almost always bring their entire families, including children. After dancing and a late meal at about 11:00, the cake is cut at midnight.

Children’s parties, on the other hand, are held on the Saturday of the birthday week. Gifts are not opened at the event, but after the guests leave. It is traditional not to put the name of the giver on the birthday gift, so that the birthday child may never know who gave each gift.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Although the role of women in Bolivian society has undergone dramatic changes, much work still needs to be done in order to ensure that they achieve greater equality with men. From birth, women are taught to maintain the household, care for the children, and obey their husbands. Traditionally, families in Bolivia have been quite large, sometimes containing six or seven children. Sometimes, a household includes more than just the husband, wife, and children. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and other relatives may also live in the home and women are responsible for maintaining the household.

Bolivian women have traditionally played an important role in commercial and economic activities. In poorer regions of Bolivia, women are often the main financial support for the family. Since colonial times, women have contributed to the economy through activities such as farming and weaving.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

In rural Bolivia, it is common for a man and a woman to live together before marrying. The courtship process begins when a man asks a woman to move in with him. If she accepts his request, this is called “stealing the girl.” The couple usually live in the house of the man’s family. They may live together for years, and even have children, before they save enough money to formally celebrate their union.

Urban weddings among Bolivians of European descent are similar to those performed in the United States. Among mestizos (persons of mixed blood) and other indigenous peoples, weddings are lavish affairs. After the ceremony, the bride and groom enter a specially decorated taxi, along with the best man and parents of the bride and groom. All of the other guests ride in a chartered bus, which takes them to a large party.

FUNERALS

Funeral services in Bolivia often include a mixture of Catholic theology and indigenous beliefs. Mestizos participate in a expensive service known as *velorio*. The wake, or viewing of the deceased’s body, occurs in a room in which all of the relatives and friends sit against the four walls. There, they pass limitless servings of cocktails, hot punches, and beer, as well as coca leaves and cigarettes. The next morning, the casket is carried to the cemetery. The guests extend their condolences to the family, and may then return to the funeral celebration. The next day, the immediate family completes the funeral rite.

For mestizos who live near La Paz, the funeral rite includes a hike to the Choqueapu River, where the family washes the clothing of the deceased person. While the clothes dry, the family eats a picnic lunch and then builds a bonfire to burn the clothes. This ritual brings peace to the mourners and releases the soul of the deceased into the next world.

RELIGION

The predominant religion in Bolivia is Roman Catholicism, a religion brought to the country by the Spaniards. Catholicism is often mixed with other folkloric beliefs that come from Incan and

pre-Incan civilizations. Bolivian Americans usually maintain their Roman Catholic beliefs after they enter the United States. However, once they leave Bolivia, some Bolivian Americans fail to adhere to indigenous rituals and beliefs, such as a belief in Pachamama, the Incan earth mother, and Ekeko, an ancient god.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Like immigrants from most Central and South American countries, Bolivian Americans have relatively high levels of income and education. Their median income is higher than that of other Hispanic groups such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Mexicans. The proportion of Central and South Americans who have completed the twelfth grade is twice as large as the same proportion of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Also, a higher percentage of Central and South Americans work in managerial, professional, and other white-collar occupations than members of other Hispanic groups.

Many Bolivian Americans highly value education, which has allowed them to do well economically. Upon arrival in the United States, they are often employed as clerical and administrative workers. By pursuing further education, Bolivian Americans often advance into managerial positions. A large percentage of Bolivian Americans have held government jobs or positions in American corporations. Multinational companies often benefit from their skills and facility with foreign languages. Bolivian Americans have begun working at universities, and many teach about issues related to their former homeland.

Immigration into the United States is often tied to the economy of an immigrant's home country, and Bolivia is no exception. One measure of Bolivia's economic health is its fluctuating trade balance with the United States. In the early 1990s, Bolivia had a positive trade balance with the United States. In other words, Bolivia exported more to America than it imported from it. By 1992 and 1993, however, that balance had shifted, causing Bolivia to have trade deficits with the United States of \$60 million and \$25 million, respectively. These amounts are relatively small, but they added to a national debt that is staggering for such a poor nation. In fact, the International Monetary Fund and the United States forgave some of Bolivia's debt in the 1990s, releasing it from its obligation to pay. The United States in 1991 provided grants, credits, and other monetary payments to Bolivia totaling

\$197 million. Such economic difficulties have made it harder for Bolivians to save enough money to move to North America.

Bolivian immigrants are employed in a variety of careers in the United States. Among those immigrants who provided occupation information to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, the largest single occupation category in 1993 was professional specialty and technical workers. The next largest group of Bolivian Americans identified themselves as operators, fabricators, and laborers. About two-thirds of Bolivian immigrants in 1993 chose not to identify their occupation, a percentage that is consistent with immigrants from most countries.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

For Bolivian Americans, the political system of the United States is quite familiar. Both countries have a constitution that guarantees basic freedoms, a government with three separate branches, and a Congress that is divided into two houses. However, while the United States has achieved remarkable political stability, Bolivia's government has experienced upheaval and several military coups.

In the United States, Bolivian Americans feel comfortable with the political process. Their participation in American politics has been focused toward improving the living conditions in Bolivia and other areas of South America. During the 1990s, Bolivian Americans developed a strong desire to influence politics within their homeland. In 1990, the Bolivian Committee, a coalition of eight groups that promote Bolivian culture in Washington, D.C., petitioned Bolivia's president to allow expatriates to vote in Bolivian elections.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Eduardo A. Gamarra (1957-) is an assistant professor at Florida International University in Miami, Florida. He is the co-author of *Revolution and Reaction: Bolivia, 1964-1985* (Transaction Books, 1988), and *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record* (Holmes & Meier, 1990). In the 1990s, he researched the stabilization of democracy in Latin America.

Leo Spitzer (1939-) is an associate professor of history at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire. His written work includes *The Sierra*

Leone Creoles: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945 (University of Wisconsin Press, 1974). His research concerns have centered on Third World responses to colonialism and racism.

ART

Antonio Sotomayor (1902-) is a renowned painter and illustrator of books. His work also includes a number of historical murals that are painted on the walls of California buildings, churches, and hotels. His illustrations can be seen in *Best Birthday* (by Quail Hawkins, Doubleday, 1954); *Relatos Chilenos* (by Arturo Torres Rioscco, Harper, 1956); and *Stan Delaplane's Mexico* (by Stanton Delaplane, Chronicle Books, 1976). Sotomayor also has written two children's books: *Khasa Goes to the Fiesta* (Doubleday, 1967), and *Balloons: The First Two Hundred Years* (Putnam, 1972). He lives in San Francisco.

EDUCATION

Jaime Escalante (1930-) is a superb teacher of mathematics whose story was told in the award-winning film *Stand and Deliver* (1987). This movie documented his life as a calculus teacher in East Los Angeles, where he worked hard to show his largely Latino classes that they were capable of great things and great thinking. He now teaches calculus at a high school in Sacramento, California. He was born in La Paz.

FILM

Raquel Welch (1940-) is an accomplished actress who has appeared in a number of films and on stage. Her film work includes *Fantastic Voyage* (1966), *One Million Years BC* (1967), *The Oldest Profession* (1967), *The Biggest Bundle of Them All* (1968), *100 Rifles* (1969), *Myra Breckinridge* (1969), *The Wild Party* (1975), and *Mother, Jugs, and Speed* (1976). Welch won the Golden Globe award for Best Actress for her work in *The Three Musketeers* (1974). She appeared on stage in *Woman of the Year* (1982).

JOURNALISM

Hugo Estenssoro (1946-) is accomplished in many fields. He is prominent as a magazine and newspaper photographer (for which work he has won prizes) and he has edited a book of poetry (*Antologia de Poesia Brasileira* [An Anthology of Brazilian Poetry], 1967). He has also written as a correspondent for numerous magazines both abroad and in the United States. In his correspondence,

Estenssoro has interviewed Latin American heads of state and political and literary figures in the United States. In the 1990s, he was a resident of New York City.

LITERATURE

Ben Mikaelson was born in La Paz in 1952. He is the author of *Rescue Josh McGuire* (1991), *Sparrow Hawk Red* (1993), *Countdown* (1997), and *Petey* (1998). Mikaelson's unique adventure stories do not focus on the battle between humans and nature. Instead, they appeal for peaceful coexistence between the natural and social worlds. Mikaelson lives in Bozeman, Montana.

MUSIC

Jaime Laredo (1941-) is a prize-winning violinist who, early on, was noted for his virtuoso performances. He first performed when he was eight years old. His likeness has been engraved on a Bolivian airmail stamp.

SPORTS

Marco Etcheverry (1970-) is an accomplished athlete who is lauded by professional soccer fans. Before his stellar career with the DC United team, he was already one of Bolivia's most famous athletes. He played for soccer clubs from Chile to Spain and traveled the world with various Bolivian national teams. He is the captain of his team and a hero to thousands of Bolivian immigrants in the Washington area. Etcheverry led DC United to championship wins in both 1996 and 1997. In 1998, Etcheverry had a career-high 10 goals and matched a personal best with 19 assists for a total of 39 points. Nicknamed "El Diablo," Etcheverry and his countryman Jaime Moreno are the only two players in league history to reach double figures in goals and assists.

MEDIA

Bolivia, Land of Promise.

Established in 1970, this magazine promotes the culture and beauty of Bolivia.

Contact: Jorge Saravia, Editor.

Address: Bolivian Consulate, 211 East 43rd Street, Room 802, New York, New York 10017-4707.

Membership Directory, Bolivian American Chamber of Commerce.

This publication lists American and Bolivian companies and any individuals interested in trade between the two countries.

Address: U.S. Chamber of Commerce,
International Division Publications, 1615 H
Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20062-2000.

Telephone: (202) 463-5460.

Fax: (202) 463-3114.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Asociacion de Damas Bolivianas.

Address: 5931 Beech Avenue, Bethesda,
Maryland 20817.

Telephone: (301) 530-6422.

Bolivian American Chamber of Commerce (Houston).

Promotes trade between the United States and Bolivia.

E-mail: bacc@interbol.com.

Online: <http://www.interbol.com/>.

Bolivian Medical Society and Professional Associates, Inc.

Serves Bolivian Americans in health-related fields.

Contact: Dr. Jaime F. Marquez.

Address: 9105 Redwood Avenue, Bethesda,
Maryland 20817.

Telephone: (301) 891-6040.

Comite Pro-Bolivia (Pro-Bolivia Committee).

Umbrella organization made up of 10 arts groups, located in the United States and in Bolivia, with the purpose of preserving and performing Bolivian folk dances in the United States.

Address: P. O. Box 10117, Arlington, Virginia
22210.

Telephone: (703) 461-4197.

Fax: (703) 751-2251.

E-mail: ProBolivia@yahoo.com.

Online: <http://jaguar.pg.cc.md.us/Pro-Bolivia/>.

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Many Bosnian refugees walked out and left their lives behind. They must start over, learning a new language, new customs, new skills, new rules of the road, and new communication etiquette such as shaking hands and looking people in the eyes.

BOSNIAN AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

Bosnia-Herzegovina, located on the Balkan peninsula in Eastern Europe, is a republic of the former Yugoslavia. The northern portion, Bosnia, is mountainous and wooded, while Herzegovina, to the south, is primarily flatland. The republic has a land area of 19,741 square miles (51,129 square kilometers) and a population of 2.6 million, down from 4.3 million before the war of the 1990s. Bosnia's capital is Sarajevo, the site of the 1984 Winter Olympics. Mostar is the capital of Herzegovina. Almost 95 percent of the population speaks Bosnian, also called Serbo-Croatian. Bosnians descended from Slavic settlers who came to the area in the early Middle Ages. The population includes Catholic Bosnian Croats (17 percent); Eastern Orthodox Bosnian Serbs (31 percent); and Bosnian Muslims (44 percent), whose ancestors converted from Christianity centuries ago. Some historians have pointed out that the residents of Bosnia are ethnically much the same and have chosen to identify as Croats or Serbs primarily for religious and political reasons.

From 1992 until 1995, Bosnian Serbs waged a war against non-Serbs. The war ended with the Dayton Peace Accord, which recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single state that is partitioned, with a Muslim-Croat federation given 51 percent of the area and a Serbian republic given 49 percent. The Bosnia-Herzegovina flag, adopted February 4,

1998, has a blue background with a yellow inverted triangle in the center. To the left of the triangle is a row of white stars in a line from the top edge to the bottom edge of the flag.

HISTORY

In the first few centuries A.D., the Roman Empire held Bosnia. After the empire disintegrated, various powers sought control of the land. Slavs were living in Bosnia by the seventh century, and by the tenth century they had an independent state. In the ninth century, the two kingdoms of Serbia and Croatia were established.

Bosnia briefly lost its independence to Hungary in the twelfth century, but regained it around 1180. It prospered and expanded under three especially powerful rulers: Ban Kulin, who reigned from 1180 to 1204; Ban Stephen Kotromanic, who ruled from 1322 to 1353; and King Stephen Tvrtko, who reigned from 1353 to 1391. After Tvrtko's death, internal struggles weakened the nation. The neighboring Ottoman Turks were becoming increasingly aggressive, and they conquered Bosnia in 1463. For more than 400 years, Bosnia was an important province of the Ottoman Empire. Islam was the official religion, though non-Muslim faiths were allowed. Indeed, in the Ottoman era many Jews came from Spain, where they faced persecution or death at the hands of the Catholic Inquisition, to find a tolerant home in Bosnia.

By the nineteenth century, however, many Bosnians were dissatisfied with Ottoman rule. Clashes between peasants and landowners were frequent, and there was tension between Christians and Muslims. Foreign powers became interested in the region. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, following the end of the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), Austria-Hungary took over the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many Bosnian Muslims, who thought the new rulers favored Serbian interests, emigrated to Turkey and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The Austro-Hungarian government formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908. Nationalists in Serbia, who had hoped to make Bosnia-Herzegovina part of a great Serb nation, were outraged. In 1914, a Serb nationalist assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne in Sarajevo, thrusting the nations into World War I from 1914 to 1918. At the end of the war came the creation of the South Slav state, which together with Serbia became the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Bosnia's Muslim Slavs were urged to register themselves as Serbs or Croats. Nazi Germany, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, invaded

Yugoslavia in 1941. The Nazis set up a puppet Croatian state, incorporating all of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but persecuted and killed Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews, as well as Croats who opposed the regime. Yugoslav communist Josip Broz Tito led a multi-ethnic force against Germany, and at the end of World War II, he became premier of Yugoslavia. Under Tito's rule, Yugoslavia was a one-party dictatorship that restricted religious practice for 35 years.

MODERN ERA

After Tito's death in 1980, the presidents of the six republics and two autonomous regions ruled Yugoslavia by committee. The country suffered economic problems in the 1980s, and the decade was also marked by a rise in nationalism among its component republics. The Muslim-led government of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence from Yugoslavia in March 1992. The following month, the United States and the European community recognized the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Interethnic fighting began as the Yugoslav National Army, under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic, attacked Sarajevo. Milosevic, the leader of Serbia, sought to unite all Serbian lands and to purge the regions of non-Serb populations. Serbs, Croats, and Muslims fought to expand or keep their territories within Bosnia. By mid-1995, most of the country was in the hands of Bosnian Serbs who were accused of conducting "ethnic cleansing"—the systematic killing or expulsion of other ethnic groups. At the time the Dayton peace agreement was signed in December 1995, more than one million Bosnians remained displaced within the borders of the republic. At least one million more were living as refugees in 25 other countries, primarily in the neighboring republics of former Yugoslavia but also throughout Western Europe.

At the end of the twentieth century, the United Nations maintained a peacekeeping operation and arbitrates disputes in Bosnia. Since June 1995, the areas of control have changed frequently. The Muslim/Croat Federation reclaimed large amounts of territory in western Bosnia. In addition, Bosnian Serb forces took military control of two U.N. safe areas, Zepa and Srebrenica. In March of 1999, an international arbitration panel ruled that a 30-square-mile part of northern Bosnia around the town of Brcko would be a neutral community under international supervision, rather than a part of the Bosnian Serb Republic. Under authority of the Dayton agreement, the panel also dismissed Bosnian Serb President Nikola Poplasen, who resigned immediately.

Many Bosnian Americans were refugees who were forced to leave their war-torn country and rebuild their lives in America.



THE FIRST BOSNIANS IN AMERICA

The first Serb immigrants came in the first half of the nineteenth century and helped settle the American West. Many were young men from the Dalmatian coast, where they had worked as sailors or fishermen. Once in the United States, many of them worked in fishing or shipping in cities such as San Francisco, New Orleans, and Galveston, Texas, where they worked in the fishing and shipping industries. Most of them married outside of their ethnic group. Accurate immigration figures for Bosnians are impossible to obtain. Until 1918 the U.S. Immigration Service counted Croatians from Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina separately from other Croatians, who were classified as Slovenians. After 1918 Croatians were listed as Yugoslavs. Prior to 1993, data for immigration from Bosnia-Herzegovina was not available separately from Yugoslavia.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

There were six waves of Serbian/Croatian immigration. The earliest occurred from 1820 to 1880. The largest wave of Yugoslav immigrants took place from 1880 to 1914, when approximately 100,000 Serbs arrived in the United States. Most were unskilled laborers who fled the Austro-Hungarian policies of forced assimilation. Croatian and Serbian immigrants were largely young, impoverished peasant men. In the United States they settled in the major industrial cities of the East and Midwest, working long hours at low-paying jobs.

The third wave happened between World War I and World War II. From 1921 to 1930, 49,064 immigrants arrived. These interwar years were times of Serbian nationalist fervor. The Yugoslav regime became increasingly dictatorial, ruling provinces through military governors. Immigrants sought freedom from ethnic oppression by coming to the United States. The number of immigrants dropped to 5,835 in the decade from 1931 to 1941, and then decreased to 1,576 during World War II when Germany controlled Yugoslavia. Immigration was further reduced during the postwar years when the Communist Party under Tito took over the country. The fourth wave was made up of displaced persons and war refugees from 1945 until 1965.

The fifth major surge began in the sixties, when 20,381 Yugoslavians immigrated, a surge that continued into the next decade with 30,540 more immigrants. During the years of Tito's rule, Yugoslavia received economic and diplomatic support from the United States. In the 1970s, the U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, went as far as to say that the United States would risk nuclear war on Yugoslavia's behalf. From 1981 to 1990, 19,200 Yugoslavians immigrated to the United States. These Croatian and Serbian immigrants were intellectuals, artists and professionals who adapted easily to life in the United States.

The sixth wave came as a response to disintegrating political stability after Bosnia declared its independence from Yugoslavia in 1992. These immigrants have primarily been Muslim, pushed out by Serbs fighting to create a Serb-only region.

From 1991 to 1994, 11,500 immigrated. The number fell to 8,300 in 1995, then rose to 11,900 in 1996. In 1994, with the U.S. Census records listing Bosnians as a separate category, 337 refugees were granted permanent residence. There were an additional 3,818 refugees in 1995 and 6,246 in 1996. In 1996, 19,242 Bosnians filed for refugee status. Of these, 14,654 were eventually approved, and 1,939 were denied. Bosnian refugees settled into communities all over the United States. Most received help from charitable organizations, as well as aid from the immigrants who preceded them. In 1998, 88 Bosnians and Herzegovinians were winners of the DV-99 diversity lottery. The diversity lottery is conducted under the terms of Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and makes available 50,000 permanent resident visas annually to persons from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Most Bosnian immigrants have settled quickly into long-established ethnic enclaves. Bosnian Serbs tend to settle with other Serbs and Bosnian Croats in local Croatian communities. Until the war in the 1990s, Bosnian Muslim immigrants had been so few in number that there was no Bosnian Muslim community into which they could integrate. They concentrated in urban areas, some of which now have significant Bosnian Muslim populations. In the Astoria section of New York City, for instance, Bosnian Muslims built a mosque that was dedicated in 1997.

Of the 258,000 Americans of Yugoslavian ancestry living in the United States in 1990, 37 percent lived in the West, 23 percent lived in the Northeast, 28 percent lived in the Midwest, and only 12 percent lived in the South. Cities with large Yugoslavian American populations included Chicago, New York, Newark, Detroit, St. Louis, Des Moines, Atlanta, Houston, Miami, and Jacksonville, Florida. According to the 1990 census, the highest concentration of Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims is in a neighborhood near 185th Street in eastern Cleveland.

Serbs and Croats have left their mark on many parts of the United States. Early Croatian immigrants prospered as merchants and fruit growers in California's Pajaro Valley. Croatians were among the first settlers of Reno, Nevada. New Orleans became a center of Croatian immigration in the early nineteenth century. The first Slavic ethnic society in the South was established in 1874 by a group of Croatians and Serbs.

Bosnian Americans who came as refugees after 1992 have settled in fast-growing enclaves in cities such as New York, St. Louis, St. Petersburg, Chicago, Salt Lake City and Waynesboro, Pennsylvania. In St. Louis, for example, the Bosnian population reached 8,000 in 1999; of these 7,000 are Muslims. In the early 1990s, there had been fewer than 1,000 Bosnians in St. Louis. In 1998, Bosnian immigrants arrived in St. Louis at a rate of 40 to 60 per week. About 5,000 Bosnians live in Salt Lake City, where an annual "Living Traditions Festival" includes Bosnian dance and music performances by the American Bosnian and Herzegovinian Association of Utah.

About 15,000 Bosnians live in the Queens borough of New York City. Most are refugees who were settled by religious or nonprofit groups. Bosnian American refugees are especially attracted to established ethnic communities because many refugees are separated from immediate family members. It often takes several years to reunite families, so the Bosnian community provides needed social support.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Bosnian refugees face many challenges in the United States. They must start over, learning a new language, new customs, and new skills. One Bosnian American refugee described this adjustment to the *St. Petersburg Times* as "in some ways like being a blind man who wants to take care of himself but is powerless to do so." Since their immigration was not necessarily by choice, they often find the experience more overwhelming in comparison to immigrants who were eager to come here. Learning English is the first step that Bosnians take once they reach the United States, though many Bosnians speak several European languages. Established Bosnian communities offer services such as English-language classes, computer training classes, no-cost legal services, and instruction on understanding health insurance, buying a home, and managing other complicated aspects of American life. Established communities also usually provide a place for worship.

By 1999, more than one million Bosnia refugees remained in the United States even though the war ended in 1995. Many cannot return to Bosnia because of the boundaries of territories changed and their homes are in a divided country. Many are like Nijaz (pronounced nee-AHS) Hadzidedic (hah-jee-DED-ich), a Muslim Bosnian living in Memphis, Tennessee. Hadzidedic, a Bosn-

ian journalist who was shot by Serbian soldiers during the war, came in 1994 as a refugee sponsored by a local Catholic charity. His brother and niece joined him in 1997. Hadzidedic found work in lower-status jobs such as security guard, factory worker, and bellhop. After he becomes a U.S. citizen, he plans to return to the Balkans and work as a translator.

Bosnian Americans often seek higher education and better employment opportunities. Many also Americanize their names, which are difficult for Americans to pronounce. Earlier immigrants often discovered with surprise that immigration officials had Americanized their names on the documents that admitted them to the country.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Three main groups, Serbs, who are Eastern Orthodox, Croats, who are Catholic, and Muslims who are Islamic, comprise Bosnia-Herzegovina's population. Each group has its distinct beliefs, traditions, and customs. Bosnian American communities have good informal networks of communication. Places of worship provide a gathering spot for religious activities as well as weddings, baptisms (for Croats and Serbs) and funerals.

Islamic culture dominated Bosnia for centuries. Modern Western culture penetrated Bosnia and Herzegovina only after Austria occupied the region in 1878. Gradually, Latin and Cyrillic scripts replaced Arabic script. After 1918, secular education began replacing Islamic schools, and education became available to women.

Almost all Bosnian family names end in "ic," which essentially means "child of," much like the English "John-son." Women's first names tend to end in "a" and "ica," pronounced EET-sa. Family names are often an indication of ethnicity. Sulejmanagic, for example, is a Muslim name, as are others containing such Islamic or Turkish roots as "hadj" or "bey," pronounced "beg." Children receive their father's last name. Hence, someone with an Islamic-sounding root in his or her last name may be presumed to be, at least by heritage, a Muslim.

PROVERBS

Bosnia has many proverbs derived from the three ethnic groups that make up its population. Here are a few that are known to all three groups: He who is late may gnaw the bones; A good rest is half the work; Complain to one who can help you; He who lies for you will lie against you; You can make peasant drunk on a glass of water and a gypsy violin.

CUISINE

The cuisine of Bosnia reflects influences from Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East. Meat dishes of lamb, pork, and beef, typically small sausages called *cevapcici* (kabobs) or hamburger patties called *pljeskavica* are grilled with onions and served on a fresh *somun*, a thick pita bread. *Cevapcici* are made from ground meat and spices that are shaped into little cylinders, cooked on an open fire and served on an open platter. Another favorite is a Bosnian stew called *bosanski lonac*, which is a slow-roasted mixture of layers of meat and vegetables eaten with chunks of brown bread. It is usually served in a vase-like ceramic pot. Serbian meat and fish dishes are typically cooked first, then braised with vegetables such as tomatoes and green peppers.

Mediterranean and Middle Eastern influences are evident in *aschincas* (pronounced ash-chee-nee-tsa-as), restaurants offering various kinds of cooked meat, filled vegetables called *dolmas*, kabobs, and salads, with Greek baklava for dessert. The filling most often consists of ground meat, rice, spices, and various kinds of chopped vegetables. Containers can be hollowed-out peppers, potatoes, or onions. Some dolmas are made from cabbage leaves, grapevine, kale, or some other leaf large enough and softened enough by cooking that it can be wrapped around the little ball made of the filling. When enough pieces are made, they are stacked in an amphora-shaped tureen that is then covered with its own lid or with a piece of parchment tightly tied around its neck. The dish is then cooked slowly on a low, covered fire.

Pita, pastry filled with meat or vegetables, is another distinctive Bosnian dish. In other parts of the former Yugoslavia, pitas that are meat-filled are called *burek*. Pita meat pie often is the final course of a meal or is served as a light supper on its own.

Orthodox Bosnians include special dishes in their Easter celebrations. In Orthodox tradition, after the midnight service, the congregation walks around the church seven times carrying candles, then goes home to a supper that includes hard-boiled eggs that have been dyed and decorated, and *Pasca*, a round, sweet yeast cake filled with either sour cream or cottage cheese.

Homemade brandy, known as *rakija* in the former Yugoslavia but exported to the United States as *slivovitz* (plum brandy) or *loza* (grape brandy or *grapa*), is the liquor of choice for men on most occasions. Women may opt instead for fruit juice. Popular nonalcoholic beverages other than fruit juices include Turkish-style coffee (*kahva*, *kafa* or *kava*), a thin yogurt drink called *kefir*, and a tea known as *salep*.

MUSIC

The arts were highly developed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The three major ethnic groups contributed a great wealth of song, dance, literature, and poetry. The Serbian Bosnian American culture is centered around music. Choirs and *tamburica* orchestras have been a part of local communities since 1901, when the Gorski Vijenac (Mountain Wreath) choir of Pittsburgh was founded. The *tamburica* is a South Slavic stringed instrument much like a mandolin. It exists five different sizes and musical ranges. The Bosnian community in St. Louis holds an annual Tamburitza Extravaganza Festival where as many as twenty bands from all over the country perform. The Duquesne University Tamburitza maintains a folklore institute and trains new performers.

Sviraj (pronounced svee-rye, with a rolled “r”) is a popular group of ethnic Balkan musicians who preserve their heritage through performances that celebrate the music of Eastern Europe. *Sviraj* means “Play!” in Serbian and Croatian. The music has its roots in Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Romania.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

For centuries Bosnia was well known for having the widest variety of folk costumes of any region of the former Yugoslavia. Today, these outfits serve as stage costumes rather than street wear. Traditionally, older men wore breeches, a cummerbund, a striped shirt, a vest, and even a *fez*, a hat that was usually red. These garments were often colorful and richly embroidered. The typical women’s costume was a fine linen blouse embroidered with floral or folk motifs, worn under a vest called a *jelek* that was cut low under the breast and made of velvet, embroidered with silver or gold thread. A colorful skirt was covered by an apron and worn on top of a white linen petticoat that showed beneath the skirt. The baggy trousers worn by women, called *dimije*, spread to all three ethnic groups as a folk costume, though each group wore different colors as specified by the Ottoman Empire. *Dimije* were rare on the streets of cities before World War II, but they were common in rural districts and among the older women within the cities. Traditional fashion lore dictated that you could tell how high in the mountains a woman’s village was by how high on the ankles she tied her *dimije* to keep the hems out of the snow.

The devout Muslim women of Bosnia have not traditionally worn the *chador* familiar in fundamentalist Muslim countries. The *chador* is a garment that covers women from head to toes. Bosnian Mus-

lim women instead wear head scarves and raincoats as symbolic substitutes for the *chador*, particularly on religious holidays.

DANCES AND SONGS

Music and dance reflect Bosnia’s great diversity. During the years of Tito’s rule, Bosnian amateur folklore groups, called cultural art societies, flourished throughout the region. They were required to perform the folk music and dances of all three major ethnic groups. Some such troupes also performed contemporary plays, modern dance, choral works, and ballet.

Bosnian music can be divided into rural and urban traditions. The rural tradition is characterized by such musical styles as *ravne pjesme* (flat song) of limited scale; *ganga*, an almost shouted polyphonic style; and other types of songs that may be accompanied on the *shargija* (a simple long-necked lute), the wooden flute, or the *diple*, a droneless bagpipe. The urban is more in the Turkish style, with its melismatic singing—more than one note per syllable—and accompaniment on the *saz*, a larger and more elaborate version of the *shargija*. Epic poems, an ancient tradition, are still sung to the sound of the *gusle*, a single-string bowed fiddle. While Bosnia’s Jewish population was decimated by World War II, its influence remains apparent in folk songs sung in Ladino, a dialect descended from 15th-century Spanish.

In the 1990s, the influence of Western pop music and of new native pop music in a folkish style, played on the accordion, became apparent. But modern influences have not displaced *sevdalinka*. With a name derived from the Turkish word *sevda* (love), *sevdalinka* songs have been the dominant form of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Incorporating both Western and Eastern elements, these deeply emotional songs speak metaphorically and symbolically of love won and lost, much like American country western music.

Bosnia has one of the richest and yet least known of all the regional folk dance traditions of the former Yugoslavia. Dances range from the *nijemo kolo*, accompanied only by the sound of stamping feet and the clash of silver ornaments on the women’s aprons, to line dances in which the sexes are segregated as they are in the Middle East, to Croatian and Serbian dances similar to those performed across the borders in their native regions. As with traditional music, however, these folk dances are losing popularity as modern European social dances and rock and roll steps gain favor.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to American holidays, Bosnian Americans observe their individual religions' holidays. The Serbian Orthodox Church uses the Julian calendar, which is 13 days behind the Gregorian one commonly used in the West. Serb Bosnian Americans follow this calendar for holidays. For example, Orthodox Christmas falls on January 7 rather than December 25. Eastern Orthodox Christian families also celebrate the *Slava*, or saint's name day, of each member of the family. Muslim Bosnian Americans follow Islam's holidays and calendar, including Ramadan, the month of ritual fasting. At the end of Ramadan, a period called Bajram, they exchange visits and small gifts during the three days. Croat Bosnian Americans observe Catholic holidays.

LANGUAGE

The official language of Bosnia-Herzegovina is Bosnian, also called Serbo-Croatian. The language goes by different names because of the country's ethnic differences and rivalries. People in the Muslim-controlled sector call it Bosnian, those in Croat areas call it Croatian, and those in Serb areas refer to it as Serbian.

Bosnian belongs to the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family and more specifically to the group of South Slavic languages, which includes Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Slovenian. It actually has a few words that are recognizably related to English. Bosnian "sin" is "son," and Bosnian "sestra" is "sister." Bosnian has many borrowed words from other European languages, English, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian.

Bosnian is written in either the Cyrillic or the Latin alphabet. Its letters are generally pronounced as they are in English, with certain exceptions. "C" is pronounced "ts"; "č" is pronounced similar to "tch" but with a thinner sound, more like the thickened "t" in future; "ć" is pronounced "tch" as in "match"; "dj" is pronounced roughly like "j" in "jam"; "j" is pronounced "y" and in "Yugoslavia"; "s" is pronounced "sh"; "z" is pronounced "zh" as in "Zhivago."

Bosnian Americans generally have little difficulty pronouncing English, although the "th" and "w" sounds may give them some trouble. They may also find some English verbs hard to understand. Bosnian uses fewer auxiliary verbs, such as "be" and "do" than English, and Bosnian speakers may be puzzled by questions in English, in which the auxiliary verb comes before the subject, as in "Did you eat?"

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

During the war, one of the most frequently asked questions was, "Sta je tvoje ime?" (pronounced stah-yeah-tVOya) meaning "what is your name" in Bosnian, because the name was the major clue to ethnicity.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In most Bosnian American families, both husband and wife work outside the home, but the wife still has primary responsibility for housework and cooking. In Bosnia, the effects off the wars of the twentieth century and migration away from rural areas after World War II have resulted in fewer extended families living together. But Bosnian Americans tend to live with extended family members, though this is likely to end as Bosnians acclimate to American culture and become more financially successful. Bosnian Muslims tend to have fewer relative connections already living in the United States, since prior to 1992 there were few Muslim immigrants. Polygamy as a Muslim custom last existed in Bosnia in the early 1950s, and then only in one isolated region of the country, Cazinska Krajina. Most Bosnian marriages follow the modern custom of love matches, and arranged marriage between families having largely disappeared. About a third of all urban marriages in Bosnia in recent decades have been between partners from different religious and ethnic backgrounds. Family size has been decreasing as education and prosperity have increased.

EDUCATION

The literacy rate in Bosnia prior to the civil war of 1992 was 92 percent. Education through the eighth grade was compulsory for both boys and girls, after which a student could opt for either a vocational trade school or a more academically oriented route. There were university faculties in the larger cities, along with a community college-type option called "workers' universities."

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Serbian Bosnian Americans choose a *Kum* or *Kuma* (female godparent) shortly after the birth of a child. The godparents name the child. Bosnian Americans celebrate birthdays with gifts and parties.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Many Bosnian American women refugees have lost everything and have become the heads of house-

holds for the first time. They face the challenge of rebuilding their lives in a new country, adapting to a culture and language, while providing food, shelter, and education for themselves and their surviving relatives. Many were financially dependent on their spouses before the war, and they consequently have no marketable skills or entrepreneurial experience.

Traditionally, women played subservient roles in Yugoslavia's patriarchal families, especially in the country's remote mountainous regions. In the interwar period, laws codified women's subservient status. Industrialization and urbanization in the communist era changed traditional family patterns. This trend was most pronounced in the more developed northern and western urban areas. The number of women employed outside the home rose from 396,463 in 1948 to 2.4 million in 1985. As women began working away from home, they became more independent. In the 1980s, the percentage of women in low-level political and management positions was equal to that of men, but this was not the case for upper management positions.

Women accounted for 38 percent of Yugoslavia's nonagricultural labor force in 1987, up from 26 percent 30 years earlier. The participation of women in the Yugoslav work force varied dramatically according to region. In 1989 Yugoslav women worked primarily in cultural and social welfare, public services and public administration, and trade and catering. Almost all of Yugoslavia's elementary school teachers were women. A few women's groups have formed in the major cities of Bosnia, but the modern women's movement did not achieve significant power in the former Yugoslavia or its successor states.

WEDDINGS

In 1992, when the war started in Bosnia, approximately 40 percent of the registered marriages in urban centers were between ethnically mixed Bosnians. Ceremonies reflect this mix, often including traditions from both ethnic groups involved. The bride usually wears white and is attended by bridesmaids. Men wear capes. There are many flowers, and there is much drinking and dancing. The food includes Bosnian biscuits, a coffee cake-like bread with walnuts, raisins, and chocolate.

An Islamic tradition of giving hand-woven carpets (*kilims*) and knotted rugs lasted for centuries. The custom of giving a personally woven dowry rug, with the couple's initials and date of marriage, disappeared only in the 1990s.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

It is important to understand that the contributing basis of hostility among twentieth-century Bosnians has largely been due to economic reasons, not religious ones. As all three groups became more secular, religious-based conflict actually diminished. But economically and politically, Bosnian Muslim landowners were resented by Catholic Croats and Orthodox Christian Serbs. American Bosnians do not face the same political pressures, so the different ethnic communities coexist peacefully in American cities. Bosnian Americans often marry across ethnic lines, which gives them a powerful reason to stay in the United States. If people in a mixed marriage return to Bosnia, they are not accepted by either person's ethnic group.

RELIGION

Many Bosnians treat their religion the same way many Americans do theirs, as something restricted to one day of church attendance and major religious holidays. The Yugoslav government discouraged religious fundamentalism, as did the religious community itself, reflecting years of accommodation between the religion and the Communist state. Religious affiliation in Yugoslavia, however, was closely linked with the politics of nationality. Centuries-old animosities among the Eastern Orthodox Serbs, the Roman Catholic Croats, and the Bosnian Muslims remained a divisive factor in the 1990s, though the basis was more economic power than religious fervor. There also was lingering resentment over forced conversions of Orthodox Serbs to Roman Catholicism by ultranationalist Croatian priests during World War II.

According to the 1990 U.S. census, there were 68 Serbian Orthodox churches in the United States and Canada with a membership of 67,000. Serbian Orthodox churches serve as a social center as well as a place of worship. Serbian Bosnian Americans celebrate a family's religious anniversary, the *krsna slava*, each year. *Slava* commemorates the conversion of the family's ancestors to Christianity in the ninth century, and on this day families feast and receive the visit of a priest. Bosnian Serbs also celebrate Easter with feasting and special ceremonies. Many Serbian Orthodox Bosnians continue the practice of using amulets against the "evil eye," a generalized concept of evil. Precautions against the evil eye include wearing garlic and wearing the *mati*, a blue amulet with an eye in the center.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Bosnian immigrants are very willing to work diligently at low-status jobs while they seek additional language skills and education. Most find work in their communities immediately, as bakers, factory workers, hotel housekeepers, and other types of service workers. Of the 6,499 Bosnian Americans who immigrated in 1996, 2,794 had occupations. Of employed Bosnian Americans, four percent had professional specialties, 26 percent were employed in service industries, and 51 percent were unskilled laborers. Many Bosnian American refugees are unable to pursue their former occupations in the United States because they do not speak English. Bosnian American doctors, lawyers, and other professionals often work for as little as five dollars an hour while they learn English in order to apply for their licenses. Some have improvised other solutions. The *New York Daily News* ran a story on a Bosnian refugee and former soccer star who now runs a cafe and has launched a weekly Bosnian newspaper, *Sabah*, published in Serbo-Croatian.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Croatian and Serbian Americans organized labor unions and strikes for better working conditions as early as 1913. The oldest Croatian fraternal associations, Slavonian Illyrian Mutual Benevolent Society, founded in 1857 in San Francisco, and the United Slavonian Benevolent Association of New Orleans, provided financial help to families of injured immigrants. Croatian and Serbian Americans formed many groups dedicated to influencing policies of their homeland. In the United States, Croatian Americans have traditionally been strong supporters of the Democratic Party.

Bosnian Americans speak out about conditions in their former homeland. For example, in an interview on CNN's *Larry King Live*, professional basketball player Vlade Divac of the Sacramento Kings said Americans have been misled about the situation in Yugoslavia. Divac reported that his relations with some NBA players had been affected by his Serbian heritage.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRY

The United States supported Yugoslavia under Tito's rule because Tito had broken with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. The United States provided economic and military assistance to prevent Soviet aggres-

sion in the area. But with the fall of communism and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia lost its strategic importance to the United States. When the war broke out in 1992, James Baker, secretary of state under President George Bush, was quoted as saying, "We don't have a dog in that fight." Eventually, however, the United States became involved in finding a peaceful solution to the civil strife in Bosnia. On November 21, 1995, the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Dayton-Paris Agreement) was concluded as a result of a United States-led peace initiative after three years of peacemaking efforts by the international community. When the Dayton Peace Accord was signed the following month, U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali thanked U.S. President Bill Clinton for his role. The United States remains involved militarily and diplomatically in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Who's Who listings are rich with contributions from Serbian and Croatian Americans, encompassing all fields of endeavor. Most of these citations list Yugoslavia as a place of birth.

LITERATURE

Aleksandar Hemon was born in Sarajevo and currently lives in Chicago. He is primarily a writer of short fiction. His work has been published in *The New Yorker*, *Ploughshares*, and Houghton Mifflin's *Best American Short Stories*.

MEDIA

Amerikanski Srbobran (The American Serb Defender).

Published by the Serb National Foundation since 1906, this is the oldest Serbian bilingual weekly newspaper in the United States, and it has the largest circulation. It covers cultural, political and sporting events of interest to Serbian Americans.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Bosnian Association, Salt Lake City.

Address: 1102 West 400 North, Salt Lake City, Utah 84116.

Telephone: (801) 359-3378.

Bosnian-American Cultural Association .

Works to preserve Bosnian culture and teach Americans about Bosnia.

Contact: Dr. Hasim Kosovic.

Address: 1810 North Pfingsten Road, Northbrook, Illinois 60062.

Telephone: (312) 334-2323.

Bosnian-American Islamic Center.

Contact: Ramiz Aljovic.

Address: 3101 Roosevelt, Hamtramck, Michigan 48212-3745.

Community of Bosnia Foundation.

Works for a culturally pluralistic, multireligious Bosnia. Formed by volunteers in Haverford, Pennsylvania, in late 1993 to bring students to the United States.

Address: c/o Department of Religion, Haverford College, 370 Lancaster Avenue, Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392.

Telephone: (610) 896-1027.

Friends of Bosnia.

Grassroots organization supporting a long-term and just peace. Organizes speaker series, interviews, conferences, rallies and humanitarian aid drives. Originally focused on serving western Massachusetts; now provides resources to organizations and individuals all across the United States.

Address: 85 Worcester Street, Suite 1, Boston, Massachusetts 02118.

Telephone: (617) 424-6906.

Fax: (617) 424-6752.

E-mail: FOB@CROCKER.COM.

Online: <http://www.crocker.com/~fob/>.

Jerrahi Order of America.

Bosnian cultural, educational, and social relief organization made up of Muslims from diverse backgrounds. The Jerrahi Order has branches in New

York, California, Indiana, Seattle, and Bosnia. Works to obtain scholarships for Muslim students.

Address: 884 Chestnut Ridge Road, Chestnut Ridge, New York 10977.

Telephone: (914) 356-0588.

E-mail: forbsp@igc.apc.org.

New England Bosnian Relief Committee.

Nonprofit provides donations to Bosnians and support and assistance to Boston-area Bosnian refugees.

Address: 54 Ellery Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02127.

Telephone: (617) 269-5555.

E-mail: nebrc@tiac.net.

Women for Women.

Raises money and offers support for Bosnian women.

Address: Suite 611, 1725 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

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Brazilian immigration to the United States did not begin on a significant scale until the mid-1980s.

BRAZILIAN AMERICANS

by
Alphine W. Jefferson

OVERVIEW

The country of Brazil, officially called the Federative Republic of Brazil (or República Federativa do Brasil), is located in central eastern South America. A vast country, it covers 3,290,000 square miles—nearly 45 percent of South America’s land mass. Brazil is bounded by French Guinea, Guyana, Venezuela, and Suriname to the north, Columbia to the northwest, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina to the west, Uruguay to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. The nation is divided into 23 states, three territories, and one federal district, the last of which includes its capital, Brasília.

According to United Nations estimates for 1995, Brazil has a population of approximately 165 million people of various ethnicities. Like the United States, Brazil is a land of immigrants. People of Portuguese descent make up a slight majority of the population; among the other ethnic groups in the country are Africans, Italians, Germans, Japanese, and Native Americans (primarily of the Tupi and Guarani linguistic families). More than a third of all Brazilians are of mixed racial heritage. Racial identification in Brazil, as in much of Latin America, is rather nebulous. Latin Americans with some white blood often claim a “white” racial identity.

Eighty-nine percent of Brazilians are Roman Catholic. Other Brazilians subscribe to various

forms of Protestantism. There are also very small Islamic and Jewish communities in the country. Many Brazilians who subscribe to one of the mainline religions also practice other religious traditions, including Spiritism, Candomblé, Macumba, Umbanda, or Santería. These religious practices are informed by Christianity and traditional African and Amerindian religious ceremonies.

Brazil's official language is Portuguese, although a variety of other languages, such as Japanese, German, and various Native American languages, are spoken. The nation's capital, Brasília, is in the interior of the country; large coastal cities, including São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Recife, and Salvador, are important to Brazilian trade. The national flag of Brazil is a yellow diamond centered on a green field. In the middle of the diamond is a blue globe bearing 23 white stars and a banner with the words "Ordem e Progresso," which means "order and progress." The green and the yellow represent Brazil's forest and mineral wealth, while the blue represents both the sky and the vastness of Brazil's states and capital.

HISTORY

Recent archaeological evidence suggests that Brazil may have been inhabited as early as 40,000 years ago. Various Native American groups are known to have lived in Brazil for thousands of years. The first European to lay claim to the region was Pedro Cabral, who discovered the land for Portugal in 1500. The next year, Italian explorer Amerigo Vespucci traveled along the South American coast. Brazil's first settlement was established at Salvador da Bahia. Salvador was Portugal's most important city—after its own capital of Lisbon—for 300 years. In the nineteenth century, colonization of Brazil by the Portuguese settlers began in earnest.

Brazil was ruled by Lisbon as a colony until 1808, and during these years the early Brazilians helped to frame the development of the country. Native American groups living on the coast of Brazil were pushed to the interior of the country by the Portuguese as early as 1616. The coast of the country was then settled by Portuguese. In 1533 the first Africans were forcibly brought to Brazil to be used as slaves, primarily on coffee and sugar plantations. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, by a law that was signed by the regent Princess Isabel. Finally, the Treaty of Madrid, signed in 1750, definitively drew Brazil's borders, which were remarkably similar to the nation's contemporary boundaries.

In 1808 French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Portugal, touching off the bloody Peninsula

War. The Portuguese royal family, led by King Dom João VI, fled from Napoleon's army and reestablished its kingdom in Brazil, first in Salvador and later in Rio de Janeiro. Dom João returned to Portugal in 1821, leaving his son Dom Pedro I as regent. Pedro I declared Brazil's independence on September 7, 1822. His son, Dom Pedro II, succeeded him in 1831 and ruled until 1889.

MODERN ERA

A federal republic was established following an 1889 coup, and for the next 41 years the Brazilian government was a constitutional democracy with a limited franchise. Getúlio Vargas, a member of the revolutionary Liberal Alliance, staged a military coup in 1930, establishing a dictatorship and ruling as governor for the next 15 years. During World War II, Brazil underwent considerable economic growth. A series of elected presidents followed Vargas, but in 1964, as a result of popular frustration with steadily rising inflation, economic stagnation, and various other social problems, the military staged yet another coup. Then-president João Goulart was deposed, and Army Marshall Humberto Castelo Branco officially became president on April 11, 1964.

The military continued to choose government officials until 1982, when a period of liberalization began in Brazil. In 1989 Fernando Collor de Mello became president in the nation's first direct presidential election in decades. However, Collor de Mello, famed for his wide-reaching economic reforms, was accused of accepting bribes in 1992, and on September 29th of that year, was impeached by the Brazilian government for political corruption. He was succeeded by his vice president, Franco Itmar, who officially took office on October 2, 1992. Two years later, former foreign and finance minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso won a hotly contested presidential election against the favored candidate, populist Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva, a trade union leader. This election signaled stability for Brazil's fragile democratic institutions and validated Cardoso's stringent financial policies and reforms.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Some sources claim that the earliest immigrants from Brazil to the United States were probably eight Jewish Brazilians who entered the country in 1654. But Brazilian American immigration information is not very reliable; the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service did not tabulate Brazilians as a separate group entering the States until 1960. Before

that, Brazilians were counted in a group that included all South Americans. It is known that between 1820 and 1960, 234,761 people of South American descent entered the United States, with peak waves of South American immigrants entering from 1841 to 1850 and 1911 to 1930. It is impossible to tell how many of these South Americans were actually from Brazil. According to the 1960 U.S. Census Bureau report, however, 27,885 people of Brazilian ancestry were living in the United States.

From 1960 until the mid-1980s, there was a relatively even pattern of Brazilian immigration to the United States; estimates suggest that between 1,500 and 2,300 Brazilians immigrated each year, mainly from southern and south-central Brazil, including the states of Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. The majority of these immigrants were of European heritage and came from the middle- and upper-middle-classes of Brazilian society.

During the mid-1980s, Brazil's economy began to deteriorate rapidly; in 1990 inflation reached 1,795 percent annually. Despite the economic reforms of President Collor de Mello, incomes continued to drop by nearly 30 percent, and many Brazilians lost faith in their government. The Brazilian government estimates that between 1986 and 1990, 1.4 million Brazilians left the country permanently—many of them immigrating to the United States, others heading for Japan and various countries in South America and Europe.

According to Maxine Margolis in *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City*, Brazilian immigration to the United States did not begin on a significant scale until the mid-1980s. Between 1987 and 1991, 20,800 Brazilians immigrated to America; however, 8,133 Brazilians entered the country in 1991 alone. Again, the majority of these immigrants were middle- or upper-middle-class members of Brazilian society, and most of them came from southern or south-central Brazil. The 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report indicates that there are about 60,000 Brazilians living and working in the United States, but because Brazilian Americans were only counted in the census if they wrote "Brazilian" in the "Other Hispanic" category—Brazilians are not Hispanic—this number is most likely too small. Other sources suggest that there are approximately 100,000 Brazilians, documented and undocumented, living in the New York area alone. In addition, there are sizable Brazilian communities in Boston, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Miami, and Phoenix.

As Brazil's economic conditions worsened, the American consulate found that many more Brazil-

ians wanted to immigrate to the United States than quotas legally allowed. Consequently, since the mid-1980s, a significant percentage of all Brazilian immigration to the United States has been illegal. The most common way for Brazilians to illegally enter the United States is to overstay a tourist visa, fade into established Brazilian communities, and obtain low-skill, low-wage work. A riskier method of gaining entry is with "doctored" or fake passports and/or green cards. A number of professional immigration services—legitimate and otherwise—operate in both the United States and Brazil to assist those wishing to come to America. Some Brazilians enter the United States on their own via the Mexican border, but this is extremely time-consuming, dangerous, and expensive. Undocumented persons make up a large percentage of the Brazilian population in the United States, thereby skewing census and immigration data. Margolis notes that there may be as many as 350,000 Brazilians living in the United States without proper documentation.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Nearly half of all Brazilian Americans live in the northeastern United States, primarily in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts; sizable populations also reside in California, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. First generation Brazilians tend to congregate in areas where other Brazilian Americans are living—such as Little Brazil in Manhattan or Astoria in Queens—especially if they speak little or no English. However, second- and third-generation Brazilian Americans are more likely to have gained financial independence and therefore may relocate to areas with fewer or no other Brazilian Americans. These neighborhoods do not preserve Brazilian cultural heritage as many first generation neighborhoods do. It is estimated that the majority of illegal Brazilian immigrants live in New York City; however, because these people are largely undocumented, their exact places of residence are difficult to ascertain.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Margolis cites some of the misconceptions and stereotypes held by many Americans about Brazil and Brazilians, the most common being that Brazilians are Hispanic and therefore speak Spanish. The term Hispanic, when used correctly, refers to people of Spanish or Spanish-speaking origin from Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Although people of many nationalities live in



Michelle Jesus and
Adenilson Daros
enjoy dancing
together at the
1998 New York
Brazil Street
Festival.

Brazil, it is primarily a country of Portuguese origin, and its official language is Portuguese. There is little published information on Brazilian Americans as an ethnic group, even though Brazilian immigration to New York City is rapidly rising and has been since the mid-1980s.

Because of the lack of information about Brazilian Americans, many “established” Americans seem to have stereotyped them as an ethnic group. Media portrayals of Brazil and its citizens contribute to the erroneous belief that Brazilians are less than industrious laborers who favor a good party over a hard day’s work. Movies, television, and theatrical productions depict Brazilians as doing little else than dancing the *lambada* and the *samba* (popular Brazilian dances) and participating in their world famous street parties. Indeed, participants in the nation’s annual *Carnaval* celebration are hardly inhibited. Moreover, grandly produced and suggestively staged variety shows—featuring Brazilian entertainers such as *Brazil Alive!*, *Oba! Oba!*, *Rio Ecstasy*, and *Fantasy Brazil*—shock the generally more reserved and puritanical North American audiences. Even sporting events reveal a distinctly

Brazilian gusto: when Brazil captured the coveted *Copa do Mundo* (soccer’s World Cup) in 1994, sports fans thought nothing of dancing in the streets. Despite the misconceptions these stereotypes create, Brazilian Americans maintain pride in their cultural traditions and continue to celebrate their Brazilian heritage.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Brazilians have many traditions, customs, and beliefs that have existed for hundreds of years and are woven into Brazilian culture. Though common throughout much of the country and observed by all racial groups, many of these practices can be traced to the traditional beliefs and behaviors of Africans, Amerindians, and European folk culture. Indeed, some scholars observe that the fusion of different cultural beliefs finds its greatest expression in Brazil. Religious rituals, military and political rallies, festivals, and family celebrations are important parts of Brazilian society. Brazilians also give parties to celebrate such events as soccer (*futebol*) victories; soccer is such an important part of Brazilian and Brazilian

This Brazilian American dancer is wearing a Carnival costume.



American life that it is not uncommon to see hundreds of people gathered around a single small television set watching a game.

Brazilian Americans have preserved their cultural heritage by maintaining some of Brazil's customs, traditions, and beliefs, including the value and importance of the extended family and the observance of Brazilian festivals and holidays, which celebrate Brazilian culture. These cultural traditions have changed over time as more and more Brazilian Americans are assimilated into mainstream American life.

CUISINE

Brazil is a country filled with people of many different backgrounds and origins; its cooking reflects its multicultural roots. Brazilian cooking has been influenced by African, Native American, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, and even Japanese cuisines. In particular, Brazilian cooking reflects the cooking styles of the African slaves who were brought to Brazil beginning in the sixteenth century. *Dendê* (palm oil), coconut milk, spicy peppers, *feijão* (black beans), and *farinha* (manioc flour) are principal ingredients in Brazilian dishes. The national dish of Brazil, *feijoada*, consists of a variety of smoked or sun-dried meats and sausages, black beans, and a sauce made from the juices of the beans and the meats. It is usually served with sliced oranges, shredded kale or collard greens, *farofa* (toasted manioc flour), and various hot sauces and condiments. Popular beverages include *Brahma*, a

Brazilian beer; *caipirinhas* and *batidas*, tropical drinks made with rum and *cachaça*; and *Guaraná*, a popular Brazilian soft drink made from the berries of the *guaraní* tree.

Other Brazilian foods that are popular among Brazilian Americans and can be found in many Brazilian restaurants in the States include *churrasco à rodizio*, a meal of barbecued chicken, pork, and beef served with rice, black beans, French fries, and potato salad; *frango à passarinho* (literally, “chicken in the style of a little bird”), small pieces of chicken wrapped in garlic leaves; *moqueca*, a fish stew native to the Brazilian state of Bahia; and *bacalhau*, or codfish casserole. During Brazilian parties or street festivals, a variety of Brazilian snack foods are served. Among them are *kibe*, fried snacks of Lebanese origin; *acarajé*, a deep-fried black bean fritter filled with spicy sauces, shrimp, green peppers, and chiles; and *pasteis*, a pastry filled with meat, shrimp, or olives.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

There are different traditional costumes for different states and regions of Brazil. One such costume—often worn during street fairs and at other Brazilian American events—comes from the Brazilian state of Bahia. For women, it consists of a huge, hooped white skirt, a white bodice with elaborate sleeves, strings of colorful looped beads worn around the neck, and elaborately wrapped white turbans. Tiny string bikinis, called *fio dental*, or “dental floss,” are worn by many Brazilian women on the beach. For everyday wear, most Brazilians and Brazilian Americans dress in American-style clothing. Indeed, the influence of the United States is so great that many Brazilian and Brazilian American youth wear “hip-hop” or “rap” style garb. Poorer Brazilians may wear western clothing, reflecting their rural or *gaúcho* (“cowboy”) traditions.

HOLIDAYS

For the many states, cities, and communities in Brazil with patron saints, it is customary to hold festivals for these saints each year. During Holy Week—the week before Easter, which is seen as one of the most important weeks of the year—Brazilians recreate the passion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Some Brazilian communities also recreate the events of the birth of Jesus during the Christmas season. Military parades are common in Brazil as a way of celebrating state holidays, such as Brazilian Independence Day, which occurs during Fatherland Week. Two other major Brazilian festivals are *Carnaval*, a huge, nationwide, annual celebration that

takes place the week before Lent, and *Festa do Iemenja*, a solemn ceremony held on New Year's Eve. The *Festa do Iemenja*, dedicated to the "Queen of the Sea," is a major rite in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. Flowers, perfumes, fruits, and even jewelry are tossed into the sea to please the mother of the waters and gain her protection for a new year. Moreover, this is the time when many Brazilians place on their wrists a cloth bracelet bearing the words: "Lembra do Senghor do Bonfim," which translates as "remember the bishop of the good end." (This is a reference to a famous church in Bahia, Igreja so Senghor do Bonfim, built in 1745 and famous for its healing powers.)

Brazilian Americans celebrate secular American holidays, such as the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and New Year's Day, and Christian Brazilian Americans also celebrate such holidays as Christmas and Easter by attending church services and having special meals and ceremonies at home. Many of these services are held in Portuguese with Brazilian music.

On Brazil's Independence Day, there are feasts in many Brazilian American communities, particularly in large cities in the northeast region of the country, such as Boston, New York City, and Newark, New Jersey. Independence Day, celebrated each September 7th, marks Brazil's liberation from Portugal. The largest celebration by far is the Brazilian Independence Day Parade and Street Fair, which has been held annually since 1985 on New York's West 46th Street ("Little Brazil"). The all-day street festival attracts thousands of people, predominantly Brazilian Americans, from throughout the Northeast; participants wear green and gold, Brazil's colors, dance to Brazilian music, and enjoy Brazilian food and drinks.

Brazilian American communities also celebrate *Carnaval*. In Brazil, *Carnaval* takes place during the four days before the beginning of Lent, but many pre-festival events start up to two months earlier. In many ways, *Carnaval* is considered to be the quintessential expression of Brazilian culture, and Brazilian Americans are proud to celebrate the event. *Carnaval* festivities are also becoming increasingly popular among non-Brazilians in America.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health or mental health problems specific to Brazilian Americans. Brazilian Americans generally obtain health insurance at their own expense or through their employers. Most Brazilian Americans who live illegally in the United States have no health insurance and enter the

health bureaucracy at risk. Many also rely on "faith healers," associated with one or more of their religious traditions.

Brazilian American Spiritists practice alternative or homeopathic approaches to health and medicine. Instead of traditional medical techniques, Spiritists use such practices as past-lives therapy, dispossession and exorcism therapies, acupuncture, chromotherapy, yoga therapy, and homeopathy. Back in Brazil, some Spiritists have set up psychiatric hospitals that utilize the aforementioned healing methods.

LANGUAGE

Although Portuguese is not the only language spoken in Brazil, it is the official language of the nation and the native language of most Brazilian immigrants. Portuguese is a Romance language, similar in some ways to Spanish, and is spoken by about 200 million people worldwide. There are two major differences between Brazilian Portuguese and the Portuguese spoken in Portugal: firstly, the Brazilian vocabulary is larger by several thousand words; secondly, the pronunciation is softer. Brazilian Portuguese has "adopted" words and phrases from the Tupí-Guarani languages, spoken by many Native Americans in Brazil, and also from the various languages spoken by African slaves who were brought to Brazil. These African languages influenced the softening of the Brazilian Portuguese pronunciation. In 1992 Brazilian Portuguese became the international standard for textbook production and writing because Brazilians comprise 75 percent of the world's Portuguese speakers.

Of the 57,108 people recorded in the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report (41,395 of whom were first-generation and 15,713 of whom were second- or third-generation), 52,292 people spoke English, although 22,587 said that they did "not speak English very well." Because Brazilian Americans often retain close ties with their old world culture and language, several urban areas with high concentrations of Brazilian immigrants feature radio broadcasts in Portuguese and publish Portuguese-language newspapers and periodicals.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common greetings and expressions in Brazilian Portuguese include: *Bom dia*—Good morning; *Boa tarde*—Good afternoon; *Boa noite*—Good night; *Como vai?*—How are you?; *Obrigado*—Thank you (masculine); *Obrigada*—Thank you (feminine); *De*

nada—You're welcome; *Pois não*—Certainly; or, Don't mention it; *Passe bem*—Goodbye; *Até amanhã*—See you tomorrow; *Que horas são?*—What time is it?; *Como se chama a senhora (a senhorita)?*—What's your name?

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Brazilian social life centers around the family. It is not uncommon for Brazilians to see members of their extended families—married siblings, grandparents, aunts, cousins, and other relations—on a daily basis. Family is also very important to Brazilian Americans. Many Brazilians are encouraged to immigrate to the States by family members who have already made the journey; new immigrants often live with other family members or close friends until they find homes of their own. Especially in larger Brazilian American communities, family members almost always live near one another. Many Brazilian Americans travel to Brazil as often as they can in order to maintain contact with extended family members who remain in the homeland. Even for Brazilian Americans who have lived in the United States for many years, the social and cultural value placed on the family usually remains intact.

In Brazil, social status is very important. Educated Brazilians are socialized from an early age to show respect in speech and conduct to those of higher social status. Individualism in many forms is generally dismissed by Brazilians as egotistical behavior, since Brazilians tend to focus on the family and the community rather than on the individual. Each step in the life cycle—christening, going to school, confirmation, beginning outside work—is viewed as a rite of passage. In making these significant transformations, Brazilians often have many mediators—usually older family members and friends—who counsel them in understanding the ways of the world.

Economic and social necessity have chipped away at the traditional extended family structure in immigrant communities throughout the United States. Many Brazilian immigrants to America are single; married men and women often leave their spouses and children at home until they can afford to send for them. Until they find their own houses or apartments, Brazilians commonly stay with friends or at cheap boarding houses (often Brazilian-run) in cities with large Brazilian communities, such as New York or Newark. After a single family member has established himself or herself in the States, that person is able to facilitate the immigration of other family members. Brazilian

Americans often help each other find jobs and adequate housing, and they share cultural information and news from Brazil. Of course, some Brazilians move to the United States with their immediate families—particularly those who have jobs before they arrive or enough money to last until they can find employment.

As the standard of living for Brazilian immigrants begins to rise, many invest in such modern conveniences as television sets, microwave ovens, and stereo equipment. (These items are seen as luxuries because they are so expensive in Brazil.) A common concern for many Brazilian Americans seems to be the welfare of those still living in Brazil. Many Brazilian Americans send money to friends and family back home, and charitable organizations sponsor drives to collect money and clothing for the poor in Brazil. There is little organized charitable work by Brazilian Americans, however, to help other Brazilian Americans in need. This can be explained partially by the fact that many are undocumented—and therefore live in fear of detection and deportation.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Many married, middle-class women in Brazil do not work outside of the home, even if they have advanced university degrees. It is common—even among the lower-middle-class in the old country—for households to employ servants and maids. Many Brazilian women must adapt to new roles and obtain outside employment when they immigrate to the United States, as it is usually a financial necessity. According to Margolis, these adjustments in roles can cause many problems for immigrants, particularly for married couples in which the woman is making more money than the man. Moreover, middle-class women who had maids and servants in Brazil are somewhat disheartened at the thought of assuming those same roles in America in order to find employment.

WEDDINGS

In Brazil, wedding customs conform to the major practices of each religious denomination. The road to matrimony starts with a large engagement reception, where the families of the intended come together; the man gives the woman a simple gold wedding band, which is worn on the right hand prior to the marriage. During the wedding ceremony, the ring is placed on the left hand. Western traditions have influenced weddings in Brazil, making services similar to those in North America. The

upper-class in Brazil, however, looks to France for many of its cultural manifestations.

In general, the bride wears white and the groom dons formal wear. Bridesmaids and groomsmen are replaced by the *padrinho* (godfather) and *madrinho* (godmother) of both the bride and groom. The service follows the traditional liturgical rites of the Catholic or Protestant church.

The reception is a gala, cross-generational affair, with plenty of food, liquor, music, and dancing. Usually, an older male relative will discreetly gather small monetary donations and present them to the couple before they leave for the honeymoon. Depending on the status of the family, honeymoons can range from a simple night in a room of a crowded house to a week on the beach—a favorite honeymoon spot.

BAPTISMS

Baptismal traditions are determined by the religious denomination of the family. For Catholics, the child is baptized in infancy and later, after reaching the “age of understanding” (usually between eight and 12), he or she is formally confirmed. The child’s godparents play an important role, taking vows to love, protect, and, if necessary, provide for the child. White baptismal clothing is absolutely essential; poor parents reportedly spend food money on the appropriate dress. After the actual baptismal service, the child is showered with presents at a lavish reception.

FUNERALS

The death of beloved Brazilian race car driver Ayrton Senna (1960-1994) allowed all the world to see how Brazilians deal with death. Within minutes of his demise in the Grand Prix in Italy, thousands of Brazilians flocked to his home in São Paulo, stood outside on the walls, and cried. Senna’s funeral service went on for hours; every major Brazilian political and religious leader eulogized him.

In Brazil, the color of mourning is black. Usually, a large picture of the deceased is on display at the funeral service. Generally speaking, bodies in Brazil are not embalmed. Thus, most burials occur within 24 hours. In addition to mourning, funerals function as vehicles for public displays of emotion, belonging, and connection. Women are expected to wear heavy veils and to actively mourn the dead. Sociological sources indicate that unrestrained displays of raw emotion are such a basic part of Brazilian culture that they are expected and encouraged. Thus, it is customary to give fainting mourners a

mixture of sugar water to calm them.

Funeral customs vary from place to place and are informed by the religious traditions of the deceased. In the northeastern part of Brazil, the dead are paraded throughout the streets in their coffins, with family and friends walking behind as they leave the *necrotério* (morgue and funeral home) and proceed to the cemetery. Among the middle- and upper-classes in urban areas, cars and hearses are used. For many Catholics, a special mass is held 15 days after the burial; this signifies the final act of public mourning.

EDUCATION

Many Brazilian immigrants to the United States have university degrees and held skilled jobs in Brazil. However, these immigrants often have difficulty finding desirable jobs in the United States because the requirements for degrees are different in Brazil—and because many Brazilian Americans, even those with advanced education, are not fluent in English. Illegal immigrants are largely excluded from the American labor market, since they pose a legal risk to perspective employers. Overall, second- and third-generation immigrants are more likely to have skilled, high-paying jobs, as they have been educated in the United States, are more likely to be fluent in English, and have legal permanent resident status.

RELIGION

Although the vast majority—nearly 90 percent—of Brazilian Americans are Roman Catholic, others belong to fundamentalist Protestant churches. In addition, a small number of Brazilian Americans practice Spiritism, a faith based on communication with the spirits of the dead; Umbanda, a combination of Spiritism, folk Catholicism, and African-Brazilian beliefs and rituals; and Candomblé, an African-Brazilian religion that originates from the Brazilian state of Bahia. Little is known about the existence of these religions in the United States because their practitioners fear censure from both Brazilians and Americans.

Brazil is the world’s largest Roman Catholic country. The Brazilian Catholic church is seen as radical by more conservative Catholics and has been instrumental in pushing for social change in Brazil—often in direct opposition to the state. Most Brazilian Americans are affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. In areas of the United States with large Brazilian immigrant communities, Catholic

churches offer services in Portuguese or have Brazilian or Portuguese-speaking clerics to assist parishioners. In New York City, the largest and best-known Roman Catholic church with services in Portuguese is Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Manhattan. This church features a prominently displayed statue of Nossa Senhora Aparecida, a Brazilian saint, and serves as a center for many Brazilian Americans to congregate and worship together.

About ten percent of Brazilian Americans belong to one of several Protestant churches. In the United States, particularly in the Northeast, most Brazilian American Protestants are either Pentecostals or Baptists. Pentecostal Brazilian Americans tend to socialize primarily with members of the Pentecostal church, and therefore Pentecostal churches—several of which have services in Portuguese—often become the center of the social lives of most members. Baptist Brazilian Americans, on the other hand, tend to socialize more outside of the church. Some Baptist churches in the United States, such as the Baptist Church of the Portuguese Language in Queens, New York, offer services in Portuguese. In addition to the Pentecostal and Baptist denominations, the Universal Church (a Protestant sect which is Brazilian in origin) and Seventh-Day Adventist churches also attract Brazilian American believers.

Spiritism is a Brazilian practice that combines science, philosophy, and Christian morality and follows the teachings of Allan Kardec, a nineteenth-century French philosopher who set forth his principles in two books: *The Book of the Spirits* and *The Book of the Mediums*. Spiritists, who tend to be white and middle-class, believe in communication with the dead via spirit mediums. Small groups of Brazilian American Spiritists meet in communities with large Brazilian American populations.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Because Brazilian immigrants who entered the United States prior to 1960 were not documented separately, little information exists on their employment history. According to the 1990 census, of the 43,190 Brazilian Americans who were over the age of 16, 31,662 were a part of the labor force. The majority of Brazilian American workers are members of one of four categories: service occupations; technical, sales, and administrative support occupations; managerial and professional specialty occupations; or operators, fabricators, and laborers.

Margolis conducted research on Brazilian immigrant workers in New York City. (The majori-

ty of the people with whom she worked were illegal immigrants.) She found that restaurant work is the most common form of work for male Brazilians who have recently immigrated to the United States. Many other undocumented Brazilian males take jobs in construction or with small companies that pay wages in cash; others work as street vendors or as shoe shiners. The vast majority of female Brazilian immigrants to the United States, both legal and illegal, take jobs in domestic service and in child care, usually for private households. Margolis notes that other Brazilian women take jobs as restaurant workers, street vendors, or even go-go dancers. Her findings also indicate that illegal immigrants tend to take positions where they can be paid “under the table,” avoiding possible detection or deportation from immigration authorities.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Hardly any information exists about Brazilian American participation in the U.S. voting process. However, Brazilian Americans are actively involved with politics in Brazil. First-generation immigrants, Brazilian Americans who remain close to family members still living in Brazil, and business people with ties to Brazil, are especially interested in the political situation in the homeland.

RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL

During the 1989 Brazilian presidential election—the first direct presidential election since 1964—many Brazilian Americans became involved in the election process. Brazilian Americans who were still eligible to vote through the Brazilian consulate organized themselves in support of each of the candidates. Fernando Collor de Mello, who won the election and was later impeached, was supported most heavily by business people and wealthier Brazilian Americans. Collor de Mello ran against Luis Inacio “Lula” da Silva, a trade union leader and Labor party candidate who received support from many middle-class Brazilian American merchants and newer immigrants.

Despite the fact that many Brazilian Americans were very interested and involved in the presidential campaign, relatively few of the eligible immigrants voted through the Brazilian consulate; the consulate apparently did not advertise the necessity of registering in June for the November election. Illegal Brazilian immigrants to the United States, who were eligible to vote in their elections at home, generally did not do so because they feared

being reported to immigration authorities. Of the Brazilian Americans who did cast ballots, da Silva won the majority.

Two years after Collor de Mello's impeachment, former government minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso won the 1994 presidential election against "Lula" da Silva, the favored candidate. Cardoso's financial policies have improved the Brazilian economy considerably.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Several Brazilian Americans have made significant contributions to American culture. Brazilian American journalist Jota Alves founded the New York monthly newspaper *The Brazilians* and also started the tradition of the New York City Brazilian Independence Day Parade and Street Fair in 1985. Jazz musician Airto Moreira and jazz singers Astrud Gilberto, Flora Purim, and Tania Maria are well known among Brazilian Americans and jazz enthusiasts. In addition, numerous Brazilian American professors and students have contributed to American colleges and universities. Anthropologist Roberto DaMatta teaches at the University of Notre Dame. He has written many books about Brazilian culture and society.

MEDIA

PRINT

Brasil/Brazil.

A scholarly journal of Brazilian literature with text in English and Portuguese.

Contact: Nelson H. Vieira or Regina Zilberman, Editors.

Address: Brown University, Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Box O, Providence, Rhode Island 02912.

Telephone: (401) 863-3042.

Fax: (401) 863-7261.

Brazil Watch.

Biweekly newsletter that focuses on political, economic, and business events in Brazil.

Contact: Richard W. Foster, Editor.

Address: Orbis Publications, Inc., 1924 47th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Telephone: (202) 625-2702.

Brazilian Monthly.

Published in both Portuguese and English, this magazine covers cultural issues in Brazil and in Brazilian American communities and provides information on news, politics, and sports.

Contact: Flavia Smith or Heloisa Souza, Editors.

Address: P.O. Box 93, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Telephone: (617) 566-3651.

The Brazilians.

Monthly magazine published in both Portuguese and English. It seeks to promote Brazilian culture and includes business information, news, and articles on Brazilian music, art, and traditions.

Contact: Eddie Mendes, Editor.

Address: 15 West 46th Street, New York, New York 10036.

Telephone: (212) 382-1630.

Capital to Capital.

Weekly newspaper published in Portuguese, English, and Spanish. Its primary goal is to provide information about the Brazilian American community, but it also includes news, religion, and sports coverage. It is available by subscription or on newsstands in a few areas, including Washington, D.C.

Contact: Dario Santos, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 9861, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Telephone: (202) 723-5854.

The Florida Review.

Biweekly newspaper published in Portuguese (with a small section in Spanish). Designed to meet the needs of both Brazilian Americans and Brazilians visiting the United States, it provides world and community news, cultural information from Brazil, and other services, and is distributed throughout the United States and in major Brazilian cities.

Contact: Marcos Ommati, Editor.

Address: 801 Bayshore Drive, Box 19, Miami, Florida 33131.

Telephone: (305) 374-5235.

Luzo—Brazilian Review.

Devoted to the culture of the Portuguese speaking world. Text in English, Portuguese, and Spanish.

Address: University of Wisconsin Press, Journal Division, 114 North Murray Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53715.

Telephone: (608) 262-4952.

Fax: (608) 262-7560.

News From Brazil.

Monthly magazine that covers current events and culture in Brazil, including movies, books, music, politics, ecology, and the economy. It is published in English—with a short story every month in Portuguese—and is distributed through subscriptions and on newsstands in the Los Angeles area.

Contact: Rodney Mallo, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 42536, Los Angeles,
California 90050.

Telephone: (213) 255-4953.

RADIO

KLBS-AM (1330).

A Portuguese-language station with daily broadcasts from 6:30 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. Programming includes news, community information, Brazilian music, and interviews.

Contact: Carolina Cota.

Address: 401 Pacheco Boulevard, Los Banos,
California 93635.

Telephone: (209) 826-0578.

Fax: (209) 826-1906.

Email: klb@cell2000.com.

KSTN-FM (107.3).

Features two hours of Brazilian-centered news, commentary, and music, Monday through Friday. On Sundays, the station broadcasts a Catholic mass in Portuguese.

Contact: Knox Larue, Manager.

Address: 2171 Ralph Avenue, Stockton,
California 95206.

Telephone: (209) 948-5786.

WRYM-AM (840).

Broadcasts a two and one-half hour program each week in Portuguese, featuring music and community and world news.

Contact: Albino Baptista.

Address: 1056 Willard Avenue, Newington,
Connecticut 06111-3540.

Telephone: (860) 666-5646.

Fax: (860) 666-5647.

TELEVISION

One Spanish-language channel in New York City broadcasts a weekly two-hour program in Portuguese for the Brazilian American community, featuring a popular situation comedy, sports highlights, and news. In addition, several of the world famous Brazilian “soap operas,” called *novellas*, are shown on Spanish-language stations around the country.

Satellite technology allows some educational institutions to tune into SCOLA, which carries some programs from Brazil.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Brazilian American Chamber of Commerce.

This organization, which was founded in 1968, has over 300 members, many of which are corporate. The Chamber of Commerce promotes the interests of business in Brazil and in the United States. It publishes a newsletter and the *Brazilian American Business Review Directory*.

Contact: Tony Sayegh, President.

Address: 509 Madison Avenue, Suite 304, New
York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 751-4691.

Fax: (212) 751-7692.

Email: info@brazilcham.com.

Brazilian American Cultural Center (BCC).

The mission of the Cultural Center is to promote the culture and art of Brazil and Brazilian America. It also sponsors programs and exhibits about Brazilian history, art, and music and publishes *The Brazilians*.

Address: 20 West 46th Street, New York,
New York 10036.

Telephone: (212) 730-0515.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Brazilian-American Cultural Institute (BACI).

Founded in 1964, this institute focuses on the promotion of Brazilian culture and art in the United States. It has 1,000 members and sponsors films, shows, exhibits, and Portuguese-language courses, all of which are open to the public. The institute also has an art gallery, a concert hall, and an extensive library. The library holds some 6,000 books relating to Brazil—many written in Portuguese by Brazilian authors—and more than 3,000 recordings of Brazilian music.

Contact: Dr. José Neistein, Executive Director.

Address: 4103 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 362-8334.

Fax: (202) 362-8337.

E-mail: bacius@world.att.net.

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BULGARIAN AMERICANS

by
Eleanor Yu

OVERVIEW

Bulgaria is a small country on the east coast of the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe. Its land area is approximately 42,823 square miles, or 110,550 square kilometers, making it slightly larger than the state of Tennessee. It boasts a varied topography, with flatlands in the north (the Danubian Plateau) and center (the Thracian Plain) and two large mountain ranges spanning the country from west to east—the Balkans across the center and the Rhodopes across the south. The Danube River separates Bulgaria from Romania and forms the country's northern border. Bulgaria shares its western border with Serbia and Macedonia and its southern border with Greece and Turkey. The Black Sea coastline bounds the country to the east.

Bulgaria's population numbered about 8.9 million in 1990. Two-thirds of the populace is urban, with over one million people living in the capital city, Sofia. In 1991, ethnic Bulgarians accounted for 85.3 percent of the population, ethnic Turks represented 8.5 percent, Gypsies 2.6 percent, Macedonians 2.5 percent, and Armenians, Russians, and Greeks each accounted for less than one percent. About 85 percent of the population belongs to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Smaller numbers are Muslim (13 percent), Jewish (0.8 percent), Roman Catholic (0.5 percent), and Protestant. Since the country cast off Soviet-sponsored Communism in late 1989, Bulgarians have

increasingly turned to public worship, and religious observance has been on the upswing.

The official state language is Bulgarian. Turkish has survived several waves of repression during Communist rule and is the primary language of about eight percent of citizens. The Bulgarian flag is composed of three horizontal stripes, white, green, and red in color.

The country's main agricultural regions—the Danubian and Maritsa plains—grow large quantities of corn, tomatoes, tobacco, wheat, barley, grapes, sugar beets, oil-seeds, potatoes, and soybeans. The famous crop of the dry and dusty Tundzha Valley, or the “Valley of the Roses,” makes Bulgaria the world's largest exporter of attar, or extract, of roses.

HISTORY

The ancient Thracians were one of the original civilizations of the eastern Balkans. For much of the first millennium B.C., they inhabited large parts of modern Bulgaria, northern Greece, and European Turkey. Over the centuries, however, Thrace's lack of a strong, central leadership made it an attractive target for various conquering armies, from the Persians in the sixth century B.C., to the Macedonians, who settled the region under Alexander the Great, to the Romans, who overpowered the Thracians in 50 A.D. When the attenuated Roman Empire divided itself into two parts, Thrace fell under the administration of the eastern, or Byzantine, empire.

By the sixth century A.D., migrant Slavic tribes, encountering little opposition from Byzantine troops, had established themselves south of the Danube and absorbed the smaller Thracian population. Almost two centuries later, the Bulgars, a Turkic tribe from central Asia, began their conquest of the region. They, too, assimilated into the larger Slavic population; over time the culture of the warlike, nomadic Bulgar conquerors fused with the ways of the Christianized, agricultural Slav. What evolved was a unified kingdom whose cultural and military achievement, at its height, rivalled that of Byzantium.

The First Bulgarian Kingdom arose in the early ninth century. Aggressive warfare against Byzantium had pushed the borders of Bulgaria to the Carpathian Mountains in the north and to the Aegean Sea in the south. In 865, Bulgarian czar Boris I, perhaps seeking to stabilize relations with Byzantium, made Eastern Orthodox Christianity the official state religion. Shortly after, Bulgaria established its own patriarchate, independent of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Constantinople. Not

only did this mean the Bulgarian Orthodox Church could conduct its services in the Slavic language, but it also kept ecclesiastical authority within the country's borders. The close identification of the Bulgarian Orthodox religion with the nation was a thread that wove through much of the country's history, as the Church repeatedly found itself shouldering the burden of nation-building and acting as sanctuary to Bulgarian culture.

Under the reign of Boris I's son, Czar Simeon (893-927), the First Bulgarian Empire reached its maximum size and its golden age of art, literature, and commerce. A handful of monasteries still bear frescoes dating from this period. After Simeon's reign, the empire began to decline. It was plagued by constant warfare against the Byzantines, the Magyars, and the Kievan Russians and by internal disarray. In 1014, the Bulgarian czar Samuel lost a decisive battle to the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, who ordered the mass blinding of 14,000 Bulgarian prisoners. By 1018, the whole of Bulgaria had fallen once more under the sway of Byzantine rule.

The Second Bulgarian Empire began in 1185, when the brothers Asen and Peter forced the weakening Byzantine Empire to recognize an independent Bulgarian state. The brothers made Turnovo their capital. With the ascension of Asen II (1218-41), medieval Bulgaria reached its zenith in cultural development and in territorial growth. The kingdom extended from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, touching the Aegean at its southern frontier and enveloping Belgrade in the north. Trade flourished, as did learning, religion, and the arts. Bulgaria entered a second and more brilliant “golden age,” and Turnovo was the seat of Slavic culture.

This period of relative tranquility ended around 1240, when Tartar invaders were cutting a swath through Europe. Bulgaria, torn by internal dissension and unable to repel the Tartars' frequent raiding parties, was forced to pay tribute to the invaders. The Tartars were driven out in 1300, and there followed another period of expansion and prosperity. But as the fourteenth century neared its end, a new threat stood poised at the southern frontier of the Bulgarian kingdom—the armies of the Ottoman Empire, which had already gained a foothold on the European shores of the Aegean.

In 1385 Sofia became the first major Bulgarian city to fall to the Ottoman Empire. The turning point in the half-century-long Ottoman offensive in the Balkans was the defeat of the powerful Serbian army at the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389. With this victory, the Turks were able to gain control of the Balkan Peninsula. They wasted no time in

crushing what remained of Bulgarian resistance and imposed a five-century-long rule over Bulgaria.

Turkish colonization had profound short- and long-term effects on the development of the Bulgarian nation. While looting Orthodox monasteries, Turkish troops destroyed great masterpieces of Bulgarian culture, including scores of paintings, frescoes, and manuscripts from the golden ages. Stripped of its independence as well as its riches, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was made a sub-patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church for four centuries. Many Bulgarians were enslaved, forced to convert to Islam, or exiled to other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The Turks replaced the existing social structure with a more oppressive form of feudalism, rewarding Turkish landlords and converts to Islam with the most fertile land, while burdening Bulgarian peasants with heavy local and state taxes.

However, Turkish subjugation was not absolute. Bulgarians were permitted a limited form of local self-government. They spoke their native tongue among themselves without restriction. The Bulgarian artisan and merchant classes prospered as they sold food and cloth to the rest of the Ottoman Empire. The empire's centralized government left remote mountain villages and monasteries untouched. As a result, the villages were able to preserve Bulgarian culture, while the monasteries served as a refuge for literature and religious learning.

From the monasteries, a wave of nationalist feeling fanned out to the rest of the country in the 1760s. At the same time the Ottoman Empire, increasingly plagued by corruption and misrule, was sliding ever closer to its eventual disintegration. One monk in particular, Father Paisii of Hilendar, is credited with stoking the flames of the Bulgarian "National Revival." His history of the Bulgarian people encouraged his compatriots to agitate for Bulgarian-language schools and ecclesiastical independence from the Greek Orthodox Church.

In 1870, worn down by revolts and European enemies, the Ottoman sultan conceded the autonomy of the Bulgarian church and mandated the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Meanwhile, Bulgarian expatriates in Serbia and Romania, dissatisfied by the slow pace of Turkish reform, were forming armed, revolutionary groups that sought the violent overthrow of the Turks. In 1876, the Bucharest-based Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee organized the "April Uprising" against the Turks. Although that revolt failed, the brutal Ottoman reprisals, which killed 30,000 Bulgarians, drew Europe's attention to what had previously been considered an Ottoman backwater.

INDEPENDENCE AND THE MODERN ERA

Outraged on behalf of its little "Slavic brother" and backed by international public opinion, Russia led the clamor for Bulgarian autonomy. The major European powers tried to secure reforms from the sultan through diplomacy. Negotiations foundered, however, on the question of autonomous Bulgarian provinces, and Czar Alexander II of Russia declared war on Turkey in April 1877.

The eight-month War of Liberation ended in Turkish defeat. In March of 1878, Russia imposed upon the Turks the Treaty of San Stefano, which created a Russian-protected "Big Bulgaria" that encompassed Bulgaria proper and most of Macedonia and Thrace. Fearing Russia's growing influence in the Balkans, the western European powers dismantled the treaty within months. In July 1878, the Congress of Berlin reduced the size of Bulgaria by two-thirds and confined the new nation to the area between the Danube River and the Balkan Mountains. Although they were largely populated by ethnic Bulgarians, Macedonia, Thrace, and Southern Bulgaria (called Eastern Rumelia) were returned to Turkey. The new treaty also gave the Ottoman state the right to invade Bulgaria in times of civil unrest.

Pro-Bulgarian sentiment simmered in the Turkish provinces of Macedonia, Thrace, and Eastern Rumelia. Uprisings persisted in Macedonia, in particular, where a large portion of the populace spoke a Bulgarian dialect and adhered to the Bulgarian Orthodox faith. Formed in 1893, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) dedicated itself to armed rebellion. The IMRO's most memorable revolt, the Ilinden, or St. Ilya's Day uprising, on August 2, 1903, ended in the deaths of thousands of Macedonians and the destruction of entire villages at the hands of the Turkish army.

Bulgaria's territorial ambitions led it into the successive Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. Covetous of its lost territories, Bulgaria joined Serbia and Greece in 1912 in a successful offensive against Turkey. Then, when Greece and Serbia each claimed large portions of Macedonia, Bulgaria turned on its erstwhile allies, only to lose to them in 1913. Although forced to yield some land, Bulgaria finished the wars with a net gain in territory.

In World War I, the promise of Serbian Macedonia enticed Bulgaria into an alliance with the losing Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Ottoman Turkey). In the 1930s, the authoritarian King Boris III cemented Bulgaria's relationship with fascist Germany and Italy. Hoping to recover Thrace and Macedonia, Bulgaria again allied itself to the losing side in World War II. It

declared war on the United States, Great Britain, and France on December 13, 1941. However, Boris successfully resisted sending Bulgarian troops to bolster Germany's eastern front, arguing that the troops were needed at home as a deterrent to attack. Nor did the Bulgarian people support Nazi Germany's anti-Jewish policies; although Boris acquiesced to a number of repressive measures against Jews, he staved off the Nazi-ordered deportation of 50,000 Bulgarian Jews.

The Soviet army invaded Bulgaria in September 1944, only hours after the Soviet Union declared war on the Balkan country. Shortly afterward, a coalition of Bulgarian resistance groups, dominated by the Communists, seized control of the government. Under the eye of the occupying Soviet army, the Bulgarian Communists abolished the monarchy and established the People's Republic in September 1946. A new constitution, modelled on the Soviet constitution, was drafted in 1947. Soviet troops withdrew from Bulgarian soil that same year.

The Communists consolidated their power over the next four decades, earning Bulgaria a reputation as Moscow's most loyal Warsaw Pact ally. Under the leadership of Vulko Chervenkov (1949-1956) and Todor Zhivkov (1956-1989), Bulgarian foreign and domestic policy rarely strayed from the Soviet Union's. Evidence indicates that the Bulgarian state security police, the Durzhavna Sigurnost, often acted in lieu of the KGB, accepting assignments from which Moscow wanted to distance itself.

As the 1980s drew to a close, the shock waves of Soviet *perestroika* reverberated across eastern Europe. Bulgarians articulated their unhappiness with the regime through public protests and increasingly visible dissident activity. On November 10, 1989, one day after the fall of the Berlin Wall, reformers within the Communist party forced the resignation of Zhivkov.

Post-Communist politics in Bulgaria is dominated by two major parties—the Bulgarian Socialist Party, as the Communist party renamed itself, and the Union of Democratic Forces, which won the new government's first election, only to lose power 11 months later. The country's transition to capitalism has been uncertain, with the privatization of state-run enterprises proceeding slowly. A soaring crime rate and economic crisis have led some to call for the restoration of the monarchy and others to call for a return to Communism.

THE FIRST BULGARIANS IN AMERICA

Aside from the rare adventurer, few Bulgarians settled in the United States before the great immigra-

tion wave of the early twentieth century, in which thousands of southern and eastern Europeans altered the country's ethnic cast. The earliest documented Bulgarian immigrants were converts to Protestantism, who arrived around the middle of the nineteenth century to pursue higher education in America, as Nikolay G. Altankov notes in *The Bulgarian-Americans*, published by Ragusan Press in 1979. Their passages were funded by American Protestant groups intent on grooming talented natives for missionary work back in Bulgaria. Although some Bulgarian students did return home to spread the gospel, others chose to remain in the States, settling in their adopted country with their families.

Early Bulgarian Americans included Ilya S. Iovchev, who arrived in 1870 and became a journalist, and Hristo Balabanov, who came to the States in 1876, earned an M.D., then established a medical practice in Tacoma, Washington, in 1890.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Bulgarians have a long tradition, dating to the Byzantine period, of migrating to flee political turmoil. Every unsuccessful revolt against the Turks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was accompanied by mass migrations of Bulgarians to Russia, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, and other Balkan nations. Expatriate Bulgarian communities formed and thrived in some of those countries. Today, an estimated two million ethnic Bulgarians live beyond the country's borders, with the vast majority residing in Russia and Romania.

Bulgarians first started immigrating to the United States in large numbers between 1903 and 1910. During this period, approximately 50,000 Bulgarians from Turkish-occupied Macedonia and from Bulgaria proper, or "the kingdom," arrived in the United States. Economic opportunity was the primary attraction for Bulgarians from "the kingdom," who were escaping overpopulation and unemployment in their native regions. Macedonian-Bulgarians had an additional impetus to emigrate; the unsuccessful St. Ilya's Day revolt of 1903 drew brutal reprisals from the Turkish army, which laid waste to three Macedonian provinces and killed 5,000 revolutionaries and villagers. Some 330,000 homeless Macedonians fled to Bulgaria. Within months, the largest wave of Bulgarian and Macedonian Bulgarian emigration had begun.

After 1910, political developments continued to influence the ebb and flow of emigration from Bulgaria. Territorial loss following the Balkan Wars and the First World War drove between 400,000

and 700,000 ethnic Bulgarians from Aegean Thrace, Macedonia, and Dobrudzha into Bulgaria proper. Their arrival strained the already limited economic resources of the country and led many Bulgarians, in turn, to seek work abroad.

For the typical Bulgarian immigrant of the early twentieth century, passage to the United States was not obstacle-free. With little of value to his name, a peasant would sell his land and livestock, mortgage his farm, or take a high-interest loan from a steamship agent in order to fund his transatlantic trip. Such a costly outlay meant there was no turning back. Some immigrants began their journeys at Danube River ports, traveling to Vienna and continuing overland by train to any number of European port cities (Hamburg, Le Havre, Trieste), where they spent up to a week or more in detention camps before boarding a ship to New York. Others embarked from the Greek ports of Piraeus or Salonika. Although their points of departure varied, most immigrants spent the month-long ocean voyage in steerage, in the hold of the ship, where crowded, unsanitary conditions and poor food encouraged the spread of disease. Many Bulgarians sought to avoid stringent entrance exams at Ellis Island, the immigration station in New York City, by entering the country illegally, through Canada or Mexico.

Bulgarian immigration never boomed the way immigration from other southern or eastern European countries did, and in 1924, the National Origins Immigration Act limited the number of Bulgarians who could enter the United States to a mere 100 a year. From 1924 until the lifting of the national origins quota restrictions in 1965, only 7,660 Bulgarians were officially admitted to the United States. Historians believe thousands more made America their home during this period, entering illegally via Canada or Mexico or with non-Bulgarian passports issued by the country of their last residence rather than the country of their birth. Many Bulgarians, it is believed, have been recorded as Turks, Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, Russians, or Yugoslavs. At one point, U.S. immigration statistics did not distinguish Bulgarians from Serbs and Montenegrins. For these reasons, the actual number of people of Bulgarian ancestry living in the United States is believed to be significantly higher than the 1990 U. S. Census figure—slightly over 70,000 as opposed to the official 20,894.

The 1924 quota restrictions affected not only the dimension of Bulgarian immigration but its character as well. Most of the immigrants of the interwar years (1919-1939) were women and children joining husbands and fathers who had already established themselves in America. Otherwise,

immigration from Bulgaria during these years had dwindled to a trickle.

The rise of the Communist state in 1945 precipitated a new wave of immigration. In contrast to the earlier immigrants, the postwar emigres were primarily political refugees and professionals who left Bulgaria with no expectation of returning. Thousands fled in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Bulgaria in 1944. Following retreating German troops to Germany or Austria, some Bulgarians settled in western European countries; others entered the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1947. A handful became Americans under the auspices of a 1944 congressional act that granted citizenship to refugees who were accepted into U. S. military service overseas. Until the Bulgarian borders were sealed in 1949, refugees continued to leave by the thousands. The route to America was often circuitous, with refugees typically spending several years in non-Communist European countries—Greece, Turkey, Italy, Austria, Germany—or even in South America before finally making their way to the United States. After 1956, the flow of postwar refugees slowed to a mere 100 to 300 a year, but periodic relaxations on travel or border regulations continued to give the determined occasion to flee.

In 1989, the demise of single-party rule in Bulgaria brought an end to Communist restraints on travel and opened the country's borders. Many Bulgarians, fleeing economic instability under the new government, are once again leaving for western European countries or America. Since 1990, they have been immigrating to the United States at a rate of about 1,000 a year. Like those who emigrated during the Cold War, these immigrants are predominantly skilled workers and professionals.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The early immigrants tended to settle in Slavic or Balkan enclaves in the Midwest and the Northeast, where unskilled laborers could find work in factories, mills, and mines. The earliest recorded Bulgarian communities arose shortly after the turn of the century in the cities of Steelton and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Cleveland and Dayton, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; and New York City. Smaller numbers of Bulgarians settled in the American West or Northwest as farmers or railroad workers. Between 1910 and 1914, a group of ethnic Bulgarians from Bessarabia established a farming community in North Dakota. Another group established itself in Yakima, Washington, as fruit growers.

Nevertheless, the most popular destination for new arrivals was the Midwest, where, for instance,

the twin cities of Granite City and Madison, Illinois counted over 6,000 Bulgarian inhabitants in 1907. As the automobile industry grew, Detroit became home to the largest concentration of Bulgarians in this country—there were 7,000 in the city alone in 1910, with an additional 1,500 scattered in nearby Michigan cities. An estimated 10,000 Bulgarian Americans continue to live in Michigan today. In contrast, only about three to four thousand Bulgarians reside in the New York metropolitan area. Other cities hosting large numbers of Bulgarian Americans include Gary, Fort Wayne, and Indianapolis, Indiana; Lorain, Toledo, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Akron, Ohio; and Los Angeles, California. Pittsburgh, once a hub for Bulgarian immigrants, has declined in importance in recent years, while the greater New York and Los Angeles areas have attracted growing numbers of recent immigrants.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

As an ethnic group, Bulgarian Americans do not have a conspicuous or clearly defined image in the United States. Scholars have attributed the group's low profile to a number of factors. Bulgarian immigration, even at its height (1907-1910), never approached the magnitude of immigration by other comparable southern or eastern European nationalities. Practically nonexistent before 1900, Bulgarian immigration also occurred later. Those who did come led largely nomadic lives or were dispersed around the country and tended not to form distinct ethnic communities. There were no "little Bulgarias" from which the American public could draw its stereotypes.

According to Nikolay Altankov, the first scholar to make an extensive study of Bulgarian Americans, the group's own attitudes may have encouraged the indifference of the general public. Far from being vocal or visible, Bulgarians tend to shy away from involvement in public life. With some exceptions, they prefer to devote their energies to friends and families rather than to politics or ethnic activities.

When the early immigrants did attract notice, their "Bulgarian-ness" was often obscured by their identification with other Slavs. During the heyday of Bulgarian immigration, outsiders might have recognized Granite City's "Hungary Hollow" as an eastern European enclave, but few bothered to distinguish Bulgarians from their Magyar or Slavic neighbors. Insofar as Bulgarians were confused with larger Slavic groups, they encountered the same prejudices as those immigrants. Their opportunities for employment were limited, and they took the low-paying, unskilled, and often dangerous work that the native-

born refused. They faced the inevitable derogatory epithets. Established Americans looked down on the newcomers, whose unfamiliar customs and lack of English skills alienated them from the mainstream and whose poverty forced them to live in crowded, unsanitary conditions.

By contrast, immigrants who arrived during the Cold War as political refugees received a more welcome reception. Their strong anti-Communist stance inspired sympathy. They were better educated, more cosmopolitan, and more highly skilled than the earlier immigrants. As academics, doctors, engineers, and small business owners, they had stronger financial prospects in their adopted country. However, because their numbers were small and they were even less likely to settle in specifically Bulgarian neighborhoods, they failed to raise the profile of Bulgarian Americans.

“While I am not a whole American, neither am I what I was when I first landed here; that is, a Bulgarian.... I have outwardly and inwardly deviated so much from a Bulgarian that when recently visiting in that country I felt like a foreigner.... In Bulgaria I am not wholly a Bulgarian; in the United States not wholly an American.”

Stoyan Christowe in 1919, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

The descendants of the early immigrants, the second generation, often chose to live in non-Bulgarian neighborhoods and marry out of their ethnicity. Educated in American schools and steeped in American culture, they were eager to cast aside the "differentness" that marked their parents. Increasingly, they spoke only English. Observance of Bulgarian customs went the way of regular attendance at a Bulgarian church. In short, second-generation Bulgarian Americans assimilated into American life, frequently at the expense of ethnic heritage. And yet, from the relatively comfortable vantage point as third-generation Americans, their children are feeling the draw of their past. Many Americans of Bulgarian descent are re-discovering their ethnic roots. Bulgarian folk dance and music, in particular, are enjoying a new popularity among Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians alike.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In Bulgaria, practice of traditions varies from region to region. A city dweller, for instance, might not

adhere as strictly to tradition as a villager does. And the customs the urbanite follows differ from those practiced by the farmer, whose life is shaped by close ties to the land and a greater dependency on the vagaries of nature. Historical circumstance has exacted its tolls, somewhat estranging the postwar generations of Bulgarians, educated under Communism, from the beliefs of their ancestors. These tendencies are preserved among immigrants to the United States. Although immigrants bring their traditions to their adopted country, their American-born children, in their haste to assimilate, may be eager to shed long-held customs. Nonetheless, certain traditions marking rites of passage, such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals, have had tremendous staying power.

PROVERBS

Bulgarian proverbs usually rhyme in the original language. Even in translation, however, they convey common Bulgarian values such as hard work and respect for friends: God gives, but doesn't put it in the cowshed; A group that gets along together will be able to raise a mountain; A clear account makes a good friend; Study brings success; Nothing is impossible to a Bulgarian.

CUISINE

Like the cuisines of its Balkan neighbors, Bulgarian cooking has assimilated many elements of Turkish cuisine. There is an emphasis on dairy products, mainly yogurt and cheese; on nuts, especially the walnuts and sunflower seeds of the Tundzha Valley; and on fresh, seasonal fruits and vegetables. Traditional meat dishes—stews, sausages, kebabs (grilled meats)—are most often made of lamb, veal, or pork. Also popular are chicken, beef, brains, kidney, and liver. Bulgarian dishes are generally spicier than those of neighboring countries, and cooks are liberal in their use of herbs and strongly flavored condiments such as garlic and chili peppers.

Because many of the ingredients in Bulgarian cuisine are available in the United States, first- and second-generation Bulgarian Americans have continued cooking and consuming the dishes they enjoyed in Bulgaria. However, family meals often become more elaborate and meat more frequent if the family prospers in its adopted country. Conversely, the diets of poor, early immigrant laborers tended to match their humble living conditions.

Traditional breakfasts are simple, eaten at home before the work day begins. The breakfast usually consists of bread, fruit, and cheese—the

most familiar being *sirene*, a salty, feta-like cheese, and *kashkaval*, a hard cheese similar to Cheddar—which are washed down with a glass of yogurt (*kiselo mlyako*) or *boza*, a millet drink. Mid-day meals tend to be soups or fried dishes, cooked in butter or oil, while grilled meat or spicy stews, preceded by a salad tossed in yogurt or in oil, are the mainstay of evening meals. Bulgarians have traditionally relied on numerous light snacks (fruit, cheese, bread, and other baked goods), eaten throughout the day, to sustain them as they labored in the fields or pastures or, later, in the factories and mines.

The classic Bulgarian dishes are simple and hearty. The “national soup,” *tarator*, is a cold cucumber and yogurt soup seasoned with dill and garlic and topped with chopped walnuts. Another popular starter, the *salata shopska*, is a mixed salad of tomatoes, cucumbers, cabbage, peppers, and onions tossed in vinegar and sunflower oil and sprinkled with a light layer of crumbled cheese. Bulgarian meals are invariably accompanied by the oven-baked bread known as *pitka*, which is served with *ciubritsa*, an aromatic condiment with a native herb resembling tarragon at its base.

Of the traditional Bulgarian main dishes, *gyuvech* is the best known. Baked in an earthenware dish, it is a rich, spicy stew of various vegetables—usually some combination of peppers, chilies, onions, tomatoes, eggplant, and beans—cooked with meaty chunks of veal, pork, lamb, or beef, then slathered with a yogurt-egg sauce which bakes into a crust. Also popular, *sarmi* is made by stuffing cabbage leaves with minced meat and rice. Other common meat dishes are *kebabche*, a grilled patty of minced pork, lamb, and veal flavored with garlic, and *kyufte*, a meatball of the same ingredients, as well as the more universal chops and filets of veal and pork.

Desserts, too, reflect Bulgaria's history and its unique geopolitical position: the middle Eastern pastry *baklava*, a layered pastry of chopped nuts drenched in honey, is as common as *garash*, a chocolate layer cake with central European antecedents. Local fruits make another post-dinner favorite, the dessert varying with the season—strawberries, raspberries, plums, cherries, peaches, apples, and grapes. Coffee, or *kafe*, is consumed Turkish-style or as European *espresso*.

DANCES AND MUSIC

Music and dance are central to Bulgarian culture. Music has bound together the community in times of oppression and in celebration. Significantly, there are few strictly solo performances of folk dance or

music. Songs are used to commemorate religious occasions, traditional holidays, past wars, and historical events, births, marriages, deaths, departures, and harvests. Even religious services are chanted in song-like fashion rather than read. Song and dance are very much a part of the fabric of daily life, as well. Shepherds can still be heard in the Rhodope Mountains playing plaintive songs to their flocks, using the traditional goatskin bagpipe. In villages and cities alike, a Bulgarian youth will announce romantic intentions by challenging the object of his or her interests to a dance contest. And any given performance of the popular line dance, the *horó*, will include participants of all ages in its circle.

Because Bulgarian music and dance are communal in nature, they are preserved among immigrants only to the extent that there is a close-knit community. Early Bulgarian immigrants often held evening parties, or *vecherinka*, at Bulgarian-owned saloons or coffee houses, where workers sought release from their long, difficult days in song, dance, and drink. Saint's days and holidays were greeted with the greatest festivity, as men performed variations on the basic *horó*, or circular line dance. The immigrants could briefly forget their hardships in lively dances like the *ruchenitsa*, which allowed them to showcase their agility in leaps and squats, or the *kopenitsa*, with its tricky, rhythmically complex steps. Increasingly isolated from Bulgarian American daily life, however, traditional music and dance is relegated today to weddings and other special events or to the occasional performance at ethnic festivals.

Although its role in Bulgarian American life has perhaps declined, Bulgarian folk music has inspired a new generation of Western artists, from the American pop singers David Byrne and Paul Simon to the English singer-songwriter Kate Bush, to the ranks of non-Bulgarian Americans who have formed traditional Bulgarian folk dance and music groups in the United States. New York City alone boasts the women's singing group, Zhenska Pesen, and the Bosilek Bulgarian Dance Troupe. Contemporary music from Bulgaria is also enjoying an unprecedented popularity in the West, and many recordings are available on Western labels. The best known of these is *Le Mystere des Voix Bulgares*, performed by the Bulgarian State Radio and Television Female Vocal Choir.

Bulgarian music is distinguished by its rhythmic complexity, heavy ornamentation, and the stirring and slightly nasal sound of the "open-throated" singing style. Most traditional folk songs are ornately decorated solos performed by a woman against the steady drone of a bagpipe or another voice.

(Songs for dancing, categorized as "useful" and, therefore, less artistic music, were simpler and less decorated.) In some villages, a polyphonic style arose in which the women sing in two- or three-part harmony and decorate their songs with whoops, vibrati, and slides. The female singers are sometimes accompanied by men playing traditional Bulgarian instruments; these include, most commonly, the *ghaida*, or goatskin bagpipe; the *kaval*, a shepherd's flute made of three wooden tubes; the *gadulka*, a stringed instrument with no frets or fingerboard on its neck; the *tambura*, a lute-like stringed instrument with a long, fretted neck; and the *tapan*, a large, two-sided drum.

HOLIDAYS

Bulgarian Americans celebrate Christmas (Koleda), New Year's Day (Surva), and Easter (Velikden) and, to a greater or lesser degree, a smattering of prominent saints' days. These include St. Cyril and St. Methodius Day on May 11, St. Constantine and St. Elena Day on May 21, St. Elijah's Day (Ilinden) on July 20, the Birth of the Virgin on September 8, St. John of Rila's Day (Ivan Rilski) on October 19, St. Demetrius's Day (Dimitrovdén) on October 26, the Day of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (Arhangelovden) on November 8, and St. Nicholas's Day (Nikulden) on December 6. Arguably the most important secular holiday, March 3rd marks the liberation of Bulgaria from the Turks. Immigrant families also observe the standard American holidays, such as Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July.

Most saints' days are recognized simply by feasting or attendance at special church services, where candles are lit before the appropriate icon. Other saint's days coincide with seasonal celebrations of pagan origins and incorporate pre-Christian customs into a Christian framework. On New Year's or Saint Basil's Day, for instance, groups of young children carrying *survaknitsa*, bundles of twigs draped with colored thread and dried fruit, supposedly bring luck and prosperity to their neighbors by visiting their homes and lightly slapping them with the fruit-laden twigs. *Kukerov den* welcomes the start of the agricultural year. On the first Sunday before Lent, young men ensure fertility by parading and dancing in huge masks, or *kuker*, made of animal skins and fur. On March 1st, or *Baba Marta*, people celebrate the first day of spring by wearing or giving away *martenitsa*, a good luck charm made of two woolen balls, one red, symbolizing red cheeks, and the other white, for white skin. A second springtime fertility rite, in which unmarried women perform dances and songs, coincides with St. Lazar's Day, eight days before

Easter. Summer begins on the day of St. Constantine and St. Elena, while St. Demetrius's Day, October 26, is a harvest holiday marking the end of the agricultural year. The extent to which Bulgarian American families observe these holidays is often determined by the presence or absence of ties to a larger Bulgarian American community.

LANGUAGE

Bulgarian is a south Slavic language, closely related to Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian and more distantly to Russian. It is one of the oldest written languages in Europe. Like Russian, Bulgarian uses the 29-character Cyrillic alphabet, which was adapted from the Greek alphabet in the ninth century A.D. to accommodate the sounds of the Old Slavonic tongue. The Orthodox missionaries Cyril and Methodius created this alphabet for the spoken Slavic language, and their disciples Kliment and Naum translated religious texts into Old Church Slavonic using the script, which they named Cyrillic after its creator. The alphabet spread from early medieval Bulgaria to other Slavic civilizations. With substantial justification, Bulgarians consider their native tongue the ur-Slavic language that influenced all the other Slavic languages.

Bulgarian has gained by its contact with other civilizations. It retains over 2,000 words from the pre-Cyrillic Old Slavonic tongue. Four centuries of Greek Orthodox supervision over the Bulgarian church has added Greek religious terms, as well as some Greek words used in daily life, to the Bulgarian language. The Turks, then the Russians, donated vocabulary relating to political, economic, and day-to-day life. The postwar era introduced to Bulgarian a number of western European words, especially in the fields of technology and science.

Bulgarians in the United States have likewise incorporated many American English words into their daily speech. However, only the immigrant generation uses this mongrelized Bulgarian; their American-educated children are more likely to consider English their primary language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Zdravei—Hello; *Kak ste?*—How are you?; *Blagodarya*—Thank you; *Nyama zashto*—You're welcome; *Molya*—Please; *Izvinete*—Excuse me; *Dobro utro*—Good morning; *Dobar den*—Good day; *Dobar vecher*—Good evening; *Leka nosht*—Good night; *Dovizhdane*—Goodbye; *Chestito*—Congratulations; *Chestit rozhden den*—Happy birthday;

Chestita nova godina—Happy new year; *Nazdrava*—To your health.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Bulgarian American communities took root slowly in the decades preceding the First World War. The unmarried men who first came to the United States believed their stay would be temporary. That perception, coupled with the mobile nature of their work, initially inhibited the creation of permanent communities. Nevertheless, immigrant social life came to organize itself around two types of institutions during the early part of this century: the *boort*, or boardinghouse, and the *kafene*, or cafe.

The *boort* was a Bulgarian-owned boardinghouse that allowed groups of immigrant men to save money by living together and pooling their household duties and expenses. It was usually run by a Bulgarian who had met with enough success in America to buy a house. Confining his private quarters to a single room or two, he would rent out the remaining room or rooms. The boardinghouse owner often held a factory job as well. If he was married, his wife and family might provide meals or other housekeeping services to the boarders for an additional fee. More often, the boarders chose to do their own chores. The typical *boort* was overcrowded and sparsely furnished. Boarders slept and ate in shifts, six or more to a single room. They often worked different rotations at the same factory or mine. Although conditions ran to the squalid, many immigrants preferred saving their earnings to living in comfort.

The *kafene* (cafe or coffeehouse) offered an escape from the rigors of work and crowded households. In addition to serving familiar food and drinks, it functioned as a center for recreation and socializing. The proprietor of a *kafene* was usually more educated and better established in his new country than was the boardinghouse owner. He had a better command of the English language than his customers and was often called upon to act as translator, attorney, travel agent, or in any number of other capacities. As a natural outgrowth of his multiple roles, he sometimes ran another business—a newsstand, a grocery store, a rooming house, an employment agency, a bank—on the side.

FAMILY ROLES

Among the first generation, family relations adhered rather closely to the traditional Bulgarian

model. The close-knit family was headed by a patriarch who made all pivotal decisions. The father's parents often lived in his household, caring for the children while the father and mother worked. Social life revolved around the extended family to a far greater degree than in western European societies. Marriages were arranged by family members or professional marriage brokers.

With assimilation, however, came the disintegration of this model. Because women were relatively scarce, they were more highly valued in the immigrant community than they were in Bulgaria. Bulgarian wives, realizing how essential their labor was to their families' survival in the new country, became more independent-minded. Immigrant women were forming their own organizations and clubs as early as 1913. Bulgarian men, lacking both fluency in English and status in American society, found their patriarchal roles somewhat diminished. Their children assumed an ambassadorial role, explaining and interpreting the society and language of America to their parents. And increasingly, second-generation children left home to attend college or go to work. In contrast, grown-up children in Bulgaria left their parents' homes only to marry, settling nearby even then. As families assimilated, the traditional hierarchies flattened, giving women and children a greater voice in their households.

TRADITIONS OF EARLY LIFE

According to Orthodox tradition, a child born on the day of an important saint must take that saint's name, or face an unhappy life unprotected by the saint.

Baptism is considered an important rite that establishes individual identity before the eyes of God. The godparents bring the child, dressed in new clothes for the occasion, to church. Relatives and friends are invited to attend. If either godparent has not been baptized, he or she must be baptized at that time in order to be permitted to be godparent. The priest blesses the child and then bathes the child in a tub of warm water. Then he sprinkles with holy water a fragrant plant symbolic of good health, called the *zdravets*. After the baptism, there may be a celebratory dinner at the parents' home, to which guests typically bring gifts of money. Each year thereafter, the godmother goes to church and lights a candle on the child's baptism day.

Proshtupulnik is a non-religious tradition that celebrates a child's first step. Family and friends are invited to bring objects symbolic of various professions. These objects—a paint brush to symbolize art, scissors for the tailor, a pen for the writer,

money for the banker, a globe for the world traveler, and so on—are arranged on a small table. The parents then roll a rounded loaf of bread toward the table and urge the newly ambulatory child to chase it. Once the bread falls at the foot of the table, the child is instructed to choose one of the objects on top. According to tradition, the child will choose the tool of his or her future profession.

WEDDINGS

Typically a month in duration, the Bulgarian engagement period seems short to most Americans. Once a couple announces their intention to marry, the parents of the groom visit the bride's home. Bringing gifts and money for her parents, they formally invite the prospective bride to join their family. An engagement party takes place at the bride's home after she and her parents have agreed to the marriage. This practice has been modified in the United States, where it may be difficult to arrange wedding festivities in one month's time and where Bulgarians marry non-Bulgarians.

Shortly after the engagement, a maid of honor and a best man are chosen. Their roles are more than ceremonial; they are expected to aid the couple in the wedding preparations and to help them throughout their married life. Among other responsibilities, they are expected to be godparents to the couple's children. It is also understood that the maid of honor should buy or otherwise provide the bride's bouquet and wedding dress.

On the last night of the engagement—the night before the wedding—the bride's house resounds with sad songs of leavetaking. Far from celebrating the joys of marriage, these songs mourn the bride's imminent departure from her parents' home. Each subsequent part of the wedding is also characterized by appropriate music; folk songs mark the arrival of the groom's party at the bride's house, the emergence of the bride to join them, and the procession to the church. A traditional wedding band plays lively dance music throughout the festivities following the ceremony.

The wedding ceremony, which usually takes place early in the day, is similar to other Eastern Orthodox wedding services. The priest leads the service; he asks the couple if they wish to marry, blesses them, then declares them married. Husband and wife exchange rings, after which the priest places crowns on their heads to signify their future together as the joint rulers of their family. The couple then drinks wine or champagne from a common glass, thus ensuring their future prosperity. As the ceremony draws to a close, the guests line up to offer the

Bishop Andrey Velichky of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church receives a cross from a swimmer as part of the ancient blessing of the water ceremony.



bride fresh flowers. The couple might now engage in a folk custom that supposedly foretells which spouse will rule over the other in married life: each tries to be the first to step on the other's foot. Many modern couples, preferring to regard each other as equal partners, choose to forego this custom.

In cities, newlyweds visit and lay flowers at various monuments while the guests make their way to the reception. The purpose of this custom is to allow the bride and groom to be the last to arrive at the reception, which is usually held in a restaurant, hotel, or private home. Once they arrive, the couple finds, placed on a table, a round, home-baked loaf of bread and a bowl of honey. Before the assembled guests, the bride dips a chunk of bread in honey and puts it in the mouth of the best man while the groom follows suit with the maid of honor. Then the bride and groom feed each other pieces of honey-dipped bread, each trying to outdo the other with larger and more unmanageable chunks. A second loaf of bread is provided for another custom, in which the husband and wife each grip the bread and pull. Whoever breaks the larger piece will, according to tradition, be the dominant partner in the marriage.

At the reception, a feast of lavish dishes and wine is punctuated by live folk music. Guests of all ages join in the *horo*, a circular line dance, whose leader leaps and performs difficult steps while waving a long flagpole. Traditionally, the wedding band was composed of folk instruments; today it may be a union of Bulgarian folk and modern Western instruments. The band's playlist may also be divided between modern pop songs and folk music.

FUNERALS

In Bulgaria today, a family announces a relative's death by issuing cards or fliers to acquaintances and posting notices in offices or on building walls. Funeral services are usually held inside a sermon hall at the cemetery rather than at the graveside. There, a priest or employee of the cemetery leads prayers for the dead and reads a short sermon. A band plays solemn music as the coffin is led to the grave. Guests bring flowers, making sure that each bouquet includes an even number of flowers, since odd-numbered bouquets are reserved for festive occasions. Close family members dress in black for the first 40 days following the funeral, and sometimes longer. Mirrors in the home of the deceased are covered with black cloth.

Forty days after the funeral, the family of the deceased holds another service to celebrate the soul's flight from the body. Followers of the Bulgarian Orthodox faith believe that the spirit leaves the body forty days after death; some say there is scientific proof the body becomes perceptibly lighter on that day. More fliers, bearing a photo of the deceased, are posted announcing the occasion. Guests congregate at the grave or at church, where they light candles for the deceased and are fed ceremonial foods. The most common dish eaten on this day is *zhito*, or boiled whole wheat topped with sugar and nuts.

RELIGION

Most Bulgarian Americans belong, at least nominally, to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, an independent national branch of Eastern Orthodoxy. The first Bulgarian Church in America was established in 1909 in Granite City, Illinois. Shortly after the founding of Granite City's St. Kyril and St. Methody, the Holy Synod, the church's Sofia-based ruling body, authorized the dedication of a second church, Holy Annunciation, in Steelton, Pennsylvania. In the succeeding decades, 30 additional Bulgarian churches were founded, all under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod. Many of these no longer exist. Administratively, the churches belonged to the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Mission for the United States and Canada. In 1938, the mother church elevated the mission to the level of a diocese and installed Bishop Andrei Velichki (d. 1972) as its titular head. However, the rise of Communism in Bulgaria contributed to a growing friction between the American churches and the authorities in Sofia until nine churches finally broke relations with the Holy Synod in 1963. They established an independent diocese headed by Bishop Kyril Yoncheff.

In subsequent years, the Bulgarian American churchgoing community became increasingly polarized, as some continued to attend churches that recognized the authority of the Holy Synod in Bulgaria and others refused to go to churches which they believed were compromised by ties to the Communist regime. Even after the collapse of Communism a bitter divide still separates churches of the independent diocese from those of the loyalist diocese.

The church has nonetheless remained at the heart of community life. After attending services conducted entirely in Bulgarian, immigrants can attend social events organized by church groups or simply exchange gossip and argue politics. New immigrants may take advantage of English lessons or job counseling services.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

In the nineteenth century, it had become commonplace for Bulgarian peasants from poor, mountainous regions to leave their homes and seek temporary work abroad, usually in neighboring countries. These migrant workers, called *burchevii*, wandered to such countries as Turkey and Egypt, but always with the intention of returning home with their earnings. Most of the early immigrants in America were *burchevii*. They tended to be single men, usually uneducated peasants and laborers who found work in the industrial centers of America, in railroad construction, or in the steel mills, mines, and automobile factories of the Midwest and Northeast.

Between 1910 and 1929, the number of Bulgarians who returned to their native country outstripped the number who immigrated to the United States. Some returnees left to marry and buy plots of land with their savings. Others went back to serve in the Bulgarian army during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Those who stayed continued working in factories and mines in order to save enough to money to enable second- and third-generation Bulgarian Americans to receive an education and enter the professional ranks of American society.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The earliest Bulgarian American political organizations grew out of social need. Groups of immigrants who hailed from the same village formed mutual benefit societies in which members pledged to support each other in times of financial hardship. Pat-

terned after similar organizations in the home country, the first-known Bulgarian organizations, founded by Macedonian Bulgarians, arose in the United States around 1902. They reflected the predominance of Macedonian Bulgarians among the early immigrant pool. In 1906, Iliia Iovchev, a Bulgarian-born employee of the Immigration Bureau at Ellis Island, started the Bulgarian and Macedonian Immigrant Society *Prishlets* (newcomer). Its purpose was to help immigrants through the admission procedures at Ellis Island and settle in the New World. A women's charitable organization called *Bulgarkata v Amerika* devoted itself to performing charity work on behalf of both the local community and the women's native villages in 1913. That same year, the Bulgarian People's Union, the first group with a national profile, emerged. By that time, nearly 30 mutual benefit societies had been organized around the country. Their numbers continued to mount, and by 1933 there were over 200 such organizations with a total of 10,000 members.

One of the longest-lived national organizations was the Macedonian Political Organization (MPO), founded in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1922. With branches in many cities, it supported the claim that Macedonians are ethnically Bulgarian and promoted the creation of an independent Macedonia. From 1926 onward, the MPO published a Bulgarian-language weekly called the *Makedonska Tribuna*. The group changed its name to the Macedonian Patriotic Organization in 1952.

Some immigrants were also involved in the national political scene. Before World War II, many Bulgarian American workers were active in leftist or labor causes; some belonged to the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation, a group founded in 1910 that later merged with the American Socialist Labor Party. Postwar immigrants, on the other hand, tended to belong to strongly anti-Communist organizations, such as the Bulgarian National Committee, set up in 1949 by former Bulgarian politician Georgi M. Dimitrov. Competing right-wing groups organized the royalist Bulgarian National Front in New York in 1958. In an attempt to unite a number of splinter groups, an anti-Communist umbrella organization calling itself the American Bulgarian League arose in 1944. Its goal was to promote understanding between Bulgaria and America.

The fall of communism in Bulgaria has led to a revival in organizational activity in America. As new groups arise to support specific political agendas in Bulgaria, existing groups have re-focused their activities to help newly arrived immigrants or to bridge cultural gaps between the United States and Bulgaria.

Christo, a Bulgarian American artist, explains how he will “wrap” several Florida islands, just as he made a 24 mile long fabric fence in California.



INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Bulgarian Americans are comparatively few in number, their contributions to American society have been significant. The list below provides a small sample of notable Bulgarian Americans.

ART

The artist Christo Javacheff (1935–), or “Christo,” fled Bulgaria in 1956, and settled in New York several years later with his French-born wife and son. Before gaining admission to the United States, he studied and created art in Vienna, Geneva, and Paris. It was in Paris that Christo’s signature style began to emerge, as he experimented with wrapping objects in lengths of cloth or string. Later, Christo focused on the design of monumental, non-permanent installations for public spaces. His art interacted with existing buildings, structures, or geographical features. For example, an early project marked the first anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall by blocking off a busy Parisian street for three

hours with an “iron curtain” constructed of 204 oil drums. Later projects continued to provide oblique, but highly visible, social commentary.

Other accomplished Bulgarian American artists include Atanas Kachamakov, a sculptor who founded an art school in Los Angeles; Constantine Vichey, a Columbia-educated architect and the designer of the Varig and Aeroflot offices in New York City; and Nevdon Koumrouyan, a jewelry designer whose work has been exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution.

BUSINESS

Arguably the most influential Bulgarian American businessman today, Frank Popoff has headed the chemical giant, The Dow Chemical Company, since he was named its Chief Executive Officer in December 1987 and its Chairman in December 1992. Born in Bulgaria, Popoff immigrated to the United States as a small child. He joined Dow Chemical in 1959, immediately after earning his M.B.A. from Indiana University, and rose quickly through the ranks. Popoff serves on the boards of several corporate and philanthropic organizations.

The banker Henry Karandjeff came from an earlier generation of immigrants and had a more local profile. Born in a Macedonian village in 1893, he arrived in the United States at the age of 13. He graduated from the St. Louis University in 1919 and later founded two savings and loans banks in Granite City, Illinois. When he retired, he left a successful business to his son.

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

Peter Dimitrov Yankoff (1885-?) drew upon his immigrant experience to pen the 1928 novel, *Peter Menikoff: The Story of a Bulgarian Boy in the Great American Melting Pot*. Another Bulgarian immigrant, Boris George Petroff, wrote *Son of Danube* (1940).

The journalist Christ Anastasoff authored scores of articles, many of them about Bulgarian and Macedonian immigrants. His book *A Visit to Yugoslavia and Macedonia* was published in 1957. Boyan Choukanov catered to a primarily Bulgarian American audience as editor of the *American Bulgarian Review* and as host of the weekly cable television show "Balkan Echo" in New York City. Stephane Groueff, a New York-based reporter, published *Manhattan Project*, a book about the history of the development of the atomic bomb. On CNN International, the face and voice of Ralitsa Vassileva (1964-) is beamed around the world by satellite as she anchors the news network's "Headline News" and "World Report" shows.

MEDICINE

The psychiatrist George Kamen (1942-) was still living in Bulgaria when he pioneered the idea of group therapy in the late 1960s. The revolutionary new treatment brought him both professional acclaim and political troubles. Because Kamen worked with groups of patients who discussed with each other their deepest thoughts and emotions, he inevitably attracted official scrutiny. Kamen soon became the target of a campaign of harassment, and decided to flee Bulgaria. After several unsuccessful attempts, he escaped to Vienna, and from there, to political asylum in West Germany. Kamen and his wife Katia, also Bulgarian, arrived in the United States in 1980. Today he has a private practice in New York City.

POLITICS

A colorful and energetic writer and politician, Stoyan Christowe (1898-) emigrated from his native Macedonia in 1911. The teenager first settled in St.

Louis with a group of older men from his village. Christowe taught himself English and was admitted to Valparaiso University in Indiana. He became a reporter after graduating and, in 1928, was sent to the Balkans as a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*. During the Second World War, Christowe served in Military Intelligence in the Pentagon. In 1961 he was elected a Vermont state representative, a post he held until his election to the State Senate in 1965. Running as a Republican, Christowe was re-elected to four more terms. He retired in 1972. Christowe's eventful life provided excellent material for his books, which include memoirs, novels, and a volume about Macedonia.

MEDIA

Good Luck Bulgarian Newspaper.

This Bulgarian-language monthly was first conceived as a newsletter in 1991. Its founders, two immigrants who had been journalists in their native Bulgaria, changed to a broadsheet format in 1993. Combining material from their native country and their adopted one, the editors dedicate the first three pages of each issue to Bulgarian news and the two succeeding pages to practical advice about living in the United States, such as the fundamentals of starting a business. The remaining three pages contain advertising and articles focusing on American news and culture.

Contact: Orlin Krumov or Sam Todorov, Editors.

Address: 338 West Miner Street, Apartment 3-B, Arlington Heights, Illinois 60005.

Telephone: (708) 632-1542.

Makedonska Tribuna (Macedonian Tribune).

Founded in 1927. Biweekly general interest newspaper in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and English.

Contact: A. A. Virginia N. Surso.

Address: Macedonian Patriotic Organization, 124 West Wayne, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802.

Telephone: (219) 422-5900.

Fax: (219) 422-1348 .

Email: mtfw@macedonian.org.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Bulgarian American Chamber of Commerce.

Founded in 1993, the Chamber of Commerce is a non-profit organization that promotes cooperation among Bulgarian-owned businesses in the English-

speaking world. Its annual directory contains listings of businesses, services, churches, and social organizations located in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The Chamber also sponsors cultural events and visits from famous Bulgarians. Its guests have included the opera soprano Ghena Dimtrova, the Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, and the exiled Bulgarian king, Simeon.

Contact: Ogden Page, President.

Address: 6464 Sunset Boulevard, Suite 850,
Hollywood, California 90028.

Telephone: (213) 962-2414.

Bulgarian American Enterprise Fund.

Created in 1989 under the aegis of the Bush administration, this private investment fund is interested in developing the Bulgarian economy. The Fund's activities are two-fold: it invests in Bulgarian businesses in Bulgaria and it encourages American companies to do business in Bulgaria.

Contact: Frank Bauer, President.

Address: 333 West Wacker Drive, Suite 2080,
Chicago, Illinois 60606.

Telephone: (312) 629-2500.

Bulgarian National Front (BNF).

Works to promote and defend the democratization of Bulgaria and the return to free market economy and Western values, and to make known in America the culture and history of Bulgaria.

Contact: Alex Darvodelsky, Member of the
Presidium.

Address: P.O. Box 46250, Chicago, Illinois 60646.

Telephone: (847) 692-5460.

Fax: (847) 692-5460.

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BURMESE AMERICANS

by
Amy Cooper

Burmese Americans
and Burmese
immigrants are
largely employed as
professionals in
academia, business,
and technical work.

OVERVIEW

Burma, known as Myanmar since 1989, is approximately 261,220 square miles. It is bordered on the north by China, on the west by the Bay of Bengal, India and Bangladesh, on the east by Thailand and China, and on the south by the Indian Ocean and Thailand. A tropical climate, it experiences monsoon rains for six months of the year (from May to October), a cool season (from October through February), and a hot season (from February through May). The name of its capital, Rangoon, is an English corruption of the Burmese name, Yangon, meaning “End of Dangers,” given by King Alaungpaya in 1755. Myanmar’s population is divided primarily into seven separate administrative states, in addition to the Burmans: the Chins, the Kachins, the Karens, the Kayahs, the Mons, the Arakenese and the Shans. There are more than 125 separate ethnic groups represented by the Burmese. An accurate count of its population has not been taken in years, but in 1996 its population was estimated at 47.5 million. About 68 percent of its estimated population are Burmans. The official language is Burmese.

HISTORY

Myanmar’s coastal areas and river valleys have been inhabited since prehistoric times and as early as the ninth century A.D., city-kingdoms were being formed by people known as the Pyu. Northern

Myanmar became popular as part of a trade route between China and India. The Mon and Pagan peoples established large cities and gained power and, in 1044, the king Anawrahta took up residence in Pagan and began the first unification of Myanmar. By the mid-eleventh century, the core of modern Myanmar had been formed. The Pagan state represented Myanmar's classical age, during which government, art, and religion flourished. Temples were built and scholars studied Theravada Buddhism. This age ended in the late thirteenth century and in the early fourteenth century, Ava became the seat of power. The Ava period has been noted as a great period of learning and literature. In 1531, the ruler Tabinshwehti brought the kingdom to Toungoo and was able to conquer both the Shan peoples in the north and the Mon in the south. Seeking to capitalize on renewed interest in coastal trade, Tabinshwehti moved the capital to the port city of Pegu. This precipitated rivalries that split Myanmar once again. After several decades of unrest, the kingdom of Ava was resurrected in the sixteenth century, and Myanmar was reunited by 1613. Myanmar gained power and territory during the next 200 years, conquering several armies and repelling four attacks from the Chinese between 1766 and 1769.

The first Anglo-Burmese War was fought from 1824-1826, provoked by Myanmar as they met the British in India. Myanmar lost both the war and consequently the territories of Assam, Manipur, Arakan and Tenasserim. A second Anglo-Burmese war in 1852 was instigated by the British and once again resulted in the British gaining territory in Myanmar. Finally, in 1885, Britain declared war for the final time and gained control of Myanmar, which became a province of India and thus a British colony. The British eliminated the monarchy and reduced the power of the church by declaring a separation of church and state. The Buddhists had always been supported by the monarchy in the tradition of maintaining the *sangha* (the religious community); the new arrangement weakened the church and the education system, which had been the role of the *sangha*. While the British improved the transportation systems and encouraged the production of rice, rubies, oil and timber, these industries had little impact on the people of Burma, who remained largely poor.

The Burmese began to develop a nationalist outlook in the early 1900s, and in the late 1930s the Burmese peasants rebelled, fighting British and Indian troops for two years. Aung San became a leading force in the nationalist movement in 1936, and in 1937 the British separated Burma and India and granted Burma its own constitution. In 1939, when World War II broke out, Burmese leaders did

not immediately support the British. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Aung San, who escaped to Japan. The Japanese offered help to secure Burmese independence and Aung San helped form the Burma Independence Army in 1941. However, the Japanese occupied Burma by the end of 1942, and the Japanese army ruled Burma until Aung San and the re-named Burma National Army joined the British and defeated the Japanese in May of 1945. After the war, the British military administration was withdrawn, and Burma and Britain began discussing a transfer of power to Burmese officials. The British agreed to Burma's independence in January, 1947 and a constitution was approved on January 4, 1948.

Burma's first government was a parliamentary system. However, the country was riddled with strife and the communists were the first group to rebel. In the late 1940s, Chinese Communists defeated Chinese Nationalists and Myanmar stopped accepting all foreign aid, including aid from the United States. Nevertheless, by 1958 the country was approaching internal peace, but conflict within the ruling party, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), resulted in U Nu, the army chief of staff, inviting General Ne Win to take over the premiership. Ne Win stabilized the country's security and military and won the first general elections, which took place in February of 1960. In 1962, Ne Win led a coup d'etat and arrested several government officials including U Nu, claiming he wanted to keep the state together. He suspended the 1947 constitution and placed the country under the rule of a Revolutionary Council with the purpose of making Burma a socialist state. He nationalized much of the country's industry and commerce, but because the investment was in industry rather than in agriculture, the economy failed. U Nu went into exile in India in 1969.

With representatives from a committee made up of people from Burma's several ethnic groups, Ne Win drafted a new constitution in 1971. This was ratified in December of 1973 and elections were held in early 1974, and Ne Win was elected president. In May of 1980, Ne Win offered amnesty to political insurgents, inside or outside Burma. U Nu returned from his exile to enter a Buddhist monastery. Ne Win left the presidency in November of 1981, but remained in power until July of 1988. Student and worker protests took place throughout the 1980s, and in September of 1988, General Saw Maung and the armed forces took control of the government, imposing martial law and replacing the government with the State Law and Order Restoration Council, or SLORC.

The SLORC killed thousands of protesters during the suppression of demonstrations. Their repression of religious minorities and military rule continues to draw condemnation by the United Nations and human rights organizations such as Amnesty International. Upon protests by the people, the SLORC called for multi-party elections in 1990. These elections resulted in a landslide victory for the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by U Tin U and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Aung San, who had been placed under house arrest in 1989. Aung San Suu Kyi won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1991. It was not until after Saw Maung was replaced in 1992 by General Than Shwe that the SLORC permitted the new government to convene. Nonetheless, the SLORC continues to rule Myanmar.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

It was not until after 1962 that the Burmese began to immigrate to the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924 was passed primarily to exclude Asian immigrants. Between 1924 and 1965, there was little Asian immigration to the United States. The Immigration Act of 1965 took off the quota cap imposed by the 1924 law and allowed for a much greater volume of Asian immigrants. Burmese immigration began after military rule was established in 1962 by Ne Win. Professors and students fled Myanmar when the government shut down the universities, and doctors and other professionals came to the United States to pursue better economic opportunities.

The Burmese population within the United States remains extremely small. Though Asian Americans are the fastest growing immigrant group in the United States, representing 2.8 percent of the total population, there are only about 7,196 Burmese Americans. The majority of these are first-generation immigrants who have settled in large cities such as Chicago, New York, Los Angeles and Washington D.C.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Burmese culture incorporates a number of folk traditions that include drama (called *pwe*) based on stories of the former lives of the Buddha, highly percussive traditional music and dance influenced by that of southern India. Traditional hand crafts include wood carving, lacquerwork, gold work, silver work and sculpture.

CUISINE

The Burmese food consists primarily of rice, vegetables and fish, but also borrows from both Indian and Chinese traditions. Burmese use *ngapi*, a preserved fish paste, to accent meals, and include garlic, ginger, fish sauce and dried shrimps as flavorings. Popular dishes include *mohinga*, which is fish soup with rice noodles, and *khaukswe*, which are noodles often served with chicken stewed in coconut milk. The Burmese enjoy spicy foods and they favor fruits over processed sweets. Green tea and regular black tea are the most popular drinks.

HOLIDAYS

Burmese holidays are primarily Buddhist, with the exception of Burma Independence Day, celebrated on January 4. Burma was under British control for over a century, and was captured by the Japanese during World War II. Japanese control ceased in 1945 with the end of the war, and Burma eventually declared independence on January 4, 1948, refusing to join the British Commonwealth. To celebrate, Burmese wear their traditional costume, the *lorgyi*, which is a tube of cloth worn by both men and women, tucked in at the waist.

The Buddhist holidays celebrated by the Burmese include the *Kasone Festival*, also called the Watering of the Banyan Tree. This is celebrated on the day of the full moon during the month of Kasone (April-May) and marks the enlightenment of the Buddha at the foot of the Banyan tree. On this day, people make pilgrimages to monasteries to offer food and gifts to monks. *Tazaungdaing* is held during the full moon day of the Burmese month of Tazaungmone (October-November) and celebrates the night that Siddhartha's mother spent weaving the Buddha's yellow garments. It is celebrated with balloons and lanterns. *Thadingyut* begins Robe Offering Month, when Buddhists bring food, gifts, and robes to monks in monasteries. Celebrated in September/October, on the full moon day of Thadingyut, this holiday marks the day on which the Buddha completed his preaching of Abhidhamma. A centuries old celebration takes place in mid-April, during the three day feast of the new year. *Thingyan*, or the Water Festival, is marked by people throwing water on others, symbolizing the washing away of bad luck and sins of the old year. *Vesak*, the holiest of Buddhist holidays, celebrates the birth, enlightenment and death of the Buddha. Generally, this takes place on three separate days, with the most common days being April 8 for the birth, December 8 for the enlightenment and February 15 for the death. Activities for these center

Pronunciation of
Burmese script of
numbers and
common
expressions.

BURMESE					
Numbers	Pronunciation	Script	Expressions	Pronunciation	Script
1. one	ti'	တစ်	hello	byou.	ဗျို
2. two	hni'	နှစ်	goodbye	thwa:ba-do.	သွား ပါတော့
3. three	thoun:	သုံး	how are you?	nei kaun:ye.la:?	နေကောင်းလား
4. four	lei:	လေး	how do you do?	ma-ye.la:?	အရဲ့လား
5. five	nga:	ငါး	never mind	nei-bazei	နေပါစေ
6. six	hcau'	ခြောက်	no	ma-hou'-phu:	မဟုတ်ဘူး
7. seven	hkun-ni'	ခုနှစ်	yes	hou'ke.	ဟုတ်ကဲ့
8. eight	hyi'	ရှစ်	please	tahsei'	တဆိပ်
9. nine	kou:	ကိုး	thank you	cei:zu: tin-ba-de	ကျေးဇူးတင်ပါတယ်
10. ten	tahse	တစ်ဆယ်	excuse me	hkwin.pyu.ba	ခွင့်ပြုပါ

around the Buddhist temples. Finally, the Buddhist Rains Retreat or Waso is a three month period (June/July - September/October) during which monks remain in monasteries to study and meditate. It corresponds to the time of the monsoons, and is known as Buddhist Lent. People practice restraint in all areas of their lives.

LANGUAGE

Because Myanmar was under British rule and therefore required instruction in both English and Burmese, many Burmese immigrants are bilingual, speaking fluent Burmese and English. English ceased to be the official language after Myanmar achieved its independence, but knowledge of English is still encouraged. Though Burmese is the primary language used by immigrants at gatherings in the United States, there is little opportunity for American born Burmese Americans to formally learn the language. Burmese is only taught in four places in the United States: Northern Illinois University in DeKalb; Cornell University in Ithaca, New York; the Southeast Asian Studies Summer Institute (SEASSI) summer language program, which takes place at a different university every two summers; and the Foreign Service Institute (FSI).

Besides Burmese, over a hundred languages are spoken in Myanmar, all of which belong to three

basic groups. The majority of these languages, including Burmese itself, are classified as the Burmic branch of the Tibeto-Burmese group, a subcategory of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Moving west and south from China for many generations, Burmese reached its current locale around the ninth century A.D. Yi, a language still spoken in southern China, is closely related to Burmese. Halted in its southward move by the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea, Burmese encountered the Mon language. In the course of the next two centuries, this Mon-Kmer offshoot of the Austro-Asiatic linguistic group mixed with Burmese, becoming to some extent the source of its writing system. The Pali scriptures of Buddhism completed the crystallization of classical Burmese during this period, adding ideological organization to the language.

Like other languages of the Sino-Tibetan group, Burmese is monosyllabic. Each root is a single syllable, uninflected. Most words remain monosyllabic, differing from European languages in that respect. There are, however, many polysyllabic word/phrase combinations, such as *nya.ne.saun*, "afternoon," compounding *nya*, "night," *ne*, "sun," and *saun*, "to lean."

Significant tonality is another feature of Burmese common to Asian languages of this group, of which Mandarin Chinese is a part. This means that a word may vary in meaning according to

whether it is pronounced in a high or low tone, or scales up or down between these tones. In Burmese, there are three tonal types: the level, the heavy falling, and the “creaky” tones. These cadences are not used merely to indicate differences in emphasis; tonal variation has lexical and even grammatical significance. For example, *myin*—the verb “to see” when spoken in a level tone, becomes the noun “horse” in the heavy falling accent.

These changes are represented in the written language by various diacritical marks. Four-syllable set phrases are common, produced by adding a rhyming word to the key word and then duplicating this double syllable, as in *ke.pya.ke.ya*, “hurriedly.”

The Pali alphabet used for written Burmese is made up of eight vowels, three diphthongs, 32 consonants, and several tones. In graphic form, this beautiful script consists largely of circular marks variously arranged. It is said to have developed originally as a means of writing with a stylus on palm leaves, which would split if incised with a straight line.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Burmese Americans are largely employed as professionals in academia, business and technical work. Most are middle class. They consider the family to be very important, and show great respect for their elders. In Myanmar, a person’s position may indicate the amount of respect shown him or her as well as the means of addressing him or her; however there is no rigid class system. Because their numbers in the United States are so small, Burmese Americans tend not to settle in large groups, but maintain contact with other Burmese Americans in a fairly large geographical region. They may travel several hours to gather with people in their geographical area for celebrations at a Theravada Buddhist monastery, also called a *pongyi-gyuan*.

RELIGION

According to Aung San Su Kyi, Theravada Buddhism has been single greatest factor affecting Burmese culture and civilization. More than 85 percent of the population of Burma is Buddhist. Buddhism is a non-theistic religion that claims that suffering is unavoidable, and that the root of suffering is attachment, greed and desire. Freedom from suffering can be obtained by following what is known as the Noble Eightfold Path: Right Understanding, Right Thought, Right Speech, Right Action, Right

Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Concentration. Buddha’s teachings are known as the *Dharma*, and they are given to a collective body of followers or a religious community called the *Sangha*. Buddhists strive to follow the Five Precepts: not to take life, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to tell lies, and not to take intoxicating drinks. They also pledge to take refuge in the “Three Jewels:” the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.

Theravada Buddhism is one of several sects of Buddhism and means “Teachings of the Elders.” Theravada Buddhists prescribes individual religious striving. Lay people follow the moral and religious teachings of the Buddha, but do not undergo the same rigorous renunciations that are called for in other traditions. They gain merit to help them achieve a better re-birth by supporting monks and nuns.

Buddhism was first brought to America in 1848, during the Gold Rush. Chinese came to California and, in the 1850s and 1860s, came to Hawaii. The immigrant population quickly made its presence felt — the first Buddhist temple was built in San Francisco in 1853, and by the 1890s there were fifteen temples. Japanese settled in Hawaii in the 1860s and brought a more organized form of Buddhism to the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924 ceased Asian immigration, however, and it was not until after 1965 that Asians began to immigrate to the United States in greater numbers.

The immigration wave after 1965 brought a greater diversity of Buddhists to the United States. Buddhism was an influential religion throughout America by the 1970s, with Theravada Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism greatly influencing immigrants. The National Survey of Religious Identification (NSRI), a 1990 telephone survey conducted by the Graduate School of the City University of New York, determined that there were 401,000 Buddhists in the United States, including converts and immigrants. This estimate has been said to be low, and other estimates range from 500,000 to one million. Buddhists are a growing segment of the religious population.

MEDIA

Because of the small size of the Burmese American community, there is very little information published about them. In addition, there are no American newspapers or periodicals published in Burmese.

Voice of America (VOA), Burmese Service.

This segment of the International Broadcasting Bureau provides information about programming

broadcast to Myanmar and America. VOA's International Broadcasting Bureau broadcasts several programs with a Burmese focus from 6:00 to 6:30 AM and 6:00 to 7:00 PM.

Address: 330 Independence Avenue, S.W.,
Washington, D.C., 20647.

Telephone: (202) 619-1417.

Online: <http://www.voa.gov/burmese>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Burma Buddhist Association.

The American Burma Buddhist Association runs both the Mahasi Retreat Center in New Jersey and the Universal Peace Buddha Temple in New York City. The website includes links, discussions, newsletters and other information about Buddhism in America.

Address: The Universal Peace Buddha Temple of
New York, 619 Bergen Street, Brooklyn,
New York 11238.

Telephone: (718) 6228019.

Fax: (718) 6228019.

Online: <http://www.mahasiusa.org>.

Burma America Buddhist Association (BABA).

Serves as a religious, educational, and cultural resource center to promote Buddhist (Theravada) thought, beliefs, and practices.

Contact: Ashin Kelatha, Executive Officer.

Address: 1708 Powder Mill Road, Silver Spring,
Maryland 20903.

Telephone: (301) 4394035.

Burma Project.

This organization provides information about human rights in Burma. The website includes links to other related sites, news and human rights information.

Address: 400 West 59th Street, 4th Floor,
New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 548-0632.

E-mail: burma@sorosny.org.

Online: <http://www.soros.org/burma.html>.

Burmese American Association of Texas (BAAT).

This group is a non-profit social organization that serves the cultural and social needs of Burmese American families in Texas and surrounding areas.

Contact: Robert Chan, Treasurer.

Address: 165 North Hall Drive, Sugar Land,
Texas 77478.

E-mail: baat@japaninc.com.

Online: <http://www.indoinc.com/baat>.

Burmese American Professional Society.

Members are scientists, engineers, technologists, professors and students from Burma. Fosters professional and social cooperation among its members.

Online: http://www.best.com/~edisonp/basts_main.html.

MyanNet.

This is a network for professionals and others devoted to development and Myanmar issues, encouraging grassroots participation and friendly discussion.

Online: <http://www.myannet.org>.

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Burma, compiled by Patricia M. Herbert. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, 1991.

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Cambodian Americans are members of one of the youngest ethnic groups in American society.

CAMBODIAN AMERICANS

by
Carl L. Bankston III

OVERVIEW

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a country of about 8,000,000 people, approximately the size of the state of Missouri, located in Southeast Asia. It is bordered on the west and northwest by Thailand, on the north by Laos, on the east by Vietnam, and on the south by the Gulf of Thailand. The climate is tropical, with monsoon rains from May to October and a dry season from December to March. There is little variation in temperature, which is hot most of the year. There are mountains in the southwest and north, but most of the country consists of low, flat plains. Three-quarters of the land is covered with forests and woodland, and much of the land is cultivated with rice paddies. Cambodia has few roads and bridges, and many of the existing roads and bridges are in poor condition due to years of war and political upheaval. Aside from rice, the main crop, Cambodia also produces rubber and corn.

The Cambodian people and their language are also known as “Khmer.” About 90 percent of the people in Cambodia are ethnic Cambodians, or Khmer; five percent are Vietnamese; one percent are Chinese; and four percent belong to other ethnic groups, including the Cham who are predominantly Muslims and who migrated from Vietnam long ago. Most Cambodians are wet-rice farmers. Eighty percent of them live in the countryside and practice subsistence farming. It is estimated that about 48 percent of Cambodian men and about 22 percent of

Cambodian women can read and write. Cambodia is an overwhelmingly Buddhist country; 95 percent of the population practices Theravada Buddhism, the type of Buddhism found in many of the countries in southern Asia. Other faiths include Roman Catholicism, Islam, animism, and Mahayana Buddhism—the type of Buddhism found most often in northern Asia. The flag of Cambodia contains two horizontal blue stripes divided by a wider, red stripe in the middle. In the center of the red stripe is a white temple, representing the main temple of Angkor Wat, the capital city of the Khmer empire from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries.

HISTORY

Before 1975 almost no people of Cambodian ancestry lived in the United States. The 150,000 Cambodians who immigrated by 1990 settled in the United States as a result of the tragic events in their native country in which the United States was deeply involved. Because Cambodian Americans are such a new part of America, to know something of their history is especially important in order to appreciate their culture and their unique situation.

ORIGINS

Cambodia is an ancient country with a long history that has been a source of pride and pain to the Cambodian people. The Cambodians probably lived originally in western China, but they migrated down the Mekong River valley into Indochina sometime before the common era. In Indochina, they came into contact with the highly developed civilization and culture of ancient India. From India, they took the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism and the idea of state organization as well as the concept of kingship. These religious and political ideas became the basis of the early state of Funan (second to fifth centuries) whose territory encompassed present day Cambodia and the southern part of southern Vietnam. Funan's port city of Oc Eo received traders coming from India and China. Funan was also well known for the irrigation and drainage canals that crisscrossed its land.

The greatest period in Cambodian history was the Angkor period, named after a huge complex of religious and public monuments. Funan's two capital cities, Angkor Wat (City-Temple) and Angkor Thom (Great City), were the most spectacular of these monuments. Most scholars date the Angkor period as having lasted from about 802—when its founder declared the independence of Cambodia and conferred on himself the title of God-King (Deva-Raja)—to about 1431 A.D. During much of

this time, Cambodia, or “Kambuja-Desa,” as it is called in old inscriptions, was the most powerful kingdom in Southeast Asia, governing great expanses of territory that are now part of Thailand and southern Vietnam, as well as the land that constitutes Cambodia today.

By the end of the Angkor era, the kingdom of Kambuja-Desa came under increased pressure from the Siamese (Thai) on the west and the Vietnamese on the east. The ability of the royal bureaucracy to manage the complex irrigation system may also have weakened. Gradually, the center of the kingdom shifted from Angkor to Phnom Penh, today's capital city. Trade had become more important for the Cambodians, and Phnom Penh was located where the Mekong River and the Tonle Sap come together, an easier location from which to control trade with Laos and China.

From the 1400s on, the Cambodians lost territory to both the Siamese and the Vietnamese. By the 1800s, Cambodia had fallen almost entirely under the control of Vietnam and Siam, and Cambodia was sealed off from the outside influences that were beginning to affect other Southeast Asian countries. In 1864, Cambodia became a French protectorate.

CAMBODIA UNDER THE FRENCH

King Norodom, the King of Cambodia at the time the French established control, appears to have seen French protection as a way of keeping his neighbors at bay and perhaps also as a help in defeating the numerous revolts against him by his own subjects. France gradually tightened its control over Cambodian political life, though. After Norodom died in 1904, the French made his half-brother, Sisowath, the king instead of Norodom's son, whom the French considered too independent. French officials also hand picked and placed in office the two kings who followed Sisowath.

While there was a steady growth of Cambodian nationalism, the country remained at peace through the early part of the twentieth century. When World War II broke out and France was occupied by Germany, the French remained in control in Indochina, with the agreement of Germany's allies in Asia, the Japanese. In 1941, Monivong, the king who had followed Sisowath, died, and the French made Monivong's grandson, Norodom Sihanouk, king. Sihanouk was only 19 years of age at the time. Although he was highly intelligent, artistically talented, and apparently sincere in wanting to be a good ruler, Sihanouk had had no training for the throne and relied heavily on his French advisors in the early years of his rule.

Sihanouk was to dominate Cambodian history for most of the half century following his coronation. He also developed from a protégé of the French into a determined, if cautious, adherent to the cause of Cambodian independence. The occupation of Japanese troops over Southeast Asia provided many Asian colonies with evidence that the European colonists could be defeated. Anti-French feelings intensified in Cambodia when the French attempted, in the 1940s, to replace the traditional writing system with a system based on the letters used by Europeans. In 1945, Japanese troops disarmed the French colonial forces in Cambodia. At their instigation, Sihanouk declared Cambodian independence from France on March 12, 1945.

The French reestablished themselves in Cambodia after the defeat of Japan, but their power had been seriously weakened. Nationalist feelings continued to grow stronger in Cambodia. In France, some young Cambodian students, influenced by the French Communist Party, began to formulate ideas that combined extreme nationalism with Communist ideology. Three of these students were to become the most important leaders of the Khmer Rouge: Saloth Sar, later known as Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, and Ieng Sary. All nationalists looked back to the time of Angkor Wat as a symbol and ideal of Cambodian greatness.

By 1953, the war in neighboring Vietnam was becoming a problem for the French, exacerbated by its momentous unpopularity in France. Cambodian resistance and the prospect of fighting another full-scale war in Cambodia led France to grant Cambodia independence on November 9, 1953, while retaining much control over its economy. In 1954, after the French had failed to reimpose their rule on Vietnam, delegates to the Geneva Conference agreed that elections would be held in all three of the countries of Indochina. In order to participate in the elections, Sihanouk abdicated his throne in 1955 in favor of his father, and assumed the highest office in the country as its Prime Minister.

Sihanouk managed to keep his country neutral during many of the long years of war that raged in Vietnam and Laos. He was, at the same time, intolerant of Cambodian leftists, whom he labeled the "Khmer Rouge," or "Red Khmer." Many of these leftists fled into the countryside.

CAMBODIA, THE VIETNAM WAR, AND THE UNITED STATES

The United States became involved in Southeast Asia to preserve a non-Communist regime in South Vietnam. In Laos, Cambodia's northern neighbor,

there was an extension of the Vietnam war in the 1960s, in the form of an armed conflict between Pathet Lao forces allied with North Vietnam and the Royal Government of Laos which was pro-American. The policies of Prince Sihanouk were primarily aimed at keeping Cambodia out of these wars and, until about 1970, he was largely successful. His constant attempts to play the different sides in the Vietnam conflict against each other, though, resulted in hostility toward him by the pro-American governments of Thailand and South Vietnam and in a suspicious attitude toward him on the part of the Americans. By 1966, Sihanouk had forged a secret alliance with North Vietnam because he felt certain that the Vietnamese Communists would win the war and because the North Vietnamese agreed, under the treaty, to respect the borders of Cambodia, to leave Cambodian civilians alone, and to avoid conflicts with the Cambodian army.

War in the surrounding countries undermined the economy of Cambodia and threatened to spill across the border. Prince Sihanouk blamed the United States for engineering the 1963 coup against the Vietnamese government that resulted in the killing of its leaders. He subsequently refused all forms of American assistance and severed diplomatic relations with the United States. With regard to Vietnamese communists, in a secret treaty, Sihanouk agreed to allow them to station troops inside Cambodia, along the border with south Vietnam, and to receive weapons brought from China and North Vietnam through the port of Sihanoukville. South Vietnam and the United States were greatly concerned about the presence of Vietnamese communist troops in Cambodia and the facilities reserved to them by the government of Cambodia. In a secret move, the United States ordered a carpet bombing of Vietnamese communist sites in Cambodia that caused untold sufferings for the Cambodian population living in these areas.

In 1970, apparently with American support, General Lon Nol staged a coup while Prince Sihanouk was on his way to France for health reasons. As the United States welcomed a more cooperative Cambodian regime, the Vietnam War had finally overtaken Cambodia. In May of 1970, American and South Vietnamese forces invaded eastern Cambodia, driving the Vietnamese communist forces farther into the country.

Out of power, Sihanouk joined forces with the Khmer leftists whom he formerly persecuted. Having the prince on their side gave the Khmer Rouge an enormous advantage in drawing support from the peasants, many of whom still regarded Sihanouk as an almost divine figure. At the same time, Ameri-

can aerial bombing in the Cambodian countryside, directed against both the North Vietnamese and the Khmer Rouge, caused enormous disruption of the traditional society. In the first half of 1973, before the U.S. Congress prohibited further bombing in Cambodia, American planes dropped over 100,000 tons of bombs on the country.

It is difficult to say to what extent the extreme radicalism of the Khmer Rouge was due to the bombing, or to far-left Maoist ideas developed by Khmer Rouge leaders as students in France, or to the carrying out of these ideas by generally very young and uneducated peasant soldiers. However, the Khmer Rouge appears to have already been uncompromising and brutal in the areas it controlled even before it took control of the whole country. In April of 1975, with the United States having pulled its troops out of Vietnam and Saigon about to fall to the Vietnamese Communists, the Khmer Rouge marched into Phnom Penh.

REVOLUTION AND WAR

Cambodia became an experiment in revolutionary social change known as Democratic Kampuchea (D.K.). In order to create a completely new society in which everyone would be equal, the Khmer Rouge, under the leadership of Pol Pot, ordered everyone, including the elderly and sick, out of the cities and towns of Cambodia and into the countryside. Family life, all traces of individualism, and all attachments to old institutions, including religion, were abolished. A new calendar for a new era was invented, with 1975 renamed “Year Zero.” All Cambodians were put to work at agricultural labor in order to build up the agricultural surplus of the nation to finance rapid industrialization. In effect, these uncompromising ideals turned the entire country into a collection of forced labor camps: soldiers whose young lives had consisted mainly of bitter warfare acted as armed guards.

Estimates of the number of people who died under Pol Pot’s Democratic Kampuchea regime vary from one million to two million. The number of people actually executed by the Khmer Rouge is unknowable. How many people died of starvation and poor living conditions, some of which may have been the after-effects of war and U.S. bombing, also remains uncounted. Still, the period from 1975 to 1979 was traumatic for all Cambodians. Cambodians in the United States and elsewhere tell of seeing close friends and family members being killed by the Khmer Rouge and of enduring great suffering.

Democratic Kampuchea, in addition to espousing an extreme form of socialism, was also commit-

ted to extreme nationalism. The Khmer Rouge wanted to recreate the greatness of the Angkor period, which meant retaking the areas that had become parts of Vietnam and Thailand. Border skirmishes between Cambodian and Vietnamese forces led Vietnam to invade Cambodia on Christmas Day in 1978, and by early January the Vietnamese held Phnom Penh. In the chaos of war, the rice crop went untended and thousands of Cambodians, starving and freed from the Khmer Rouge labor camps, began crossing the border into Thailand. Television cameras brought the images of these refugees into the homes of Americans and other westerners, and immigration from Cambodia to the United States began as a response to the “Cambodian refugee crisis.”

Under pressure from the United States and other anti-communist and anti-Vietnamese nations, Vietnamese troops pulled out of Cambodia in 1989, leaving behind the Cambodian government they had created—the People’s Republic of Kampuchea. In the meantime, with the help of anti-Vietnamese governments, a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was formed with the participation of forces loyal to the now infamous Khmer Rouge and to the Khmer People National Liberation Front. In 1991 all Cambodian parties signed the Paris Peace treaty, which called for United Nations Transitional Authorities in Cambodia to prepare the country for a general election. In 1993 the elected representatives voted to form a coalition government composed of the two political parties that had garnered the most votes. They also decided to reestablish the monarchy with Sihanouk as king and head of state. The Khmer Rouge refused to take part in this election and continued to oppose the new government.

IMMIGRATION

Large numbers of refugees from Cambodia have come to the United States only since 1979, when the U.S. refugee program began accepting Cambodians from refugee camps in Thailand. Most of these arrived in the early 1980s. Of the 118,823 foreign-born Cambodians identified by the 1990 Census in the United States, only 16,880 (or about 14 percent) had arrived before 1980. As thousands of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia began to come into the United States each year, the United States developed organizational procedures for resettlement. Voluntary agencies (or VOLAGS), many of which were affiliated with American churches, had been set up by 1975 to assist the first wave of Vietnamese refugees. These agencies had the task of finding sponsors, individuals, or groups

who would assume financial and personal responsibility for refugee families for up to two years. By the early 1980s, refugee camps had been set up in various countries throughout Southeast Asia. Most Cambodians stayed in refugee camps in Thailand, but many who were being prepared for resettlement in the United States were sent to camps in the Philippines or elsewhere. Agencies under contract to the U.S. Department of State organized classes to teach English to familiarize refugees with American language and culture. In 1980 and 1981, 34,107 Cambodians entered the United States. From 1982 to 1984, the influx continued, with 36,082 Cambodians entering the United States. After that time, the numbers began to diminish. In 1985 and 1986, 19,921 Cambodians reached American soil, and from 1987 to 1990, only 11,843 Cambodians were admitted. By the early 1990s, prospects of a political settlement in Cambodia removed much of the perceived urgency of accepting Cambodian refugees, and immigration from Cambodia to the United States decreased to very small numbers.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The 1990 U.S. Census found almost 150,000 Cambodian Americans in the United States, although those active in working with Cambodian immigrants warn that the Census may have undercounted this group, since the Cambodians are so new to American society and many may not have responded to the Census. The largest concentration of Cambodian Americans is in California, where close to 70,000, or nearly half of the people of Cambodian ethnicity, appear to have settled. The largest Cambodian community was Long Beach, California, where over 17,000, according to Census, made their home. Again, however, Cambodian American spokespersons maintain that these estimates are dramatically low and that the actual number of Cambodian Americans was probably closer to twice that many. Nearby Los Angeles also had a significant population of Cambodians of at least 4,250. Stockton, California, had the second largest Cambodian community, numbering at least 10,000. Outside of California, the greatest number of Cambodian Americans were found in Massachusetts, where over 14,000 lived. About half of the Massachusetts Cambodians lived in the city of Lowell. Other states with large Cambodian populations include Texas (at least 6,000), Pennsylvania (at least 5,500, located mostly in Philadelphia), Virginia (at least 4,000), New York (at least 4,000, over two-thirds of whom lived in New York City), Minnesota (at least 4,000), and Illinois (over 3,000). Despite their large numbers, Cambodian Americans remained very



These Cambodian immigrants are sisters who travelled to this country together.

much newcomers and often strangers in their adopted country. Only about one in every five foreign-born Cambodians in the United States had become a naturalized U.S. citizen by the early 1990s.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Cambodian Americans are members of one of the youngest ethnic groups in American society. According to the 1990 Census, the median age of people of Cambodian ancestry in the United States was only 19.4, compared to 34.1 for other Americans. Almost half of the Cambodian Americans counted in that Census year were under 18 years of age. About 42 percent of these Cambodian Americans below the age of 18 were born in the United States; most of the others arrived between 1980 and 1986.

Cambodian Americans also live in larger families than other Americans. The average number of people in their families was 5.03, compared to an average of 3.06 in white American families and 3.48 in black American families. Both the youth of Cambodian Americans and their large families indicate that, small though their numbers are, they will continue to grow as a proportion of American society.

Adjusting to American society has been difficult for most Cambodians, who come from rural areas and have few relevant job skills and little familiarity with mainstream American culture. One of the difficulties has been the problem of differences between generations, between older people who see themselves as Cambodians and sometimes speak lit-

Actor Virak Ui is sitting on the set of a Cambodian home at Boston's Children's Museum. The exhibit, called "From Time to Time: Celebrating 75 Years at Our House," traces the city's diverse immigration history.



tle, if any English, and younger people who have either been born in the United States or have no memory of Cambodia and consider themselves entirely American. According to Cambodian American scholar and activist Dr. Sam-Ang Sam, many Cambodian young people are plagued by identity problems, leading them to discard their Cambodian

first names in favor of English first names, and they must often deal with racism from classmates and with being teased about their "foreignness." To help maintain a sense of ethnic identity, many Cambodian community organizations offer Cambodian language classes, the most active of which are maintained by Cambodian Buddhist monks.

Cambodian Americans won the sympathy of many Americans in 1979 and in the early 1980s, when the plight of Cambodian refugees in Thailand became world news. Since their arrival in the United States, though, some unfortunate stereotypes of Cambodians have developed. Because Cambodian culture places a high value on courtesy and avoidance of direct confrontation, other Americans sometimes stereotype them as passive. Among older Cambodian Americans some of this appearance of passivity results from their unfamiliarity with the larger American society or with the English language.

DANCES AND SONGS

Music is important to traditional Cambodian culture, and Cambodian Americans put a great deal of effort into maintaining this link with their heritage. Traditional music ensembles perform in almost all large Cambodian communities in the United States. There are six types of music ensembles, but the type known as *areak ka* is considered the most traditional and is used for popular religious ceremonies and wedding ceremonies. The instruments used in the *areak ka* ensemble are a three-stringed fiddle, a type of monochord, a long-necked lute, and goblet-drums. Other instruments that may be found in Cambodian ensembles include a quadruple-reed oboe, several types of gongs, a large barrel drum, a flute, a two-stringed fiddle, a three-stringed zither, hammered dulcimers, cymbals, and the xylophone. Cambodian music may sound somewhat strange at first to those who are unfamiliar with Asian music.

The best known Cambodian dance is called the “masked dance,” because the dancers wear the masks of the characters they portray. The masked dance always tells the story of the *Ramayana*, an epic that the Cambodians took from ancient India. All parts in the masked dance, even those of women, are played by men. Cambodian classical ballet, or “court dance,” on the other hand, has traditionally been danced by women, although men have been entering classical ballet since the 1950s. There are a number of Cambodian dancers in the United States, and the art of dance is also beginning to revive in Cambodia. Bringing this part of the culture back to life, however, is difficult, since an estimated 90 percent of all trained dancers died during the Khmer Rouge regime.

PROVERBS

Linguist Karen Fisher-Nguyen has observed that proverbs in Cambodia before 1975 were so impor-

tant a means of educating the young that they could be found in almost all of the teaching materials of the public schools, and that studying proverbs was actually a part of the school curriculum. Many Cambodian Americans continue to treasure their proverbs as expressions of the traditional wisdom of their people. The sayings below reflect many of their values and ideals: The new rice stalk stands erect; the old stalk, full of grain, leans over; Travel on a river by following its bends, live in a country by following its customs; The small boat should not try to be a big boat; Don't let an angry man wash your dishes; don't let a hungry man guard your rice; Drop by drop, the vessel will fill; pour it, and everything will spill; Men have words—elephants have tusks; If you don't take your wife's advice, you'll have no rice seed next year; Don't rush to dump your rain water when you hear the sound of thunder; Losing money is better than wasting words; If you are an egg, don't bang against a rock; Gain knowledge by study, wealth by work.

HOLIDAYS

For three days in mid-April, Cambodians observe *Chaul Chnam*, the solar New Year, which is the most important and most common Cambodian holiday. Many parties and dances are held during these three days, and traditional Cambodian music is usually heard. The game of *bos chhoung* remains a popular New Year's tradition among Cambodians in the United States. In this game, young men and women stand facing each other, about five feet apart. A young man takes a scarf rolled into a ball and throws it at a young woman in whom he is interested. She must catch the scarf, and if she misses it, she must sing and dance for him. If she catches the scarf, she will throw it back to him. If he misses it, he must sing and dance. For Buddhist Cambodians, the New Year Festival is an important time to visit the temple to pray, meditate, and plan for the coming year. The Water Festival, held in November when the flooding has stopped and the water starts to flow out of the great lake into the river again, is celebrated in both Cambodia and the United States. It usually involves boat races and colorful, lighted floats sailing down the river.

HEALTH ISSUES

In addition to the health problems faced by other poor groups in the United States, Cambodian Americans face special mental and physical health problems resulting from their tragic recent history. Almost all lived under the extreme brutality of the Khmer Rouge regime that ruled the country from

1975 to 1979, and their native country has been in a state of war both before and since that time. Most Cambodian refugees also spent time living in refugee camps in Thailand or other Southeast Asian countries. Health professionals and others who work with Cambodian Americans often note that these experiences have left Cambodians with a sense of powerlessness that affects many, even in America. Physical ailments often result from the emotional anguish they have suffered and continue to suffer. Among those who have been resettled in Western countries, there has appeared a strange malady often referred to as the “Pol Pot syndrome,” after the leader of the Khmer Rouge. The “Pol Pot syndrome” includes insomnia, difficulty in breathing, loss of appetite, and pains in various parts of the body.

The stress that has led to such illnesses often tends to create a low general level of health for Cambodian Americans. In the entry on “Khmer” in *Refugees in the United States: A Reference Handbook*, May M. Ebihara reports that 84 percent of Cambodian households in California have reported that at least one household member was under the care of a medical doctor, compared to 45 percent of Vietnamese households and 24 percent of Hmong and Lao households. The syndrome known as “post traumatic stress disorder,” a type of delayed reaction to extreme emotional stress that has been found to affect many Vietnam veterans, is also common among Cambodian refugees in the United States.

Traditional Cambodian healers, known as *krou Khmer*, may be found in many Cambodian American communities. Some of the techniques used by these healers are massages, “coining,” and treatment with herbal medicines. “Coining,” or *koh khchal*, is a method of using a copper coin dipped in tiger balm to apply pressure to acupuncture points of the body. Many Western doctors believe that this actually can be an effective means of pain relief. Coining does leave bruise marks, however, and these can alarm medical personnel and others not familiar with this practice.

LANGUAGE

Cambodian, or Khmer, is classified by linguists as an Austro-Asiatic language, related to Mon—a language spoken in Burma and western Thailand—and various tribal languages of Southeast Asia. Although many major Asian languages are tonal languages, Cambodian is not tonal: as in the European languages, tones of voice may indicate emotion, but they do not change the meanings of words. The Cambodian alphabet, which has 47 letters, is

derived from the alphabet of ancient India, and it is similar to the Thai and Laotian alphabets, as the Thai and Lao people borrowed their systems of writing from the Cambodians.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Cambodian has many sounds that are quite different from those of English, and these are represented by the letters of the Cambodian alphabet. Linguists usually use a phonetic alphabet to write these sounds in the characters used by English and other European languages, but the phrases below are written in a fashion that should provide nonspecialist speakers of American English with a fairly close approximation to their actual pronunciation: *Som Chumreap Sur*—Good Day; *Loak sohk suh-bye jeeuh tay?*—Are you well, sir?; *Loak-srey sohk suh-bye jeeuh tay?*—Are you well, madame?; *Baht, knyom sohk suh-bye jeeuh tay*—I’m fine (from a man); *Jah, knyom sohk suh-bye jeeuh tay*—I’m fine (from a woman); *Som Aw Kun*—Thank-you; *Sohm toh*—Excuse me, or I’m sorry; *Meun uh-why tay*—Don’t mention it, or you’re welcome; *Teuh nah?*—Where are you going?; *Niyeh piesah anglay bahn tay?*—Can you speak English?; *Sdap bahn tay*—Do you understand?; *Sdap bahn*—I understand; *Sdap meun bahn*—I don’t understand; *Som Chumreap Lea*—Good-bye.

LITERATURE

Much of the early literature of Cambodia is written in Sanscrit and known by modern scholars primarily from inscriptions on temples and other public buildings. Classical Cambodian literature is based on Indian models, and the *Reamker*, a Cambodian version of the Indian poem the *Ramayana*, is probably the most important piece of classical Cambodian literature. The *Reamker* is still known by Cambodians today. In the years before 1975, episodes from this poem were often acted out by dancers in the royal court or by villagers in village festivals. A collection of aphorisms, known as the *Chbab* (or “laws”), exists in both written and oral literature. Until recently, children were required to memorize the *Chbab* in school. Similar to the *Chbab* are the *Kotilok* (or “Art of Good Conduct”), which are fables designed to teach moral lessons.

European literary forms, such as novels, had taken root in Cambodia by the 1970s, but almost no literature was produced under the Khmer Rouge, and many intellectuals were killed during the Khmer Rouge regime. Since 1979, suffering under the Khmer Rouge has been a major theme in Cambodian literature, both in Cambodia and abroad. Among

Cambodian Americans, also, the urge to bear witness to the horrors of the years from 1975 to 1979 has inspired many to write, and as a result, the autobiography is the most commonly employed literary form. Many of these Cambodian American authors have taken coauthors, but some have mastered English sufficiently to write solely authored works.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The family is extremely important to Cambodian Americans, in part because so many of them lost family members in their previous countries. They tend to have very large families. Children—especially young children—are treasured, and parents treat them with a great deal of affection. Despite the importance of family for Cambodian Americans, they have relatively high numbers of households headed by a single, female parent; in 1990 about 20 percent of Cambodian American households were headed by women, a factor that contributes to their poverty. This high proportion of female-headed households does not appear to be primarily the result of divorce, but rather of the fact that women outnumber men in the Cambodian population, due to years of war.

In Cambodia, men are responsible for providing for their families. Only men can occupy the prestigious status of the Buddhist monk. They also receive formal education, whereas Cambodian women are trained certain tasks in the home. Contrary to other Asian cultures, the Cambodian woman occupies a key position in the household. Generally, the wife budgets the family assets, and cares for the children. She is highly regarded by the men in her own family and by Cambodian society at large. In the refugee camps, many Cambodian women had their first taste of formal education. In the United States, young Cambodian American women are pursuing their educations in large numbers, and they have often become important as breadwinners for their families.

WEDDINGS

Traditional Cambodian wedding ceremonies are still held by Cambodian Americans, and even members of other ethnic groups who have married Cambodians have celebrated these ceremonies. Although in Cambodia marriages are often arranged by the parents, it is becoming common for Cambodian American young people to choose their own partners. The bride in a Cambodian wedding wears a *sampot*, an

ornate brocade wrap-skirt. She also wears many bracelets, anklets, and necklaces. Grooms sometimes wear the traditional *kben* (baggy pantaloons) and jacket, but western-style suits are becoming common.

A procession will bring gifts of food and drink to the bride's home. At the beginning of the wedding, the couple sits at a table covered with flowers, fruit, candles, and sometimes with a sword to chase evil spirits away. Friends and relatives take turns standing up in front of the crowd to talk about the new couple. A Buddhist monk cuts a lock of hair from the bride and the groom and mixes the two locks together in a bowl to symbolize the sharing of their lives. Gifts, frequently in the form of envelopes with money in them, are offered to the couple by the guests. At the end of the wedding, the couple goes through the ritual known as *ptem*, in which knots are tied in a white string bracelet to represent the elders' blessing.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Because Cambodian Americans have settled most often in urban areas, they have frequent contact with disadvantaged members of other minority groups. Often these encounters are troubled by cultural misunderstandings and by the social problems frequently found in poor communities. In some areas where there are large Cambodian communities, Cambodian youth gangs have developed, in part as a matter of self-protection. Older Cambodians often see that they have much in common with their poor Asian, black, and Hispanic neighbors and will frequently distinguish these areas of "poor people" from the comfortable middle-class neighborhoods of "the Americans." Most Cambodian Americans are fairly dark-skinned and they are acutely aware of prejudice in America. They sometimes internalize this prejudice and express feelings of inadequacy because of it.

It has been noted that Cambodian Americans in Texas have frequent contacts with Mexicans or Mexican Americans, and that the members of the two ethnic groups accommodate one another easily. Cambodians may frequently be found as participants in Mexican American weekend markets. Many Cambodians in Texas have learned Spanish and follow Mexican customs in interacting with their Spanish-speaking peers.

RELIGION

Buddhism is the traditional religion of Cambodia. Before 1975, the ruler of the country was the official

protector of the religion and the monks were organized into a hierarchy overseen by the government. Monasteries and temples were found in all villages, and monks played an important role in the education of children and in passing on Cambodian culture. The people also supported their local monasteries, through gifts and by giving food to monks. Monks were forbidden to handle money and had to show humility by begging for their food. Every morning, the monks would go from house to house, with their eyes downcast, holding out their begging bowls into which the lay people would spoon rice. Although the religion was attacked by the radical Khmer Rouge during their regime and many monks were killed, the vast majority of Cambodians remain Buddhists and the faith remains an important part of the national culture.

Buddhism in India is divided into two schools of thought. The “Northern School,” known as Mahayana Buddhism, is found most often in China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, and Vietnam. The “Southern School,” called Theravada (or Hinayana) Buddhism, predominates in Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, and Sri Lanka. Theravada Buddhists stress the importance of becoming a monk and achieving Nirvana, a state in which there is no self or rebirth, through one’s own efforts. Mahayana Buddhists lay more emphasis on help from Bodhisattvas, enlightened beings who have delayed achieving Nirvana in order to help others become enlightened.

Fundamental to the Buddhist doctrine are the Four Noble Truths: (1) Existence inevitably leads to unhappiness which follows from the impermanence and disintegration of all living elements; (2) Unhappiness is caused by desire inherent in human nature; desire causes man to become attached to the impermanent; (3) Unhappiness can be avoided by the crushing of desire; and (4) Desire can be crushed by strict adherence to a prescribed moral path. In Buddhism all worldly things are considered changing and impermanent. Those who are not aware of the impermanent nature of the world become attached to worldly things, and this leads to suffering. The suffering will continue as the soul goes through a cycle of rebirths, continually drawn back to worldly desires. Meditation and a moral, disciplined life can enable a believer to overcome desires. The soul that successfully overcomes all desires may reach Nirvana.

The law of Karma (*Kam* in the Cambodian language) controls life and rebirth. This law may be seen as a kind of spiritual accounting; good deeds, or “merit,” help the soul to be reborn in better circumstances and to earn rewards in the present life; bad deeds cause the soul to be reborn in worse circumstances and can bring about bad luck. For these rea-

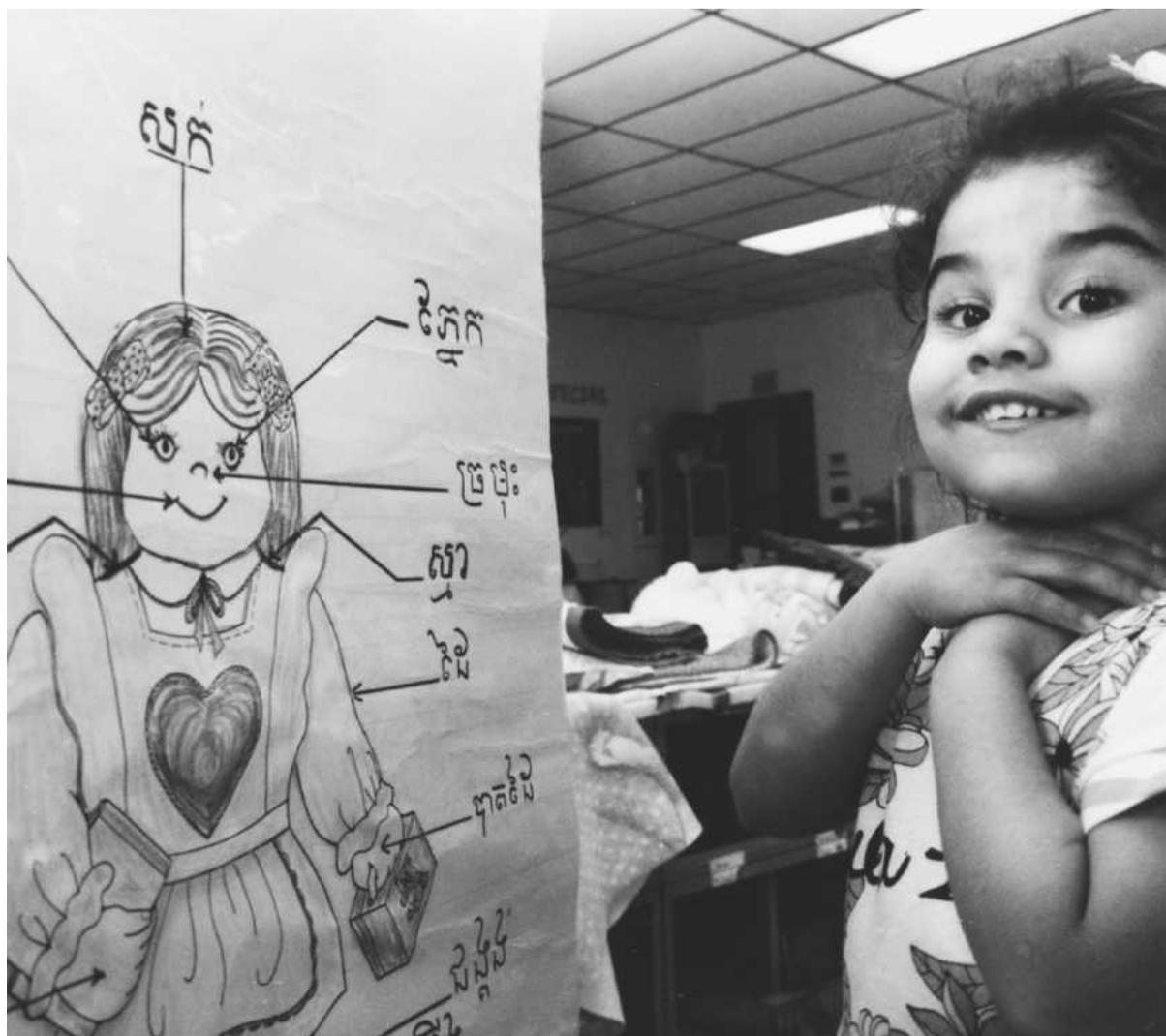
sons, “making merit” is a central part of religion for Cambodians. Cambodian Buddhists see making merit as more than simply piling up spiritual credits by performing good works. Correct behavior and merit-making activities such as attending religious ceremonies or donating money to temples and food to monks are seen as upholding the order of the universe. These beliefs have often led Cambodians to wonder if the sufferings of their people might be due to some collective fault of the nation.

Some Cambodian Americans have converted to Christianity, either in the refugee camps, or after arriving in the United States. Often these conversions have been the result of spiritual crises brought about by the tragedies of recent Cambodian history. In many cases, people felt that Buddhism had somehow failed because of the death and destruction that had occurred in their country. In other cases, Christianity has seemed attractive because it is the religion of the majority of Americans, and conversion has seemed a good way to conform to American society and to express gratitude to the religious organizations that played an important part in resettling refugees in the United States.

The majority of Cambodian Americans, however, continue the practice of their traditional religion. As more of them have settled in this country, and as they have established their own communities, observing their religious rituals has become easier. In 1979, there were only three Cambodian temples in the United States. By the early 1990s, more than 50 of these temples had been established in Cambodian communities throughout the United States. Even in those communities in which no temples exist, living around other Cambodian Americans has made it possible for Buddhists to observe their rites in private homes or in community halls and other meeting places. Monasteries, or places where Buddhist monks live, are usually attached to the temples, or places of worship, and the monks are in charge of the temples and the religious rituals held in them. Most American Buddhist temples are in houses or apartments, but there are some more traditionally styled temples, such as the large temple-monastery complex in Maryland.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Adapting to the American economy has been difficult for many people of Cambodian ancestry in the United States. Most of them were farmers in their previous country, and in the United States they have generally been settled in cities. They have high rates of unemployment and the jobs found by



Angelina Melendez is learning the parts of the body from a chart written in the Cambodian language of Khmer. Angelina attends the Demonstration School, which was developed to meet the educational needs of students who speak English as a second language.

first-generation Cambodian Americans are most often low-paying jobs in service and manual labor occupations.

Cambodian Americans are, for the most part, a poor group. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 42 percent of the families of Cambodian ethnicity were living below the poverty level and 51 percent of all Cambodian households rely on public assistance income. The median household income of Cambodian Americans in 1990 was only \$18,837, compared to \$30,056 for Americans in general. Cambodian Americans have a high rate of unemployment: About ten percent of those in the labor force in 1990 were unemployed. This high rate of unemployment is largely a result of having arrived in this country so recently. If rates of unemployment are examined by years of arrival, it is clear that the longer Cambodian Americans have been in the United States, the higher the probability they will be employed. Nearly 17 percent of Cambodians in the labor force who arrived in the United States between 1987 and 1990 were unemployed in 1990. Among those who arrived in 1985 or 1986, though, only about 12 percent were unemployed. Among

Cambodians who arrived between 1982 and 1984, the percentage of unemployed in the labor force dropped to 11 percent. Only about nine percent of those who arrived in 1980 and 1981 and only about seven percent of those who arrived before 1980 were unemployed. These figures provide evidence for a trait noticed by many familiar with Cambodians in the United States: their eagerness to find work, even low-paying work, as soon as they have acquired sufficient language skills and familiarity with American society.

Lack of formal education is a serious handicap for Cambodian Americans. Census statistics show that about 53 percent of Cambodian American men have a sixth grade education or less and 90 percent have less than 12 years of schooling. Women are faced with even more serious difficulties, since 66 percent of them have sixth grade educations or less and 95 percent have completed less than 12 years of schooling. Even when Cambodian Americans are from highly educated backgrounds, however, they often find that their educations are not relevant to the American workplace, and they are handicapped by their language skills. Author Someth May, for

example, worked before the publication of his book as a janitor, despite his elite background in his home country. Regardless of the limited educations of their parents, however, Cambodian American young people often do quite well in school and show themselves dedicated to acquiring more education. Only about six percent of Cambodian Americans between the ages of 16 and 19 are high-school dropouts, compared to about ten percent of white Americans and about 14 percent of African Americans in the same age group.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Most Cambodian Americans are concerned with questions of survival in the new country. They are not actively involved in U.S. politics but remain keenly interested in the reconstruction of their native country. Some Cambodian American organizations, such as the Cambodian Network Council, contribute to the rebuilding of Cambodia by sending trained Cambodian Americans and others to Cambodia as volunteers.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Im Proum is a prominent linguist who taught at Cornell University. There he coauthored several of the standard texts on the Cambodian language with Dr. Franklin Huffmann. Sam Ang-Sam is a scholar, musician, and activist. He studied music at the University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh and afterward continued his studies in the United States, where he received a Ph.D. in ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University. He served on the faculty at the University of Washington in Seattle until becoming director of the Cambodian Network Council in Washington, D.C. He travels around the world performing and teaching about Cambodian music. Chinary Ung is a scholar and musician who teaches about Cambodian culture at Arizona State University. As a musician, Dr. Ung specializes in playing the Cambodian xylophone.

Maha Ghosananda is a Buddhist monk who lives in the United States but frequently travels to Cambodia. Founder and director of the Khmer Society of New England, he is one of the world's most prominent peace activists and has organized two marches for peace in Cambodia. He has also been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Vora Kanthoul is an authority on contemporary Cambodian issues and an influential figure in the Cambodian American community. He is executive director

of the United Cambodian Community and teaches comparative world cultures at Long Beach City College. He studied in France, Russia, and Taiwan, and earned a Cambodian law degree in Phnom Penh and a Master's degree in political science from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. From 1973 to 1975 he served in the Cambodian Foreign Service. In 1983 he served as minister and counselor of Cambodia's permanent mission to the United Nations.

Haing Ngor is among the most famous Cambodian Americans, best known for his Oscar-winning portrayal of the Cambodian interpreter and journalist Dith Pran in the film, *The Killing Fields*. Born in rural Cambodia, he worked his way through medical school and became an obstetrician and surgeon in Phnom Penh. After the Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975, his family was killed by their execution squads. He escaped to Thailand in 1979 and came to the United States in 1980. Aside from a successful acting career, he headed six organizations devoted to caring for Southeast Asian refugees and resettling them in the West. In 1996 he was murdered outside his home in Los Angeles, California.

Dith Pran, the subject of the film *The Killing Fields*, worked as an assistant and interpreter for *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg in Cambodia. When Pran's family escaped from Cambodia on the eve of the Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975, Pran stayed behind to help save Schanberg and other journalists from execution. While Western journalists were able to leave, Pran was trapped in Cambodia. In 1979 he escaped to Thailand, where he reunited with Sydney Schanberg. In the United States he has continued work as a photographer and journalist. His book of interviews with Khmer Rouge survivors entitled *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors*, was published in 1997.

MEDIA

Angkor Borei News.

Cambodian community newspaper in English.

Contact: Mr. Diep Ly, Manager.

Address: 2565 East Chapman Avenue, Suite F, Fullerton, California 92631.

Telephone: (714) 773-5519.

Khosana.

Semi-annual journal that contains academic news of Thai, Laotian, and Cambodian studies.

Contact: Michael R. Rhum, Editor.

Address: Association for Asian Studies, Thailand-Laos-Cambodia Studies Group, Department of Anthropology, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, Illinois 60115.
Telephone: (815) 753-8577.

Vatt Khmer.

Newsletter that discusses Buddhism and Cambodian culture and civilization. Text is primarily in Khmer but partly in English.

Address: Cambodian Buddhist Society, Inc.,
13800 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring,
Maryland 20904.
Telephone: (301) 622-6544.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Cambodian Americans have formed a wide variety of organizations during the short time they have been a part of American society. Most of these exist to help newly arrived Cambodians adjust to American society, but they also provide information about Cambodian American culture, business, and other aspects of Cambodian life in this country.

Art of Apsara.

Encourages the development and exhibition of contemporary Cambodian art. Runs a gallery in Long Beach, open to the general public.

Contact: Mon Duch, Director.
Address: Suite 105, 2338 East Anaheim,
Long Beach, California 90804.
Telephone: (310) 438-3932.

Cambodian Association.

Serves Cambodian Americans in the Philadelphia area. Helps newly arrived Cambodians with problems in education and housing, assists in preserving Cambodian culture, acts as an advocate for the interests of Cambodian Americans.

Contact: Walter Chin, Director.
Address: 5412 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19121.
Telephone: (215) 324-4070.

Cambodian Family.

Serves Cambodian Americans in the Santa Ana area. Offers English language training to Cambodian refugees, provides help in finding employment, gives classes in health education and parenting skills. Also

offers programs for Cambodian American youth, including a gang prevention program, after-school classes, and Cambodian language classes.

Contact: Rivka Hirsch, Director.
Address: 1111 East Wakeham Avenue, D, Santa
Ana, California 92705.
Telephone: (714) 542-2907.

Cambodian Network Council (CNC).

The primary national organization of Cambodians in the United States. This is an umbrella organization that seeks to facilitate communication among local Cambodian organizations, to help set up new local organizations, and to build coalitions. The CNC hosts an annual convention of Cambodian American associations. It also maintains a data bank of Cambodian American professionals and runs an international program sending volunteers to Cambodia to help in rebuilding the country.

Contact: Dr. Sam-Ang Sam.
Address: 713 D Street, Washington, D.C. 20036.
Telephone: (202) 546-9144.

Folsom Cordova School District.

Provides educational materials, such as bilingual texts for Cambodian Americans.

Contact: Ms. Judy Lewis.
Address: 2460 Cordova Lane, Rancho Cordova,
California 95670.
Telephone: (916) 635-6815.

National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans (NAFEA).

Seeks to provide equal educational opportunities for and advance the rights of Indochinese Americans; encourage appreciation of Indochinese cultures, peoples, education, and language.

Contact: Ms. Ngoc Diep Nguyen, President.
Address: 1855 Mt. Prospect Road, Des Plaines,
Illinois 60018.
Telephone: (708) 803-3112.

United Cambodian Council (UCC).

The largest Cambodian agency in the United States, the United Cambodian Council is located in Long Beach, the site of America's largest Cambodian community. Organized in 1977 by a group of Cambodian intellectuals to serve the needs of the Cambodians in Long Beach, the agency now helps anyone who needs its services. Although most of its clients are Southeast Asians, it assists low-income Americans of all ethnicities. In addition to the

employment and language training generally offered by Cambodian service organizations, the UCC is a partner with St. Mary's Church in the Long Beach Southeast Asian Health Project, which provides a wide variety of health services and information.

Contact: Mr. Vora Kanthoul, Executive Director.

Address: 2338 East Anaheim, Suite 200, Long Beach, California 90804.

Telephone: (310) 433-2490.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Indochina Studies Program

Integral unit of Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley. Focuses on contemporary and historical Indochina, Vietnam, Cambodia (Kampuchea), and Laos.

Address: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2223 Fulton Street, Sixth Floor, Berkeley, California 94720.

Telephone: (510) 642-2809.

Fax: (510) 643-7062.

E-mail: sdenney@uclink.berkeley.edu.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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CANADIAN AMERICANS

by
Marianne Fedunkiw

From the 1930s
to the 1980s,
more than 2.3
million Canadians
immigrated to
the United States.

OVERVIEW

Canada is the largest country in the Western Hemisphere, covering 9,970,610 square kilometers including both land and freshwater areas. It is surrounded on three sides by oceans: the Pacific to the west, the Arctic to the north, and the Atlantic to the east. Its southern border with the United States, which stretches 5,525 miles, is the longest undefended border in the world.

Because Canada is such a large country (much of which is relatively uninhabitable), approximately 60 percent of its 1991 population of 26.9 million was concentrated in urban centers, particularly in the southeastern stretch between Windsor, Ontario, and Québec City, Québec. The largest cities are Toronto, with a population of 3.8 million, followed by Montreal, with 3.1 million, and Vancouver, with 1.6 million.

Unlike the United States, Canada is made up of provinces and territories: Yukon Territory, Northwest Territories, the recently created Nunavut, British Columbia (BC), Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island (PEI), Newfoundland, and Labrador. Each province has its own provincial government, coat of arms, and provincial capital. The nation's capital is Ottawa, Ontario. Although there are provincial divisions, provinces tend to identify with one another by region. For example, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba make up the

prairie provinces, while New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, PEI, and Newfoundland make up the Atlantic provinces. The Canadian national flag, adopted in 1965, is a red maple leaf set against a white background and bordered on either side by wide, vertical bands of red.

EARLY HISTORY

The first explorers to visit North America, as opposed to the indigenous peoples, were said to be the Vikings. Around 1000 A.D., Norwegian Leif Ericson's ship first landed in what is now Labrador and went on to what is now Massachusetts, stopping on the coast of modern-day Nova Scotia along the way. However, there are those who believe there were earlier visitors to Canada: Celtic monks fleeing the Vikings, and African travellers. All those who visited found a harsh, cold land occupied by potentially hostile native peoples, and many suffered from scurvy and other afflictions. As a result, few early explorers survived or stayed very long.

EUROPEAN EXPLORERS LAY CLAIM TO NEW LANDS

By the late 1400s, parts of North America were being claimed for European empires. Giovanni Gabotto, a native Italian who became known as John Cabot after he immigrated to England, landed at Cape Breton Island on the east coast of Canada on June 24, 1497, and claimed the land for his patron King Henry VII. Despite this fact, many French explorers and colonists traveled to Canada as well. Seeking a northern base along the route to the Far East, the French explorer Jacques Cartier gained renown for venturing into the Canadian mainland via the St. Lawrence River in 1535. Cartier made it as far west as Hochelaga, the native peoples' name for what became Montreal. Another famous French explorer, Samuel de Champlain, established his first trading post in 1608 in what is today Québec City. The land's vast resources, particularly beaver pelts, became part of the draw for early visitors. In fact, the ripening fur trade led to the founding in 1670 of the Hudson Bay Company, which is still in operation today.

Settlement was not easy in the seventeenth century. By 1663 there were only 2,500 French settlers, most of whom were clustered in Montreal, Québec City, and Trois Rivières (Three Rivers). Vicious battles took place between the French settlers and the native Iroquois, and the European colonies were all but destroyed. In fact, relationships with indigenous peoples often determined the pace of settlement. Jesuit missionaries, who were

sent to the new land to help colonize and convert the natives to Christianity, met with considerable opposition, for example, and in many cases missions were destroyed and missionaries killed.

THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH

By 1713, the population of New France, as the Canadian colony was called, numbered less than 20,000, compared with some 400,000 English, Scottish, and Irish settlers in the Atlantic states. The French and English began fighting over the Canadian lands, particularly the valuable beaver country around Hudson and James Bays. The early settlement of Port-Royal in Nova Scotia changed hands a number of times. The French set up strategic fortifications to prepare for British attacks, and the British countered by establishing their own fortifications. For example, the French built Louisbourg, a fortress which guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River, and in response the British built, in 1749, a base at Halifax.

The French and British were also battling over lands in the United States at this time. In 1753 French troops established Fort Duquesne, a base near present-day Pittsburgh, and controlled much of the Ohio Valley. War was declared between France and Britain in 1756, and two years later the French lost Fort Duquesne, upper Ohio (which tied the French colonies in Louisiana to Canada), and Niagara. In 1759—in a famous battle on the Plains of Abraham near Québec City—the British gained a foothold in New France. Then on February 10, 1763, France signed the Peace of Paris treaty and Britain assumed control over all of North America except for New Orleans, which France ceded to Spain. All that was left for France were the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the southern coast of Newfoundland, which are still French properties today.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

Many early ties linked the areas that would become Canadian lands with those that, after 1776, would become states. At its zenith, British Canada included not only present-day territory, but also the states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In fact, after the British conquest of New France, the “Canadian” colonies had to determine whether they wished to join the Thirteen Colonies in their bid for independence or remain within the Empire. Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Québec opted relatively quickly to remain with Britain, while Nova Scotia deliberated. In 1776,

almost two-thirds of Nova Scotia's population consisted of New England emigrants with strong ties to their former land. In the end, however, Nova Scotia decided to stay with England, too, rather than become the fourteenth state of the Union. American invaders did try to take part of British Canada in December 1775, when forces led by Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery unsuccessfully attacked Québec. Furthermore, those Americans who supported British rule—the United Empire Loyalists—found refuge in the Atlantic provinces in the later eighteenth century.

The new British rule and pressure from the revolutionaries in the Thirteen Colonies did not make for a harmonious meld of lands and peoples in Canada. Concessions were made, however, to keep Québec in the British Empire. The Québec Act of 1774 returned to the French Canadians their civil law based upon Napoleonic code (still provincially applicable today) and the freedom to practice the Roman Catholic religion. To further accommodate both French and British interests, the Constitutional Act of 1791 allowed for two separate elective legislative assemblies within the distinct provinces of Upper Canada (the largely British area to the west of the Ottawa River) and Lower Canada (present-day Québec).

THE RIEL REBELLION

Tension between the French and English was not confined to the East. When the Canadian government acquired western lands from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869, Louis Riel led a group of Métis settlers in protest. The Métis, who were part French Canadian and part native, feared that the encroachment of other settlers would mean the loss of their freedom and identity.

Riel, an educated man who had studied for the priesthood, served as the spokesman for the Métis. They set up a "Provisional Government" of their own and denied entry to William McDougall, the newly appointed lieutenant-governor of the region. Further conflict ensued when a young Orangeman named Thomas Scott, who had fought against Riel's government, was executed. The government of Ontario issued a warrant for Riel's arrest, and the Orangemen, who controlled much of Ontario, topped that with a \$5,000 reward for his capture.

Riel was not overthrown, however, despite the fact that 1,200 government troops marched 500 miles to enforce peace in the West. In fact, Riel maintained considerable influence. In 1874, he was elected to the Dominion Parliament as a representative from Manitoba, but he never took his seat

because he was exiled for five years and went south to live in Montana. He returned to Canada in 1884 and the next year led another Métis uprising. The rebellion was quashed, though, and Riel was tried and hanged for treason in 1885 at the age of 41.

RELATIONS WITH THE AMERICAN NEIGHBORS

In addition to the Loyalists fleeing the American Revolution, Canada became a sought-after destination for American farmers in search of cheaper land. By 1812, about 60 percent of the population of Upper Canada was comprised of non-Loyalist colonists from the United States. Loyalists and British made up the remaining 40 percent in about even proportions.

The most significant relationship with Americans in the early nineteenth century, however, was one of war. Many Americans believed that the British were supporting Indian attacks in the United States, while other Americans, such as the expansionist "war hawks," favored going to war to seize Upper Canada for themselves. Americans also resented Britain's imposition of a naval blockade upon France, which hampered American trade with France, and Britain's seizure of thousands of British sailors found to be "deserters" on American ships. As a result of these mounting tensions, American President James Madison declared war on Britain on June 1, 1812.

THE WAR OF 1812

The war went poorly for the Americans because they mistakenly concentrated their initial efforts on taking the eastern part of Upper Canada, including the Detroit River and Niagara. The Americans believed they would be welcomed by their compatriots who had moved to Canada, but they were wrong. The Americans lost not only Detroit, but all of the American territory west of Lake Erie to General Isaac Brock's troops, which were fewer in number, and his ally the Shawnee chief Tecumseh. The battles of the War of 1812 continued well into 1814 with both sides making advances, but victory was on the side of the British more often. In fact, in August 1814, the British advanced as far south as Washington, taking and burning the Capitol and President's House. The Americans whitewashed the walls to cover the burns, and it has since been called the White House.

In the end, the war changed little in terms of boundaries or national possessions. But ideologically, the war fostered anti-American sentiments and corresponding loyalty to the colony itself—

making the settlers neither Loyalists nor British, but Upper Canadians.

REBELLIONS TO CONFEDERATION

The 1830s was a decade of discontent in both Lower and Upper Canada, which culminated in the rebellions of 1837. Although relatively few people participated in the uprisings, they set the stage for changes in government that led to confederation in 1867. On July 1, 1867, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas (Lower and Upper) joined together to form the Dominion of Canada.

Another major development in the relationship between Canada and the United States that helped propel Canada to independence centered around the American Civil War. Canada quickly opposed the war, particularly the thought of the

“Can’t you see the freedom in America? That it’s not just political? Can’t you see American liberty? Can’t you see self-reliance and self-expression? That is the American atmosphere.... In America you can do anything you want, live anywhere you want, and, finally, do what it is that you most want to do very easily—perhaps not without what you might consider to be sacrifices, but they’re not really sacrifices.”

Agnes Martin in 1931, cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*, edited by Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980)..

South winning (although many Americans believed the British supported the South), and hostilities between the two countries grew. The situation grew worse when many American slaves fled to freedom in Canada via the “Underground Railroad,” and when “The Fenian Brotherhood”—anti-British Irish Americans—attacked the Canadian village of Fort Erie in southern Ontario in the summer of 1866. The fear of annexation by the United States, either North or South, eventually led Canadians to forge the British North America Act, which established the Dominion of Canada. The first Prime Minister was Sir John A. Macdonald.

Although the prairies and outlying parts of Ontario and Québec—then a huge area called Rupert’s Land—were not part of Confederation, the same fear of American takeover led, first to an expansion of the railroad to the West, and then to an influx of settlers westward. Manitoba joined Canada as a province in 1870, followed by British Columbia in 1871, the Yukon Territory in 1898,

and the trio of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the Northwest Territories in 1905.

As for the remaining Maritime provinces, Prince Edward Island joined in 1873, and Newfoundland was the last to join in 1949. This reluctance perhaps explains why many Newfoundlanders who have moved to the United States identify themselves not as Canadian Americans, but as Americans of Newfoundland descent.

MODERN ERA—WORLD WAR I AND BEYOND

The twentieth century has seen the tension between the French and English in Canada continue. English-speaking Canada continued to feel strong ties to Britain—it fought with England in the Boer War (1899-1902) and in World War I. The French-speaking Canadians, however, resented fighting in “English wars,” and the issue of compulsory military service drove the two groups further apart.

Meanwhile, European and Asian immigrants continued to flow into Canada. Much of the still-open Canadian West was built up by new Canadians. The period between the two World Wars brought a greater sense of national autonomy. By 1939, English-Canadians made up only half of the 12 million population. Another 30 percent were French, and the rest consisted of Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and Scandinavian immigrants. By the time the Second World War began, Canada made its own decision to take part, going to battle on September 10, 1939.

The years following World War II were ones of prosperity in Canada, particularly compared to those preceding the war, which devastated the country. The 1950s and 1960s saw decreasing trade with Britain and increasing exchange with the United States. Canada also achieved greater respect internationally. Lester B. Pearson, Canadian prime minister from 1963 to 1968, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 for his work in the Middle East. Pearson also served as chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1951-52, and as president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1952-53.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Although there has always been a flow of people between Canada and the United States, reliable data has only been kept since the 1910 census of the United States and the 1911 census of Canada. Migration is also somewhat seasonal: the Canadian American population swells in the winter months. States such as Florida and Arizona have strong seasonal populations of Canadians, which affects items

such as media for Canadians in the United States. By 1990, almost 30 percent of Canadians in the United States were 65 and older, which lowers the average income level for the group.

The number of Canadians moving to the United States has climbed steadily since the 1850s. Based on the 1990 report *Migration between the United States and Canada*, migration between the two countries was relatively unrestricted until immigration laws were changed in the United States in 1965 and in Canada in 1976. In the early part of the twentieth century, for example, more than 1.2 million Canadians crossed the border to live in the United States. Interestingly, this was four times more than the number moving from the United States to Canada. The decade of the 1920s set a record with nearly one million Canadians heading south, primarily to take advantage of the industrial boom in northeastern and north central states. The number of Canadians in the United States peaked at 1.3 million in 1930, after which the economic depression and World War II slowed emigration. The flow picked up markedly in the 1950s and early 1960s, however, because of greater job opportunities and higher wages in the United States. From the 1930s to the 1980s, more than 2.3 million Canadians immigrated to the United States. When the immigration laws began to tighten between 1960 and 1970, however, the annual number dropped by almost 60 percent.

This decline continued through the 1980s and had a marked effect on U.S. immigration. While in the early 1960s Canadians made up almost 12 percent of total immigrants to the United States, by the early 1980s that number fell to just two percent. In fact, almost 65 percent of the immigrants listed on the 1980 U.S. census immigrated before 1960.

During the period when immigration laws were less restrictive, crossing the border was less an international shift than a movement based upon economic influences—just like internal migration. When the laws tightened, the patterns became more controlled and more typical of long-distance international migration, according to *Migration between the United States and Canada*. Demographically, most Canadians who immigrated to the United States before 1960 live in the northern states, while those who came later tend to live in states further south.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In the 1990 U.S. census, just over 500,000 people living in America, or .2 percent of the total population, cited Canadian as their ancestry group. Inter-

estingly, this definition of “Canadian” excluded those from the provinces of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as French Canadians and Acadians. All of these ancestry groups are listed separately. The highest regional concentration of Canadian Americans was in the northeastern states, although the highest single-state population is found in California, with 86,341. In second place is Massachusetts, with 66,007, and in third place is New York, with 45,274.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Unlike other groups, there is almost no language barrier separating English-speaking Canadians and Americans. This is one reason why assimilation is relatively easy. Another factor is that the two countries are close neighbors, so many traditions and customs creep across the boundaries and become familiar. *Migration between the United States and Canada* states that “the ease with which Canadian and United States immigrants are assimilated is evident from the large population of naturalized U.S. citizens among Canadian-born immigrants.... In both countries, more than 80 percent of the immigrants prior to 1980 have become naturalized citizens of the destination country.”

Ultimately, English-speaking Canadians who moved to the United States also enjoyed the benefit of settling relatively close to their home country. Unlike immigrants from European, Asian, or African countries, Canadians could visit relatives and receive news from Canada via newspapers, radio, or television rather readily. Unless they had recent ethnic ties to a country that was their home before Canada, assimilation was largely a smooth procedure. Aside from an abiding interest in all things British held by some Canadians, traditions tended to be more “North American” than distinctively different. The media plays a large role in this cultural mixing: most of Canada’s population is concentrated in a thin band close to the American border, well within the range of American radio and television. In addition, many Canadian immigrants could still hear and see familiar programs and events.

STEREOTYPES AND MISCONCEPTIONS

Because of the many similarities between Canadians and Americans, common stereotypes either portray Canada as just another large state, or exaggerate the differences that do exist. An example of the

former is an American referring to the provinces as “states,” the Prime Minister as “the President of Canada,” or Parliament or the House of Commons as “Congress” or “the Senate.” Another misconception of this type is that Canadian nationalism historically was built upon a wariness of American control and that Canadians moving to the United States would do so in the face of this fear. Therefore, the type of individual most likely to make the move would prefer American culture and want to assimilate into it. The exaggeration of differences centers around weather, culture, and common pastimes. Some people envision all of Canada as a land of igloos and ice, where everyone is French Canadian (or at least fully bilingual) and plays ice hockey.

The main sources of these stereotypes are television and film. For example, Second City Television (SCTV) produced comedy sketches and a movie featuring beer-swilling, flannel-attired Canadian brothers Bob and Doug Mackenzie in the 1970s and early 1980s. Another more passive source of stereotypes is simply an incomplete knowledge of the vast and diverse country that is America’s northern neighbor. Given the opportunity to tour all of Canada, it would be difficult to describe the Maritimes, the Prairies, northern Ontario or Québec, and British Columbia using the same words.

Although it is difficult to outline hard and fast boundaries to define Canadians versus Americans, there are differences. In the *New York Times*, for example, Canadian novelist and nationalist Robertson Davies described basic differences in the underlying myths upon which each country is built: “The myth of America is a very powerful one and one that we in Canada look toward with envy. You have your heroes. You have your great men of the past, you have your myth of tradition, of the conquering of the West, and the pioneer life and the gold rush life and all that sort of thing, which is enormously romantic, and nations feed on the romantic tradition.... We don’t go for heroes. As soon as a man begins to achieve some sort of high stature, we want to cut him down and get rid of him, embarrass him” (December 15, 1994).

CUISINE

Differences in cuisine for Canadians who have immigrated to the United States depend upon where they grew up and to which area of the United States they moved. For example, Canadians from the Maritime provinces (Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) and coastal British Columbia include a hearty amount of seafood in their diets, and this preference would not change if they immigrated to a seaboard state.

Like language and cultural traditions, however, other cuisine choices depend upon Canadians’ ethnic origin and the degree to which they have assimilated into Canadian society before moving to the United States. Ethnocultural groups such as the Mennonites and Jewish peoples maintain an individual cuisine as part of their identity. This is also true of traditional clothing.

HOLIDAYS

Canadians and Americans share many of the same national holidays, although they are not always celebrated on the same days. For example, while Americans celebrate the birth of their nation on July 4, Canadians celebrate Canada Day on July 1. Both countries observe Thanksgiving, although it is a holiday in Canada on the first Monday of October rather than the American holiday in November. In addition, there are Canadian provincial holidays which differ from province to province, and other ethnocultural holidays that citizens of either country may observe.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems or medical conditions specific to Canadian Americans. Recent Canadian immigrants to the United States must adjust, however, from government-controlled health care to a private system. Canada’s public system has been in place since the 1960s, and in comparison, the cost of staying healthy in America seems steep. In Canada, workers and/or employers pay a special tax to the provincial government, which in turn pays for most medical services, up to an agreed-upon limit. Most health care practitioners are self-employed and bill the provincial government directly for their services.

Canadians in Canada or in the United States have access to sophisticated medical treatment using leading-edge technology. Some Canadian physicians, however, have become disenchanted with increasing levels of government control over medicine in Canada and have moved to the United States to practice.

LANGUAGE

Canada has two official languages, English and French. These two languages are the mother tongue for more than 84 percent of Canadians, with 60 percent speaking primarily English and almost 24 percent French. Among the others languages that

make up the remaining 16 percent are Italian, Chinese, German, Portuguese, Polish, and Ukrainian.

For the majority of Canadians who either speak English or are bilingual, moving to the United States was not a difficult transition in relation to language. Those who are Francophones, or French-speaking Canadians, are classified as a separate group. Other Canadians who are profiled separately include Acadians and a number of native groups, among them the Iroquois, Tlingit, and Inuit.

The Canadians who have another ethnic origin would not only be familiar with either English, French, or both, but might also retain their mother tongue to some degree after immigrating to America. They might, therefore, identify themselves as “German Americans” rather than “German Canadian Americans,” which more accurately traces their roots through Canada on the way to America. Of the 836,000 Canadians who lived in the United States for five or more years, 79 percent spoke English at home, while 19 percent said they could speak English but spoke another language at home.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Canada prides itself upon its multiculturalism, and this fact supplies a context for any discussion of family and community dynamics. An Italian Canadian who moves to the United States, for example, might maintain the customs, language, and community dynamics of Italy. Defining such a person as Canadian would obscure those traditions. For this reason, the section on a certain country of origin should be consulted for information on cultural and religious practices. Other factors, such as cuisine, traditional clothing, and special events, can differ based upon not only the ethnic background, but also the region of Canada from which an individual came. In fact, the U.S. census of 1990 excludes those from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as Acadians and French Canadians, from its overall consideration of the Canadian American population.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, AND WIDOWHOOD

As of 1980, the percentage of female Canadians in the United States over 15 years of age who were married (58.9 percent) was very close to that for Canadians in Canada (59.7 percent). There are, however, twice as many divorced Canadian Americans (6.8 percent) as Canadians (3.1 percent). Although twice as many Canadian Americans were widowed than Canadians—20.5 percent versus ten percent—this

may illustrate the disproportionately high number of people older than 65 living in the United States.

EDUCATION

In 1991, Canada spent \$54.2 billion on education to service the more than six million Canadians, or a quarter of the country's population, who were enrolled in full-time educational programs. Enrollment in all schools, from pre-elementary to university, has been growing since the late 1980s. Total enrollment in Canadian universities was 757,497 undergraduates and 110,085 graduate students.

Canada also features a strong network of 201 community colleges which offer semi-professional or technical and vocational programs leading to a diploma rather than a university degree. For those who move to the United States, however, there are ten times as many post-secondary institutions to choose from, because the American population is around ten times larger.

Other than certain private, single-sex schools, there are no appreciable differences in the education of Canadian boys and girls. There are, however, some differences in educational attainment between the sexes at the higher levels. For example, the number of female graduates of undergraduate university programs in Canada has been greater than that of males from 1990 to 1992, although slightly more men than women went on to complete master's and doctoral degrees.

Canadians who move to the United States obtain, overall, higher educational levels than native Canadians. In 1980, 20.5 percent of Canadian Americans held a university degree, two-thirds more than the 12.3 percent in Canada. The same is true, to a lesser extent, for women—10.3 percent of Canadian American women have completed post-secondary education, compared to 7.0 percent in Canada.

The most popular curricula college students enroll in can be derived from statistics on the sector in which most Canadian Americans work—namely, the tertiary or service sector—as well as the fact that a high percentage are professionals. The most significant growth in Canadian Americans who worked in highly skilled occupations occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s. By 1980, just over half of Canadian Americans were employed in highly skilled jobs, and the tertiary sector accounted for 70 percent of the Canadian American work force.

RELIGION

Religion has been a building block of Canadian society since the French and British explorers arrived in

These Canadian American farmers moved to Sweetgrass, Montana, in search of wide open spaces and more fertile ground.



the sixteenth century. The first Roman Catholic service in Canada was held in 1534, and the first Anglican service took place 44 years later. The most active churches in Canada, based upon recent figures, are the Roman Catholics and Anglicans, although there is also strong representation by the United Church of Canada, Jewish, Muslim, Evangelical Lutheran, and Pentecostal faiths. Protestant Canadians who immigrated to the United States encountered certain differences in the naming of denominations: for example, Canadian Anglicans would most closely resemble American Episcopalians.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Generally, the types of jobs Canadian immigrants took upon arrival in the United States depended upon economic conditions at the time. In the early twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of Canadians sought jobs in booming American industries. More recent figures indicate that 60 percent of Canadian Americans work in highly skilled jobs, a number which has been growing since the late 1950s. These positions are classified as: administrative support including clerical, professional specialty, and executive administrative and managerial. In the latter two categories, the figures for Canadian Americans are higher than average for the United States.

The unemployment figures for Canadian Americans in the early 1980s were lower than for Canadians. Only 4.6 percent of Canadian American women

were unemployed versus 8.6 percent in Canada, while 4.8 percent of Canadian men in the United States were unemployed versus 6.4 percent in Canada. However, labor force participation rates for Canadian Americans were highest for both sexes in the early 1960s and have been declining steadily since.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

With a few notable exceptions, Canadian Americans have initiated little conflict within the United States. In fact, relatively few Canadian Americans have become involved in American politics. One exception is Jerry Simpson (1842-1905), a Populist party representative who served three terms in Congress. Born in Westmoreland County, New Brunswick, Simpson was a self-educated man who began his career as a cook on a Great Lakes boat at age 14 and rose to become captain. He established a farm and ranch in Kansas before entering politics. Amendments to American immigration laws in 1965 severely restricted the number of Canadians who could legally emigrate to the United States.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Canadians have a strong presence in both national labor organizations (such as the Canadian Labour Congress and Canadian National Federation of Independent Unions) and international trade unions with local chapters in both Canada and the United States. Some of the international trade unions with the largest Canadian participation are:

United Steelworkers of America, with 875 locals in Canada; United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, with 175 locals in Canada; International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, with 152 lodges in Canada; and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with 121 locals in Canada.

Because Canadians tend to assimilate thoroughly into American life, it is difficult to identify group patterns in items such as voting and participation in the armed forces. One major difference Canadian immigrants would encounter in U.S. politics involves the dominance of two political parties. In Canada, there are three national political parties, the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals, and the New Democratic Party. Of course, in different provinces there are other strong party representatives, such as the Social Democrats or Parti Québécois.

Canadian Americans' quick rate of assimilation also affects their level of participation in the political issues of their home country. Although the English-language media in border states and the English-language seasonal newspapers in states such as Florida and Arizona do well in presenting current Canadian events, geographical distance often leads to a sense of isolation. Coupled with the many similarities between Americans and Canadians, achieving a distinct sense of identity becomes a challenge for immigrant Canadians. Groups such as French Canadians, who are already individuated by their separate language, culture, and long history in the United States, are better able to maintain their identity and ties to Canada. For example, this group would be very aware of the latest struggles for French independence in Canada and the rise of the separatist Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Perhaps the most notable Canadian American academic is economist John Kenneth Galbraith (1908–), born in Iona Station, Ontario; after completing his bachelor's degree in Ontario, he went to California to pursue graduate studies; he was a professional economist from 1949 to 1975 and held a number of teaching positions in North America and Europe; his many books include *American Capitalism* (1952), *The Great Crash* (1955), and *A Short History of Financial Euphoria* (1993); he received the Medal of Freedom in 1946. English professor Margaret Anne Doody (1939–), born in St. John, New Brunswick, came to the United States in 1976 as an associate



Donald and Kiefer Sutherland are father and son Canadian American actors.

professor at the University of California at Berkeley, and has taught at Vanderbilt University in Nashville since 1989; she is the author of a number of books on Samuel Richardson and his writings.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

"America's Sweetheart," Mary Pickford (1893-1979), was Canadian by birth; born Gladys Mary Smith in Toronto, she starred in silent screen versions of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*, *Tess of the Storm Country*, and *Coquette*, for which she won an Oscar, and became an early pioneer of film in the United States; she organized the Mary Pickford Corporation in 1916 to produce her work, and in 1919 joined Charlie Chaplin, D. W. Griffith, and her husband-to-be, Douglas Fairbanks, to establish United Artists Company. Another Canadian-born actor is Glenn Ford (1916–), originally Gwyllyn Samuel Newton Ford; born in Québec City, he attended high school in Santa Monica, California; his films include *Destroyer* (1943), *Cimarron* (1961), and *Superman* (1978); Ford served with the United States Marines Corp during World War II; in 1958, he was named "Number One Box Office Star in America" in a poll by the *Motion Picture Herald*. Film star Donald Sutherland (1935–) was born in St. John, New Brunswick; his films include *M*A*S*H* (1970), *Ordinary People* (1980), and *JFK* (1991).

One of the best-known Canadian names in television was Lorne Greene (1915-1987); born in Ottawa, Ontario, he made his American debut on the New York stage in 1953; among his many cred-

its of stage, screen, and television are the movies *Peyton Place* (1957) and *Earthquake* (1974), and the television western series *Bonanza* (1959-1973), in which he played the patriarch of the Ponderosa ranch, Ben Cartwright. Born in New Westminster, British Columbia, Raymond Burr (1917-1993) is perhaps best known for his role on the television series *Perry Mason* (1957-1966); he also performed in the series “Ironside” from 1967 to 1975. Another recognizable Canadian face on television and in film is William Shatner (1931–); the Montreal native has appeared on Broadway but is famous for his role as Captain James T. Kirk of the Starship Enterprise in the television series *Star Trek* (1966-1969) and subsequent *Star Trek* films; Shatner followed this success with a leading role in the police series *T. J. Hooker* in the 1980s, and he wrote a series of science-fiction novels beginning in 1989 that were adapted for television as *TekWar*.

Two younger Canadian-born actors, well-known for their television work, are Michael J. Fox and Jason Priestley. Fox (1961–) was born in Vancouver, British Columbia; he received two Emmy Awards for his starring role in the television sitcom *Family Ties* (1982-1989) and currently stars in *Spin City*. He has also appeared in films such as *Back to the Future* (1985) and *The Secret of My Success* (1987). Priestley, also born in Vancouver, was a leading actor in the television series *Beverly Hills 90210*.

A group of Canadian-born comedians have found success in the United States on the television comedy series *Saturday Night Live*. Mike Myers (1963–), born in Toronto, also starred in the movie *Wayne’s World*, and as secret agent “Austin Powers” in a pair of movies. Dan Aykroyd (1952–), born in Ottawa, was the star and screenwriter for the film *Blues Brothers* (1980), and also appeared in *Ghostbusters* (1984) and *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989).

Among those Canadian Americans who often appeared on the Broadway stage were Hume Cronyn, Colleen Dewhurst, and Christopher Plummer. Actor, writer, and director Hume Cronyn (1911–) was born in London, Ontario, and came to the United States in 1932; he starred in countless plays—many of them with his late wife, actress Jessica Tandy—including 1978 Pulitzer Prize winner *The Gin Game*; Cronyn has been named to the Theatre Hall of Fame (1979) and Kennedy Center Honors (1986) in addition to receiving a Tony Award in 1964 and an Emmy Award in 1992; his films include: *Lifeboat* (1944), *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), and *Cocoon* (1985). Colleen Dewhurst (1926-1991) was born in Montreal, Québec; her Broadway appearances included: *Desire*

under the Elms (1952), *Camille* (1956), *All the Way Home* (1960), and *Moon for the Misbegotten* (1974)—the latter two both earned her a Tony Award; she also directed plays and appeared in a number of films and television movies, including the 1986 series *Anne of Green Gables*; she played a guest role as Murphy Brown’s mother in the television series *Murphy Brown*; her second husband was actor George C. Scott. Christopher Plummer (1929–) was born in Toronto and made his Broadway debut in 1954 in *Starcross Story*; although he has done considerable stage work, particularly in the Shakespearean classics, he is best known for his role of Captain Von Trapp in the 1965 Academy Award-winning *The Sound of Music*; he has appeared in many television dramas, including the miniseries “The Thorn Birds” (1983); he has received many awards, among them a Theatre World Award (1955), two Drama Desk Awards (1973 and 1982), a Tony Award (1974), and an Emmy Award (1977).

JOURNALISM

Television anchorman Peter Jennings (1938–) is Canadian American; born in Toronto, Ontario, he began his career in Canada and then moved to ABC News in New York City in 1964; since 1983 he has been senior editor and anchorman of “World News Tonight;” he was named Best Anchor in the United States by the *Washington Journalism Review* in 1988 and 1989. Another Canadian American broadcast journalist, Robin MacNeil (1931–) was born in Montreal, Québec; after studying in Canada, he became a Washington correspondent in 1963; in 1975 he served as executive editor and co-anchor of the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report* on WNET-TV in New York City, and beginning in 1983 hosted the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour* on PBS until his retirement; he has also authored or co-authored five books.

MUSIC

Many Canadians continue to live in Canada while working in the United States, but singer/songwriter Paul Anka (1941–) moved to the United States soon after achieving success; born in Ottawa, Ontario, Anka first made a hit with “Diana,” composed in 1957; he followed it in 1959—the same year he moved to the United States—with the popular songs, “Put Your Head on My Shoulder,” “Crazy Love,” “Lonely Boy,” and “Time to Cry;” Anka also composed the theme music for *The Tonight Show*; he has received 22 songwriting awards—18 for most-performed songs and four for songs performed more

than one million times—and 15 gold records. Born in Fort Macleod, Alberta, singer/songwriter Joni Mitchell first captured attention in the United States with “Chelsea Morning” (1962); in 1970 she won a Grammy for her album *Clouds* (1969).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Physicist Richard Edward Taylor (1929–) was born in Medicine Hat, Alberta, and was one of three recipients of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1990 for his work in demonstrating that protons and neutrons are made up of quarks; Taylor moved to the United States in 1952. Orthopaedic surgeon and educator John Emmett Hall (1925–) was born in Wadena, Saskatchewan, and has been a professor of orthopaedic surgery at Harvard University Medical School since 1971. Psychiatrist and educator Charles Shagass (1920–) was born in Montreal and came to the United States in 1958; since 1991 he has been a professor at the Medical College of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

SPORTS

Canada has been home to some of the world’s greatest athletes—particularly in professional ice hockey. Wayne Gretzky (1961–) was born in Brantford, Ontario, and holds the National Hockey League scoring title in addition to 12 league trophies; after nine years with the Edmonton Oilers, Gretzky moved to Los Angeles in 1988 to play with the Los Angeles Kings team. He retired in 1999 as a member of the New York Rangers. Gretzky’s Edmonton teammate, Mark Messier (1961–) was born in Edmonton; and beginning in 1991, Messier starred for the New York Rangers. Brett Hull (1964–), son of hockey great Bobby Hull, was born in Belleville, Ontario; he began his professional hockey career with the Calgary Flames, and from 1987 until 1998 played for the St. Louis Blues. He currently plays for the Dallas Stars; he was the recipient of two league trophies (Lady Byng and Hart Memorial) and held the league scoring record for goals scored from 1989-92.

VISUAL ARTS

Many Canadian artists, particularly women, have chosen to live in the United States. Henrietta Shore (1880-1963), born in Toronto, began spending half of each year in New York taking classes with the Art Students’ League at the age of 20; she immigrated to California in 1913 and became an American citizen eight years later; her paintings of landscapes, figures, and abstract works led to a num-

ber of major solo exhibitions and a medal in the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. Agnes Martin (1912–) was born in Macklin, Saskatchewan, but grew up in Vancouver; she left for the United States at age 20 and became an American citizen at 28; she earned a master’s degree in fine arts from Columbia University, spent several years painting and teaching children in New York and New Mexico, and lived in a desert hut for six years (1967-1973) in New Mexico, meditating and writing; primarily an abstract artist, Martin often uses grids of pencil or paint on paper or canvas with various textures. Toronto-born Sylvia Stone (1928–) immigrated to New York in 1945; Stone is known for her sculpture and painted aluminum reliefs; after she married abstract painter Al Held, her paintings became less figurative and more abstract; she also began to broaden her materials to include aluminum, plexiglass, metal, and mirrors; Stone has also taught at Brooklyn College. Jacqueline Winsor (1941–) was raised in St. John’s, Newfoundland, and became an artist after she found a career as a secretary was not what she wanted; she graduated from the Massachusetts College of Art in 1965 and went on to get her master’s of fine arts from Rutgers in 1967; after settling in New York, this abstract sculptor experimented with hemp and rope and went on to create box-like structures of various materials in which the interiors are lit.

Other Canadian American artists include: Hartwell Wyse Priest (1901–), born in Brantford, Ontario; sculptor Mary Abastenia Eberle (1878-1942), who was the daughter of Canadian parents living in Webster City, Iowa; and Canadian-born abstract artist Dorothea Rockburne (1934–).

MEDIA

PRINT

There are no English-language daily newspapers for Canadian Americans. Those who desire Canadian news can get it either by subscribing to a Canadian newspaper or by reading the Canadian coverage in an American paper (more extensive in the border states). There are, however, a group of weekly newspapers serving the needs of “snowbirds” (Canadians who spend the winter in the United States) as well as resident Canadian Americans.

The American-Canadian Genealogist.

Formerly *The Genealogist*, this publication of the American-Canadian Genealogical Society reports on the work of the society, which is devoted to the study of the genealogies of French Canadians and French Americans.

Contact: Anne-Marie Perrault, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 668, Manchester, New
Hampshire 03105-0668.
Telephone: (603) 622-1554.

Canada News.

Founded in 1982, it is owned in part by publisher Bill Leeder and his wife Sally, although the majority owner is the *St. Catharines Standard*, a daily newspaper out of St. Catharines, Ontario. It is published weekly between November and April, with four summer issues and an annual travel publication in September, and boasts an average circulation of 20,400, mostly in Florida. The news coverage includes Canadian American events as well as news from Canada.

Contact: Joe Braddy, Editor.
Address: 2725 Thornhill Road, Auburndale,
Florida 33823.
Telephone: (800) 535-6788.

Canada This Week.

Founded in 1994, it is a seasonal weekly during the winter months which concentrates on news from Western Canada. An early print run was 8,700 copies.

Contact: Rob Irvine, Editor.
Address: 244 North Country Club Drive,
Suite 103, Mesa, Arizona 85201.
Telephone: (602) 655-0846.

Canadian News.

Founded in 1994, it serves the Canadian market out of Yuma, Arizona. It is a seasonal weekly running from November to March, which offers strictly Canadian coverage with a Western Canadian focus.

Contact: Barb Glen, Editor.
Address: 1769 West 26th Drive, P.O. Box 1024,
Yuma, Arizona 85366.
Telephone: (602) 344-4003.

The Sun Times of Canada.

Founded in 1990, it is a seasonal weekly from November to April with five preview issues in the months from July to November. With a circulation around 21,000, mostly in Florida, this newspaper offers Canadian news, entertainment, and business reports, including Canadian mutual fund and stock reports.

Contact: Geoffrey Stevens, Editor.
Address: 515 West Bay Street, Suite C,
Tampa, Florida 33606.
Telephone: (813) 254-6620.

RADIO

Because such a high percentage of Canadians settled in neighboring U.S. states, their needs for "news from home" could be best served by tuning in to Canadian stations as much as possible. American media, particularly in these border states, also devote significant coverage to Canadian developments. To serve the needs of Canadian Americans, there are both Canadian radio programs that are syndicated to American radio stations, and American radio programs that offer daily and weekly summaries of Canadian news.

"Canada Calling" and "Canada This Week."

These radio programs cover Canadian news events, specifically packaged for Canadian Americans and "snowbirds" (Canadians who maintain a winter residence in southern states) in Florida and Arizona. "Canada Calling," first broadcast in 1952, is a five-and-a-half-minute daily radio news show broadcast on 30 stations in Florida and one station in Phoenix. "Canada This Week" is a 15-minute weekly summary of Canadian news events broadcast on Sundays. Both shows are broadcast from Lakefield, Ontario, just northeast of Toronto.

Contact: Prior Smith.
Address: P.O. Box 986, Lakefield,
Ontario K0L 2H0.
Telephone: (705) 654-3901.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).

"As It Happens," "Sunday Morning," and "Quirks and Quarks" radio programs are distributed by Public Radio International (PRI). "As It Happens," a news commentary/documentary program, is fed to 22 of the 50 states. Ten cities in Minnesota alone carry the program, including KNOW-FM in St. Paul. "Sunday Morning" is heard in 17 states, again most frequently in Minnesota, but also on stations ranging from West Virginia (WVWV-FM in Huntington) to Alaska (KSKA-AM in Anchorage). The science program "Quirks and Quarks" is distributed by PRI to 16 states.

Contact: Ann Phi, Communication Assistant.
Address: Public Radio International, 100 North
Sixth Street, Suite 900A, Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55403.
Telephone: (612) 338-5000.

TELEVISION

CFCF-TV.

"Canada Pulse News," a half-hour weekly summary of Canadian news, is shown on WFLX Fox 29 in

West Palm Beach and on WTMV 32 in Tampa/St. Petersburg. Produced by CFCF-TV in Montreal, Québec, its first season was in 1993 and it runs 13 weeks each year.

Contact: George Goulakos, Sales Manager.

Address: CFCF-TV, 405 Ogilvy Avenue,
Montreal, Québec H3N 1M4.

Telephone: (514) 495-6100.

“This Week in Canada.”

This program airs a half-hour weekly in the winter season, in select states such as Florida, Maine, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, and Virginia, on the Public Broadcast System (PBS). It offers a selection of Canadian news events and is produced by World Affairs Television of Montreal, Québec.

Contact: Colin Niven, Producer.

Address: World Affairs Television, 600
Maisonneuve West, Suite 3230, Montreal,
Québec H3A 3J2.

Telephone: (514) 847-2970.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Americas Society.

A business-funded group.

Contact: Stephen Blank, Director.

Address: North American/Canadian Affairs, 680
Park Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

Telephone: (212) 249-8950.

Association for Canadian Studies in the United States (ACSUS).

Founded in 1971, ACSUS has a membership of 1,300 individuals and institutions, which include business and government officials as well as librarians, professors, publishers, and students with an educational interest in Canada. The organization was brought together to promote scholarly activities about Canada at all educational levels. ACSUS publishes *The ACSUS Papers*, *American Review of Canadian Studies*, and the *Canadian Studies Update*, a quarterly newsletter. It also sponsors a biennial conference.

Contact: David N. Biette, Executive Director.

Address: 1 Dupont Circle, No. 620,
Washington, D.C. 20036.

Telephone: (202) 887-6375.

Committee on Canada-United States Relations.

Founded in 1933, the committee consists of 60 members, 30 from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and 30 from the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Its goal is to investigate problems, such as trade and investment challenges, which are common to both countries. Semiannual meetings are held in the spring and fall.

Contact: Wolf Brueckmann, Executive Secretary.

Address: c/o Chamber of Commerce of the
U.S., 1615 H Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20062.

Telephone: (202) 463-5463.

North American Committee (CAC).

This organization was founded in 1957, originally with just Canadian and American business leaders. The 110 current members are Canadian, American, and Mexican leaders in private-sector agricultural, business, labor, and professional positions. CAC is jointly sponsored by the C.D. Howe Research Institute in Canada and the National Planning Association in the United States. It studies issues related to expanding commerce and interdependence among Canada, the United States, and Mexico to build cooperation and minimize areas of conflict. Semiannual meetings are held in March in the United States and in September in Canada.

Contact: Dahlia Stein, Director.

Address: c/o National Planning Association,
1424 16th Street, N.W., Suite 700,
Washington, D.C. 20036.

Telephone: (202) 884-7630.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Canadian-American Center (National Northeast Resource Center on Canada).

This is a joint research facility made up of Canadian studies programs at the Universities of Maine and Vermont and the State University of New York at Plattsburgh. Research is carried out in the fields of economics, humanities, international relations, law, and social sciences as they relate to Canada and the United States. In addition to publishing the *Canadian-American Public Policy Series* and *Borderlands Monograph Series*, the center sponsors professional meetings.

Contact: Dr. Stephen J. Hornsby, Director.

Address: University of Maine, Canadian-
American Center, 154 College Avenue,
Orono, Maine 04473.

Telephone: (207) 581-4220.
Fax: (207) 581-4223.
E-mail: hornsby@maine.maine.edu.
Online: <http://www.ume.maine.edu/canam>.

Center for Canadian-American Studies.

Integral unit of Western Washington University. Canada, including interdisciplinary studies in Canadian business, economics, politics, geography, social structure, and culture, and Canada-U.S. environmental issues and problems.

Address: Canada House, Rm. 201, Bellingham, WA 98225-9110.

Contact: Dr. Donald K. Alper.

Telephone: (360) 650-3728.

Fax: (360) 650-3995.

E-mail: canam@cc.wvu.edu

Online: <http://www.wvu.edu/~canam>.

Florida-Canada Institute.

Founded in 1987, it promotes cultural, business, and educational exchanges between Florida and Canada. It is supported by the Florida International Affairs Commission.

Contact: Dr. Elliot Vittes, Director.

Address: University of Central Florida,
Department of Political Science, Orlando,
Florida 32816-1356.

Telephone: (407) 823-2078.

Johns Hopkins University Center of Canadian Studies.

Founded in 1969, it is part of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins. Its research areas include: Canadian/U.S. relations, the impact of foreign trade on Canadian culture and

politics, and Canadian politics and government. Courses at the master's and doctoral degree levels are taught by resident faculty as well as visiting professors from Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, and Laval University in Québec City, Québec.

Contact: Dr. Charles F. Doran, Director.

Address: 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20036.

Telephone: (202) 663-5714.

Fax: (202) 663-5717.

E-mail: amartis@mail.jhuwash.jhu.edu.

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Francis, R. Douglas, Richard Jones, and Donald B. Smith. *Origins: Canadian History to Confederation*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1988.

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Long, John F., and Edward T. Pryor, et al. *Migration between the United States and Canada*. Washington, D.C.: Current Population Reports/Statistics Canada, February 1990.

Walton, Richard J. *Canada and the U.S.A.: A Background Book About Internal Conflict and the New Nationalism*. New York: Parents' Magazine Press, 1972.

CAPE VERDEAN AMERICANS

by
Jane E. Spear

An important key to understanding the Cape Verdean people and their culture is the geography of the land itself. Recurrent droughts plagued these volcanic islands throughout the centuries.

OVERVIEW

The Cape Verde (or Cabo Verde) Islands are known officially as the Republic of Cape Verde. The islands lie approximately 320 miles (515 kilometers) off the west coast of Senegal, the westernmost country on the African continent. The republic consists of ten islands, nine of which are inhabited, and five islets in the Atlantic Ocean. These islands and islets cover an area of 1,557 square miles (4,033 square kilometers) and are also referred to as the Cape Verde Archipelago. The term archipelago indicates a chain of islands within a particular area. The islands form two clusters, the Windward islands and the Leeward Islands, relating to their position to the northeast wind. Windward refers to the islands on the side from which the wind blows. Leeward refers to those opposite the wind. The Windward Islands are: Santa Antao, Sao Vincente, Santa Lluzia, Sao Nicolau, Sal and Boa vista, and the islets of Branco and Razo. The Leeward Islands are Maio, Sao Tiago, Fogo and Brava, and the three Rombo islets. The climate of the Cape Verde islands is mild, and the humidity is low. The clean and beautiful beaches and low crime were factors that promoted increased tourism to the islands by the end of the twentieth century.

The geography of the Republic of Cape Verde is an important key to understanding the Cape Verdean people and their culture. Discovered by the Portuguese around 1455, these volcanic islands have been plagued for centuries by recurrent

droughts. The last major drought ended in 1985, following 12 dry years. In a country that relies primarily on agriculture for its livelihood, only ten percent of its land is suitable for growing. Seven percent of its land is used for cattle grazing. With overgrazing and extended droughts, the land resembles the barren coast of New England, rather than an exotic landscape of the Tropics. When droughts occur, the vegetation in the mountainous valleys is supplied with water from underground. But dry winds during these periods leave much of the topsoil washed away and when rain does come, no seeds will have been planted.

In 1990, the Republic of the Cape Verde Islands had an estimated population of 339,000. However, more than half of Cape Verdean citizens lived abroad due to poor working conditions in their homeland. The majority of those inhabited the northeastern United States, primarily Massachusetts and Rhode Island. More than two-thirds of Cape Verdean population ancestry is Creole, descended from the intermarriages between the Portuguese settlers and black Africans. The majority of the population practices Roman Catholicism, although other churches have gained a foothold in the islands. The predominant Protestant group in the Cape Verdean islands is the American Nazarene Church and other large groups include the Baptists and Adventists. *Animist* customs, which are beliefs rooted in a spiritual presence outside the physical realm, and beliefs in spirits and demons, are not uncommon among Cape Verdeans, even those who practice one of the mainstream religions. The flag of the Republic of Cape Verde contains a circle of ten stars to the left of center, around two colors of stripes on either side—one narrow red stripe in the center between two wider white stripes, all under a deep blue background.

HISTORY

The name Cape Verde means green cape, an ironic description of these dry and mountainous islands. In the middle of the fifteenth century, before Queen Isabel of Spain sent an Italian, Christopher Columbus, to discover a new route to the east, Portugal was engaged in colonial expansion. The dates regarding the exact time that Portuguese explorer Diogo Gomes and Genovese Antonio di Noli (working for the Portuguese king) discovered the Cape Verdean Islands varies. One source suggests that they landed on the unpopulated islands as early as 1455. Other Portuguese historians maintain that they were discovered over the course of two voyages between 1460 and 1462. The navigators reportedly saw the first islands, Sao Tiago, or Santiago, (Por-

tuguese for James) S. Felipe (Portuguese for Philip) and Maio, or Mayo, in honor of the feast of Saints Philip and James, the day of their discovery. Two years later, they were believed to have completed their discovery of the seven other islands. Oral traditions passed down through the centuries among the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans indicate that the islands were not always uninhabited. According to these stories, Sao Tiago was inhabited by Wolofs, natives of Senegal and Gambia, both west African coastal nations; and that Sal was inhabited by Lebu, Serer, the Felup. These groups were also native to the African continent.

In June of 1466, King Alfonso of Portugal (1432 to 1481) developed a proposal to make settling in the Cape Verde Islands more attractive. He granted a Charter of Privileges and placed his brother Fernando as owner, and gave him jurisdiction over all inhabitants in civil and criminal matters. These inhabitants may have been any of the following groups: Moors, or Mauritians of mixed Arab and Berber descent who lived in northwest Africa, some of whom had invaded and occupied Spain in the eighth century; Blacks, from the African continent; or Whites, settlers from Europe. This charter allowed the settlers to organize the slave trade off the African coast, providing both for the development of the islands themselves, as well as for the expanding slave markets in Brazil and the West Indies of the Caribbean. The scarcity of European women inhabiting the island ultimately led to the coupling of the Portuguese male settlers with the native Africans, and mixed blood emerged into over 90 percent of the population. This intermingling of bloodlines often set Cape Verdean islanders and their descendants apart from being considered solely African; or, in the instance of emigrants to America, as African-Americans.

The poor growing conditions on the islands created difficulties for the Portuguese. They were used to harvesting and eating grains that could not grow on the Cape Verdean landscape. The Portuguese brought maize, or corn, from Brazil, and established it as the islands' main crop. Urzela, a natural substance used in dyes, was another imported crop. Many of the African slaves brought to Cape Verde were expert weavers, and wove the cotton into intricately patterned materials for use in clothing and household goods. All of the work done to cultivate the land in the Cape Verde Islands during the centuries of Portuguese occupation was done for Portugal, as produce was returned to the mother country. This was to detriment of the local natives, particularly the slaves who had been imported from mainland Africa.

The Europeans who did stay in the islands settled in the most fertile areas. Sao Tiago, the largest island, was divided into feudal estates, which was the system of land division in Europe. Feudal estates were passed down from one generation to the next, father to son, and were worked by tenant farmers. These tenant farmers often lived grim and bleak existences. Working the land, especially in the difficult soil of the Cape Verde Islands was tedious, at best. Although they were not considered slaves, tenant farmers never gained the right to own the land they farmed. They only subsisted on what was left after they paid taxes to the landlord

Portugal, like the Britain's settlement of Australia with criminals, sent *degredados*, or convicts, to settle the Cape Verde Islands. This practice continued on a regular basis until 1882. Escaping persecution in Portugal, many Jewish people, especially men, also settled in the Cape Verde Islands. Despite the fact that many Jews had converted to Christianity in Medieval Europe, they were persecuted due to racial discrimination, not simply religion. Jews who were expelled from Spain and Portugal at the time that exploration to the New World began often left robbed of their money and their possessions. In fact, much of the wealth Queen Isabel of Spain used to finance Christopher Columbus' voyage was confiscated from persecuted Jews. But these were not the only deplorable practices that Portugal engaged in. The slavery that brought good prices in their early trade of Africans and deportation to the Caribbean, and Brazil, brought better prices once the slaves of Cape Verde Islands had learned to speak the common tongue of their captors. Thus, Portugal doubled their profit.

After years of living on the islands, the population began to understand that the droughts occurred in cycles. Two major droughts occurred in the sixteenth century, the first in 1549, and the second from 1580 to 1583. Moreover, a harsh and severe famine occurred during the latter drought. Reports of another drought, from 1609 to 1611, indicated that while the rich had food, the poor, both slave and non-slave, did not and many perished from prolonged periods of starvation. By the middle of the seventeenth century, a significant proportion of the white settlers decided to abandon the islands. This, along with the recurring droughts, brought a decline in the export economy. Eventually, the Portuguese governing monarchy permitted slave ships in transit from Africa to the Americas to pay their customs fees before they left the coast of mainland Africa, instead of stopping by the Cape Verde Islands to do so. Consequently, the city of Ribiera Grande became easy prey for pirates. It was pushed into ruin by neglect and abandonment, and Praia became the

new capital. This location afforded a natural fortress to protect it from roving marauders and pirates in search of valuable goods. Illegal trade brought the only consistent source of revenue, as Portuguese trade laws restricted trade with foreigners.

From 1696 to 1785, famines increased, even when the droughts were not as severe, due to mismanagement of the charter companies employed by the monarchy. Managers of the land did not store food during more fertile periods and during the famine of 1773 to 1775, some inhabitants became so desperate to leave the island that they sold themselves into slavery to foreign ships. Other slaves took advantage of the chaos that often occurred during pirate attacks, and escaped to the distant countryside, settling down to farm the land for themselves. Because these people were scattered and isolated from each other, they were unable to unite and attempt to take control of their fate.

Another brutal famine during the early 1830s killed an estimated one third of the population. An uprising in 1835 killed even more people. Soldiers at Praia, most recruited from the Azores, began the uprising. The Azores, a group of islands in the north Atlantic that lie west of Portugal's mainland, were also part of the Portuguese empire. The uprising resulted in the slaughter of many officials. Thwarted in their attempt to take over the government, the insurrectionist leaders were hanged. When another uprising occurred at Achade Falcao, ancestral home of twentieth century political leader, Amilcar Cabral, its attempts also failed, as were many others. The United States was aware of news reports of the famines of 1830 to 1833, and another in 1856. While the Portuguese government and public in Lisbon offered nothing in assistance, the people of Boston and New York sent money and food — 11 ships worth of food went out from New York alone in 1856 — to alleviate the suffering of the Cape Verdeans.

MODERN ERA

The Portuguese did not outlaw the trading of slaves until 1836, long after the rest of the European states denounced the practice. The practice continued due to loopholes in the laws and unscrupulous officials and business people. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1842 brought the first serious admonitions against it and prevented slaves from coming on to the islands. Laws abolishing slavery continued being passed during the 1850s, yet the trade continued until 1878.

The cruel vagaries of both the landowners and the land itself continued for the tenant farmers who

remained on the islands. Outrageous practices, such as arbitrary rent raises, resulted in the sudden eviction of the tenants and there was little mercy for the struggling residents. Although government ruled against it, these practices continued until the 1970s. When a famine from 1863 until 1866 killed a third of the population for the second time in only 30 years, forced emigration began under government-sponsored recruitment. The government sent people to the equatorial islands of Sao Tome and Principe, where cocoa production was emerging as a major operation. The survivors of these famines chose to endure contract labor rather than another harsh famine. Some islanders settled in Senegal; some went to Guine-Bissau, which eventually fell under Portuguese control. Cape Verdean had established themselves in Guine-Bissau in independent businesses, often trading their distilled spirits, made from sugar cane, and other imported goods. When the Portuguese took over, they resented that these spirits competed with their brandy. They subsequently forced the re-settled Cape Verdeans out of business, and the Cape Verdeans took on low-paying government jobs.

Through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, droughts and famines in the Cape Verde islands continued. A law enacted by the Portuguese government in 1899 allowed authorities to force any kind of work, no matter how low the wage or undesirable the situation, upon any unemployed males. This enabled the government to maintain the work force on the cocoa plantations during another grave famine in 1902 to 1903. When Portugal became a republic in 1910, the harsh law remained intact. World War I created further havoc for the Cape Verdean shipping industry, as did the famine of 1920 to 1922. An estimated 30,000 people died of starvation.

In 1917, the United States began to prohibit the immigration of illiterate people. This law was the precedent for harsher immigration laws later enacted in the 1920s designed to stem the flow of immigrants into America. Cape Verdeans who had left the islands for America by the hundreds in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century, were now leaving only by the dozens. Other reforms, such as the birth of a free press and school reforms, did result from the establishment of the Republic. Even as the rule of Salazar had begun to hamper freedoms again after gaining control in Portugal in 1926, the small minority of Cape Verdeans who were educated struggled to raise its voice. In 1936, a group of the few intellectuals and educated people founded a review known as *Claridade*. Publication continued until 1960. World War II created further problems for the islands due to restricted

travel and shipping, even though Portugal remained neutral. Famines from 1941 to 1943, and again from 1947 to 1949, killed yet another estimated 45,000 people from starvation.

By the 1950s, the islanders, as well as other subjects of the Portuguese colonization, began a new escape route. This time they escaped into post-war western Europe, which needed workers for the booming recovery and rebuilding of a devastated Europe, including Portugal. Many natives of Portugal left their impoverished homeland and were replaced by Cape Verdeans eager to take on the most menial of jobs to escape of the hardships of more famines. The largest group of them settled in the Netherlands. Thus, not only Cape Verdean-Americans could send money back to the homeland. Those settling in Europe sent so much money back home that it became the major source of income and exchange.

Also in the 1950s, protest was mounting throughout Portuguese Africa. A group of Cape Verdeans and people from the mainland colony of Guine-Bissau, led by Amilcar Cabral, joined forces to organize the *Partido Africano de Independencia de Guine e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC). The freedom fighters moved through the forests rather than the open mountainous country, to avoid air attacks air attack. Those who resisted politically, were subject to the terrors of the Portuguese secret police, and sometimes imprisoned in the concentration camp at Tarrafal, on Sao Tiago. This place was the sad fate for political prisoners from all over the Portuguese empire. The government provided famine relief in 1959 in an attempt to win the people's support. Other public projects, such as roads, a desalination plant, and irrigation works were constructed, only to fail in a few short years. On April 25, 1974, the government in Portugal was overthrown. The new Portuguese government was prepared to destroy their old colonies, but reconsidered, believing that they could still control the colonies with puppet governments. The Cape Verdeans resisted, supporting the PAIGC, and in September and December of that same year, general strikes were called. The government surrendered when all services and production stopped. In June of 1975, following elections, the independent Republic of Cabo Verde was proclaimed. Independence Day was established on July 5, 1975, and it is celebrated by Cape Verdeans throughout the world.

When Ana Maria Cabral, widow of Amilcar, spoke at the 1995 Festival of American Folklife at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., she focused on her husband's and her country's struggle for independence and cultural resistance.

Amilcar Cabral had written into Cape Verde's new Constitution provisions for dual-citizenship and voting, consequently formalizing the close ties that Cape Verdeans who emigrated elsewhere maintained to their homeland. An interdependence between the *diaspora* (the term used for members of a culture who spread out and settle away from their original homeland) and those who lived on the islands became a legally-recognized status. Cabral's widow noted that, "Cape Verde [had] undergone a very interesting historical process. Originally a group of uninhabited islands, the archipelago's population resulted mostly from Portuguese exiles' intermarrying with black African slaves and their descendants. Cultural colonization progressively diluted itself in a biological and social mixing that, joined with factors less than favorable to the establishment of a strong metropolitan ruling class, soon imposed on Cape Verdean society a characteristic personality. These are evident everywhere: in linguistic re-creation, musical re-harmonization, ancestral traces in culinary customs, and the more common manifestations of everyday life."

THE FIRST CAPE VERDEANS IN AMERICA

Massachusetts colonist Jonathan Winthrop was the first to record any contact with Cape Verdeans. In 1643, he recorded in his journal that a shipment of boat slaves were sent from Boston to England. These slaves were sold to finance the further purchase of Africans from the island of Mayo as well as sold to Barbados to buy molasses. The molasses was returned to Boston to produce rum. The first Cape Verdean islanders settled in the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century. Most of these early settlers had boarded the New England whaling ships that often stopped by the Cape Verde coast. Into the early twentieth century, before the decline of the whaling industry, Cape Verdeans were prominent on the Whalers, serving in every capacity from ship captains to harpooners to shipmates. The long hours and years at sea spawned the particular crafts of *scrimshaw*—the intricate carving of whale teeth and jawbones—ship modeling, and other forms of carvings.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The cranberry industry centered south of Boston, on the Cape Cod peninsula, required numerous workers to harvest the bogs. Cape Verdeans who had settled in New England to work in the whaling and shipping industry, were joined by fellow islanders who arrived to work in the bogs. At the end of the twentieth century, the majority of Cape Verdeans remained clustered in the New England

area, particularly Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Population estimates vary for that region, with figures of 13,000 to 21,000 people. U.S. Census figures for 1990 counted over 400,000 persons of Cape Verdean ancestry throughout the United States.

Following World War I, a significant number of New England's Cape Verdeans headed to Ohio and Michigan to fill the many positions opening up in the auto, steel and manufacturing industry. With most families remaining in New England, it was not unusual for Cape Verdeans to travel back and forth from their midwestern homes to Massachusetts and Rhode Island. During the lengthy factory strikes of the late 1950s and 1960s, some Cape Verdeans returned east to find comfort in family, and to find work in the cranberry bogs, or other migrant farms.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Cape Verdean Americans carry with them a history of hardship and devastation into the United States. The strength that they developed fortify them as they face obstacles life in a new country. Cape Verdean immigrants keep watch not only for themselves in a new country, but continue to work for the betterment and survival of their fellow Cape Verdeans who remain in the islands.

The distinction between "black" and "white" in the America to which the Cape Verdeans arrived was defined and the Cape Verdeans faced prejudice. Dr. Dwayne Williams, the executive director of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society, spoke about Cape Verdeans to a group at Brown University in Providence in February of 1997. He explained that even when Americans attempted to classify Cape Verdeans as black, and often dismissed them because of that, "Cape Verdeans [still] refused to fit within this framework. That differentiates them." Those Cape Verdeans born in the nineteenth century, and before World War I in the islands and in America, created a distinct identity, separate from their African ancestors. They did not think of themselves as "African Americans" in the same way that the descendants of America's slaves did. For them, their European blood was as much a part of their ancestry as was their African blood. That was true especially for those who settled away from the concentrated Cape Verdean environments of New England, and moved into the Midwest. Because a majority of them were Roman Catholics in a country where few African Americans shared in that faith, Cape Verdean Americans more often found themselves in the company of other white Catholics. Many of

these white Catholics were immigrants from Eastern Europe, also struggling to blend into their new country. The Cape Verdeans considered themselves Portuguese and usually expressed that distinction when their identity was questioned.

Cape Verdean immigrants, like their fellow white parishioners and factory coworkers in ethnic neighborhoods, spoke a different language. Although many of them were forced into black neighborhoods because of their skin color, earlier generations of Cape Verdean Americans maintained a society separate from other African Americans surrounding them. Their customs, their language, and their religion kept them together in closely-knit extended families. Cape Verdeans, into the middle of the twentieth century, often had large immediate families, with five or more children. For Catholics, practicing a faith that banned birth control and abortion, children were accepted as a natural consequence of marriage. For Cape Verdean Catholics endured a past marked by great uncertainty because of droughts and famines, and children were accepted not only as a matter of their faith. They were also received with joy at the prospect of continuing on and surviving for generations to come.

When the children and grandchildren of the first immigrant waves became involved in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, a new sense of solidarity with other African Americans emerged. Cape Verdean Americans of the post World War II generation in particular saw the similarities between their own struggles and the struggles of other African Americans. While older Cape Verdean Americans frowned upon these ties, the fight for independence from Portuguese rule back in the islands was headed toward victory. Cape Verdeans moved to places all over the world, from Macau to Haiti to Argentina to northern Europe

By the end of the twentieth century, the Cape Verdean community in America had grown in its self-awareness as well as its opportunities to express its identity. Cape Verdean Americans who were scattered throughout the United States, from well-established communities in New England and Southern California to newer clusters in metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, began to renew their heritage with the younger generations.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Roman Catholicism provides much of the Cape Verde's religious heritage, but animist customs and beliefs linger in the practices of Cape Verdeans in America as well as the islands. The superstitions born

of their African ancestry included a belief in witches, the powers of healers and non-traditional medicine. Nuno Miranda, a healer and spiritualist recognized by all Cape Verdeans in the twentieth century, was responsible for passing down many such customs. Many pagan beliefs were eventually interwoven into the celebration of Roman Catholic holidays.

PROVERBS

Many proverbs continue to be passed down from the older generations born in the islands to the younger generations born in America. These proverbs reflected the often troubled lives of the Cape Verdean people, for example: Who stays will not go away. Who never went away will not come back anymore; Without leaving there is no coming back; If we die in the departure, God will give us life in the return; Cover just as your cloth permit it (do not bite off more than you can chew); A pretty girl is like a ship with all its flags windwards; Who does not want to be a wolf should not its pelt wear; Who mix himself up with pigs will eat bran; A poor foreigner eats the raw and the undercooked; There is no better mirror than an old friend; Good calf sucks milk from all the cows; Who does not take the risk, do not taste (life); The fool is sly people's bread; What is good ends soon. What is bad never ends.

CUISINE

The food that most Cape Verdean Americans eat is the dish *Katxupa*, or *Cachupa*. Cape Verdeans offer many slight variations of this, but the two main versions are *Cachupa rica*, indicating the inclusion of meat for the rica, or rich people; and *Cachupa povera*, for the povera, or poor, who cannot afford meat. The main ingredients of the dish are beaten corn, ground beef, bacon, sausages, pigs' feet, potatoes, dry beans, cabbage, garlic, onions, laurel (bay) leaves and salt and pepper to taste. All of these ingredients are cooked slowly together in a big pot for several hours. It is sometimes made with fish in America's New England community and in the islands, where fish is plentiful.

Another favorite dish is *Canja de galinha*, which includes chicken, rice and tomatoes, and is cooked with onions, garlic, sage, and bay leaves. This dish is always included at funerals, or in times of big family celebrations and parties. *Jagacida* is cooked with lima or kidney beans, salt, pepper and fresh parsley, and served with meat or poultry. *Caldo de peixe* is a fish soup, and a favorite among an island culture that relies on fish as a major food source. *Lagaropa*, a red grouper fish, native to the sea surrounding the islands, is used when available. Cus-

tom dictates that when someone is suffering from too much alcohol consumption, a spicy version of the soup is necessary to recover. For something sweet, *Pudim de Leite*, a simple milk pudding is served. Whenever food is served among Cape Verdean Americans, the important factor is the coming together of family and friends, celebrating the gift of food, and sharing it with love.

MUSIC

The hardships and trials of the Cape Verdean homeland, and their struggles in the lands to which they immigrated, has resulted in a music full of melancholy, or *morna*, as the traditional ballads are known. Cape Verdeans enjoy tunes from the beautiful mixture of guitar, violin, and vocals. Song lyrics often reflect the separations endured throughout the waves of immigration, particularly between the islands and America. John Cho wrote in his article, "The Sands of Cape Verde," that, "Given such a history filled with loss and departures, plus having the Portuguese (themselves known for their pensive nature) as their European component, it is not a surprise that the popular music of Cape Verde are steeped in melancholy. Alienation and a forced abandonment of roots have also played a role, as the bulk of the population is composed of the descendants of African slaves from various ethnic backgrounds who were cut off from their histories and had to develop a Creole language and culture under a particularly ruthless colonial regime. An obvious analogy is the development of another great music of melancholia, the blues, also by slaves and their progeny in the United States." In America, Cape Verdeans have continued their devotion to their music. In addition, their heritage led to an interest and participation in the distinctly American music, jazz.

HOLIDAYS

The major holidays of Cape Verdean Americans are rooted primarily in their Christian beliefs, and include Christmas, the Feast of St. John the Baptist and the celebration of Carnival, the weeklong period preceding Ash Wednesday, and the beginning of the season of Lent. The celebration of saints constitutes many of the other celebrations among Cape Verdeans. Most of the holidays in the islands and abroad occur during the months of May, June, and July, with some, such as the Feast of All Saints, and All Souls' Day, occurring in early November. In addition to celebrating the July 4 as Independence Day for the United States, their adopted country, Cape Verdean Americans share the worldwide

recognition of the islands' own day of independence from Portuguese colonial rule on July 5th. The Cape Verdean Americans of the New England area celebrate St. John's feast with traditional parades, dancing the kola, and favorite foods.

HEALTH ISSUES

Americans of Cape Verdean ancestry do not suffer any recognizable disease or illness specific to them. However, they do have an increased risk for high blood pressure and diabetes that is common among African Americans.

Due to the unique role of Cape Verdeans as an isolated cultural group in America, social services addressing problems such as domestic abuse and youth violence and delinquency were not readily available until the end of the 1990s. Until then women and men suffered in silence in deference to the family and to the Catholic church. This situation began to change when people like Jose Barros and his Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston's Roxbury section, and Noemia Montero with the Log School Family Education Center in Dorchester, another Boston-area neighborhood, developed programs for the betterment of Cape Verdean immigrants, some of them not yet American citizens, who struggled with identity, poverty, and poor education.

LANGUAGE

Cape Verdean Americans speak English, Portuguese, and *Kriolu* (or *Crioulo*), the Creole language developed as a mixture of the European languages of explorers and the native African tongues spoken by slaves. Much of the vocabulary stems from Portuguese, although many of these words are no longer used in twentieth century Portugal. The African tongues, mostly *Mande*, influenced Kriolu chiefly in the way that grammar is used. Since the Republic of Cape Verde was established in 1975 when it became independent of Portugal, Kriolu, not Portuguese has become the dominant language among the islanders.

When Cape Verdeans came to the United States to work in the cranberry bogs on Cape Cod and the nearby vicinity in the early twentieth century, the school system of Massachusetts did not recognize Kriolu as an acceptable language. Consequently, children and students studied Portuguese in order to take the bilingual classes in which they learned English. Many Cape Verdean-American children had a difficult time in school due to the length of time they needed learn English. In 1971, Cape Verdeans in the

Boston area urged that their Creole language be recognized by the Transitional Bilingual Education Act. In the years following, significant improvements among Cape Verdean students were made. The Cape Verdean Creole Institute was founded in Boston, Massachusetts in 1996, with the goal of promoting the Cape Verdean language.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Kriolu expressions and greetings include: *Sin*—Yes; *Nau*—No; *Kon Lisensa*—Excuse me; *N ka ta konprende*—I do not understand; *Spera un momentu*—Wait a minute; *Pur favor, papia dibagar*—please speak slowly; *Dja Txiga, Dimas*—Enough, too much; *Gosi li, Gosin li, Gurinha sin*—Right now; *Kumo ki bu ta txoma-l na Kriolu?*—What is that called in Kriolu; *Bu ta papia Ingles?*—Do you speak English?

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Families are central to Cape Verdean Americans. It is the social structure around which everything else in their lives revolves. Until the latter part of the twentieth century, Cape Verdean American families were often large, with at least four or more children. As they assimilated into American culture, and as education levels rose among them their families became smaller. Baby boomers often had only two or three children as compared to their parents' average of seven or eight. Smaller families did not mean the lessening of family ties. Instead, it marked the period when affluence, education, and mobility led newer generations of Cape Verdean Americans back to their heritage.

EDUCATION

According to 1990 U.S. Census Bureau figure samples, at least 23.6 percent of the Cape Verdean American population had at least some level of college education. Overall, education has received an increasing status among Cape Verdean Americans

WEDDINGS

Weddings are an important festivity in the islands and are influenced by Cape Verdeans' African roots. The custom of *batuque*, composed of solo dancing and responsorials from a women's chorus, is a common wedding tradition. The most traditional practitioners are on the island of Sao Tiago. Among some islanders, the performance involves a ritual

mockery of advice to the newly-married couple, sometimes composed by the male family elder. Variations include the lead singer who takes command of the group, slowly dancing the rhythmic beat of the *batukadieras*, or drums. In the first part, the *txa-beta*, the dancer in the middle of the circle, keeps time to the accelerating music with her hips. The *finacon* involves the improvisational singing about the events of importance to the Cape Verdeans, such as the devastating famines. In his article, "Traditional Festivities in Cape Verde," writer Gabriel Moacyr Rodrigues, placed this custom into the context of the community. "The elder leader can be understood as a matron, the most experienced woman, who executes the hip movements that suggest the sexual act and provoke the libido." He further noted that, "Young girls—the Batxudas dance afterward, and their agile, sensual bodies awaken feelings in the old men around that remind them of their own love and marriage. For the young who watch, the dancer represents the desire for love. As she dances, the young girl closes her eyes and holds her hands in front of her face in a gesture of wanting to be seen and appreciated while still intending to preserve her chastity and bashfulness."

FUNERALS

Funerals among Cape Verdean Americans of Catholic and Protestant denominations follow their churches' standard rituals. The Catholic church highlights the Mass of Christian Burial, also known as the Mass of Resurrection, in keeping with the belief that death is a victory over life, not a sad end. Cape Verdean Americans follow the custom of showing the body in funeral homes the day or two before the Mass, or service, and burial. Following the funeral is the celebration with special foods, particularly the *Canja*, a dish of chicken, rice, and tomatoes.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

By the 1960s, when the Civil Rights Movement for African Americans gained full strength, Cape Verdean Americans began to interact more frequently as a community. As Cape Verdean Americans intermarried with African Americans of a different background, many of whom were descendants of African slaves and American slaveholders, the cultures began to share traditions and find common sympathies.

RELIGION

The majority of Cape Verdean Americans are Roman Catholics. Some Protestant denominations

such as the United Methodist and the Church of the Nazarene are also practiced by Cape Verdeans in America, particularly in the New England communities south of Boston, on Cape Cod.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The first Cape Verdean immigrants to the United States were primarily men, and they were employed with the whaling industry and in shipbuilding. By the early twentieth century, Cape Verdeans were also frequently employed in the cranberry bogs. As education levels climbed, Cape Verdeans began taking jobs as professional fields like medicine, law, education, and business. Many Cape Verdeans arrived in America at the rise of the auto and steel industries and took jobs in those factories. By the end of the twentieth century, Cape Verdean Americans were also visible as sports figures, musicians, and politicians.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Cape Verdeans were prominent as judges and state representatives in Massachusetts and Rhode Island for much of the twentieth century. In 1998, the first Republican Cape Verdean, Vinny Macedo, the representative from Plymouth, was elected to the Massachusetts State Legislature.

Cape Verdean Americans served in both World Wars, in Korea, and in Vietnam. The Verdean Veterans Association remained active in many areas of the United States, but particularly in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Due to the Constitution of the Republic of Cape Verde in 1975, all people of Cape Verdean ancestry, whether in the islands or abroad, were able to realize dual citizenship, and partake actively in elections in their home nation. Even Cape Verdeans who are born in United States feel a strong tie to their ancestral country. One organization, the Foundation of Cabo Verde, Inc. helped native islanders with financial assistance, economic development, and disaster relief aid. The 1995 Congress of CaboVerdeanos included more than 225 Cape Verdean Americans, who took a charter flight over to the islands to attend the event. The organization, along with other Cape Verdean Americans, provided assistance in 1995 when a volcano erupted on the island of Foga and destroyed over 2,000 homes. As the Republic of Cape Verde continued to develop economically and socially, Cape Verdean

Americans remained at the forefront, working cooperatively with the islanders and government.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART

Best-known for his photography for *Time* and *National Geographic*, Anthony Barboza became celebrated for his work, even outside of the Cape Verdean community. The earliest Cape Verdean American artists were known only to those who frequented the local museums of New England, such as the Kendall Whaling Museum in New Bedford, Massachusetts. The seafaring Cape Verdean whaler and scrimshaw artist Joao da Lomba, sailing out of New Bedford in the early 1900s, was also well-known for his expert craft.

GOVERNMENT

Alfred J. Gomes, born on June 14, 1897, was a Cape Verdean American Judge of prominence in the Boston area for much of the twentieth century. He graduated from Boston University Law School in 1923 at a time when few Cape Verdeans completed elementary school. Through his leadership, he helped to establish various scholarships and awards, such as the Verdean Veterans Achievement Awards, the Memorial Scholarship Fund/The Seamen's Memorial Scholarship, to benefit Cape Verdean American youth.

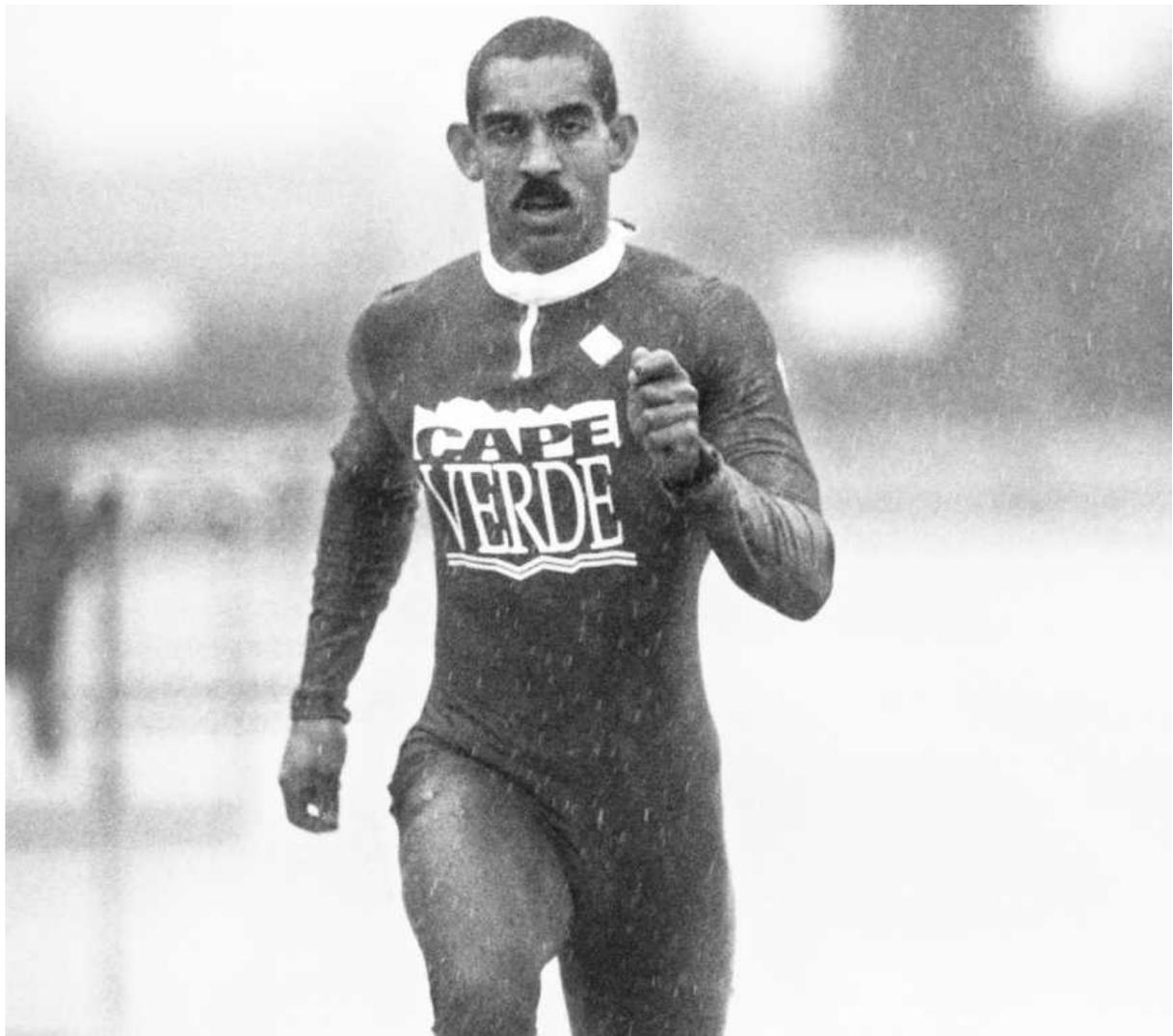
FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Michael Costa, a Hollywood producer, headed the UPN (United Pictures Network) network into the late 1990s. Well-known as a producer of television commercials, Ricardo Lopes headed Kelly, Denham Productions.

MUSIC

The music group Tavares, enjoyed fame in the late 1970s with their hit song, "More Than A Woman," featured in the Hollywood movie hit, *Saturday Night Fever*. Famous jazz musicians, Horace Silva and Paul Gonsalves were Cape Verdean Americans who became internationally famous. In his 1956 appearance at the Newport Jazz Festival with Duke Ellington, Gonsalves went down in history with a 27-chorus solo in the song, "Diminuendo." That recording, re-released in 1999, was considered one of the all-

Henry Andrade, an olympic high hurdler who is a dual citizen of Cape Verde and the United States, trained to represent Cape Verde in the Atlanta Olympics.



time classic jazz performances. Another musician, Ethel Ramos Harris, a Cape Verdean American violinist, established a scholarship in order to foster continued music education for Cape Verdean American youth. Jose Gomes Da Graca, a violinist known mostly in the islands and to the New Bedford Cape Verdean community as Djedjinho, was became even more popular after his death, in 1994, when his son, Alcides Da Graca, a New Bedford special education teacher, along with his brother Laurindo, also a teacher, recorded a CD of their late father's music.

SPORTS

In 1999, the best-known Cape Verdean American sports figure was Dana Barros, a professional basketball player for the Boston Celtics. Another well-known sports figure was Wayne Fontes, a New England native who was raised in the nation's football capital of Canton, Ohio, first a professional football player, who then went on to coach the Detroit Lions NFL team in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Also, Henry Andrade attended the Olympics in

Atlanta in 1992 as a dual citizen of the United States and the Cape Verde Islands. He was representing Cape Verde.

MEDIA

INTERNET

Tom Riordan, writing for The CVN, in February of 1999, said that, "Cape Verdeans and the Internet are made for each other," since they were "so far-flung" around the world and around the United States. Each of the islands in the Republic of Cape Verde is separated from the others and two-thirds of people who defined themselves as Cape Verdeans live overseas. Half of those overseas are scattered throughout the United States, with half throughout Europe, Africa, and Brazil. A quick tour of the Internet in 1999 called up hundreds of Cape Verdean-related sites or links, including:

"Cape Verde Home Page" at
<http://www.umassd.edu/SpecialPrograms/caboverde/capeverdean.html>

“Cape Verdean.com” at
<http://www.capeverdean.com>
“Embassy of Cape Verde” at
<http://www.capeverdeusembassy.org>
and “Proud to Be Cape Verdean Home Page”
at <http://www.proudtobecapeverdean.com>.

PRINT

The CVN, a Cape Verdean-American Newspaper.

Publishes local Cape Verdean-Massachusetts news, and information regarding the American, International and Republic of Cabo Verde communities.

Contact: Thomas D. Lopes, Publisher; or, Dr. Norman Araujo, Chief Advisor.

Address: 417 Purchase Street, New Bedford, Massachusetts 02741.

Mailing address: P.O. Box 3063, New Bedford, Massachusetts 02741.

Telephone: (508) 997-2300.

TELEVISION

CABO VIDEO, Cape Verdean Television.

Broadcast in approximately 50 cities and towns in Massachusetts and Rhode Island from Channel 20, New Bedford, Massachusetts; Cuencavision Channel 26, cable; and, Channel 19 UHF, Boston. Founded in 1989, this station provides a source of information regarding events occurring in Cabo Verde, and supports Cabo Verde in the United States. Independent video production company, solely-owned. Weekly 90-minute Cape Verdean program televised in Portuguese and Crioulo. Covers news from Republic of Cabo Verde, and events in the United States, including medical information, legal information, historical footage, and music videos.

Contact: Edward Andrade.

Address: 1147 Main Street, Brockton, Massachusetts 02301.

Telephone: (508) 588-8843.

Fax: (508) 588-8843.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Atlanta, Georgia Area Cape Verdeans.

Annual picnic for Cape Verdeans living in the Atlanta area.

Contact: Michael Rose.

Address: 4716 Halliford Way, Marietta, Georgia 30066.

Telephone: (770) 925-8331.

Cape Verdean American Veterans Association and Auxiliary.

Contact: Stephen Cabral.

Address: Verdean Vets Hall. 561 Purchase Street, New Bedford, Massachusetts 02741.

Telephone: (508) 993-7320.

Cape Verdean Civic Club.

Organizers of the 4th of July Cape Verdean Festival in Boston. Meeting location is the Ideal Club.

Contact: Omar Oliveria, (781) 892-6627; Noemia Monteiro, (617) 442-7656; Ze Preto, (617) 427-1896; or Toni Silva, (508) 583-8960.

Address: 14 West Union St., West Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

Cape Verdean Creole Institute, Inc.

Founded in 1996. A nonprofit organization whose goal is to promote the Capeverdean language.

Contact: Manuel DaLuz Goncalves, President.

Address: 308 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

Cape Verdean Cultural Conferences, Inc.

Contact: Jose Ramos.

E-mail: zecabed@aol.com.

Cape Verdean Student Association.

Social and service organization of college students in the Massachusetts and Rhode Island area seeking to affirm their Cape Verdean identity; service projects include assistance to children and students in Cape Verde, with food, school supplies, and clothing.

Chapters include: University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, Massachusetts; Boston College; Boston University; Northeastern University (Boston); University of Massachusetts at Amherst; and the University of Rhode Island in Providence, Rhode Island.

Clube Cabo Verde.

A Cape Verdean-American social organization, planning the Festival of St. John the Baptist in June, on the island of Brava.

Contact: Kevin Spry.

Address: 88 Wales Street, Taunton, Massachusetts 02780.

E-mail: Arimis7@aol.com.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Kendall Whaling Museum.

Dedicated to the history of whaling off the New England coast. Includes the history of Cape Verdean natives who served on the whaling ships as harpooners, captains, and shipmates.

Address: 27 Everett Street, Sharon,
Massachusetts 02067.

Telephone: (781) 784-5642.

New Bedford Whaling Museum.

The history of the Cape Verdeans who served out of the New Bedford whaling ships, among other historical-related exhibits.

Contact: Anthony Zave, Director.

Address: 18 Johnny Cake Hill, New Bedford,
Massachusetts 02740.

Telephone: (508) 997-0046.

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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICANS

by
Paul Robert Magocsi

OVERVIEW

Carpatho-Rusyns (also known in English as Ruthenians) come from an area in the geographical center of the European continent. Their homeland, known as Carpathian Rus' (Ruthenia), is located on the southern and northern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains where the borders of Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland meet. Carpatho-Rusyns have never had their own state and have lived since the sixth and seventh centuries as a national minority, first in the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, then from the late eighteenth century to 1918 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since the end of World War I, borders have changed frequently, and Carpatho-Rusyns have found themselves living in several different countries: from 1919 to 1939 in Czechoslovakia and Poland; during World War II in Hungary, Slovakia, and Nazi Germany; and from 1945 to 1989 in the Soviet Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Since the Revolution of 1989 in East Central Europe and the fall of the Soviet Union two years later, the Carpatho-Rusyns have lived, for the most part, in three countries: Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland. There are also smaller numbers in neighboring Romania, Hungary, the Czech Republic, in the Vojvodina region of Yugoslavia, and in nearby eastern Croatia.

As a people without their own state, Carpatho-Rusyns have had to struggle to be recognized as a distinct group and to be accorded rights such as edu-

After being cut off from the European homeland for nearly half a century, Rusyn American contacts with the homeland were renewed following the Revolution of 1989, the fall of communism, and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

cation in their own language and preservation of their culture. At various times in the twentieth century, they have also tried to attain autonomy or self-rule. These efforts have met with varying degrees of success depending on the general political situation in the countries where they have lived. For example, during the interwar years (1919-1938) in Czechoslovakia, Carpatho-Rusyns did have their own province called Subcarpathian Rus', in which they enjoyed state support for education and culture as well as a degree of political autonomy. On the other hand, during the four decades of communist rule following World War II, Carpatho-Rusyns were not even recognized as a distinct people but were simply considered a branch of Ukrainians. Since the Revolution of 1989, they are recognized in Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Yugoslavia, but not in Ukraine.

Related to their status as a national minority is the problem of numbers. Since they are not recognized in countries like Ukraine, or have not been recorded in Poland, it is impossible to know with certainty how many Carpatho-Rusyns there are in the European homeland today. Informed estimates place their number possibly at 800,000 to one million. This includes 600,000 to 800,000 in Ukraine; 100,000 in Slovakia; 40,000 in Poland; 30,000 in Yugoslavia; 20,000 in Romania; and the rest in Hungary, Croatia, and the Czech Republic.

Minority status has also contributed indirectly to confusion regarding the very name used to describe the group. Traditionally, they have called themselves *Rusyns* or *Rusnaks*, but the states who have ruled them, and their own leaders, have used many other names, including *Carpatho-Russian*, *Carpatho-Ukrainian*, and *Uhro-Russian*. In Poland, Carpatho-Rusyns adopted the name *Lemko* at the outset of the twentieth century. In the United States, the group has also identified itself by many names: aside from Carpatho-Rusyn, the most popular have been *Carpatho-Russian*, *Lemko*, *Ruthenian*, or the vague and ethnically meaningless *Byzantine* or *Slavish*.

Carpatho-Rusyns began immigrating to the United States in the late 1870s and in the 1880s. By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, approximately 225,000 had arrived. This was to be the largest number of Carpatho-Rusyns ever to reach America. When emigration resumed after World War I, only about 20,000 came in the second wave during the interwar years. From World War II to the present, the numbers have been smaller still—at the most, 10,000. Upon arrival in the United States, the vast majority of Carpatho-Rusyns identified with the state that they had left. It is, therefore, impossible to

know their exact number. Based on immigration statistics and membership records in religious and secular organizations, it is reasonable to assume that there are about 620,000 Americans who have at least one ancestor of Carpatho-Rusyn background.

At the time of the first and largest wave of immigration (1880s to 1914), the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland was located entirely within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. That empire was itself divided into two parts: about three-quarters of Carpatho-Rusyns lived in the northeastern corner of the Hungarian Kingdom, with the remainder in the Austrian province of Galicia. In both parts of Austria-Hungary, the economic situation for Carpatho-Rusyns was the same. Their approximately 1,000 villages were all located in hilly or mountainous terrain from which the inhabitants eked out a subsistence-level existence based on small-scale agriculture, livestock grazing (especially sheep), and seasonal labor on the richer plains of lowland Hungary. Their livelihood was always precarious, however, and following a growth in the population and shortage of land, many felt they had no choice but to emigrate to the United States.

Most of the earliest immigrants in the 1870s and 1880s were young males who hoped to work a year or so and then return home. Some engaged in seasonal labor and may have migrated back and forth several times between Europe and America in the decades before 1914. Others eventually brought their families and stayed permanently. Whereas before World War I, movement between Europe and America was relatively easy for enthusiastic young laborers, after World War II, communist rule in the European homeland put an effective end to virtually all cross-border emigration and seasonal migration.

Since earning money was the main goal of the immigrants, they settled primarily in the northeast and north central states, in particular the coal mining region around Scranton and Wilkes-Barre in eastern Pennsylvania, and in Pittsburgh and its suburbs in the western part of that state. Other cities and metropolitan areas that attracted Carpatho-Rusyns were New York City and northeastern New Jersey; southern Connecticut; the Binghamton-Endicott-Johnson City triangle in south central New York; Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio; Gary and Whiting, Indiana; Detroit and Flint, Michigan; and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

By 1920, nearly 80 percent of all Carpatho-Rusyns lived in only three states: Pennsylvania (54 percent), New York (13 percent), and New Jersey (12 percent). This settlement pattern has been in large part retained by the second-, third-, and fourth-generation descendants of Carpatho-Rusyns, although

most have left the inner cities for the surrounding suburbs. Since the 1970s, there has also been migration out of the northeast, in particular to the sunbelt states of Florida, Arizona, and California.

Like other eastern and southern Europeans, Carpatho-Rusyns were not discriminated against because of their color, although they were effectively segregated from the rest of American society because of their low economic status and lack of knowledge of English. They were never singled out as a group, but rather lumped together with other Slavic and Hungarian laborers and called by the opprobrious epithet, *Hunkies*. This was, however, a relatively short-term phase, since the American-born sons and daughters of the original immigrants had, by the late 1930s and 1940s, adapted to the host society and become absorbed into the American middle class. Effectively, Americans of Carpatho-Rusyn descent are an invisible minority within the white middle class majority.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The relationship of Carpatho-Rusyns toward American society has changed several times during the more than 100 years since they began to arrive in significant numbers in the United States. There are basically three phases, or periods, during which the attitudes of Carpatho-Rusyns toward American society have ranged from minimal adaptation to total assimilation and acceptance of the American norm.

During the first period, from the 1880s to about 1925, Carpatho-Rusyns felt estranged both linguistically and culturally from the American world surrounding them. Not only did they speak a foreign language, they were also members of a distinct Eastern Christian church that initially did not exist in the United States. Upon arrival, Carpatho-Rusyns were all Byzantine Rite Catholics, or Greek Catholics; that is, adherents of a church that followed Orthodox ritual but was jurisdictionally united with the Roman Catholic church. The American Roman Catholic hierarchy, however, did not accept, and in some cases, did not even recognize, Greek Catholic priests. Since religion was a very important factor in their daily lives in Europe, where Greek Catholicism had become virtually synonymous with Carpatho-Rusyn culture and identity, the immigrants, after finding jobs to support themselves materially, sought ways to assure for themselves spiritual fulfillment.

Not finding their own church and being rejected by the American Roman Catholics, Carpatho-

Rusyns built their own churches, invited priests from the European homeland, and created fraternal and mutual-benefit organizations to provide insurance and worker's compensation in times of sickness or accident as well as to support the new churches. The oldest and still the largest of these fraternal societies was the Greek Catholic Union, founded in 1892 in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and then transferred to the suburbs of Pittsburgh in 1906. The churches and fraternal societies each had their services and publications in the Carpatho-Rusyn language, as well as schools in which children were taught the language of their parents. In short, during this first period, the immigrants felt that they could not be accepted fully into American society, and so they created various kinds of religious and secular organizations that would preserve their old world culture and language.

The second period in Rusyn American life lasted from about 1925 to 1975. For nearly a half-century, the children of immigrants born in the United States increasingly rejected the old world heritage of their parents and tried to assimilate fully into American life. New youth organizations were founded that used only English, while the most popular sports clubs, even within the pre-World War I organizations, were devoted to baseball, basketball, bowling, and golf. By the 1950s, the formerly vibrant Rusyn-language press had switched almost entirely to English. Even the Byzantine Rite Catholic church, which in the intervening years developed into a recognized religious body, began in the 1950s to do away with traditions that were different from those in the Roman Catholic church. In short, Carpatho-Rusyns seemed to want to do everything possible—even at the expense of forgetting their ethnic and religious heritage—to be like “other” Americans. Even the international situation was helpful in this regard, since throughout virtually this entire period, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans were cut off from the European homeland by the economic hardships of the 1930s, World War II, and finally the imposition of communist rule and the creation of the Iron Curtain after 1945.

The third phase in Rusyn American life began about 1975 and has lasted to the present. Like many other “assimilated” Americans, the third-generation descendants of Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants have wanted to know what their grandparents knew so well but what their parents tried desperately to forget. The stimulus for this quest at ethnic rediscovery was the “roots fever” that surrounded the nationwide telecast of the African American saga *Roots* and the celebrations surrounding the bicentennial of the United States in 1976.

New organizations such as the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center and several Rusyn folk ensembles were founded in the late 1970s, and several new publications began to appear that dealt with all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture. Finally, the Revolution of 1989 and the fall of communism opened up the European homeland and provided new incentives for travel and opportunities for first-hand rediscovery of one's roots and ancestral family ties. Thus, since the 1970s, an increasing number of Americans of Carpatho-Rusyn background have begun to learn about and maintain, at the very least, nostalgic ties with an ancestral culture that they otherwise never really knew. Moreover, in contrast to earlier times, American society as a whole no longer stigmatized such interest in the old world, but actually encouraged the search for one's roots.

LANGUAGE

Carpatho-Rusyns are by origin Slavs. They speak a series of dialects that are classified as East Slavic and that are most closely related to Ukrainian. However, because their homeland is located within a political and linguistic borderland, Carpatho-Rusyn speech has been heavily influenced by neighboring West Slavic languages like Slovak and Polish, as well as by Hungarian. Several attempts have been undertaken in the European homeland and in the United States to codify this unique speech pattern into a distinct Carpatho-Rusyn literary language. The most successful results have been in the Vojvodina region of Yugoslavia, where a local Rusyn literary language has existed since the early 1920s, as well as in present-day Slovakia where a Rusyn literary language was formally codified in 1995.

The early immigrants to the United States used Rusyn for both spoken and written communication. As early as 1892, the *Amerikansky rusky viestnik* (American Rusyn Bulletin) began to appear in Mahanoy City and eventually Homestead, Pennsylvania as the weekly and, at times, three-times-weekly newspaper of the Greek Catholic Union. It was published completely in Rusyn until 1952, after which it switched gradually and then entirely to English. That newspaper was one of 50 weekly and monthly Rusyn-language publications that have appeared in the United States, including the daily newspaper *Den'* (*The Day*; New York, 1922-1926). Traditionally, the Rusyn language uses the Cyrillic alphabet. Cyrillic was initially also used in the United States, although by the 1920s a Roman-based alphabet became more and more widespread. Today only one newspaper survives, the bilingual weekly *Karpats'ka Rus'/Carpatho-Rus'* (Yonkers,

New York, 1939–), half of which is published in Rusyn using the Cyrillic alphabet.

First-generation immigrants, in particular, wanted to pass on the native language to their American-born offspring. Hence, church-sponsored parochial and weekend schools were set up, especially from 1900 to 1930. To preserve the native language, several Rusyn American grammars, readers, catechisms, and other texts were published. The language was also used on a few radio programs during the 1940s and 1950s in New York City, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and other cities with large Rusyn concentrations. At present there are no radio programs, and the language is taught formally only to students attending the Byzantine Catholic Seminary in Pittsburgh and the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocesan Seminary in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland, where there was a need for agricultural laborers, families were often large, with an average of six to ten children. Family homesteads might also house grandparents as well as a newly wedded son or daughter and spouse waiting to earn enough to establish their own home. Many villages comprised three or four extended families interrelated through blood or through relationships, such as godparents.

The immigrants who came to the United States were initially males who lived in boarding houses. Those who remained eventually married in America or brought their families from Europe. The extended family structure typical of the European village was replaced by nuclear families living in individual houses or apartments that included parents and on average, three to four children.

Coming to the United States primarily before World War I, Carpatho-Rusyns entered a society in which there were little or no welfare programs or other forms of public assistance. The ideal was to take care of oneself, depending perhaps only on a fraternal insurance organization to which dues were paid. There was never any expectation that the government would assist individuals or families in what were considered their private lives. Such attitudes of self-reliance were passed on to the second and third generations, most of whom shunned public assistance even when it became available beginning in the 1930s. Only since the 1970s, with the widespread closing of steel mills and related industries in western Pennsylvania, where thousands suddenly found themselves out of work, have attitudes toward

public assistance changed. This means that today third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Carpatho-Rusyns are likely to accept unemployment insurance whenever their livelihood is threatened.

The traditional old world pattern of marriages arranged by parents, sometimes with the help of a matchmaker, was, with rare exceptions, not followed among Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants. Instead, individuals have courted and found their own partners. At least until the 1950s, parents did not urge their daughters to continue their education after high school, but instead to get married and serve as the homemaker for a family. Boys, too, were often encouraged to go to technical schools or to begin work as an apprentice in a trade. Since the 1960s, however, an increasing number of both young men and women are encouraged to attend colleges and universities, after which they work in fields such as communications, service industries, and medicine (especially nursing).

Whereas before the 1950s women were encouraged to become homemakers, they were always welcome to take an active part in community activity. At least since the 1930s, women have served on the governing boards of Rusyn American fraternals, have had their own sports clubs, and have been particularly effective in establishing ladies' guilds which, through social events, have been able to raise extensive funds to help local church parishes. To this day, many ladies' guilds operate catering and small food services from the basements of churches, cooking traditional Rusyn dishes like *holubky* (stuffed cabbage) and *pirohy* (three-cornered cheese- or potato-filled ravioli) and selling them to the community at large. The profits go to the church.

Carpatho-Rusyns had a vibrant community life during the first three decades of this century. Fraternal organizations, social clubs, political groups, and churches sponsored publications, theatrical and musical performances, public lectures, parades, and picnics, all of which were in part or wholly related to the preservation and promotion of a Carpatho-Rusyn culture and identity. Such activity virtually ceased or lost any specific Carpatho-Rusyn content in the decades immediately following World War II.

There has been a marked revival of activity, however, since the 1970s. Several new song and dance ensembles, the largest of which is Slavjane in Pittsburgh, were founded by third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation descendants of the pre-World War I immigrants. A scholarly organization, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, was founded in 1978; it has distributed thousands of books about Rusyn culture and history, and publishes a quarterly, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (Fairview, New Jer-

sey; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1978–). Several other local cultural and social organizations were established or renewed in cities and towns where Rusyns have traditionally lived, such as Minneapolis (The Rusin Association), Yonkers, New York (Carpatho-Russian American Center), and Pittsburgh (Carpatho-Rusyn Society). This trend toward cultural renewal and the rediscovery of one's heritage has been enhanced by the political changes that have taken place in East Central Europe after 1989. As a result, visits to families and friends that were effectively cut off by the Iron Curtain are now becoming a common occurrence.

RELIGION

Carpatho-Rusyns are Christians and, for the most part, they belong to various Eastern Christian churches. They trace their Christian origins back to the second half of the ninth century, when the Byzantine Greek monks Cyril and Methodius and their disciples brought Christianity from the East Roman or Byzantine Empire to Carpathian Rus'. After 1054, when the Christian world was divided into Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox spheres, the Carpatho-Rusyns remained part of the eastern tradition. This meant that in Carpatho-Rusyn churches, Church Slavonic (written in the Cyrillic alphabet) was used instead of Latin as the liturgical language, priests could marry, and after the sixteenth century the "old calendar" was maintained, so that nonmovable feasts like Christmas were celebrated about two weeks after they were celebrated according to the western calendar. Eastern Christians also recognized as the head of their church the ecumenical patriarch, who resided in Constantinople, the capital of the former Byzantine Empire.

The question of church jurisdiction changed in the mid-seventeenth century, when some Carpatho-Rusyn bishops and priests united with the Catholic church based in Rome. These Uniates, as they were first called, were at first allowed to keep all their eastern Orthodox traditions, but they were required to accept the authority of the Pope in Rome instead of the Orthodox ecumenical patriarch. Because the Uniates continued to use the eastern liturgy and follow eastern church practices, they were eventually called Greek Catholics, and today Byzantine Rite Catholics. Since the seventeenth century, Carpatho-Rusyns have been divided into two branches of Eastern Christianity—Orthodoxy and Byzantine Rite Catholicism.

Regardless of whether Carpatho-Rusyns were Orthodox or Byzantine Rite Catholic, the church remained a central feature of their life-cycle in the

European homeland. Until well into the twentieth century, all rites of passage (birth/baptisms, weddings, funerals) and public events in Rusyn villages and towns were determined by the church calendar. In many ways, Carpatho-Rusyn culture and identity were synonymous with either the Byzantine Rite Catholic or Orthodox churches. Virtually all the early Carpatho-Rusyn cultural leaders, including the nineteenth-century “national awakener” Aleksander Dukhnovych, were priests.

Because religion was so important, it is not surprising that Carpatho-Rusyns tried to recreate aspects of their church-directed life after immigrating to the United States. From the very outset, however, the Byzantine Rite Catholics met with resistance from American Catholic bishops, who before World War I were intolerant toward all traditions that were not in accord with American Roman Catholic norms (especially those that used “foreign” languages and followed practices like a married priesthood). As a result, thousands of Byzantine Rite Catholics left the church and joined the Orthodox church. This “return to the ancient faith” began as early as 1892 and was led by a priest who at the time was based in Minneapolis, Father Alexis Toth.

Aside from losing members to Orthodoxy, the Byzantine Rite Catholic church was also having difficulty maintaining traditional practices. After 1929, Byzantine Rite Catholics were forced by Rome to accept the practice of celibacy for priests and to turn over all church property, which until then was generally held by laypersons who had built and paid for the buildings. This so-called “celibacy controversy” caused great dissatisfaction, and led to the defection of thousands more Byzantine Rite Catholics, who created a new American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox church. The Byzantine Rite Catholics also gave up other traditional practices, and by the 1950s and 1960s changed to the western calendar and used primarily English in their services.

The division between Orthodoxy and Byzantine Rite Catholicism in the European homeland has continued among Carpatho-Rusyns and their descendants in the United States. Today the Byzantine Rite Catholic church has four dioceses located in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Passaic, New Jersey; Parma, Ohio; and Van Nuys, California. The American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox church has one diocese based in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The Orthodox Church in America, with its seat in New York City, has 12 dioceses across the country. The approximate Carpatho-Rusyn membership in these churches is as follows: Byzantine Rite Catholics—195,000; Carpatho-Russian Orthodox—18,000; Orthodox Church in America—250,000.

In the early years of the immigration, when Carpatho-Rusyns did not yet have their own churches, many Byzantine Rite Catholics attended, and eventually joined, Roman Catholic churches. Subsequently, intermarriage increased the number of Carpatho-Rusyn Roman Catholics, who today may number as high as 80,000 to 100,000. The community’s internal religious controversies and the proselytizing efforts of American Protestant churches, especially in the early decades of the twentieth century, have also resulted in the growth of several evangelical sects among Carpatho-Rusyns and conversions, especially to various Baptist churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although the vast majority of Carpatho-Rusyns who came to the United States during the major wave of immigration before World War I left small villages where they worked as small-scale subsistence-level farmers or as livestock herders, only a handful found jobs in agriculture in the United States. As one priest and community activist quipped earlier in the century: “Our people do not live in America, they live *under* America!” This remark reflects the fact that many of the earliest Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants found employment in the coal-mining belt in eastern Pennsylvania. Since they lacked industrial and mining skills upon arrival, they were given the most menial tasks, such as coal splitting and carting. Carpatho-Rusyns were also attracted to the iron mines in upstate Minnesota; the lead mines of south central Missouri; the coal mines of southern Oklahoma and Washington state; the gold, silver, and lead mines of Colorado; and the marble quarries of Vermont. Even more important than mining for Carpatho-Rusyns was the growing steel industry of Pittsburgh and its neighboring towns. The steel mills and associated industries employed most Carpatho-Rusyns who lived in western Pennsylvania and neighboring Ohio.

Already during the pre-World War I decades, women were obliged to work outside the home in order to supplement the family income. With limited English-language and work skills, at first they were only able to find work as cleaning women in offices or as servants and nannies in well-to-do households. The second-generation American-born were more likely to find work as retail salespersons, waitresses, and workers in light industries such as shoe, soap, and cigar factories.

Like women, the second-generation American-born men had moved slightly up the employ-

ment ladder to work as skilled and semi-skilled workers, foremen, or clerical workers. By the third and fourth generation, there was a marked increase in managerial and semi-professional occupations. In general, however, Carpatho-Rusyns and their descendants have preferred working in factories, mills, mines, and other industries, rather than trying to establish their own businesses.

A dependence on the existing American industrial and corporate structure has, in recent decades, had a negative effect on thousands of Rusyn Americans who thought the jobs or industries that they and their fathers and grandfathers worked in would always be there for themselves and their children. The widespread closing of coal mines in eastern Pennsylvania and the collapse of America's steel industry put thousands of Rusyn Americans out of work. As a result, Carpatho-Rusyns, like other middle-class working Americans in the past two decades, have had to lower their expectations about economic advancement and to retrain themselves for, and especially to encourage their children to prepare for, jobs that are no longer in coal and steel, but in electronics, computers, and service-related industries.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

At least until World War I, Carpatho-Rusyns in the European homeland did not have any experience in politics. They were used to being ruled and not to participating in the governing process. The result was skepticism and a deep-seated mistrust toward politics which was to continue after immigration to the United States. Not surprisingly, first-generation Carpatho-Rusyns, and even their American-born descendants, have rarely become elected officials in the United States. It was not until the 1970s that the first individuals of Carpatho-Rusyn background were to be found in elected offices beyond the local level, such as Mark Singel, the lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, and Joseph M. Gaydos, Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania. As for the majority of Carpatho-Rusyns, their relation to political life was limited to participation in strikes, especially in the coal fields and in steel and related industries during the decades of the 1890s to 1930s. While there were some Carpatho-Rusyn political clubs established during the 1930s and 1940s to support Democratic party candidates, these were generally few in number and short-lived.

On the other hand, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans have in the past played an active and, at times, a decisive role in homeland politics. This was particularly so during the closing months of World War

I, when Carpatho-Rusyn Americans, like other immigrant groups from east central and southern Europe, proposed various options for the future of their homelands following what proved to be the imminent collapse of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman Empires.

In the spring and summer of 1918, both Byzantine Rite Catholic and Orthodox religious and lay leaders formed political action committees, the most important of which was the American Council of Uhro-Rusyns in Homestead, Pennsylvania. The Homestead-based council chose a young, American-trained Carpatho-Rusyn lawyer, Gregory Zatkovich, to represent them. Under his leadership, the American Rusyns joined with other groups in the Mid-European Union in Philadelphia, lobbied the American government, and followed President Woodrow Wilson's suggestion that the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland might become part of the new state of Czechoslovakia. An agreement to join Czechoslovakia was reached in Philadelphia in November 1918, after which Zatkovich led a Rusyn American delegation to convince leaders in the homeland of the desirability of joining Czechoslovakia.

The "American solution" was indeed accepted in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference. Only the Lemko Rusyns north of the mountains were left out; eventually they were incorporated into the new state of Poland. In recognition of his role, Zatkovich, while still an American citizen, was appointed by the president of Czechoslovakia to be the first governor of its eastern province called Subcarpathian Rus'.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Rusyn American community closely followed political events in the homeland, and frequently sent protests to the League of Nations, calling on the Czechoslovak government to implement the political autonomy that had been promised, but not fully implemented, in the province of Subcarpathian Rus'. The United States government was now less interested in far-away East Central Europe, so that Rusyn American political influence on the homeland declined and eventually ended entirely, in particular after Subcarpathian Rus' was annexed to the Soviet Union in 1945 and the rest of East Central Europe came under Soviet-inspired communist rule.

After being cut off from the European homeland for nearly half a century, Rusyn American contacts with the homeland were renewed following the Revolution of 1989, the fall of communism, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Both secular and church bodies began once again to provide moral and financial assistance to Rusyn organizations in the homeland. Rusyn Americans also became

active in the World Congress of Rusyns, established in eastern Slovakia in March 1991.

Often related to contacts with the European homeland has been the question of national identity. Throughout their entire history in the United States, politics for most Carpatho-Rusyns has meant trying to decide and reach a consensus on the question: "Who are we?" At least until about 1920, most Carpatho-Rusyns in the United States considered themselves to form a distinct Slavic nationality called Rusyn or Uhro-Rusyn (that is, Hungarian Rusyn). By the 1920s, there was a strong tendency, encouraged especially by the Orthodox church, to consider Rusyns as little more than a branch of the Russian nationality. Hence, the term *Carpatho-Russian* became a popular term to describe the group. By the 1950s and 1960s, two more possible identities were added, Slovak and Ukrainian.

Since the 1970s, however, there has been a pronounced return to the original Rusyn identity, that is, the idea that Carpatho-Rusyns are neither Russian, nor Slovak, nor Ukrainian, but rather a distinct nationality. Several of the older religious and lay organizations have reasserted the Rusyn orientation, and it has been fully embraced from the outset by all the new cultural and scholarly institutions established in the United States since the 1970s. The Rusyn orientation in America has been encouraged further by the Rusyn national revival that has been occurring in all the European homeland countries (Slovakia, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia) since the Revolution of 1989.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART

Undoubtedly, the most famous American of Carpatho-Rusyn descent was Andy Warhol (born Andrew Warhola, 1928-1987), the pop artist, photographer, and experimental filmmaker. At the height of his career in the 1960s and 1970s, he had become as famous as the celebrities he was immortalizing. Recalling the idealized saintly images (icons) that surrounded him when he was growing up and attending the Byzantine Rite Catholic Church in Pittsburgh's Rusyn Valley (Ruska dolina) district, Warhol created on canvas and in photographs new "American icons" that epitomized the second half of the twentieth century. Since his untimely death in 1987, his older brothers, John and Paul Warhola, have become instrumental in perpetuating the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage of Andy and his family. That heritage figures prominently in

the new Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh. The Warhol Foundation, which funded the Pittsburgh museum, has also donated paintings and provided financial support for the Warhola Family Museum of Modern Art, founded in 1992 in Medzilaborce, Slovakia, just a few miles away from the Carpatho-Rusyn village where both Andy Warhol's parents were born.

ENTERTAINMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS

In the 1940s and 1950s, Lizabeth Scott (born Emma Matzo, 1922) played the role of a sultry leading lady in several Hollywood films, while Sandra Dee (born Alexandra Zuk, 1942) was cast in roles that depicted the typical American teenage girl of the 1950s and 1960s. Her very name was later used as a nostalgic symbol of that era in the musical *Grease*. In more recent years, other Americans of Carpatho-Rusyn descent have been active in television, including the actor Robert Urich (1946–) and the FOX Television newscaster, Cora-Ann Mihalik (1955–).

RELIGION

It is in the area of religion where Carpatho-Rusyns have made a particularly significant contribution to American life. Three individuals stand out for their work not only on behalf of Eastern Christianity, the traditional faith of Carpatho-Rusyns, but also of Roman Catholicism and American evangelical Protestantism.

The Russian Orthodox Church of America, today the Orthodox Church in America, is one of the oldest in the United States. It was founded as early as 1792, when Alaska was a colony of the Russian Empire. The real growth of that church was connected not to the Alaskan mission, however, but to its influence over thousands of immigrants from East Central Europe who settled in the northeastern United States during the decades before World War I. The expansion of Russian Orthodoxy during those years is attributable largely to Father Alexis Toth (1853-1909), a former Byzantine Rite Catholic priest who joined the Orthodox Church in 1891. Not only did he bring his own Minneapolis parish with him, he also set out on missionary activity in several northeastern states, converting nearly 25,000 Carpatho-Rusyns and other East Slavic immigrants to Orthodoxy. The church grew so rapidly that it moved its headquarters from San Francisco to New York City. For his services, Toth was hailed as the "father of Orthodoxy in America," and in 1994 he was made a saint of the Orthodox Church of America.

The two other influential religious activists were both born in the United States of Carpatho-Rusyn parents. Miriam Teresa Demjanovich (1901-1927) converted to Roman Catholicism as a child, became a member of the Sisters of Charity, and devoted the rest of her years to a life of pure spirituality. A year after her death, a collection of her "spiritual conferences" was published, *Greater Perfection* (1928), which became so popular that they were translated into several languages, including Chinese. Her followers have established a Sister Miriam Teresa League in New Jersey, which is working to have her made a saint in the Roman Catholic church.

Perhaps the best known religious activist of Carpatho-Rusyn descent in American society as a whole is Joseph W. Tkach (b. 1927), since 1986 Pastor General of the Worldwide Church of God. Tkach is editor of the popular religious magazine *Plain Truth*, and he is the guiding force behind the church's syndicated news-oriented television series, "The World Tomorrow," rated as one of the top religious programs in the United States.

MEDIA

Carpatho-Rusyn American.

A forum on Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic heritage.

Contact: Patricia Krafcik, Editor.

Address: Carpatho-Rusyn American, P.O. Box 192, Fairfax, Virginia 22030-0192.

Telephone: (703) 691-8585.

Fax: (703) 691-0513.

Karpatska Rus'/Carpatho-Rus'.

A Carpatho-Russian newspaper of the Lemko Association.

Contact: Alexander Herenchak, Editor.

Address: 556 Yonkers Avenue, Yonkers, New York 10704.

The New Rusyn Times.

A cultural-organizational publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Society.

Address: 125 Westland Drive, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

Telephone: (412) 682-2869; or (216) 561-9418.

Online: <http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/crs/nrt.htm>.

TREMBITA.

The newsletter of the Rusin Association.

Contact: Lawrence Goga, Editor.

Address: 1115 Pineview Lane North, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55441.

Telephone: (612) 595-9188.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Carpatho-Russian American Center.

A social and cultural center that caters primarily to Lemkos and their descendants.

Contact: John Rzyzyk, President.

Address: 556 Yonkers Avenue, Yonkers, New York 10704.

Telephone: (914) 969-3954.

Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center.

The main publishing house for materials on Carpatho-Rusyns worldwide, it also supports research projects. Publishes a quarterly on Carpatho-Rusyn heritage called *Carpatho-Rusyn American*.

Address: Box 131-B-Main Street, Orwell, Vermont 05760.

Carpatho-Rusyn Society.

Founded in April of 1994. Promotes Carpatho-Rusyn cultural activity in western Pennsylvania/eastern Ohio. Publishes bi-monthly newsletter "The New Rusyn Times."

Address: 125 Westland Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

Telephone: (412) 682-2869.

Lemko Association of U.S. and Canada.

The oldest Rusyn American cultural/social organization concerned primarily with immigrants and their descendants from the Lemko Region in Poland.

Contact: Alexander Herenchak, President.

Address: 555 Province Line Road, Box 156, Allentown, New Jersey 08501.

Telephone: (609) 758-1115.

Fax: (609) 758-7301.

Rusin Association.

Non-profit organization formed to sustain Carpatho-Rusyn culture.

Address: c/o Karen Varian, 1817 121st Avenue N.E., Blaine, Minnesota 55449.

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C HALDEAN AMERICANS

by
Mary C. Sengstock

Chaldean Americans

are a highly

religious people

proud of their

Christian heritage.

Overview

Chaldean Americans are descendants of people from the northern Tigris-Euphrates Valley, presently located in the Middle Eastern nation of Iraq. The majority of Chaldean Americans live in Detroit, Michigan, although there are also Chaldean Americans in Chicago, Illinois; El Cajon, San Jose, and Turlock, California; and Oaxaca, Mexico. It is difficult to determine the exact number of Chaldeans in the United States because they are not represented as such in the U.S. Census. According to statistical projections from previous data on the Chaldean American community, however, it is estimated that Chaldeans in the Detroit metropolitan area may number as many as 70,000 to 80,000; in California they are projected at 2,000 to 3,000 persons.

Although Chaldean Americans constitute the bulk of Iraqi immigrants living in the United States, they represent less than 10 percent of the population of Iraq. While the vast majority of Iraqis, like residents of other Arabic nations, are Muslim, Chaldeans are Roman Catholic, and practice one of the 18 to 20 separate rites of the Catholic Church. They also differ from other Iraqis in that their ancestral language is not Arabic but a dialect of Aramaic, also referred to as Chaldean, Assyrian, or Syriac. As a result of their religious and linguistic differences from other Iraqi immigrants, Chaldeans tend not to identify themselves either with Iraq or the Arab world, but prefer being called Chaldean Americans.

HISTORY

Chaldean Americans are a highly religious people proud of their Christian heritage. According to legend, they were converted to Christianity by the Apostle Thomas on one of his missionary journeys to the East. (St. Addai, an associate of Thomas, is revered as a Chaldean patron.) In the third century, they were followers of Nestorius, a patriarch of Constantinople who was declared a heretic by the Roman Church for teaching that Jesus Christ was not concurrently God and man. This division between the followers of Nestorius in the East and the Roman Church lasted until 1445, when some Chaldeans were received into the Roman Church by Pope Eugenius IV. They were permitted to retain their historic rituals and the Chaldean/Aramaic language for mass and other ceremonies. Searching for an appropriate name to call this new Catholic rite, the Pope focused on their historic homeland, which in ancient times had been the land of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans. It was also the historic homeland of the prophet Abraham, who came from Ur, a city of the Chaldeans. Hence, the Pope chose "Chaldean" as the name for the new Catholic rite.

Over 95 percent of Chaldeans in the Detroit community can trace their origin to a single town, Telkaif, which is one of several Christian towns in the northern Iraqi province of Mosul, near the ruins of the ancient city of Nineveh. Some of the earliest members of Detroit's Chaldean American community recall hearing stories from their grandparents about the conversion of their town from Nestorianism. This occurred in about 1830, when the town recognized the Roman Pontiff as the head of the Church.

MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

While Chaldeans are believed to have immigrated to the United States as early as 1889, the first significant migration wave did not occur until around 1910, when Chaldeans began settling in metropolitan Detroit. At the time, Detroit was popular among a number of immigrant groups because of the growing automobile industry. It also had an established Middle Eastern community during this period, consisting primarily of Christian immigrants from Lebanon.

In 1943 community sources listed 908 Chaldeans in the Detroit area; by 1963, this number had tripled, to about 3,000 persons. An even greater number of Iraqi citizens immigrated to the United States due to changes in U.S. immigration laws during the mid-1960s, and growth in Detroit's

Chaldean American community became even more dramatic, increasing to about 45,000 in 1986, and approximately 75,000 by 1992. (These figures are based on the statistical projections and estimates of Chaldean American community leaders.) This period also saw an increase in immigration to other parts of the country, particularly California.

The majority of Chaldean Americans left their homeland for economic and religious reasons. Telkaif in the early 1900s was a poor, non-industrialized village. Many left the town for nearby cities such as Mosul, Baghdad, Basra, or Beirut. Only later did some of them decide to migrate to the United States, or simply to North America. At the time the earliest settlers came, the United States had not yet introduced restriction on immigration, making entry relatively easy. Migration at that time was largely a male phenomenon; women and children generally stayed behind until their husbands, fathers, and brothers became established.

Chaldeans also fled their homeland to escape religious persecution from the Muslim majority in the Middle East. The combination of religious freedom, an established Lebanese Maronite community, and economic opportunity made the United States, particularly metropolitan Detroit, inviting. Once members of the Telkaif community had settled in the area, they encouraged others from their homeland to join them. Thus began an immigration process, known as "chain migration," between Telkaif and Detroit, that continues to the present.

In this process, members of a community who have already established themselves in a new location assist relatives and friends left behind to migrate as well. The assistance they provide can take many forms, including the provision of jobs, a place to stay, or, at the very least, information and advisement. Close relatives may even provide money for passage. In a typical chain, a man migrates first; later he sends home for his wife and children, or if he is not married, he may return to find a bride. As he and his wife become citizens, they arrange for the migration of their parents and siblings as well. And these, in turn, arrange to assist their spouses, in-laws, and other relatives.

This type of assistance became especially important in the 1920s, after the passage of U.S. quota limitations on migration. Under quota restrictions, only 100 immigrants from Iraq were allowed to enter the United States each year. These quotas reinforced the chain migration process by giving preference to the families of persons already in America, under the assumption that such persons would have assistance in the United States and were less likely to become indigent and require public assistance.

Migration of all types largely ceased during World War II when travel became difficult. It commenced again following the war, particularly with the introduction of the student visa, which allowed migrants to enter the United States for educational purposes, on the assumption that they would return home following their training. Many Chaldean Americans entered as students and later married members of the community, thus allowing them to remain in the country.

The 1968 change in U.S. migration law allowed for a significantly larger number of immigrants from Iraq, and the migration of Chaldeans increased substantially. A steady stream of Chaldean immigrants came to the United States, until the onset of the Gulf War when the United States placed restrictions on immigration from Iraq.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The steady rate of Chaldean migration has had a profound effect on the assimilation of Chaldeans in American society because it has provided a constant influx of Chaldean culture. However, many changes have taken place in Iraq since the first Chaldean settlers came to the United States, which, in turn, has greatly altered Chaldean American communities.

Like most ethnic groups, Chaldean Americans have also been affected by cultural differences between the immigrant generation and their children and grandchildren born in the United States. Chaldean Americans reared in the United States are more comfortable speaking English than the language of their parents. They attend school with non-Chaldeans, watch television, and adopt an American lifestyle.

Recent Chaldean immigrants were more likely to have been born and reared in one of modern Iraq's major cities, such as Baghdad, Mosul, or Basra. They are better educated and many have attended college or professional schools. The two groups differ socio-economically as well; many of the earlier immigrants, and their children born in the United States, have prospered and moved into more affluent suburbs, while more recent immigrants, despite their educational background and general understanding of the English language, struggle among the nation's poor. Yet perhaps the most dramatic difference between older and newer Chaldean immigrant groups is language. Since World War II, Iraq has taught Arabic, the national language, in schools throughout the country. As a result, the Chaldean/Aramaic language

of early immigrants has largely been replaced by the Arabic tongue of the newcomers. In fact, few immigrants know Chaldean at all.

Chaldean Americans are often mistaken for other ethnic groups in the United States, specifically Arab Americans. Like Arab Americans, Chaldeans tend to have large families, own independent businesses such as grocery or party stores and gas stations, and they even share some foods. On a deeper level, however, there are important distinctions between the two immigrant groups. The large patriarchal families of Muslim Arabs have traditionally allowed a man to take multiple wives, a pattern forbidden for centuries in the Christian tradition. Chaldeans also contend that women are accorded a higher place in their social structure than in the Arabic tradition. In the Chaldean community, many young women are encouraged to attain higher education. Even in the area of food there are important distinctions; Arabs do not consume alcohol and pork, which are forbidden in the Muslim faith. Chaldeans have no such restrictions. Many of these distinctions clearly flow from religious differences, but they are important distinctions in their own right.

LANGUAGE

Most modern-day immigrants speak Arabic, the dominant language of the Iraqi nation, but the earliest Chaldean immigrants spoke only Chaldean, which they also call "Jesus language," since it is believed to be the language that Jesus Christ spoke during his life. Some Chaldeans resent the fact that they were forced to learn Arabic in Iraqi schools. Inquiring which language Chaldean American children should learn usually provokes a debate. Practical thinkers consider the Arabic language more useful in today's world. More nostalgic individuals assert the importance of learning their original tongue. Hence, while most Chaldean Americans speak Arabic, they do not necessarily take pride in it.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The Chaldean American family is not limited to the nuclear family of husband, wife, and children. Rather, it includes grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Indeed, Chaldeans are quick to point out that their shared ancestry means that everyone is at least distantly related to everyone else. Family names are recognized by everyone and

enable members of the community to place everybody in relation to everyone else. Therefore, a Chaldean's family ties constitute a major source of identity within the community.

Chaldeans tend to have large families, in keeping with Catholic tradition. In the past, the number of children per couple averaged from five to six, with some couples having as many as 12 or 15 children. This number has decreased with second and third generations, but Chaldean families continue to be somewhat larger than the national average.

Ties to one's extended family are close and involved. Visiting between a married couple and the parents and siblings of both husband and wife are frequent, occurring at least several times each week, even daily. Extended Chaldean American families also perform numerous functions together, such as cooking, child care, or cleaning. Cooking and eating together several times each week is common. Child care is often shared by sisters, sisters-in-law, or grandmothers. Yard work for older relatives may be managed by younger members of the extended family.

Because of the importance given to family and community, Chaldeans prefer to have their children be endogamous, or marry within the community, as occurred in Telkaif. In the United States, many Chaldeans marry someone from outside the community, but the rate of endogamy continues to be high. Even those who marry non-Chaldeans (exogamy) usually remain close to their parents and siblings. Among Chaldeans, most exogamous marriages bring an outsider into the community, rather than resulting in the loss of a member.

Chaldean families exercise great influence over the individual. One example of this is the expectation that family preferences will be considered in the choice of a spouse. Chaldeans are also expected to open their homes to other members of the family, should that be necessary. This means that young people are expected to welcome their elderly parents or a visiting relative from Iraq into their homes, for periods which may last from a few weeks to several months or even years.

In its initial years, the Chaldean American community was a small and highly unified group. All but one or two families could trace their origin to the town of Telkaif; all were interrelated; and marriages were frequently arranged within the community or with persons in the original town. Moreover, they spoke a common language, Chaldean/Aramaic, which they shared with few other Americans. Common interests in the Church and a community economic system also served to draw the members into a closely knit unit.

Over the past eight decades, however, significant changes have occurred in the Chaldean American community. What was, in 1960, a community of about 3,000 members has multiplied to nearly 25 times that size. Differences and divisions are inevitable. Many such divisions arise from the varying places of birth among Chaldeans. While early Chaldean immigrants were born in small, rural communities, more recent groups are from Iraq's large, industrialized cities. Moreover, many Chaldeans were born in the United States and are therefore heavily influenced by American culture. Other problems arise from economic wealth. Many established Chaldean families have obtained significant wealth in the United States. Several more recent immigrants, however, struggle well below the poverty level. Language too, tends to divide Chaldean American communities. Early immigrants maintain their ancestral Chaldean/Aramaic language, but more recent immigrants speak Arabic. At the same time, numerous American-born Chaldeans favor English. Such differences have torn communities, and even families apart. Nonetheless, Chaldean Americans remain somewhat unified by their common heritage and Catholic faith. Jobs, income, and other needs of recent immigrants are paramount in community priorities. Also, problems of the homeland, such as Iraq's recent wars, first with Iran and then with the United States, assume a prominent role in community concerns.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHERS

Many Americans have difficulty distinguishing Chaldean Americans from other American ethnic groups, particularly Arab Americans and Iraqi Americans, much to the dismay of the members of these groups, who are quite aware of the differences among them. While they share similar physical traits, they differ linguistically, culturally, and most importantly, in terms of religion. During the early years of the twentieth century, a period about which many Chaldeans have heard from their parents and grandparents, Arabic-speaking Muslims were abusive oppressors of Christians in the area in which Telkaif was located. Many Chaldeans have negative memories of treatment by Iraqis as well. In fact, from a political standpoint, many Chaldeans are more supportive of Israel than Arab countries in the Middle East.

Many Chaldean Americans remain resentful of their constant identification with the Arab American community. Most simply reassert their identity as Chaldeans. Others, however, have attempted to develop links with groups that share their religious, linguistic, and cultural heritage,

though not necessarily their Roman Catholic faith. Chaldeans who follow this tactic have attempted to link with other groups sharing the Aramaic language and the historic tie to the Assyrian or Babylonian heritage. Examples are Nestorian Christians in the Chicago Area, and a community of Assyrian Christians of several denominations, including Chaldean Catholics, living in Turlock, California.

For a variety of reasons, however, most Chaldean Americans have not embraced this identity. Perhaps the most important reason is the salience of the Roman Catholic faith for so many Chaldeans. For them it is preferable to relinquish the Chaldean identity for the dominant Roman Catholic designation, rather than exchange their religious tie for a linguistic one.

A more consequential factor, however, may lie in the size of the Chaldean American community in the Detroit area. Chaldean Americans do not need to find another group with which to link themselves. With over 70,000 of their background in a relatively limited geographic area, they are able to find many others who share not only a general but a very specific historic, linguistic, religious, and ancestral heritage. As the major concentration of Chaldeans in the United States, they need look no further than each other for a meaningful ethnic identity.

The media has recorded many cultural clashes between blacks and Chaldeans in the United States, which have resulted from Chaldean Americans operating stores in fundamentally urban, African American communities. The large grocery chains have found these areas unprofitable and have largely abandoned them, but they can be quite profitable when run as an extended family business. Many blacks feel that these stores overcharge, only hire Chaldeans, and neglect to reinvest into the community. The high prices usually result from having to make purchases in smaller quantities. Chaldeans also hire members of their own ethnic group because they are usually family members who demand less income. Some improvements have been made, however, as many Chaldean stores are increasingly hiring more African Americans, thus contributing to the community.

RELIGION

Religion is of such importance in the Chaldean community that their name and identity derives from it. As full members of the Roman Catholic Church, Chaldeans follow the same rules and hold

the same beliefs as other Catholics. However, they have their own leader, or patriarch, and the rituals used in their mass and other ceremonies are quite different from those practiced in the Western Church. Originally, they conducted services in the historic Chaldean/Aramaic language, but many services are now conducted in Arabic. Occasionally, masses are given in English for American-born persons of Chaldean ancestry.

The first Chaldean Church in the United States was founded in 1947 in Detroit. It was named "Mother of God," thus reaffirming the Chaldean split with their Nestorian heritage and their unity with Catholicism. More recently, the Church moved to Southfield, Michigan and was elevated to the status of a cathedral (Our Lady of Chaldeans Cathedral) when the Chaldean diocese of the United States was formed under the leadership of Chaldean Bishop Ibrahim Ibrahim. Prior to 1947, Chaldean immigrants usually attended services at Western rite Catholic Churches. For special events, such as weddings and holidays, many Chaldeans attended services at Lebanese Catholic Churches (of the Moronite Eastern rite), which share more in common with the Chaldean Church than Western rite Churches.

Chaldean children often attend Western rite Catholic Schools because the Chaldean rite does not offer such schools. This often requires parents to support two parishes, their own Chaldean church and the parish in which their children attend school. However, many children also attend special instruction in their own rite at the Chaldean Church.

According to Roman Catholic rules, members of the Catholic Church are expected to attend services and receive sacraments in their appropriate rite whenever possible. In practice, however, Catholics attend services at whichever Catholic Church is most convenient. Moreover, many priests of the Western rite can usually be persuaded to perform special ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals. Consequently, many Chaldeans have found it more convenient to attend Western rite Catholic Churches, especially in areas where there is a small Chaldean population. As a result, many second and third generation Chaldean Americans are likely to prefer the more "American" services of Western Catholic Churches. Nonetheless, Chaldean Churches remains important for recent immigrants, for whom the Arabic language and the familiar rituals are still meaningful.

The Chaldean Church has also served as the center of community social life for the bulk of its existence. In addition to weddings, funerals, and baptisms, the Church offers special ceremonies for

Chaldean children who received First Communion during the year and, in recent years, a graduation ceremony each spring honoring all Chaldean young people who graduated from high school or college during the year. Sunday services provide an opportunity for members of the community to meet one another and exchange greetings and gossip. The church is also responsible for the formation of numerous organizations serving the community, including parish councils, family clubs, a men's club, a women's group, a business association, and youth groups.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Chaldean Americans have traditionally owned and operated their own businesses, primarily grocery stores. As early as 1923, when only seven Chaldean men lived in the Detroit area, there were four Chaldean-owned stores. In the 1980s, it was estimated that over 1,000 Chaldean-owned grocery stores were located in Detroit and its environs. Because the grocery industry has become saturated, however, many Chaldean Americans have moved into related areas. Newer immigrants often own party stores and gas stations. Immigrants who have been here many years, or their children and grandchildren, have moved into fields which serve the retail grocery trade, including wholesale food supply, marketing and maintenance of store fixtures (such as refrigeration equipment, freezers, burglar alarms), commercial real estate, business financing, and so on.

These are largely family-owned businesses. In some instances two stores owned by close relatives may work together in joint buying or advertising projects, but, for the most part, the stores are operated independently. These independent businesses are of extreme importance in the community as most family members assist in the family enterprise—even small children or immigrants who lack knowledge of English can make deliveries or stock shelves. This makes it unnecessary to hire other employees and helps to control business expenses. It also allows the family to assist other immigrants, who can be employed in the family business as soon as they arrive from the country of origin.

The role of these independent businesses in the welfare of the family and the growth of the ethnic community illustrates the influence of family over the individual. If the family store is to serve the purpose of assisting immigrants from the country of origin, then the family must be able to depend upon its members to play their role in its development. It

cannot afford to have its most competent young people move into other lines of work. Consequently, many young Chaldeans who might have preferred other occupations were drawn into the grocery business. Most accepted this responsibility with little sense of loss, so great is the influence of the Chaldean family over its members.

This pattern has changed somewhat as the second and third generations born in America have moved into different occupations. Many Chaldean Americans have joined such professions as medicine, dentistry, law, accounting, and teaching, to name a few. Some immigrants also come to this country with skills in other occupational areas. However, grocery stores continue to serve as a major meeting place for members of the community and concerns about the grocery business remain a major topic of conversation among Chaldean Americans. The time schedules of these stores also exert influence over community activities. For example, weddings, family gatherings, and Church activities tend to occur late in the evening in order to accommodate the late closing hour of most grocery and party stores.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

An established community, Chaldean Americans actively participate in local, state, and federal government by keeping abreast of government activity and voting regularly. They are also quite interested in events taking place in their homeland.

EFFECTS OF THE GULF WAR

The most dramatic event to affect Chaldean Americans in some time occurred in 1991 and 1992, when hostilities broke out between Iraq and the United States. As the only major concentration of Iraqi immigrants in the United States, Chaldean Americans received a great deal of attention from the press, the military, and the general public. Reporters from throughout the world sought to interview community leaders concerning their views. Military representatives worried about the degree to which local Chaldeans might be security threats. Moreover, rumors spread that Chaldean Americans would be incarcerated in a camp in Louisiana as was done with the Japanese during the Second World War. Since Chaldean Americans and Arab Americans are linked together in the public mind, both were subjected to harassment by the general public, who saw them as local representatives of a hostile foreign power—in spite of the fact that many Arab Americans immigrated from nations which were U.S. allies during the Gulf War.

For Chaldean Americans, who view themselves as committed Americans and do not identify strongly with either Iraq or the Arab World, the experience was distressing. The Gulf War was, in a real sense, a battle of brother against brother, since many families had sons in both the U.S. and Iraqi armies. Nearly all Chaldean Americans have relatives in Iraq; most had to wait weeks or months to learn whether they were safe. In particular, they were shocked by the carnival-type atmosphere of the war. The American public watched news reports of the hostilities like a sports event, and spoke of it in similar terms. Most distressing to Chaldean Americans, however, was the public's continued perception of their alliance with Arab Americans.

As a result of American resentment over the Gulf War, immigration from Iraq has slowed. The continuing difficulties between the two nations are a problem for Chaldean Americans who must worry about loved ones in their ancestral homeland and face discrimination in their adopted homeland.

MEDIA

PRINT

Arrafideyn Newspaper.

Contact: Abdulk Halik Alfalah, Editor.

Address: 19204 Woodward, Detroit,
Michigan 48203.

Telephone: (313) 893-3521.

Chaldean Detroit Times.

Contact: Amir Denha, Publisher and Editor.

Address: 17135 West 10 Mile Road, Southfield,
Michigan 48075-2933.

Telephone: (810) 552-1989.

Fax: (810) 552-9688.

Chaldean Voice Weekly Bulletin.

Contact: Father Manuel Boji.

Address: 25585 Berg Road, Southfield,
Michigan 48034.

Telephone: (810) 356-0565.

RADIO

Chaldean Voice.

Weekly radio program providing music, entertainment, and coverage of religious, cultural, and social issues. Part of the Chaldean Communications Network.

Address: 25585 Berg Road, Southfield, Michigan.

Telephone: (248) 353-1083.

Fax: (248) 353-1290.

E-mail: ccn@chaldeanvoice.org.

Online: <http://www.chaldeanvoice.org>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Arab American & Chaldean Communities

Social Council.

Contact: Haifa Fakhouri, Director.

Address: 28551 Southfield Road, Suite 204,
Lathrup Village, Michigan 48076.

Telephone: (248) 559-1990.

Fax: (248) 559-9117.

Chaldean Federation of America.

Functions as an umbrella organization for most Chaldean American groups.

Contact: Sam Yano, Chairman; or Kam Kewson,
Director.

Address: 18470 West 10 Mile Road, Southfield,
Michigan 48075.

Telephone: (248) 557-2362.

Chaldean National Congress.

Address: 29732 Spring Hill Drive, Southfield
Michigan 48076.

Telephone: (248) 552-8822.

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The process of
acculturation began
early for the Chero-
kees with the intro-
duction of European
trade goods in 1673.

CHEROKEES

by

Robert J. Conley

OVERVIEW

The Cherokee Nation today occupies all or part of 14 counties of what is now the northeastern portion of the state of Oklahoma. Not considered a reservation, the land falls under what has been called “a checkerboard jurisdiction,” with one farm or acreage falling under tribal jurisdiction while its neighbor is under that of the state. A second and separate federally recognized tribal government for Cherokees, the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokees in Oklahoma, exists in the same area. There is also a Cherokee reservation in North Carolina for the Eastern Band of Cherokees. In addition to the three federally recognized Cherokee governments, there are numerous groups throughout the United States who claim to be Cherokee bands or tribes. Although the Cherokee people today are divided geographically, culturally, and politically, about 165,000 are registered citizens of the Cherokee Nation. There are also thousands of individuals claiming Cherokee ancestry who are not associated with any group. The 1990 U.S. Census reported 369,000 people who identified themselves as Cherokee, up from 232,000 in 1980.

HISTORY

The word Cherokee is believed to have evolved from a Choctaw word meaning “Cave People.” It was picked up and used by Europeans and eventual-

ly accepted and adopted by Cherokees in the form of *Tsalagi* or *Jalagi*. Traditionally, the people now known as Cherokee refer to themselves as *ani-yun-wiya*, a name usually translated as “the Real People,” sometimes “the Original People.” Earliest historical data locates the Cherokees in a vast area of what is now the southeastern United States, with about 200 towns scattered throughout the present states of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. Cherokee oral tradition tells of a time when the Cherokees were ruled over by a powerful priesthood called the *ani-Kutani*. When the priests took away a young man’s wife, he organized a revolt and all the priests were killed. Since then, according to the tale, the Cherokees have had a democratic government.

The Cherokees’ first experience with the invading white man was almost certainly a brief encounter with the deadly expeditionary force of Spanish explorer Hernando DeSoto in 1540. English colonial traders began to appear among the Cherokees around 1673. Such interactions produced some mixed marriages, usually between a white trader and a Cherokee woman.

Three events mark Cherokee history during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: war with the colonists (beginning in 1711); epidemics of European disease (primarily smallpox); and the continual cession of land (beginning in 1775). The Cherokees were forced to sign one treaty after another with the new United States government, each one giving away more land to the new nation. As early as 1803, President Thomas Jefferson planned to move all eastern Indians to a location west of the Mississippi River, and signed an agreement with the state of Georgia promising to accomplish that deed as soon as possible. Andrew Jackson actually set the so-called “Removal Process” in motion. In the meantime the government had been doing everything in its power to convince Cherokees to move west voluntarily, and the first to do so were the faction known as Chickamaugans. Other migrations followed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The vast majority of the Cherokees, however, remained in their ancestral homelands. In 1835 the United States Congress passed the Removal Act. The Cherokee Nation, by this time under the administration of Principal Chief John Ross, refused to recognize the validity or the legality of the Removal Act, and challenged it in court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cherokee Nation. President Jackson is reported to have said, “Justice Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it.” Jackson then sent negotiators into



This young Cherokee woman demonstrates a method of fishing using a stick.

the Cherokee Nation to secure a treaty whereby they would give up all of their land in the east for land out west. Since the government of the Cherokee Nation refused to negotiate, other Cherokees signed the treaty without authorization. The United States called the treaty a legal document and proceeded to force the Cherokees to live up to its terms.

Jackson ordered the U.S. Army to forcibly remove the Cherokees from their homelands in 1838. People were taken out of their homes and herded like cattle into stockades to await removal. Conditions were crowded and unsanitary, and many died in these prisons. The forced march began later that same year. Approximately 20,000 Cherokees were marched west over what would soon be known as the “Trail of Tears.” Along the way, approximately 4,000 people died. A few managed to escape by hiding out in the mountains. In the west, the Cherokee divided into two major factions. The Cherokees who had signed the removal treaty and all of their friends, allies, and associates had become known as the Treaty Party. They had moved west voluntarily in 1835 after having signed the treaty. The followers of Chief John Ross, who had suffered the forced removal, were known as the Ross Party. These two factions started a civil war that lasted until 1843. At the end of this domestic strife the Cherokees started over and rebuilt their nation. Tahlequah was established as the capital city. They built new homes, schools, and churches, and even though they had a treaty with the United States, which promised that they would be left alone, that was not to be.

The Cherokee Nation was dragged into the white man's Civil War. Chief John Ross begged the United States to send troops to protect its neutrality as promised in the treaty, but the troops never came. Under pressure from former Treaty Party members turned Confederate Cherokees, Ross was forced to sign a treaty with the Confederacy. Following the Civil War, the United States used that treaty as an excuse to punish the Cherokee Nation, forcing it to sign yet another treaty and to give up more land. Certain governmental powers were also taken away from the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation, along with the Choctaw Nation, the Chickasaw Nation, the Creek Nation, and the Seminole Nation were organized into "Indian Territory."

Over the next half century, the powers of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes that made up the Indian Territory were further eroded by the United States. In 1907, against the wishes of nearly all of the traditional full-blood people of all five tribes, Indian Territory was combined with Oklahoma Territory to its west to form the new state of Oklahoma.

From the beginning, the United States had no intention of dealing with Indians in the new state. The tribal governments were all but abolished and likely would have been but for the complications of transferring land titles. The president of the United States began appointing chiefs for the five tribes when the government had need of a signature to make the transfers legal. Several appointments were made only long enough to obtain the desired signature and these appointees became known as "Chiefs for a day."

MODERN ERA

In 1973, President Richard Nixon indicated that the Cherokees had the right to vote, revitalizing the Cherokee Nation. However, this created the uncomfortable situation of having two Cherokee (the other, the United Keetoowan Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, was founded in the 1950s) governments in the same location, with the same jurisdiction, and basically the same constituency. A conflict over political issues developed, with both sides claiming to be the only legal government for Cherokees in Oklahoma. Since then, the Cherokee Nation has grown and prospered, making its most impressive strides under the leadership of Principal Chief Wilma P. Mankiller (1945-). Mankiller served as principal chief from 1987 to 1995. Joe Byrd succeeded Mankiller, but allegations of corruption and abuse of power plagued his four year term. In 1999, Cherokee voters elected Chad Smith principal chief in 1999.

The Cherokee Nation today operates under a new constitution ratified by Cherokee voters in 1976. The three-branch government is composed of a chief executive called the principal chief, a legislature called the Tribal Council, and a judicial branch called a tribunal made up of three tribal justices. From its humble condition in the 1970s, the Cherokee Nation has grown to massive proportions, employing 1,300 people, 85 percent of whom are Cherokees with a \$1.6 million monthly payroll.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The process of acculturation began early for the Cherokees with the introduction of European trade goods in 1673. Steel pots and knives, tomahawks, glass beads, manufactured cloth, guns, and gunpowder gradually replaced traditional products of native manufacture. Trade with Europeans also changed hunting practices, calling for large numbers of pelts and quickly endangering the population of many game animals. Clothing styles changed.

Intermarriage with whites and blacks caused a drastic change in family structure for many Cherokees. The Cherokees have a matrilineal clan structure, a family in which descent is traced through the female line. This type of family structure was undermined by the insistence of white males to be considered heads of households, and to pass along their own surnames to their offspring. They were supported in this by the efforts of the missionaries.

When pressure for removal became intense in the 1820s and 1830s, a significant portion of the Cherokees, believing that their white neighbors wanted them removed because they were "savage," began a conscious effort to make themselves over and become "civilized." Part of this "civilizing" effort was an effort to eliminate illiteracy. To help accomplish this, the Cherokee Sequoyah developed a written language or syllabary, in 1821. The Cherokee also hired teachers from universities in the northeast and invited missionaries to come into the Cherokee country and teach and preach. These people became known as "Progressives," and their efforts, combined with the acculturation and assimilation process that had begun in 1673, accelerated and was tremendously successful in changing lifestyles.

The changes that occurred because of this effort were so pervasive that, following the Trail of Tears, with removal pressures no longer a factor, the Cherokees continued their new ways. In the West, they built homes more or less like the homes of white men. They built churches, divided the new country into voting districts, and wrote a new constitution.



The Cherokee tradition involves participation in rituals and celebrations at a young age.

Many Cherokees became farmers, ranchers, merchants, bankers, and lawyers. In many ways, the Cherokee Nation mirrored the larger United States. Some have said that the Cherokee Nation imitated the United States and then improved on it. The largest single item on the national budget was education. Cherokee legislators could not vote themselves a raise. The Cherokee Nation established the first free, compulsory public school system, established the first institution of higher learning west of the Mississippi River, and installed the first telephone west of the Mississippi. So successful was the Cherokee Nation and impressive were its accomplishments along these lines, that people have been heard to say that “the Cherokees all became white,” or “everybody in Oklahoma is part Indian, usually Cherokee.” Yet, age-old Cherokee beliefs and customs survived in traditional full-blood communities in remote locations in the Midwest and Southeast almost completely unknown to the outside world.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Some Cherokees today are almost indistinguishable from white people, and their customs, habits, and

beliefs reflect those of mainstream America. But traditional Cherokees gather at various “stomp grounds,” which are consecrated, ceremonial grounds. Each ground has its own set of religious leaders. The ceremony performed there is a series of dances, done in a counter-clockwise direction around the sacred fire all night long. Attendance at the stomp grounds declined for many years, but since the 1970s it seems to have been increasing. Although stomp dancers were very secretive for years, there are now some groups who perform publicly to educate the general population, Cherokee and others, regarding traditional Cherokee ways and beliefs.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Because of the long history of intermarriage, and because of the nature of the division of land in eastern Oklahoma, Cherokees have long been used to interacting with non-Cherokees. In fact, Cherokees always seem to have been willing to accept outsiders into their ranks, some might say, too willingly. Tahlequah, for example, appears to have a large

white population, but much of that population consists of old mixed-blood families, and many of them are officially tribal members. There are also Indians from other tribes who have moved into Tahlequah: Creeks, Kiowas, Osages, and even Navajos. Some of that is the result of intermarriage, some is not. There is a significant Hispanic population in Tahlequah today, and a small black population. Both of these groups have had trouble fitting in. They have not been readily accepted by the Cherokees, full- or mixed-blood, nor by the local whites, although there is seldom any overt racism displayed.

Cherokee interaction with blacks dates back to the late 1700s and early 1800s. In an attempt to adapt to white lifestyles, many Cherokees became affluent southern plantation slave owners, although others were intensely anti-slavery. According to historical author Jim Stebinger, Cherokees held an estimated 1,600 black slaves. In contrast to white plantation owners, Cherokee plantation owners worked alongside their slaves and interracial marriage was permitted. However, full-blooded Cherokees, blacks and whites, often shunned those who intermarried.

EDUCATION

Before Oklahoma statehood took over or closed down almost all of its institutions, the Cherokee Nation had its own school system. The Cherokee Nation had produced more college graduates than its neighboring states of Arkansas and Texas combined. Oklahoma statehood and the state's public school system changed all that. According to the 1970 census, the average adult Cherokee had only five and one-half years of school. Fewer than 70 years of Oklahoma public schools had been devastating for Cherokees. Up until very recent times, Cherokee students, upon being enrolled in the first grade, were automatically placed in slow-learner classrooms. Cherokee high school students were not encouraged to apply for college and were not taken on trips with the white students to visit college campuses. Some Cherokee students attended government boarding schools for Indians, but the majority were in public schools.

Since the revitalization of the Cherokee Nation, there has been gradual, steady improvement in the area of education. Programs have been instituted in the public schools for Cherokee students because of pressures from the Cherokee Nation and because of the availability of federal funds for such programs. The Cherokee Nation has taken over Sequoyah High School, a former federally run boarding school, and is operating it for Indi-

an students in Tahlequah. The Cherokee Nation also has established a complete pre-school program for Cherokee children from age three until they are ready to enter the first grade. There is also a Cherokee Nation higher education program to assist Cherokees in attending college. Many of the public schools that formerly discouraged Cherokee students now have Cherokee teachers, counselors, administrators, and other personnel on their staffs. Most Cherokees still attend public schools (several of which have up to 90 percent Cherokee enrollment), but over the last 20 years or so, the situation there for Cherokees has greatly improved.

CUISINE

Cherokees were traditionally an agrarian people, maintaining a town garden and individual garden plots. The women did most of the tending of crops, but then the women owned the gardens and the homes. They planted a wide variety of beans, pumpkins, squash, and corn. In addition to the growing of crops, women gathered many wild plants for food, including wild onions and greens, mushrooms, berries, grapes, and nuts.

Deer was the main animal hunted for meat, but bear, buffalo, elk, squirrel, rabbit, opossum, and other animals were also killed for food. Early on, the Cherokees began raising cattle, hogs, chickens, and other domesticated animals acquired from Europeans. The contemporary Cherokee diet is not that much different from that of the general population of the United States, although at special gatherings one will find wild onions and eggs, bean bread, fry bread, grape dumplings, and possibly fried crawdads (crayfish). A special treat is *kanuche*, made by pounding whole hickory nuts, boiling them in water and straining the hulls out, resulting in a rich broth. *Kanuche* may be mixed with hominy, corn, or rice.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Cherokee men once wore only a breechcloth and moccasins in warm weather. In colder weather they added leggings and a fringed hunting jacket. Chiefs and priests wore long, full cloaks made of feathers and feather caps (not the traditional and popular plains Indian headdress). The men shaved their heads, leaving a topknot (sometimes called a scalplock), which they allowed to grow long, and often their bodies and faces were tattooed. In warm weather women wore only a short skirt and added a poncho-like top during the winter. Styles changed in the early nineteenth century as a result of trade with Europeans. Women began to make and wear

long dresses and blouses of manufactured trade cloth, and men began wearing shirts and jackets of cloth. They also added colorful turbans. By the 1880s, most of that distinctive clothing had been abandoned and Cherokees dressed mostly like frontier whites.

Today, for special occasions, some Cherokee men will don ribbon shirts, a contemporary pan-Indian item. A few may even dress up in hunting jackets and turbans. Women may wear traditional “tear dresses,” so named because the pattern calls for tearing the fabric along straight lines rather than cutting with scissors.

DANCES AND SONGS

The stomp dance, which has already been discussed, is a religious activity. No Cherokee social dances have survived, but some Cherokees have joined in the pan-Indian practice of powwow dancing. When Cherokee singing is announced, it is almost always gospel singing in the Cherokee language. It is possible today, though, to hear stomp dance songs sung without actually attending a stomp dance. At least one old Cherokee lullaby has survived. Barbara McAlester, a Cherokee opera singer, sometimes performs it as part of her concerts.

HOLIDAYS

Traditionally, certain ceremonies were performed at specific times of the year, and they included songs and dances. The largest of these was the Green Corn Dance, celebrating the beginning of spring. Today, the Cherokee Nation observes one annual holiday on September 6, which marks the anniversary of the adoption of the new constitution following the Trail of Tears. It reunited those Cherokees who had moved west on their own before the Trail of Tears with the main body of the Cherokees under the administration of Chief John Ross. For convenience, this holiday is celebrated over the Labor Day weekend in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and is attended each year by thousands of people from all over the world. Activities include a parade through downtown Tahlequah, a state of the nation address by the principal chief, traditional games, concerts, and arts and crafts shows.

HEALTH ISSUES

A traditional Cherokee says that there was a time long ago when there was no disease in the world. Then human beings developed weapons. When the Cherokee got these new weapons, bows and arrows

especially, they were able to kill many more animals than before. One day the animals called a council to discuss this problem. They all agreed that the people had to kill animals in order to obtain food for their survival but they also agreed that the Cherokees were killing too many animals too casually. They decided that a hunter should have to take his killing more seriously. He should pray, fast, and go through a prescribed ritual. He should kill only what he needed and then apologize to the spirit of the slain animal. If a hunter failed to show the proper respect and neglected to do any of these prescribed things, the animal spirits would strike him with some dreadful disease. Some of the diseases the animals came up with were so horrible that the plants, having overheard the council, each decided to provide a cure for one of the specific diseases that the animals had proposed.

Traditional Cherokee healers, like those of other American Indian tribes, have always been expert at the medicinal use of plants. But a traditional Cherokee cure almost always involves more than just the use of the plant medicine. It involves the ritualistic use of words and sometimes specific actions. Many traditional Cherokees still go to these Indian doctors to cure their ills.

With the arrival of Europeans came European diseases that the Cherokee doctors did not know how to cure. A belief developed that it takes a white doctor to cure a white man's disease. Missionaries, school systems, government programs, and intermarriage also undermined Indian beliefs. Many Cherokees began to depend for health care, either exclusively or in part, on white doctors.

For many years, the health of American Indians was in the hands of the United States government through its Indian Health Service (IHS). In recent years, however, tribes have begun contracting with the IHS to administer these services themselves. There are still two IHS hospitals in the Cherokee Nation, one in Claremore, Oklahoma, and one in Tahlequah. In addition, the Cherokee Nation has its own health division, which operates five rural health clinics and a number of other health programs.

Cherokees, like other American Indians, generally face the same health problems as anyone else. Cherokees have a high occurrence of diabetes, perhaps as a result of dietary habits fostered by outside influences such as government boarding schools and the government's food distribution program for Indians. Other major health problems for the Cherokee are high rates of alcoholism, suicide, obesity, and childhood injuries. Many Cherokee leaders believe alcoholism is the primary problem facing the tribe,

and that it directly impacts other issues, including health, unemployment, poverty, and crime.

LANGUAGE

The Cherokee language belongs to the Iroquoian family of languages and is therefore related to Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Tuscarora, among others. It is a complex and difficult language; in his *Cherokee-English Dictionary*, for example, Durbin Feeling lists 126 forms of a single verb. Cherokee has been a written language at least since 1821, when Sequoyah (c. 1770-1843), a Cherokee, produced a syllabary for that purpose. (A syllabary is a writing system in which each symbol stands for an entire syllable. In the Cherokee syllabary, for instance, the symbol “A” stands for the sound “go.”) Although Sequoyah is credited with inventing the syllabary, some Cherokees have taken exception with that claim, maintaining that the syllabary is an ancient Cherokee writing system which was kept secret until Sequoyah decided to make it public. Soon afterward, almost the entire Cherokee population became literate, and in 1828, the Nation began publishing a bilingual newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Today, the Cherokee language is still in wide use. It is used in the Indian churches and at the stomp grounds, and many children still grow up with Cherokee as their first language, learning English when they go to school. Bilingual education programs in the public schools also encourage continued use of the language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Osiyo or ‘*siyo* is usually translated as “hello” and it may be followed by *Tohiju?*-How are you? (Are you well?). One response is *tohigwu*-I am well. *Wado* is “thank you.” *Howa* means all right, or okay. “Man” is *asgaya*; “boy” is *achuja*. “Woman” is *agehyuh* and “girl,” *agehyuja*. “Cherokee Nation” is translated as *Chalagih* *Ayehli* (or *Jalagih* *Ayehli*), using the “Cherokeeized” version of the word *Cherokee* (with the place ending “*hi*”) and the versatile word *ayehli*, which can mean “center,” “soul,” or “nation.”

RELIGION

The ancient Cherokee belief system described a world that was flat and floating on water. This is the world that we live on. Above it is a Sky Vault made of stone, which might be pictured as a bowl turned upside down over a saucer. The original life forms,

all spirit beings, and the souls of the departed live on top of the Sky Vault. Life up there is like that down here.

There is a world underneath the one we inhabit. It is the opposite of this one. When it is winter on earth, it is summer down there. When it is night here, it is daytime there. There are also many powerful and potentially destructive spirit forces below.

It would be a mistake to see these two Cherokee spirit worlds as heaven and hell. They are not defined as good and evil, although the one below is seen as tremendously chaotic. They are thought of simply as being opposed to one another. We live our lives between them in a constant state of precarious balance. Because of this dangerous situation, the most important aspect of life in this traditional Cherokee view is to maintain balance and harmony. Almost all old habits, rituals, and ceremonies are designed and practiced to that end. The world is seen as existing in pairs of opposites: light and dark; day and night; summer and winter; male and female; earth and sky; fire and water. All things must be kept in their proper place and in balance with their opposites. A mixture of opposites results in pollution and to avoid disaster, they must be followed by some sort of cleansing ceremony.

If the Cherokees are Christian, they might be Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, or any other Christian denomination. Among the more traditional Cherokees is a large group of Cherokee Baptists. Cherokee Baptists attend what are called “Indian churches,” in which they make use of a Cherokee-language New Testament and a Cherokee-language hymnal. Services are conducted in the Cherokee language. In fact, the Cherokee Baptist church has been credited with saving the Cherokee language from extinction, and although the truth of that claim is subject to debate, certainly the church has played a significant role in that area. Very often, when Cherokees talk about traditional people, they are talking about Cherokee Baptists.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

This discussion will focus on the more traditional Cherokees, those who live in Cherokee communities and are visibly Indian. Employment opportunities are limited for these people because they tend to stay at home. They would rather be around their families and friends and remain a part of their community than seek better opportunities elsewhere. For these Cherokees, unemployment figures are high. Major employers in the area are large nurseries in

Cherokee County, Oklahoma, and large chicken processing plants in Arkansas. The Cherokee Nation also has become a major employer in the area. But there still are not enough jobs to go around. Low-income people living in rural areas often lack dependable transportation, so even if they can secure jobs, they may not be able to hold on to them. U.S. Census figures show Cherokees had a median family income of \$24,907 in 1989, high compared to other Native American tribes, but \$10,000 less than the national average. Also, 22 percent of Cherokees live at or below the poverty level.

The Cherokee Nation offers job training programs, but once an individual is trained for a job, if there is no such opening in the area and he/she does not want to move, he/she is no better off than before. Some people have gone through several job training programs, becoming qualified carpenters, plumbers, and electricians, and yet remain unemployed. Many people mow lawns, cut firewood, and accept various odd jobs in order to support their families. They still hunt, and they still gather wild food plants.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The governmental structure of the Cherokee Nation already has been described. This section will focus on political issues. Because membership in the Cherokee Nation has no blood percentage requirement but is based strictly on lineal descent from any person listed as Cherokee on the so-called Dawes Roll (the roll prepared by the United States government's Dawes Commission for purposes of land allotment in preparation for Oklahoma statehood) many Cherokees complain that too many white people (usually Cherokees with less than one-fourth Cherokee blood) take advantage of Cherokee programs.

The Indian Self-determination Act, known as PL 93-638, allows Indian tribes to contract with the federal government either through the Bureau of Indian Affairs or Indian Health Service to operate programs for themselves, which have been previously operated by either of these two government bureaus.

The Cherokee Nation has been taking advantage of this law since the 1970s and has contracted nearly all of the available government programs. There has been discussion for several years about the possibility of the Cherokee Nation's contracting to run the Indian hospitals within its jurisdiction. Some Cherokees, including some hospital employees, are strongly opposed to such a move, saying that the Cherokee Nation is not prepared to run the hospitals.

State governments seem to be almost constantly making attempts to encroach into the area of tribal jurisdiction. They want to impose state hunting and fishing regulations on tribal members. They want to collect various kinds of taxes from tribal members or from the tribes themselves. Indians do not pay income tax, federal or state, unless their income is derived strictly from business activity that takes place on land that is still held in trust by the federal government for the Indian owner. Issues of state infringement on tribal sovereignty, in which the Cherokee Nation has been involved in recent years, includes the state's attempt to tax tobacco sales at Indian smoke shops, and the state's attempt to regulate Indian gaming. The Cherokee Nation operates high stakes Bingo parlors.

In terms of American politics, there are Cherokee Democrats and Cherokee Republicans. There were Cherokee supporters of H. Ross Perot and, very likely, there are Cherokee Populists and Cherokee Anarchists. Cherokees are seldom if ever of one mind on any given issue. When it comes to national politics they will only come close to a consensus if the issue at hand is one of tribal sovereignty. For example, every so often a congressman will introduce a bill to abrogate all Indian treaties and terminate all tribal governments. Most likely, nearly all Cherokees would unite in opposing such a bill.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although the Cherokee Nation is but one of over 300 American Indian tribes in the United States, the Cherokees have produced a significant number of prominent people in various areas. In addition to those individuals listed below, any number of other prominent Americans, and at least one Englishman, have claimed Cherokee descent at one time or another: Tom Mix, Monte Blue, John Nance Garner, Iron Eyes Cody, Walter Brennan, Johnny Cash, Burt Reynolds, James Garner, Willie Nelson, Oral Roberts, Cher, Anita Bryant, Loretta Lynn, Kevin Costner, Sir Winston Churchill, and President Bill Clinton (who claims to be one-sixteenth Cherokee, although no documentation has been found to support this).

ART

Cherokee artists and artists of Cherokee descent include Cecil Dick (1915-1992); George Cochran (1911-1992); Willard Stone (1916-1990); Anna Mitchell; Bill Glass, Sr.; Bill Glass, Jr. (1950-); Vir-

ginia Stroud (1949-), painter and illustrator; Jeanne Walker Rorex (1951-); Bill Rabbit (1946-); Robert Annesley (1943-); Jane Osti; Bert Seabourne (1931-); Joan Hill (1930-); Murv Jacob (1945-); Janna Jacob (1976-); and Jimmie Durham (1940-), sculptor, performance artist and poet.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Frank Boudinot (d. circa 1864) moved to New York City in the first half of the nineteenth century to become a professional actor; he used the stage name of Frank Starr; during the Civil War, he was an officer in the Union Army and died of wounds received during that conflict. Victor Daniels (1899-1955), using the professional name Chief Thundercloud, was a successful film actor for over 20 years; among other roles, he played Tonto in the early *Lone Ranger* films and Chiricahua Apache tribal leader Geronimo in a 1939 version of that story. Clu Gulager (1928-), whose first name is a version of *tlu-tlu*, the Cherokee word for a purple martin, is a veteran film and television actor, perhaps best remembered for his role of Deputy, later Sheriff, Ryker on the long-running television series *The Virginian*, his first series was *The Tall Man*, in which he played Billy the Kid, and his films include *The Killers* and *The Last Picture Show*. Wes Studi (1947-), full-blood Cherokee, has received critical acclaim for his portrayals of Magua in *The Last of the Mohicans*, and (1992) Geronimo in the 1994 film *Geronimo: An American Legend*. He appeared in the film *Mystery Men* in 1999. Arthur Junaluska (1918-), Eastern Cherokee, was an actor, playwright, and theatrical director. Dennis Weaver (1924-), film and television actor, known for his Emmy-winning role as Chester on the long-running television series *Gunsmoke*, and McCloud in the television series by that same name. Will Rogers (1879-1935) could be categorized in any number of ways; he was a performer in Wild West shows and on stage, later becoming a film actor, radio personality, and nationally syndicated newspaper columnist; during his lifetime, he was probably the best loved man in America, if not in the entire world; and Gary Robinson (1950-), writer, producer and director.

LITERATURE

Sequoyah (c. 1770-1843), inventor of the Cherokee syllabary, was born in the old Cherokee country of what is now Tennessee and moved west before the Trail of Tears. He apparently died somewhere in Mexico. Cherokee writers include John Rollin Ridge (1827-1867), editor of the *Sacramento Bee* and

author of *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* and John Milton Oskison (1874-1947), editor of the *New York Evening Post* and *Colliers' Weekly*, and author of *Brothers Three* and *Black Jack Davy*; Norman H. Russell (1921-), poet and educator, author of *Indian Thoughts*; Robert J. Conley (1940-), the award-winning author of *Mountain Windsong*, *Nickajack*, *The Real People* series of novels, *The War Trail* Northand others; Marilou Awiakta (1936-), poet, storyteller, and author of *Abiding Appalachia*, *Rising Fawn* and *The Fire Mystery*, and *Selu: Seeking the Corn Mother's Wisdom*; Diane Glancy (1941-), poet and novelist, and author of *Firesticks*, *Flutie*, and *The Only Piece of Furniture in the House*; Jean Hager (1932-), award-winning author of *Grandfather Medicine*, *Night Walker*, and others; Carroll Arnette (Gogisgi) (1927-1997), poet, and teacher, author of *Rounds*, *Tsalagi*, *South Line*, *Engine*, and others; Robin Coffee (1955-), poet, and author of *Voices of the Heart*, *Sacred Seasons*, and others; Ralph Salisbury (1924-), poet, teacher, and author of *A White Rainbow*, *Spirit Beast Chant*, *One Indian and Two Chiefs*, *Pointing at the Rainbow*, and others; Gladys Cardiff (1942-), Eastern Cherokee poet and author of *To Frighten a Storm*; Ron Rogers (1948-), poet and writer of short fiction; Thomas King (1943-), screenwriter, novelist, and author of *Green Grass*, *Running Water* and *Medicine Rites*; Rayna Diane Green (1942-), writer, folklorist, and editor of *That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women*; Geary Hobson (1941-), educator, writer, critic, author of *Deer Hunting and Other Poems*, and editor of *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary American Indian Literature*; Lynn Riggs (1899-1954), playwright, and author of *Green Grow the Lilacs*, which later became the Rogers and Hammerstein musical, *Oklahoma*; Betty Louise Bell (1949-), author of *Faces in the Moon*; and Robert Franklin Gish (1940-), author of *Dreams of Quivira* and *When Coyote Howls: A Lavaland Tale*.

ACADEMIA

Carolyn Attneave (1920-1992) is a psychologist and educator. She is also the author of several books, including *Family Networks* and *Beyond Clinic Walls*.

MILITARY

Admiral Joseph James (Jocko) Clark (1893-1971), a World War II naval hero, was commander of the seventh fleet during the Korean conflict.

MUSIC

Jack F. Kilpatrick (1915-1967) was a noted composer and long-time professor of musicology at Southern Methodist University; in addition, with his wife Anna, Kilpatrick wrote several books dealing with Cherokee tales and Cherokee language texts. Barbara McAlester is an opera singer who was born in Oklahoma and currently lives in New York City; she has performed around the world.

MEDIA

The Cherokee Advocate.

The official newspaper of the Cherokee Nation since its founding in 1977. Monthly with a circulation of 95,000.

Contact: Lynn M. Howard, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 948, Tahlequah,
Oklahoma 74465.
Telephone: (918) 456-0671.
Fax: (918) 456-6485.
E-mail: tfiedler@cherokee.

Cherokee Observer.

Independent monthly newspaper.

Contact: David Cornsilk, Managing Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 1301, Jay, Oklahoma
74346-1301.
Telephone: (918) 540-2924.
E-mail: dcwy@galaxy.galstar.com

The Cherokee One-Feather.

The official publication of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians featuring news of interest to the local Cherokee tribe and to American Indians in general.

Contact: Richard L. Welch, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 501, Cherokee,
North Carolina 28719.
Telephone: (704) 497-5513.
Fax: (704) 497-4810.

Cherokee Tribune.

Community weekly newspaper founded in 1934.

Contact: Otis Brumby Jr., Publisher.
Address: Neighbor Newspaper, Inc. P.O. Box 449,
Marietta, Georgia 30061.
Telephone: (404) 428-9411.

Journal of Cherokee Studies.

Covers historical and cultural research of Cherokees.

Contact: Duane H. King, Editor.

Address: Museum of the Cherokee Indian, P.O.
Box 770A, Cherokee, North Carolina 28719.
Telephone: (704) 497-3481.

Twin Territories.

Privately published, it deals largely with historical material on the so-called Five Civilized Tribes.

Address: P.O. Box 1426, Muskogee,
Oklahoma 74402.

UKB News.

Monthly publication of the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians of Oklahoma.

Contacts: Emma Holand and Anita Ross, Editors.
Address: P.O. Box 746, Tahlequah,
Oklahoma 74464.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Cherokee Cultural Society.

The purpose is to build community, preserve Cherokee heritage, and perpetrate the culture. Publishes a monthly email newsletter *Cherokee Messenger*.

Address: P.O. Box 23187, Houston, Texas 77228.
Telephone: (713) 866-4085.

The Cherokee Nation.

Contact: Chad Smith, Principal Chief.
Address: P.O. Box 948, Tahlequah,
Oklahoma 74465.

Cherokee Nation of New Jersey.

Founded in 1997. Seeks to educate people about the American Indian who is of African, Hispanic, Asian, and European mix, and to foster goodwill.

Contact: Chief C.W. Longbow.
Address: c/o C. W. Longbow, 1164 Stuyvesant
Avenue, Irvington, New Jersey 071112392.
Telephone: (201) 374-1021.

The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

Address: P.O. Box 455, Cherokee,
North Carolina 28719.
Contact: Joyce Dugan, Principal Chief.
Telephone: (704) 497-2772.
Fax: (704) 497-2952.

The United Keetoowah Band of Cherokees in Oklahoma.

Contact: Jim Ross, Chief.

Address: 2450 South Muskogee Avenue,
Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464.

Telephone: (918) 456-5491.

Fax: (918) 456-9601.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Cherokee National Museum.

Also houses the Cherokee Heritage Center.

Address: Willis Road, Tahlequah,
Oklahoma 74464.

Telephone: (918) 456-6007.

Cherokee National Historical Society (CNHS).

Seeks to interest the public in Cherokee history; operates Cherokee Heritage Center, which includes the Cherokee National Museum, and Cherokee Arboretum and Herb Garden (including trees and plants used traditionally by Cherokees for food, fiber, and medicines). Publishes quarterly newsletter *Columns*

Contact: Mac R. Harris, Executive Director.

Address: P.O. Box 515, Tahlequah,
Oklahoma 74465.

Telephone: (918) 456-6007.

Fax: (918) 456-6165.

Email: tsalagi@netsites.net.

The Five Civilized Tribes Museum.

Preserves and encourages the continuation of the cultures and traditions of "The Five Civilized Tribes." Holds artifacts and artworks. Includes a research library.

Address: 1109 Honor Heights Drive, Muskogee,
Oklahoma 74401.

Telephone: (918) 683-1701.

Fax: (918) 683-3070.

E-mail: the5tribesmuseum@azalea.net.

Online: <http://www.fivetribes.com/>.

Museum of the Cherokee Indian.

Located on the Cherokee reservation at Highway 441 North and Drama Road in Cherokee, North Carolina. Offers dramatic presentations of Cherokee history and language. Maintains artifact exhibits. Received a \$3 million renovation in 1998 to include a walk along the Trail of Tears.

Address: P.O. Box 1599, Cherokee North
Carolina 28719.

Telephone: (704) 497-3481.

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C H I L E A N A M E R I C A N S

by
Phyllis J. Burson

Many Chilean
American
immigrants were
political exiles
who, as a group,
were well-educated
and highly-skilled.

OVERVIEW

A country slightly larger than Texas, Chile is located on the west coast of South America. Its land mass measures 292,258 square miles (756,945 sq. km.) and is bounded by Peru on the north, Bolivia and Argentina on the east, and the South Pacific Ocean on the West. Chile is a long, narrow country, about 100 miles wide and 2,600 miles long.

The population is approximately 13.75 million. Ninety-five percent are of European-Indian (mestizo) and European origin. Three percent are Indian and two percent are of other descent. Over 80 percent of the people live in urban areas. Almost 90 percent of the population are Roman Catholic and about ten percent are Protestant. A small percentage are of the Judaic faith. Virtually all of the people speak Spanish. Santiago, in central Chile, is the capital city and Valparaíso is the largest port. Mining, agriculture, light manufacturing, and fish products are important to the economy. The national flag is based on the design of the U.S. flag and is divided in half horizontally. The upper left two-thirds contains a white star on a blue background, to the right of which is solid white. The lower half is red. The national flower is the copihue, a member of the rose family.

HISTORY

The name Chile comes from an Indian word meaning "land's end," and indicates that Chile stretches

to the tip of South America. Indian groups migrated into the area of modern Chile at least 10,000 years ago. In the early fifteenth century A.D. the Incan empire began to expand from its center in Peru into present-day Chile. At the height of the empire, it stretched 3,000 miles along the Andes, extending into what is now southern Chile. The Incan advance was halted by the Mapuche Indians, who still live in Southern Chile, and by the Spanish, who invaded the Incan capital in present-day Peru in 1532. The first Europeans began to explore Chile in 1535, claiming it for the Spanish crown in 1536 and founding Santiago in 1541. Over the next several years, the overwhelming majority of the Indian population died because they lacked immunity for diseases, such as measles, brought by the Europeans. As a result, most of the indigenous groups were easily defeated by the Spaniards, though the Mapuche Indians successfully resisted the invaders.

Extensive intermarriage occurred between Europeans and Indians, creating the mestizos (mixed) race that makes up two-thirds of the current Chilean population. The Spanish introduced Roman Catholicism and a land tenure system that created a small, wealthy landowning class and a large, landless, peasant class. Over time, those born in South America grew to resent foreign domination by Spain. On September 18, 1810, the day that is still celebrated as Independence Day, the Chileans set up a rebel government. After several battles, Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842) and José de San Martín (1778-1850) led the Chileans to victory. On February 12, 1818, they proclaimed their independence from Spain. Bernardo O'Higgins became the first head of government and is revered as the father of Chilean independence.

In the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) against Peru and Bolivia, Chile increased its area by one third and gained valuable mineral resources and deposits of nitrate, a natural fertilizer.

During the first half of the twentieth century, several governmental reforms took place. Church and state became separate, ensuring freedom of worship. Women gained the vote, and the government set up free, compulsory primary education. The Chileans were proud of their democratic tradition, with regular elections and freedom of the press. Many considered Chile to be the most stable democracy in South America and, thus, were unprepared for the violence of the 1970s.

In 1970, Salvador Allende (1908-1973), a Marxist and an organizer of the Socialist party in Chile, became president. He instituted far-reaching social reforms, but these contributed to an economic crisis and widespread dissatisfaction. The U.S.

Central Intelligence Agency, fearful of Allende's Socialist policies, secretly supported groups hostile to the government. On September 11, 1973, Augusto Pinochet (1915–), led a military coup and established an authoritarian government. During the coup, Allende lost his life.

Pinochet took strict control over the press, radio, television, and school system. The government repeatedly violated civil and human rights. Many journalists and other intellectuals were killed, imprisoned, or forced into exile. About one million people, almost a tenth of the population, left Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship. However, the government succeeded in building a strong economy. In 1990, after 16 years of military rule, Pinochet allowed an elected president, the moderate Patricio Aylwin (1918–), to take office. Aylwin and the current president, Eduardo Frei, who took office in 1994, have moved Chile toward more freedom and openness, while maintaining economic growth.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Because of its long coastline and its several major ports, there has long been an interchange of people between Chile and other seafaring countries. Few Chileans live more than 100 miles from the ocean. Because of its strategic position on world trade routes, a lively trade developed between North and South America. Until the Panama Canal was completed, many ships traveling between the east and west coasts of the United States made the long journey around Cape Horn at the southern tip of South America. They stopped in Valparaíso and other ports to sell goods and replenish their stores. Significant immigration to Chile did not end with the coming of the Spaniards. Because of economic hardship or political difficulties in their countries of origin, a significant number of Germans, Italians, Irish, English, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Lebanese, and others came to Chile during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, after each of the two world wars, a significant number of Germans and other Europeans came to Chile. During and after the Hitler era, both Nazis and the Jews they persecuted settled in Chile. Because of these many diverse groups, Chile has been called the United States of South America. The diversity is also reflected in the variety of surnames found in the country. Typical last names are Spanish, such as Lopez; German, such as Hahn; Irish, such as O'Connell; or English, such as Lee. Because more than two-thirds of the population is mixed European and Indian, the typical Chilean has brown eyes and dark brown, almost black, hair. However, some are blue-eyed blondes, have red hair, or even look Middle-Eastern.

The seaports were also a takeoff point for those wishing to emigrate from Chile. Indeed, leaving Chile by land was difficult until the advent of the airplane. The high Andes mountains and one of the driest deserts on earth separate Chile from its neighbors.

As early as the 1790s, merchant ships from Chile began to arrive at the California coast. The first large wave of immigrants from Chile to the United States occurred during the California gold rush of 1848–49. Carlos López, tells the story in his book *Chilenos in California; A Study of the 1850, 1852, and 1860 Censuses*. Ships arriving at the port of Valparaíso first brought the news of the discovery of the precious metal, along with samples of gold dust. The Chilean economy was in crisis and ship owners, hoping to create business, spread wild rumors about the abundance of gold in California. Thousands of Chileans crammed the ships to make their fortunes. Some of the first Chileans to arrive were experienced miners. They taught the “anglos” better techniques of panning for and extracting gold. In order to crush ore, these miners improved an existing device, expertly fashioning huge stone wheels to be used in what came to be called “Chili mills.” Adventurers came, too, including the prominent Vicente Pérez Rosales (1807-1886), who kept a record of his trip in his diary. In San Francisco, the Chileans settled in an area called “Chilecito” (little Chile). When a new shipload of Chileans arrived, they were welcomed and instructed in the ways of California by the Chilecito community. On July 15, 1849, residents of Chilecito were attacked and robbed. Chileans suffered other discrimination; the government passed a foreign miner’s tax. Further, in the summer of 1850 there was a move to expel foreigners, especially Chileans and Mexicans, from the mines. Thousands of Chileans returned to San Francisco, though many remained in the mining towns. Perhaps half of the Chilean 49ers eventually returned to Chile, disappointed with the difference between the romantic stories they had heard and the realities of nineteenth-century California.

The Chileans who remained in California retained an active ethnic identity for some time. They often lived in areas called “Chilitowns,” speaking Spanish and cooking their traditional foods. To keep in contact, they established newspapers and local clubs. In 1867 a Chilean American newspaper appeared in San Francisco. In translation, its name was “The Voice of Chile and of the American Republics.” Later, it merged with a Mexican American paper, providing news of interest to Chileans and Mexicans in San Francisco until 1883. Local organizations all over California provided a way for Chilean Americans to continue their traditions and support each other socially and financially.

Though many of the 49ers who settled permanently in California retained their interest in the mother country, the majority of them married non-Chileans. Over time, Chilean Americans spread out all over California and into neighboring states. As their children learned English in school and mixed with the wider society, the high rate of intermarriage with non-Chileans continued. The ethnic neighborhoods, newspapers, and clubs disappeared as the interests of Chilean Americans changed.

From the time of the gold rush until the 1960s, a small number of immigrants trickled into the United States from Chile. Young people from upper class Chilean families came to the United States to attend college or graduate school, and frequently remained. Single men whose companies sent them to Chile often returned with South American brides. Exporters, sailors, and professionals emigrated to the United States to increase their economic or career opportunities.

However, significant immigration into the United States did not begin to occur until the latter half of the 1960s. At that time, a larger number of Chileans began to emigrate in hopes of increasing their economic opportunities. They knew they could find better jobs and a higher standard of living in the United States.

The overthrow of Allende in 1973 and the establishment of a military dictatorship led to a large exodus of Chileans. Pinochet was determined to rid the country of divisive elements. Chief among his targets were journalists, radical students, intellectuals, and other professionals. Many fled for their lives to Europe, other parts of Latin America, the United States, and Canada. The size of the group that came to the United States was small in comparison to those who emigrated to other countries. Some countries persuaded Pinochet to exile Chilean dissidents rather than imprison or kill them. The United States offered to take Chilean refugees under a program for so-called “political parolees.”

Many of the refugees were ill-prepared for the transition to life in North America. They lacked employment, housing, or contacts with Chileans already here to ease their entry into the United States. Some were sent in the middle of winter to areas of heavy snow, for which their California-like climate had not prepared them. A number of churches responded to these needs. In one well-known case, an Irish priest, Father Chouchulain Moriarty, heard of the plight of the immigrants. He dedicated himself to assisting the newly arriving Chileans to adjust to American life. Father Moriarty established a program in the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart

in San Jose, California. New arrivals were housed in the church convent building, and helped to find jobs, secure permanent housing, and learn English. Because of the reputation of Father Moriarty's work, political parolees from all over California and as far away as the Midwest traveled to San Jose to become part of the program.

Throughout the Pinochet regime, Chileans continued to emigrate to the United States, for both political and economic reasons. Those who have come since 1990, when the military regime ended, are emigrating primarily for economic reasons. Though the Chilean economy is growing, there is still a large class of poor people in the country.

Beginning in 1988, Chilean exiles were allowed, and later encouraged, to return home. In that year President Pinochet decreed that all those in exile could return to Chile. After he came into office in 1990, President Aylwin established a generous program for Chileans who returned, including financial assistance and other benefits. A substantial number of those in exile did return, including some living in the United States, eager to reunite with their families and to be part of a more democratic Chile. In addition, Chilean Americans have been affected negatively by downturns in the U.S. economy. For this reason, some, especially those who have lost jobs in downsizing, decided to return to Chile. Many of the returning Chileans brought with them their children, who had been born abroad and were often not fluent in Spanish. There were so many such children that the Chilean government found it necessary to set up programs for "Spanish as a second language" in the schools.

Most of the Chilean American population has arrived during the past 25 years. As of 1990, the U.S. census indicated that there were about 61,465 persons of Chilean ancestry in the United States. About 55,681 of these had been born in Chile. Thus, less than one-tenth of all Chilean Americans were born here. The overwhelming majority are first-generation immigrants who retain close emotional ties to their country of origin. Many visit their families in Chile periodically or send their children there for vacations. A small percentage, especially academics and business people, spend some of their time in the United States and some in Chile, pursuing their careers on two continents.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Most Chileans who come to the United States settle in or around cities. They come from a highly urbanized country and find it compatible to settle in a metropolitan area. Cities provide the jobs they

need and the opportunity to interact with other Chileans. They especially gravitate toward California, New York City, and Florida because of the large Spanish-speaking population in these areas. They know they will be able to find jobs where they can use their Spanish language and communicate with bosses. Furthermore, Chileans feel an emotional tie to states such as Florida, where there is a substantial Latin influence. By far, the largest number of Chilean Americans live in California. States with the next largest numbers of Chileans are, in order from greatest to fewest: New York, Florida, New Jersey, and Texas. Many settled in Canada, especially Toronto and Montreal, during the Pinochet regime. At that time, the Canadian government allowed them special entry visas for humanitarian reasons.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

There are two major reasons why Chileans have come to the United States during the last 25 years. The first group, small in number, emigrated because of the political repression of the Pinochet regime. Many of these immigrants are of middle or upper class origin. A significant proportion of them arrived with advanced educations and well-developed skills. They had contacts with other Chilean exiles and a sense of identity from their shared commitment to a democratic Chile. After a period of adjustment, many of them were able to pursue skilled jobs or professions. Unfortunately, others, who lacked skills or whose professional certifications were not recognized in the United States, were forced to take low-level jobs in which they were unable to use their skills. Some had been politically active students or union leaders in Chile who did not enter the United States with easily transferrable skills.

Most immigrants fall into the second group. They come to the United States searching for economic opportunities. Many of these are poorer, with less education and fewer skills than the group of political exiles. They often find it necessary to take jobs at the lower end of the pay scale. A typical pattern is to find a job as a babysitter or in the construction industry, where fluency in English is of limited importance. As time permits, they attend English classes or get secretarial or technical training, eventually acquiring more desirable jobs. Chilean Americans work hard to secure education and training so as to better themselves.

Because Chile is far away and does not share borders with the United States, immigrants cannot

simply cross a border to enter the country. They must save money and work hard to get here. Such enterprising immigrants often have high motivation and additional skills, as well as American relatives or other contacts. These facts ease their transition into the American economy.

Because they share the Spanish language, Chileans often interact with other Latinos in church, at work, and around the neighborhood. This frequently leads to friendships and sometimes to marriage. Chileans also have a high rate of intermarriage with other U.S. citizens, which is contributing to their assimilation into mainstream society. Although most Chilean Americans are eager to learn or improve their English, some find it more comfortable to live and work in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods.

Chilean Americans find themselves in the position of being a minority within a minority. That is, Chileans make up a tiny part of the Latino population in the country, itself a minority group. Many Chileans feel quite separate from Central American or Caribbean people; they have never tasted Mexican food and their accents are quite different from Puerto Ricans. Yet the dominant white majority considers them all to be Latinos, making few distinctions. Indeed, most books about Latinos, such as Milton Meltzer's *Hispanic Americans* (1982), fail to discuss Chileans at all, focusing only on the larger Latino groups in the United States. Because Chilean Americans are such a small group numerically, most mainstream Americans do not know enough about Chileans to have well-defined ideas of how they differ from other Latinos. Thus, most discrimination that is specifically targeted to Chileans, as Chileans, comes from other South Americans who bring old grudges to the United States. In October, 1994, for example, Bolivians staged a protest at the performance of Bafochi, a Chilean ballet group, in Washington, D.C.

The Bolivians called the Chileans "thieves" and "pirates." They were objecting because some of the dances to be performed had originated in an area Bolivia lost to Chile during the War of the Pacific in the nineteenth century. To avoid open conflict during the performance, the ballet group omitted several controversial pieces.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Chileans have a reputation for being a friendly people and this tradition is maintained by Chilean Americans. According to a well-known folk song, "if you go to Chile, the country folk will come to greet you and you will see that Chileans love a

friend from far away." Unlike certain other Latin countries, guests wait to be invited into the home. They usually greet the head of the family first to show respect. Visitors often spend time asking about the family, including the children.

When Chilean Americans come to the United States, they find the pattern of the regular work day not too different from their native country. Business people are accustomed to working from nine to five, perhaps staying a few hours extra to finish work. Although this has changed in the larger Chilean cities, many more Chileans are used to coming home for lunch hour than is true in the United States. Although some Chileans take a nap after lunch, the siesta is not as entrenched a tradition as it is in some other Latin American countries.

Chileans commonly eat four times a day. They have breakfast, a late lunch, tea at about five, and a late dinner. In Chile, lunch is typically the largest meal of the day. Afternoon tea is served in late afternoon around five or six o'clock. People eat sandwiches or, sometimes, cakes, and drink tea. Chile is one Latin country where tea is a more popular drink than coffee. Dinner is often eaten between eight-thirty and ten-thirty, but some Chilean Americans report they have, on occasion, left the table at two o'clock in the morning. Chilean Americans are often forced to change their eating patterns by the necessity of leaving for work early in the morning and taking coffee breaks at the times designated by their employers rather than by their traditions. Some Chileans are so poor that they can only afford one substantial meal a day. Chilean Americans from poor backgrounds often eat better in the United States, even when working at low-paying jobs, than they were able to do in Chile.

PROVERBS AND FOLK BELIEFS

Chile's rich store of folklore, sayings, and supernatural beliefs is derived from its European and Indian past, as well as its relation to the mountains and the ocean. One saying, related to the water, is that the shrimp who falls asleep is carried away by the current. Tuesday (not Friday) the 13th is considered to be an unlucky day. One saying is that faraway loves are loves of idiots. Some traditional Chilean folk beliefs are identical to those in the United States. For example, Chileans also say that breaking a mirror will bring seven years of bad luck.

Some believe that the spirits of the dead are responsible for strange noises. It is said that spirits of the dead will visit those who work late at night. Also, neighbors may say that someone who is suddenly lucky has entered into an agreement with the

devil. Some of these ideas are more common in the Chilean countryside than in the cities. Though many Chileans and Chilean Americans repeat them, they do not always believe them.

CUISINE

The fishing industry is larger in Chile than in any other Latin American country except Peru. Seafood has long been an important part of the diet, with approximately 200 types of fish available. Fish is inexpensive, so it is eaten by almost all Chileans. The types of seafood they eat include mussels, scallops, clams, crabs, lobsters, abalone, and sea urchins. The conger eel is a national specialty; there are many ways to prepare it in both simple and elegant dishes. Chilean Americans adapt their seafood cooking to the varieties of fish and shellfish that are available in North America. They enjoy soups, stews, and seafood combinations.

Many traditional dishes contain beans and corn, reflecting the Indian heritage of the country. Most Chilean bean recipes call for *porotos* or cranberry beans. The climate of the country allows beans to grow during most of the year, so they are a natural for inclusion in many dishes. Chilean corn is somewhat different from that grown in the United States. In some Chilean varieties, the ears are much larger than their North American cousins. One very popular dish, *porotos granados*, contains beans, corn, squash, garlic, and onion. Many recipes, such as *pastel de choclo* (corn and meat pie), call for unripe corn. In this dish, ground corn, sprinkled with sugar before baking, replaces the upper crust found in meat pies made in the United States. *Empanadas*—pockets of dough filled with meat or cheese, onions, olives, raisins, hardboiled eggs, and spices that are baked or fried—are one of the favorite traditional foods of Chilean Americans. They are eaten as snacks or one course of a meal, and are a favorite treat for holidays. *Humitas* are made from grated corn, onions, and spices. Traditionally, these are wrapped in corn husks and cooked in boiling water.

Wine is a popular drink among Chileans. South of Santiago lies a stretch of Chile's central valley that is superb wine-growing country. The early Spaniards introduced vineyards to Chile so that they could grow wine for use in the Catholic mass. From the time when a French winegrower was imported to improve the wine, Chileans have used European methods to make wine and have won prizes for their specialties. Another alcoholic drink, also made from grapes, is called *pisco*. A favorite drink is *pisco sour*, in which *pisco* is served with

lemon juice, sugar, beaten egg whites, and ice. The Chileans also use fermented grapes to make another popular drink called *chica*.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

For Chileans, appearance is important. They make an effort to appear neat and clean. Chileans are generally not attracted to the casualness and, what some consider to be sloppiness, of dress in the United States. Even those who are poor make an effort to avoid wearing tattered clothing. Styles generally follow fashion trends set in Europe. Chileans tend to be more dressed up for the same event than people in the United States. For example, men usually go to restaurants in suits. Over time, Chilean Americans tend to become more relaxed in their dress, while still enjoying more formal dress. Sometimes conflicts arise between immigrants and their children, who wish to adopt the sloppy appearance of other teenagers.

DANCES

The so-called “national dance” of Chile is the *cueca*, which depicts the courting behavior of the rooster and the hen. Characteristic of this dance are stamping and use of scarves. The man may use the scarf to pull the woman toward him, and she may use it to cover her face in a flirtatious manner. The *cueca* may be performed in formal attire or a more rural outfit. The formal, ballroom attire for men is based on the traditional dress of the Chilean cowboy. This consists of black pants, a colorful sash, white shirt, and a black bolero jacket. A waist-length, brightly colored, handwoven woolen poncho is worn over the bolero, or sometimes thrown over the shoulder. The man wears fringed leggings and high, pointed leather boots with large decorative spurs. He wears a flat, wide-brimmed straw or, sometimes, fancy leather hat. Women wear a straight black skirt with a slit from which can be seen layers and layers of white lace. She wears a white blouse, black bolero jacket, and a hat like her partner's.

Alternatively, the *cueca* may be performed in a folk outfit. In this version, the man wears rural work pants with a shirt open at the neck with the sleeves rolled up. He wears the traditional woven straw hat and boots or sandals, depending on what part of the country is being represented. As in the more formal outfit, the man will wear a short, colorful poncho. The woman wears a dress gathered at the waist with a round collar and lace at the cuffs. The dress may be plaid or flowered, with white lace underneath.



Chilean American performers dance along New York City's Fifth Avenue during the 1992 Hispanic Columbus Day Parade.

Another popular dance is the *refalosa*. In this dance, scarves are also used, but the typical movements are sliding, rather than stamping, as in the *cueca*. Other dance traditions in Chile are those originating on Easter Island that feature pelvic thrusting, and the skimming dances characteristic of the fishing villages of the area of Chiloe.

Chilean Americans enjoy watching and performing dances. In some cities there are dance groups where people get together periodically to enjoy their traditional dances.

HOLIDAYS

Chilean Americans celebrate New Year's Eve with parties. On this night, as on most holidays, children are allowed to stay up as late as they wish. There is a tradition that it will be a lucky year if the first thing a person says in the New Year is "rabbit." New Year's Day in Chile falls in summer (because the country is south of the equator), so many families have a picnic or spend time at the beach.

Chileans celebrate Independence Day on September 18th. On that day in 1810, *criollos* (settlers born in Chile rather than Spain), began their struggle for independence from Spain and set up a government. In Chile fairs are held in cities and towns during the week before and the week after September 18th. People build booths with thatched roofs in which to sell food, exhibit crafts, and put on entertainment. In some parts of the United States, Chileans hold similar fairs on Independence Day. There is an annual Independence Day festival in

northern Virginia, called *ramada*, referring to the branches that are used to make the booths of the *leantos* constructed for the celebration. Visitors to the fair enjoy traditional crafts, sing the national anthem, dance the *cueca*, listen to folk music from the Andes and other parts of the country, and eat plenty of *empanadas*.

Christmas is celebrated in Chile on December 25th, just as it is in the United States. Children and adults stay up late on Christmas Eve to eat a big family meal. Some people go to mass. At midnight everyone opens presents, including small children who have stayed up for the event. This means that kids are running around outside in the summer weather until four o'clock in the morning. Santa Claus is popular in Chile. As in the traditional U.S. outfit, he has a beard, but he wears the traditional folk dance outfit of Chile with open shirt, rolled-up sleeves, woolen socks, and sandals. Chilean Americans have, in general, kept the tradition of opening presents at midnight and allowing children to stay up. Most Chilean Americans also continue the tradition of a relaxed Christmas Day, with perhaps an outing.

HEALTH ISSUES

Health in Chile has improved in the last 20 years, with falling infant mortality and longer life expectancy. As other diseases decline in importance, Chileans give more attention to heart disease and cancer. There do not appear to be any special diseases specific to Chileans. Many Chilean Americans

believe in the effectiveness of herbal teas for a variety of illnesses. They call such teas “little waters.”

For many years, health care in Chile was nationalized, so that many Chilean immigrants have experience with, and are comfortable in accepting, such care. However, recently, health care in Chile has become largely privatized. Like other Americans, Chilean Americans vary in the type and amount of health care coverage they possess, largely depending on whether they receive benefits from their employer.

LANGUAGE

Virtually all Chilean Americans speak Spanish, though some have come from parts of Chile where German, Italian, or another language was spoken in their homes. Their accent depends on social class and region of the country from which they came. Frequently, Chileans omit the “s” sound in words, and sometimes drop out the last syllable of a longer word. (In the greetings listed below, the “s” sound is retained, because it is used in conversation where there is reason to be formal.)

Chileans make great use of the suffix “-ita,” a word-ending that literally means “little” but translates more accurately in this context as an indicator of familiarity. A friend named Norma may be referred to affectionately as Normita (nor-mee-tah), literally meaning “little Norma.”

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Friends and family commonly greet each other with the *abrazo* (ah-bra-zoh). This is a handshake and hug, sometimes with a kiss on the right cheek. The *abrazo* is repeated upon parting. Other greetings include: *Hola! Qué hubo?* (oh-lah kay oo-boh)—How are you?; *Cómo está?* (koh-moh ess-tah)—How are you?; *Gusto de verte!* (goo-stoh day vehr-tay)—Nice to see you!; *Buenos días!* (bway-nohs dee-ahs)—Good day!; *Chao!* (chow)—Goodbye!. To express appreciation for their host’s food, Chileans say: *Es Rico!* (ess ree-koh)—It’s delicious.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Chileans have strong family ties. Traditionally, the father is the head of the family, but the mother makes many decisions within the home. Chilean women often speak out and take stands on both private and public issues. They have a tradition of

being politically, as well as socially, active in their communities. In the United States they are an important part of the self-help and cultural groups that are active in many cities. Children are taught to give respect to their parents and the elderly. Young boys are typically given more freedom than girls. Teenagers are usually allowed to date by about age 16, with the emphasis on group activities. It is common for children to live at home until they marry. Even after they have families of their own, children often return home to spend Sundays and holidays with their parents.

Machismo, the cult of male superiority and dominance, is still a fact of life in Chile. However, in comparison to some other Latin countries, women have more opportunities. Social customs reflect fairly egalitarian treatment of the sexes. An increasing number of women work outside the home. The majority of these are domestics, but there are also teachers, secretaries, social workers, and other professionals. Women make up 30 percent of the work force. There is some opportunity for women to gain career advancement. In 1970, for example, a higher percentage of women who worked outside the home had technical and professional jobs than was true in the United States. As in other Latin countries, Chileans typically retain two last names; the first is from their father and the second from their mother.

Children frequently have two parties a year, one for their birthday and one on the day of the saint for whom they were named. Since many children in Chile are named Juan or Juana, St. John’s Day is a big day for parties. Chilean children usually have fewer toys than the typical child raised in the United States. Children are more likely to receive gifts of candy than toys from their friends at birthday parties.

BAPTISMS

In Chile, baptisms are often performed when the child is about two months old. Godparents are chosen who agree to raise the child in the faith if the parents should die. At age eight, children take their First Communion. Another set of godparents may be added at this time; sometimes the child is allowed to choose them.

WEDDINGS

Chileans often have two marriage ceremonies, one civil and the other religious. These are frequently performed on different days, with the civil ceremony perhaps several days before the church service.

At weddings, the bride traditionally keeps the groom waiting. Everyone arrives at the church except the bride, who will have someone drive her around the city until she is ready to appear. After a half hour or, perhaps, an hour, she arrives at the church. The bride wears white, but the groom seldom wears a tuxedo unless it is a high-society wedding. There is not usually a wedding party; the bride and groom go through the ceremony without attendants. The reception is often a sit-down meal.

FUNERALS

Funerals are usually held sooner than is the practice in the United States, because embalming is not common. Wakes are held in the homes and the funerals, usually relatively brief, in churches. Because the country is so long, many relatives never reach a funeral, because of travel time.

EDUCATION

Chile has one of the best-educated populations in Latin America, with a literacy rate of 94 percent for men and 93 percent for women. Eight years of education are free and compulsory. Chileans value learning and are proud of their educational system; they consider education to be a way to a better life. Parents often urge their children to complete their education before marrying. If their means are limited and they must choose between educating sons or daughters, sons are often chosen. Many Roman Catholic parents prefer to send their children to religious schools. Several thousand Chilean American students are pursuing degrees in higher education. Although they are enrolled in a wide variety of programs, two particularly popular fields are natural science and engineering. These fields are seen as leading to promising careers. In addition, students are attracted by the well-equipped laboratories and other technical apparatus available at universities in the United States.

RELIGION

Because such a high proportion of Chileans are Roman Catholic, most of those who emigrate to the United States are of this faith. The global nature of the church, with its shared beliefs and practices, eases the transition for a Catholic from Santiago to San Francisco or New York. Chileans find that, although the churches may look different and the congregation and priest may speak English, there are still the comfortable traditions, the same saints, candles, and order of the mass. Chileans often

attend churches in which there are services in Spanish. Sometimes they organize local events especially attractive to other Chilean Catholics, such as those connected with patron saints.

Protestant immigrants often join the denominations in North America in which they had been active at home. Santiago has one of the world's largest Pentecostal churches, so many Chileans look for Pentecostal congregations in the United States. Many German Chileans join Baptist or Lutheran churches. Other Chileans join the Seventh Day Adventist church. Like the Roman Catholics, the Protestants often search for congregations where Spanish is used. A small group of Jewish Chileans have also come to the United States. Like the Roman Catholics, they have a worldwide sense of community with others who share the Jewish faith and traditions.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many Chilean American immigrants were political exiles who, as a group, were well-educated and highly-skilled. After a short period of adjustment, most became highly successful professionals in a variety of fields. More recent immigrants, who did not benefit from the same educational background as their predecessors, have had to take low-paying jobs—such as babysitting, construction, and maintenance—where their Spanish does not create communication problems. Over time, however, many of these individuals have obtained training in English and some technical training as well, therefore improving their economic status.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The party preferences of Chilean Americans vary with their socioeconomic status and background. Most Chileans of upper class or business backgrounds favor the Republican party. Chileans of lower class backgrounds and those who fled Chile because of Pinochet generally favor the Democratic Party. Since the majority of Chileans have arrived during the last ten or 15 years, when union membership in the United States was declining, and since they are not entrenched in manufacturing jobs, Chileans have not been especially active in union politics. Those who have lost their jobs often do not feel comfortable using unemployment benefits; they have a strong desire to support themselves. Second-generation Chilean Americans, born and raised in this country, are becoming more involved in the issues of domes-

tic Latino politics. Few Chilean Americans have been active in the military, but this will change as more native-born children grow up.

RELATIONS WITH CHILE

Many Chileans are proud of and optimistic about their country of origin. When an airplane from another country lands in Santiago, the returning Chileans frequently applaud to express their pleasure at being back.

The Chilean American 49ers and their descendants took a strong interest in events in Chile. During the War of the Pacific, local organizations in California raised considerable money to support the Chilean war effort and help the needy back home. A century later, after the military coup, Chilean Americans took an active part in protesting the repressive actions of the Pinochet government. A number of writers in exile in the United States centered their work on themes related to political and social conditions in Chile. In addition, local groups raised money to help families of the “disappeared” Chilean citizens who simply vanished because Pinochet had decreed their death. One type of Chilean craft, the *arpillera*, is a wallhanging made with bits of cloth sewn together to create a picture. Beginning in 1974, women in Chile created *arpilleras* to show the cruelty of the Pinochet regime. These could not be sold openly in Chile, but some Americans help to sell them in the United States as a way of publicizing the human rights violations. Many local groups in the United States continue to raise funds for social programs in Chile, such as rural schools or children without homes.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Chilean Americans have contributed to American life in many realms, including literature, the arts, science, social science, music, and business.

ACADEMIA

Many Chilean Americans are active in academic institutions. Cecilia Hidalgo (1941–), the first woman to receive a Ph.D. in biochemistry in Chile, worked in research in Boston for many years before returning to South America. Arturo Valenzuela is the director of the Center of Latin American Studies at Georgetown University. A political scientist, Dr. Valenzuela is an expert on the political system in Chile. Alfonso Gómez-Lobo (1940–) is a philosophy professor, also at Georgetown University. His

specialty is ancient Greek philosophy. Gómez-Lobo stated that his academic reputation helped him leave Chile after the coup.

ART

Artistic expression is another strong tradition in Chilean culture. Many Chilean Americans contribute to art, sculpture, and photography in the United States.

Montserrat Castedo (1941–), is an artist and tapestry maker. She places bits of colored fabric, some of which she dyes herself, on a percale background stretched across an easel. Castedo focuses on the theme of peace and harmony in nature. After many years of residence in the United States, she has now returned to live in Chile. However, she has retained her ties with the United States and her work was recently exhibited in the United States.

Author and illustrator Fernando Krahn (1935–) lived in New York for several years, providing cartoons for the *Atlantic Monthly*, *New Yorker*, *Esquire* and *The Reporter*. His books include *Journeys of Sebastian*, *Hildegard and Maximilian*, and *A Funny Friend from Heaven*. He has also illustrated books for his Chilean wife, who is a writer. The couple now lives in Spain.

Raimundo Rubio (1956–) describes himself as a contemporary, avant-garde painter. He uses surrealist techniques, placing unrelated objects together in the same picture. He comes from a family of Chilean intellectuals; his father and brother are poets. Trained in Chile as a painter, Rubio came to the United States in 1979. Exhibits of his work have appeared in Miami, Washington, D.C., and Spain. In October, 1994, he opened a one-person show in New York.

Soledad Salame (1954–), came to the United States in 1982. She does painting, sculpture, and print making. Her work is closely tied to nature and the environment. For example, she has created murals that include living plants.

The sculptor and painter who signs her works with the name Pía (1953–) works mostly with a variety of types of wood, but also in stone. She views her work as closely connected to Easter Island, a small land mass with ancient traditions off the shore of Chile. Photographer Luis Salvatierra (1948–), born in Valparaíso, came to the United States in 1974 because of the military coup. He spent considerable time documenting the Latino community in Washington, D.C. More recently, he has been translating Pablo Neruda’s poetry into photography.

BUSINESS

Chileans are also involved in business, some at the national and international level. Andrés Bande (1944–) is a business executive who was born in Santiago. Currently, he is president of Ameritech International, a worldwide telecommunications company based in Chicago. Previously, he was executive vice president of US West International, a regional Bell company, which he reorganized and expanded. Bande has been active in organizations for Latinos, including a group that promotes excellence in education.

LITERATURE

Chile has a long tradition of poetry and other types of artistic expression. Two Chilean poets, Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957) and Pablo Neruda (1904-1973), have won Nobel prizes. In 1945 Gabriela Mistral was the first South American to win the prize. She was a teacher and lived for a time in Long Island, New York. Neruda is thought by many to be the greatest Spanish language poet in the twentieth century. Though neither of these were Chilean Americans, they have inspired a generation of writers who are.

Much of the work of Chilean American writers is concerned with the plight of those who suffered under the military rule of Pinochet. Indeed, many of the writers are themselves exiles, voluntarily or involuntarily, from the military regime. Isabel Allende (1942–), whose diplomat father was a cousin of the ousted president, Salvador Allende, is a novelist. After the coup, she participated in getting information out of Chile about those whom Pinochet was torturing. Afterwards, fearing for her life, she fled the country, eventually moving to the United States in 1988. Her first novel, *House of the Spirits*, has been translated into 27 languages and released as a film in 1994. The novel is loosely autobiographical, drawing on her experiences of being raised by her grandfather and clairvoyant grandmother. Other novels include *Of Love and Shadows* and *Eva Luna*. She lives and writes in California.

Ariel Dorfman (1942–) is a well-known author, journalist, and educator who has lived in exile from Chile for many years. His works include *Last Song of Manuel Sendero*, *My House Is on Fire*, *Mascara*, *Hard Rain*, and a play called *Death and the Maiden*. One of Dorfman's themes is the state of being in exile. He has been an outspoken critic of Pinochet.

Fernando Alegría (1918–) is a poet and novelist, as well as a retired professor of Spanish American literature from Berkeley and Stanford University. His work reflects his commitment to his Chilean ancestry and to improving the lot of the poor and

oppressed. As a young man, he wrote a book about Walt Whitman. One of his favorite themes is the hero; he published a book about the Mapuchan leader Lautaro (1943). His *Allende: A Novel* is a fictionalized biography of Salvador Allende. *Chilean Spring* is a fictionalized diary of a Chilean photographer killed after the 1973 coup. *The Funhouse* tells the story of a Latin American who came to the United States during the Vietnam War.

Writer and poet Marjorie Agosín grew up in Chile and now teaches literature at Wellesley College. Her writings express her concern about the social conditions of women and the political repression in Chile. Cecilia Vicuña is a young poet whose works are published by Grey Wolf Press in Minneapolis. Her work is highly mystical. Elena Castedo is an author who lives in Boston. Her book entitled *Paradise* was one of five finalists for the National Book Award in 1993.

MUSIC

Chileans in the United States continue a tradition called *peña*. This means getting together to play and listen to music, telling long, Chilean jokes, and enjoying food. For many years during the military regime of Pinochet, Violeta Parra, a well-known Chilean composer and singer, lived in a tent in Santiago and held a famous *peña* every weekend. She wanted Chileans to return to their traditional folk music and instruments, rather than merely to copy songs from the United States or other countries. Under her influence, many young musicians, some of whom later emigrated to the United States, began to play traditional Chilean folk music. They used instruments, such as the *quena*, a small Indian flute, and a stringed instrument from the Andes Mountains. In the United States, *peña* is sometimes held in a local restaurant on a certain evening of the week. Chileans bring their guitars and other instruments; everyone enjoys the singing and the fellowship.

One type of traditional Chilean folk music that is shared by Bolivia and Peru is Andean music, sometimes called *altiplano*, to indicate that it originated high in the mountains. Chilean-born Rene Iribarren plays Andean music in the United States with a group called Alborada, meaning dawn. Iribarren, who plays ten different instruments, is the composer for the group. They have released a recording called *Melodies from the Highlands of South America*.

Many Chileans also excel in classical music. Pianist Claudio Arrau (1903-1991) is known throughout the world. A child prodigy, Arrau played for the president of Chile when he was only six years old. Later, Arrau went to Germany to study, where

he remained for a number of years. In 1941 he moved to New York City and lived there until his death. Arrao traveled throughout the world giving concerts. He is considered to be one of the most outstanding interpreters of Beethoven's piano music.

A number of other Chilean Americans are classical musicians. Juan Pablo Tzyuierdo is the conductor for the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra. Maximiliano Valdés is conductor of the Buffalo Hill Harmonic Orchestra in Buffalo, New York. Juan Orrego Salas is a composer and a teacher at the Indiana University school of music in Bloomington, Indiana. Roberto Díaz, who comes from a Chilean musical family, is first violist for the National Symphony Orchestra at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C.

MEDIA

PRINT

La Aurora del Sur.

This periodical (which means "The Dawn of the South") is a monthly magazine with a national circulation that provides information to the Chilean American community.

Contact: Ines Yanec, Editor.

Address: 3111 Los Feliz Blvd., Oficina 101, Los Angeles, California 90027-0563.

Telephone: (213) 660-7960.

Fax: (213) 660-7919.

Online: <http://www.chilelindo.com/aurora/>.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

There are hundreds of radio and television stations that broadcast in Spanish, so it is easy for Chilean Americans to find news and information in their native tongue. Most radio and television stations avoid regular programming that is specific to Chileans, because the stations want to appeal to a broad range of their Spanish-speaking audience.

One of the most highly rated programs on Spanish language television is "Sabado Gigante," or Giant Saturday. This variety program includes games, contests, interviews, and brief documentary pieces. Although the program features items of interest to Spanish speakers from many countries, the host was born in Chile. He uses the name Don Francisco, but his real name is Mario Kreutzberber. He originally produced the program in Santiago, but it is now produced in Miami. This popular show can be seen on stations in the Univision cable network every Saturday evening from 7:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., eastern standard time.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Perhaps because large-scale immigration has occurred only recently, Chilean American organizations are local, rather than national. Many such groups are oriented toward helping other Chileans with their adjustment to the United States. Some groups raise money to send to Chile to support social or political causes there. Another focus is the sponsorship of dance groups or other cultural activities to educate children and teenagers about Chilean traditions.

San Martín Society.

This national, historical society was founded in 1977 to commemorate the activities of the brilliant military tactician and independence fighter, José de San Martín, in Chile, Argentina and Peru. The society gives awards for civic or institutional leadership. It also maintains a historical collection focused on the contributions of José de San Martín. Holdings include 1300 books, dissertations, microfilms, speeches pamphlets, and other documents. Services include a copying center. The collection is open to the public by written request.

Contact: Cristian Garcia-Godoy, President.

Address: P.O. Box 33, McLean, Virginia 22101-0033.

Telephone or fax: (703) 883-0950.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Embassy of Chile.

The Embassy provides information about Chilean culture, business opportunities, and travel to the country. The Embassy sponsors cultural events and facilitates contacts with Chileans.

Address: 1732 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

Telephone: (202) 785-1746.

Homer Babbidge Library.

Located at the University of Connecticut, the library has about 2500 volumes, including many rare books, about the history, literature, and politics of Chile from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Collections are open to the public. Services include copying and interlibrary loan.

Contact: Darlene Waller, Curator, Special Collections Department.

Address: Homer Babbidge Library, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut 06269-1005.

Telephone: (203) 486-2524.

Fax: (203) 486-3593.

Organization of American States.

Includes exhibits of Chilean American artists and sculptors in its Art Museum of the Americas.

Contact: Belgica Rodriguez, Director.

Address: Art Museum of the Americas, 201 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 363-6336.

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Chilean Writers in Exile: Eight Short Novels, edited by Fernando Alegria. Trumansburg, New York: Crossing Press, 1982.

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Chinese Americans

place the highest
priority on raising
and maintaining
the family.

C H I N E S E by L. Ling-chi Wang

A M E R I C A N S

OVERVIEW

China, or *Zhongguo* (the Middle Kingdom), the third largest country in the world, occupies a significant portion of southeast Asia. The land mass, 3,657,765 square miles (9,700,000 sq. km.), or as big as all of Europe, is bounded to the north by Russia and Mongolia, to the west by Russia and India, to the southwest by the Himalayas, to the south by Indochina and the South China Sea, and to the east by the Yellow Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Three major rivers flow through China: the Huanghe (Yellow River) in the north; the Yangzi in the heartland; and the Zhujiang (Pearl River) in the south. Eighty-five percent of China's land is nonarable, and the rest is regularly plagued by flood and drought.

Upon this land, China now feeds its 1.3 billion people (1990), one-fifth of humanity. Ninety-four percent are Han Chinese; the remaining six percent are made up of the 55 non-Han minorities, the most prominent of whom are the Zhuang, Hui, Uighur, Yi, Tibetan, Miao, Mongol, Korean, and Yao. These minorities have their own history, religion, language, and culture.

The official language of China is *putonghua* or Mandarin (*guanhua*), spoken by over 70 percent of the Han Chinese. The remaining Chinese, living mostly in southern China, speak the other seven major Chinese dialects: *wu*, *xiang*, *gan*, northern *min*, southern *min*, *yue* (Cantonese), and *kejia*

(Hakka). In spite of their mutual unintelligibility, all eight branches of Chinese share the same writing system, the only fully developed ancient system of writing still used. The earliest examples of this system of Chinese writing appear on thousands of animal bones and tortoise shells from the middle of the second millennium B.C., during the late Shang Dynasty. However, according to recent archeological evidence, some 32 inscribed symbols on painted pottery from an early Yangshao culture site near Xi'an in Shaanxi, suggest the existence of Chinese writing as early as 6,000 years ago.

HISTORY

Chinese historians have estimated that Chinese civilization began about 5,000 years ago in the Huanghe (Yellow) River basin and the middle Yangzi region. The voluminous history, *Shi Ji* ("Historical Records"), by Sima Qian (b. 145 B.C.) and recent archeological finds support the validity of the assumption. For example, the neolithic sites of the Yangshao culture along the midsection of the Yellow River confirm the traditional view that the river basin was the cradle of the Chinese civilization.

Legends have it that Huangdi ("the Yellow Emperor") defeated his rival tribes, established the first Chinese kingdom, made himself *tienzi*, or "The Son of Heaven," and invented many things for the benefit of his people, including clothing, boats, carts, medicine, the compass, and writing. Following Huangdi, historians believe that the Xia Dynasty (2100-1600 B.C.) was the first dynasty of China and marked the beginning of Chinese history. Xia, weakened by corruption in its final decades, was eventually conquered by a Shang king to the east who established the Shang Dynasty (1600-1100 B.C.). The Shang achievements can be readily seen from the remnants of its spectacular palaces, well-crafted giant bronze cauldrons, refined jade carvings, and massive written records. During the Zhou Dynasty (1100-771 B.C.), the Chinese idea of the emperor, being the "Son of Heaven" who derived his mandate from heaven, was firmly established. In the highly organized feudal society, the Zhou royal family ruled over hundreds of feudal states.

Beginning in 770 B.C., Chinese history entered two periods of turmoil and war: the Spring/Autumn (770-476 B.C.) and the Warring States (475-221 B.C.). During these 550 years, the former feudal states engaged in perpetual wars and brutal conquests. During the same time, China witnessed unprecedented progress in agriculture, science, and technology and reached the golden age of Chinese philosophy and literature. Confucius (551-479 B.C.),

founder of Confucianism; Laozi (sixth century), the founder of Daoism; the egalitarian Mozi (480-420 B.C.); and Han-fei (280-233 B.C.), founder of legalism, defined the character of Chinese civilization and made profound and enduring contributions to the intellectual history of the world.

Qin Shi Huangdi of the Qin state finally crushed all the rival states and emerged as the sole ruler of the Chinese empire in 221 B.C. Qin extended the borders of China; imposed harsh laws; completed the Great Wall; built a transportation network; and standardized weights, measures, currency, and, most importantly, the Chinese writing system. The brutality of his rule soon led to widespread rebellion, and the Qin rule was eventually replaced by the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). The Han emperor firmly established the Chinese state under Confucianism and created an educational and civil service system that remained in use until 1911. During this period, China came into contact with the Roman Empire and with India.

During the Sui-Tang era, China traded extensively by land and by sea with the known world, and Islam, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity were brought into China. But Tang began to decline toward the end of the eighth century, causing rebellions of warlords from within and invasions from without. After Tang, China was again divided. In 1211 Genghis Khan, a Mongolian leader, began the invasion into China from the north, but the conquest was not completed until 1279 under Kublai Khan, his grandson, who established the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) in China. During Mongolian rule, China traded extensively with Europe, and Marco Polo brought China's achievements to European attention.

The decline of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) led to the conquest of China for the second time by a foreign power, the Manchu, from the northeast. The Manchu established the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and again expanded China's borders. Like the Mongols, however, the Manchu conquerors were also conquered and absorbed by the Chinese. Failed reform within the Qing administration, internal pressure through various organized rebellions, external pressure from the major Western powers, and the military defeat by Japan in 1895 all led China to become increasingly isolated and weak.

MODERN ERA

The isolation was finally broken when the British defeated China in the Opium War (1839-1842), forcing China to open its ports to international trade and exposing China in the next 100 years to

Western domination. Under the yoke of imperialism and mounting political corruption and internal unrest, especially the Taiping Uprising, the Qing Dynasty collapsed in a revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911.

The new Republic of China, under the leadership of Sun, his dictatorial successor Chiang Kai-shek, and the Nationalist party (Guomindang or Kuomintang), proved both weak and corrupt. From the invasion by Japan, which began in 1931, to a strong insurgent movement led by Communist Mao Tse-tung, the Chiang regime was severely undermined and eventually ousted from China in 1949, retreating to Taiwan under U.S. military protection. Mao established the People's Republic of China, free from foreign domination for the first time since the Opium War. His alliance with the Soviet Union in the 1950s, however, led to its isolation throughout the Cold War. His support of the wars in Korea and Vietnam made China the enemy of the United States. The United States-China detente was initiated in the historic meeting between President Richard Nixon and Mao Tse-tung and Chou Enlai in 1972. In 1978, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, China also undertook a series of bold economic reforms. In 1979 the United States broke ties with Taiwan and normalized its relations with China. Since the end of the Cold War, China has become a major political and economic power in an increasingly economically integrated, yet disorderly world.

During the war in Yugoslavia in 1999, relations between China and the United States became strained. On May 7, 1999, in what Secretary of Defense Harold Brown called a "stupid" mistake, a U.S. war plane bombed the Chinese Embassy, killing two persons and injuring several others. The United States explained that it had used an old map to find its targets, but Chinese Foreign Minister Tan Jiaxuan called the explanation "unconvincing" and questioned whether it was a mistake.

HISTORY OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION

In many respects, the motivations for Chinese to go to the United States are similar to those of most immigrants; some came to "the Gold Mountain" (*Jinshan* in Mandarin or *Gumsaan* in Cantonese), the United States, to seek better economic opportunity, while others were compelled to leave China either as contract laborers or refugees. They brought with them their language, culture, social institutions, and customs, and over time, they made lasting contributions to their adopted country and tried to become an integral part of the U.S. population.

However, their collective experience as a racial minority, since they first arrived in the mid-nineteenth century, differs significantly from the European immigrant groups and other racial minorities. Chinese were singled out for discrimination through laws enacted by states in which they had settled; they were the first immigrant group to be targeted for exclusion and denial of citizenship by the U.S. Congress in 1882. Their encounter with Euro-Americans has been shaped not just by their cultural roots and self-perceptions but also by the changing bilateral relations between the United States and China. The steady infusion of immigrants from China and Taiwan and easy access to traditional and popular cultures from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, through telecommunication and trans-Pacific travel, have helped create a new Chinese America that is as diverse as it is fast-changing. Chinese American influence in politics, culture, and science, is felt as much in the United States as it is in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

The movement of the Chinese population within China (called the *han*, or *tang*, people in pre-twentieth century China and *huaqiao*, or *huaren*, in the twentieth century), has continued throughout the 5,000-year history of China. *Huaqiao* (literally, sojourning Chinese), or more accurately, *huaren* (persons of Chinese descent), is a term commonly used for Chinese residing outside of China proper or overseas. Today, about 35 million Chinese live outside of China in over 130 countries. Chinese immigration to the United States is part of this great historic process.

Even though ancient Chinese legends and writings, most notably the fifth-century account by Weishen of a land called Fusang, suggest the presence of Chinese in North America centuries before Christopher Columbus, and a few Chinese were reported to be among the settlers in the colonies in the east coast in the eighteenth century, significant Chinese immigration to the West Coast of the United States (*Jinshan*) did not begin until the California Gold Rush.

Chinese immigration can be roughly divided into three periods: 1849-1882, 1882-1965, and 1965 to the present. The first period, also known as the first wave, began shortly after the Gold Rush in California and ended abruptly with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first race-based immigration law. During this period, the Chinese could act like other pioneers of the West and were allowed to immigrate or travel freely between China and San Francisco. Thousands of Chinese, mostly young male peasants, left their villages in the rural counties around the Zhujiang, or Pearl River,

delta in Guangdong Province in southern China to become contract laborers in the American West. They were recruited to extract metals and minerals, construct a vast railroad network, reclaim swamplands, build irrigation systems, work as migrant agricultural laborers, develop the fishing industry, and operate highly competitive, labor-intensive manufacturing industries in the western states. The term limit of their contracts, together with the strong anti-Chinese sentiment that greeted them upon their arrival, precluded most of them from becoming permanent settlers. Under these circumstances, most of the laborers had only limited objectives: to advance their own and their families' economic well-being during their sojourn and to return to their ancestral villages to enjoy the fruits of their labor during retirement. At the end of the first period, the Chinese population in the United States was about 110,000, or one-fifth of one percent, of the U.S. total.

When Chinese labor was no longer needed and political agitation against the Chinese intensified, the U.S. Congress enacted a series of very harsh anti-Chinese laws, beginning in 1882, designed to exclude Chinese immigrants and deny naturalization and democratic rights to those already in the United States. Throughout most of the second period (the period of exclusion; 1882-1965), only diplomats, merchants, and students and their dependents were allowed to travel between the United States and China. Occasional loopholes in the late 1940s and 1950s, created by special legislation for 105 Chinese immigrants per year in 1943, the presence of Chinese American war brides in 1946, and selected refugees in 1953 and 1961, allowed some Chinese to enter. Otherwise, throughout this period, Chinese Americans were confined largely to segregated ghettos, called Chinatowns, in major cities and isolated pockets in rural areas across the country. Deprived of their democratic rights, they made extensive use of the courts and diplomatic channels to defend themselves, but with limited success.

The Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, particularly the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, finally ushered in a new era, the third period in Chinese American immigration history. Chinese Americans were liberated from a structure of racial oppression. The former legislation restored many of the basic rights denied Chinese Americans, while the latter abolished the racist law that severely restricted Chinese immigration and prevented Chinese Americans from being reunited with their loved ones. Under these new laws, thousands of Chinese came to the United States each year to

reunite with their families and young Chinese Americans mobilized to demand racial equality and social justice.

Equally significant are two other types of Chinese immigrants who have been entering the United States since the early 1970s. The first type consists of highly select and well-educated Chinese. No less than 250,000 Chinese intellectuals, scientists, and engineers have come to the United States for advanced degrees. Most of them have stayed to contribute to U.S. preeminence in science and technology. The second type is made up of tens of thousands of Chinese immigrants who have entered the United States to escape either political instability or repression throughout East and Southeast Asia, the result of a dramatic reversal of the U.S. Cold War policies toward China in 1972 and toward Vietnam in 1975. Some of these are Chinese from the upper and middle classes of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and throughout Southeast Asia who want long-term security for themselves, their businesses, and their children. Others are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam and Cambodia who became impoverished refugees and "boat people," when Vietnam implemented its anti-Chinese or "ethnic cleansing" policies in 1978. It was this steady infusion of Chinese immigrants that accounted for the substantial increase of the Chinese American population, amounting to 1.6 million in the 1990 census, making them the largest Asian American group in the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Economic development and racial exclusion defined the patterns of Chinese American settlement. Before the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the patterns of Chinese settlement followed the patterns of economic development of the western states. Since mining and railway construction dominated the western economy, Chinese immigrants settled mostly in California and states west of the Rocky Mountains. As these industries declined and anti-Chinese agitation intensified, the Chinese retreated—and sometimes were forced by mainstream society—into small import-export businesses and labor-intensive manufacturing (garments, wool, cigars, and shoes) and service industries (laundry, domestic work, and restaurants) in such rising cities as San Francisco, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Seattle; into agriculture in rural communities in California; and into small retail business in black rural communities in the Deep South. Some Chinese found themselves systematically evicted from jobs, land, and businesses and their rights, privileges, and sanctuaries in main-

stream society permanently suspended. By the early twentieth century, over 80 percent of the Chinese population were found in Chinatowns in major cities in the United States.

Chinatowns remained isolated and ignored by the American mainstream until after World War II. After the war, as the United States became a racially more open and tolerant society, emigration from the Chinatowns began. With new employment opportunities, a steady stream of Chinese Americans moved into new neighborhoods in cities and into sprawling suburbs, built around the rising military-industrial complex during the Cold War. As the new waves of postwar immigrants arrived, the poor moved into historic Chinatowns and the more affluent settled into new neighborhoods and suburbs, creating the so-called new Chinatowns in

“I myself rarely left Chinatown, only when I had to buy American things downtown. The area around Union Square was a dangerous place for us, you see, especially at nighttime before the quake [1906]. Chinese were often attacked by thugs there and all of us had to have a police whistle with us all the time.”

Gim Chang, a Chinese resident of San Francisco, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

cities including San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, and Houston, and a string of suburbs with strong Chinese American presence, such as the ones along Interstate 10 west of Los Angeles and Highway 101 between San Francisco and San Jose. The new immigrants brought new cultural and economic vitality into both the new and the old communities even as they actively interacted with their Euro-American counterparts.

From interactions under ghetto confinement, to the rise of a suburban Chinese American middle class, to the revitalization of historic Chinatowns, Chinese American communities across the United States have become more diverse, dynamic, and divided, with the arrival of new waves of immigrants creating new conflicts as well as opportunities that are uniquely Chinese American.

The growth and proliferation of the Chinese American population in the last three decades also aroused resentment and hostility in cities and suburbs and in the spheres of education and employment. For example, some neighborhoods and suburbs, most notably, San Francisco and Monterey Park, California tried to curb Chinese American

population growth and business expansion by restrictive zoning. Chinese American achievements in education, seen with increasing apprehension in some cases, has led to the use of discriminatory means to slow down or reverse their enrollment in select schools and colleges. Since the early 1980s, there has been a steady increase in incidents of racial violence reported. These trends have been viewed with increasing alarm by Chinese Americans across the United States.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries, Chinatown was a permanent home for the Chinese who were cut off from China “like orphans” (*haiwai guer*) and yet disenfranchised from the Euro-American mainstream. Assimilation was never a viable choice for Chinese Americans, who were excluded and denied citizenship because they were deemed nonassimilable by the white mainstream.

In 1852 Governor John Bigler of California, demanded Chinese exclusion on the grounds that they were nonassimilable. In 1854 the California Supreme Court, in *Hall v. People*, ruled that Chinese testimony against whites was inadmissible in a court of law because, “the same rule which would admit them to testify, would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship; and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls.” By congressional statutes and judicial decisions, Chinese immigrants were made ineligible for naturalization, rendering them politically disenfranchised in a so-called democracy and exposing them to frequent and flagrant violations of their constitutional rights.

Chinese Americans could not understand how the United States could use gunboat diplomacy to open the door of China and at the same time use democracy to close the door to Chinese Americans. The bitter encounter with American democracy and hypocrisy planted a seed of modern Chinese nationalism, which led the Chinese Americans to fight for equal rights at home and to orient their collective will toward freeing China from imperialist domination. They linked the racial oppression of the Chinese in the United States to the impotence of China.

Life within the Chinatown ghetto, therefore, was hard but not stagnant. Legally discriminated against and politically disenfranchised, Chinese Americans established their roots in Chinatowns,

fought racism through aggressive litigation and diplomatic channels, and participated actively in various economic development projects and political movements to modernize China. For the immigrant generation, there was only one choice, modernization for themselves and for China. Assimilation was seen as an impossibility. For the American-born generation, many members of which made a concerted effort to assimilate, mainstream society remained inhospitable.

In the nineteenth century, most Chinese immigrants saw no future in the United States and oriented their lives toward eventual return to China, *luoye-guigen*, translated it means “fallen leaves return to their roots.” With this sojourner mentality, they developed a high degree of tolerance for hardship and racial discrimination and maintained a frugal Chinese lifestyle, which included living modestly; observing Chinese customs and festivals through family and district associations; sending regular remittance to parents, wives, and children, and maintaining village ancestral halls and charities. Parents tried to instill Chinese language and culture in their children, send them to Chinese schools in the community or in China, motivate them to excel in American education, and above all, arrange marriages. The parents in Louis Chu’s *Eat a Bowl of Tea* (1961) tried to find their sons brides in villages in the Zhujiang delta. For the most part, their sole aspiration was to work hard and save enough to retire in comfort back in the villages from which they came.

They also joined social organizations. District associations (*huiguan*) and family associations (*gongsuo*), respectively, represented the collective interest and well-being of persons from the same villages or counties and persons with the same family names. These ascriptive organizations provided aid and comfort to their members, arbitrated disputes, helped find jobs and housing, established schools and temples, and sponsored social and cultural events. Most of these organizations had branches in different Chinatowns, enabling members to travel from one city to another. Together, these organizations formed the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association in each city, a de facto ghetto government, to settle disputes among individuals and organizations and to represent the community’s interests with both U.S. and Chinese governments, at times through civil disobedience, passive resistance, and litigation, and at other times through diplomatic channels and grassroots protests instigated in China. Their activities brought mixed blessings to the community. At times, these organizations became too powerful and oppressive, and they also obstructed social and political progress. With-

out question, they left an enduring legacy in Chinese America.

Into these uniquely American ghettos also came a string of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, establishing churches and schools and trying to convert and assimilate the Chinese, as well as a steady stream of political factions and reformers from China, advancing their agendas for modernizing China and recruiting Chinese Americans to support and work for their causes. Both were agents of change, but they worked on different constituencies and at cross purposes: one tried to assimilate them, while the other tried to instill in them a cultural and political loyalty to China.

Virtually all major Christian churches established missions and schools in San Francisco’s Chinatown, the largest in the United States and the center of cultural, economic, and political life of Chinese in North America. Among the most enduring institutions were the YMCA and YWCA, the St. Mary’s Chinese Mission School, and the Cameron House, a Presbyterian home for “rescued” Chinese prostitutes. The churches, in general, were more successful in winning converts among the American-born generation.

Proportionally smaller in number, those Chinese Americans who were exposed to a segregated but American education very quickly became aware of their inferior status. Many became ashamed of their appearance, status, and culture. Self-hatred and the need to be accepted by white society became their primary obsession. In practice this meant the rejection of their cultural and linguistic heritage and the pursuit of thoroughgoing Americanization: adoption of American values, personality traits, and social behaviors and conversion to Christianity.

Denying their racial and cultural identity failed to gain them social acceptance in the period before World War II. Most found themselves still shut out of the mainstream and were prevented from competing for jobs, even if they were well qualified. Some were compelled to choose between staying in the United States as second-class citizens and going to China, a country whose language and culture had, ironically, become alien to them on account of their attempted assimilation.

For the immigrant generation, there was only one choice: staking their future in China. China’s modernization occupied their attention and energy because they attributed their inferior status in the United States to the impotence of China as a nation under Western domination. Reformers from opposing camps in China invariably found an eager audience and generous supporters among the Chinese in the United States. Among the political reformers

who frequented Chinatowns across the United States to raise funds and recruit supporters were Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Sun Yat-sen before the 1911 Revolution. During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-41), several leaders of the ruling Kuomintang also toured the United States to mobilize Chinese American support; among them were General Cai Tingkai and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The factional dispute between the pro-China and pro-Taiwan forces is very much a part of this political legacy. In essence, China's political factionalism became an integral part of Chinese American life.

Between efforts of the missionaries and political reformers, many churches and political parties were established and sectarian schools and newspapers founded. Schools and newspapers became some of the most influential and enduring institutions in Chinese America. Together they played an important role in perpetuating the Chinese culture among the Chinese and in introducing Chinese to ideas of modernity and nationalism.

CUISINE

Chinese tea was a popular beverage in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. Since the 1960s, Chinese cuisine has been an integral part of the American diet as well. Chinese restaurants are found in small towns and large cities across the United States. Key ingredients for preparing authentic Chinese dishes are now found in all chain supermarkets, and lessons in Chinese cooking are regular features on national television. Chinese take-outs, catering, and chain restaurants have become commonplace in major cities, and Chinese *dim sum*, salads, and pastas can be found in cocktail lounges and exclusive clubs and resorts. Gone are such pre-1960 dishes as chop suey, chow mien, egg fooyung, and barbecue spareribs. In fact, many Americans have mastered the use of chopsticks and acquired the taste for sophisticated Chinese regional cuisines, such as Cantonese, Kejia (Hakka), Sichuan (Szechuan), Shangdong, Hunan, Mandarin (Beijing), Taiwan (Minnan), Chaozhou (Teochiu), and Shanghai. American households now routinely use Chinese ingredients, like soy sauce, ginger, and hoisin sauce in their food; employ Chinese cooking techniques, such as stir frying; and include Chinese cooking utensils, like the wok and the cleaver, in their kitchens.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Very few Chinese Americans now wear traditional Chinese clothing. On special occasions, some tradi-

tional costumes are worn. For example, on the wedding day, a bride might wear a Western wedding gown for the wedding ceremony and then change into a traditional Chinese wedding gown, called *gua*, for the tea ceremony and banquet. In some traditional families, the elders sometimes wear traditional Chinese formal clothes to greet guests on Chinese New Year's Day. Sometimes, young Chinese American women wear the tightly fitted *cengsam* (*chongsam*), or *qipao*, for formal parties or banquets. Occasionally, Chinese styles find their way into American high fashion and Hollywood movies.

DANCES AND SONGS

Chinese opera and folk songs are performed and sung in the Chinese American community. Cantonese opera, once very popular in Chinatown, is performed for older audiences, and small opera singing clubs are found in major Chinatowns in North America. Rarer is the performance of Peking opera. Among the well-educated Chinese, concerts featuring Chinese folk and art songs are well attended and amateur groups singing this type of music can be found in most cities with significant Chinese American populations. Similarly, both classical and folk dances continue to find some following among Chinese Americans. The Chinese Folk Dance Association of San Francisco is one of several groups that promotes this activity. Most American-born Chinese and younger new immigrants, however, prefer either American popular music or Cantonese and Mandarin popular music from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

HOLIDAYS

Most Chinese Americans today observe the major holidays of the Chinese lunar calendar (*yin li*). Today, Chinese calendars routinely provide both the solar (*yang li*) and lunar calendars, and Chinese daily newspapers provide both kinds of dates. The most important holiday is the Chinese New Year or the Spring Festival (*chun jie*), which is also a school holiday in San Francisco.

Family members get together for special feasts and celebrations. The Feast of the Dead (*qing ming* or *sao mu*), the fifteenth day of the third lunar month, is devoted to tidying tombs and worshiping ancestors. The Dragon-boat Festival (*duan wu* or *duan yang*), on the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month, commemorates the death of renown poet, Qu Yuan, who threw himself into the River Milu Jiang in 277 B.C. Usually a dragon-boat race is held



Chinese American performers carry a red and gold dragon while celebrating the Chinese New Year.

and a special dumpling (*zong zi*) is served. For the August Moon Festival (*zhong jiu*), the ninth day of the eighth lunar month, family and friends gather to admire the moon and eat “moon cakes” (*yue bing*).

The founding of the People’s Republic of China (*guo qing jie*), October 1, 1949 of the solar calendar, is observed by Chinese Americans with banquets and cultural performances in major cities in the United States. Likewise, the founding of the republic by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, October 10, 1911, is commemorated each year in Chinatowns by groups closely associated with the Nationalist government in Taiwan. Not as widely observed are the Children’s Day (*er tong jie*) on June 1, Woman’s Day (*fu nu jie*) on March 8, and May Day (*lao dong jie*) on May 1.

HEALTH ISSUES

Prewar housing and job discrimination forced the Chinese to live within American ghettos. Discrimination also denied Chinese Americans access to health care and other services. Most relied on traditional Chinese herbal medicine, and the community had to found its own Western hospital, Chinese

Hospital, in the early twentieth century. By the time the postwar immigrants arrived in large numbers in the 1960s, Chinatown was bursting at the seams, burdened with seemingly intractable health and mental health problems.

Chinatowns in San Francisco and New York are among the most densely populated areas in the United States. Housing has always been substandard and overcrowded. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Chinatown in San Francisco had the dubious distinction of having the highest tuberculosis and suicide rates in the United States. High unemployment and underemployment rates exposed thousands of new immigrants to severe exploitation in sweatshops and restaurants. School drop-outs, juvenile delinquency, and gang wars were symptoms of underlying social pathology.

However, it is wrong to assume that health and mental health problems exist only in the Chinatown ghettos. The overwhelming majority of Chinese Americans no longer live in historic Chinatowns, as mentioned above. While many of the health and mental health-related problems in Chinatown are class-based, many others, such as the language barrier,

Examples of the six Chinese character types.

Pictographs (Pictures)		Ancient	Present
Examples:	sun		日
	moon		月
Ideographs (Symbols)		Ancient	Present
Examples:	up		上
	down		下
Ideographic Combinations			
Examples:	tree 木	+ tree 木	= forest 林
	small 小	+ big 大	= sharp 尖
Ideograph/sound characters			
Examples:	woman 女	+ ma 馬	= mother 媽
	insect 虫	+ ma 馬	= ant 螞
Transferable characters			
Example:	ba 爸	comes from fu 父	father
Loan characters			
Example:	Originally 西	meant "to perch."	

Because birds usually return to perch on their nests at sunset and the sun sets in the west, the word for "to perch" was borrowed to mean "west" (西).

cultural and generational conflict, and attitudes toward illness and soliciting help, are peculiar to Chinese Americans regardless of their class position, education, and place of residence. Mental health service agencies, like the Richmond Maxi Center, in the middle-class Richmond district of San Francisco and the Asians for Community Involvement in the Silicon Valley of California, have been established to meet the needs of Chinese Americans and other Asian Americans. Today, both Chinese and Western medicines are widely used by Chinese Americans, although some use exclusively Chinese medicine while others only Western medicine.

LANGUAGE

Most prewar Chinese arrived in the United States knowing only the various dialects of Cantonese (Yue), one of the major branches of Chinese spoken

in the Zhujiang delta. The maintenance of Chinese has been carried out by a strong network of community language schools and Chinese-language newspapers. However, with the arrival of new immigrants from other parts of China and the world after World War II, virtually all major Chinese dialects were brought to America. Most prominent among these are Cantonese, Putonghua, Minnan, Chaozhou, Shanghai, and Kejia. Fortunately, one common written Chinese helps communication across dialects.

Today, Chinese is maintained through homes, community language schools, newspapers, radio, and television, and increasingly, through foreign language classes at mainstream schools and universities. The rapid increase of immigrant students since 1965 also gave rise to growing demand for equality of educational opportunity in the form of bilingual

education, a demand that resulted in a 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau vs. Nichols*, a case brought by Chinese American parents in San Francisco. Hand in hand with this trend is the teaching of Mandarin or *Putonghua*, China's national spoken language, in public and community schools.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Cantonese greetings and other popular expressions include: *Nei hou ma?* (How are you?); *Hou loi mou gin* (Long time no see); *Seg zo fan mei?* (Have you eaten?); *Zoi gin* (Good-bye); *Zou tao* (Good night); *Deg han loi co* (Let's get together again); *Do ze* (Thank you); *M'sai hag hei* (Don't mention it); *Gung hei* (Congratulations); and *Gung hei Fad coi* (Have a prosperous New Year). Mandarin greetings and other popular expressions include: *Ni hao* (How do you do); *Xiexie* (Thank you); *Bu yong xie* or *Bu yong keqi* (Don't mention it); *Dui bu qi* (Excuse me); *Mei guanxi* (It's Okay); and *Zaijian* (Good-bye).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Since most Chinese before 1882 came as contract laborers to perform specific tasks, the Chinese population in the United States in the nineteenth century was predominantly young males, either not yet married or married with their wives and children left in the villages in southern China. According to the 1890 census, there were 107,488 Chinese in the United States. Of these 103,620, or 96.4 percent, were males and only 3,868, or 3.6 percent, were females. Among the male population, 26.1 percent were married, 69 percent single, and 4.9 percent were either widowed or divorced. The male-female ratio was not balanced until 1970.

This uneven sex distribution gave rise to an image of Chinatown as a bachelor society, vividly captured in the pictures taken by Arnold Genthe in San Francisco before the 1905 earthquake and in the description by Liang Qichao during his 1903 travel to the United States. Normal family life for most Chinese Americans did not begin until after World War II, when several thousand war brides were brought in by Chinese American GIs.

The exclusion and anti-miscegenation laws forced most Chinese in the United States to maintain their families across the Pacific. Only the privileged merchant class was able to bring over their wives and children. Under such circumstances, the Chinese population in the United States declined steadily, dipping as low as 61,639 in 1920, before it

started to rise again. The Chinese American population therefore had to wait until after World War II for the emergence of an American-born political leadership.

The abnormal conditions also contributed to widespread prostitution, gambling, and opium smoking, most of which were overseen by secret societies, known as *tongs*, often with the consent of both the Chinatown establishment and corrupt local law-enforcement agencies. The struggle for control of these illicit businesses also gave rise to frequent intrigues, violence, and political corruption and to sensational press coverage of the so-called tong wars.

It was not until the second decade of the twentieth century that a significant, but still proportionally small, American-born generation began to emerge. According to the 1920 census, only 30 percent of Chinese in America were born in the United States, and therefore, American citizens. The ratio of American born to foreign born was finally reversed in 1960, only to be reversed again in 1970 with the massive influx of new immigrants. Unlike the prewar immigrants, the new immigrants came to the United States with their families, and they came to stay permanently.

Today, most middle-class Chinese Americans place the highest priority on raising and maintaining the family: providing for the immediate members of the family (grandparents, parents, and children), acquiring an adequate and secure home for the family, and investing comparatively greater amounts of time and annual income in their children's education. Even among the poorer families, which have neither financial security nor decent housing, keeping the family intact and close and doing all they can to support their children are also priorities. This is why Chinese Americans continue to perform well in education across all income levels, even if the success rates among the poor are less impressive than those among the better off. Across the nation, Chinese American educational achievement is well known. In particular, Chinese Americans are disproportionately represented among the top research universities and the elite small liberal colleges. In graduate and professional schools, they are overrepresented in certain areas, but underrepresented in others. In addition to Chinese American students, there are thousands of Chinese foreign students from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

However, it is wrong to assume that all Chinese Americans are living in happy, intact, successful families and raising obedient, motivated, and college-bound children. Traditional Chinese concepts of family and child-rearing, for both the rich and

poor, have undergone drastic changes in America due to job status, income levels, living arrangements, and neighborhood conditions, as well as the social and cultural environment of the United States. Chinese Americans face their share of family break-ups, domestic violence, school drop-outs, drug addiction, gang activities, etc.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Racism and past policies of racial segregation have kept Chinese Americans largely separated from the mainstream of the society. Nevertheless, there has been contact between Chinese and other racial groups. For example, some Chinese established small general stores in poor black communities in the rural areas along the Mississippi valley after the Civil War. White missionaries and prostitutes found nineteenth-century Chinatowns to be productive places to carry out their business. Some Chinese laborers married American Indian and Mexican women during the period of exclusion, in spite of anti-miscegenation laws in virtually every state.

Since the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, intermarriage has become more common as U.S. society becomes more open and Chinese Americans more affluent. However, racial prejudice and traditional racist stereotypes persist, contributing to racial distrust and conflict between Chinese Americans and whites, as well as between Chinese Americans and African Americans. For example, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a large number of Chinese American parents in San Francisco mobilized to oppose court-ordered school integration. Chinese American engineer Vincent Chin was brutally murdered in Detroit in 1982 by two unemployed white auto workers because he was assumed to be Japanese and somehow responsible for their loss of jobs. Chinese American Jim Loo of Raleigh, North Carolina, was killed in 1989 by a white person because he was presumed to be a Vietnamese responsible for American deaths in Vietnam.

RELIGION

All kinds of religions are practiced in the Chinese American community today. There are Christians as well as Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucianists. Chinese churches and temples (*miao*) are found wherever there are Chinese Americans. Most of the old temples are found in historic Chinatowns. For example, in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1892, no fewer than 15 temples were present. Some of the temples were dedicated to the Goddess of Heaven (*Tienhou*)—also the god of seamen, fishermen, travelers, and wander-

ers—while others to Emperor Guangong (*Guandi*), a warrior god. Modern temples, such as the one in Hacienda Heights, California, were built by more recent Chinese immigrants from Taiwan. Likewise, Christian churches, organized by dialects, are found in old Chinatowns as well as in the suburbs.

The majority of Chinese Americans could be characterized as irreligious by Western standards of religion. This does not mean, however, that most of them are devoid of any religious feeling or that they do not practice any religion at all. The majority, in fact, practice some form of Buddhism or Daoism, folk religions, and ancestral worship.

Generally speaking, Chinese are pragmatic in their approach to life and religion. They are somewhat superstitious: they believe in the doctrines of *fengsui*, which are intended to help in the organization of a home, and they do not want to do anything they personally think is likely to offend the gods or the ways of nature. Toward this end, they choose who they want to worship and they worship them through certain objects or locations in nature. They also worship through their ancestors, folk heroes, animals, or their representations in idols or images, *as if* they are gods. To these representations, they offer respect and ritual offerings, burning incense, ritual papers, and paper objects to help maintain order and to bring good luck. This is, perhaps, why Chinese rarely become religious fanatics, evangelical, or driven to convert others. Above all, Chinese respect other people's religions as much as they respect their own.

Like most religions, there are rituals and moral teachings. Rituals are observed, learned, and practiced at home and in community temples or village ancestral halls. In the absence of ancestral halls in the United States, they perform rituals at miniature altars at home and in the place of business and in sanctuaries found in district and family associations in Chinatowns. Festivals and important dates in one's family are observed through rituals and banquets. Beliefs or teachings, to most Chinese, are simply ethical wisdom or precepts for living right or in harmony with nature or gods. They are taught through deeds, moral tales, and ethical principles, at home and in temples. Over the centuries, these teachings have combined major ideas and wisdom from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism with local folk religions and village lores.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Before the 1882 Chinese exclusion law, Chinese could be found in all walks of life. However, with

the rise of anti-Chinese movements and the enactment of anti-Chinese laws, Chinese were effectively driven out of most jobs and businesses competitive with whites. Until World War II, Chinese were left with jobs in laundries, Chinese restaurants, sweatshops, gift shops, and grocery stores located in Chinatowns. Even those who were American-born and college educated were unable to find jobs commensurate with their training.

World War II was a turning point for Chinese Americans. Not only were they recruited into all branches of military service, they were also placed in defense-related industries. In spite of racial prejudice, young Chinese Americans excelled in science and technology and made substantial inroads into many new sectors of the labor market during the war. Two significant postwar developments changed the fortune of Chinese Americans. First, the rise of the military industrial complex in suburban areas created opportunities for Chinese Americans in defense-related industries. Second, there was the arrival of many highly educated Chinese immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, whose talents were immediately recognized; they were quickly recruited by the military industrial complex and leading research centers and universities.

In general, the intellectual immigrants settled down in middle-class suburbs near new industrial or research centers, such as Silicon Valley in Santa Clara County, California and NASA Johnson Space Center outside of Houston, Texas. Likewise, affluent pockets of Chinese Americans can be found in such metropolitan areas as Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, San Diego, and Dallas. Since the 1970s, some even used their talents to start their own businesses in the highly competitive high-tech industries. Among the best known are An Wang of Wang Laboratories, David Lee of Qume Corporation, Tom Yuen of AST, and Charles Wang of Computer Associates International. Many of the intellectual immigrants also became leading scientists and top engineers in the United States, giving rise to the false impression that the prewar oppressed Chinese working class had finally pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps. This is the misleading “model minority” stereotype that the media originated and has fiercely maintained since the late 1960s. These highly celebrated intellectuals, in fact, have little, politically, economically, or socially in common with the direct descendants of the prewar Chinese communities in big cities.

Among the post-1965 immigrants were also thousands who came to be reunited with their long-separated loved ones. Most of them settled in well-established, but largely disenfranchised, Chinese

American communities in San Francisco, New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Oakland, and Los Angeles where they became the new urban working class. Many also became small entrepreneurs in neighborhoods throughout these cities, concentrating mostly in laundries, restaurants, and grocery stores. In fact, their presence in these three areas of small business has made them an integral part of the cityscape of American cities. Usually with little or no English, they pursued their “American dream” by working long hours, often with free labor from family members or cheap labor from relatives.

The Chinese American population is, therefore, bifurcated between the poor (working class) and the middle class (professionals and small business owners). The interests of these two groups coincide with each other over such issues as racism and access to quality education, but most of the time, they are at odds with each other. There is much debate over the China-Taiwan conflict, and, regarding housing and employment, their relations are frequently those of landlord-tenant and management-labor, typified by the chronic struggle over land use (e.g., the International Hotel in San Francisco’s Chinatown) and working conditions in Chinatowns (e.g., the Chung Sai Sewing Factory, also in San Francisco’s Chinatown) since 1970.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Unlike European immigrants and African Americans since the Civil War, Chinese immigrants were denied citizenship, systematically discriminated against and disenfranchised until after World War II. Numerically far smaller than Euro-Americans and African Americans, Chinese Americans posed no political threat to the entrenched power, even after they were granted the right of naturalization after the war. They were routinely denied, *de jure* and *de facto*, political and civil rights. It was not until the late 1960s, under the militant leadership of younger Chinese Americans, that they began to mobilize for equal participation with the help of African Americans and in coalition with other Asian American groups.

Three key elements shaped the formation and development of the Chinese American community: racism, U.S.-China relations, and the interaction between these two forces. The intersection of American foreign policy and domestic racial politics compelled Chinese Americans to live under a unique structure of dual domination. They were racially segregated and forced to live under an

apartheid system, and they were subject to the extraterritorial domination of the Chinese government, condoned, if not encouraged at times, by the U.S. government. Chinese Americans were treated as aliens and confined to urban ghettos and governed by an elite merchant class legitimated by the U.S. government and reinforced by the omnipresent diplomatic representatives from China. Social institutions, lifestyles, and political factionalism were reproduced and institutionalized. Conflict over homeland partisan disputes—including the dispute between the reform and revolutionary parties at the beginning of the twentieth century and between the Nationalists led by Chiang Kai-shek and Communists led by Mao Tse-tung in China—kept the community deeply divided. Such divisions drained scarce financial resources and political energy from pressing issues within the community and left behind a legacy of preoccupation with motherland politics and deep political cleavage to this date. During the Cold War, the extraterritorial domination intensified, as military dictators in Taiwan, backed by the United States, extended their repression into the Chinese American community in an effort to insure political loyalty and suppress political dissent.

The African American Civil Rights movement inspired and inaugurated a new era of ethnic pride and political consciousness. Joined by other Asian American groups, American-born, college-age Chinese rejected both the racist model of forced assimilation and the political and cultural domination of the Nationalist government in Taiwan. They also rejected second-class citizenship and the option of returning to Asia. Instead, they demanded liberation from the structure of dual domination. These college students and, later, young professionals contributed most significantly to raising the ethnic and political consciousness of Chinese Americans and helped achieve civil rights. Furthermore, they founded many social service agencies and professional, political, and cultural organizations throughout the United States. They also joined forces with other Asian American college students to push for the establishment of Asian American studies programs in major universities and colleges across the nation.

The politicization of Chinese Americans soon led to the founding of new civil rights and partisan political organizations. Most notable was the founding of Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA) in San Francisco in 1969, a civil rights organization that has been at the forefront of all major issues—employment, education, media, politics, health, census, hate crime, etc.—affecting Chinese Americans across the nation. By the 1970s, two national

organizations, the Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA) and the National Association of Chinese Americans (NACA), were formed in most major cities to serve, respectively, middle-class Chinese Americans and Chinese American intellectuals. Likewise, local partisan clubs and Chinese American Democrats and Republicans were organized to promote Chinese American participation in politics and government.

By the 1980s, some middle-class Chinese Americans began to take interest in local electoral politics. They have enjoyed modest success in the races for less powerful positions, such as school boards and city councils. Among the notable political leaders to emerge were March Fong Eu, secretary of state of California, S. B. Woo, lieutenant governor of Delaware (1984-88), Michael Woo of Los Angeles City Council (1986-90), and Thomas Hsieh and Mabel Teng of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1988.

With increased interest in electoral politics came the demand for greater participation in other branches of government. In 1959 Delbert Wong became the first Chinese American to be appointed a municipal judge in Los Angeles. In 1966 Lim P. Lee was appointed postmaster of San Francisco, and Harry Low, a municipal judge. Low was later appointed to the Superior Court and the California Appellate Court. Also appointed to the municipal bench were Samuel Yee, Leonard Louie, Lillian Sing, and Julie Tang in San Francisco and Jack Bing Tso, James Sing Yip, and Ronald Lew in Los Angeles. Thomas Tang was appointed to the Ninth Circuit Court in 1977 and Elwood Lui to the federal district court in 1984.

Chinese Americans have been predominantly an urban population since the late nineteenth century. Their community has long been divided between the merchant elites and the working-class, and the influx of both poor and affluent immigrants since the late 1960s has deepened the division in the community by class, nativity, dialect, and residential location, giving rise not to just conflicting classes and public images, but also to conflicting visions in Chinese America. The sources of this open split can be traced to the changes in U.S. immigration laws and Cold War policies and to the arrival of diverse Chinese immigrants from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asian countries throughout the Cold War. The division has had serious political and social consequences as Chinese Americans from opposing camps seek political empowerment in cities with a deeply entrenched, white ethnic power structure and emerging African American forces.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Chinese American contributions are significant and far-reaching. In general, it can be said that they contributed in labor to the economic development in the West in the second half of the nineteenth century and to science and technology in the second half of the twentieth century. Even though the nineteenth-century immigrants to the West Coast were mostly peasants working as contract laborers, their collective contribution to the building of the West has long been recognized by historians. Most notable was the completion of the transcontinental railway over the Sierra Nevada and the deserts of Nevada and Utah, and the building of the railroad network throughout the Southwest and into the Deep South. Less known, but no less significant, was the labor they provided for the mining of not just gold but also other minerals from the Pacific Coast to the Rocky Mountains; the construction of the canals, irrigation systems, and land claims that lay the foundation for the well-known and prosperous agribusiness of California; the groundbreaking work in fruit and vegetable farming and fishing industry; and the labor-intensive manufacturing industries, such as garments, shoes, woolen mills, and cigars, which provided the necessities of life in the developing West. Chinese labor was so timely, dependable, and efficient that Stanford historian Mary R. Coolidge, writing in 1909, concluded that “without [it] her [California’s] material progress must long be postponed.” Likewise, the UCLA historian Alexander Saxton, in a more recent book (1971), characterized the Chinese laborers as the “indispensable enemy” in California’s economic development and politics in the nineteenth century.

LITERATURE

In the world of literature, Maxine Hong Kingston and Amy Tan have captured the imagination of the United States with their writings based in part on their personal experiences and stories told in their families. Kingston is best known for her *Women Warrior* (1976), *Chinamen* (1977), and *Tripmaster Monkey* (1989), while Tan is known for her *Joy Luck Club* (1989) and *The Kitchen God’s Wife* (1991). Other accomplished writers, to name a few, include Gish Jen (*Typical American*), David Wong Louie (*Pangs of Love*), and Faye Myenne Ng (*Bone*). Equally successful, in the world of Chinese-language readers, are literary works written in Chinese by Chinese American writers like Chen Ruoxi, Bai Xianyong, Yi Lihua, Liu Daren, and Nie Hualing, who are also widely read in Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, and Southeast Asia.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Equally important are the contributions Chinese Americans made to postwar U.S. accomplishments in science and technology. As mentioned above, one of the most outstanding features of the postwar Chinese immigration is the migration of Chinese intellectuals from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Not only did they boost the large pool of scientists and engineers needed in the military-industrial complex throughout the Cold War, they also emerged as leading scientists and engineers in virtually all major disciplines in research laboratories in industries and research universities. For example, Chinese American scientists and engineers constitute a significant work force in the Silicon Valley and in aerospace centers in Seattle, Los Angeles/Long Beach, and San Diego, as well as in the national research laboratories of Lawrence Livermore, California; Los Alamos, New Mexico; Argonne Laboratory in Illinois; Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California; and NASA Space Centers in Houston, Texas, and Cape Canaveral, Florida. Chinese Americans are also employed in the laboratories of IBM, RCA, Bell Lab, GE, Boeing, 3M, Westinghouse, and in major research universities, from MIT to the University of California, Berkeley.

Many distinguished Chinese American scientists and engineers have received national and international recognition. For example, Chinese Americans who have received Nobel Prizes include: Chen-ning Yang, Cheng-tao Lee, and Tsao-chung Ting in physics and Yuan-tse Lee in chemistry. In mathematics, Shiing-shen Chern, Sing-tung Yao, and Wu-I Hsiang are ranked among the top in the world. In the biological sciences, Cho-hoe Li, Ming-jue Zhang, and Yuet W. Kan have all received honors and awards. The leading American researcher in superconductivity research is Paul Chu. In engineering, T. Y. Lin, structural engineer, received the Presidential Science Award in 1986. Others include Kuan-han Sun, a radiation researcher with Westinghouse; Tien Chang-lin, a mechanical engineer and chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley; Henry Yang, an aerospace engineer and the chancellor of the University of California, Santa Barbara; and Steven Chen, the leading researcher on the next generation of supercomputers.

Among the Chinese American women with national and international reputations in science are Ying-zhu Lin in aeronautics and aeronautical engineering, recipient of the Achievement Award for women engineers in 1985, and Chien-Hsiung Wu in physics.

In March 1997, Wen Ho Lee, an atomic scientist at the Los Alamos National Laboratory near

Albuquerque, New Mexico, was arrested on suspicion of spying for China. Wen Ho Lee was fired for unspecified security violations, but in early May of 1999, federal officials revealed that Wen Ho had transferred secret nuclear weapons computer programs from the Los Alamos computer system to his own desktop computer. Wen Ho denied the charges that he was a spy and claimed that he let no one see the nuclear weapons computer program. In a prepared statement issued on May 6, 1999, Wen Ho said he would “not be a scapegoat for alleged security problems at our country’s nuclear laboratories” and he denied that he ever gave classified information to unauthorized persons.

THEATER, FILM, AND MUSIC

Frank Chin, Genny Lim, and David Henry Hwang have all made lasting contributions to the theater. Among the best known plays of Hwang are *FOB*, *The Dance and the Railroad*, *Family Devotions*, and *M. Butterfly*. Several films of Wayne Wang, *Chan is Missing*, *Dim Sum*, *Eat a Bowl of Tea*, and *Joy Luck Club*, have received critical acclaims. Less famous, but no less important, are the unique Chinese American themes and sounds of jazz compositions and recordings of Fred Ho in New York and Jon Jang in San Francisco.

VISUAL ARTS

Besides their enormous contributions to science and technology, many Chinese Americans also excel in art and literature. Maya Ying Lin is already a legend in her own time. At 21, while an architecture student at Yale University, she created the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., one of the most frequented national monuments. After this enormous success, she went on to design the Civil Rights Memorial in Atlanta, a giant outdoor sculpture commemorating the history of women at her alma mater, and a monumental sculpture at the New York Pennsylvania Railroad Station.

Just as impressive, are the architectural wonders of I. M. Pei. Among his best known works are the East Wing of the National Art Gallery in Washington, D.C., the John F. Kennedy Library at Harvard University, the Boston Museum and the John Hancock Building in Boston, Dallas Symphony Hall, the modern addition to the Louvre in Paris, the Bank of China in Hong Kong, and the Xiangshan Hotel in Beijing.

Anna Sui (1955 –), a native of Detroit, is a famous Chinese American fashion designer. Known

for her stylistic versatility, Sui has dabbled in everything from 1960s fashion to formal evening wear.

MEDIA

PRINT

Chinese-language newspapers have always played an important role in the Chinese American community. Newspapers may be found in most major Chinatowns, from Honolulu to New York. San Francisco, however, has long been the national center for Chinese American newspapers.

The *Gold Hills News*, the first weekly to be published in San Francisco, was founded in April of 1854. The following year, Rev. William Speer, a Presbyterian missionary to Chinatown, published the first bilingual weekly, *Tung Ngai San-Luk (The Oriental)*. A year later, in 1856, the *Chinese Daily News*, the first Chinese daily in the world, began circulation in Sacramento, California.

Unfortunately, technical and financial difficulties made success in print medium elusive. Most did not survive long. It was not until the early twentieth century, under the influence of Chinese nationalism and opposing political parties seeking support among Chinese in the United States, that newspapers in Chinatown flourished and endured for several decades. The factions with influential papers in San Francisco were Hongmen’s *Datung Ribao (Chinese Free Press)*, *Chung Sai Daily*, a neutral daily, edited by Ng Poon Chew, *Shaonian Zhongguo Zhen Bao (Young China Morning Paper)*, founded by Sun Yat-sen, and *Shijie Ribao (The Chinese World)*, a pro-reform party paper.

The next round of blossoming Chinese-language papers began modestly in the early 1970s and, aided by computers, satellite telecommunication, and new printing technology, grew into a major battle in the early 1980s among giant national dailies. The national dailies, printed and distributed simultaneously in major cities in the United States, included *The World Journal (Shijie Ribao)*, *China Times (Zhongguo Shibao)*, *International Daily News (Guoji Ribao)*, *Sing Tao Daily*, and *Centre Daily (Zhong Bao)*. To be added to this list are two other types of dailies: local dailies and dailies transmitted from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In addition to these nationally distributed dailies are numerous local dailies and weeklies and monthlies distributed both locally and nationally. The most notable weeklies in San Francisco have been *Chinese Pacific Weekly (Taipingyang Zhoubao)*, *East-West Chinese American Weekly (Dongxi Bao)*, an independent bilingual paper, and *Asian Week*, an English-only weekly.

Stiff competition for a small pool of Chinese readership and advertising dollars soon eliminated the first of several local dailies and weeklies and some of the national dailies by the late 1980s. Satellite-transmitted dailies from Hong Kong, however, continue to thrive in major cities in the United States.

Chinese American Citizens Alliance.

Newsletter of group with same name featuring news of interest to Chinese Americans.

Contact: Vera Lee Goo, Editor.

Address: 1044 Stockton Street, San Francisco, California 94108.

Telephone: (415) 434-2222.

Chinese Daily News.

Formerly *World Journal*.

Contact: Shihyaw Chen, Editor.

Address: 1588 Corporate Center Drive, Monterey Park, California 91754.

Telephone: (213) 268-4982.

Fax: (213) 265-3476.

The Chinese Press.

Address: 15 Mercer Street, New York, New York 10013.

Telephone: (212) 274-8282.

Sampan.

The only bilingual newspaper in New England serving the Asian community.

Contact: Catherine Anderson or Carmen Chan.

Address: Asian-American Civic Association, 90 Tyler Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02111.

Telephone: (617) 426-9492.

Fax: (617) 482-2315.

Sing Tao Daily.

Contact: Tim S. Lau, Vice President.

Address: 215 Littlefield Avenue, South San Francisco, California 94080.

Telephone: (650) 872-1177; or (800) SINGTAO.

Fax: (650) 872-0234.

RADIO

Global Communication Enterprises, New York; Huayu Radio Broadcast, San Francisco.

TELEVISION

Chinese World Television, New York; Hong Kong Television Broadcasts, U.S.A., Los Angeles; United Chinese TV, San Francisco; Hua Sheng TV, San

Francisco; Pacific TV Broadcasting Co., San Francisco; and Channel 26, San Francisco.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants established most traditional Chinese social organizations in Chinatowns. Most notable were the district associations (*huiguan*) and family name associations (*gongsuo*). Together, they formed the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (CCBA) or the Chinese Six Companies. Before World War II, they were recognized as the leaders and spokesmen of the Chinese American community. Most of these organizations remain today. However, with the passage of time and the rise of new needs and interests, several modern organizations have emerged. Most notable among these are Christian churches of different denominations, secret societies (*tongs*), Chinese schools for different interest groups, trade organizations, guilds, and unions (laundry, garment, cigar, shoes, restaurant, etc.), recreation and youth clubs (YMCA and YWCA), political parties in China (earlier, Chee Kong Tong, Baohuanghui, Tungmenghui, and later, Kuomintang and Xienzhengdang), social and cultural societies, and newspapers. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1908, and the Chinese Hospital was established in 1925. Since the 1960s, new types of organizations have risen and proliferated.

Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA).

A national organization founded early in the twentieth century to fight for Chinese American rights, with chapters in different Chinatowns.

Contact: Collin Lai, President.

Address: 1044 Stockton Street, San Francisco, California 94108.

Telephone: (415) 982-4618.

Chinese American Forum (CAF).

Cultivates understanding among U.S. citizens of Chinese American cultural heritage. Publishes a quarterly.

Contact: T. C. Peng, President.

Address: 606 Brantford Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904.

Telephone: (301) 622-3053.

Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA).

The oldest national Chinese organization in Chinatown, with affiliates in all Chinatowns.

Contact: Yut Y. Eng, President.
Address: 843 Stockton Street, San Francisco,
California 94108.
Telephone: (415) 982-6000.
E-mail: ccba@mindspring.com.

Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA).

The leading civil rights organization of Chinese in the United States.

Contact: Henry Der, Executive Director.
Address: 17 Walter U. Lum Place, San Francisco,
California 98108.
Telephone: (415) 274-6750.

Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA).

A national organization committed to promoting the rights of Chinese Americans, with chapters throughout the United States and a lobbyist office in Washington, D.C. Publishes newsletter *OCA Image*.

Contact: Daphne Quok, Executive Director.
Address: 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite
707, Washington, D.C. 20036.
Telephone: (202) 223-5500.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Center for Chinese Studies (University of Michigan).

Economics, politics, law, literature, and social structure of China; also Chinese history, philosophy, literature, linguistics, and art history. Promotes and supports research in social sciences and humanities relating to China, past and present, by faculty members, graduate students, and associates of the center.

Address: 1080 South University, Suite 3668, Ann Arbor, Michigan 481091106.
Contact: Dr. Ernest P. Young, Director.
Telephone: (734) 764-6308.
Fax: (734) 764-5540.
E-mail: chinese.studies@umich.edu.
Online: <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/ccs/index.html>.

Chinese Culture Center of San Francisco.

A community-based cultural and educational facility, this organization provides space for exhibits, performing arts, conferences, classrooms, and meetings.

Contact: Manni Liu, Acting Executive Director/Curator.

Address: 750 Kearney Street, 3rd Floor,
San Francisco, California 94108.
Telephone: (415) 986-1822.
Fax: (415) 986-2825.
E-mail: info@ccc.org.
Online: <http://www.ccc.org>.

Chinese Historical Society of America.

Devoted to the study of the Chinese people in the United States and the collection of their relics. Ethnic and historical interests of the society are published in its bulletin.

Contact: Philip Choy, President.
Address: 650 Commercial Street, San Francisco,
California 94133.
Telephone: (415) 391-1188.
Fax: (415) 391-1150

Museum of Chinese in the Americas (MoCA).

Founded in 1980 as the New York Chinatown History Project; adopted its present name in 1995. Strives "to reclaim, preserve, and broaden understanding about the diverse history of Chinese people in the Americas." Included is the most extensive collection of Chinese-language newspapers in the United States.

Address: 70 Mulberry Street, 2nd Floor, New York, New York 10013.
Telephone: (212) 619-4785.
Online: <http://fargo.itp.tsoa.nyu.edu/~chin/mca/info.html>.

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CHOCTAWS

by

D. L. Birchfield

OVERVIEW

The Choctaw nation occupies several non-contiguous blocks of land east of the Mississippi River. Larger than Massachusetts, the land area is located primarily in east-central Mississippi, site of the Choctaw ancestral homeland, and in a large contiguous block of land west of the Mississippi River, where the majority of the Choctaws were moved in the early 1830s. Here, the nation takes in the southeast portion of Oklahoma that encompasses ten and one-half counties. Choctaw communities are also located in Louisiana and Alabama.

The Choctaw nation is divided into separate governmental jurisdictions, each operating under its own constitution. The largest of these, and the only two formally recognized by the U.S. government, are the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma and the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Other Choctaw groups, such as the Mowa Choctaws of Alabama, are seeking federal recognition. Since the United States proposed Article IV of the Treaty with the Choctaw in 1820, the official policy of the United States has been to attempt to abolish the Choctaw nation, confiscate its land, and assimilate its people. Article IV states that “the boundaries hereby established between the Choctaw Indians and the United States, on this side of the Mississippi river, shall remain without alteration until the period at which said nation shall become so civilized and enlightened as to be made citizens of the United States.” By

1907, when Oklahoma achieved statehood, the federal government had adopted the position that the Choctaw nation had ceased to exist. Not until the present generation did the courts begin to uphold some of the Choctaw claims to national sovereignty. Making rulings about Choctaw claims has been complicated by competing claims of several state governments and those of the U.S. government.

CHOCTAW SOVEREIGNTY

During the 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century, the U.S. government forcibly moved the Choctaws and other Indian nations into the region that is now the state of Oklahoma. Each nation was forced to accept individual allotments from a tribal land base, their nations were dissolved, and they were forced to become citizens of the new state.

The Choctaw paid a high price to maintain sovereignty. In an 1820 treaty with the United States, the Choctaw acquired new land west of the Mississippi to replace the ancestral homelands east of the Mississippi from which they had been removed. The nation bargained for its right to security within its own government, on its own land in 1830, giving the U.S. government more than ten million acres of land—all of the nation's remaining land in Mississippi and Alabama—in exchange for that right.

In Article IV of the 1830 treaty with the Choctaw, the nation secured this guarantee from the U.S. government: “The Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw Nation of Red People the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw Nation of Red People and their descendants; and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State.”

Few Americans know about the treaty or its contents, and those who do are not eager to acknowledge it. The Oklahoma public education system, for example, does not include this aspect of the state's history in its public school curriculum. Prejudice against indigenous people runs high in Oklahoma, where its citizens do not like to be reminded that their state was founded upon land guaranteed to “Indians.”

THE FIRST CHOCTAWS IN AMERICA

Choctaws are an ancient people, but by their own account, they were the last of earth's inhabitants to appear. According to Choctaw belief, the first peo-

ple to appear upon the earth lived a great distance from what would become the Choctaw homeland. These people emerged from deep beneath the earth's surface through a cave near the sacred mound, *Nanah Waiya*. They draped themselves on bushes around the cave to dry themselves in the sunshine, and then went to their distant homes. Many others followed the same pattern, finding homes closer and closer to the cave. Some of the last to emerge were the Cherokees, Creeks, Natchez, and others, who would become the Choctaw's closest neighbors. Finally, the Choctaws emerged and established their homeland around the sacred mound of *Nanah Waiya*, their mother.

Another Choctaw legend holds that they migrated to the site of *Nanah Waiya* after a great long journey from the northwest, led by a *hopaii* who carried a sacred pole that was planted in the ground each evening. Every morning the people continued their journey toward the rising sun, according to the direction in which the pole leaned. Finally, they awoke one morning to find the pole standing upright. They built *Nanah Waiya* on that site and made their home there.

In another version of the migration story, two brothers, Chahta and Chicksa, led the migration. After arriving at the site of *Nanah Waiya*, the group following Chicksa became lost for many years and became the Chickasaws, the Choctaws' nearest northern neighbors. Today, *Nanah Waiya* is a state park near the headwaters of the Pearl River in the east-central portion of Mississippi. “Mississippi,” from the Choctaw word *Misha sipokni*, means “older than time,” the Choctaw name for the great river of the North American continent.

It is not known whether there is a connection between the Choctaws, who have a great affection for the sacred mound of *Nanah Waiya*, and a mound-building civilization that flourished in North America about 2,000 years ago. This civilization constructed approximately 100,000 mounds in the greater Mississippi River Valley, some of which are among the most colossal structures of antiquity. The base of the Great Temple Mound at Cahokia, Illinois, for example, is three acres larger than the Great Pyramid of Egypt. Archaeologists believe *Nanah Waiya* was probably constructed around 500 B.C.

In the early eighteenth century the Natchez, one of the Choctaw's nearest neighbors, were still practicing a temple mound culture when Europeans first made intimate contact with Indians of that area. Many of the mounds were obliterated by farmers before they could be subjected to scientific study, and others were destroyed by eager amateurs. Remarkably, Americans have shown little interest

in the mounds, limiting most exploration to hunting for pots.

In her doctoral dissertation on Choctaw history at the University of Oklahoma in 1934 (published as *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*), historian Angie Debo attempted to summarize the characteristics of the ancient Choctaws: “They seem to have been distinguished for their peaceful character and their friendly disposition; their dependence on agriculture and trade; the absence of religious feeling and meaningful ceremonial; and their enjoyment of games and social gatherings. A mild, quiet, and kindly people, their institutions present little of spectacular interest; but to the very extent that they were practical minded and adaptable rather than strong and independent and fierce, they readily adopted the customs of the more advanced and more numerous race with which they came in contact.”

BEFORE EUROPEAN CONTACT

The Choctaws were one of the great nations of the western hemisphere, with an estimated population of 20,000 people living in more than 100 agricultural centers. The Cherokees and the Creeks were of similar size. Choctaw territory encompassed more than 23 million acres in present day Mississippi as well as portions of Alabama and Louisiana.

Choctaws enjoyed the reputation of a peaceful, agricultural people. Their large numbers provided them with a measure of security from attack by their neighbors, and they are not known to have been disposed to seek military conquest. In fact, disputes among tribes in the region were sometimes settled by a game of ball. In one famous recorded instance, the Creeks and the Choctaws agreed to settle a disagreement about hunting rights to a watershed that lay between them based on the outcome of a game of ball. Tragically, the game ended in bloodshed and may have marked the last instance in which such disputes were decided in that manner. It is said that a Choctaw player became enraged and grabbed a weapon during play. When he attacked some of the Creek players, everyone took up their weapons. Many of the best players from both nations lay dead before elders could intervene. Because outbreaks of violence were unheard of in such games before this incident, it has been said that the Creeks and Choctaws were in shock that such an event could occur.

FIRST RECORDED CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS

The Choctaws entered European historical records when the Spaniards of Hernando De Soto's expedi-

tion encountered them in the 1540s—an unhappy encounter for both parties. DeSoto, who had been Francisco Pizarro's cavalry captain in Peru, came to the southeastern portion of North America seeking another civilization as rich in gold and silver as the Incas. When he demanded women and baggage carriers of chief Tuscaloosa at the Choctaw town of Moma Bina, a battle ensued, and the Spaniards' baggage train was burned in a fire that also destroyed Moma Bina. The armored Spanish war horses struck terror in the Choctaws, who had never seen horses before, and Choctaw losses in the battle were heavy. The Choctaws nonetheless inflicted a reported 644 arrow wounds on the Spaniards, piercing their skin wherever armor did not protect it. After a period of rest and recovery, DeSoto's expedition passed through Choctaw country without further incident and wintered among the Chickasaws, who trapped them in a fire so hot that the Spanish had to build a forge and re-temper the steel in their swords before crossing the Mississippi and leaving the lands of the southeastern Indians.

RELATIONS WITH THE COLONIZERS

Following the establishment of Louisiana in 1700, the Choctaws and the French became acquainted and maintained an amicable relationship until 1763, when the French were expelled from North America at the conclusion of the French and Indian War. The Choctaws were the pivotal Indian nation with whom the French had to maintain good relations for the security of the Louisiana colony. The French were helped immeasurably in this regard by the depredations of English slave raiders who operated out of the Carolinas and took thousands of Choctaws into slavery in the early eighteenth century.

Choctaw relations with other Indians in the region were greatly affected by the presence of the French. In the 1730s the French waged a war of extermination against the Natchez, close neighbors of the Choctaws. The surviving Natchez fled to the Chickasaws for protection, and the Choctaws were drawn into a war against the Chickasaws that would rage on and off until the French left Louisiana.

The Choctaws experienced the devastating Choctaw Civil War of 1747-1750 when the nation was divided between those who wanted to maintain trade relations exclusively with the French and those who wanted to enter into trade relations with the English. Along with the removal of the Choctaws to the west, the civil war ranks as one of the most catastrophic events in recorded Choctaw history. The war's depopulation of entire villages

severely weakened the Choctaws. Eventually, they realized that only the European colonial powers benefited from this infighting and concluded a peace.

An argument about who was responsible for failing to adequately supply the English faction of the Choctaws has come down to us from the eighteenth century by people deeply involved in attempting to persuade the Choctaws to trade with the English. Among them are James Adair, the English trader among the Chickasaws, in the 1775 British publication *History of the American Indians*, and his one-time business partner Edmond Atkin, in “Historical Account of the Revolt of the Choctaw Indians,” a 1753 manuscript in the British Museum.

After the French were expelled from North America in 1763, the Choctaws maintained relations with the British and Spanish, both of whom courted their allegiance. One result of the Choctaw Civil War was that the Choctaws became very cautious, skilled diplomats at dealing with European colonial powers, an attribute of Choctaw political life that would carry over to dealings with the Americans.

During the Revolutionary War, the Choctaws sided with the Americans, providing scouts for Generals Morgan, Sullivan, Wayne, and Washington, and in 1786, entered into their first formal treaty with the Americans—a treaty of peace and friendship. In their second treaty with the Choctaws in 1801, the Americans secured Choctaw permission to build a wagon road through the Choctaw nation. Shortly afterward, Americans began appearing in Choctaw country in increasing numbers and demanding land, by treaty, with a frequency that alarmed the Choctaws. In 1805, at the negotiations for the Treaty of Mount Dexter, the Americans began pressuring the Choctaws to accept President Thomas Jefferson’s idea of removing themselves to new homes west of the Mississippi River.

Despite these pressures, the Choctaws maintained friendly relations with the United States. In 1811, the Choctaws expelled Tecumseh from their nation when he tried to enlist them in his Indian confederacy, and fought against the Red Stick faction of the Creeks in the ensuing war between the United States and the Creeks, who had chosen to join Tecumseh’s alliance. The Choctaw war chief Pushmataha led 800 Choctaw troops, who became a part of General Andrew Jackson’s army. Pushmataha also led Choctaw troops against the British in support of Jackson’s army at the Battle of New Orleans. Despite Choctaw loyalty, the United States demanded further land cessions in 1816.

In 1820, the Choctaws finally agreed to trade a substantial portion of their land for a huge tract of land west of the Mississippi River; however, they

retained more than ten million acres of their original homeland east of the Mississippi River and did not agree to remove themselves to the west. But in 1830, after Andrew Jackson had become president, the Choctaws were forced to cede the remaining land east of the Mississippi River in a treaty with the United States—also known as the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, or the Choctaw removal treaty—and remove as a nation to the West.

In *Chief Pushmataha, American Patriot*, published in 1959, historian Anna Lewis, revealed that General Andrew Jackson secured the signature of Chief Puckshenubbee, of the Okla Falaya Choctaw division, to the treaty of 1820 by means of blackmail. Puckshenubbee’s daughter had married an American soldier who had deserted. When Jackson learned of this, he threatened to have Puckshenubbee’s son-in-law shot if Puckshenubbee did not sign the treaty. The Americans candidly reported the blackmail to the U.S. State Department. The reports were preserved in the State Department files where Lewis eventually found them.

REMOVAL

The Choctaws were the first Indians to be removed as a nation by the U.S. government to new land in the West. For the most part, the removal was accomplished in three successive, brutal winter migrations during which 2,500 Choctaws died, many from exposure and starvation. In 1831, the newly created Bureau of Indian Affairs conducted the first removal. The government decided that the removal had been too costly, even though by the terms of the removal treaty the Choctaws were to pay the cost of removal out of profits from the sale of their lands in Mississippi. The U.S. Army was placed in charge of the 1832 and 1833 removals, they cut costs by severely reducing both rations and blankets. When the Choctaws ran out of food and attempted to purchase supplies, the citizens of Arkansas reacted by raising the price of corn. By 1834, 11,500 Choctaws had been removed to the west.

About 6,000 Choctaws remained in Mississippi where, by the terms of Article 14 of the removal treaty, they were to be allowed to choose individual land holdings of 640 acres for each head of household, 320 acres for children over the age of ten, and 160 acres for younger children; however, only 69 Choctaw heads of households were allowed to register for land in Mississippi. Finding themselves dispossessed of everything they owned, they became squatters in their former land. Many took to the swamps where they lived as furtive refugees until they were finally provided with a small reservation

near Philadelphia, Mississippi, in the early twentieth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, Mississippi Choctaws continued to remove to the West, often at the urging of official Choctaw delegations sent from the West to induce them to join them.

CHOCTAW NATION

In 1820 (modified by the treaty of 1824) the Choctaws purchased from the United States what amounted to the southern half of the present day state of Oklahoma, an area that included at its western edge the very heartland of the Comanche nation. Upon their arrival in the West in 1834, the Choctaws immediately adopted a written constitution. The constitution was modified in 1837 when the Chickasaws once again became a part of the Choctaw nation, having been removed from their homeland and allowed to choose homes among the Choctaws. They were given a quarter of the votes in the Choctaw legislature. In 1855, the Chickasaws became a separate nation again, purchasing from the Choctaws what is today the central section of southern Oklahoma.

In the West the Choctaws soon recovered from the trauma of removal and established a republic that flourished for a generation. During this generation of peace and prosperity, the Choctaw nation built a stable economy, established its own public school system, governed itself under its own laws, and adopted many of the habits of its American neighbors.

The Choctaw remained largely free from the encroachments of the advancing American frontier until they were caught between warring American factions and drawn into the Civil War. At its outbreak, the Union removed its troops from Indian Territory, leaving the Choctaws defenseless. The Choctaw were surrounded by Confederates and held long-standing grievances against the United States. In addition, a small percentage of the population, predominantly wealthy mixed-blood Choctaws, owned some slaves. Therefore, the Choctaws entered into formal, diplomatic relations with the Confederacy, at which point the United States considered them in rebellion.

The Choctaw nation was little touched by the war. Two minor engagements were fought within the nation, but it was never occupied by troops. Very few Choctaws participated in the war on either side. The nation was overrun by refugees from the Creek and Cherokee nations, however, which *were* occupied by troops. As a result, they all suffered severe food shortages.

In their last treaty with the United States in 1866, the Choctaws were forced to sell their west-

ern lands as punishment for having sided with the Confederacy. The Choctaws also adopted a new constitution, which they patterned explicitly after the American form of government. It provided for a bi-cameral legislature, an executive branch, and a judicial branch.

The most profound effect of the treaty of 1866 was its granting of a railroad right of way, which had the same effect on the Choctaw nation in the last half of the nineteenth century as granting a right of way for a wagon road had in the early part of the century: Americans flooded into the country. By 1890, the Choctaws were outnumbered by Americans within their own country by more than three to one. The Americans did not have the right to own land, were not allowed representation within the nation, and were not allowed to send their children to the Choctaw public schools. They were required to pay taxes, which the Americans considered intolerable. Rather than leave, they clamored for Congress to abolish the Indian nations.

The U.S. Congress had already decided, unilaterally, that the government no longer needed to enter into treaties with Indian nations and that the Congress would legislate Indian affairs. In 1893, Congress authorized the president to seek the dissolution of the nations of the Five Civilized Tribes by persuading them to either allot their land to their individual citizens or cede it to the United States. Under the auspices of the so-called Dawes Commission that resulted, the government spent three years attempting to pressure the Indians into agreeing to allot their lands. Finally, under the threat that Congress would allot the lands for them, the Choctaws negotiated and signed the Atoka Agreement of 1897, providing for the allotment of the tribal estate. In this way they avoided being subjected to the much harsher terms they were being threatened with if they did not negotiate. In 1906, enrollment of tribal members for allotment was closed by the Congress, and in 1907, the Choctaw nation was absorbed into the new state of Oklahoma.

MODERN ERA

The U.S. government virtually ignored the Choctaws, who had remained in Mississippi until after the turn of the century. Then, in 1908 and 1916, the U.S. Congress commissioned studies on the people's condition. Although these Choctaws had remained isolated—living on the margins of the dominant society for generations—they retained their language and culture.

In 1918, the Bureau of Indian Affairs established the Choctaw Indian Agency in Philadelphia,

Mississippi, with an initial budget of \$75,000. The agency established schools in Choctaw communities and, in 1920, began purchasing land, which totaled 16,000 acres by 1944.

For the Choctaws in Oklahoma, allotment proved to be disastrous. Within a generation, most of the allotted land passed from Choctaw ownership to white ownership, often by fraudulent means. Enrolled Choctaws did not receive payment for the sale of the nation's public land until 1920, and for the sale of mineral resources until 1949. The President of the United States appointed a chief for the Choctaws until 1948, to administer these last remaining matters of tribal affairs.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Throughout the twentieth century, Indians have been both overwhelmed and ignored in Oklahoma. In the 1930s, Angie Debo completed the manuscript of her book *And Still the Waters Run*, which details the fraudulent acquisition of Indian land by people then prominent in Oklahoma politics. Debo reported that the dispossession of Indian land allotments was often achieved under the guise of guardianship. Although the University of Oklahoma Press refused to publish the work, it was finally published in 1940 by Princeton University Press. Shortly before her death, Debo read from the University of Oklahoma Press a rejection letter for a documentary film, quoting a characterization of one of her chapters as "dangerous." In fact, the fraud Debo reported was so widespread and perpetuated so openly, that hearing such cases made the Eastern District federal court of Oklahoma the second busiest federal district court in the United States.

Oklahoma has attempted to project the self-image of a state infused with a "pioneer spirit" that sets it apart from other places. Whether in Oklahoma or Hollywood, Americans usually refer to Indians in the past tense and as being apart from contemporary American culture. For most of the twentieth century, the media in Oklahoma has ignored Indians altogether, with the exception of an occasional piece deploring high rates of alcoholism among Indians or focusing on Indian dances as a means of attracting tourist dollars to the state.

The changes in media focus that have begun are in large part due to recent court rulings that allow Indian nations to operate gambling facilities on tribal land within Oklahoma: the mass media could not ignore the state's vigorous opposition to these rulings. Ironically, such attention has con-

tributed to Oklahomans' slowly growing awareness that Indian nations are still intact and maintain their rights as sovereign nations.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Observers have characterized the Choctaw attitude toward life as one that illustrates their belief that they do not exist for the benefit of any political, economic, military, or religious organization. Choctaws also did not favor spectacular ceremonies, religious or otherwise, showing a nearly complete lack of public display, except in the area of oratory.

Choctaws relished and excelled in public oratory, causing some observers to draw comparisons between the Choctaw communities and the small republics of Greek antiquity. When an occasion for public debate presented itself, a large brush arbor was constructed with a hole in the center of the roof. Whoever wanted to speak stood beneath the hole in the full heat of the Mississippi sun while the audience remained comfortably seated in the shade. The Choctaws said they could bear to listen as long as the speaker could bear to stand in the heat and speak.

Oratory skill provided an avenue to upward mobility in Choctaw society. Each district chief appointed a *tichou mingo* as the official spokesperson. The *tichou mingo* had a more visible presence in official life than did the chief. Aiahockatubbee, spokesman for the Okla Falaya district chief Moshulatubbee, is recognized as one of the greatest orators in Choctaw history. It is said that in the 1820s, when Christian missionaries had only been among the Choctaws for a few years, Aiahockatubbee gave them eloquent enunciations of traditional Choctaw beliefs, much to their consternation, although Choctaws gathered from far and wide to hear him. His presence is largely credited with enabling the missionaries to make headway among the Okla Falaya, where district chief Puckshenubbee was an early convert.

Choctaw chiefs were also skilled orators. Okla Hannali war chief Pushmataha was the most persuasive Choctaw public speaker of his generation, with only Aiahockatubbee as his peer. In open debate, Pushmataha persuaded the Choctaws not to join Tecumseh when Tecumseh visited their country seeking their enlistment in his pan-Indian alliance in 1811. The debate was witnessed and later recalled by John Pitchlynn, United States interpreter to the Choctaws.

A brief speech by Homassatubbee, district chief of the Okla Tanap, was recorded by the Americans at the negotiations for the Treaty of Fort Adams in 1801: "I understand our great father,

General Washington, is dead, and that there is another beloved man appointed in his place, and that he is a well wisher of us. Our old brothers, the Chickasaws, have granted a road from Cumberland as far south as our boundary. I grant a continuance of that road which may be straightened. But the old path is not to be thrown away entirely, and a new one made. We are informed by these three beloved men that our father, the President, has sent us a yearly present of which we know nothing. Another thing our father, the President, has promised, without our asking, is that he would send women among us to teach our women to spin and weave. These women may first go among our half-breeds. We wish the old boundary which separates us and the whites to be marked over. We came here sober, to do business, and wish to return sober and request therefore that the liquor we are informed our friends have provided for us may remain in the store.”

In traditional Choctaw society, serious personal disputes were resolved by an institution called a Choctaw duel. In such a duel, the disputants faced one another while their assistants, usually a brother or close friend appointed for the occasion, split their heads open with an ax. Both died, the dispute was resolved, and the community was spared the incessant bickering of people who could not get along with one another. One could not decline the challenge to a Choctaw duel without suffering everlasting disgrace within the community. Needless to say, Choctaws became adept at getting along with one another.

Observers of Choctaw habits consider ball play the most important social event in the life of the Choctaws. Called *Ishtaboli*, the game has been described in greatest detail by H. B. Cushman, the son of Choctaw missionaries who grew up among the Choctaws in the 1820s. Men and women had teams, and when two villages met on the field of play, every item of any value in the villages was riding on the outcome.

The object of the game was to sling a ball made of sewn skins from the webbed pocket at the end of a *kapucha* stick—a slender, stout stick made of hickory—and propel it so that it struck an upright plank at the end of the playing field, which was often a mile long or longer. There were dozens of players on each side, and there appeared to be no rules. Whatever means one might employ to stop the progress of the opponent toward the goal, including tackling, was allowed. Although Choctaws preferred that each player use two sticks to play the game, the Sioux used only one. The games demonstrated great skill at handling, throwing, and passing a ball, but the rough game often resulted in serious injury or

death, for which there was no punishment. Today a version of *Ishtaboli*, called stickball, is still played by the Choctaws.

LANGUAGE

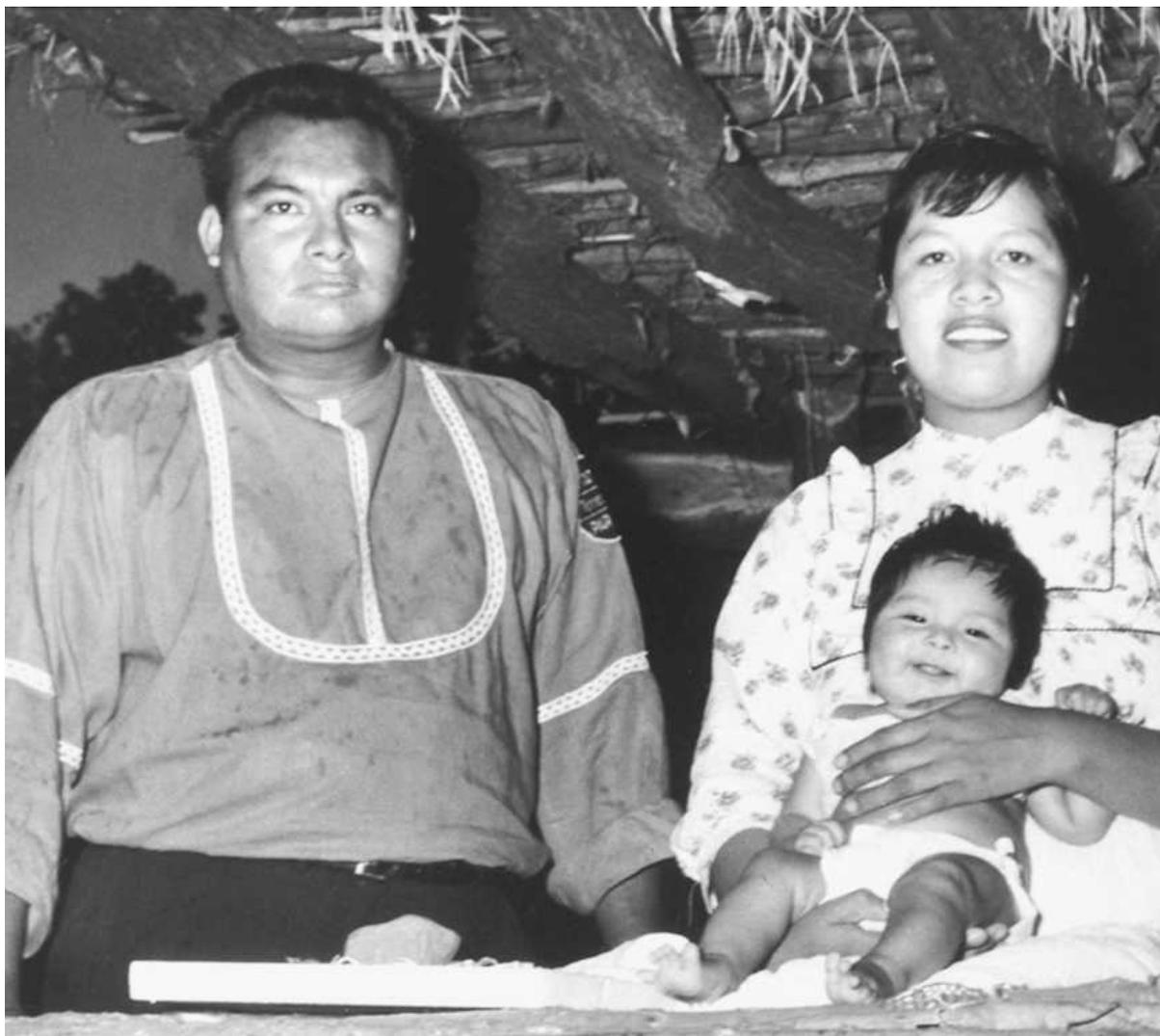
Linguists classify the Choctaw language as Muskogean. It is closely related to the Creek language of the same classification. The Muskogean languages belong to the great Algonkian language family. Of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes (Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees), only the Cherokee, whose language is classified as Iroquoian, speak a non-Muskogean language. Unlike the other tribes, the Cherokees migrated to the southeast from the north, and over time their culture became similar to that of the southern neighbors with whom they have come to be identified among the Five Civilized Tribes.

Linguists theorize that many of the native peoples of the Southeast who had separate identities had at some time in the past been Choctaws. For example, the language of the Alabamas of the Muskogee Confederation (Creeks) is still identifiably Choctaw, although it is a distinctive dialect. The same is true of a number of smaller groups who lived in the region, many of whom did not survive contact with Europeans and the endemic diseases that accompanied European colonization. It appears that groups of people began leaving the Choctaw and establishing separate residences and separate identities many years ago, a process that has continued into recent times. The Chickasaw language is still so similar to Choctaw, for instance, that linguists surmise that the separation of the two could not have occurred very long ago.

Language is also a key to gaining some understanding of how influential the Choctaws were among the native people of North America at the time of early European contact. Ancient trading paths radiated throughout the continent, facilitating commercial intercourse between greatly distant peoples. A pidgin version of the Choctaw language was used along many of the trading paths as the universal medium of trade communication among a wide assortment of diverse peoples. The trading paths were spread over a vast region that encompassed most of what is now generally referred to as the South and extended to other areas.

The missionaries used the Okla Falaya dialect of the Choctaw language to translate ancient myths of the Hebrews for hymns and other proselytizing materials, which in time made the Okla Falaya dialect the standard dialect of the Choctaw language among the Choctaws who were removed to

Mr. And Mrs.
Grady John and
child in 1961.



the West. Within 20 years after the missionaries' arrival among the Choctaws, their printing activity had become feverish. In 1837 alone, Presbyterian minister Cyrus Byington published 576,000 pages of text in the Choctaw language. The effect was comparable to the way in which the printing activity of Thomas Caxton helped to make the dialect of London the standard dialect of the English language.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Europeans and Americans universally failed to appreciate or report the powerful and predominant role of women in Choctaw traditional life. Choctaw culture is matrilineal and, in many respects, matriarchal. Choctaw males were conspicuous in their roles as warriors, and war chiefs exercised a good deal of authority in time of war and conducted the diplomatic business of the nation. Likening such practices to those of their own patriarchal models, European observers failed to appreciate that the real decision-making power in times of peace was found

among the women within the nation. Modern Choctaws have adjusted to the expectations of their colonizers regarding gender roles in visible positions of leadership, but in Choctaw family and social life, and in many organizations, a mature female is found at the very center of the life of the group, whether visible to outsiders or not.

Geographic divisions among ancient Choctaw tribes were roughly decided according to the crests of watersheds. In present-day east-central Mississippi, the headwaters of three rivers can be found: the Pearl, which drains toward the southwest before turning south to empty into the Gulf of Mexico near Lake Pontchartrain, where the Pearl forms the border with Louisiana; the Chickasawhay, an upper tributary of the Pascagoula, which flows toward the south into the Gulf of Mexico near the Alabama border; and the Noxubee, an upper tributary of the Tombigbee, which flows southeast before turning south to flow into Mobile Bay.

The villages of the Okla Falaya (Long People) lived along the headwaters of the Pearl on the western side of the nation. On the eastern side of the nation, along the headwaters of the Noxubee, lived

the Okla Tanap (People of the Opposite Side). And the villages of the Okla Hannali (The Six Town People) were along the headwaters of the Chickasawhay at the southern side of the nation.

The Okla Falaya's relations with the Chickasaws, their nearest northern neighbors, were more congenial than those of other Choctaw divisions. Likewise, the Okla Tanap were generally on good terms with their eastern neighbors, the Choctaw-speaking Alabamas of the Muskogee Confederation, and the Okla Hannali enjoyed frequent contact with the Indians around Mobile Bay. In addition, the Choctaws had chiefs within their nation who served as spokesmen and apologists to neighboring tribes. Called *fanni mingoes*, or squirrel chiefs, they provided individual Choctaws with an opportunity to seek redress for some grievance or an injury caused by an outsider from the *fanni mingo*, rather than seek revenge against the offending tribe. The *fanni mingo* held counsel with the tribe whose interests he represented and tried to resolve the matter to the satisfaction of all parties.

Choctaw towns were divided into peace towns and war towns—called white towns and red towns—and chiefs were either peace chiefs or war chiefs. Neither Europeans nor Americans became well enough acquainted with the inner workings of Choctaw society to accurately describe the duties of the various participants in Choctaw public life. Most observers made assumptions based on models from European government, which were frequently at great variance with Choctaw practice.

Tribal divisions of the Choctaw nation operated with virtual independence. The republic was, in fact, a loose confederation. Within tribal divisions, villages also exercised a great deal of local autonomy. And individual Choctaws exercised such a large degree of personal freedom that the system bordered on anarchy. It was able to function successfully only because Choctaws exercised remarkable restraint regarding encroachment upon the rights of others within the group.

CELEBRATIONS AND FESTIVALS

The premiere annual event of the Mississippi Choctaws is the Choctaw Indian Fair, a four-day event in July. Established in 1949, the fair draws more than 20,000 visitors each year and features the Stickball World Championship, national entertainers, and traditional Choctaw costumes and food (Choctaw Indian Fair, Choctaw Reservation, P.O. Box 6010, Philadelphia, Mississippi 39350).

The largest annual celebration in the Oklahoma nation is the four-day Labor Day Celebration

at Tuskahoma, which dates from the early 1900s and now draws thousands of Choctaws each year. It includes a viewing of the tribal buffalo herd; softball, horseshoe, volleyball and checkers tournaments; national entertainers; a mid-way carnival and exhibition halls featuring dozens of crafts booths; all-night gospel singing on Sunday night; and a parade, a State of the Nation address by the Principal Chief, and a free barbecue dinner on Monday.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Mississippi Choctaws have lured industry to the reservation in recent years. With the construction of an industrial park in 1973, at the Pearl River community, a division of General Motors Corporation established the Chata Wire Harness Enterprise, which assembles electrical components for automobiles. Shortly thereafter, the American Greeting Corporation's Choctaw Greeting Enterprise began production, and the Oxford Investment Company started manufacturing automobile radio speakers at the Choctaw Electronics Enterprise. These companies and others currently employ more than 1,000 Choctaws on the reservation.

Recent decades have also brought a construction boom to the reservation of the Mississippi Choctaws. In 1965, the Choctaw Housing Authority constructed the first of more than 200 modern homes on the reservation. In 1969, the Chata Development company, which builds and remodels homes, and constructs offices and buildings for the nation, was established. The Choctaw Health Center, a 43-bed hospital, opened in 1976.

The Oklahoma Choctaws have built community centers and clinics in towns throughout the nation. The Choctaw Housing Authority has provided thousands of Choctaws with low-cost modern homes. The nation operates the historic Indian Hospital at Talihina, which it acquired from the Indian Health Service; it purchased the sprawling Arrowhead Resort on Lake Eufaula from the state of Oklahoma and operates it as a tourist and convention facility. Tribal industries include the Choctaw Finishing Plant and the Choctaw Village Shopping Center in Idabel, and the Choctaw Travel Plaza in Durant.

The buildings and grounds at the historic Choctaw Council House at Tuskahoma, in the center of the nation, have been restored, and the stately three-story brick Council House has been converted into a museum and gift shop. The Choctaw Tribal Council holds its monthly meetings in the new, mod-



These Choctaw students are taking a break from their lessons, standing outside of their wooden school building with their teacher.

ern council chamber nearby. Also constructed on the grounds were a large, roofed, outdoor amphitheater, and softball fields for the tremendously popular fast-pitch softball tournaments. Exhibition buildings, a cafeteria, showers and toilets, campgrounds, and parking facilities have been added.

By far the greatest economic gain in the nation has been through the inauguration of high stakes Indian bingo. Charter buses bring bingo players daily from as far away as Dallas, Texas, to the huge Choctaw Bingo Palace in Durant.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In 1945, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior granted the Choctaws formal federal recognition, approving a constitution and bylaws for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. The constitution provided for the election of a tribal council, which then appointed a tribal chairman. The land that had been acquired for them became a reservation.

The reservation remains outside of the political and judicial jurisdiction of the state of Mississippi. A 1974 revision of the Choctaw Nation's Constitution provides for the popular election of the chief to a four-year term. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, allowed the Choctaws in Oklahoma to elect an advisory council, and in 1948, they were allowed to elect their own principal chief. Impetus toward reorganizing the nation met another shift in federal policy in 1953, when the U.S. Congress enacted House Concurrent Resolution 108, under which the federal government sought to terminate its relationship with

all Indian nations in the United States. The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 finally allowed the Choctaws a measure of self-government within the state of Oklahoma.

In 1976, the Choctaws purchased the campus of the former Presbyterian College in Durant, Oklahoma, as their national capitol and in 1978 adopted a new constitution—their first since the constitution of 1866 had been abrogated in 1906. Designating themselves The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, they adopted a tribal council form of government led by a principal chief elected by popular vote of the entire nation and council members elected by popular vote of council districts.

Since the mid-1970s, the tribal estate has steadily increased, along with the nation's administrative activities, enabling the Oklahoma Choctaw to exercise more vestiges of sovereignty. A recent federal court ruling stated that the state of Oklahoma could no longer exercise police powers on Indian land within the state. As a result the Choctaw Nation Police were organized. The Choctaw nation and the state of Oklahoma signed a pact to cross-deputize all law enforcement officers of both governments for the welfare and protection of all citizens.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Anna Lewis was an historian, whose doctoral dissertation, *Along The Arkansas*, is a study of French-

Indian relations on the lower Arkansas River frontier in the eighteenth century; in 1930, Lewis became the first woman to receive a Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma; she pursued a distinguished teaching career at the Oklahoma College for Women, now the University of Science and Arts, in Chickasaha, Oklahoma, while devoting her life to researching a biography of Pushmataha (a war chief of the Okla Hannali Choctaw tribal division and the most influential Choctaw leader of the early nineteenth century), *Chief Pushmataha, American Patriot*, published in 1959. Clara Sue Kidwell, formerly a professor at the University of California at Berkeley, now works for the Museum of American History at the Smithsonian Institution; she co-authored the invaluable study *The Choctaws: A Critical Bibliography* in 1980. Muriell Wright was the granddaughter of Allen Wright, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in the nineteenth century; for two decades, she served as editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, the quarterly historical scholarly journal of the Oklahoma Historical Society; in 1959, she produced *A Guide to the Indian tribes of Oklahoma*, which provides a summary of the history, culture, and contemporary status of the 65 Indian nations that were either original residents of, or were removed to the area before statehood.

ART

Linda Lomahaftewa (1947–) is an accomplished Hopi/Choctaw artist and art instructor. Her work, which reflects the spirituality and storytelling traditions of her background, has garnered numerous awards and exhibitions. Film producer, director, and writer Phil Lucas (1942–) creates realistic images of his people in an effort to combat the stereotypes.

LITERATURE

M. Cochise Anderson is a poet whose work has appeared in *World of Poetry Anthology* (1983) and in *Nitassinan Notre Terre* (1990). Jim Barnes is a poet and editor of *Chariton Review* at Northwest Missouri State University, Kirksville, Missouri; Barnes won the Oklahoma Book Award for his *The Sawdust War* (1993), a volume of poetry. He was awarded a Fulbright fellowship to the University of Lausanne in Switzerland (1993-1994); among Barnes' other verse collections are *American Book of the Dead* (1982), *A Season of Loss* (1985), *La Plata Cantata* (1989), *The Fish on Poteau Mountain* (1980), and *This Crazy Land* (1980). Roxy Gordon has published more than 200 poems, articles, and short fiction in *Rolling Stone*, *Village Voice*, *Texas Observer*, *Greenfield Review*, *Dallas Times Herald* and *Dallas*

Morning News; his fiction has appeared in anthologies including *Earth Power Coming*, edited by Simon J. Ortiz in 1983; Gordon's poetry is collected in *Unfinished Business*, *West Texas Midcentury*, and *Small Circles*. Beatrice Harrell has contributed memoirs of her mother's experiences in the Choctaw boarding schools in such publications as *The Four Directions: American Indian Literary Quarterly*. *The Choctaw Story of How Thunder and Lightning Came to Be* is one of several books in which Harrell recounts traditional Choctaw stories. LeAnn Howe is a widely published poet, essayist, short story writer, and playwright; her poetry has appeared in anthologies such as *Gatherings IV: The En'owkin Journal of First North American People and Studies in American Indian Literatures*; her short stories have appeared in many collections, including *A Stand Up Reader* (1987), *Coyote Papers* (1987), and the anthology *Earth Song, Sky Spirit: Short Stories of the Contemporary Native American Experience* (1993); Howe is perhaps best known for her saucy essay, "An American in New York," in *Spiderwoman's Granddaughters*, edited by Paula Gunn Allen and published in 1989; a recent radio broadcast of her play *Indian Radio Days* (co-authored with Roxy Gordon) was transmitted by satellite to stations as far away as Alaska. Gary McLain's nonfiction works include *Keepers of the Fire* (1987), *Indian America* (1990), and *The Indian Way* (1991). Louis Owens is a novelist and co-editor of the American Indian Literature Series of the University of Oklahoma Press; currently an English professor at the University of New Mexico, Owens formerly taught at the University of California at Santa Cruz; his novels include *Wolfsong* (1991), *The Sharpest Sight* (1992), and *Bone Game* (1994); Owens' *Other Destinies: Understanding The American Indian Novel* (1992) is a critical study. Ronald Burns Querry, a descendant of Okla Hannali Choctaws, was an English professor at the University of Oklahoma and was former editor of horse industry magazines; a professional farrier (horseshoer); and the author of *The Death of Bernadette Lefthand* (1993), which received both the Border Regional Library Association Regional Book Award and the Mountains and Plains Booksellers Association Award as one of the best novels published in 1993; Querry is also the editor of *Growing Old at Willie Nelson's Picnic, and Other Sketches of Life in the Southwest* (1983), and author of his "unauthorized" biography, *I See By My Get-Up* (1987). In 1992, Wallace Hampton Tucker became the first three-time winner of the Best Play Prize of the Five Civilized Tribes Museum in Muscogee, Oklahoma, for his play *Fire On Bending Mountain*; Tucker also won the first two prizes awarded by the biennial competition in 1974 and in 1976.

JOURNALISM

Judy Allen is a long-time editor of *Bishinik*, the official monthly publication of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, which is mailed to every registered voter of the nation. Len Green, the late newspaperman, was the first editor of *Bishinik*, where he set a high standard for others to follow; Green was also managing editor of the *McCurtain Gazette*, in Idabel, Oklahoma, for 30 years; early issues of *Bishinik* contain his scholarly writings about Choctaw history and treaties; for the bicentennial celebration, Green published *200 Years Ago In The Red River Valley* (1976), a study of Choctaw country in the West two generations before the Choctaws moved there. Scott Kayla Morrison collaborated with LeAnn Howe on the investigative article "Sewage of Foreigners" (*Federal Bar Journal & Notes*, July, 1992), a detailed exposé that focused on contract negotiations by the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians to allow for toxic waste dumps on Choctaw lands in Mississippi. Morrison has worked as a legal services attorney among the Choctaws in Mississippi and as director of the Native American Office of Jobs in the Environment; in the summer of 1993, *Oklahoma Today* named her in its "Who's Who in Indian Country" in recognition of her environmental work; her short stories and essays have appeared in publications including *The Four Directions: American Indian Literary Quarterly* and *Turtle Quarterly* (Native American Center for the Living Arts, Niagara Falls, New York), and in the anthology *The Colour of Resistance* (1994).

MEDIA

PRINT

Bishinik.

Official monthly publication of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma.

Contact: Judy Allen, Director.

Address: P.O. Drawer 1210, Durant, Oklahoma 74701.

Telephone: (580) 924-8280.

Fax: (580)924-4148.

E-mail: bishinik@choctawnation.com.

Choctaw Community News.

Official monthly publication of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Contact: Julie Kelsey, Editor.

Address: Communications Program, P.O. Box 6010, Philadelphia, Mississippi 39350.

Telephone: (601) 656-1992.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma.

Contact: Chief Gregory E. Pyle.

Address: P.O. Drawer 1210, Durant, Oklahoma 74702-1210.

Telephone: (800) 522-6170; or (580) 924-8280.

Fax: (580) 924-4148.

E-mail: chief@choctawnation.com.

Online: <http://www.choctawnation.com>.

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Address: Highway 16 West, P.O. Box 6010, Philadelphia, Mississippi 39360.

Telephone: (601) 650-1537.

Fax: (601) 650-3684.

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C COLOMBIAN AMERICANS

by
Pamela Sturner

OVERVIEW

Colombia lies in the northwest corner of South America and covers an area of 439,735 square miles (1,138,914 square kilometers), about three times the size of Montana. It is bounded to the north by the Caribbean Sea, to the northeast by Venezuela, to the southeast by Brazil, to the south by Peru, to the west by Ecuador and the Pacific Ocean, and to the northwest by Panama. It embraces the northernmost point in South America, Point Gallinas, and is the only country on the continent with both Caribbean and Pacific coasts. The Andes run the length of the country in three ranges called the Cordillera Occidental, the Cordillera Central, and the Cordillera Oriental, which comprise the highland core where most of the population lives. Some of the richest farmland lies between the western and central ranges along the Cauca River. The Magdalena River valley, between the central and eastern ranges, is densely populated and the site of the capital, Bogotá. The eastern plains, or *llanos*, account for 60 percent of the country's territory and are sparsely populated, as are the coastal lowlands. To the southeast lie the undeveloped tropical rainforests of the Amazon basin. The economy depends largely on such agricultural products as coffee (the leading export), bananas, cotton, rice, corn, sugarcane, and tobacco. Colombia produces more than 90 percent of the world's emeralds and also exports gold, iron, nickel, copper, lead, salt, coal, natural

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gas, and petroleum. Manufacturing, a growing sector of the economy, employed about 20 percent of the population in the early 1990s.

The country's highly diverse population of 38.5 million includes at least 15 distinct cultural and regional groups. The major ethnic groups include: descendants of Indians, who are concentrated in the Andes; persons of solely European descent, who have traditionally held most of the country's wealth and power and account for less than 20 percent of the population; *costeños*, persons of mixed African, Indian, and Spanish descent living primarily on the coasts; and mestizos, or persons of Indian and Spanish descent, who account for about 58 percent of the population. Most Colombian Americans are Roman Catholic; a few are Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, or Hindu. About 65 percent live in urban areas.

HISTORY

The civilization of the first inhabitants of what is now Colombia occupied much of the Andean interior until European colonization. Christopher Columbus probably explored the mouth of the Orinoco River in 1498; Alonso de Ojeda led another expedition in 1509, and in 1525 the first Spanish city, Santa Marta, was founded on the Caribbean coast. In 1536 the conquistador Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada sailed up the Magdalena River to search for the mythical city of El Dorado and, after defeating the Chibcha, founded Bogotá in 1538. During the years of the Spanish Main, the Caribbean port city of Cartagena (founded 1533) was a point of embarkation for shipments of gold and other minerals bound for Spain. The Spanish relied increasingly on the labor of slaves to maintain the expanding colony, and Colombia soon had one of the largest African populations on the continent. After 1740 the colony formed the center of New Granada, a territory that included the greater part of what is now Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela. A movement for independence from Spain began in 1810; in 1812 the territory came under the direction of Simón Bolívar, who waged a series of campaigns that ended with the surrender of the Spanish in 1819. Bolívar renamed the territory Greater Colombia and annexed Ecuador to it in 1822; political differences led Venezuela to secede in 1829, followed by Ecuador in 1830.

The 1830s were marked by the rise of the Partido Conservador and the Partido Liberal as the most powerful rivals in national politics. Their struggles fueled unrest throughout the century and resulted in a civil war from 1899 to 1902 that left

100,000 dead and brought the Conservatives to power. In 1902 crisis beset the country again when the United States seized the zone where the Panama Canal was being built. After rejecting the treaty establishing American control, the Colombian government sent troops to Panama where, with American support, local forces revolted and won independence in 1903. In the wake of this defeat, a president with dictatorial powers assumed office in Colombia during the following year, ushering in more than four decades of peace. Hostilities between the Liberals and Conservatives led again to civil war in 1948, and in 1953 General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla seized power through a military coup; he was removed by the military in 1957 after Liberals and Conservatives joined together to oppose his regime, and political order was restored in 1958 when the two parties formed a coalition government, the National Front. Under its leadership the country began its recovery from the war, known as "La Violencia," which in the course of a decade had left between 200,000 and 300,000 dead and had displaced numerous others by forcing the rural population into the cities and that of small cities into the largest urban centers.

Since the 1960s, attempts have been made to address longstanding social, political, and economic problems. Under President Carlos Lleras Restrepo (1966-1970) inflation slowed, the economy was diversified, and land reforms were instituted. After a period of gradual transition toward full democracy, the government of the National Front ended when elections were held in 1974. Extreme disparity between the wealthy and the poor contributed to widespread disillusionment that kindled a Marxist guerrilla movement dedicated to revolution. Social problems worsened as the birth rate rose and farmers displaced by new technology moved to the cities, where they found their skills inapplicable in an industrial economy. During the 1980s, producers of illegal drugs flourished, banded together in cartels, and threatened the country's political and social stability through campaigns of bombings, abductions, murders, and the assassinations of officials, judges, and newspaper editors. Undocumented immigration to Venezuela increased: by some estimates 200,000 Colombian Americans without work permits found employment there during this time. Years of steady growth in Colombia came to a close as the economy stagnated under the weight of foreign debt in the mid-1980s. As of 1999, Colombia was still recovering from a recession that began in 1996.

In the face of an escalating social and political crisis, President Virgilio Barco Vargas launched a campaign in 1989 to suppress the drug trade, which

resulted in hundreds of arrests, the confiscation of property worth millions of dollars, and violent retaliations by the cartels. Several presidential candidates were assassinated before the election of 1990; victory nonetheless went to César Gaviria Trujillo, a well-known opponent of the drug trade. During his first years in office, he sought to restore the population's faith in the government by pursuing an aggressive policy against the cartels, encouraging the formation of new political parties, and offering a role in national affairs to Indians and former guerrillas. Agreements reached with foreign creditors eased the burden of debt, allowing Colombia to achieve a trade surplus, and in the 1990s negotiations began for new trade arrangements with other countries.

In 1994 Ernesto Samper Pizano was elected president. He was defeated four years later amid allegations he took money for his campaign from the powerful Cali drug cartel. In 1998 voters elected Andrés Pastrana president. A concerted effort by Pastrana to negotiate a peace settlement with Colombia's two main Marxist guerrilla groups failed. Both groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the National Liberation Army, intensified their campaigns of terror against the government, the military, the Catholic Church, and civilians. These acts included mass murders, kidnappings, bombings, extortion and drug trading. Colombia has the world's highest kidnapping rate, with 2,216 reported abductions in 1998 alone, according to the Pais Libre Foundation, a private human rights group. In 1999 the political situation in Colombia remained tenuous.

IMMIGRATION

The first Colombian immigrants were probably among the few South Americans who settled in the United States during the nineteenth century (the federal census did not specify the country of origin for South Americans until 1960). Little is known about these settlers, who maintained no ties with their native countries and within a few generations identified themselves only as Americans. The first Colombian community formed when several hundred professionals, including nurses, accountants, laboratory technicians, pharmacists, and bilingual secretaries, moved to New York City after World War I; the population was later augmented by students who stayed on after earning their degrees. Most immigrants made their homes in Jackson Heights, a middle-class neighborhood in Queens, attractive for its proximity to employment in Manhattan and for its churches, comfortable houses, large yards, and fine schools. Known by residents as

“El Chapinerito” (after Chapinero, a middle-class suburb of Bogotá), the neighborhood did not grow much until the 1940s, when New York City and Venezuela surpassed Panama in popularity as destinations among Colombian emigrants.

The number of Colombians entering the United States each year increased only slightly until the early 1950s, when it rose from a few hundred to more than a thousand, owing in part to upheaval associated with the civil war of 1948. Nor did the rate decline with the restoration of civil order in Colombia. As a result of land reforms and the introduction of agricultural machinery during the 1960s, the population became concentrated in the metropolitan areas and a deep economic recession set in, forcing many Colombian Americans to leave the country in search of work. The number that settled in the United States continued to grow rapidly: according to the annual reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service 116,444 Colombians entered the country between 1960 and 1977, the first large influx driven by purely economic reasons. These immigrants were far more racially and economically diverse than their predecessors, and with their admittance, skilled and semiskilled laborers gradually displaced professionals as the majority.

In the postwar years, Colombian Americans were among the national groups at the center of a political debate about immigration that reached a peak when immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America outnumbered those from Europe. Calls for stricter controls culminated in the Immigration Act of 1965, the first legislation to place a limit on the western hemisphere, for which only 120,000 visas were to be reserved annually. The law also sought to bar entry to all but the most needed and highly qualified workers, including professionals, technicians, and domestic servants. These measures presented a host of obstacles for Colombian Americans. The quota was so small relative to demand that families could wait 20 months for permission to be reunited. Pressure on the allotted visas was further exacerbated by unemployment and underemployment in Colombia, which escalated to between 20 and 25 percent by the mid-1970s. Patterns of settlement changed as a result of these conditions. In part because they had little hope of establishing legal residency, most Colombians who arrived after the mid 1960s planned to stay in the United States only temporarily. As a result, the rate of undocumented immigration soared: estimates of those living in the country without permanent residency status ranged from 250,000 to 350,000 in the mid 1970s. Discouraged by the law, some immigrants settled in Ecuador, which in 1973 had a Colombian population of 60,000.

Despite a succession of stringent immigration laws, the Colombian population in the United States continued to grow. New York remained the most popular destination. While those who could afford to do so moved to Jackson Heights, other Colombian neighborhoods took shape in nearby Corona, Elmhurst, Woodside, Rego Park, and Flushing. Smaller communities formed in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, and Washington, D.C. During the 1970s, an enclave of a few thousand professionals developed on the North Side of Chicago. After the late 1970s, many Colombians chose to settle in Miami, which they found attractive for its climate, growing economy, and tradition of tolerance dating from the establishment of a Cuban community there. Initially they took up residence in Little Havana, the largest Cuban neighborhood, and many engaged in business related to the brisk trade between Miami and Latin America; a few worked in factories or as domestic servants. The area also became a haven for the wealthy, who moved there to receive medical care, send their children to school, and escape from social, economic, and political turmoil in Colombia. By 1987 Colombian Americans were one of the fastest-growing Latin American groups in Miami.

“[In Colombia] my surroundings and the narrow-mindedness of the people always bothered me. In the United States, on the other hand, I could be myself without worrying that others would think ill of me and work at whatever was most profitable without having others think that it was degrading.”

Julia de Riano, cited in Ramiro Cardona Gutiérrez's *El éxodo de colombianos*, 1980.

By the early 1990s, overcrowding, crime, and the high cost of urban living led Colombian Americans to leave metropolitan centers for the suburbs. This trend was perhaps first noticed in the coastal towns of Connecticut and New York, where, since the 1980s, many Colombian Americans and other Latin Americans have taken jobs in service industries left unfilled by the local population. A better choice of housing, which was much more affordable in these towns than in New York City, was also available. One of the fastest-growing communities developed in Stamford, Connecticut, which in the mid-1990s had a Colombian population of more than 7,000. Enclaves in northern New Jersey also grew during these years, including those in Bergenline, a town dominated by immigrants and entre-

preneurs, and in Englewood. Jacksonville and such suburbs as Kendall, Florida, attracted a growing number from Miami, and Skokie, Evanston, Arlington Heights, and Park Ridge, Illinois, became fashionable alternatives to the North Side of Chicago. The largest concentrations nonetheless remained in New York City, Miami, and their environs: in 1994 there were 86,000 Colombian Americans in New York City (mainly in Queens), 56,000 in northern New Jersey, and 84,000 in Dade County, Florida.

With other immigrants from developing countries, Colombian Americans have faced serious obstacles to achieving success in the United States in the 1990s. As American society became more technologically advanced, much of the work traditionally performed by immigrants disappeared, leaving only dangerous, undesirable, poorly paid positions that offered no health care benefits and little promise for the future. Language was a definitive barrier against advancement, as most Colombian Americans lacked proficiency in English and the opportunity to gain it. Those living in cities often inherited abandoned neighborhoods, substandard schools, and a crumbling infrastructure. Perhaps the most pressing issue was the rising tide of hostility toward immigrants, especially Latin Americans and Asians, that swept the country on the heels of the economic recession during the late 1980s and early 1990s. After years of being virtually ignored by the larger society, Colombian Americans found themselves a target for American resentment over problems ranging from drug-related crime to a decline in the standard of living. According to the federal Census Bureau, 43,891 Colombians were admitted to the United States in 1990 and 1991, more than from any other South American country. They also accounted for the third-largest group of undocumented immigrants (after those from Mexico and Central America). The influx has continued through the 1990s as guerrilla violence in Colombia escalated. Between 1992 and 1997, nearly 75,000 Colombians immigrated to the United States, with many settling in California. Such statistics figured prominently in debates about the effects of immigration, both legal and illegal, on the economy and even on society itself.

Colombian Americans were also subject to concern about the growth of the Latino population, which was perceived as a threat by those who considered immigrants, particularly the undocumented, an economic burden and resented Latinos' efforts to preserve their language and culture within American society. Such sentiments fueled a political backlash against immigrants that led to the passage of Proposition 187 by California voters in 1994. The law denied health care, education, and other services to undocumented immigrants. A federal

appeals court ruled most of the measure unconstitutional and in 1999, the state decided not to appeal the ruling. In 1994 the fate of even documented immigrants remained uncertain after the Republican congressional leadership proposed to deny them benefits and services as part of its Contract with America. In 1996 Congress enacted a law denying non-emergency health care, welfare and higher education benefits to undocumented aliens.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Motivated by ethnic pride and a desire to circumvent legal, racial, and cultural obstacles encountered in American life, Colombian Americans have maintained a distinct identity in the United States. In light of immigration laws that allow few to expect citizenship, they usually consider their stay in the United States temporary and retain strong ties to Colombia, where they plan to resettle permanently. Colombians with American permanent resident status return for visits as frequently as possible and above all at Christmas. Colombian Americans struggle daily with racial and economic discrimination and also with American culture, which many find alienating. Some preserve their own culture by operating within Latin American social and economic networks as much as possible; they nonetheless reject the notion of assuming a larger Latino identity, seeking instead to remain distinct from other groups, especially Puerto Ricans.

Since the 1970s, Colombian Americans' efforts to be accepted in American society have been impeded by the prevalence of stereotypes of them based on news of the drug trade. Reports on escalating drug abuse and related arrests in the United States and the growing chaos in Colombia during the 1980s fueled American fears that the violence and terrorism associated with the cartels would spread to the United States. These fears reached a peak after the murder of Manuel de Dios Unanue, the editor of *El Diario/La Prensa* and an outspoken critic of the Cali cartel, in a café in Queens on March 11, 1992. To protect against reprisals for American intervention in the drug trade, the state department restricted travel to Colombia by Americans. Sensationalism tinged much of the news reporting on these affairs, and since the mid-1980s, stereotypes of ruthless drug lords supported by unlimited funds, sophisticated weapons, and armies of loyal thugs have captured the public's imagination. These images were perpetuated in Hollywood, where a growing number of motion pictures were based on stories about American efforts to destroy

Colombian drug operations. Some critics even suggested that with the close of the Cold War in the late 1980s, Colombian drug lords had become the new stock villains of the film industry. Like spy thrillers of earlier times, these films ended with the triumph of American virtue over the machinations of a clever but morally inferior opponent. In the shadow of such characterizations, Colombian Americans, found themselves objects of suspicion and experienced more intense discrimination in housing and employment. Although by most estimates only a small proportion worked in the drug trade in the mid-1990s, the widespread assumption remained that a large number, or even the majority, had some connection to it.

HOLIDAYS

An important holiday is Colombian Independence Day on July 20 (celebrated on November 11 by immigrants from the Caribbean coast), which is marked with traditional foods such as *tamales*, *chorizos*, *empanadas*, Colombian coffee, *yuca congelada*, *tapas*, *arepas* (thick cornmeal patties sometimes served with cheese), *obleas* (a confection made with two wafers and a layer of caramel in between), a chilled, blended drink made of milk, sugar, and a fruit known as *curuba*, and the alcoholic beverage *aguardiente cristal*; creole specialties including *ajiaco*, a hearty soup made with chicken, several varieties of potato, capers, herbs, avocado, and corn on the cob; and Andean beans, plantains, fried pork skins, and rice. Colombian Americans also share in the celebration of other Latin American independence days and in cultural festivals held from time to time in major cities.

DANCES AND SONGS

Latin American dancing is a central activity at festivals and in local clubs. Since the late 1980s, the Colombian dance known as cumbia has grown in popularity. Developed on the Caribbean coast by slaves, it consists of intricate, restrained steps that reportedly trace the limits of the dancers' shackles.

Colombian music has gained an international audience largely through the efforts of Antonio López Fuentes, who formed the first Colombian record company, Disco Fuentes, in 1934 and made well-received recordings of indigenous music using modern instrumentation. One style, the cumbia, is written in 2/4 time and performed with a button accordion, drums, maracas, and horns. A related form, *vallenato*, traditionally consists of vocals, an accordion, a cane scraper, a drum, and a curved

Colombian
Americans perform
during the Orange
Bowl Parade in
downtown Miami.



flute. Versions of *vallenato* songs, put to rock instrumentation by Carlos Vives, have enjoyed tremendous success throughout the Americas. Colombian musicians tour the United States frequently, among them the accordionist Lisandro Meza and the bands Las Mantas, Grupo Niche, and Los Macondos, which was formed by seven musicians from the Caribbean coast. Styles known as *porro* and *mapale* are performed to a lesser extent.

HEALTH ISSUES

Obtaining health care poses a serious problem for many Colombian Americans. Those in poorly paid jobs rarely receive health benefits and cannot afford to pay for a health plan or leave their families long enough to receive treatment. In addition to these problems, undocumented immigrants are burdened with the fear that through the medical establishment, their status might become known to the immigration authorities. As a result, Colombian Americans often seek medical care only in emergencies or confine themselves to facilities available within Latin American networks.

Like other immigrants, Colombian Americans sometimes suffer from stress disorders associated with cultural adjustment; few seek out mental health services, owing to longstanding taboos in Colombia against seeking help for mental illness. By the early 1990s, a few social service centers and programs catered to Latin Americans, including La Familia in Marin County, California, and the Fordham Tremont Mental Health Center in New York. In June of 1993 Fordham Tremont launched a counseling service to provide not only mental health care, but also information about such matters as housing and employment. The Women's Rights and Information Center in Bergenline, New Jersey, offers counseling to help Latinas take advantage of opportunities open to them, in part by providing advice about work, education, housing, and legal matters.

LANGUAGE

Colombian Americans traditionally consider themselves the stewards of the most elegant Spanish spoken in South America. After the 1500s, the upper class sought to preserve pure Castilian as the lan-

guage of the colony; they succeeded largely because the rugged terrain made travel and communication between regions virtually impossible. Some Indian and African words were adopted by the middle and lower classes and eventually became standard in Latin American Spanish, including several of Caribbean origin (*ají, arepa, bagre, batata, bejuco, bohío, cacique, caimán, caníbal, canoa, ceiba, cocuyo, colibrí, guacamaya, guanábana, guayacán, guayaba, maíz, mangle, múcura, papaya, tabaco*) and from Chibcha (*curuba, guadua, toche, tatacoa*) and Tupí-Guaraní (*cámbulo, chamán, maraca, mandioca, anana*). The geographic isolation and diverse populations of the colonial departments encouraged at least nine regional dialects to develop. Certain characteristics are common to many or most of them. Colombians, especially those from coastal areas, tend to speak more quickly than other South Americans, and their speech is also noted for its lyrical intonation. In certain areas some letters are omitted (a “d” occurring in the second-to-last syllable is suppressed in Antioquia and on the plains around Boyacá) or substituted for others, such as “j” for “s” on the Caribbean coast and in the Cauca River valley and “ch” for “tr” in Cundinamarca.

Spanish is the language of most Colombian households in the United States, where it serves as perhaps the surest means of preserving traditions. Professionals and other members of the middle and upper classes worry about the deterioration of Colombian Spanish in American cities, where it is subject to the influences of English and the Spanish of other countries. They tend to use formal address in more situations than other Latin Americans and commonly call only well-known acquaintances by their first names.

For Colombian Americans, as for other immigrants, learning English is a compelling desire, because without advanced language skills they remain ineligible for most kinds of work; many find that achieving fluency nonetheless remains an elusive goal. They are often unable to afford the time and money necessary for intensive courses and, lacking other options, resort to night school, where classes tend to be large and conditions vary widely. Opportunities to use the language are also limited. Aside from those employed in English-speaking households, most Colombian Americans have little exposure to English, and when they do use it are usually received rudely by native speakers. In the face of these difficulties, Colombian Americans often gravitate to Latin American networks, particularly in large cities, where there is little or no need to know English in either business or social life; families sometimes rely on bilingual children for outside transactions. They consider Miami excep-

tionally hospitable: Spanish is the second official language of government and also dominates business and cultural affairs.

With the children of other immigrants, Colombian students are at the center of a debate about the future of bilingual education. Studies have shown that even after acquiring fairly advanced English skills, non-native speakers are unable to compete with their English-speaking classmates for several years. Some educators argue that bilingual programs are essential to help students of English as a second language build confidence and keep up with their peers; their approach has aroused anger among Americans who believe that English should be the country's only language and consider wide use of other languages a threat to American culture.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

A focal concern for Colombian immigrants is to preserve their families intact against pressures encountered in American society. In Colombia traditional values define the home: the husband is the wage-earner and head of house; the wife sets the tone of the household and rarely holds outside employment; children are taught to obey their parents and respect authority. Families prefer to immigrate together but have increasingly been prevented from doing so by restrictive immigration laws. They are often forced to separate for months or even years while one member, usually a parent or an older child, finds work and establishes residency before sending for the rest. Undocumented immigrants go for years without seeing their families, as they cannot return to the United States if they leave. Once reunited, families discover that the conditions of American life undermine traditional roles and values. Lacking access to well-paid jobs, nearly all rely on two incomes to meet living expenses and are forced to adjust to the entrance of women into the work force. In earning their own salary for the first time women gain a measure of independence virtually unknown in Colombia; they also have more opportunities for education. By contrast, men usually have more difficulty finding work and often take more responsibility for household chores than they do in Colombia. These changes sometimes tear families apart: despite strong cultural prohibitions, immigrants divorce far more often than their counterparts in Colombia. In other cases, families are strengthened in uniting against such pressure and transmitting traditional values to their children.

Colombian Americans value education highly and often move to the United States for the chance to educate their children through high school and beyond, a privilege reserved in Colombia for the wealthy. Such ready access offers a crucial advantage to immigrants from the middle and lower classes, for whom an American degree represents an end to the cycle of limited education and poorly paid work that inhibits economic mobility in Colombia. During the late 1980s, the rising costs of higher education threatened the hopes of many families, who found themselves unable to afford their children's college tuition. Among all cities, New York remains the most popular destination, in part because of its colleges and universities, especially those of the city system, which were tuition-free until the early 1970s and remain less expensive than others. Most parents are nonetheless disappointed by American public schools; they consider the curriculum lacking and are disturbed by the informal tone of the classroom, the rate of delinquency among American students, and the wide availability of drugs. They usually look to Catholic schools for an environment that emphasizes values in keeping with their own and enroll their children as soon as they can afford to do so.

Family networks are the primary source of aid in both Colombia and the United States. Relatives, godparents, and friends already living in the United States are often the only source of support for immigrants; they provide not only money and housing but also advice about work and legal and cultural matters. Once financially independent, most immigrants remit a large portion of their salaries to family left behind. On several occasions they have also united in the wake of disaster in Colombia. They responded quickly to a volcanic eruption in the northern part of the country that killed more than 20,000 and destroyed untold property in November 1985; through campaigns nationwide they mounted one of the world's largest relief efforts on behalf of the victims.

Colombian social networks are extensive and difficult to categorize. Doctors' associations in New York City and Chicago were probably the first Colombian organizations in the United States, and other professional societies soon followed. Social clubs based on regional identity became another community institution. According to Gutiérrez, about a dozen formed in New York during the 1970s, their membership drawn mostly from among poor immigrants; they serve as a soccer league during the warm months and meet indoors in cold weather. Colombian Americans also develop strong ties with other Latinos through more informal networks. To some degree they share a common culture through Spanish-language media, which provide news,

entertainment, and music from Latin America unavailable elsewhere. Social events draw immigrants from throughout Latin America and are often held at neighborhood restaurants and nightclubs. Soccer is also widely popular; many Colombian Americans take part in local games and also closely observe the fortunes of Latin American teams.

RELIGION

Under Spanish rule, Roman Catholicism spread quickly throughout Colombia and displaced native religions. The country's patron saint, the Virgin of Chiquinquirá, nonetheless represents a synthesis of Catholicism and indigenous beliefs: the population named St. Mary their champion in impossible matters after the prayers of a poor woman supposedly restored an abandoned painting of her in Chiquinquirá in 1586. From colonial times, the church hierarchy cultivated a close alliance with the elite, and for the poor, stressed the promise of an afterlife achieved through obedience and endurance. Protestant missionaries, who first arrived during the nineteenth century and concentrated on helping the poor, condemned these systems. Their efforts met with swift retaliation from the establishment, which persecuted Protestant ministers and closed their churches. These attacks were especially violent during the civil war of 1948-1958 and abated only after Pope John XXIII took office in 1958.

Catholicism in Colombia faced an even more serious challenge during the 1960s with the rise of Liberation Theology, a movement within the church that sought to focus on the needs of the poor. Its agenda was articulated at a conference of Latin American bishops in Medellín in 1968 and solicited strong opposition from the Vatican and the Latin American elite, which waged a campaign of terror against priests and nuns known or suspected of being activists. Marxist guerrilla groups took up the cause of Liberation Theology, but modified its goals of education and political action to allow for warfare. The movement was weakened throughout Latin America by opposition from the military, the government, and the church, which appointed conservative bishops to fill vacated positions; it also lost the support of guerrilla leaders, who abandoned Marxism in favor of democratic solutions.

Colombia has one of the most conservative church hierarchies in Latin America and one of the highest percentages of regular churchgoers. In addition to Christmas and Easter, religious holidays include Corpus Christi Day (June 21), the celebration of Saints Peter and Paul (June 29), the Procession of Our Lady of Carmen (Cartagena, July 16),

All Saints Day (November 1), All Souls Day (November 2), and Immaculate Conception Day (December 8); not all are observed throughout the country. Despite efforts at reconciliation, the country's Protestants and Catholics remain divided.

The Catholic church in New York City was slow to respond to the needs of its Colombian parishioners. Like other Latinos, Colombian Americans in Jackson Heights during the 1960s and 1970s were largely ignored by the local Catholic clergy, which was predominantly Irish and Italian and did not acknowledge the changing ethnicity of the neighborhood. As few priests spoke Spanish, Latinos had difficulty obtaining information about services and programs offered by the church. Enrollment in parochial schools was a charged issue; most parents initially failed to secure their children's enrollment because they were unaware of registration dates and the requirement to make donations at Sunday mass for a year before applying for admission (Gutiérrez, p. 224). In response to such problems, the diocese of Queens and Brooklyn sponsored the Instituto de Comunicación Internacional, a program for teaching Latin American culture and Spanish to the clergy. Even after Spanish-language services were introduced, tension remained between the Hispanic congregation, which was assigned to hold its services in the church basement, and the English-language one, which was composed primarily of Italians and Irish and met in the body of the church. The shortage of Spanish-speaking priests persisted, and from the mid 1970s, about a dozen Colombian priests not formally affiliated with the diocese operated within the neighborhood. Some parishes sought to attract Hispanic congregants by offering masses that featured Latin American music. In Queens a few hundred Colombian Americans led by a Colombian priest established a church based on charismatic Catholicism.

The Catholic church provides crucial support to Latin Americans throughout the United States. Religious ceremonies are closely tied to important customs and traditions, such as *compadrazgo*, the establishment of kin networks through the choice of godparents (usually the man and woman who acted as the best man and the maid of honor at the parents' wedding); their preservation has been assured in recent years as parishes have added Spanish-language services in not only large cities, but also a growing number of suburbs. The church is also one of the few venues that offer respite from the isolation, loneliness, and hostility that immigrants may encounter in American society.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Since 1960 Colombian Americans have moved to the United States primarily to work. With the deterioration of the Colombian economy after the civil war, the rate of emigration increased as some sought to escape rising unemployment, underemployment, and inflation. In the United States they pursued professional careers, took employment as laborers, factory workers, and domestic servants, and opened small businesses, often catering to Latin Americans. In New York City those who could afford to buy property did so as soon as possible. As immigration restrictions tightened, fewer Colombian Americans planned to remain permanently in the United States; more frequently they sought only to work long enough to improve their financial status before returning to Colombia, where inflation made investment and saving nearly impossible. During the 1970s and 1980s, plans for temporary settlement were common among professionals, who in the United States found opportunities unavailable in Colombia to use their skills, earn salaries commensurate with their education, and enhance their professional standing through advanced training. In the mid-1990s Colombian Americans had one of the highest average incomes among Latinos. Many have prospered in business, especially in ventures in Miami related to trade with Latin America.

Conditions of employment have often brought Colombian Americans into conflict with other groups and exerted pressure on Colombian traditions. According to Gutiérrez, in New York City Colombian Americans developed somewhat strained relations with Cubans, who they felt dominated business, even in El Chapinerito. In Miami they have experienced racial tension with blacks over such issues as competition for work and provisions for more extensive measures to help the poor. They have also had to deal with cultural stigmas attached to the work open to them, which, although remunerative by Colombian standards, often requires far less skill and education than they possess. In New York City during the 1960s and 1970s, they took positions in manufacturing whenever possible, particularly in the garment and textile industries, which were considered most desirable among the kinds of work available. For members of the middle class, especially those without resident status, accepting such work represents a decline in social status; many do not discuss their work with friends and family in Colombia. The problem is severest for women, who in Colombia are held in contempt or deemed disreputable for working at all.

With other immigrants, Colombian Americans also face growing uncertainty about their position in the work force. After the economy entered a recession during the late 1980s, they became a target of hostility among Americans who sought to bar immigrants from working, arguing that their jobs should go to the American-born; those without work papers were some of the first to be dismissed.

Work is the focus of Colombian households. While men usually find their earning power diminished, women have many more opportunities than in Colombia. Despite a longstanding tradition of *machismo*, their husbands offer little or no resistance to their wives' employment because their salaries are needed to repay sponsors, meet daily expenses, support family members who stayed behind, and save money toward children's education, trips to Colombia, and other investments. Husbands and wives often operate small businesses together, and many people hold more than one job.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Colombian Americans have traditionally devoted themselves to politics in Colombia rather than the United States. Most believe that they will not remain abroad and see little point in becoming involved in American politics; a large proportion do not have the right to vote. In New York City, notes Gutiérrez, strong regional identities have impeded efforts to organize: four associations designed to unite Colombian Americans during the 1970s quickly failed, as did efforts by the Democratic Party to open a Hispanic headquarters in Queens in 1974. By contrast, the power of the community as a voting block in Colombian elections has become so well known that Colombian politicians often campaign in the neighborhood and buy advertisements in *El Diario*, the city's main Spanish-language newspaper. Colombian Americans in Miami have joined with other Latinos to achieve common political goals such as electing mayors, councilmen, and congressional representatives and engaging lobbyists to represent them in political circles. They have also organized to address the increasingly urgent issues of immigration and discrimination. In 1994 Colombian Americans in New Jersey mounted citizenship drives in response to a Republican plan to deny legal immigrants their Supplemental Security Income on retirement. Throughout the country they fight to correct prevailing stereotypes concerning their relationship to the drug trade.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

BUSINESS

Perhaps the best-known Colombian in American business is the entrepreneur María Elena Ibanez (born in Barranquilla); after helping to manage her father's orchards as a child she moved to Miami in 1973, where she earned a degree in computer science and later formed International High-Tech Marketing, a firm that sells computer equipment in more than 100 developing countries. Andrés Mejía is the world's largest supplier of Paso Fino horses and maintains stables in Miami and Colombia.

LITERATURE

The works of Nobel Prize winner Gabriel García Márquez (born in Aracata, Colombia, March 6, 1928) were among the first from Latin America widely read by an English-speaking audience; their critical acclaim stimulated interest in other Latin American artists. A number of Colombian writers living in the United States have also enjoyed success. Silvio Martínez Palau (born in Cali, 1954) moved to the United States in the late 1960s and published the play *The English-only Restaurant*, a collection of short stories titled *Made in USA*, and the novel *Disneylandia*. The playwright Enrique Buenaventura has had his work performed in several American cities; his best-known play, *¡Por Mi Madre Que Es Verdad! (I Swear on My Mother's Grave)*, is set in the southern Bronx. Alister Ramirez lives and writes in New York City.

MEDICINE

Pilar Bernal de Pheils, an assistant clinical professor of nursing at the University of California San Francisco, has promoted educational exchange programs allowing Latin American nurses to study and teach in the United States.

MUSIC

Several Colombian composers work in the United States. Jaime Leon was named music director of the American Ballet Theater and composes lyrical songs. Juan Carlos Quintero (born in Medellín) grew up in Brussels and in Freehold, New Jersey, and attended the Berklee School of Music and the New England Conservatory before moving to Los Angeles, where he developed a distinctive style combining jazz and pop with cumbia, salsa, and samba. Freddie Ravel is known for the versatility of his compositions. Colom-

bian musicians based in the United States include the opera singer Martha Senn and the salsa performer Yari More, who works primarily in Los Angeles.

PERFORMING ARTS

The best-known Colombian in the performing arts is the actor and comedian John Leguizamo (born in Bogotá, 1965), who has written and performed one-man comedies based on his childhood in Jackson Heights, including *Spic-O-Rama* and *Mambo Mouth*; he also appeared in the motion pictures *Die Hard II* and *Hangin' with the Homeboys*. Rosario Vargas helped to form the Agujon II Theater Company, the first Spanish-language theater company in Chicago, and remains one of its artistic directors. The dancer Ricardo Bustamente made his debut as a soloist with the American Ballet Theater in June 1989.

SPORTS

The race car driver Roberto Guerrero (born in Medellín) won the title of rookie of the year after the Indianapolis 500 in 1984; at the same race in 1992 he set a record qualifying speed of 232.482 miles per hour (371.971 kilometers per hour).

VISUAL ARTS

The artist Fernando Botero (born in Medellín, 1932) has gained international renown for his paintings, drawings, and sculptures of obese figures; after presenting his first solo exhibition of watercolors in Mexico City as a young man, he lived in New York City during the 1960s, where his painting *Mona Lisa, Age 12* was shown at the Museum of Modern Art; although decried by members of the academy, his work was enthusiastically received by a wide audience; in 1994 the city of Chicago showed 17 of his bronze sculptures in an outdoor exhibition. Another Colombian artist who has exhibited his work widely in the United States is Enrique Gran, who was born in Panama, spent his childhood in Cartagena, Colombia, and studied painting at the Art Students League in New York City from 1940 to 1943. María Fernanda Cardoso is known for her haunting sculptures dealing with violence in Colombia.

MEDIA

PRINT

El Diario/La Prensa.

Primary Spanish-language newspaper of New York City; founded in 1913.

Contact: Carlos D. Ramirez, Publisher.

Address: 143-155 Varick Street, New York, New York 10013.

Telephone: (212) 807-4600.

Fax: (212) 807-4617.

El Nuevo Herald.

Spanish-language edition of the *Miami Herald*. Founded in 1976, it has a circulation of 103,000, and focuses on Latin America.

Contact: Barbara Gutierrez, Editor.

Address: Hometown Herald, 1520 East Sunrise Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33304.

Telephone: (954) 527-8940.

Fax: (954) 527-8955.

RADIO

WOJO-FM (105.1).

Hispanic format.

Contact: Lucy Diaz.

Address: 625 North Michigan Avenue, Third Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60611-3110.

Telephone: (312) 649-0105.

Fax: (312) 664-2472.

WQBA-AM (1140) / WAMR-FM (107.5).

Hispanic format.

Address: 2828 Coral Way, Miami, Florida 33145-3204.

Telephone: (305) 441-2073.

Fax: (305) 445-8908.

TELEVISION

Telemundo.

Address: Telemundo Group, Inc., 1740 Broadway, 18th Floor, New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 492-5691.

Univision.

Owns and operates Univision, the leading Spanish-language television network in the United States, and Galavisión, a Spanish-language cable television network. The company, in 1997, also owned and operated 21 television stations. The Univision network was providing, in addition to the company's own stations, 27 over-the-air and 835 cable affiliates with 24-hour-a-day programming.

Address: 1999 Avenue of the Stars, Suite 3050, Los Angeles, California 90067.

Telephone: (310) 216-3434; or (310) 556-7676.

Online: <http://www.univision.net/>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Cartagena Medical Alumni Association.

Established in the late 1960s by costeño physicians.

Address: Chicago, Illinois.

Colombian American Association (CAA).

Objectives are to facilitate commerce and trade between the Republic of Colombia and the United States and to foster and advance cultural relations and goodwill between the two countries.

Contact: Linda A. Calvet, Executive Director.

Address: 150 Nassau Street, Room 2015, New York, New York 10038.

Telephone: (212) 233-7776.

Fax: (212) 233-7779.

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COSTA RICAN AMERICANS

by
Cida S. Chase

Costa Ricans who
have emigrated and
settled in the United
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istics as many other
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OVERVIEW

Slightly smaller than West Virginia, Costa Rica has an area of 19,652 square miles (51,032 square kilometers). Its terrain is rugged and divided from north to south by a central mountain range that separates the eastern and western coastal plains. Costa Rica is located in the southern end of Central America and bordered to the north by Nicaragua and to the south by Panama. Its climate is tropical and subtropical, varying according to altitude and distance from the coasts.

Costa Rica has a population of 3,000,000 with an annual growth rate of 2.5 percent. Almost 30 percent (890,434) of its population lives in the capital city of San José. Ninety-six percent of the total population is from European stock, including some *mestizos*, while three percent is of black descent and one percent is indigenous; a small percentage of its inhabitants are Asian. Ninety-five percent of the Costa Rican population is Roman Catholic, although the Mormon, Christian, Baptist, and other Protestant churches are gaining significant numbers of members. In addition, Costa Rica is home to a small number of Jews. The country's official language is Spanish, although a Jamaican dialect of English is spoken in some areas of the Atlantic coast, especially Puerto Limón. The Costa Rican flag comprises two blue horizontal stripes (top and bottom), two white inner stripes, and a wide red central band with the national coat of

arms in the center. The latter portrays the geography of the country; the central massif is signified by three mountain peaks in the center of two oceans, each featuring a Spanish ship. A rising sun to the left and a blue sky crowned by seven stars represent the seven provinces of the country: Alajuela, Cartágo, Guanacaste, Heredia, Limón, Puntarenas, and San José.

HISTORY

Europeans first set foot in Costa Rica in 1502, when Christopher Columbus arrived during his fourth and last voyage to the New World. Formal settlement of the territory began in 1522, and for 300 years the Spanish administered its colony under a military governor as part of the Captaincy General of Guatemala.

Costa Rica acquired its name when the Spanish, expecting to find an abundance of gold, named it “Rich Coast.” However, as there was little gold and few other valuable minerals in the area, the new settlers turned to agriculture for survival. Moreover, as the indigenous population was rather small, the Spanish were unable to establish an extensive forced labor system. Consequently, Costa Rica developed differently from other Latin American nations. The small landowners’ modest standard of living, the people’s ethnic and linguistic homogeneity, and the isolation from the large colonial centers of Mexico and South America produced a rather independent, individualist agrarian society.

Costa Rica obtained its independence from Spain on September 15, 1821, without bloodshed, after other Central American colonies had fought the Spanish to gain it. In fact, Costa Ricans learned about their independence months after it had been declared. Costa Rica joined the other Central American provinces in an 1821 joint declaration of independence from Spain. These newly created nations formed a confederation, which border disputes soon dissolved. Costa Rica acquired Guanacaste, its northernmost province, from Nicaragua after one of these border disputes. Since 1838, when it declared itself a sovereign nation, Costa Rica has enjoyed an independent existence, which it has zealously maintained. In 1856 the country was invaded by 240 filibusters commanded by William Walker, who had decided to conquer Central America on his own accord, and the Costa Ricans promptly took up arms to defend their territory. The Costa Rican national hero, Juan Santamaría, emerged when he burned down the filibusters’ headquarters in Santa Rosa.

MODERN ERA

Costa Rica’s egalitarian traditions have subsisted throughout its history. Even though the introduction of banana and coffee plantations in the nineteenth century gave rise to a small oligarchy, the nation has been able to maintain a strong middle class that sustains the nation’s democratic ideals. The modern era of democracy in Costa Rica began after the elections of 1889, which are considered the first free elections in the country’s history. This democratic tradition has experienced problems only twice: once in 1917 and 1918 when Federico Tinoco declared his government a dictatorship; and again in 1948 when a disputed election brought forth a civil war in which more than 2,000 people lost their lives. After the civil war, a junta drafted a new constitution, which guaranteed free elections with universal suffrage and the abolition of the army. José Figueres, who emerged as a hero during the Civil War, became the first president under the new constitution.

The most prominent Costa Rican of the modern era is probably Oscar Arias Sánchez, who was president of Costa Rica from 1986 to 1990, a significantly troublesome time in Central America, with disturbances in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama. Although Costa Rica enjoyed peace within its borders, it was not insulated from regional conflicts. The instability in the neighboring countries at this time discouraged investment and tourism. Moreover, the country experienced a flood of Nicaraguan and Salvadoran refugees, which drained the economy and burdened educational and health institutions.

In 1987 President Sánchez designed a regional peace plan—the Esquipulas Process, which became the basis for the peace agreement signed by the presidents of most of the other Central American nations. This peace plan brought about free and open elections in Nicaragua and the subsequent end of the civil war in that country. Arias’ peace accomplishments in the region earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1987. The Nobel prize money was used to establish the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress, which maintains three centers of funding: the Center for Human Progress, funding programs for the advancement of women; the Center for Peace and Reconciliation, working for Central American conflict resolution and prevention programs; and the Center for Philanthropy, promoting the participation of non-profit organizations in the building of just and peaceful societies.

COSTA RICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

Costa Ricans who have emigrated and settled in the United States do not exhibit the same characteristics

as many other Hispanic groups. They have not had to flee their country as refugees from political oppression or from extreme economic circumstances. Consequently, there have never been waves of Costa Rican emigrants. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service records show that very few Costa Ricans have tried to enter the country illegally.

Costa Ricans who have decided to immigrate to the United States include the following general categories: they have married Americans and raised their families in the United States; they have been hired to work in the United States after completing a degree in an American university; they have come seeking research opportunities which are not so readily available in their country; or they have come to various jobs and trades in the United States.

Only 57,661 Costa Ricans have immigrated to the United States since 1931. Hence, the number of Costa Rican emigrants has been increasing at an extremely slow rate, which is significantly different from the pattern of emigration from most other Central American countries. The other two countries in this region that show a continuously slow rate of emigration are Belize and Panama.

SETTLEMENT

As Costa Ricans immigrate to the United States, they tend to establish their residences in the states of California, Florida, Texas, and the New York City/New Jersey area. The geographical preferences of Costa Ricans, evident in the statistics from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, are consistent with the findings of the 1990 census. The latter reports the largest concentration of Costa Rican Americans in Los Angeles and its surrounding areas (23,625). The next largest group is located in the New York City area, including parts of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Long Island (12,985). The third largest group is in Miami and surrounding areas, in the Hialeah district, and in Fort Lauderdale (9,987). The concentration of Costa Rican Americans in the Houston and Galveston area of Texas (2,534) is also evident in the 1990 census. There is also a significant Costa Rican American population in the Chicago, Illinois, and Gary, Indiana, areas (1,845).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Since there are relatively fewer Costa Rican Americans than other Hispanic groups in the United States, they normally do not form communities or

barrios, as is usually the case with Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, and other Central American Hispanic groups, such as Salvadoran Americans and Guatemalan Americans. Costa Ricans tend to disappear in the English-speaking multitudes or form working and friendly relationships with other Hispanics, celebrating with them when the occasion arises.

Although Costa Rican Americans tend to maintain their heritage, they also tend to integrate and adjust to their environment quickly, especially if they want to join a church or if they have children in the public school system. If both parents speak Spanish, chances are that the children will be raised bilingually. However, if only one parent speaks Spanish, the children will usually grow up speaking only English.

Since Costa Ricans did not suffer ethnic persecution during the colonial period, nor did they have a violent war of independence, they are not as self-conscious about their ethnicity as other Hispanic groups. Therefore, they usually acculturate and assimilate rather rapidly.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Costa Rica has a number of traditions that have survived. Every year in the month of December, the Costa Rican people enjoy their *fiestas cívicas*, which are similar to the state fairs in the United States. In addition to the varied types of food available and the usual midway entertainment, there are simulated bullfights, in which youths try their luck "fighting" balloon decorated *toros guacos* (mean bulls), by pulling their tails and touching their rumps.

Many of the Costa Rican traditions are religious. The small towns hold *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) processions, during which people contemplate Jesus in his suffering. The most impressive procession takes place on Good Friday, for it is the day on which people are able to see Jesus in his *Santo Sepulcro* (Holy Sepulcher). Every year on August 2, Costa Rican people celebrate the *romería de la Virgen de los Angeles* (the pilgrimage of the Holy Mother of the Angels) by making a 20-kilometer trip on foot from San José to Cartágo, where the sanctuary of the patron saint of the country is located.

Although these traditions have not been transported to the United States, Costa Rican Americans try to maintain several other traditions. Such is the case of the tradition of the *Rosario del Niño*, wherein families prepare a special nativity scene for Christmas that does not display the Christ Child figure in the manger until December 25. The nativity scene remains in its place until January 6, the

Epiphany (the twelfth night after Christmas). After that date, families celebrate the rosary with a group of friends who bring over their small children. After the recitation of the rosary, the families have a party that includes ice cream and cake and, if possible, Costa Rican foods.

Costa Ricans believe in calling upon Jesus and the saints for assistance when they are in need or in danger. Each saint is thought to have a special mission or to be able to satisfy a particular need. Costa Ricans pray to Saint Anthony, for example, if something has been lost or misplaced.

Not all the Costa Rican popular beliefs are religious in nature, however. Costa Rican people are believers in herbal medicine. Many of them know that gargling with a solution of boiled rue (a strong-scented plant of the genus *Ruta*) leaves will cure a sore throat. Liquefied and strained raw eggplant is thought to lower the cholesterol level and purify the blood. A popular cure for stomach discomfort is to drink liquid in which rhubarb or camomile has been boiled. Costa Ricans also prepare a variety of herbal teas to soothe the nerves. Teas prepared with linden, orange, and lemon blossoms are supposed to relax a person and allow him or her to fall asleep at night.

Conservative Costa Ricans bring many of these customs and beliefs with them to the United States and continue to practice them as long as they can. However, as they assimilate into American society, many of their original popular cultural beliefs become less important. Consequently, second- and third-generation Costa Rican Americans may have minimal knowledge about them.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

If the opportunity arises, Costa Ricans share with others their native costume, which for women consists of a white peasant blouse decorated with embroidery or ribbon work and a colorful ankle-length full skirt. Men wear white peasant shirts and long white pants. In addition, they frequently wear a colorful handkerchief around the neck and a straw hat. Both men and women wear sandals and women braid colorful ribbons into their hair. Costa Rican Americans also celebrate all the American holidays, adopting typical American customs and holiday food.

PROVERBS

Numerous Costa Rican proverbs come from the Spanish culture and hence they exist in many other Hispanic countries. However, there are some colorful sayings that seem to be typically Costa Rican or appear to be favorite phrases of the people's lan-

guage: "At night all cats are grey" (People can get away with things that they would not normally do in the daytime); "Between husband and wife not even a pin's head should intervene;" "When times become difficult put on a happy face;" "An egg-eating dog will not break his habit even if one burns his mouth;" "Tuesday is not a good day to make serious decisions or to adventure away from home;" "Skinny dogs get fleas;" "A full tummy gives you a happy heart;" and "A guilty party is afraid of being caught."

Costa Rican expressions are often used to imply definite ideas about something or someone. For example: "To become smoke" means to disappear as when someone goes out of sight; "To be as if travelling between Bagaces and Liberia" (two cities from the northern Costa Rican province of Guanacaste) means to be idle—another expression for this same idea is "To be combing the snake's hair;" "To find someone with his hands in the dough" means to find someone in the act of doing something wrong; "To be walking with lead feet" is to be acting very cautiously about something. In addition, people refer to a lady who has never married as someone who has "missed the train" by saying *la dejó el tren* or, "The train left her." Many other picturesque proverbs and sayings enrich Costa Rican Americans' Spanish.

CUISINE

Costa Rican cuisine is mild, free of hot and spicy sauces, and usually seasoned with herbs. Black pepper is used sparingly, but fresh cilantro, thyme, oregano, onion, garlic, pimento, and tomato are fundamental ingredients in the preparation of meats, soups, and vegetable hashes. A variety of beef cuts, including tongue and kidneys, are baked or simmered for long periods of time in herbal sauces until they are tender and flavorful. Chicken and pork are prepared in similar ways.

Complete daily meals may include a meat dish, a vegetable hash, white rice, black or red beans, a lettuce and tomato salad, corn tortillas or crusty white bread, and a fresh fruit drink. If the meal includes dessert, it is probably fruit; cakes, pastries, caramel flan, and ice cream are reserved for special occasions, holidays, or the afternoon tea. The traditional salad dressing is made of oil and vinegar, but mayonnaise is a favorite dressing for heart of palm and fresh pea salad. Vegetable hashes, which include a small amount of beef, are made of cubed potatoes, chayote squash with fresh corn, and green plantains. Beef or vegetable soups are also popular in Costa Rica. Black bean soup served with fresh herbs, and a boiled egg with white rice is a favorite side dish.

Holiday meals include meat tamales—meat-flavored cornmeal and mashed potatoes stuffed with meat, saffron rice, olives, a few garbanzo beans, green peas, pimientos, a wedge of boiled egg, and prunes or raisins. These tamales usually come in four-by-six-inch rectangles wrapped in banana leaves; each one is a meal in itself. Holiday meals also include a main dish of chicken and rice prepared with added vegetables and raisins. *Ensalada rusa*, Russian salad, is also a must at a holiday meal. It consists of diced potatoes, fresh beets, and green peas all cooked separately and brought together with a mayonnaise sauce, which sometimes includes diced canned heart of palm. This salad, which is very similar to what the Russians call “vinaigrette,” must have come to Costa Rica via some of the early European settlers. During Holy Week, Costa Rican cuisine includes a variety of vegetarian dishes, including small sweet tamales and a dessert called *dulce de chiverre* prepared with a variety of spaghetti squash.

DANCES AND SONGS

Like many Costa Rican folk dances, the Costa Rican national dance, the *punto guanacasteco*, comes from the province of Guanacaste. Couples wear traditional costumes and follow a melody played with a *marimba* (a type of wooden xylophone) and several guitars. This dance, like other popular dances, portrays the courting traditions of the past. The male dancer always follows his female partner and the latter, while smiling, pretends to get away from him. The male dancer periodically stops the music by shouting “¡Bomba!” so that he may recite humorous praises, called *bombas*, to his lady. A traditional *bomba* goes as follows: “*Dicen que no me quieres / porque no tengo bigote / mañana me lo pondré / con plumas de zopilote.*” (They say that you don’t love me / because I don’t have a mustache / tomorrow I shall put one on / made out of buzzard feathers.)

Costa Rican folk songs are nostalgic, featuring ballad-like melodies. The lyrics praise the beauty of the country’s women and the landscape as they tell of the sorrows of love. Costa Rican Americans enjoy sharing their songs and dances during community or school Hispanic festivities.

HEALTH ISSUES

Costa Rica’s government-sponsored health-care system deserves much of the credit for the good health of Costa Ricans. Medical attention in that country is not only superior to that of most of Latin America, but surpasses the health services available in

many communities in the United States. According to Tom Barry in his book *Costa Rica: A Country Guide*, infant deaths are fewer than 18 per 1,000 compared with 79 per 1,000 in Guatemala. Moreover, life expectancy is 74 years for males and 76 for females—the highest in Central America.

During the 1980s, Costa Ricans were able to arrest the spread of illnesses brought into the country by the flood of Salvadoran and Nicaraguan refugees thanks to their health facilities and their effective methods of disseminating information regarding health issues. Malaria and tuberculosis, which had been eradicated from the country years before, began to appear with the arrival of refugees, but the immediate medical attention given to this issue brought an end to the problem.

Since Costa Rican emigrants customarily follow the rules established by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, they have formal documentation on their good state of health upon entering the country. In addition, they acquire medical insurance, looking after their health and the health of their children. There is no evidence of physical or mental health problems unique to Costa Rican Americans.

LANGUAGE

Costa Ricans are sometimes called *ticos* because of their insistence on using the diminutive forms of Spanish words, which often end in “ico,” such as *chiquitico*, coming from *chico* meaning “small.” When used with the “ico” suffix, the meaning becomes “tiny, very tiny.” The Costa Rican word *chirrisco* or *chirrisca* means “very small,” but many people, dissatisfied with conveying the idea of just “very small” add the suffix “ico” or “ica,” making the word *chirrisquitico* or *chirrisquitica*—meaning “extremely small.” Moreover, Costa Rican oral Spanish exhibits the regional characteristic called *el voseo*, also found in the southern parts of South America. *El voseo* is the use of “vos” instead of “tú” as the second person singular familiar of the language. Speakers make the verbs agree with the form “vos” as in “*Vos vivís en los Estados Unidos*” (You live in the United States), instead of saying “*Tú vives en los Estados Unidos*,” as one says in most of the Hispanic world. Although this form is more prominent in the spoken language, increasingly more Costa Rican writers are using it. Costa Rican Americans are likely to lose the use of *el voseo* as they relate to Hispanics of other origins, who do not use it in their speech. Also, Spanish courses in the United States usually do not study this regional form.

Costa Rican Spanish is also marked by a softly pronounced double “r,” which means that the prominently trilled initial “r” or “rr” of the Spanish language is missing in the language of most Costa Ricans. However, Costa Ricans generally are careful speakers of Spanish. They pronounce distinctly all the letters in the words, and sound out the final “s,” which is not always the case in the speech of other regions of Latin America and Southern Spain.

As has happened in many lands of Latin America, indigenous languages have enriched Costa Rican Spanish with a number of vocabulary items. There are words ending in “ate,” “te,” and “tle,” such as *zacate* (grass), *mecate* (rope), *chayote* (a type of squash), *quelite* (tender ends of the chayote vine), and *tepeizcuinte* or *tepeizcuitle* (paca or spotted cavy, a rodent larger than a rabbit), which are part of the everyday speech of the people. Although this type of vocabulary is not as abundant in Costa Rica as it is in other Central American countries and Mexico, its presence in Costa Rica stands as a trace of the country’s ancient indigenous past.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Costa Ricans have generally conservative family values and relationships. A family, to many of them, *must* have a father, a mother, and children. Like many other Hispanic groups, the Costa Rican families tend to be patriarchal in nature, and extended family members have authority roles. The father is the undisputed head of the household, and the elderly members of the extended family are both respected and obeyed.

A traditional Costa Rican home usually has the presence of an elderly grandmother, grandfather, aunt, or uncle, who assists in the rearing of the children when their health allows them to do so. However, as modern life has become more complicated for women, and it is sometimes not possible to keep an elderly relative in the home, residential homes and condominiums for the elderly and the retired are becoming fashionable in Costa Rica. Costa Ricans are a gregarious people. They get together with their relatives and friends as often as possible.

The weekend and holiday afternoon tea is an institution in Costa Rica. Extended family members and friends invite each other for five o’clock tea in order to celebrate birthdays, anniversaries, and other special occasions. This afternoon tea, which constitutes almost a complete meal, including a main dish and a dessert, is also a favorite activity for wedding showers and class reunions. The afternoon

tea has become a substitute for supper in modern Costa Rica and occasionally; instead of taking place in the home, as it was in the past, people may gather in a restaurant.

As young Costa Ricans immigrate to the United States, however, they tend to lose their cultural heritage. Once they have a family of their own, however, they often reclaim their ancestral customs. They form close-knit family ties and may experience disappointment when their children grow up and seek early independence, following the example of their peers of other ethnic backgrounds. In addition, Costa Ricans, as many other Hispanics, frequently receive in their homes visiting relatives from Costa Rica, who come for the holidays to see their American children and grandchildren. They also provide a temporary home for relatives’ children, whose parents send them to spend the summer in the United States.

BAPTISMS

Babies are baptized in the church shortly after they are born, receiving a first and a middle name, one of which is normally a saint’s name. The baby’s parents select the godparents from among their relatives or their closest friends. The godparents will take responsibility for raising the child within the guidelines of the church if for some reason the baby’s parents lose their lives. Godparents are also obliged to look after the child if he or she should be in need.

FUNERALS

Holding a wake for someone who has died is an important Costa Rican custom. People believe that the deceased must not be left alone while lying in state, and relatives and friends pray devoutly for his or her soul during the wake and thereafter. The deceased’s family offers refreshments to the visitors who call throughout the night of the wake. After a relative’s funeral, families and their friends pray the rosary for nine evenings, offering refreshments after each night’s prayers. Masses are said for the deceased’s soul at the ninth day and also after the first month has passed. Relatives and friends also attend subsequent anniversary masses for the deceased.

Costa Ricans gather with friends for civic celebrations. It is customary to celebrate Independence Day in Costa Rica (September 15) with parades and school assemblies. Costa Rican Americans welcome the opportunity of celebrating with friends whether they are countrymen or people from other ethnic backgrounds. They also join other Hispanics in their celebrations, such as *Cinco de Mayo* (May 5) and September 16, which are Mexican American holidays.

RELIGION

Roman Catholicism is the official, traditional, and dominant religion in Costa Rica. After the government, the Catholic church is the most powerful institution in the country. Monsignor Sanabria, the Archbishop of San José in the 1940s, organized and strengthened the modern church, guiding it toward social activism. His work promoted the foundation of church-oriented social organizations such as the Catholic Action, Young Catholic Workers, and a labor union called the *Rerum Novarum*. This religious social orientation was weakened somewhat during the 1950s when the Partido Liberación Nacional, characterized by its conservatism, dominated the political arena and frowned on liberal social organizations.

Although they have great respect for the church, most Costa Ricans, especially those belonging to the middle class, maintain an independent, personal view of church policies in regard to sensitive issues such as birth control and abortion. Barry describes Costa Ricans' personal attitude: "Catholics in Costa Rica are eclectic believers, whose most fervent expressions of faith are evoked during Holy Week and at the baptism, marriage, or death of family members. Over 80 percent of Costa Rican Catholics do not attend mass regularly." Although people have deep religious beliefs, they follow the dictates of their own conscience in church matters.

Members of other denominations, such as the Mormon, Baptist and other evangelical churches, are also numerous in Costa Rica. Churches whose membership has been rising are the Assemblies of God, Seventh-Day Adventists, Pentecostal Holiness Church, Church of the Nazarene, Association of Bible Churches of Costa Rica, and the Association of Christian Churches.

Costa Rican immigrants to the United States maintain the religious practices of their childhood. They look for a church in which they feel welcome. If the church offers services in Spanish, they are happy to worship with members of the Hispanic community.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

LITERATURE

Rima de Vallbona, born March 15, 1931 in San José, Costa Rica, has taught Latin American Literature and Civilization at the University of St. Thomas in

Houston, Texas, since 1964; her novels and short stories depict feminine characters trying to understand the world: *Mujeres y agonías* (*Women and Grief*, 1982), *Mundo, demonio y mujer* (*World, Demon and Woman*, 1991) *Los infiernos de la mujer y algo más* (*Women's Inferno and Something Else*, 1992) are three of her most acclaimed works. Victoria Urbano, born June 4, 1926, taught Spanish literature at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas, from 1966 until her death on October 8, 1984; in addition to founding the *Asociación de literatura femenina hispánica* (Association of Hispanic Feminine Literature) in the United States, Urbano published numerous short stories and poems; her *Los nueve círculos* (*The Nine Circles* 1970) and *Exodos incontables* (*Innumerable Exodus* 1982), published in Spain and Uruguay, are frequently studied in Spanish American centers.

SCIENCE

Franklin Chang-Díaz, born in San José, Costa Rica, April 5, 1950, is a physical scientist; after graduating from the University of Connecticut in 1973 with a degree in mechanical engineering, he obtained a doctorate in applied plasma physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1977; at the University of Connecticut he helped design and construct high-energy atomic collision experiments; as a graduate student he worked in the United States' controlled fusion program, doing intensive research in the design and operation of fusion reactors; after obtaining his doctorate, he joined the technical staff of the Draper Laboratory, working on the design and integration of control systems for fusion reactor concepts and experimental devices; in 1979, he developed a concept to guide and target fuel pellets in an inertial fusion reactor chamber; since then he has been working on the implementation of a new concept in rocket propulsion based on magnetically confined high-temperature plasmas. Chang-Díaz became an astronaut in August 1981 and continues to do research work for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

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CREEKS

by
Loretta Hall

Tribal legend traces

Creek ancestry to
the sky, where the
ancestors lived in
spirit form before
descending to earth
as physical beings.

OVERVIEW

When Europeans arrived on the North American continent, the Creek Indians occupied major portions of what are now the states of Alabama and Georgia. James Adair, a trader who dealt with the Creeks for three decades, described them in 1770 as the most powerful Indian nation known to the English. They were actually not so much a nation as a confederacy that welcomed new member tribes, even those of a different linguistic and cultural background. Those who joined blended their own traditions into the basic Creek governmental and social structure.

In the early 1830s, the Creek population was about 22,000. Forced relocation to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma took a terrible toll, and by 1839 the population had decreased to 13,500. The Civil War further decimated the Creek people, reducing the number to 10,000 by 1867. In 1990 their population of 43,550 placed them tenth among Native American tribes.

HISTORY

The Creek Indians called themselves Muscogees, or Muscogulges, names that in their language identified them as people living on land that was wet or prone to flooding. During the American colonial period, they received their modern name from English traders who noted that their towns always sat on the banks of picturesque creeks.

These delegates are gathered at the Creek Council House.



Tribal legend traces Creek ancestry to the sky, where the ancestors lived in spirit form before descending to earth as physical beings. They originally lived in the West; their oral tradition tells of a journey toward the sunrise, crossing mountains so large they were called the “backbone of the world,” traversing a wide, muddy river, and conquering their new homeland.

Settling in the East, the ancestral Creeks separated into two groups. Settlements along the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama Rivers became known as the Upper Towns, while communities along the Flint, Chattahoochee, and Ocmulgee Rivers were called the Lower Towns. This partition was merely geographical at first, but as interaction with European colonists developed, the Lower Towns were more accessible to foreign influence. The Upper Towns tended to retain more traditional, political, and social characteristics.

Annual spring floods provided the Creeks with favorable agricultural conditions. They cultivated a variety of crops and gathered wild fruits, roots, and herbs. Grass and the inner bark of trees provided material for making the shawls with which the

women clothed themselves. The Creeks were also skillful hunters, depending on animals for both meat and clothing.

Although the Creeks had contact with non-Indians as early as 1540 as a result of Spanish explorer Hernando De Soto’s expedition, regular interactions did not begin until the late 1600s when the English moved into South Carolina and the Spanish settled in Florida.

RELATIONS WITH NON-INDIANS

“To other Indians the Creeks offered war or friendship with proud indifference,” wrote Angie Debo in *The Road to Disappearance* (1940). “To the whites they showed a sturdy sense of equality and independence, tempered by a genuine appreciation of European goods.” The Creeks were reputed to be a hospitable people skilled in diplomacy. They traded actively with all of the European colonies, though they generally preferred to deal with the English, who offered a greater variety and better quality of goods, as well as lower prices and better credit terms than the Spanish or the French. In fact, the Creeks

allied themselves with the English in 1702, fighting in Queen Anne's War against the French and Spanish. In 1734 a Creek delegation led by Chief Tomochichi traveled to England to see King George II and sign a treaty.

Intermarriage between Creek women and foreign trading partners was common. Creek wives acted as interpreters and taught their European husbands the language and customs of their people. Because they understood both the Indian and white cultures, many of the multiracial children of these marriages became tribal leaders as adults. One such *Métis* (mixed-blood) leader was Alexander McGillivray, the son of a Creek/French mother and a Scottish father. He became chief of the dominant Wind Clan in the late 1700s, and for two decades he worked to unify the Creek nation as an ally of the new United States of America.

The Creeks had traditionally welcomed all non-Indians in a spirit of equality, but they did come to accept the concept of black slavery as an economic practicality. Because captured enemy Indians had sometimes become Creek slaves, the practice was not without precedent. European colonials encouraged the Creeks to think of blacks as slaves in order to prevent runaways from seeking refuge within Creek towns. Furthermore, expert Creek hunters were often paid to track and capture runaway slaves.

Immediately after the Revolutionary War, the United States began trying to expand onto Indian homelands, and by 1840 virtually all of the Creeks were relocated to Indian Territory in what is now east-central Oklahoma. In an attempt to maintain their traditional identity in their new surroundings, they reestablished their former towns: the Upper Creeks settled along the Deep Fork, North Canadian, and Canadian Rivers, while the Lower Creeks located their towns farther to the north along the Arkansas and Verdigris Rivers. The city of Tulsa evolved from a Creek relocation settlement built on sacred ashes brought from the old eastern town of Talsi.

MODERN ISSUES

In addition to job availability and training issues that confront all Americans, Creeks face the problem of tribal economic independence and the struggle to retain their cultural identity. The Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma actively seeks to assume and assert the rights and responsibilities of a sovereign nation through the retention of existing tribal lands, acquisition of additional land, and improved access to significant places outside tribal lands.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Rebuilding their towns in Oklahoma meant much more to the Creeks than simply erecting buildings. The full meaning of the word *idalwa* is diluted when the English word "town" is substituted. An *idalwa* had the autonomy of a Greek city-state and was the primary cultural unit of Creek society. Each town had its own traditions and its own versions of ceremonies, and the Creeks drew more of their identity from the town than from familial relationships. A child was considered a member of the town of his or her mother.

The town square, the heart of the Creek community, was used for warm-weather council meetings, dances, and rituals. The square was an open space defined by four rectangular structures, each with one open side that faced the square. A ceremonial fire was kept burning in the center of the open space.

Adjacent to the square were two other important facilities: the *chokofa*, or rotunda, and the chunky yard. The *chokofa* was a circular structure about 40 feet in diameter that served as a meeting place for the town council during the winter. It was also used for social gatherings where the entire town could enjoy singing and dancing during inclement weather.

The chunky yard was a field two to three hundred yards long that was recessed into the ground so that spectators could sit on the surrounding banks. On it was played a ball game that resembled lacrosse. The game was an important part of Creek culture, offering recreation during games, either among the town members or against a team from a friendly town. Known as "brother to war," it also provided a forum for settling disputes between unfriendly or enemy towns.

In addition to the partitioning of the nation into Upper and Lower communities, the confederacy's fifty towns were divided into two categories, based on descent. Each group is known as a moiety. Red, or War, towns took the lead in declaring and conducting war operations; councils addressing topics of diplomacy and foreign relations would meet in one of these towns. White, or Peace, towns were cities of refuge; councils seeking to establish peace or enact laws governing internal affairs of the Creek nation met in these towns. The moiety of each town was easily identifiable, as its color was painted on buildings and ceremonial articles, and was used as body decoration by its people. There was an atmosphere of

camaraderie among towns of the same moiety, and definite rivalry between towns of opposite natures.

TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURE

The Creeks were one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, along with the Seminoles (who were actually affiliated with the Creek Confederacy until they formed a separate government in 1856), Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. The title derived from the fact that these tribes began to assimilate European ways from the earliest phases of contact. The Creeks eagerly traded deerskins for brightly colored cotton cloth. They used their hunting skills to obtain metal tools. Included among these tools were guns, which transformed their methods of hunting, making them increasingly reliant on continual trading. While the acquisition of new goods improved their lifestyle, it also eroded their traditional self-sufficiency.

The Creeks voluntarily modified their way of life in response to interaction with white traders, but the American government went one step further, undertaking an official effort to assimilate them completely into white culture. An early phase of this process involved the 1796 appointment of Benjamin Hawkins as principal agent to the tribe. Hawkins believed that the Creek people would benefit from being taught and equipped to adopt white culture. He devoted the last twenty years of his life to this effort, encouraging the women to become skilled at making cotton cloth and the men to adopt modern farming techniques.

White Americans in the eighteenth century had little appreciation for Indian cultures, assuming that the Indians would prefer white culture if they could be induced to learn about it. Hawkins was uncomfortable with the idea that the Indians might not want to abandon their own traditions to embrace the white way of life. In fact, some Creeks did want to keep their culture intact, but others thought it would be better for them to adopt the culture of the European settlers. In a March 1992 *Progressive* essay Creek author Joy Harjo recalled her great-grandfather, Marsie Harjo, a Creek Baptist minister: "He represents a counterforce to traditional Muscogee culture and embodies a side of the split in our tribe since Christianity, since the people were influenced by the values of European culture. The dividing lines are the same several hundred years later."

Like other Native American groups, the Creeks still encounter a mainstream culture that generally lacks understanding and appreciation for their values. For example, Creeks traditionally shared their possessions readily and relied mainly on

current food supplies. These basic inclinations conflict with prevailing American values of acquisition and saving for the future. Such differences in values can cause difficulties when Indians attend white schools. In 1988, Native American students exhibited a dropout rate of 35.5 percent, and they are significantly overrepresented in special education programs. Among teenagers, Indians have the highest suicide rate of any minority group.

The Indians' attitude toward land ownership was another cultural difference that profoundly affected federal acculturation efforts. The Creeks viewed land as belonging to the community; the Dawes Act of 1887 stripped the tribe of all common land and apportioned it to individuals for private ownership. As Harjo wrote in the March 1992 issue of the *Progressive*, "This act undermined one of the principles that had always kept the people together."

With continued attacks on their lifestyle, many Creeks found ways to adapt their traditional ways into the new societal context. Christian missionaries had worked among them since 1735, and by the time the tribe moved to Oklahoma, many Creeks belonged to Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian churches. Under governmental pressure to abandon the tribal town structure, they simply shifted their community's center from the square to the church. Each congregation chose from among its members a preacher who would serve for life; it was a natural substitution for the town *micco*, or chief.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

"From the minds of the earliest English colonists . . . who because of their own reverence for the institution of private property expected violent opposition to their intrusion, came the image of the Indian as an uncooperative, hostile, savage, treacherous, murderous creature," wrote historian Florette Henri in *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins: 1796-1816*; "and the Indians' disinclination to destroy the handful of colonists, but rather to shelter, feed, and aid them, was interpreted as proof of their guile." The Creeks have been victims of the general prejudices that are directed at all Native Americans. In contrast, however, to the stereotype of the reserved, stoic Indian, Creeks respected impassioned public speakers, and lengthy oration was common at council meetings.

The Creeks' introduction to liquor caused both real and perceived damage to their society. Traditionally, they drank only water, even at feasts. The drinks they did concoct that may have had an intoxicating effect were generally used only at rare ceremonial rites. Having no tradition of social sanc-

tions against drunkenness, many Indians imbibed freely. The whites with whom they interacted also tended to get drunk. Henri discussed the different perceptions of this activity: "As a rule, it was Indian drinking that was stressed, and when both white and Indian drinking were mentioned, different terms were used for them. When Indians drank excessively, they were said to become noisy, rude, insolent, and violent; but when the garrison got drunk, gouging eyes and biting noses, Price [Hawkins' friend who managed a government trading post in Georgia] characterized the brawl as a 'drunken frolic'."

In 1937 University of Oklahoma professor Morris E. Opler wrote in an unpublished report that many people found it incongruous that Indians who belonged to one of the Five "Civilized" Tribes would want to retain any of their old ways. He further observed that "So far as the whites of Creek country (in Oklahoma) are concerned they have no intention of accepting the Creeks into the main stream of their social and political life." For their part, the Creeks kept to themselves, interacting with the whites only as necessary for trade.

CUISINE

Corn was the staple food of the Creeks. Two yearly crops of early corn were eaten as they ripened, and a harvest of late corn was dried and stored for winter use as hominy. Each family compound contained a large wooden mortar and pestle used to process corn into meal or grits after it had been hulled by cooking with lye or mixing with ashes. The cornmeal was then cooked with lye and water, and the gruel was left to sour for two or three days. The resulting soup was called *sofkey*, and it was such a basic part of the diet that each household kept a bowlful at the door so visitors could partake as they entered. Corn was used in other ways as well. Burned shells of the field pea were mixed with cornmeal to make blue dumplings. *Apuske*, a drink, was made by sweetening a mixture of parched cornmeal and water. Sweet potatoes, pumpkins, peaches, and apples were eaten fresh or dried for storage. The Creeks also commonly ate vegetable stews, either with or without meat. After relocation to Oklahoma, salt was available from a natural creek-side deposit. Hickory nuts were used both as a cooking ingredient and as a source of oil. Bear fat was prized as a seasoning.

Creek diets included deer, wild hog, turkey, and smaller game such as opossum and squirrel. Beef, venison, and bison meat could be smoked for storage or cut into strips and dried. Meat and fish might

be cooked by boiling or roasting. They employed several methods for catching fish, including nets, traps, and spears. During the summer, the population of an entire town gathered at a favorable spot where a stream could be dammed or fenced to trap fish. Appropriate roots were prepared and thrown into the water to drug the fish; as they floated to the surface, the men showed their marksmanship by shooting them with bows and arrows. The women then cooked *sofkey* and fried the fish for a feast.

CLOTHING

Traditional clothing for men consisted of a breechcloth, deerskin leggings, a shirt, and, in winter, moccasins. Women wore shawls and deerskin skirts. Children generally went unclothed until puberty. During the winter, additional warmth was provided by bear skins and buffalo hides.

Both men and women wore their hair long. The men plucked their facial hair and also removed hair around their heads, leaving a long central lock that they braided with decorative feathers, shells, and strings. Sometimes they made turbans from strips of deerskin or cloth. The women, whose hair might reach to their calves, wound it about their heads, fastening it with silver jewelry and adorning it with colorful streamers.

The men used extensive tattooing to decorate their trunks, arms, and legs. The indigo designs included natural objects, animals, abstract scrollwork, and even hunting and battle scenes. Both men and women employed body paint and wore earrings and other jewelry.

Trade with Europeans brought colorful woven fabrics to the Creek people. They quickly incorporated these into their customary fashions, and began to decorate clothing and moccasins with trade beads. The women liked to wear clothing fashioned from calico and other printed cloth, and silk ribbons became popular hair ornaments. Creek women also bought the scrap threads of scarlet cloth that traders cleaned out of the bottoms of their packs; they boiled them to remove the dye, which they then added to berry juice and used to color other cloth.

THE GREEN CORN FESTIVAL

The major annual holiday was the Green Corn Festival, which celebrated the beginning of the corn harvest in late July or early August. Depending on the size of the town, the festival lasted from four to eight days. It involved a number of traditions, including dancing and moral lectures given by town leaders.

Marion (Wild Horse) McGhee performs the fluff dance, attempting to pick up a feather with his teeth without his knees, hands or forehead touching the ground.



To prepare for the festival, the entire town was cleaned, and the square refurbished with fresh sand and new mats for its buildings. Women made new clothing for their families, as well as new pottery and other household furnishings. The town piled old clothing and furnishings together with the collected rubbish and burned them, along with all remaining food supplies that had been stored from the previous year. All fires in the town were extinguished, and a new fire was started in the town square by the ancient method of rubbing sticks together. Each family carried some of this new fire home to relight their household fire.

The festival was also called the *busk*, especially among whites. The name derived from the Creek word *boosketah*, meaning a fast. The men cleansed themselves with ceremonial bathing and by fasting and drinking a strong emetic potion which they called "medicine." The beverage, which Europeans called the "black drink," was also used on other occasions, but it was a central element of the Green Corn Festival. As time passed, women were allowed to join in the festival dancing; by the late 1800s they occasionally partook of the "medicine." At the end

of the festival, when spiritual appreciation had been given for the new crop, the people joined in a feast.

Inspired by the ripening of the new corn, the festival was a time of renewal and forgiveness. Drinking the "medicine" purged the body physically and purified it from sin. A general amnesty was conferred for all offenses committed in the past year, with the exception of murder. If a guilty person was able to hide between the time a crime was committed and the time of the Green Corn Festival, he or she would escape punishment entirely. The festival marked the beginning of the new year and as such became the official date for such events as marriages, divorces, and periods of mourning. It was also the occasion for young men's initiation rites.

HEALTH ISSUES

According to traditional beliefs, illness was the result of an animal spirit or a conjurer placing some foreign substance in the victim's body. An *owala*, or shaman, would affect a cure by concocting an appropriate medicine out of roots, herbs, and other natural substances. While brewing the potion, he would

sing appropriate songs and blow into the mixture through a tube. The afflicted person would take the medicine internally and also apply it externally.

After establishing contact with the Europeans, the Creeks were affected by periodic outbreaks of smallpox, measles, and other imported diseases; the number of fatalities went undocumented. During removal to Indian Territory, emigrating Creeks were subjected to difficult traveling conditions including exposure to weather extremes. Overcrowded conditions on boats during waterborne portions of the journey, coupled with dietary changes and unclean drinking water from the Mississippi River, left the travelers vulnerable to illness. Maladies such as dysentery, diarrhea, and cholera contributed to the many casualties en route.

Health problems did not end with arrival in Indian Territory. Streams behaved differently in the West than they did in the East; unexpected flooding destroyed new homes and crops, while in dry spells the streams turned into breeding grounds for mosquitos, and many Creeks fell victim to malaria. During western winters, periods of mild days alternated with sudden bouts of extremely cold weather; Creek shelters and clothing were inadequate for this climate, and many people perished from pneumonia. During the first year in Indian Territory, 3,500 Creeks died of disease or starvation.

Even in 1990s, health care furnished through the Indian Health Service often has been inadequate. The Muscogee Nation manages its own hospital to better serve its people. Creeks experience a relatively high incidence of diabetes, which may be related to the poor economic conditions they have endured in modern times; alcoholism may also play a role.

LANGUAGE

Most Creeks spoke dialects of the Muskogean language. In *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, Kathryn E. Braund has asserted that “it was still the English who were forced to learn the melodious Muskogee tongue, for few Creeks expressed any willingness to adopt the harsh and strident tones of their new friends.” Creeks who avoided relocation to Oklahoma tended to stop speaking the Muskogean language so they would not be recognized as Indians and therefore forced to leave their homes. In 1910, 72 percent of Creeks over the age of ten could speak English. By 1980, 99 percent of Creek adults could speak English well; 15 percent of them still spoke their native language at home.

With the help of a Creek student named James Perryman, Presbyterian minister John Fleming created a phonetic alphabet for Muskogee. In 1835 they published a book of hymns and a primer called *I stutsi in Naktsokv* (*The Child's Book*). Another missionary published a Creek dictionary and grammar book in 1890.

The language's vowels and their sounds are: “v” (as the vowel sound in but), “a” (as in sod), “e” (as in tin), “o” (as in toad), “u” (as in put), and “i” (as in hate). Most consonants are pronounced as in English, except that “c” sounds like “ts” or “ch,” while “r” sounds like “hl” (made by blowing while pronouncing an “l”).

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some of the basic words of the Creek language are *Hes'ci* (“hihs-jay”)—hello; *henk'a* (“hihn gah”)—yes; *hek'us* (“hihg oos”)—no; *Mvto'* (“muh doh”)—thank you.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

CLAN AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

Creek society was based on a clan system, with each person's identity determined by the clan of his or her mother. Clan membership governed social interactions, ranging from whom members could joke with to whom they could marry (marriage within one's clan was considered incest). Each town included members from about six clans.

The family home was actually a collection of several rectangular buildings constructed of a framework of wood poles, with walls of mud and straw plaster, and a roof of cyprus bark shingles. These buildings were arranged in a smaller version of the town square, with a courtyard in the center. One building was used for cooking and eating, one for sleeping in winter (sleeping and eating were done outdoors in warm weather), and one for storing food supplies. Another building was provided for women's retreats, used during menstruation as well as for a four-month period at childbirth. Each homesite included a small garden plot where the women of the family raised some vegetables and tobacco.

The town maintained a large field of fertile land for farming, with a section reserved for each family. The townspeople worked together on the entire field, and at harvest time each family gathered the produce from its section. All were expected to contribute to a communal stockpile that

would be used to feed visitors and needy families in the town.

Traditionally, Creeks buried the dead under the earthen floor of the home, though by the late 1800s it was more common to bury them in the churchyard or in a family cemetery near the home. A widower was expected to mourn his dead wife for four months, during which time he would not bathe, wash his clothes, or comb his hair. The same mourning practices were required of a widow; she, however, was obligated to mourn for four years. The period of mourning for a widow could be decreased by the dead husband's clan if they so chose. Often, after the mourning period, the widow would marry a brother of her deceased husband.

MARRIAGE

Although marriages could be arranged by clan leaders, they were usually initiated by the prospective husband, who solicited the permission of the woman's family. During courtship, the man might woo the woman by playing plaintive melodies on a flute made either of hardwood or a reed.

Sexual activity before marriage was allowed, and it was not unusual for travelers to hire Creek women as bed companions. Once a marriage became final, however, adultery was not tolerated. Punishment was harsh, including severe beatings and cutting off the hair, ears, and sometimes noses of both offenders. A woman committing adultery was rejected by her husband and children, but she could marry her lover.

When a couple married, the husband went to live with his wife in the home of her parents. The marriage was finalized only after the husband had built his wife a home and proven his ability to support her by planting and harvesting a crop and successfully hunting game. During the trial period of the marriage, the couple could decide to separate, and infidelity would not be punished. With the permission of his wife, a man could take a second wife, for whom he provided a separate home. Divorce was allowed but rarely occurred in families with children; when it did, the woman retained the children and the family possessions.

CHILDREARING

The father fasted for four days after the birth of his child, and he maintained an interest in his family. Raising the child, however, was primarily the responsibility of the mother and the leader of her clan. Babies spent their first year secured to cradle

boards; boys were wrapped in cougar skins, while girls were covered with deerskins or bison hides.

A daughter was called by a kinship term or named after some object or natural occurrence associated with her birth. A son was called by the name of his totem, such as bird or snake; as he grew, he might be given a nickname based on some personality trait. At the age of puberty, a boy was initiated into adulthood in his town and was given an actual name. His first name, which served as a surname, was that of his town or clan, while his second, or personal, name was descriptive of something about him.

EDUCATION

Creek girls learned from their mothers and maternal aunts the skills they would need as adults. Boys were instructed primarily by their maternal uncles, though they also felt their father's influence. Christian missionary schools established in 1822 were the first to formally educate Creeks in American culture; a few earlier attempts at founding schools had been unsuccessful. By the late twentieth century, Creek students generally attended public schools, with a few attending boarding schools. The 1980 census found that 65 percent of Creek adults were high school graduates and 11 percent were college graduates.

A branch of Oklahoma State University at Okmulgee serves the Creek community in Oklahoma. The Poarch Creek Tribe in Alabama has an education department and offers on-the-job training through a Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program.

RELIGION

The traditional Creek religion revered *Esaugetu Emissie* (Master of Breath) as the supreme being. He was believed to live in an upper realm that had the sky as its floor. The sun, moon, and planets were seen as messengers to this deity. The Creeks also worshiped animal spirits. The Green Corn Festival was the principal religious celebration.

Although many Creek myths have been lost to history, some were documented by Frank G. Speck in 1904 and 1905. He reported that the myths told of animal spirits in the sky world who were responsible for the earth's origin. Master of Breath then placed his own innovations on creation, making the earth as it is now. Speck wrote in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*: "The Creeks assert that they were made from the red earth of the old Creek nation. The whites were made from the foam of the sea. That is why they think the Indian is firm, and the white man is restless and fickle."

Each Creek town kept certain sacred objects. The most famous were copper and brass plates held by the town of Tuckabatchee. The five copper plates were oblong, with the largest being about 18 inches by seven inches. The two brass plates were circular, the larger being 18 inches in diameter, and one was stamped with the mark Æ. Although one legend indicated that the objects had been given them by the Shawnee, who may have obtained them from the Spanish, the plates were widely believed to have been bestowed on the Creeks by the Master of Breath.

Contact with European cultures brought a succession of missionaries to the Creek people. Gradually, many of the people began to espouse Christianity. They continued to observe the Green Corn Festival, although those who had become Baptist or Methodist no longer participated in ceremonial dancing. With this decrease in participation, the festival began to lose its former significance, and it deteriorated into little more than a wild party. Christianity became dominant among the Creeks after the removal to Oklahoma. Although some missionaries continued to work among them, most Creek churches were led by preachers who emerged from within the community. As Debo described: "The Creeks had found in Christianity a means of expressing the strong community ties, the moral aspiration, the mystic communion with nature, the deep sense of reverence that had once been expressed by the native ceremonials."

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The early Creeks enjoyed a comfortable living based on agriculture and hunting. Their homeland was fertile and game was plentiful. With the emergence of European contacts, the Creek hunting industry changed from a subsistence operation to a commercial enterprise. Trade expanded, and they began to sell not only venison, hides, and furs, but also honey, beeswax, hickory nut oil, and other produce. They also found markets for manufactured goods including baskets, pottery, and decorated deerskins.

As white settlers continued to move into Creek territory, the Indians were crowded into progressively smaller land areas. This process began in 1733 when a cession of two million acres of Creek land was given to the new colony of Georgia so it could be sold to satisfy debts to British traders. In order to attract additional colonists, the land was sold at bargain prices.

An extensive series of other land cessions followed, and eventually the Creek economy col-

lapsed. According to *Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present*, in 1833 Lieutenant Colonel John Abert wrote to the United States Secretary of War that during the last three years the Creek people had gone "from a general state of comparative plenty to that of unqualified wretchedness and want."

The Removal Treaty of 1832 gave land to Creeks who chose to emigrate to Indian Territory in exchange for tribal lands in Alabama. To encourage the Indians to move westward, the government also promised a variety of benefits, including a cash payment of \$210,000—to be distributed according to tribal laws over a fifteen year period—two blacksmith shops in the new territory, an educational annuity, and another cash payment of \$100,000 to help the Creeks settle their debts and ease their economic hardship. In addition, each warrior would receive a rifle, ammunition, and a blanket; families' expenses would be paid during the migration and throughout the first year in the West.

Some full-blooded Creeks still farm land in the area of Oklahoma that was settled by the Upper Creeks. The Muscogee Nation operates a bingo hall and stores that sell tobacco products. Broadening their economic development efforts is a high priority for the tribe.

Many of the mixed-blood Creeks live in Tulsa, Eufaula, or other Oklahoma cities, working in a variety of occupations. Census data from 1980 indicates that about two-thirds of the Creek Indians were living in urban settings at that time.

At the time of Indian removal, a segment of the Creek people entered into an agreement with the government that enabled them to remain in the East. They were business people who operated ferries, served as guides and interpreters, and raised cattle. Their descendants are the Poarch Creeks, whose tribal headquarters are located in Atmore, Alabama.

During the early 1900s, some Poarch Creeks began to work in the timber and turpentine industries. Some also became tenant farmers or worked as hired farm laborers. Beginning in the 1930s, the pulpwood industry became an important element in the Poarch Creek economy. Since the 1950s, Poarch Creeks have been working in other non-agricultural jobs.

According to 1980 statistics, 61 percent of Creeks over the age of 16 were in the labor force. Of those who were employed, 19 percent were in managerial or professional specialty occupations, and 26 percent were in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. Looking at major industry groups, approximately six percent worked in the agricultural, forestry, fisheries, and mining areas;

nine percent worked in public administration; 12 percent worked in retail trade; 19 percent were involved in manufacturing; and 22 percent worked in professional and related services, including health and education.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Throughout their history, the Creeks governed themselves democratically. Each town elected a chief who served for life, though he could be recalled. Members of each town were informed about issues and participated actively in decision making. Town leaders met in daily council sessions, and when broader councils were called, each town sent several representatives to speak and vote on its behalf. Although there was no specific law fixing a penalty for misrepresenting constituents, leaders who did so faced severe consequences; for example, after signing a 1783 treaty that ceded good hunting grounds to Georgia, a chief returned home to find his house burned and his crops destroyed.

The society was matrilineal, but most positions of tribal leadership were filled by men. While women did not vote, they did enjoy full economic rights including property ownership, and they exerted significant influence on decisions by discussing their opinions with the men of the town. Each town may also have appointed a Beloved Woman who communicated with her counterparts in other towns. The roles of the Beloved Woman and perhaps other female leaders have been lost to history since European observers ignored them and omitted them from written accounts.

TREATIES

The Creeks supported the British in the American Revolutionary War. In 1790, a delegation of Creek leaders traveled to New York to negotiate a treaty with President Washington. It was the first in a long series of treaties that ceded tribal land to the United States; with each cession, the tribe was guaranteed unending ownership of their remaining land. In some cases, treaties were obtained by such fraudulent means as purposely negotiating with a non-representative group of minor chiefs after being refused by the official delegation, or forging the names of chiefs who refused to cooperate.

In 1812 the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, whose mother was Creek, organized a rebellion against the United States. The Creek nation split over whether to join the uprising; most of the Lower Creeks supported Tecumseh while the Upper Creeks were

rather evenly divided in their allegiance. This division resulted in the Red Stick War, a devastating civil war within the tribe. Under terms of the peace treaty signed in 1814, the tribe relinquished to the United States 22 million acres of land, including the townsites of some of the Upper Creeks who had fought alongside Andrew Jackson's forces against the rebels.

In addition to gradually obtaining ownership of tens of millions of acres of Creek land, federal and state governments placed a succession of restrictions on the Indians. Alabama law, for example, prohibited an Indian from testifying against a white man. According to Grant Foreman in *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (1932), a Creek delegation to the United States Secretary of War in 1831 complained, "We are made subject to laws we have no means of comprehending; we never know when we are doing right."

The Removal Treaty of 1832 guaranteed the Creeks political autonomy and perpetual ownership of new homelands in Indian Territory in return for their cession of remaining tribal lands in the East. It specified that each Creek could freely choose whether to remain on his homeland or move to the West. Those who decided to stay in the East could select homesteads on former tribal land. Land speculators eager to profit from the anticipated influx of white settlers devised a variety of ways to cheat the Indians out of their land, either by paying far less than its true value or by forging deeds. After an Indian attack on a mail stage—for which a white man was later convicted—a brief civil war pitted Creeks who wanted to remain in the East against those who accepted the concept of relocation. Finally the federal government ordered forcible removal of all remaining Creeks in 1836.

Emigrants were subjected to horrible conditions during the government-subsidized trips to Indian Territory. One group began their journey in December 1834, barefoot and scantily clothed; 26 percent of them died during the four-month journey. Leaders pushed onward as quickly as they could, not allowing the Indians to conduct funeral services to ensure the dead an afterlife, and sometimes not even allowing the survivors to bury the dead. In July 1836, a party of 1,600 Creeks departed for the West with the warriors handcuffed and chained together for the entire journey.

Upon arrival in Indian Territory, the Five Civilized Tribes faced opposition from plains Indians who would have to share diminished hunting grounds with 60,000 new residents. Although the Creeks were capable of defending themselves against attack, they took the lead in conducting

negotiations between the immigrant tribes and the indigenous people to establish peaceful coexistence.

GOVERNMENT AFTER RELOCATION

As they settled into their new homeland, the Creeks discovered that the United States' promises of assistance went largely unfulfilled. Tools and farm implements did not come in time to build homes and plant crops. Weapons and ammunition did not arrive, so the men had to relearn bow and arrow hunting techniques. In order to maximize profits from their government contracts, food suppliers delivered partial shipments and rancid provisions. Especially during the first few years after relocation, annuity payments guaranteed by the treaty were made primarily in goods rather than in cash, and most of the items to be delivered were either useless to the Indians or were lost in shipment.

By the 1850s the Creek people had begun to achieve a relatively prosperous life in their new territory. Then the Confederate States of America seceded from the United States. The Creeks tried to remain neutral in the conflict but were drawn into hostilities by attacks on their people. Loyalties were once again divided. The Lower Towns generally favored retention of slavery and sided with the South, while the Upper Towns chose to abide by their treaties with the North. What ensued was another civil war within the Creek nation. In retribution for the failure of the entire tribe to support the Union, the post-war treaty required the cession of 3.2 million acres, or about half of the Creek land in Indian Territory.

GOVERNMENT DISSOLUTION AND LAND ALLOTMENT

The Creeks attempted to formalize their government after arriving in the West. Opothle Yahola, a chief who led Creeks loyal to the United States during the Red Stick War and the Civil War, oversaw an effort to record Creek law into written form. A written constitution providing for elected tribal officers was adopted about 1859; after the Civil War, it was replaced with a new one modeled closely after the U.S. Constitution.

Acting on recommendations of the Dawes Commission, Congress passed the Curtis Act in 1898. As a result, tribal lands were removed from common ownership and distributed among individual Indians for private ownership. In 1906, the U.S. government declared the Creek tribal government dissolved. These federal policies were reversed by the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Act, which encouraged

tribal cultural and economic development. Two years later, Congress passed the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, providing Indian tribes with a mechanism for incorporating. It also provided benefits such as a student loan program and a revolving fund to be used for extending credit to Indians.

The 37,000 members of the Muscogee Nation are governed by an elected principal chief, a bicameral legislature, and a judicial branch. The 2,000 Poarch Creeks in Alabama are governed by an elected tribal council that selects a tribal chairman from among its nine members.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Listed below are some of the Creek people who have made notable contributions to American society as a whole. It is difficult to arrange their names by area of contribution, since some individuals attained prominence in several fields.

ACADEMIA

Edwin Stanton Moore attended Chilocco Indian School and Oklahoma A & M College, where he played football from 1938 to 1940; he was awarded the Department of the Interior Meritorious Service Medal upon retirement as the Director of Indian Education in 1979.

FILM AND BROADCAST MEDIA

Will Sampson (1934-1987) was an actor who appeared in several motion pictures, including *The Outlaw Josie Wales* and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, which won an Academy Award for Best Picture in 1976. Gary Fife is the producer and host of "National Native News," which airs on over 160 public radio stations around the country.

GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Enoch Kelly Haney is an Oklahoma state senator who is nationally recognized for his political involvement and proactive stance for Native American rights; he is also an accomplished artist on canvas and in bronze. Gale Thrower (1943–) received the Alabama Folk Life Heritage Award for her contributions toward preserving her tribe's traditions and culture.

LITERATURE

Alexander (Alex) Lawrence Posey (1873-1908) was a poet and a writer of prose; he was elected to the

House of Warriors, the lower chamber of the Creek National Council; at various times he served as superintendent of two boarding schools and the Creek Orphan Asylum, and as superintendent of public instruction for the Creek Nation of Oklahoma; he helped draft the constitution for the proposed State of Sequoia, a document on which the constitution for the state of Oklahoma was later based. Louis (Littlecorn) Oliver (1904-1990) wrote *Chasers of the Sun: Creek Indian Thoughts*, and two books of poetry: *The Horned Snake* and *Caught in a Willow Net*. Joy Harjo (1951–), winner of the Academy of American Poetry Award, has published several books of poetry, including *A Map to the Next World* (2000).

MILITARY

Ernest Childers (1918–) was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for “exceptional leadership, initiative, calmness under fire, and conspicuous gallantry” on September 22, 1943, at Oliveto, Italy. John N. Reese was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for “his gallant determination in the face of tremendous odds, aggressive fighting spirit, and extreme heroism at the cost of his life” on February 9, 1945, at Manila in the Philippine Islands.

SPORTS

Allie P. Reynolds was a baseball pitcher with the Cleveland Indians from 1942 to 1946 and the New York Yankees from 1947 to 1954; he had the best earned run average (ERA) in the American League in 1952 and 1954, and he led the league in strikeouts and shutouts for two seasons; he was named America’s Professional Athlete of the Year in 1951. Jack Jacobs played football for the University of Oklahoma from 1939 to 1942; he also played professional football for 14 years with several teams including the Cleveland Rams, the Washington Redskins, and the Green Bay Packers.

VISUAL ARTS

Acee Blue Eagle (1908-1959) was an acclaimed Creek painter. Fred Beaver (1911-1980) and Solomon McCombs (1913-1980) were painters who served with the U.S. Department of State as goodwill ambassadors, using their art as a means of bridging the communications gap around the world. Jerome Tiger (1941-1967), a painter and sculptor, was also a Golden Gloves boxer. His brother Johnny Tiger, Jr., is a master artist at the Five Civilized Tribes Museum. Joan Hill is a Creek/Cherokee painter who has received numerous recognition

awards, grants, and fellowships in the art world. She has done a series of paintings depicting the various treaties of the Five Civilized Tribes, and another portraying the women of the tribes.

MEDIA

PRINT

Muscogee Nation News.

The official publication of the Muscogee Nation. Distributed 12 times annually in English. Circulation is 8,100.

Contact: Jim Wolfe.

Address: Department of Communications, P.O. Box 580, Okmulgee, Oklahoma 74447.

Telephone: (918) 756-8700 extension 327.

Poarch Creek News.

A monthly English-language publication of the Creek tribe in Alabama.

Contact: Daniel McGee.

Address: HCR 69, Box 85-B, Atmore, Alabama 36502.

Telephone: (205) 368-9136.

RADIO

WASG-AM.

Operated by the Poarch Creek Tribe. Programming is in English and features country music, local news, and community events.

Contact: Nathan Martin.

Address: 1318 South Main Street, Atmore, Alabama 36502-2899.

Telephone: (205) 368-2511.

Fax: (205)368-4227.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Muscogee (Creek) Nation.

Contact: Principal Chief Bill Fife.

Address: Tribal Offices, P.O. Box 580, Okmulgee, Oklahoma 74447.

Telephone: (918) 756-8700.

Poarch Creek Indians.

Contact: Tribal Chairman Eddie Tullis.

Address: Tribal Office, HCR 69, Box 85-B, Atmore, Alabama 36502.

Telephone: (205) 368-9136.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Creek Council House Museum.

A museum and library of tribal history.

Contact: Debbie Martin.

Address: P.O. Box 580, Okmulgee,
Oklahoma 74447.

Telephone: (918) 756-2324.

Calvin McGee Library.

A cultural center and library for the eastern Creeks.

Contact: Gale Thrower.

Address: HCR 69, Box 85-B, Atmore,
Alabama 36502.

Telephone: (205) 368-9136.

Five Civilized Tribes Museum.

Displays Indian artifacts and art work, with separate sections devoted to each of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Contact: Lynn Thornley.

Address: Agency Hill on Honors Heights Drive,
Muskogee, Oklahoma 74401.

Telephone: (918) 683-1701.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

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———. *The Politics of Indian Removal*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

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Swanton, John Reed. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.

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of self-choice.

CREOLES

by

Helen Bush Caver and

Mary T. Williams

OVERVIEW

Unlike many other ethnic groups in the United States, Creoles did not migrate from a native country. The term Creole was first used in the sixteenth century to identify descendants of French, Spanish, or Portuguese settlers living in the West Indies and Latin America. There is general agreement that the term “Creole” derives from the Portuguese word *crioulo*, which means a slave born in the master’s household. A single definition sufficed in the early days of European colonial expansion, but as Creole populations established divergent social, political, and economic identities, the term acquired different meanings. In the West Indies, Creole refers to a descendant of any European settler, but some people of African descent also consider themselves to be Creole. In Louisiana, it identifies French-speaking populations of French or Spanish descent. Their ancestors were upper class whites, many of whom were plantation owners or officials during the French and Spanish colonial periods. During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, they formed a separate caste that used French. They were Catholics, and retained the traditional cultural traits of related social groups in France, but they were the first French group to be submerged by Anglo-Americans. In the late twentieth century they largely ceased to exist as a distinct group. Creoles of color, the descendants of free mulattos and free blacks, are another group considered Creole in Louisiana.

HISTORY

In the seventeenth century, French explorers and settlers moved into the United States with their customs, language, and government. Their dominant presence continued until 1768 when France ceded Louisiana to Spain. Despite Spanish control, French language and customs continued to prevail.

Many Creoles, however, are descendants of French colonials who fled Saint-Domingue (Haiti) for North America's Gulf Coast when a slave insurrection (1791) challenged French authority. According to Thomas Fiehrer's essay "From La Tortue to La Louisiane: An Unfathomed Legacy," Saint-Dominique had more than 450,000 black slaves, 40,000 to 45,000 whites, and 32,000 *gens-de-couleur libres*, who were neither white nor slaves. The slave revolt not only challenged French authority, but after defeating the expeditionary corps sent by Napoleon, the leaders of the slaves established an independent country named Haiti. Most Whites were either massacred or fled, many with their slaves, as did many mulatto freemen, many of who also owned slaves. By 1815, over 11,000 refugees had settled in New Orleans.

Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743-1803), a self-educated slave, took control of Saint-Domingue in 1801, sending more refugees to the Gulf Coast. Some exiles went directly to present-day Louisiana; others went to Cuba. Of those who went to Cuba, many came to New Orleans in the early 1800s after the Louisiana territory had been purchased by the United States (1803). This influx from Saint-Domingue and Cuba doubled New Orleans' 1791 population. Some refugees moved on to St. Martinville, Napoleonville, and Henderson, rural areas outside New Orleans. Others traveled further north along the Mississippi waterway.

In Louisiana, the term Creole came to represent children of black or racially mixed parents as well as children of French and Spanish descent with no racial mixing. Persons of French and Spanish descent in New Orleans and St. Louis began referring to themselves as Creoles after the Louisiana Purchase to set themselves apart from the Anglo-Americans who moved into the area. Today, the term Creole can be defined in a number of ways. Louisiana historian Fred B. Kniffin, in *Louisiana: Its Land and People*, has asserted that the term Creole "has been loosely extended to include people of mixed blood, a dialect of French, a breed of ponies, a distinctive way of cooking, a type of house, and many other things. It is therefore no precise term and should not be defined as such."

Louisiana Creoles of color were different and separate from other populations, both black and



This woman is a
quilter at the
Amand Broussard
House in Louisiana
Creole Country.

white. These Creoles of color became part of an elite society; in the nineteenth century they were leaders in business, agriculture, politics, and the arts, as well as slaveholders. Nonetheless, as early as 1724 their legal status had been defined by the *Code Noir* (Black Code). According to Violet Harrington Bryan in *The Myth of New Orleans in Literature, Dialogues of Race and Gender*, they could own slaves, hold real estate, and be recognized in the courts, but they could not vote, marry white persons, and had to designate themselves as *f.m.c.* or *f.w.c.* (free man or color or free woman of color) on all legal documents.

THE FIRST CREOLES IN AMERICA

According to Virginia A. Dominguez in *White By Definition*, much of the written record of Creoles comes from descriptions of individuals in the baptismal, marriage, and death registers of Catholic churches of Mobile (Alabama) and New Orleans, two major French outposts on the Gulf Coast. The earliest entry is a death record in 1745 wherein a man was described as the first Creole in the colony. The term also appears in a 1748 slave trial in New Orleans.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Differences of opinion regarding the Creoles persist. The greatest controversy stems from the presence or absence of African ancestry. In an 1886 lecture at

These two men are presenting the Creole flag to the audience at a Creole festival.



Tulane University, Charles Gayarre (“Creoles of History and Creoles of Romance,” New Orleans: C. E. Hopkins, c. 1886) and F. P. Poche (in a speech at the American Exposition in New Orleans, *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, February 8, 1886) both stated that Louisiana Creoles had “not a particle of African blood in their veins.” In “A Few Words About the Creoles of Louisiana” (Baton Rouge: Truth Books, 1892), Alcee Fortier repeated the same defense. These three men were probably the most prominent Creole intellectuals of the nineteenth century. Lyle Saxon, Robert Tallant, and Edward Dreyer continued this argument in 1945 by saying, “No true Creole ever had colored blood.”

According to Sister Dorothea Olga McCants, translator of Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes’ *Our People and Our History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), the free mixed-blood, French speakers in New Orleans came to use the word Creole to describe themselves. The phrase “Creole of color” was used by these proud part-Latin people to set themselves apart from American blacks. These Haitian descendants were cultured, educated, and economically prosperous as musicians, artists, teachers, writers, and doctors. In “Louisiana’s ‘Creoles of Color,’” James H. Dorman has stated that the group was clearly recognized as special, productive, and worthy by the white community, citing an editorial in the *New Orleans Times Picayune* in 1859 that referred to them as “Creole colored people.” Prior to the Civil War, a three-caste system existed: white, black, and Creoles of color. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, however, the Creoles of color—who had been part

of the free black population before the war—were merged into a two-caste system, black and white.

The identification of a Creole was, and is, largely one of self-choice. Important criteria for Creole identity are French language and social customs, especially cuisine, regardless of racial makeup. Many young Creoles of color today live under pressure to identify themselves as African Americans. Several young white Creoles want to avoid being considered of mixed race. Therefore, both young black and white Creoles often choose an identity other than Creole.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

With imported furniture, wines, books, and clothes, white Creoles were once immersed in a completely French atmosphere. Part of Creole social life has traditionally centered on the French Opera House; from 1859 to 1919, it was the place for sumptuous gatherings and glittering receptions. The interior, graced by curved balconies and open boxes of architectural beauty, seated 805 people. Creoles loved the music and delighted in attendance as the operas were great social and cultural affairs.

White Creoles clung to their individualistic way of life, frowned upon intermarriage with Anglo-Americans, refused to learn English, and were resentful and contemptuous of Protestants, whom they considered irreligious and wicked. Creoles generally succeeded in remaining separate in the rural sections but they steadily lost ground in New Orleans. In 1803, there were seven Creoles to every

Anglo-American in New Orleans, but these figures dwindled to two to one by 1830.

Anglo-Americans reacted by disliking the Creoles with equal enthusiasm. Gradually, New Orleans became not one city, but two. Canal Street split them apart, dividing the old Creole city from the “uptown” section where the other Americans quickly settled. To cross Canal Street in either direction was to enter another world. These differences are still noticeable today.

Older Creoles complain that many young Creoles today do not adhere to the basic rules of language propriety in speaking to others, especially to older adults. They claim that children walk past homes of people they know without greeting an acquaintance sitting on the porch or working on the lawn. Young males are particularly criticized for greeting others quickly in an incomprehensible and inarticulate manner.

CUISINE

Creole cooking is the distinguishing feature of Creole homes. It can be as subtle as Oysters Rockefeller, as fragrantly explicit as a jambalaya, or as down to earth as a dish of red beans and rice. A Creole meal is a celebration, not just a means of addressing hunger pangs. Many of the dishes listed below are features of African-influenced Louisiana, that is, Creoles of color and black Creoles.

The Europeans who settled in New Orleans found not only the American Indians, whose *file* (the ground powder of the sassafras leaf) is the key ingredient of Creole gumbos, but also immense areas of inland waterways and estuaries alive with crayfish, shrimp, crab, and fish of many different varieties. Moreover, the swampland was full of game. The settlers used what they found and produced a cuisine based on good taste, experimentation, and spices. On the experimental side, it was in New Orleans that raw, hard liquor was transformed into the more sophisticated cocktail, and where the simple cup of coffee became *café Brulot*, a concoction spiced with cinnamon, cloves, and lemon peel and flambéed with cognac. The seasonings used are distinctive, but there is yet another essential ingredient—a heavy black iron skillet.

Such dexterity produced the many faceted family of gumbos. Gumbo is a soup or a stew, yet too unique to be classified as one or the other. It starts with a base of highly seasoned roux (a cooked blend of fat and flour used as a thickening agent), scalions, and herbs, which serves as a vehicle for oysters, crabs, shrimp, chicken, ham, various game, or combinations thereof. Oysters may be consumed

raw (on the half-shell), sauteed and packed into hollowed-out French bread, or baked on the half-shell and served with various garnishes. Shrimp, crayfish, and crab are similarly starting points for the Creole cook who might have croquettes in mind, or a pie, or an omelette, or a stew.

DANCES AND SONGS

Creoles are a festive people who enjoy music and dancing. In New Orleans during French rule, public balls were held twice weekly and when the Spanish took over, the practice continued. These balls were frequented by white Creoles, although wealthy Creoles of Color may also have attended. Cotillions presented by numerous academies provided young ladies and gentlemen with the opportunity to display their skills in dancing quadrilles, *valse à un temps*, *valse à deux temps*, *valse à trois temps*, polkas, and *polazurkas*. Saturday night balls and dances were a universal institution in Creole country. The community knew about the dances by means of a flagpole denoting the site of the dance. Families arrived on horseback or in a variety of wheeled carriages. The older adults played *vingt-et-un* (Twenty-one) or other card games while the young danced and engaged in flirtations until the party dispersed near daybreak. During the special festive season, between New Year's and Mardi Gras, many brilliant balls were scheduled. Only the most respected families were asked to attend with lists scrutinized by older members of the families to keep less prominent people away

PROVERBS

A rich collection of Creole proverbs can be found in several references. One of the best is from Lafcadio Hearn's *Gombo Zhebes, Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs* (New Orleans: deBrun, n.d.): the monkey smothers its young one by hugging it too much; wait till the hare's in the pot before you talk; today drunk with fun, tomorrow the paddle; if you see your neighbor's beard on fire, water your own; shingles cover everything; when the oxen lift their tails in the air, look out for bad weather; fair words buy horses on credit; a good cock crows in any henhouse; what you lose in the fire, you will find in the ashes; when one sleeps, one doesn't think about eating; he who takes a partner takes a master; the coward lives a long time; conversation is the food of ears; it's only the shoes that know if the stockings have holes; the dog that yelps doesn't bite; threatened war doesn't kill many soldiers; a burnt cat dreads fire; an empty sack cannot stand up; good coffee and the Protestant religion were seldom if ever seen together; it takes four to prepare the perfect salad dressing—a miser to pour the vinegar, a spendthrift to add the olive oil, a

Mardi Gras is celebrated with many parties and parades, which include dressing up and creating wildly celebratory floats.



wise man to sprinkle the salt and pepper, and a mad-cap to mix and stir the ingredients.

LANGUAGE

The original language community of the Creoles was composed of French and Louisiana Creole. French was the language of white Creoles; it should not be confused with Louisiana Creole (LC). Morphologically and lexically Louisiana Creole resembles Saint-Domingue Creole, although there is evidence that Louisiana Creole was well established by the time Saint-Domingue refugees arrived in Louisiana. For many years, Louisiana Creole was predominantly a language of rural blacks in southern Louisiana. In the past, Louisiana Creole was also spoken by whites, including impoverished whites who worked alongside black slaves, as well as whites raised by black nannies.

French usage is no longer as widespread as it once was. As Americans from other states began to settle in Louisiana in large numbers after 1880, they became the dominant social group. As such, the local social groups were acculturated, and became

bilingual. Eventually, however, the original language community of the Creoles, French and Louisiana Creole, began to be lost. At the end of the twentieth century, French is spoken only among the elderly, primarily in rural areas.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

The past sayings of the Creoles were unusual and colorful. According to Leonard V. Huber in "Reflections on the Colorful Customs of Latter-Day New Orleans Creoles," an ugly man who has a protruding jaw and lower lip had *une gueule de benitier* (a mouth like a holy water font), and his face was *une figure de pomme cuite* (a face like a baked apple). A man who stayed around the house constantly was referred to as *un encadrement* (doorframe). The expression *pauvres diables* (poor devils) was applied to poor individuals. Anyone who bragged too much was called *un bableur* (a hot air shooter). A person with thin legs had *des jambes de manches-à-balais* (broomstick legs). An amusing expression for a person who avoided work was that he had *les cotes en long* (vertical ribs). Additional Creole colloquialisms are: *un tonnerre a la voile* (an unruly person); *menterie* (lie or



Often the older community members aid in the rearing of the young children in Creole families.

story); *frou-frou* (giddy); *homme de paille*, *pistolet de bois* (a man who is a bluff).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Traditionally, men were the heads of their household, while women dedicated their lives to home and family. The Creoles also felt it a duty to take widowed cousins and orphaned children of kinspeople into their families. Unmarried women relatives (*tantes*) lived in many households. They provided a much-needed extra pair of hands in running the household and rearing the children. Creoles today are still closely knit and tend to marry within the group. However, many are also moving into the greater community and losing their Creole ways.

WEDDINGS

In the old days, Creoles married within their own class. The young man faced the scrutiny of old aunts and cousins, who were the guardians and authorities of old family trees. The suitor had to ask a woman's

father for his daughter's hand. The gift of a ring allowed them to be formally engaged. All meetings of young people were strictly chaperoned, even after the engagement. Weddings, usually held at the St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, were opulent affairs with Swiss Guards meeting the wedding guests and preceding them up the aisle. Behind the guests came the bride, accompanied by her father, and then the groom, escorting the bride's mother. The groom's parents followed, and then all the relatives of both bride and groom. A relative's absence was interpreted as a silent protest against the wedding. The bride's gown was handed down through generations or purchased in Paris to become an heirloom. Unlike today's weddings, there were no ring bearers, bridesmaids, or matrons of honor, or any floral decorations in the church. Ceremonies were held in the evenings. St. Louis Cathedral is still the place for New Orleans' Creole weddings, and many relatives still attend, though in fewer numbers.

BAPTISMS

Baptisms usually took place when the child was about a month old. The godfather (*parrain*) and the god-

mother (*marraine*) were always relatives, usually from each side of the family. It was a decided honor to be asked to serve as a godparent. The *marraine* gave the infant a gift of a gold cross and chain, and the *parrain* offered either a silver cup or a silver knife and fork. The godfather also gave a gift to the godmother and paid for the celebration that followed the baptism. It was an expensive honor to be chosen *parrain*.

FUNERALS

In the past, when someone died, each post in the Creole section of town bore a black-bordered announcement informing the public of the death and the time and place of the funeral. Usually the notices were put in the neighborhood where the dead person had lived, but if the deceased had wealth, notices would be placed all over the Vieux Carré. These notices were also placed at St. Louis Cathedral on a death notice blackboard. Invitations were issued for the funeral, and funeral services were held in the home.

The wearing of mourning was a rigorous requirement. The deceased's immediate family put on *grand deuil* (full mourning). During the six months of full mourning it was improper to wear jewelry or anything white or with colors. Men wore a black tie, a black crepe band on the hat, and sometimes a black band on the arm. After six months, the widow could wear black clothes edged with a white collar and cuffs. Slave or black Creole funeral processions often lasted an hour and covered a distance of less than six squares or one-third mile. News of the deaths were received through the underground route by a system of telegraph chanting.

Cemeteries held an important place in Creole life. A family tomb received almost as much attention as a church. To not visit the family tomb on All Saints' Day (November 1) was unforgivable. Some well-known cemeteries are St. Louis Number One, the oldest in Louisiana, and St. Louis Number Two. St. Roch Cemetery, which is noted for its shrine, was built by Father Thevis in fulfillment of a vow to Saint Roch for protection for the congregation of Holy Trinity Church from the yellow fever epidemic of 1868. Cypress Grove, Greenwood, and Metairie cemeteries are among the most beautiful burial grounds in Louisiana. Large structures resembling churches with niches for life-like marble statues of the saints may be found in Metairie Cemetery.

RELIGION

Roman Catholicism is strongly associated with Creoles. The French and Spanish cultures from which

Creoles originate are so closely associated with Catholicism that some people assume that all Louisianians are Catholic and that all people in Louisiana are of French and/or Spanish ancestry. Records from churches in Mobile, New Orleans, and other parts of the area indicate the presence of both black and white Creoles in church congregations very early in the eighteenth century.

After segregation of the Catholic church in 1895, certain churches became identified with Creoles of color. In 1916 Corpus Christi Church opened in the seventh ward, within walking distance of many Creoles of color. St. Peter Claver, Epiphany, and Holy Redeemer are also associated with black populations. Each church has a parish school run by the Blessed Sacrament Sisters. St. Louis Cathedral and St. Augustine's Church are prominent in the larger Creole society, with women predominating in attendance. Today, only about half of the people in Louisiana are Catholics but the early dominance of Catholicism has left its mark on people of other denominations. In the southern part of the state, especially in New Orleans, place and street names are often associated with particular saints.

Almost all of the material written about Creoles describes a devotion to the Virgin Mary, All Saint's Day (November 1), and the many activities associated with the observance of Lent and Holy Week, especially Mardi Gras. Other important religious figures are St. Jude (the patron saint of impossible cases), St. Peter (who opens the gates of heaven), and St. Anthony (who helps locate lost articles).

Holy Week is closely observed by Creoles, both as a religious celebration and as a time of customs and superstition. On Holy Thursday morning, housewives, when they heard the ringing of church bells, used to take pots from the stove and place them on the floor, making the sign of the cross. Also, nine varieties of greens were cooked—a concoction known as *gumbo shebes*. On Good Friday Creoles visited churches on foot and in silence to bring good fortune.

Few Protestants and no known Jews are found in the white Creole community. Today, many Creoles are nonpracticing Catholics with some agnostics, some atheists, and a very few professing a non-Catholic faith.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Creoles' image of economic independence is rooted in the socioeconomic conditions of free people of color before the Civil War. Creoles of color

were slave owners, land owners, and skilled laborers. Of the 1,834 free Negro heads of households in New Orleans in 1830, 752 owned at least one slave. New Orleans persons of color were far wealthier, more secure, and more established than blacks elsewhere in Louisiana.

Economic independence is highly valued in the colored Creole community. Being on welfare is a source of embarrassment, and many of those who receive government aid eventually drop out of the community. African Americans with steady jobs, respectable professions, or financial independence frequently marry into the community and become Creole, at least by association.

Creoles of color and black Creoles have been quick to adapt strategies that maintain their elite status throughout changing economic conditions. Most significant is the push to acquire higher education. Accelerated education has allowed Creoles to move into New Orleans' more prestigious neighborhoods, first to Gentilly, then to Pontchartrain Park, and more recently to New Orleans East.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

When the Constitutional Convention of 1811 met at New Orleans, 26 of its 43 members were Creoles. During the first few years of statehood, native Creoles were not particularly interested in national politics and the newly arrived Americans were far too busy securing an economic basis to seriously care much about political problems. Many Creoles were still suspicious of the American system and were prejudiced against it.

Until the election of 1834, the paramount issue in state elections was whether the candidate was Creole or Anglo-American. Throughout this period, many English-speaking Americans believed that Creoles were opposed to development and progress, while the Creoles considered other Americans radical in their political ideas. Since then, Creoles have actively participated in American politics; they have learned English to ease this process. In fact, Creoles of color have dominated New Orleans politics since the 1977 election of Ernest "Dutch" Morial as mayor. He was followed in office by Sidney Bartoholey and then by his son, Marc Morial.

MILITARY

During the War of 1812, many Creoles did not support the state militia. However, during the first session of Louisiana's first legislature in 1812, the legislature approved the formation of a corps of

volunteers manned by Louisiana's free men of color. The Act of Incorporation specified that the colored militiamen were to be chosen from among the Creoles who had paid a state tax. Some slaves participated at the Battle of New Orleans, under General Andrew Jackson, and he awarded them their freedom for their valor. Many became known as "Free Jacks" because only the word "Free" and the first five letters of Jackson's signature, "Jacks," were legible.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

CHESS

In 1858 and 1859 Paul Morphy (1837-1884) was the unofficial but universally acknowledged chess champion of the world. While he is little known outside chess circles, more than 18 books have been written about Morphy and his chess strategies.

LITERATURE

Kate O'Flaherty Chopin (1851-1904) was born in St. Louis; her father was an Irish immigrant and her mother was descended from an old French Creole family in Missouri. In 1870 she married Oscar Chopin, a native of Louisiana, and moved there; after her husband's death, she began to write. Chopin's best-known works deal with Creoles; she also wrote short stories for children in *The Youth's Companion*. *Bayou Folk* (1894) and *The Awakening* (1899) are her most popular works. Armand Lanusse (1812-1867) was perhaps the earliest Creole of color to write and publish poetry. Born in New Orleans to French Creole parents, he was a conscripted Confederate soldier during the Civil War. After the war, he was principal of the Catholic School for Indigent Orphans of Color. There he, along with 17 others, produced an anthology of Negro poetry, *Les Cenelles*.

MILITARY

Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard (1818-1893), is perhaps the best known Louisiana Creole. He was born in New Orleans, educated in New York (unusual for the time), graduated from West Point Military Academy, and served with General Scott in the War with Mexico (1846). Beauregard was twice wounded in that conflict. He served as chief engineer in the draining of the site of New Orleans from 1858 to 1861. He was also a Confederate General in the Civil War and led the siege of Ft. Sumter in 1861. After the Civil War, Beauregard returned

to New Orleans where he later wrote three books on the Civil War. He was elected Superintendent of West Point in 1869.

MUSIC

Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869), was a pianist and composer born in New Orleans. His mother, Aimée Marie de Brusle, was a Creole whose family had come from Saint-Dominique. Moreau went to Paris at age 13 to study music. He became a great success in Europe at an early age and spent most of his time performing in concerts to support members of his family. His best known compositions are "Last Hope," "Tremolo Etudes," and "Bamboula." Gottschalk is remembered as a true Creole, thinking and composing in French. An important figure in the history and development of American jazz, "Jelly Roll" Ferdinand Joseph Lementhe Morton (1885-1941), was a jazz musician and composer born in New Orleans to Creole parents. As a child, he was greatly influenced by performances at the French Opera House. Morton later played piano in Storyville's brothels; these, too, provided material for his compositions. His most popular works are "New Orleans Blues," "King Porter Stomp," and "Jelly Roll Blues."

MEDIA

PRINT

The Alexandria News Weekly.

Founded in 1975, this general newspaper for the African American community contains frequent articles about Creoles.

Contact: Rev. C. J. Bell, Editor.
Address: 1746 Wilson, Alexandria,
Louisiana 71301.
Telephone: (318) 443-7664.

Bayou Talk.

A Cajun Creole newspaper.

Address: Jo-Val, Inc., Box 1344, West Covina,
California 91793-1344.

Louisiana Weekly.

Black community newspaper published since 1925, which contains frequent articles about Creoles.

Contact: C. C. Dejoie, Jr., Publisher.
Address: 616 Barone Street, New Orleans,
Louisiana 70150.
Telephone: (504) 524-5563.

The Times of Acadiana.

A weekly newspaper with Acadian/Creole emphasis.

Address: P.O. Box 3528, Lafayette, Louisiana 70502.
Telephone: (318) 237-3560.

RADIO

KAOK-AM.

Ethnic programs featuring Cajun and Zydeco music.

Contact: Ed Prendergast.
Address: 801 Columbia Southern Road, Westlake,
Louisiana 70669.
Telephone: (318) 882-0243.

KVOL-AM/FM.

Features a weekly Creole broadcast with African American programming, news, and Zydeco music.

Contact: Roger Canvaness.
Address: 123 East Main Street, Alexandria,
Louisiana 70501.
Telephone: (318) 233-1330.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Creole American Genealogical Society (CAGS). Formerly Creole Ethnic Association. Founded in 1983, CAGS is a Creole organization which promotes Creole American genealogical research. It provides family trees and makes available to its members books and archival material. Holds an annual convention.

Contact: P. Fontaine, Executive Director.
Address: P.O. Box 3215, Church Street Station,
New York, New York 10008.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Amistad Research Center.

Independent, nonprofit research library, archive, and museum established by the American Missionary Association and six of its affiliated colleges. Collects primary source materials pertaining to the history and arts of American ethnic groups, including a substantial collection regarding Creoles.

Contact: Dr. Donald E. DeVore, Director.
Address: Tulane University, 6823 St. Charles
Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.
Telephone: (504) 865-5535.
Fax: (504) 865-5580.

E-mail: amistad@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu.

Online: <http://www.arc.tulane.edu>.

Bayou Folk Museum.

Collects furniture, furnishings, and artifacts relating to the educational, religious, social, and economic life of Creoles. Contains agricultural tools, doctor's office with instruments, and a blacksmith shop. Guided tours, lectures for study groups, and permanent exhibits.

Contact: Marion Nelson or Maxine Southerland.

Address: P.O. Box 2248, Natchitoches,
Louisiana 71457.

Telephone: (318) 352-2994.

Beau Fort Plantation Home.

Collects Louisiana Creole period furnishings, furniture, and ornaments for display in a 1790 Creole house.

Contact: Jack O. Brittain, David Hooper, or
Janet LaCour.

Address: P.O. Box 2300, Natchitoches,
Louisiana 71457.

Telephone: (318) 352-9580.

Creole Institute.

Studies include Haitian and linguistic and related educational issues, and French-based Creoles.

Contact: Albert Valdman, Director.

Address: Indiana University, Ballantine 604,
Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

Telephone: (812) 855-4988.

Fax: (812) 855-2386.

E-mail: mschowme@indiana.edu.

Online: [http://php.indiana.edu/~valdman/
creolehome.html](http://php.indiana.edu/~valdman/creolehome.html).

Louisiana State University.

Contains local history and exhibits, tools for various trades, and historic buildings. Conducts guided tours, provides lectures, and has an organized education program.

Contact: John E. Dutton.

Address: 6200 Burden Lane, Baton Rouge,
Louisiana 70808.

Telephone: (504) 765-2437.

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Despite their
small, low-profile
population, Croatian
Americans have
made distinguished
contributions to
American literature,
music, science,
and business.

CROATIAN AMERICANS

by
Edward Ifković

OVERVIEW

The newly independent republic of Croatia is located on the Balkan peninsula in southeastern Europe. Throughout much of the twentieth century, Croatia was one of five republics within Yugoslavia, an amalgam of ethnicities and religions tenuously held together by dictatorship and economic feasibility.

Croatia, which runs along the Adriatic to Montenegro, has a distinctive elongated geography that is largely the result of demarcations imposed upon it throughout this century. Occupying 21,829 square miles, Croatia is bordered by Bosnia-Herzegovina on the south, by Italy on the west, by Slovenia to the north and northwest, by Hungary to the north and northeast, and by Vojvodina, a formerly autonomous Serbian province, to the east.

Croatia has a population of 5 million people, consisting of 80 percent Croats, 10 percent Serbians, about one-half percent Hungarians and Slovenians each, and even smaller groups of Czechs and Italians. Roman Catholicism is the predominant religion, followed by Eastern Orthodox, Islam, and Protestantism. The country's flag has three equal horizontal stripes of red, white, and blue (from top to bottom), with a red and white checked coat of arms in the middle topped with a crown. The capital is Zagreb. The official language is Croatian. Croatia's president, since 1990, is Franjo Tuđman.

HISTORY

Croatia's long, turbulent history has been affected by the control of empires that have included the Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Venetian empires. During the fifth century B.C., nomadic Slavic tribes from beyond the Carpathian Mountains of Poland and Russia drifted down into the Balkans, pushing out the Romans. Among the migrating South Slavic people, new religious ethnic identities evolved. The Croatians and Slovenians were strongly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, and the Serbians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians by the Eastern Orthodox Church. The small independent countries of Slovenia and Croatia did not survive the Middle Ages. After a period of self-rule under King Tomislav and King Peter Kresimir IV, Croatia fell under the governance of Hungary in 1102.

During the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Turks began invading the Balkans. A powerful people, the Ottomans had gradually taken the region of Asia Minor now known as Turkey from the Byzantines, who had controlled a great empire there since before the fall of Rome. By 1350 the Ottomans had begun their invasion of the Balkan Peninsula. After the legendary battle of Kosovo in 1389, Serbia fell under Turkish rule.

With the defeat of the Serbians, the Turks began to make inroads into Croatian territory. The Croatians turned to the Austrians for military support, but with the rise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Croatians found themselves in a slave-like condition. For generations, the Croatians were used as a military buffer between Europe and the Turks. In 1573 Matija Gubec led an inspiring if disastrous rebellion against the Austrian nobles, but Austro-Hungarian control of the Croatians continued until 1918.

During the nineteenth century, Slavic nationalism grew in proportion to the decline of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. World War I erupted as a result of conflict between independent Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and with the 1918 defeat of Austria-Hungary and its German allies, European geography was restructured.

U.S. President Woodrow Wilson advocated independence for various nationalities, and South Slavs seized the opportunity for freedom. Based on the "Yugoslav Idea," a Serbo-Croatian Coalition issued a Declaration of Yugoslav Independence and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was formed on July 20, 1917, under the rule of Serbian Prince Alexander. Eight years later, Alexander changed the country's name to Yugoslavia.

MODERN ERA

Internal dissension and ethnic rivalries persisted in the new Yugoslavia. Serbians conceived of the country as a Greater Serbia with a centralist government, while Federalist Croatians and Slovenians demanded that each republic have a strong voice in the government. When Stejpan Radic, the respected head of the Croat Peasant Party, was assassinated in Parliament in 1928, the king dissolved Parliament and made himself dictator. The king was himself assassinated by right-wing Croatian sympathizers in Marseilles, France, in 1934 and his cousin, Prince Paul, assumed control of the country.

On March 27, 1941, Yugoslavia (under fascist dictator Ante Pavic) signed a pact allying itself with Germany. When the Yugoslavian people revolted against this government action with chants of "Better war than pact, better grave than slave," the military assumed control of the country and proclaimed young Peter II king. In retaliation, Adolf Hitler ordered an attack on Belgrade on April 6, 1941. After a bloody battle, the Nazis conquered Yugoslavia and set up a puppet government in Croatia. The fascist Ustashe eliminated thousands of Jews, Serbians, and unsympathetic Croatians. Underground resistance to the Germans included the Partisans, under the command of Croatian communist Marshal Tito, and the Chetniks, who supported the monarchy in exile and, some believe, later collaborated with the Germans.

The Partisans viewed the war as an opportunity to create a communist government in post-war Yugoslavia. Tito's forces wrested large sections of the country from German control, ultimately winning the support of communists and non-communists, including the Allies. When the war ended, the Socialist Party assumed control of the government and abolished the monarchy.

The 1945 Partisan massacre of thousands of Croatians alarmed the many Croatian Americans who wanted to support the new Titoist government. Despite such tactics, Tito used his personality and power to help placate ethnic and religious rivalries within Yugoslavia. Refusing to allow Yugoslavia to become a puppet of the Soviet Union, Tito asserted Yugoslav independence from Russian control in 1948, thus establishing Yugoslavia as one of the most liberal and progressive socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Upon Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia was ruled by a collective state presidency and party presidium, which immediately suffered severe economic difficulties and saw the resurgence of nascent rivalries.

The breakdown of Communism in Eastern Europe, most dramatically illustrated by the 1989 dis-

mantling of the Berlin Wall, toppled a number of communist governments and affected still others, including Yugoslavia—where old rivalries and long-buried aspirations for independence resurfaced. Following the lead of Slovenia, Croatia challenged growing Serbian hegemony. In Yugoslavia's first post-war free elections, held in 1990, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) ran on an anti-communist platform and won 205 of 356 seats in Parliament.

Despite Croatia's first real independence in 1,000 years, many feared a rise in nationalistic fascism under the leadership of Franjo Tudjman, who viewed Greater Croatia as a means of countering Greater Serbia. Government corruption and censorship added to these fears and overall dissatisfaction. On June 25, 1991, Croatia and Slovenia issued declarations of independence.

Although Croatia was recognized by the international community, including the European Community, its secession from Yugoslavia was not smooth. Yugoslav federal forces attacked Croatia, with long sieges of Dubrovnik, Vukovar, and other Croatian cities. The 1991 and 1992 seven-month war against the combined forces of the Yugoslav army and Serbian paramilitaries left thousands dead and many villages destroyed. The Serbians instituted policies of "ethnic cleansing" in Croatian villages and throughout Bosnia. With control of one-third of Croatian territory, the Serbians attacked ethnic Croats in Bosnia and Croatia proper.

Intermittent "cease fire" agreements in 1993 and 1994 did not stop hostilities, especially in the regions of Kraina and West Slavonia. In 1995, only after Croatia recaptured these territories and relocated 300,000 Serbs to Serbia, did the presidents of both countries sign the Dayton (Ohio) peace accord under the auspices of the United Nations.

THE FIRST CROATIANS IN AMERICA

During the Middle Ages, the Adriatic ports of Croatia's "Dalmatian Coast" were thriving centers of commerce and trade. The Italian ports of Venice and Genoa fought for control of the high seas, as did the small but powerful independent Republic of Ragusa, a city-state in Croatia now known as Dubrovnik.

Skilled Ragusan navigators and seaman were in great demand, as well as crew members on most European ships. Many scholars believe Dalmatian sailors were on Columbus' ships to the New World. An often-repeated Croatian legend has it that one of Columbus' sailors amassed considerable wealth in gold and returned to his native Ragusa to build a beautiful palace at Bonda.

In 1494 Ragusa signed a treaty with Spain, which allowed Ragusan ships to trade with Spanish colonies. Because Ragusa's government had banned slavery in 1416, the Ragusan ships were not allowed to transport slaves from Africa to the colonies. Many Ragusan sailors remained in the colonies, married English women, and changed their names. It is documented, for example, that brothers Mato and Dominko Kondjević sailed to America in 1520 and remained for 30 years before returning home with substantial wealth.

Legend and early American history unite in the story of John White, who in 1587 established an English colony on Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina. When poverty and disease threatened the survival of the settlement, White returned to England to seek aid. The colonists had agreed to leave a sign on a tree if trouble developed or they were forced to leave. Upon his return to the island, White found the houses in ruins and no sign of life, but discovered the word Croatan deeply etched into the bark of a tree. It has been theorized that the Ragusan ship Croatian, believed to have left for America in the 1580s, touched the shore at Roanoke, picked up the surviving English colonists, and was later lost at sea. Another story tells of survivors of a sunken Ragusan ship who were helped by friendly Native Americans who later became known as the Croats. Years later, a visitor noted that some of the Croatian Indians had light skin, fair hair, and blue eyes—characteristic of Ragusans.

These stories remain undocumented legend; however, a letter sent by the government of Dubrovnik to its diplomatic representative in Madrid, states that by 1600, "many Ragusans" were already living in America.

MISSIONARIES

The work of Croatian and Slovene missionaries in America is well documented. Priests and members of religious orders ventured into the American wilderness. One of the first was Baron Ivan Ratkay (Ratkaj), a wealthy Croatian nobleman, who early in life rejected the comfortable existence into which he was born to commit himself to doing God's work. After joining the Jesuit Order, he underwent rigorous training in Rome and Madrid and was named a missionary to the uncharted regions of New Spain.

Ratkay arrived in America in 1673 and began teaching and baptizing the Tarahumara Indians of the Southwest. A scholar, he also pursued interests that included the study of the area's physical geography. Detailed records of his travels through the New

Mexican region proved valuable to many of the pioneers who followed him. In 1683 Ratkay died at age 36 at the hands of Native Americans—supposedly poisoned for forbidding drinking and dancing.

Another missionary, Father Ferdinand Kongsak, worked in the unsettled regions of California and Mexico under the name Padre Consago Gonzales. The son of an army officer, Father Kongsak was born in 1703 in Verazdin, Croatia, and attended the Jesuit College in Budapest, Hungary. For more than 22 years he remained in California at the San Ignacio Mission. A traveler, Father Kongsak also discovered that Lower (Baja) California was a peninsula rather than an island and constructed an accurate, detailed map of the region. In 1770 J. Baegert copied the map in his pioneer guidebook *Nachrichten von Kalifornien*. Father Kongsak also founded the village of San Antonio Real.

Croatian missionary Josip Kundak worked in the Midwest with Native Americans and growing German and Swiss immigrant populations. In 1854 he established the Benedictine Abbey in St. Meinhard, Indiana. He also founded a mission in Jasper, Indiana, and the town of Ferdinand. Honoring the centennial of his death, the governor of Indiana proclaimed December 8, 1957 “Father Kundak Day” to show, in his words, “tribute to a great missionary, pioneer, and citizen who left Croatia, the land he loved, to come and colonize the wilderness of this great state, for which we owe him a huge debt of gratitude.”

DALMATIANS IN THE SOUTH AND WEST

When the Civil War began, Dalmatian colonies (Dalmatia is a region in Croatia) had spread into Mississippi and Alabama. U.S. Census records of the 1850s and 1860s reveal hundreds of Dalmatian saloonkeepers, grocers, tugboat operators, and restaurant owners. By 1880 an estimated 20,000 Croatians lived in the United States, primarily in the South and the West. Not surprisingly, many fought on the side of the Confederacy during the Civil War, forming the Austrian Guards and two Slavonian rifle units.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Dalmatian sailors jumped ship at major American ports, especially at favored locations such as New Orleans. The former seamen found the oyster business a natural transition. Some, like Luka Jurisich, who arrived in Bayou Creek, Louisiana, from Duba, in 1855, are credited with building the trade in the region. Dalmatians also became early developers of oyster fisheries in Biloxi, Mississippi. Today, the huge fishing industry in these regions is heavily populated by descendants of the early Dalmatian settlers.

Many Dalmatians moved from New Orleans to ports in the Far West, establishing large colonies such as the one that grew in and around San Francisco. Some arrived as early as 1835, predating settlers from the Eastern states. Although gold enticed many Croatians to move west, those who settled in California were captivated by the climate, which they likened to that of their sunny Adriatic homeland. Most made their living, not from gold, but by operating businesses. According to one study, more than 50 Dalmatian businesses occupied a single San Francisco street in the 1850s and 1860s.

In 1857 the Slavonic Illyrian Mutual and Benevolent Society was formed in San Francisco as the first Slavic charitable society of its kind in America. In 1861 the Society purchased land for the first Croatian-Serbian cemetery in the United States. Vincent Gelcich, president of the Society in 1860, was a physician who served as a surgeon and colonel in the Union Army during the Civil War. This society, which helped immigrants survive in the new land, is still in existence today.

Perhaps the most important Dalmatian contribution to America was made in agriculture. Mateo Arnerich, a sailor from Brac, arrived in San Francisco in 1849, the year after gold was discovered at Sutter’s Mill. One of the first Dalmatians to settle in the Santa Clara Valley, Arnerich bought land and established the vineyards that made his wealth. His two sons became lawyers and one, a member of the State Legislature, was the first Croatian to hold public office in the United States. In the 1870s, Mark Rabasa introduced the apple industry to northern California. Another Dalmatian, Steve Mitrovich, imported the Dalmatian fig to Fresno and displayed the “Adriatic fig” at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, winning first prize.

Because of Dalmatian success at growing and developing a superior quality of grapes, figs, plums, apples, and apricots in Pajaro Valley, the region was called New Dalmatia. Although the novelist Jack London feared “alien” control, he described the flourishing 12,000-acre apple paradise of the Dalmatians in his 1913 novel *Valley of the Moon*: “Do you know what they call Pajaro Valley? New Dalmatia. We’re being squeezed out. We Yankees thought we were smart. Well, the Dalmatians came along and showed they were smarter.... First, they worked at day labor in the fruit harvest. Next, they began, in a small way, buying the apples on the trees. The more money they made, the bigger became their deals. Pretty soon they were renting the orchards on long leases; and now they own the whole valley, and the last American will be gone.”

This young
Croatian American
boy had a job at an
oyster farm in
Louisiana in the
late 1800s.



The discovery of silver in the Nevada Territory in the late 1850s inspired the influx of Croatian settlers into towns like Virginia City, Carson City, Austin, and Reno. These Slavs were commonly referred to as “Sclavonians” or “Slavonians.” The successful Slavonian Gold and Silver Mining Company at Resse River, Nevada, was organized in 1863, but most settlers made their living in businesses that served miners. The largest food provision house in Nevada in the 1860s was owned by Dalmatians, and Marco Medin, one of the first men to arrive in Nevada during the silver fever, grew rich in the fruit and saloon businesses.

The lives of Antonio Mazzanovich, Antonio Milatovich, and Captain John Dominus illustrate a more colorful side of Croatian history. Mazzanovich enlisted as a bugler in the U.S. 6th Cavalry when he was 11 years old and helped pursue the famous Apache Geronimo through the Southwest, which he recalled in his memoirs, *Trailing Geronimo* (1931). Milatovich sued the Republic of Mexico when a revolutionary change of government deprived him of more than one million acres of Mexican land he had acquired. He lost his fortune when the new government refused his claim on the basis of his Austrian citizenship. The Croatian Captain John Dominus, who sailed to America in his own ship, subsequently settled in Hawaii, where he built a lavish mansion that was later used as the official residence of the Governor. Captain Dominus disappeared at sea while attempting to reach China. His son, John Owen Dominus, married the Hawaiian princess Lydia Kamekaha Kapaaka in 1862. She became Queen Liliuokalani, the last reigning queen

of Hawaii, and Dominus served as her Prince Consort until his death in 1891.

THE GREAT MIGRATION: AFTER 1880

From 1880 through 1914, Croatians and other Eastern European peasants immigrated to the United States in large numbers. Fleeing from poverty brought on by changes in land inheritance laws, blight, and deteriorating farming soil quality, and a decreasing infant mortality rate that increased the population, a young generation looked to America *trbuhom za kruhum* (“with belly after bread”).

Because statistics were so poorly kept in general, and Slavs were so often lumped together or confused with other groups, it is not known how many Croatians entered the United States during the Great Migration. In the 1930s Croatian historian Ivan Mladineo estimated that approximately half a million Croatians were living in America at that time.

The first wave of immigrants consisted of primarily illiterate, unskilled male laborers who came to the United States to make their fortunes and then return home. Many made frequent trips between the United States and Eastern Europe, and became known as “birds of passage.” These men sent money to their villages, markedly improving the economic conditions of the Croatians who remained at home. In 1938 the *South Slav Herald* reported that two thirds of the new homes built in Croatia during the previous 30 years had been built with American money.

According to the 1907 Immigration Commission survey, about 66 percent of Croatians who came to America returned home. Between 1899 and 1924, the rate was nearly half. The thousands who returned to Croatia took new ideas with them, including ideas about democracy. In 1906 Croatian writer Antun Matos wrote “America is presently the most important factor in the creation of Croatian democracy.”

Following World War II, millions were left homeless, and the rise to power of Communist regimes in Yugoslavia and other parts of Eastern Europe meant that others could not return home. Of the 400,000 Displaced People initially admitted into the United States, 18,000 were “Yugoslavs.”

Laws like the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and the Refugee Escape Act of 1960, and the demise of the quota system in 1965, facilitated more Croatian emigration. This new wave included many educated professionals. In “A Clash of Two Immigrant Generations,” Bogdan Raditsa discussed the sharp contrast between the earlier, unskilled Croatian

immigrants and their later counterparts, revealing the “bitterness that divides the Croatians who came here as displaced persons after 1945 from the Croatian American families established in this country for four or five decades.” According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there are an estimated 544,000 Croatian Americans living in the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Today, Pennsylvania’s Croatian population of nearly a quarter million is the largest in the country. During the Great Migration, most Croatians settled in the industrial cities of the Midwest in already established immigrant communities. In places like Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Indiana, they worked in coal mines, and in the iron and steel mills. California also supports a sizable Croatian population. There settlers found employment in fishing and mining. In San Francisco Croatian Americans introduced new methods of drying fruits, packaging, and shipping.

The traditional patriarchal Croatian family structure, which emphasized control and rigid discipline, remained a part of the early immigrant lifestyle and contributed to the Slavs’ reputation as a dependable hard worker. Aside from arrests for drunkenness, there was little crime among the Croatians in America. Industrialists struggling against labor unions often exploited the new immigrants, making them scabs during worker strikes.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Although events since the breakup of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s have made Croatia more visible internationally, Croatians are still mislabeled and subsumed into larger classifications such as Austrian-Hungarian or Yugoslavian. Croatians have also been the object of discrimination.

During the period of the Great Migration, Croatians and other Slavs were often lumped together and assessed as an uninspired, stolid, sluggish people who were only useful as drudges and unskilled grunts. They were called derogatory names like “Hunkies,” “modgies,” and “strams” and labeled “Bo hunks” or “dumb Polacks.”

The unskilled, often illiterate early immigrants gave little thought to assimilation. They clustered together, often in cooperative boardinghouses called *drustvo*, and worked at unskilled labor 12 to 16 hours a day, and in the process, resisted acculturation. One Slavic commentator wrote, “My people

do not live in America; they live underneath America. America goes on over their heads.”

During and after World War I, when many Croatians who had planned to return to Europe could not, the number who became American citizens increased sharply. By 1919 a study showed that 60 to 65 percent of the immigrants had taken out naturalization papers. The Yugoslav Central organization—formed in Detroit in 1932 to promote unity among Slovenians, Serbians, and Croatians—had as one of its chief goals the encouragement of U.S. citizenship.

THE ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER

Even though many Croatian immigrants were illiterate, newspapers assumed an importance in the “Little Croatias” of America. They reported changes in American immigration law, carried employment opportunities, and kept up with major European events.

The most popular newspaper among early immigrants was *Narodni List* (1898), published in New York by Frank Zotti, a colorful and controversial Croatian figure of the time. Zotti’s tabloid featured gutsy topical reporting, melodramatic fiction and popular peasant poetry. The Croatian Fraternal Union’s *Zajednicar* (Unity) began in 1905 in Pittsburgh, and is still published today with a circulation of 70,000.

DANCES AND SONGS

The popular *kolo* or circle dance is performed to the accompaniment of the tamburitza, a traditional mandolin-like stringed instrument. The tamburitza is a modern version of the one-stringed *gusle* used for centuries by the village poets. A tamburitza band performed at the White House during Theodore Roosevelt’s presidency and in concert at Carnegie Hall in 1900. Today, Duquesne University supports tamburitza orchestras and festivals and runs the Tamburitza School of Music—the only one of its kind in America.

Singing societies, which have also been popular, are patterned after an early group called “Zora” (Dawn), which was founded in Chicago in 1903 to keep old folk songs and past experiences alive.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

For Croatians, food, tradition, and folk culture are interconnected, especially as a part of holiday celebrations. In many Croatian households, the Christmas celebration begins on Christmas Eve with a

Croatian

Americans take great pride in their ethnic heritage.



meal of cod fish. On Christmas Day, *sarma* (cabbage and sauerkraut) and *orehnjaca* (nut cake) are traditional favorites.

St. Nicholas Day, Easter, and Independence Day are also important holidays to Croatians. St. Nicholas Day, December 6, is a children's holiday for giving presents. Lamb and ham are central to celebrating Easter, a celebration of eating following a meatless Lent. *Pogaca* is an Easter bread that is braided and decorated with painted eggs. Food is blessed in the church and sometimes broken egg shells are scattered throughout the household. Independence from the former Yugoslav Federation, gained in 1991, is celebrated on June 25.

In Croatia, name days paid homage to the saint for whom you were named. As immigrants and later generations gradually adopted the American custom of celebrating birthdays, this traditional celebration disappeared.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Croatian dress is distinguishable by its fine embroidery. Women wear long linen dresses, often white, covered by a colored apron and a shawl over the shoulders. They usually cover their heads with a kerchief. Croatian men wear white shirts topped with a colored vest or jacket. Their pants are often dark linen or wool, worn with high leather boots or knee-socks. The outer garments are embroidered in red or gold with geometric designs or images such as birds or flowers. Today, such costumes are only worn on holidays or during special occasions.

HEALTH ISSUES

In the early days of settlement Croatians relied on home health care. The local midwife, a Croatian woman, most often handled childbirth in the home. Because there were no labor compensation laws then, men injured on the job had no benefits for hospitalization. Folk remedies, the use of practiced "bonesetters," and superstitions often were used in place of English-speaking doctors (dropping hot coals in water to dispel headaches from evil eyes, for example), but there was little involvement with the American medical establishment. Those involved with settlement houses in cities—as with Jane Addams' in Chicago—became conversant with doctors and health care—matters of ventilation and cleanliness, for example. Croatians were hesitant to accept welfare. In New York before World War I one charity group reported that it had never had one application from a Croatian. There have been no studies done of mental health conditions among Croatian immigrants, and little on their health care. Successive generations, of course, have adopted American ways for dealing with the medical community.

LANGUAGE

The Croatian language spoken by early immigrants was largely dialect, identifiable by the region from which the immigrant came. The three primary dialects of Croatian are *cakavski*, from Dalmatia, *kajkavski* from the far northwest near Zagreb, and two varieties of *stokavski* (*stokavski ijekavski* is the

literary variant for Croatians). These dialects are often so various that Croatians in America sometimes have difficulty understanding each other.

Writers like Louis Adamic and Clement Mihanovich have pointed out the manner in which Croatians have added familiar endings to English words. Some linguists distinguish this as a “new” dialect. For example, the Croatian word for automobile is *kola* and the Americanized-Croatian word is *kara* (car); *novine* (paper) has become *paṗir*; *soba* (room) is now *rum*. This bastardization of the language has alarmed many purists.

Croatian and Serbian are, for the most part, the same language. Serbian, however, uses a Cyrillic alphabet, while Croatian uses a Latin alphabet. Until the breakup of Yugoslavia, the official language was Serbo-Croatian (*Srpskohrvatski*) or Croatian-Serbian (*Hrvaskosrpski*). In America, many Croatians refuse to use the term “Serbo-Croatian,” an issue which became less significant when Croatia gained independence. Several American colleges and universities teach Serbo-Croatian, including Stanford University, Yale University, and Northwestern University. According to the 1990 U.S. census, about nine percent of all Croatian Americans (about 45,000) declared Croatian as their mother tongue; presumably the remainder consider English as their main language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Croatian expressions include: *Dobro jutro* (“dobro yootro”)—Good morning; *Dobar dan* (“dobahr dahn”)—Good afternoon; *Dobro veče* (“dobro vehcheh”)—Good evening; *Laku noć* (“lahkoo noch”)—Good night; *Zbogom* (“zbo-gom”)—Good-bye; *Kako stje* (“kahko steh”)—How are you?; *Hvala* (“fahlah”)—thank you; *sretan božić* (“srehtan bozich”)—Merry Christmas.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Because most of the early immigrants were single men, the saloon became their most important social institution. More than a place to drink, the Croatian saloon provided a place to exchange news about the Old Country, translate letters, and do banking.

Immigrants also organized benevolent fraternal associations for protection in the event of on-the-job injury or unemployment. These included the Slavonian Mutual and Benevolent Society, organized by Croatians and Serbians in San Francisco in

1857; the United Slavonian Benevolent Association, founded in New Orleans in 1874; and the Austrian Benevolent Society (later the First Croatian Benefit Society), established in New York in 1880, among others.

As more and more men decided to settle in America, they sent for their wives and marriageable women. Coming from a pre-industrial, Roman Catholic peasant culture, these women were occupied with housekeeping and child rearing. The rural concept of the godmother and godfather (*kum* and *kuma*) survived for some time in America. The parents of a newborn child selected family members, or friends considered part of the extended family (*zadruga*), to care for the child in the event that something happened to the parent and to take charge of the child’s spiritual well-being, a responsibility that was taken seriously.

“In Croatia I enjoyed my godparents as really my real parents. They never talked about my mother and father in America. So, in other words, I didn’t know that there was somebody in America. I didn’t even know where America was or heard of America. Nothing.”

Louis Zauneker in 1923, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

Communal Croatian life and the tradition of taking in as many boarders as possible to earn money had socialized women to serve large numbers of people. Men went into the workplace and, thus, the larger American society, and children went to American schools where they learned the language and mores, but women remained isolated in the home. Divorce was uncommon, but did occur. Although both partners were ostracized by the larger community, the woman was more harshly treated.

Over time, however, the woman’s subservient position in America changed, largely because women ran most of the boarding houses and achieved some measure of economic security from doing so. As Croatian American women became more “Americanized,” some men argued that once “a Croatian woman becomes Americanized and accepts the liberalization policy of American women ... permissiveness with the children develops.” Some Croatian women countered that because they bore fewer children and were free of the patriarchal restraints and demands of the Old Country, successive generations of mothers maintained better relationships with their children.

As the educational and economic lives of second- and third-generation Croatians improved, most left the Little Croatia ghettos and the parochial schools where Croatian nuns taught in Croatian, and these communities began to die.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Croatian interaction with Serbians and Slovenians grew out of a similarity of language and the fact that they often settled near one another. Croatians also interacted with other Slavic peoples who emigrated from Austria-Hungary, as well as with Germans, Italians, and Hungarians, with whom they shared the common bond of Roman Catholicism. Although immigrant men attend Catholic Mass with their Irish foremen, they had little social contact.

Alliances with Serbians were temporary and topical as old enmity persisted. There is a saying that "There is no putting history behind one's self in the Balkans; the battles one's ancestors fought are today's battles as well." Fights and flare-ups still erupt today.

RELIGION

Devout Roman Catholics, the Croatians organized the first U.S. Croatian parish in 1895 in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. Despite California's large Croatian population in the nineteenth century, a Croatian parish was not organized there until 1903. As late as 1912, there were still only 12 Croatian parishes and four parochial schools in America. The number doubled within the next decade. By the 1970s only 30 Croatian parishes and two dozen parochial schools remained for a declining Catholic Croatian population. Today's Croatians are heavily disaffected with religion, and with the clergy in particular.

Most of the small number of Protestant Croatians came from Slovakia and Slovenia. Croatian Muslims who emigrated to America largely from Bosnia arrived after World War II and settled in Cleveland and Chicago.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many companies paid immigrants' passage to America in return for a guaranteed period of servitude. Although this practice was outlawed in 1885, industrialists found ways around the law and Croatians were sent to coke foundries, iron mines, lumber camps, and factories across America.

A 1910 study revealed that Croatians in Pennsylvania were the lowest paid of the immigrant groups, and their unemployment rates the highest, with only 34 percent full-time, full-year employees. When Croatians arrived in industrialized American cities, manufacturers coerced them into replacing striking workers. Uneducated and often unaware of the dynamics of American labor-management politics, the immigrants were happy to have jobs. Manufacturers were adept at pitting one ethnic group against another. Railroad magnate Jay Gould once declared: "I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half."

By 1900 when labor unions were gaining power, Croatians and other Slavs played a role in establishing the viability of the United Mine Workers of America, which helped break the cycle of using immigrants as scabs and strikebreakers. In 1909 Anton Pavisic was a leader in a coal miners' strike at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, where more than 2,000 fellow Croatians followed him. The first miners' compensation law introduced into the Michigan legislature was introduced by Anthony Lucas, a Croatian.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Politically, Croatian Americans have been torn between concern for Croatia and involvement in American democracy. Early immigrants were more preoccupied with the former, and this concern persisted for many generations. Croatian organizations formed in America campaigned for political goals abroad. These organizations ranged from conservative to radical.

During the years of the Great Migration, groups like the National Croatian Society (NCS) and the Croatian League combated the tyrannical Austria-Hungary rule. In 1912 the Reverend Nikola Grsković founded the Croatian Alliance, calling for complete Croatian independence from the Hapsburgs and advocating an alliance with the other South Slavs.

Influential South Slavic Americans, like Serbian American Michael Pupin, worked on committees dedicated to the formation of the new nation of Yugoslavia after World War I. Michael Pupin and other high-profile South Slavs were joined by Reverend Grsković, Joseph Marohnić, and other leaders to create the South Slavic National Council of Chicago, with its main goal being the formation of Yugoslavia. When the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was realized in 1918, Croatian Americans were dissatisfied with the pan-Serbian cen-

tralist Yugoslav government and appealed in vain to the League of Nations for more encompassing ethnic representation.

During World War II, the Yugoslav Relief Committee was created to aid those living under a Nazi-installed puppet government in Croatia. After the war, American South Slavs—often under the guidance of high profile leaders like Slovenian American Louis Adamic—compelled the American government to lend its support to the Partisan cause in Yugoslavia. Increasingly, Americans were supporting Tito and his partisan forces. At a 1943 meeting, the Congress of American Croats advocated support of Tito, a momentous decision called for by the more than 700 affiliates of the Congress.

With the installation of Communism in Yugoslavia by Tito after 1945, and rumors of mass killings of Croats by Tito's command, many Croats withdrew their support. The émigrés who came to America at that time included many radicals expelled from Yugoslavia. They organized in America and perpetrated terrorist acts to advance the cause of an independent Croatian state. The majority of Croats in America condemn such extremists.

Although interest in the homeland and its politics continues, the intensity of this interest has gradually diminished. Represented prominently in the Democratic Party, Croatian Americans have won local legislative seats, governorships, and positions in Congress. Active as voters and local campaigners, Croats have become an integral part of American life.

RELATIONS WITH INDEPENDENT CROATIA

The majority of American Croats have supported the newly independent Republic of Croatia. In fact, as the old Yugoslav federation began to crumble, American Croats mounted letter campaigns and fund raising events to support the creation of a new government. In particular, when Germany recognized the new Republic in 1990, many Croatian Americans wrote to the American government to do likewise. Since independence, there has been the on-going war with old guard Serbian nationalists, both in Croatia proper and from without. Croatian Americans have worked to raise funds for war relief, health care, and for political action groups. The casualties in human life have alarmed many here, as has the wanton destruction of venerable old landmarks, like those in Dubrovnik. Some organizations, like the Croatian New Yorker Club, a group of business and professional people, organized a

traveling exhibit of art work done by Croatian and Bosnian children in refugee camps in Croatia—to heighten awareness of the war in Croatia and Bosnia and to raise money to aid some displaced children, many orphaned by the war.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Despite their small, low-profile population, Croatian Americans have made distinguished contributions to American literature, music, science, and business.

ACADEMIA AND JOURNALISM

Dr. Henry (Zucalo) Suzzallo (1873-1933) was born in San Jose, California, and earned degrees from Stanford, Columbia, and the University of California. During World War I, he advised President Wilson, and was appointed to the War Labor Policy Board in 1918. Suzzallo assumed the presidency of the University of Washington in 1915, a position he held until 1926. During his tenure at Washington, Suzzallo helped increase enrollment, raise academic standards, and create new programs. In 1927 he became chair of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and served as president of the foundation until his death. His books (such as *Our Faith in Education*) are examples of the commitment he always felt to the children of America.

Other notable Croatian Americans include: historian Francis Preveden, who did comprehensive studies of Croats; Ivo Banac, a professor of comparative literature at Yale University; Clement S. Mihanovich, a St. Louis University sociologist. George Prpić has done extensive writing on Croatian culture in both America and Croatia. Vlaho S. Vlahović, a Dalmatian, edited the *Slavonic Monthly*. Bogdan Raditsa was a columnist and journalist for years.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Actor Peter Coe (Knego) left a football career with the Detroit Lions to play “touch-guy” roles in numerous motion pictures. Silent screen star Laura La Plante reached her peak during the 1920s. Walter Kray was one of the stars of the television series “The Roaring Twenties.” Slavko Vorkapic (b. 1884) acted throughout the 1920s and later became a director who worked with film montage and special effects. John Miljan was in more than four hundred movies, playing lead opposite such actresses as Joan

Crawford and Virginia Bruce. Gene Rayburn is a television emcee. Michael Lah brought a new sensitivity and artistry to the animated cartoon.

INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Hugo Tomich was a metal manufacturer and Marcus Nalley (Marko Narancic) a food-processing manufacturer. Samuel Zorovich, who came from Dalmatia in 1923, built an empire manufacturing cement. Nick Bez (Nikola Bezmalinović) emigrated from the island of Brac in 1910 and eventually owned a fleet of salmon vessels, ultimately controlling much of the industry in Alaska. Paul Marinis, entrepreneur, was called “The King of Salmon” in the 1950s. John Slavich was owner of Del Monte Fruit Company, one of the largest in America. Nikola Sulentić was the inventor of the first valve-spring lifter.

In 1901 Anthony Lucas (Lučić) became the first man to discover oil in Texas. In 1936 the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineering established the Anthony F. Lucas Medal, an award for “distinguished achievement and practice in finding and producing petroleum.”

LITERATURE

Works like Ivan Mladineo’s *Zetva* (*Harvest*) remain inaccessible to the English-reading audience. The popular almanac (*kalendar*), filled with popular poetry, written in the ever-present decameter, was the wellspring for the start of a Croatian American literature. Zdravko Muzina, an influential journalist, issued *Hrvastko-Amerikanska Danica za Godinu* 1895. Josip Marohnić, “the founder of popular Croatian literature in America,” published the first book of Croatian poetry in America, *Amerikanke*.

In 1937 Gabro Karabin published the autobiographical “Honorable Escape” in *Scribner’s*. The tale of his psychological journey from the steel mills that were his home, the story promised a literary career that never materialized. Victor Vecki wrote *Threatening Shadows* (1931), the story of a Croatian American doctor in California. Antun Nizeteo’s *Bez Povratka* (*Without Return*, 1957). and Nada Kesterčanek-Vujica’s *Short Stories*, 1959, were written in Croatian. The poet Boris Maruna, who lived in America, also wrote in Croatian. Joseph Hitrec, a Croatian whose works do not deal with Croatian experience, came to America after years of travel, mostly in India. In 1946 he published *Ruler’s Morning and Other Stories*, tales set in India. Other works by Hitrec include *Son of the Moon* (1948) and *Angel of Gaiety* (1951). George Vukelich wrote short stories and a novel. Edward Ifković wrote *Anna*

Marinkovich (1980), the story of a Croatian immigrant family living on a farm in Connecticut during the Depression.

MUSIC

Milka Ternina (1863-1920), an operatic soprano, sang for nine seasons with the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York. She premiered in the United States in the opera *Tosca* with Enrico Caruso. Hailed by Italian conductor Toscanini as the “world’s greatest artist,” Ternina returned to Zagreb in 1906, where she discovered the young Zinka Milanov. Ternina coached Milanov for three years. Milanov made her Met debut in *Il Trovatore* and for three decades remained as the Metropolitan’s in-house coloratura. Violinist Louis Svecenski (b. 1862) studied in Zagreb and Vienna, and in 1885 accepted a bid to become first violinist for the Boston Symphony Orchestra. He performed in the United States for 33 years. Guy Mitchell was a popular recording artist in the 1950s and had his own television series in 1957. His recordings include “The Roving Kind,” “Singing the Blues,” and “My Heart Cries for You.” Tony Butala was one of The Lettermen, whose most famous recording was “Can’t Take My Eyes Off of You.”

POLITICS

Rudolph G. Perpich, a dentist who began a career in politics in 1956, served two terms in the Minnesota state senate. Elected lieutenant governor in 1970, he became governor of Minnesota in 1976 when Governor Wendell Anderson resigned. Perpich was elected to two more terms in 1982 and 1986.

Mike Stepovich, the first governor of the state of Alaska, had earlier helped establish a colony in Alaska. Nick Begich, of Alaska, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1970. Michael A. Bilandić was elected mayor of Chicago in 1977 after the death of Richard Daley. Dennis J. Kucinich served as mayor of Cleveland in the 1970s.

SPORTS

Teodor Beg, a wrestler from Croatia, won eight gold medals for wrestling. Baseball players of Croatian descent include Walt Dropo of the Baltimore Orioles, Joseph Beggs of the Cincinnati Reds, and Roger Maras and Mickey Lolich, stars of the 1968 World Series. Joseph L. Kuharich coached the Washington Redskins football team from 1954 to 1958 and in 1955 was named coach of the year. “Pistol” Pete Marovich had a nationally publicized

career with the New Orleans Jazz. Eleanor Laich was one of Olson's All-American Redheads. Mike Karakas played hockey for the Chicago Black Hawks, and Johnny Polich for the New York Rangers. Helen Crienkovich won world diving championships. Fritzie Zivich was the world welter-weight boxing champ in 1941.

VISUAL ARTS

Ivan Mestrovic (1883-1962) showed his marble sculptures in one-man shows in Belgrade, Zagreb, and London, before establishing a studio in Paris in 1907. After World War I, he joined the art faculty of Syracuse University in New York, and then taught at Notre Dame University, where he lived until his death. Mestrovic's work demonstrated a consciousness of the suffering of people in Austria-Hungary. His work also shows the influence of Michelangelo, whose art he studied for four years in Rome. The first artist to hold a one-man exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Mestrovic has left a legacy of works that can be found throughout the United States in churches, parks, and institutions that include Grant Park in Chicago and the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota.

The painter Vlaho Bukovac (1865-1963) studied art in Paris and worked in San Francisco. His home in his native Cavtat is now a museum. Another painter, Maksimiljan (Makso) Vanka, studied painting in Zabreb and Brussels. He came to the United States in 1934 with his American wife and attracted fame when he painted the towering frescoes for St. Nicholas' Catholic Church in Millvale, Pennsylvania. Louis Adamic's novel *Cradle of Life* (1936) is based on Bukovac's life.

MEDIA

PRINT

American Croat/Americki Hrvat.

Contact: Peter Radielovic, Editor and Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 3025, Arcadia,
California 91006.

Telephone: (213) 795-3495.

Croatian Almanac.

Published by the Croatian Franciscan Press.

Address: Croatian Ethnic Institute, 4851 Drexel
Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60615.

Telephone: (312) 268-2819.

Journal of Croatian Studies.

Focuses on Croatian culture, literature, arts, music, sociology, economics, and government.

Contact: Jerome Jareb, Editor.

Address: Croatian Academy of America, P.O. Box
1767, New York, New York 10163-1767.

Ragusan Press.

Contact: Adam Eterovich, Publisher.

Address: 2527 San Carlos Avenue, San Carlos,
California 94070.

Telephone: (415) 592-1190.

Fax: (415) 592-1526.

The Trumpeter.

Published quarterly by the Croatian Philatelic Society (CPS).

Contact: Ekrem Spahich, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 696, Fritch, Texas 79036-0696.

Telephone: (806) 857-0129.

E-mail: ou812@arn.net.

Zajednicar (CFU Junior Magazine).

Weekly magazine published by the Croatian Fraternal Union.

Contact: Bernard M. Luketich, President.

Address: 100 Delaney Drive, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania 15235.

Telephone: (412) 351-3909.

Fax: (412) 823-1594.

RADIO

WKBN-AM (57).

Youngstown, Ohio. "The Croatian Radio Hour," a two-hour weekly show, is hosted by Milan Brozovic.

WKTU-AM (830).

"Croatian Cultural Radio Program," airs weekly for two hours, with host Zvonimir Dzeba.

Address: P.O. Box 1432, Akron, Ohio 44309

WNWK-FM (105) and WNYE-AM (91.5).

"Croatian Radio Club."

Address: 37-18 Astoria Boulevard, Astoria,
New York 11103.

Telephone: (718) 274-6190; or (718) 721-8933.

Fax: (718) 274-6190; or (718) 721-8933.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Croatian Academy of America (CAA).

Sponsors lectures for members and the public on Croatian literature, history, and culture.

Contact: Diane Gal, Executive Secretary.

Address: P.O. Box 1767, Grand Central Station,
New York, New York 10163-1767.

Croatian Catholic Union of USA and Canada.

Established in 1921. Fraternal and life insurance organization with a reference library regarding Croatian American history, life, and achievements.

Contact: Melchior Masina.

Address: 1 East Old Ridge Rd., P.O. Box 602,
Hobart, Indiana 46342-0602.

Telephone: (219) 942-1191.

Fax: (219) 942-8808.

Croatian Fraternal Union of America.

Established in 1924. Fraternal and life insurance organization concerned with Croatian American heritage preservation. Maintains a museum and library, sponsors folk festivals, and offers student scholarships.

Contact: Bernard M. Luketich, President.

Address: 100 Delaney Dr., Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania 15235.

Telephone: (412) 351-3909.

Fax: (412) 823-1594.

Croatian Genealogical Society (CGS).

Encourages Croatian genealogical and heraldic research.

Contact: Adam S. Eterovich, Director.

Address: 2527 San Carlos Avenue, San Carlos,
California 94070.

Telephone: (415) 592-1190.

Fax: (415) 592-1526.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Croatian Heritage Museum and Library.

Collects and exhibits artifacts, textiles, folk costumes, wood carvings, sculpture, leather works, and paintings.

Contact: Suzanne Jerin.

Address: 34900 Lakeshore Blvd., Eastlake,
Ohio 44095.

Telephone: (440) 946-2044.

Fax: (216) 991-3051.

Museum of the Croatian Fraternal Union.

Address: 100 Delaney Drive, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania 15245.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Croatia: Land, People, and Culture, edited by Francis H. Eterovich and Christopher Spalatin. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.

Gorvorchin, Gerald G. *Americans from Yugoslavia*. Gainesville: University of Florida, 1961.

Preveden, Francis. *A History of the Croatian People*. New York: Philosophic, 1962.

Prpić, George. *The Croatian Immigrants in America*. New York: Philosophic, 1971.

Shapiro, Ellen. *The Croatian Americans*. New York: Chelsea House, 1989.

"South Slavic American Literature," in *Ethnic Perspectives in American Literature*, edited by Robert Di Pietro and Edward Ifković. New York: MLA, 1983.

CUBAN AMERICANS

by
Sean Buffington

The driving
ideological force
behind most
Cuban American
political activity
has been opposition
to the Marxist
regime in Cuba.

OVERVIEW

Cuba is an island nation located on the northern rim of the Caribbean Sea. It is the largest of the Greater Antilles islands. To Cuba's east is the island of Hispaniola, shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Off the southeastern coast of Cuba lies Jamaica, and to the north is the state of Florida. In 1992 Cuba had an estimated population of nearly 11 million. Since 1959, Cuba has been led by President Fidel Castro, whose socialist revolution overthrew dictator Fulgencio Batista. In the years before the breakup of the Soviet Union, Cuba maintained a close political and economic relationship with that nation. Cuba has had a distant and antagonistic relationship with the United States. Sugar is the principal export of Cuba, but the Cuban economy, by most accounts, is weak.

The Cuban people are descendants of Spanish colonizers and of African slaves once employed in the sugar industry. Two-fifths of the Cuban population is Roman Catholic. Nearly half report no religious affiliation. Many of those who call themselves Catholics are also adherents of an Afro-Cuban religious tradition known as *santeria*. The official language of Cuba and the language spoken by nearly all Cubans is Spanish.

The capital of Cuba is Havana, located on the northwestern coast of the island. Nearly 20 percent of Cubans are city dwellers; most live in the capital city. The United States, which has limited diplo-

matic relations with Cuba, nonetheless maintains, against the Cuban government's wishes, a significant military presence in Cuba at the Guantanamo Bay base on the southeastern coast of the island.

HISTORY

Cuba was colonized by the Spanish in 1511. Before colonization, the island was inhabited by Ciboney and Arawak Indians. Shortly after colonization, the native population was ravaged by disease, warfare, and enslavement, causing their eventual extinction. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Cuba, like most of Spain's Caribbean possessions, received little attention from the imperial government. Especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spain lavished attention on its mainland colonies in Central and South America and ignored its island colonies. By the end of the seventeenth century, Spain itself had begun to decline as a world power through financial mismanagement, outmoded trade policies, and continued reliance on exhausted extractive industries. Spain's colonies suffered during this period. Then the British captured Havana in 1762 and encouraged the cultivation of sugar cane, an activity that would dominate the economy of the area for centuries to come.

SLAVERY

The need for labor on the sugar and tobacco plantations and in raising livestock, which had been the area's first major industry, resulted in the growth of African slavery. Lasting only ten months before Spain resumed control, Britain's rule was of short duration. However, in this brief period North Americans had become buyers of Cuban goods, a factor that would contribute greatly to the well-being of the island population.

In the next 60 years, trade increased, as did immigration from Europe and other areas of Latin America. The introduction of the steam-powered sugar mill in 1819 hastened the expansion of the sugar industry. While the demand for African slaves grew, Spain signed a treaty with Britain agreeing to prohibit the slave trade after 1820. The number entering the area did decrease, but the treaty was largely ignored. Over the next three decades, there were several slave revolts, but all proved unsuccessful.

REVOLUTION

Cuba's political relationship with Spain during this period became increasingly antagonistic. Creoles on

the island—those of Spanish descent who had been born in Cuba and were chiefly wealthy landowners and powerful sugar planters—bridled at the control exercised over them in matters political and economic by colonial administrators from Europe. These planters were also concerned about the future of slavery on the island. They wanted to protect their investment in slaves and their access to the cheap labor of Africa from zealous imperial reformers. At the same time, black slaves in Cuba and their liberal white allies were interested both in national independence and in freedom for the slaves. In 1895, independence-minded black and white Cubans joined in a struggle against Spanish imperial forces. Their rebellion was cut short by the intervention of U.S. troops who defeated the Spanish in the Spanish-American War (1898) and ruled Cuba for four years. Even after the end of direct U.S. rule, however, the United States continued to exercise an extraordinary degree of influence over Cuban politics and the Cuban economy. U.S. interventionist policy toward Cuba aroused the resentment of many Cubans as did the irresponsible and tyrannical governance of the island by a succession of Cuban presidents.

MODERN ERA

That anger finally exploded in the late 1950s when a socialist guerrilla army led by Fidel Castro launched an uprising against the brutal, U.S.-supported dictator, Fulgencio Batista. Castro formed a socialist government after taking control of the island, and, in the polarized world of geopolitics during the Cold War, turned to the Soviet Union for support. Cuba's relationship with the United States has been cool at best since Castro's victory. The 1961 U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion, an unsuccessful attempt by the U.S. government and Cuban exiles in the United States to overthrow Castro, was the first of many clashes. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962, in which the United States successfully resisted an attempt by the Soviet Union to place nuclear weapons in Cuba, is also noteworthy.

Castro's Cuba has over the years supported socialist revolutions throughout the world. At home, Castro has used a heavy hand against dissidents, imprisoning, executing, and exiling many who have opposed him. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba has lost its most important trading partner and supporter. Castro's Cuba is in dire economic straits, and many wonder about the future of Castro's regime.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The famous Cuban poet and dissident Jose Marti lived in exile in the United States before returning to Cuba to lead the 1895 rebellion against Spanish forces. In New York City, he strategized with other Cuban opposition leaders and planned their return to Cuba as liberators. Not more than 60 years later, Fidel Castro himself was an exile in the United States. He too plotted a revolution in the country that would soon become his enemy.

Cubans have had a long history of migrating to the United States, often for political reasons. Many Cubans, particularly cigar manufacturers, came during the Ten Years' War (1868-1878) between Cuban nationals and the Spanish military. Yet the most significant Cuban migrations have occurred in the last 35 years. There have been at least four distinct waves of Cuban immigration to the United States since 1959. While many, perhaps most, of the earlier migrants were fleeing Cuba for political reasons, more recent migrants are more likely to have fled because of declining economic conditions at home.

The first of these recent migrations began immediately after Castro's victory and continued until the U.S. government imposed a blockade of Cuba at the time of the Cuban missile crisis. The first to leave were supporters of Batista. They were later joined by others who had not been prominent Batista allies but who nonetheless opposed Castro's socialist government. Before the U.S. government imposed its blockade, almost 250,000 Cubans had left Cuba for the United States.

The second major migration started in 1965 and continued through 1973. Cuba and the United States agreed that Cubans with relatives residing in the United States would be transported from Cuba. The transportation of migrants began by boat from the northern port of Camarioca and, when many died in boat accidents, was later continued by plane from the airstrip at Varadero. Almost 300,000 Cubans arrived in the United States during this period. The third migration, known as the Mariel Boat Lift, occurred in 1980 after Castro permitted Cubans residing in the United States to visit relatives in Cuba. The sight of well-to-do Cuban Americans coupled with an economic downturn on the island prompted many to line up at the Peruvian Embassy, which Castro had opened for emigration. The sheer numbers of Cubans clamoring to leave led Castro to permit any Cubans wishing to emigrate to leave by boat from the port of Mariel. Some 125,000 Cubans took advantage of this opportunity.

As economic conditions have worsened since the fall of Cuba's principal economic supporter, the Soviet Union, more Cubans have left Cuba in



Cuban refugees from the Mariel Boat Lift apply for permanent residency in the United States.

makeshift boats for Florida. Since Castro decided not to impede the departure of aspiring migrants, thousands of Cubans have left, many perishing on the boat journey. U.S. President Bill Clinton has initiated a policy of intercepting these migrants at sea and detaining them in centers at Guantanamo Bay and elsewhere in Latin America, a policy that has outraged many in the Cuban American community.

These four migrations have brought substantial numbers of Cubans to the United States. Over the years, just as the migration "push factors" have changed, so has the composition of the migrant population. While the earliest migrants were drawn from the highly educated and conservative middle and upper classes—those who had the most to lose from a socialist revolution—more recent migrants have been poorer and less educated. In the past several decades, the migrant population has come to look more like the Cuban population as a whole and less like the highest socioeconomic stratum of that population.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there are nearly 860,000 persons of Cuban descent in the United States. Of these, 541,000, or almost 63 percent of the total, live in Florida. Most of these live in Dade County, where Miami is located. There are also sizable communities in New York, New Jersey, and California. Together, these three states account for 23 percent of the Cuban American population. Florida, and Miami specifically, is the center of the

Cuban American community. It is in Florida that the most significant Cuban American political organizations, research centers, and cultural institutions make their homes. The first Cubans to arrive in Florida settled in a section of Miami known among non-Cubans as “Little Havana.” Little Havana was originally that area to the west of downtown Miami, bounded by Seventh Street, Eighth Street, and Twelfth Avenue. But the Cuban American population eventually spread beyond those initial boundaries, moving west, south, and north to West Miami, South Miami, Westchester, Sweetwater, and Hialeah.

Many Cuban migrants moved even farther afield with the encouragement and assistance of the federal government. The Cuban Refugee Program, established by the Kennedy administration in 1961, provided assistance to Cuban migrants, enabling them to move out of southern Florida. Almost 302,000 Cubans were resettled through the Cuban Refugee Program; however, many have begun to return to the Miami area.

Return to Cuba has not been an option for Cuban Americans for political reasons. Many early migrants hoped to return quickly after Castro was ousted, but that ouster never happened. There are prominent and powerful political organizations dedicated to ridding Cuba of Castro and setting up a non-socialist government in Cuba. Recent surveys, however, have shown that most Cuban Americans do not wish to return to Cuba. Fully 70 percent said that they will not go back.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Cuban American community is well assimilated in the United States. Moreover, because of its size, it has significant political influence. In 1993, the Cuban American National Foundation lobbied against and successfully prevented the Clinton administration from appointing an undersecretary of state for Latin American affairs whom it opposed. Fully 78 percent of Cuban Americans had registered to vote in 1989 and 1990, compared to 77.8 percent of non-Hispanic white Americans. Moreover, 67.2 percent of Cuban Americans reported that they voted in the 1988 presidential election, compared to 70.2 percent of Anglo-Americans, 49.3 percent of Mexican Americans, and 49.9 percent of Puerto Ricans.

Cuban Americans also enjoy greater economic security than other Hispanic groups. In 1986, the median family income of Cuban Americans was

\$26,770—\$2,700 less than the median for all U.S. family incomes but \$6,700 more than the median for all Hispanic American family incomes. Cuban Americans are also highly educated; fully 17 percent of the Cuban American population has completed college or college and some graduate schooling, compared with eight percent of Puerto Ricans, six percent of Mexican Americans, and 20 percent of the total U.S. population. In other significant ways too, Cuban Americans closely resemble the total U.S. population. Two-parent households account for 78 percent of all Cuban American households and 80 percent of all U.S. households. The average U.S. family has 3.19 members, while the average Cuban American family has 3.18 members.

Despite the overwhelming success of early Cuban immigrants, many of the more recent migrants to the United States have not enjoyed as warm a reception from their adopted country as their predecessors. This is partially due to the fact that, as a group, they have less business or professional experience and are less educated. While the vast majority of Cubans who migrated to the United States during this period were not social deviants, they were nonetheless labeled as such by the media. The challenges presented to these migrants serve to remind us that Cuban Americans are not a monolithic community. Rather, they are quite diverse; generalizations about Cuban American politics and conservatism or about Cuban American wealth and business success must therefore consider the full complexity of the Cuban American community.

EDUCATION

In Cuba, a sixth-grade education is compulsory and the illiteracy rate, in 1981, was 1.9 percent. There is a strong emphasis on math and science, and Cuba has become a center for preparing medical personnel, generating scores of young doctors. In the United States, Cubans and Cuban Americans are equally concerned about education and their children are often well-educated. The overwhelming majority of U.S.-born Cuban Americans have completed high school and some form of further education (83 percent). More than 25 percent have gone to post-secondary schools, compared to less than 20 percent of Cuban Americans born abroad, less than 16 percent of native-born Puerto Ricans, and ten percent of native-born Mexican Americans. More than any other Hispanic migrant group, Cuban Americans have shown a willingness and the ability to pay for private education for their children. Of native-born Cuban Americans, almost 47 percent have attended private schools. These numbers indi-

cate that education is extremely important to Cuban Americans and that they, more than any other Hispanic migrant group, have the resources to pay for additional schooling and private education.

CUISINE

Like many recent migrant groups, Cuban Americans enjoy both Cuban and U.S. cuisines. Traditional Cuban food is the product of the mingling of Spanish and West African cuisines in the climate of the Caribbean. Pork and beef are the most common meats in the traditional Cuban diet. Rice, beans, and root vegetables usually accompany such dishes. Necessary ingredients are available in most major cities where there are significant Hispanic populations. Many Cuban Americans, especially those who have been raised in the United States, have easy access to a variety of "American" foods and tend to reserve traditional cooking for special occasions.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Early Cuban immigrants entered the United States with the blessing of a president and a nation committed to combating communism. These Cubans therefore enjoyed a largely favorable relationship with their host communities. More recently, signs of conflict between Cuban Americans and other American communities have increased. The movement of Cuban Americans beyond the Little Havana enclave was accompanied by a movement of non-Hispanic whites out of the areas into which Cuban Americans were moving. There has also been a longstanding antagonism between Cuban Americans and African Americans in Florida, especially as Cuban Americans have asserted themselves politically and economically in the Miami area, becoming the dominant ethnic community there. African American community leaders often accuse Cuban Americans of shutting them out of the political process and keeping them out of the tourist industry. In 1991, according to an article by Nicole Lewis in *Black Enterprise*, black Dade County residents were outraged by five Cuban American mayors' failure to officially welcome South African freedom fighter and president Nelson Mandela; they retaliated by initiating a boycott of tourism-related businesses in the Miami area.

Most Cuban Americans report and perceive a nondiscriminatory relationship with white Americans. A survey of Hispanic Americans conducted from 1989 to 1990 showed that 82.2 percent of Cubans who were U.S. citizens said they had not personally experienced discrimination because of

their national origin. Nonetheless, 47 percent of Cuban Americans surveyed said that they thought there was discrimination against Cuban Americans in general.

HEALTH ISSUES

According to Fernando S. Mendoza's January 9, 1991 article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Cuban Americans are generally healthier than other Hispanic Americans but often less healthy than non-Hispanic white Americans. Several indicators demonstrate the health status of Cuban Americans. The proportion of Cuban American babies with low birth weight is lower than the percentage of all infants in the United States with low birth weight and slightly higher than that of non-Hispanic white Americans. Similarly, the proportion of Cuban American infants born early, while lower than that of Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans, is nonetheless higher than that of non-Hispanic whites.

In the same issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the Council on Scientific Affairs published an article stating that in other areas the comparative position of Cuban Americans is similar. Cuban Americans are far more likely than non-Hispanic white Americans to be murdered or to commit suicide. Still, they are less likely to be murdered than black or Puerto Rican Americans and less likely to die in accidents than black, Puerto Rican, or Mexican Americans. Trevino et al.'s piece showed that when Cuban Americans do seek treatment for injury or disease, they frequently must pay the entire cost of emergency care, since a higher proportion of Cuban Americans than U.S. residents is uninsured. Many Cuban Americans turn to the santeria tradition for health care, participating in santeria healing services and seeking the advice of santeria healers.

LANGUAGE

The national language of Cuba is Spanish and many Cuban Americans have some facility with Spanish. In 1989 and 1990, among Cuban Americans born in the United States, 96 percent said that they could speak either Spanish and English equally well or English better than Spanish. Cuban Americans born in the United States tend to be English speakers and have less facility with Spanish. Among those individuals born abroad, 74.3 percent said that they could speak either Spanish or Spanish better than English; however, while those born abroad have greater facility with Spanish, more

These Cuban American children are enjoying representing their families in the Hispanic Day Parade.



than half have some English ability as well.

These numbers do not capture the phenomenon of “Spanglish.” Among many Cuban Americans born in the United States who speak English at school and in other public domains but speak some Spanish at home with relatives and neighbors, “Spanglish,” or a linguistic mixture of Spanish and English, is a common alternative. Many Cuban Americans—especially younger Cuban Americans—use Spanglish to talk with friends and acquaintances, incorporating English words, phrases, and syntactic units into Spanish grammatical structures. Facility with Spanglish, however, does not necessarily imply lack of facility with either English or Spanish, though such a lack of facility *may* characterize the Spanglish speaker.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The Cuban American family is different in significant ways from the Cuban family. The Cuban family is characterized by patriarchy, strong parental control over children’s lives, and the importance of non-nuclear relationships for the nuclear family. In the United States, these elements have become less characteristic among families of Cuban descent. For example, the Cuban tradition of selecting godparents for a child who will maintain a close and quasi-parental relationship with the child has begun to decline in the United States. *Compadres*, or godparents, are less likely to play a significant role in the

lives of Cuban American children.

Similarly, Cuban American women are more likely to have greater authority in the family than in Cuba. This is in part attributable to the greater workforce participation of Cuban American women. These women, because they contribute to the household income and to the overall security and independence of the family, claim a greater share of authority and power within the household. Authority in Cuban American families has changed in other ways too. Children have greater freedom in the United States than in Cuba. For example, in Cuba young people are traditionally accompanied by an adult chaperon when dating. This is less true in the United States where young people go out unaccompanied or accompanied by an older sibling.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING

There are significant changes in patterns of marriage and childbearing within the U.S. Cuban community as Americans of Cuban descent raised in the United States have begun to depart from traditional Cuban familial patterns. Although 63 percent of foreign-born Cuban Americans over the age of 18 are married, only 38 percent of similarly aged U.S.-born Cubans are married. Also, almost 50 percent of U.S.-born Cuban Americans are single, compared with 10.7 percent of Cuban Americans born in Cuba. Cuban Americans born in the United States are also less likely to become parents than Cuban Americans born abroad. Finally, nearly 30 percent of native-born Cuban Americans who are

married are married to Anglo-Americans, compared to 3.6 percent of Cuban-born Americans.

RELIGION

Most Cubans living in Cuba identify themselves either as Roman Catholics or as nonreligious. The large number of nonreligious people is a consequence of the antireligious bias of the socialist government in Cuba. The most recent statistics reflecting the religious affiliations of Cubans come from before the Castro Revolution. In 1954 more than 70 percent called themselves Roman Catholic, and six percent called themselves Protestant. There were also small numbers of *santeria* adherents and Jews at that time.

Recent figures demonstrate that Americans of Cuban descent overwhelmingly identify themselves as Roman Catholics. Almost 80 percent of those born in Cuba and 64 percent of those born in the United States are Catholic. Fourteen percent of Cuban migrants and ten percent of U.S.-born Cubans follow some form of Protestantism. Fully one-quarter of native-born Cuban Americans say they either have no preference or have another religious affiliation.

Among Protestant Cubans in Florida, most belong to mainline Protestant denominations, the most common being Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Lutheran. However, there are increasing numbers of independent church members, including Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists. This growth parallels the growth of charismatic, fundamentalist, and independent churches throughout Latin America and in the United States. Jewish Cuban Americans, while few, are also notable. The Miami Jewish Federation reported in 1984 that there were 5,000 Jewish Cubans in the Miami area. The Miami Cuban Hebrew Congregation and Temple Moses are two of the largest Miami area Cuban synagogues.

The Cuban religious tradition that has received the greatest publicity in recent years, including Russell Miller's article "A Leap of Faith in the January 30, 1994, issue of the *New York Times*, is *santeria*. *Santeria* has been portrayed in movies and television since the mid-1980s as a form of Afro-Caribbean "black magic" similar to Haitian vodun, popularly known as "voodoo." These media portrayals, which have been largely negative and frequently inaccurate, have led to a public misunderstanding of the nature of *santeria*. The tradition is, like vodun, a synthesis of West African and Roman Catholic religious vocabularies, beliefs and practices. *Santeros*, or adherents of *santeria*, seek the

guidance, protection, and intervention in their lives of *orishas*—divine personages who trace their lineage both to Yoruba West African gods and Roman Catholic saints. The practice of *santeria* involves healing rituals, spirit possession, and animal sacrifice. This last aspect of *santeria* practice caused controversy when leaders of a *santeria* church recently challenged a local Miami area law prohibiting animal sacrifice. The U.S. Supreme Court later struck down that law as unconstitutional. The same *santeria* church that challenged that law has incorporated itself and plans to establish a national church similar to other national religious organizations.

“Sometimes I have dreams, and I see myself walking to my grandparents’ house in Cuba ... It brings back a lot of memories. The States is home. I have no qualms about it, but I’m still attracted to that little island, no matter how small it is. It’s home. It’s your people. You feel, if it’s ever possible again, you’d like to reconstruct what was there. You want to be a part of it.”

Ramon Fernández in 1961, cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*, edited by Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980).

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Most Cuban Americans, both foreign-born and U.S.-born, were employed in 1989 and 1990. Their rates of unemployment were lower than those of Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans though somewhat higher than those of non-Hispanic white Americans. Almost 18 percent of Cuban Americans were professionals or managers. Although only 15 percent of Anglo-Americans were so employed, more than one-third of Cubans who were U.S. citizens were employed in technical, sales, or administrative support positions.

Cuban Americans are better off financially than other Hispanic Americans and nearly as well off as the average American. Their economic and employment profiles look very little like those of other recent Hispanic Caribbean immigrant groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans and Dominicans). In the Miami area, the center of the Cuban American community, Cuban Americans are prominent in virtually every profession. In 1984 Cuban Americans headed

a third of the Miami area private companies that returned sales of at least 12.5 million. Manuel Vi-amonte's book, *Cuban Exiles in Florida: Their Presence and Contribution*, states that there are approximately 2,000 Cuban American medical doctors in the Miami area, and the Cuban Medical Association in Exile claims more than 3,000 members nationwide.

Cubans are regarded as a successful migrant group. They are reputed to be excellent and dedicated entrepreneurs who came to the United States with nothing and built profitable industries. Scholars report that later immigrants have built upon the connections and resources of the Cuban community already here. And many of the wealthiest Cuban American business people built their businesses by catering to the Cuban community or by using their connections to or knowledge of it. Nonetheless, there are many exceptions to this portrait of Cuban Americans. More than 33 percent of Cuban American households earn less than \$20,000 per year, and while this proportion is close to the proportion of Anglo-Americans in the same income category, it still represents an extraordinary number of Cuban Americans who have not yet achieved the "American Dream" of security and prosperity.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Cuban Americans are reputed to be conservative politically and to vote overwhelmingly for the Republican Party in elections. Dario Moreno and Christopher L. Warren's 1992 essay in *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*, validates this reputation by examining the voting patterns of Cuban Americans in the 1992 election. Voting returns from Dade County, Florida, showed that 70 percent of Hispanic Americans there voted for then-President George Bush. Another survey indicated that, of Cuban Americans who voted in 1988, almost 78 percent voted for Republican candidates. That same survey showed that, in the 1988 elections, most Cuban Americans were registered to vote and voted. Thus, Cuban Americans seem to share many basic political values and a willingness to exercise their voting power to advance these values.

The driving ideological force behind most Cuban American political activity has been opposition to the Marxist regime in Cuba. Some of the most powerful Cuban American political organizations are dedicated to shaping U.S. policy toward Cuba and to ridding Cuba of Castro. Perhaps the most important of these organizations is the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF). Headed until 1998 by Jorge Mas Canosa, a wealthy Miami businessman who participated in the 1961 Bay of

Pigs invasion attempt, CANF squelched the Clinton administration's nomination of a Cuban American lawyer for Latin American undersecretary at the State Department because it judged him too sympathetic to the current Cuban regime. CANF also pushed for the passage of the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act, which imposed further restrictions on trade with Cuba, and for the passage of the controversial Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996 (the Helms-Burton Act). This law, which allows the United States to impose sanctions on foreign companies that trade with Cuba, provoked intense resentment throughout the world and has been challenged in the World Court. CANF has also supported U.S. anticommunist ventures elsewhere in the world. CANF is active in several areas: it sponsors research on Cuba and Cuban Americans; it raises money for political purposes; and it lobbies elected officials. Many regard the organization as representative of the Cuban American community. Some, however, have charged that the foundation tries to stifle dissent within the community.

Since Mas's death in 1998, however, the role of CANF has become less clear. Growing numbers of Cuban Americans resent what they consider the organization's excesses, and, in opposition to the CANF position, prefer an end to the U.S. trade embargo. Groups such as the Cuban Committee for Democracy and Cambio Cubano (Cuban Change) which advocate an end to the embargo, were given renewed support when Pope John Paul II denounced U.S. policy toward Cuba when he visited the island in January 1998. The fact that President Clinton softened restrictions on travel to Cuba as well as donations of food and medicines suggests to many that CANF's power to dictate U.S. policy toward Cuba has begun to wane.

The Cuban American community's political activities have been very successful in certain areas. It has elected Cuban Americans to Congress and has dominated the local political scene in the Miami area. Consequently, candidates have courted them as a group in the last two presidential elections. Change may lie in the community's political future, however. Mas Canosa, a staunch Republican, gave some support to Bill Clinton in the 1992 campaign, and CANF donated \$275,000 to the Democrat's coffers. Voices within the community have raised questions about the conservatism that has guided Cuban Americans since the 1960s. Indeed, Bill Clinton received more Hispanic support in the Miami area than any of his predecessors (Michael Dukakis, Walter Mondale, and Jimmy Carter), suggesting that political preferences in the Cuban American community may be changing.



Cuban Americans display crosses representing loved ones who died in Cuba as they march in Miami. The protest rally contributed to the cancellation of a Catholic Church-sponsored cruise to Cuba for the Pope's visit in 1997.

RELATIONS WITH CUBA

Since the start of Cuban migration to the United States, Cuban Americans have been greatly concerned with the political status of Cuba and many are committed to Cuba's political transformation. In the United States, they have been staunchly conservative, supporting candidates who have taken a hard line against Cuba. However, Cuban Americans are becoming less committed to the struggle against Castro; or at least, the anti-Castro struggle is becoming less central to Cuban American identity. A principal challenge facing the Cuban American community in the years ahead is a reconsideration of what it means to be Cuban American. Perhaps that definition will become more elastic and accommodating, and the Cuban American community will embrace ever greater internal diversity. What had once seemed a politically united community is divided on issues like migration, Castro, and U.S. Republicanism. However, these internal divisions should not weaken the community, and may even strengthen the Cuban American community, making it more vital.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Lydia Cabrera (1900-1991) was one of Cuba's most prominent scholars and writers. Born in Havana, she studied Afro-Cuban folklore and edited many collections of folk literature; she was also a prolific fiction writer. She lived in exile in Spain and Miami. Poet and art historian Ricardo Pau-Llosa, who was born in Havana, moved to the United States in 1960 and became a naturalized citizen. He is an authority on contemporary Latin American art, and has written texts for more than 30 exhibition catalogues. He has also published several collections of poetry. Havana-born Gustavo (Francisco) Perez-Firmat, who moved to the United States in 1960 and became a naturalized citizen, is a literary historian who specializes in the Hispanic vanguard novel. He has been awarded numerous fellowships and is a professor of romance languages at Duke University.

MEDICINE

Dr. Pedro Jose Greer Jr., the son of Cuban immigrants in Miami, has been nationally recognized for his contributions to medical care for the homeless. Dr. Greer founded the Camillus Health Concern in Miami, and developed a medical school course that focused on the specific medical needs of homeless persons. Dr. Greer has received numerous awards, including a MacArthur Fellowship in 1993, and has advised the federal government on health care reform. His book *Waking Up in America*, which details his work with the homeless, was published in 1999.

BUSINESS

Born in Havana, Cuba, Roberto Goizueta (1931–) is the chief-executive of Coca-Cola. Jorge Mas Canosa (1939-1998) was a Miami businessman and chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation. Born in Santiago, Cuba, he became president of his own company, the Mas Group, and chair of the advisory board of Radio Marti, the U.S. government-sponsored radio station that broadcasts to Cuba.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Desi Arnaz (1917-1986) was an actor and musician who is perhaps best remembered for his role in the popular 1950s TV series “I Love Lucy,” which he helped create with his wife Lucille Ball. Cuban American dancer Fernando Bujones (1955–) danced with the American Ballet Theatre from 1974 to 1985. Maria Conchita Alonso (1957–), a singer and film actress, was born in Cuba; she has appeared in films such as *Moscow on the Hudson* and *House of the Spirits*, and was nominated for a Grammy Award for a solo album. Andy Garcia (1956–), a television and film actor, was born in Cuba; he has starred in such films as *The Untouchables*, *Internal Affairs*, *Godfather III*, and *When a Man Loves a Woman*, and was nominated for an Oscar for best supporting actor for his role in *Godfather III*. Elizabeth Pena (1959–), a television and movie actress, was born in New Jersey; she has appeared on stage and in such films as *Jacob's Ladder*, *Blue Steel*, *La Bamba*, and *The Waterdance*, as well as in the television series “Hill Street Blues” and “L.A. Law.”

LITERATURE

Cristina Garcia (1958–), a journalist and a fiction writer, was born in Havana; she earned a B.A. from Barnard College and a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University; she served as a bureau chief and correspondent for *Time* magazine, and was a

National Book Award finalist for her *Dreaming in Cuban*. Oscar Hijuelos (1951–), a Cuban American born in New York City, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1990 for *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*, a novel that was later made into a movie of the same name. One of the leading voices in contemporary American literature, he is the author of several novels and short stories that address his Cuban American heritage. Reinaldo Arenas, who came to the United States in the Mariel Boat Lift in 1980, was considered one of the leading experimental writers in Cuba. Imprisoned by Castro for homosexuality and political dissent, Arenas wrote frankly about his erotic life, most particularly in his posthumously published memoir, *Before Night Falls*. Arenas, in the last stages of AIDS, committed suicide in New York City in 1990.

MUSIC

The popular salsa musician Celia Cruz had a cameo role in the film *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*. Gloria Estefan (1958–), a Cuban-born singer/songwriter, enjoyed top-ten popularity during her stint with the Miami pop band Miami Sound Machine and during her solo career; she fronted Miami Sound Machine from 1975 to 1987; the song “Conga” propelled her and the band to national prominence.

SPORTS

Baseball outfielder Tony Oliva (1940–) played for Minnesota from 1962 to 1976. During that period, he won the American League batting tittle three times. Tony Perez (1942–) was an infielder, mostly with the Cincinnati Reds, from 1964 to 1986. He was a seven-time National League All-Star. Cuban-born José Canseco (1964–) began playing for Oakland as an outfielder in 1985. In 1986 he was proclaimed rookie of the year and in 1988 he became the first player to have 40 home runs and 40 stolen bases in one year.

POLITICS

Lincoln Diaz-Balart (1954–), a Florida Republican member of Congress since 1993, was born in Havana; he earned a law degree from Case Western Reserve University and served in the Florida State Senate. Robert Menendez (1954–), the first Cuban American Democratic representative to the national legislature, was born in New York City and represents New Jersey in Congress; he was also a member of the New Jersey State Assembly and was mayor of

Union City, New Jersey, from 1986 to 1993. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (1952–), a Republican member of Congress from Florida, was born in Havana; first elected in 1989, she was the first Hispanic woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. She has also been a school principal and a Florida State Senator. Xavier Suarez (1949–) was born in Las Villas, Cuba; he earned a law degree from Harvard before chairing Miami's Affirmative Action Commission; he serves as mayor of the City of Miami. Bob Martinez (1934–) served as the first Hispanic governor of Florida from 1987 to 1991. In 1991 he was appointed director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy by President George Bush.

MEDIA

PRINT

Cuba Update.

Reflects the aim of the Center for Cuban Studies, which is to disseminate accurate and up-to-date information on Cuba. Recurring features include editorials; news of research; book reviews; a calendar of events; news of conferences, forums, film showings, and exhibitions; and notices of publications issued by the Center.

Contact: Sandra Levinson, Editor.

Address: Center for Cuban Studies, 124 West 23rd Street, New York, New York 10011.

Telephone: (212) 242-0559.

Fax: (212) 242-1937.

E-mail: cubanctr@igc.apc.org.

Diario Las Americas.

Though not precisely a Cuban American paper, it has been one of the principal forums for Cuban American expression since 1953, and has a readership of 70,000.

Contact: Horacio Aguirre, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 2900 Northwest 39th Street, Miami, Florida 33142-5149.

Telephone: (305) 633-3341.

Fax: (305) 635-7668.

Hispanic Newsletter.

Monthly newsletter covering the League's activities on behalf of Cuban Americans. Assesses needs of minority communities in relation to education, training, manpower development, and health care. Recurring features include reports of Cuban American community-based centers opened by the League.

Address: National League of Cuban American Community-Based Centers, 2119 Websters, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802.

Telephone: (219) 745-5421.

Fax: (219) 744-1363.

El Nuevo Herald.

The Spanish-language subsidiary of *The Miami Herald*, it was founded in 1976 and has a circulation of 120,000.

Contact: Barbara Gutierrez, Editor.

Address: Hometown Herald, 1520 East Sunrise Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33304.

Telephone: (954) 527-8940.

Fax: (954) 527-8955.

El Nuevo Patria.

Originated in 1959, it has a circulation of 28,000.

Contact: Carlos Diaz-Lujan, Editor.

Address: 850 North Miami Avenue, #102, P.O. Box 2, José Martí Station, Miami, Florida 33135-0002.

Telephone: (305) 530-8787.

Fax: (305) 577-8989.

RADIO

WAMR-FM (107.5), WQBA-AM (1140).

Programs news and talk on its AM station and contemporary music on its FM station.

Contact: Claudia Puig, AM General Manager; or Luis Diaz-Albertiny, FM General Manager.

Address: 2828 Coral Way, Miami, Florida 33145-3204.

Telephone: (305) 441-2073.

Fax: (305) 445-8908.

WAQI-AM (710).

A Spanish-language news and talk station.

Contact: Tomas Regalado, News Director.

Address: 2690 Coral Way, Miami, Florida 33145.

Telephone: (305) 445-4040.

WRHC-AM (1550).

Programs Spanish talk and news shows.

Contact: Lazaro Asencio, News Director.

Address: 330 Southwest 27th Avenue, Suite 207, Miami, Florida 33135-2957.

Telephone: (305) 541-3300.

Fax: (305) 643-6224.

TELEVISION

Two of the most prominent Spanish-language television stations serving the Cuban American population in the Miami area provide diverse programming created by Cuban American journalists and administrators.

WLTV-Channel 23 (Univision).

Contact: Alina Falcon, News Director.

Address: 9405 Northwest 41st Street, Miami, Florida 33178.

Telephone: (305) 471-3900.

Fax: (305) 471-4160.

WSCV-Channel 51 (Telemundo).

Contact: J. Manuel Calvo.

Address: 2340 West Eighth Avenue, Hialeah, Florida 33010-2019.

Telephone: (305) 888-5151.

Fax: (305) 888-9270.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Cuban-American Committee.

Works to improve interaction between the United States and Cuba.

Contact: Alicia Torrez, Executive Director.

Address: 733 Fifteenth Street NW, Suite 1020, Washington, D.C. 20005-2112.

Telephone: (202) 667-6367.

Cuban American National Council (CNC).

Aims to identify the socioeconomic needs of the Cuban population in the United States and to promote needed human services.

Contact: Guarione M. Diaz, President and Executive Director.

Address: 300 Southwest 12th Avenue, Third Floor, Miami, Florida 33130.

Telephone: (305) 642-3484.

Fax: (305) 642-7463.

E-mail: info@cnc.org.

Online: <http://www.cnc.org>.

Cuban American National Foundation (CANF).

Americans of Cuban descent and others with an interest in Cuban affairs. Serves as a grass roots lobbying organization promoting freedom and democracy in Cuba and worldwide.

Contact: Francisco Hernandez, President.

Address: 7300 Northwest 35th Terrace, Suite 105, Miami, Florida 33122.

Telephone: (305) 592-7768.

Fax: (305) 592-7889.

E-mail: canfnet@icanect.net.

Online: <http://www.canfnet.org>.

National Association of Cuban American Women of the U.S.A.

Addresses current issues, concerns, and problems affecting Hispanic and minority women.

Contact: Ziomara Sanchez, President.

Address: P.O. Box 614, Union City, New Jersey 07087.

Telephone: (201) 864-4879.

Fax: (201) 223-0036.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Center for Cuban Studies (CCS).

Individuals and institutions organized to provide resource materials on Cuba to educational and cultural institutions. Sponsors film showings, lectures, and seminars; organizes tours of Cuba. Maintains Cuban art collection with photographic archives, paintings, drawings, ceramics, and posters; sponsors art exhibits.

Contact: Sandra Levinson, Executive Director.

Address: 124 West 23rd Street, New York, New York 10011.

Telephone: (212) 242-0559.

Fax: (212) 242-1937.

E-mail: cubanctr@igc.apc.org.

Cuban Research Institute.

Integral unit of Florida International University, under the direction of the Latin American and Caribbean Center. Besides supporting and encouraging research on Cuba, it also sponsors an annual teacher training workshop and a journalist workshop.

Contact: Lisandro Perez, Director.

Address: University Park, DM 363, Miami, Florida 33199.

Telephone: (305) 348-1991.

Fax: (305) 348-3593.

E-mail: erinst@fiu.edu.

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For Greek Cypriot children, the naming of the child is done at baptism, not at birth. After a child has been baptized, his name day, meaning the day of the saint for whom he was named, is celebrated each year instead of his actual birthday or day of baptism.

CYPRIOT AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

The Republic of Cyprus is an inland country about the size of Connecticut, measuring 3,572 square miles (9,251 square kilometers). Located at the crossroads of the Levant, as the eastern end of the Mediterranean is known, Cyprus is the third-largest island in Mediterranean, after Sicily and Sardinia. Located 386 kilometers north of Egypt, 97 kilometers west of Syria, and 64 kilometers south of Turkey, this former British colony achieved independence in August 1960. The Republic of Cyprus is partitioned, with the southern part of the country under the control of the Cyprus government and the northern 37 percent of the land under the autonomous Turkish-Cypriot administration, supported by the presence of Turkish troops.

Nicosia, the capital city, is divided to provide areas of control to each of the two major population segments. Other major cities include Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta, Paphos, Kyrenia, and Morphou. Cyprus's terrain is a central plain with mountain ranges to the north and south. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the total population in Cyprus in 1999 was 754,064, including the northern population of 175,000 Turkish Cypriots. The country's flag is a white background with a gold island's shape centered above two crossed olive branches.

The three principal languages spoken in the Republic of Cyprus are Greek, Turkish, and Eng-

lish. In the early 1990s, five ethnic communities lived on the island: Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenians, and Latins. About 80 percent of the country's citizens are Greek Cypriots. Greek and Turkish Cypriots share many customs, but maintain distinct identities based on religion, language, and close ties with Greece and Turkey.

HISTORY

Cypriot culture is one of the oldest in the Mediterranean region. The discovery of copper on the island around 3000 B.C. led to more frequent visits from traders, as well as invasions by more powerful neighbors. Cypriots were influenced by traders from the Minoan civilization, who developed a script for Cypriot commerce. By the end of the 2000 B.C., a distinctively Hellenic culture had developed on Cyprus.

The island was ruled successively by Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Beginning in 364 A.D., Byzantium ruled Cyprus for 800 years, during which Cypriots suffered from three centuries of Arab wars. These wars led to the deaths of thousands of Cypriots and the destruction of Cypriot cities, which were never rebuilt. After Richard the Lion-Hearted briefly possessed Cyprus during the Crusades, the island came under Frankish control in the late twelfth century. It was ceded to the Venetian Republic in 1489 and conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1571. During this time, nearly 6,000 Turkish households were re-settled into approximately 100 empty villages in the Mesaoria, Mazoto, and Paphos regions of Cyprus. The Ottomans allowed religious authorities in Cyprus to govern their own non-Muslim minorities, reinforcing the position of the Orthodox Church and the union of the ethnic Greek population.

Most of the Turks who settled on the island during the three centuries of Ottoman rule remained after control of Cyprus was yielded to Great Britain in 1878. The British had been offered Cyprus three times (in 1833, 1841, and 1845) before accepting it in 1878 to prevent Russian expansion into the area. At the time of British arrival under the Cyprus Defense Alliance between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire, approximately 95,000 Turkish Cypriots lived on the island. Many, however, moved to Turkey during the 1920s. The island was formally annexed by the United Kingdom in 1914, at the outbreak of World War I. It became a British colony in 1925.

After almost a century of British rule, Cyprus gained its independence in 1960 under The Treaty of Guarantee, which provided that Greece, Turkey, and Britain would ensure the independence and

sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. Independence was spearheaded by the Greek Cypriot EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), a guerrilla group that pushed for political union with Greece. Archbishop Makarios, a charismatic religious and political leader, was elected president. Almost immediately, the two communities disagreed over the implementation and interpretation of the constitution, and by December 1963, Turkish Cypriot ceased participation in the central government. Nearly 80 percent of the population, who were ethnically Greek, wanted *enosis*, or union with Greece. Ethnic Turks, however, who made up a little less than 20 percent of the population, wanted *haksim*, or partition from Greece. United Nations peacekeepers were deployed on the island in 1964 and remain there as of this printing. Following another outbreak of intercommunal violence during 1967 and 1968, a Turkish Cypriot provisional administration was formed. Because of its strategic location and its impact on the national interests of Greece and Turkey, Cyprus has led NATO allies close to war several times over its control.

Believing Makarios had abandoned *enosis*, the Athens military sponsored a coup led by extremist Greek Cypriots in July 1974. Citing the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, Turkey intervened militarily to protect Turkish Cypriots, sending troops to take control of the northern portion of the island. Many Greek Cypriots fled south, while many Turkish Cypriots fled north. Some 30,000 Turkish mainland troops still occupy the northern island, while 10,000 Greek Cypriot national guardsmen protect the south. Since then, the country has been divided, with the government of Cyprus controlling southern region of the island, and the Turkish Cypriot administration controlling the northern region of Cyprus.

In 1983, the Turkish-Cypriot administration proclaimed itself the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," recognized only by Turkey. United Nations peacekeeping forces maintain a buffer zone between the two sides. Except for occasional demonstrations or infrequent incidents between soldiers in the buffer zone, there were no violent conflicts between 1974 and 1995. However, in 1996, there were violent clashes, which led to the death of two demonstrators and escalated Greek-Turkish tensions.

There remains little movement of citizens and essentially no trading of goods or services between the two parts of the island. Efforts to reunite the island under a federal structure continue, however, under the auspices of the United Nations, whose efforts focus on creating a bi-zonal, bi-communal state under a single federated government.

THE FIRST CYPRIOTS IN AMERICA

Cyprus reports that there was emigration to the United States as early as the 1930s, but there is no available data before 1955. The earliest Greek immigrants arrived in 1768 and settled at New Smyrna near Saint Augustine, Florida, in a colony of 450 Greeks. Turkish American immigration, is not well documented. It is assumed that the Turkish Cypriots who came to the United States between 1820 and 1860 were fleeing religious or political persecution.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The periods of greatest emigration were between 1955-1959, the 1960s, and between 1974-1979. These were times of political instability and socioeconomic insecurity. Between 1955 and 1959, the period of anti-colonial struggle, 29,000 Cypriots (5 percent of the population) left the island. In the 1960s, during periods of economic recession and intercommu-

“I knew then that the United States was the country of opportunity, and since I was a child of a poor family, and I knew I had to more or less do it on my own, I felt this was the best place. And I had a brother here—he came in ‘29, I think. My brother became an American citizen, and after that he arranged for me to get my visa and come over to the United States.”

Nikos Liadis cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived*, by Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky (E.P. Dutton, New York, 1980).

nal strife, 50,000 Cypriots (8.5 percent of the island's population) left Cyprus. Most of these immigrants were young males, usually unemployed and from rural areas; only 5 percent were university graduates. Although 75 percent immigrated to Britain, and another 10 percent went to Australia, about 5 percent went to North America. After the 1974 invasion by Greek Cypriots and up until 1979, 51,500 Cypriots left as immigrants, and another 15,000 became temporary workers abroad. The new wave of immigrants had Australia as the most common destination (35 percent), followed by North America, Greece, and Britain. According to U.S. statistics, Cypriot immigration peaked at 828 in 1976, with the number of immigrants dropping to 291 in 1984.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In 1984, 274 Cypriots became American citizens. Of this group, 109 settled in New York city, 47 set-

tled in New Jersey, 21 in California, 13 each in Maryland and Virginia, and 10 each in Florida and Illinois. Many Cypriot Americans live in San Diego and Los Angeles. Another large community settled in New Jersey, in Flemington, Brickton and Wayside. According to the 1990 U.S. Census there are 4,897 people of Cypriot ancestry living in the United States.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Cypriot Americans are family-oriented and hard working. Greek Cypriots tend to settle where there are established Greek communities, and these surroundings help immigrants become accustomed to the new culture. Turkish Cypriot Americans often face a more difficult assimilation, as many Americans have negatively stereotyped Turks as “Islamic terrorists.” The earliest Turk immigrants settled in industrial cities and found factory work. A large part of the American Turkish community, however, returned to Turkey before the Depression during the 1930s. Today, the Turkish American community is small and closely-knit. Turkish Cypriot Americans tend to be more accepted among American Turks than among Greek Cypriot Americans.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Greek poets and playwrights frequently mention the early influences of Cyprus. Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and beauty, was said to have been born out of the sea foam on Cyprus's west coast. The most important temple to Aphrodite was built at Paphos in Cyprus, where the love goddess was worshipped for centuries. Homer mentioned Aphrodite and a Cypriot king, Kinyras of Paphosin, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Greek Cypriots are proud of their Greek heritage. Greek Cypriot Americans continue strong church traditions, such as abstaining from meat, fish or dairy products during the Lent season. Easter is the most celebrated religious holiday for Greek Cypriot Americans. *Avgolemono* soup, made from eggs and lemons in chicken stock, is traditional Easter fare, as are the *flaounes*, savory Easter cakes that contain a special Easter cheese, eggs, spices and herbs all wrapped in a yeast pastry.

In 1970, American sociologists Marvin Gerst and James H. Tenzel studied the two major ethnic communities of Cyprus and found that Turkish Cypriots value a society in which roles are clearly defined. For example, they regard public service as a

more prestigious (though poor-paying) occupation than a successful business career. Turkish Cypriot Americans, though not strict Muslims, also often become a part of the Muslim community in America. Their values suggest that adjustments to American culture are more difficult for them than for Greek Cypriot Americans.

PROVERBS

Cypriots have many proverbs: Everyone pulls the quilt over to his side; The hardest crusts always fall to the toothless; Work is hard, but no work is harder; So long as he has a tooth left a fox won't be pious; The fox in her sleep dreams always of chickens; If the baby doesn't cry, Mother won't suckle; One does not go to Hell to light a cigarette; A fool throws a stone into the sea and a hundred wise men cannot pull it out; Every gypsy praises his own basket; and, There is no borrowing a sword in war time.

CUISINE

The distinctive dishes created by Cypriots use Greek ideas mixed with influences from other countries, including Turkey, Armenia, Lebanon, Syria, Italy, France, and Britain. Cypriots cook with less oil than their Mediterranean neighbors and their diet is healthy. A popular food is *halloumi*, the traditional white cheese of Cyprus, which has been produced on the island for centuries. It is a semi-hard cheese prepared from sheep's milk, with mint added to it. Halloumi is delicious when grilled or fried. Traditional Greek foods are favorites of Greek Cypriots, such as *baklava*, made from phyllo pastry, nuts, honey and syrup.

Cypriots drink a lot of coffee, and the beverage is made individually in small, long handled pots, called *mbrikia*. One heaped teaspoon of finely ground fresh coffee is added to a demitasse of cold water. Sugar is added before heating the coffee. Cypriots order coffee *glykos* (sweet), *metrios* (medium sweet), or *sketos* (unsweetened). The *mbrikia* are heated on the stove, and when the sugar has dissolved, the coffee is allowed to come to the boil, forming a creamy froth *kaimaki* on top. As the froth turns in from the sides and the coffee begins to rise in the pot, it is removed from the heat and a little is poured into each cup to distribute the froth. Cyprus coffee is strong and is always served with a glass of cold water. It contains no spices and leaves a little sediment in the bottom of the cup.

Turkish Cypriot cuisine owes its heritage to a mixture of Mediterranean, Southern European and Middle Eastern influences. Local dishes are deli-

cious, particularly the *meze*, a specialty of Cyprus that consists of a large number of cold and hot hors d'oeuvres such as salads, meats, vegetables, and fish dishes. It is eaten either as an appetizer or as a main course. Other typical dishes include *choban salatasi* (peasant-style salad), one of the most popular salads in North Cyprus. Light, refreshing and easy to make, it makes a perfect lunch under an olive tree by the sea. Ingredients include tomatoes, onions, green peppers, olives, cucumber, halloumi cheese, oregano and olive oil. *Yalançi dolma* is vine leaves stuffed with rice, onions, and tomatoes. *Shish kebab* is marinated lamb, skewered and grilled over charcoal. *Musakka* is layers of mince, potatoes, and *aubergines* baked in the oven with cheese topping. *Cacik* is yogurt with cucumber and mint. *Ahtapot salatasi* is octopus salad.

Desserts and pastries from Turkish Cyprus include: *ceviz macunu*, made from green walnuts in syrup; *lokum*, known as Turkish Delight; *turunch macunu*, a delicacy made of bitter oranges in syrup; and *sucuk*, a traditional Cypriot sweet, made of thickened grape juice and almonds.

North Cyprus produces a small number of wines, best known of which are *aphrodite*, and *kantara*. Both wines are light and fruity and make good accompaniments to local dishes. The country also produces its own sherry called *monarch*. A locally famous drink is the anise seed based *raki*, and brandy sour is another favorite with the Turkish Cypriots.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Cypriot clothing included simple cottons and silks with little variation from village to village. The outer garments were made from *alatzia*, a durable cotton cloth like ticking, usually with fine vertical or crossed stripes in deep red, blue, yellow, orange, or green on a white ground. Men's shirts and women's dresses for everyday wear were generally of blue *alatzia* with white stripes. Black was substituted for blue in the cloth used for the jackets of elderly men, while those of younger men were of standard red-striped *alatzia zibounisimi*. There were local variations for the festival costumes, which had a characteristic color combination and were named according to their source of origin, such as *maratheftikes*, *morphitoudes*, *lapithkiotikes* and *interalia*.

In medieval times, Cyprus was known for its silk bridal chemises and undergarments. Though the fabric varied from region to region, the fine pure silk, and the silk and cotton *taista* and *itaredes* of Nicosia and the towns of Lapithos and Karavas in Karpasia were impressive. Everyday chemises were made of white, hand-woven cottons. There were

few distinct regional differences in the male costume of Cyprus, which generally was the densely pleated baggy trousers, *vra'ka*, the waistcoat, *yilekko*, and jacket, *zibouni*. The Cypriot female costume was an outer garment, the chemise, and the distinctive long pantaloons caught around the ankle. The *saya*, a kind of frock open at the front and sides, was common in most urban and rural regions of Cyprus until the nineteenth century. The *foustani*, a one-piece, waisted and pleated dress, was the preferred over-garment in the rural areas of Cyprus well into the 1950s.

DANCES AND SONGS

The traditional Turkish folk dances of Cyprus vary significantly based on the dancers and musicians, the region of origin, and the theme. The names for dances also change with these variables. Many are known by the accompanying items, including wooden spoons, sword and shield, knife and drinking glass. There are Turkish Cypriot folk dances such as the circle, semi-circle, one-lined, and double-lined. Few of these dances are performed solely by either men or women. Traditional Greek dances may be danced in a circle, in a straight line, or between couples.

Varieties of Greek Cypriot music include *dimotika*, *laika* and *evropaika*. Dimotika are traditional rural folk songs often accompanied by a clarinet, lute, violin, dulcimer, and drum. *Laika* is an urban style song, developed at the turn of the century, which may feature the *bouzouki*, a long-necked string instrument. *Evropaika* is Eurostyle music set to Greek words that is popular with the older generations.

HOLIDAYS

Greek Cypriots celebrate many Greek Orthodox holy days throughout the year, in addition to Christmas, Easter, and New Year's Day. New Year's Day is known as St. Basil's Day in Cyprus. To celebrate that day, a special cake, called *vasilopitta*, is baked by each family, and, when it is cut, the person who finds a coin in his slice is promised luck for the next year. Greek Cypriot Americans celebrate Cyprus Independence Day on October 1, and many celebrate Greek Independence Day on March 25, commemorating Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821. Turkish Cypriot Americans observe both civil and religious holidays. In addition, Turkish Americans began a unique holiday in 1984, celebrating Turkish American Day with a parade down New York's Fifth Avenue.

HEALTH ISSUES

A British medical study found that 17 percent of Cypriots suffer from a high frequency of hemoglobin disorder. Carrier couples have a one in four chance in every pregnancy of having a child with a major thalassaemia, a hereditary anemia due to genetically transmitted abnormalities. The disease is characterized by mongoloid faces, fatigues, severe anemia, enlargement of the heart, and slight jaundice. Prognosis varies, but the younger the child at the onset of the disease, the more unfavorable the outcome.

LANGUAGE

Modern Greek contains 24 characters with five vowels and four vowel sounds. It is written in Attic characters, their names, transliterations, and pronunciations are: "Aa"-alpha/a ("ah"); "Bb"-beta/v ("v"); "Gg"-gamma/g ("gh," "y"); "Dd"-delta/d, dh ("th"); "Ee"-epsilon/e ("eh"); "Zz"-zeta/z ("z"); "Hh"-eta/e ("ee"); "Qq"-theta/th; ("th"); "Ii"-iota/i ("ee"); "Kk"-kappa/k, c ("k"); "Ll"-lambda/l ("l"); "Mm"-mu/m ("m"); "Nn"-nee/n ("n"); "Xx"-kse/x ("ks"); "Oo"-omicron/o ("oh"); "Pp"-pee/p ("p"); "Rr"-rho/r ("r"); "Ss"-sigma/s ("s"); "Tt"-taf/t ("t"); "Uu"-ypsilon/y ("ee"); "Ff"-fee/ph ("f"); "Cc"-khee/h ("ch") [as in "ach"]; "Yy"-psee/ps ("ps" [as in "lapse"]); "Ww"-omega/o ("oh").

For Greek Cypriots, the "b" sound of standard Greek is usually replaced with a "p," so that a Cypriot says "tapella" for "tabella," meaning sign or placard. The letter combination sigma-iota (s-i) is pronounced as sh. When "k" begins a word it sounds more like "g" and the letter "t" sounds more like "d."

Turkish is the official language of North Cyprus, but English is the standard second language for Cypriots in both ethnic communities. The Turkish dialect spoken by Turkish Cypriots is closely related to other dialects of Anatolia, but distinct from the urban dialects of Istanbul, Ankara, and Zmir. Turkish Cypriots followed the reforms of Mustafa Kamal, a Turkish World War I hero who became known as "Ataturk" or "father of the Turks." Ataturk drove the Greeks out of Turkey and initiated many reforms, including replacing the Arabic alphabet with a modified Latin alphabet. The Turkish-Cypriot community was the only Turkish minority in former Ottoman territories outside mainland Turkey to adopt these linguistic changes.

Turkish is part of the Ural-Altai linguistic group. The alphabet consists of 29 letters—21 consonants and eight vowels. Six of these letters do not occur in the English alphabet. Turkish has no gen-

der distinction and there is no differentiation between he, she, and it. Several Turkish American organizations in the United States that teach Turkish, but few second- and third-generation Turkish Americans speak the language.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

For Greek Cypriots, *éla!* means “come here and speak to me,” and “You don’t say!” *Pó-pó-pó!* is an expression of dismay. The standard telephone response is *Embrós!* or *Léyete!* *Orísteh?* means “what can I do for you?” *Sigá sigá* means “take your time and slow down.” Other popular Greek expressions include: *cronia polla* (pronounced “chrohnyah pohllah”)—Many years/Happy Birthday; *kah tuch* (“kahlee teechee”) means Good year.

Common expressions among Turkish Cypriot Americans include: *Merhaba*—Hello; *Gun aylin*—Good Morning; *bi Aksamlar*—Good Evening; *Bilmiyorom*—I don’t know; *Bir dakika!*—Wait a minute; *Tesekkur ederim*—Thank you; *Na’pan*—Whatcha doing?

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The family is traditionally the most important institution in Greek Cypriot society. In villages, people think of themselves primarily as members of families. Greek Cypriot households typically consist of a father, mother, and their unmarried children. Traditionally, marriages are arranged, generally through the mediation of a matchmaker. At marriage, parents give their children a portion of land, if available, along with money and household items. Even at the beginning of the 1990s, such economic considerations remained a decisive factor in marriage settlements. From 1985 to 1989, the country’s annual marriage rate was the highest in Europe. In 1988, the average age at marriage was 28 years for men, and 25 years for women. Brides and grooms in rural areas tend to marry younger than their urban counterparts. On the other hand, the divorce rate among Greek Cypriots almost doubled between 1980 and 1988. The number of extramarital births, however, remains very low by European standards.

Cypriots feel a strong obligation to provide a better future for their families, meaning they seek to provide more education and a larger material inheritance for their children. During times of economic hardship between 1946 and 1979, the average family size declined. By the end of the 1980s, however, the Republic of Cyprus’s birth rate increased. The

higher rate was attributed to an improved of the standard of living, the expansion of education to all sections of the population, and the wider participation by women in the work force.

Turkish Cypriots are also concerned with encouraging economic prosperity within their families. A major part of household income goes to educating children, finding them suitable spouses, and helping them find good jobs. More than in most Western societies, Turkish Cypriots are conscious of their extended family. The nuclear or core traditional family might include not only the husband, wife and their unmarried children, but also a newly married son and his family, and sometimes the mother’s parents. The presence of the mother’s parents in the core family is an important variation from the traditional Turkish family structure, in which the husband’s parents live with the family.

EDUCATION

The Republic of Cyprus boasts a high level of education and a 99 percent literacy rate. For Greek Cypriots, preprimary, primary, and secondary levels in academic and technical vocational high schools are free and mandatory. Higher education is available at specialized schools and at a university that opened in the early 1990s.

Education has been a priority for Cypriots since the British passed the Education Law of 1895, which permitted local authorities to raise taxes to finance schools. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were qualified teachers for all levels and types of schools, as well as administrative personnel, accredited by a special committee of the Ministry of Education. All public schools had uniform curricula and modern teaching equipment. Some instructional material for both primary and secondary education was donated by the Greek government. The biggest challenge of the 1990s was to provide the rapidly expanding economy with technicians and skilled workers. Cypriots tended to choose academic rather than technical courses, for reasons of social prestige.

The majority of Cypriots receive their higher education at Greek, Turkish, British, or American universities. Many Cypriots are educated at foreign universities, and the percentage of Cypriot students studying at the university level is among the highest in the world. During the 1970s and 1980s, an average of more than 10,000 Cypriots studied abroad annually. During the 1970s, more than half of these students were in Greece, and about one-fifth were in Britain. In the 1980s, the United States became a major destination for students going abroad, gener-

ally surpassing Britain. The number of women studying abroad increased during the 1970s and 1980s, from 24 percent in 1970 to 40 percent in 1987.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

For Greek Cypriot children, the naming of the child is done at baptism, not at birth. After a child has been baptized, her or his name day, meaning the day of the saint for whom she or he was named, is celebrated each year instead of her or his actual birthday or day of baptism.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Modern Greek Cypriot American women are better educated than their mothers and are more likely to work outside the home. While the traditional domestic role is still an expectation, Greek Cypriot American women are more likely to balance the home responsibilities with a professional occupation.

After World War II, Greek Cypriot women had greater access to education and increased their participation in the work force. At the beginning of the century, the proportion of girls to boys enrolled in primary education was one to three. By 1943, about 80 percent of girls attended primary school. When elementary education was made mandatory in 1960, there were equal enrollment levels for boys and girls. By the 1980s, girls made up 45 percent of those receiving secondary education. Only after the mid-1960s did women commonly leave Cyprus to receive higher education. In the 1980s, women made up about 32 percent of those studying abroad.

Cypriot women have long participated in the work force, traditionally in agriculture. From 1960 to 1985, the women's share of the urban work force rose from 22 percent to 41 percent, while their share of the rural work force fell from 51 percent to 44.4 percent. Cypriot women had the same rights to social welfare as men in such matters as social security payments, unemployment compensation, vacation time, and other common social provisions. Special protective legislation in 1985 provided women with marriage grants and with maternity grants that paid them 75 percent of their insurable earnings. But occupational gender segregation persisted in Cyprus at the beginning of the 1990s. The participation of women in clerical jobs had more than doubled since the late 1970s, yet only one woman in 15 was in an administrative or managerial position in 1985. Women's share of professional jobs increased to 39 percent by the mid-1980s, compared with 36 percent ten years earlier, but these jobs were concentrated in medicine and teaching, where women had

traditionally found employment. In fields where men were dominant, Cypriot women's share of professional positions was 11 percent, up from 8 percent in 1976. In the fields where women were dominant, men took just under half the professional positions.

Traditional attitudes continue to change, especially in urban areas, but were still prevalent in the early 1990s. Although most Cypriot women worked outside the home, they were expected to fulfill the traditional domestic roles with little help from Cypriot male spouses. Women with full-time jobs were pressured by the traditional standards of keeping a clean house and providing daily hot meals. In the 1990s, Cypriot women were still burdened with the expectation of safeguarding the honor of the family by avoiding any social contact with men that could be construed to have a sexual content.

BAPTISMS

The wedding sponsors, the *koumbari*, also act as godparents to the first child. The baptism ceremony of the Greek Orthodox church is a special ceremony involving several steps. It begins at the narthex of the church, where the godparents speak for the child, renounce Satan, blow three times in the air, and spit three times on the floor. After reciting the Nicene Creed, the child's name is spoken for the first time. At the front of the church, the priest uses consecrated water to make the sign of the cross on various parts of the child, who is undressed. The godparents rub the child with olive oil and the priest immerses the child in water three times before handing the child to the godparents, who wrap him in a new white sheet. Following baptism, the child is anointed with a special oil (*miron*) and dressed in new clothing. A candle is lighted and the priest and godparents hold the child while other children walk around in a dance signifying joy. Then scriptures are read and communion is given to the child.

COURTSHIP

In Greek Cypriot culture, an engagement is preceded by negotiations between parents, but parents could not force their children to accept arranged marriages. Cypriot Americans often choose their mates without parental involvement.

For Turkish Cypriots, marriage and divorce are governed by law based on the Koran. Turkish law applies in all religious and family matters among Muslims and in marriages and engagements involving a non-Muslim woman. Marriage between a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man is prohibited. Turkish Cypriots usually marry someone from

their own lineage, the descendants of a common ancestor connected through the male line. Turkish Cypriot Americans do not follow the marriage within the lineage. Even in Cyprus, marriage within one's lineage became less common in the second half of the twentieth century.

WEDDINGS

In Greek Cyprus, the most popular time for weddings is in the summer, and the whole village celebrates. *Resi*, a rich pilaf of lamb and wheat, is prepared and special little shortbreads, *Loukoumi*, are piled high for the guests. The sponsor at a Cypriot wedding, similar to an American best man or maid of honor, becomes a ceremonial relative. The male sponsor, *koumbaros*, or female sponsor, *koumbara*, is expected to pay for all of the wedding expenses, except the purchase of the rings. The sponsor usually becomes the godparent of the couple's first child. Most weddings involve several sponsors.

Traditionally, the bridegroom provided the house and the bride's family the furniture and linens. This was the dowry, the allocation of an equal portion of the parents' property to the children, male or female, at the time of marriage, rather than after the death of the parents. Until the 1950s, this transfer of property at marriage was agreed to orally by the parties involved; more recently the so-called written dowry contract has been introduced. A formal agreement specifying the amount of property to be given to the couple, the dowry contract is signed by all parties and enforced by religious authorities. After World War II, it became the bride's obligation to provide the house. Ownership of a house, given the scarcity of land (especially after the invasion of 1974) and the considerable expense of building, became a great advantage for a single woman seeking to marry. In the 1990s, a working woman's income primarily went to the construction of a house.

In rural Turkish Cypriot society, the wedding festivities lasted for several days. Modern Turkish Cypriot couples often do not rely on their parents to arrange a match. Although dating, as practiced in the United States, was not common even at the beginning of the 1990s, couples met in small groups of friends. Once a couple decided to marry, both sets of parents were consulted. The families then arranged the engagement and marriage.

Turkish Cypriots adapted the Greek Cypriot tradition of the bride's family providing substantial assistance to the newlyweds. Turkish Cypriots modified it to include assistance from both families. Traditionally, the bride's family provided a house, some furniture, and money as part of their daughter's

dowry. The bridegroom's family met the young couple's remaining housing needs. If the bride's family was unable to provide such assistance, the young couple lived with the bride's family until they saved enough money to set up a separate household. The bride brought to her new home the rest of her dowry, known as *cehiz*, which made the new family financially more secure. Turkish Cypriot Americans often provide their own housing, though families will send assistance where possible.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Cypriot Muslims and Christians are bitter rivals. From the rise of Greek nationalism in the 1820s and 1830s to the partitioned reality of Cyprus today, the two major ethnic groups do not work together nor attempt social interaction of any kind. Cyprus had three other ethnic groups at the beginning of the 1990s: Maronites, Armenians, and Latins. Together they numbered only about 6,000—less than one percent of the island's population, but they maintained social institutions of their own and were represented in organs of government. The Maronites and Armenians came during the Byzantine period, and the Latins slightly later. Maronites are Catholic Christian people of Arabic origin, who came and settled in Cyprus 1,200 years ago from Lebanon. They speak their native tongue, an Arabic dialect that is mixed with many Greek and Turkish words. By the mid-twentieth century, they lived mainly in four villages in northwestern Cyprus. Armenian Cypriots were primarily urban and mercantile, most of whom had arrived after World War I. Latins were concentrated among merchant families of the port towns on the southern coast and were descendants of the Lusignan and Venetian upper classes.

RELIGION

Most Greek Cypriots are Greek Orthodox Christians, followers of the Church of Cyprus, a tradition using the Greek liturgy and headed by a synod composed of bishops and an elected archbishop. Turkish Cypriots are Muslims and form the second largest religious group. Ritual is the center of activity for the Orthodox church. Seven sacraments are recognized: baptism in infancy, followed by confirmation with consecrated oil, penance, the Eucharist, matrimony, ordination, and unction in times of sickness or when near death. Many Greek Cypriot Americans are members of local Orthodox churches founded by Greek immigrants in even the smallest of communities, such as the church established in 1900 in Indianapolis by 29 Greek immigrants.

North Cyprus is a secular state with no official religion, although 98 percent of the population are Muslims. Nearly all Turkish Cypriots were followers of Sunni Islam, but, unlike most predominantly Muslim societies, North Cyprus was a secular state. There was no state religion, and Turkish Cypriots were free to choose their own religion. Turkish Cypriots were among the most secular of Islamic peoples, not abstaining from alcohol as standard Muslim teaching requires, but following traditional Mediterranean drinking customs. Wedding ceremonies were civil, rather than religious. Religious leaders had little influence in politics, and religious instruction, while available in schools, was not obligatory. The few Greek Cypriots who lived in North Cyprus were free to follow their Greek Orthodox faith. Religion came to be a personal matter among Turkish Cypriots, and they did not attempt to impose their religious beliefs on others. Although there was some fasting during the month of Ramadan, moderate attendance at the Friday prayers, and widespread observation of the holy days, few Turkish Cypriots were orthodox Muslims. Some Turkish Cypriot Americans become more devoted Muslims, but most continue a less fervent adherence to Muslim beliefs.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Fifty-nine percent of Cypriot immigrants in 1984 had professional occupations. Greek Cypriot Americans are highly educated. Many are teachers and academics in various roles. Turkish Cypriot Americans are also highly educated and are often employed as physicians, scientists, and engineers. While immigrants in the first half of the twentieth century were often unskilled laborers who found employment in large industrial cities, subsequent immigrants were highly-skilled professionals employed in virtually every field.

Education was a common way of rising in social status, and most Cypriots respected higher education and white collar professions. The expanding economy in the second half of the twentieth century allowed many Cypriots to obtain more sophisticated work than their parents. Within one generation, a family could move from an agricultural background to urban professions in teaching, government, or small business. The traditional economy of subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry was replaced by a commercial economy, centered in expanding urban areas. The flight from agriculture reached a peak in 1974, when the best and most productive agricultural land fell under Turkish occupation. In

1960, some 40.3 percent of the economically active population were agricultural workers; in 1973, the figure was down to 33.6 percent. In 1988, government figures estimated only 13.9 percent of the work force earned a living from farming full time.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Numerous Greek American political and social organizations have existed since the 1880s. Turkish American involvement in American politics did not begin until the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 mobilized individuals seeking to counter the U.S. government support for the Greeks. In the 1990s, Cypriot American organizations for both Greek and Turk ethnic groups exert lobbying influences aimed at seeking political advantage.

Greek Cypriot immigrants are patriotic to both Cyprus and the United States. During both world wars, Greek Americans, including Greek Cypriots, served in the United States armed forces and participated in assorted war fund drives. Cypriots were staunch supporters of the Allied cause in World War II. This was particularly true after the invasion of Greece by Germany in 1940. The draft was not imposed on the colony, but 6,000 Cypriot volunteers fought under British command during the Greek campaign. Before the war ended, more than 30,000 had served in the British forces.

RELATIONS WITH CYPRUS

Cypriot Americans remain involved in political and lobby issues of importance to Cyprus. In late 1999, U.S. President Bill Clinton expressed his commitment to finding a solution to the Cyprus problem and stated that his administration would intensify efforts to bring all interested parties together for talks.

Relations between Cyprus and the United States were hindered by the 1974 assassination of United States Ambassador Roger Davies in Nicosia. The Nixon and Ford administrations became involved in refugee resettlement and peace talks during the 1974 crisis and a more activist American policy was institutionalized. A special Cyprus Coordinator in the Department of State was established in 1981. The position was held by Reginald Bartholemew (1981-82), Christian Chapman (1982-83), Richard Haass (1983-85), James Wilkenson (1985-89), and Nelson Ledsky after 1989. In June 1997, the United States appointed Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke as Special Presidential Emissary for Cyprus. Efforts to stimulate discussion about confidence-building measures, intercommunal projects

and cooperation, and new directions in the United States' \$15 million annual aid program to Cyprus met resistance from the republic's government. The republic looked to the United States Congress and the Greek American community to correct what they considered a pro-Turkish bias in U.S. policy.

The total value of U.S. exports to Cyprus was about \$700 million in 1997, making the United States Cyprus's leading supplier of imports. Since the mid-1970s the United States has channeled \$305 million in assistance to the two communities through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Cyprus Red Cross. The United States provides \$15 million annually to promote bi-communal projects and finance U.S. scholarships for Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Successive U.S. administrations have viewed United Nations-led intercommunal negotiations as the best means to achieve a fair and permanent settlement in Cyprus. As of 1999, the United States actively supports and aids the United Nations Secretary General's efforts to settle the divisions in Cyprus.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Garo Yepremian (1944–), football place-kicker from 1966 to 1981, was born in Larnaca, Cyprus. He played for the Miami Dolphins and lead the NFL in scoring in 1971.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Cyprians of New Jersey.

Organization for the preservation of Greek Cypriot culture and the promotion of good relations between the United States and Cyprus.

Address: 3225 Kennedy Blvd., Jersey City,
New Jersey 07306.

Telephone: (201) 333-9815.

The Cyprus Trade Center (CTC).

One of 12 export promotion offices worldwide of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism of the Republic of Cyprus. Facilitates and strengthens trade relations between Cyprus and the Americas through promotion of Cypriot products and of Cyprus as an International Business Center.

Address: 13 East 40th St., New York,
New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 213-9100.

Lambousa Cyprian Society.

Organization for the preservation of Greek Cypriot culture and the promotion of good relations between the United States and Cyprus.

Contact: Costas Tsentas.

Address: 12 Bluebird Court, Flemington,
New Jersey 08822.

Telephone: (908) 531-3100.

Panpaphian Association.

Organization for the preservation of Greek Cypriot culture and the promotion of good relations between the United States and Cyprus.

Contact: Savas Tsivicos.

Address: 525 Greene Grove Road, Wayside,
New Jersey 07712.

Telephone: (732) 531-3100.

Salamis (New Jersey Cypriot Association).

Organization for the preservation of Greek Cypriot culture and the promotion of good relations between the United States and Cyprus.

Contact: Chris Caramanos.

Address: 70 Hedrickson Ave., Bricktown,
New Jersey 08724.

Telephone: (908) 458-8785.

United Cypriots of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Contact: Theodosios Rousos.

Address: 153 San Vicente Blvd., No. 4B,
Santa Monica, California 90402.

Telephone: (310) 395-0591.

United Cypriots of Southern California, San Diego.

Contact: John Vassiliades, President.

Address: 8032 Bluebird Lane, La Palma,
California 90623.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Institute of Cypriot Studies

Integral unit of University at Albany, State University of New York. Encourages research and cultural activities related to Cyprus.

Contact: Dr. Stuart Swiny, Director.

Address: Humanities 372, Albany,
New York 12222.

Telephone: (518) 442-3982.

Fax: (518) 442-4033.

E-mail: swiny@cnsvox.albany.edu.

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CZECH AMERICANS

by
Christine Molinari

Community festivals
such as polka
celebrations and
houby (mushroom)
hunting contests
continue to play
a prominent
role in Czech
American culture.

OVERVIEW

Under Communist rule until 1989, the Czech Republic (Ceská Republika), which shared a common federal government with Slovakia until 1992, is now an independent state with democratic, multiparty institutions. Located in central Europe and occupying a territory of 78,864 square kilometers, it is bordered on the northwest and southwest by the Federal Republic of Germany, on the south by Austria, on the southeast by Slovakia, and on the north by Poland.

The Czech Republic has a population of 10,339,000. Of that number, 81.3 percent claim to be of Czech ethnic origin; 13.2 percent are Moravian; and the remaining 4.5 percent belong to other groups, notably Slovak, Polish, German, Silesian, Romany (Gypsy), Hungarian, or Ukrainian. The majority of Czechs (39.2 percent) are Roman Catholic, with a smaller number (4.1 percent) adhering to Protestant denominations. Czech is the official language. The capital city, Prague, preserves one of the oldest and richest architectural traditions in Europe, with many buildings, such as the Romanesque Church of St. George and the Gothic St. Vitus Cathedral, dating back to the Middle Ages. The flag of the Czech Republic, designed and first flown in New York to honor the visit of the World War I patriot Tomáš G. Masaryk, consists of a blue triangle on a rectilinear background of white and red.

HISTORY

The Czechs are a Slavic people, closely related to the Slovaks in speech and custom, but with a distinct history and national identity. The term “Czech” denotes the inhabitants of historic Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, while “Slovak” is reserved for those people who settled on the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and who historically were dominated by the Hungarians.

Between the fifth and seventh centuries, the Slavic ancestors of the Czechs swept across the region that subsequently became known as Bohemia. Although for a time assimilated into the neighboring Moravian Empire, Bohemia emerged as the stronger power and absorbed Moravia in the eleventh century. Under its ruling dynasty, the Přemyslides, Bohemia became Christian in the ninth century and a member of the Holy Roman Empire in the eleventh century, led by the German kings but retaining its own monarchy. Two prominent rulers of the House of Přemysl were Wenceslas the Holy (c. 907-929) and Otaker II (1253-78), who extended Bohemia’s territorial borders to the Adriatic. After the decline of the Přemyslides, Bohemia was ruled for a time by the House of Luxembourg. The union of King John of Luxembourg with the Czech princess Elizabeth produced a son, Charles IV (1346-1378), who, as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, established Bohemia as the center of the empire and made Prague its cultural center. He founded the University of Prague in 1348. In the fifteenth century the university became the center of a church reform movement led by Jan Hus (1369-1415), who was burned as a heretic in 1415. Divided between the followers of Hus—the Hussites—and the Catholics, the country was attacked by crusaders and plunged into turmoil.

Through a dynastic union with the Jagiello family in Poland, the kings of Bohemia eventually became linked to the House of the Austrian Habsburgs, which ruled there from 1526 to 1918. Favoring monarchical control over the Protestant Reformation, the Habsburgs opposed the Bohemian estates, a struggle that resulted in the defeat of the Bohemian Protestant insurgents at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620. Many thousands of noblemen were expelled from the country, and Bohemia was completely absorbed into the Habsburg empire, with German becoming the primary language of instruction in the schools. However, a national awakening in the nineteenth century, culminating in the political protest movement of 1848, reestablished a sense of Czech identity. After the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia and Russia in 1914, the Czechs and Slovaks, in a struggle to estab-

lish a common republic, joined the side of the Allies. Under the leadership of Masaryk, Edvard Beneš (1884-1948), and Milan Rastislav Štefánik, they were able to persuade the Allied governments to dissolve the Habsburg Empire. With the surrender of Austria on October 28, 1918, a revolutionary committee in Prague declared the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic.

MODERN ERA

The Czechoslovak Republic, a parliamentary democracy, was governed from 1918 to 1935 by Masaryk, who was succeeded by his pupil Beneš. But after occupation by the invading forces of Adolph Hitler in 1939, the republic never completely regained autonomy. In the aftermath of World War II, the Soviet Union began to tighten its control over central Europe, and in February 1948 it staged a governmental crisis in Czechoslovakia that solidified Communist control over the Czech government. A trend toward democratic liberalization in the 1960s culminated in the events of the Prague Spring in 1968, when a cultural revolution headed by the reformer Alexander Dubček was suppressed by the military intervention of the Soviet Union. Under Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, a further period of liberalization began in the 1980s that led to the downfall of Communism in 1989, when largely peaceful strikes and demonstrations in Prague swept aside the old regime and elevated dissident playwright Vaclav Havel to the presidency. After a brief coexistence in a federation with Slovakia, the Czech Republic became fully independent in 1992.

THE FIRST CZECHS IN AMERICA

Prior to the nineteenth century, few Czechs had immigrated to the United States, and evidence of their presence during the colonial and revolutionary periods is sketchy. Hermann Augustine (1605-1686), one of the founders of the Virginia tobacco trade and compiler of the first map of Maryland and Virginia, is thought to be the first Czech immigrant. In 1638 Czech Protestant exiles, who had set sail for America in the service of the Swedish army, assisted in the building of Fort Christina on a tributary of the Delaware River.

The first major immigration wave occurred in 1848 when the Czech “Forty Eighters” fled to the United States to escape political persecution by the Habsburgs. This year also saw the arrival of Vojta Náprstek, a radical free thinker and a vocal opponent of the Austrian government who, as part of a general amnesty extended to political refugees,

returned in 1857 to his native land where he opened an American museum to acquaint European Czechs with America.

By the late 1850s there were an estimated 10,000 Czechs living in the United States. Chicago, tied to the West by rail and more readily accessible to the immigrants, became the most populous Czech settlement. By 1870, other cities with Czech concentrations included St. Louis, Cleveland, New York, and Milwaukee.

At the turn of the century, Czech immigrants were more likely to make the journey to the United States with their families. This marks a contrast with the immigration patterns of other ethnic groups, such as the Germans, English, Poles, and Slovaks, who tended to come over individually, as exhibited by the high ratio of male to female immigrants in the U.S. demographic statistics of the period. Moreover, it was not uncommon in large families for the head of the household to make more than one trip to the United States, bringing along one or more children each time. In addition, many of those who immigrated in the late nineteenth century were of Moravian ancestry. One important characteristic of this group was their staunch adherence to the Catholic faith at a time when membership among Czech Americans was declining and a distinct anti-Catholic spirit prevailed.

RECENT IMMIGRATION

By the turn of the century, a widening gap between the first and second generations was already in evidence. In 1900 there were 199,939 American-born Czechs as opposed to 156,640 Czechs who had been born in Europe. The number of Czechs entering the country was further reduced by the temporary Emergency Quota Act, legislated by Congress in 1921, and the National Origins Act of 1924. Settlement patterns were also changing. Perhaps as a reflection of the growing trend toward urbanization in the United States, two-thirds of Czech Americans now lived in urban areas.

The next major immigration to the United States occurred during the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, when approximately 20,000 fled to escape Nazi persecution. About one-quarter of these were professionals, including scholars and artists.

Between 1946 and 1975, 27,048 Czechs immigrated to the United States. With the Communist takeover in 1948, a large number of refugees, many of them students, teachers, journalists, and professional people, began pouring into the United States. Financial support for these refugees was provided by the American Fund for Czechoslovakia,



These Czech American women have just completed their registration at Ellis Island.

established with the assistance of Eleanor Roosevelt. Subsequent immigration of refugees was supported by the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which permitted the admission of refugees of Communist countries.

In 1968 the relaxed atmosphere in Czechoslovakia under the Dubček regime was conducive to the immigration of hundreds of refugees to the United States. Many of them were middle-aged, skilled, and educated; consequently, they had little difficulty finding employment. Although they made significant contributions to American society, this recent community of immigrants has been characterized more by its capacity for assimilation than by its ability to stimulate a resurgence in Czech American culture.

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 1,296,000 Americans reported themselves to be of Czech ancestry, with 52 percent residing in the Midwest, 22 percent in the South, 16 percent in the West, and ten percent in the Northeast. The number of foreign-born Czechs in the United States has been steadily decreasing, and with the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, Czech immigration to the United States has significantly slowed.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The oldest significant Czech colony in the United States is in New York, which by 1854 had about 40 families. In Texas, the first Czech settlement was established at Catspring in 1847. In 1848 the Czechs settled alongside Germans, Irish, and Nor-

Czech Americans
celebrate their
ethnic heritage at
the 1994 Czech
Festival.



wegians in Wisconsin, mainly in the counties of Adams, Kewaunee, Manitowok, Marathon, and Oconto, with the first major Czech farming town established at Caledonia, north of Racine. Other settlements followed in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. The first Czech settlers to arrive in Chicago in 1852 settled in what is today the Lincoln Park area, assisting in local building by cutting trees and loading lumber. Minnesota Territory was populated by the first Czechs in 1855, while the Dakota Territory saw its first Czech settlements in 1870. Czech Americans also lent names to several U.S. towns and cities in which they settled, including New Prague and Litomysl in Minnesota, and Pilsens, Iowa, to name a few.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Czechs were uniquely suited to assimilate into American society. Although they lacked direct experience with democratic institutions, the first generation—many of whom left their homeland to escape the oppression of the Austrian Habsburgs—nevertheless brought with them a love of liberty and social equality. A relatively large proportion of nineteenth-century Czech immigrants were literate, a result of the educational policies of the Austrian regime that made education compulsory to age fourteen throughout Bohemia and Moravia.

On arrival, many Czechs Americanized their last names. Some last names were translated into English (e.g., Jablečník became Appleton or Krejčí

became Taylor), while others were changed to American-sounding equivalents (e.g., Červený became Sweeney, and Vlk became Wolf).

The years between 1914 and 1941 marked a turning point for the Czech community in two important ways. First, as a result of World War I, the Czech community became less isolated. A growing trend toward Americanization could be seen in the second and third generations, which were already moving out of the Czech communities and marrying into families with ethnic backgrounds that differed from their own. Second, perhaps partially in response to this trend, the Czech American community was becoming more protective of its traditions, emphasizing the study of Czech language and culture.

As relatively recent arrivals in the United States, the Czechs were forced to deal with prejudice as they established their homes in the midst of other immigrant communities. The self-sufficiency of Czech urban settlements, with their assemblage of Czech-owned banks, theaters, amusement halls, and shops, may have contributed to a perception of Czechs as “clannish.” Despite the Czechs’ insistence that they be referred to as “Czechs,” many Americans persisted in calling them by the pejorative “Bohunks” or by the less pejorative, but equally unacceptable “Bohemians.” When the Czechs began moving out of urban neighborhoods into the suburbs after World War II, their search for new homes was not always greeted with enthusiasm. Some efforts at community expansion were met with strong prejudice, as when a Czech real-estate developer attempt-

ing to purchase land in a Chicago suburb returned home to find a burning cross on his land.

To many early twentieth-century observers, the Czechs were a relatively “successful” immigrant community. They were perceived as law-abiding and family- and community-oriented, and because they were dedicated to becoming fully Americanized, their assimilation into American culture was relatively smooth and complete.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Community festivals such as polka celebrations and *houby* (mushroom) hunting contests continue to play a prominent role in Czech American culture. Some traditions celebrated in the early days of immigration were centered around the church. At box-supper church fund raisers, women baked their fanciest dinners and put them into boxes decorated with crepe paper, hearts, and ribbons to be auctioned off to the highest bidder.

Customs frequently were derived from old pagan traditions. On Palm Sunday, children created an effigy of *Smrt* (“death”), a lifesize straw doll that might be dressed in rags and have a necklace of eggs. The straw woman, who symbolized the end of winter, was then cast into a river as the children sang a welcome to the beginning of spring. On New Year’s Eve, young men would gather in circles and fire their rifles into the air three times, a practice known as “shooting the witches.”

Czech superstitions include the belief that a bird that flies into a house is an omen of death. A dream about a body of water could also mean that a death would occur. Pebbles were placed inside eggshell rattles made for children, to drive away evil spirits. A garnet that dimmed while worn on the body was thought to be a sign of melancholy.

PROVERBS

Czech proverbs express popular wisdom on themes such as the family, labor, fortune, and benevolence. Common proverbs among Czech Americans in the United States include: Father and mother have taught us how to speak, and the world how to keep quiet; Too much wisdom does not produce courage; A pocketful of right needs a pocketful of gold; The poor are heaven’s messengers; He who has daughters has a family, and he who has sons has strangers; If there were no children, there would be no tears; All the rivers do what they can for the sea; Better a lie that heals than a truth that wounds; As long as the language lives, the nation is not dead.

CUISINE

Czech American cooking boasts a range of savory meat dishes and rich, flavorful desserts that can be prepared with simple ingredients. Potatoes, mushrooms, and cabbage are the staples of Czech cooking. To make a potato strudel, flour was added to mashed potatoes to form a stiff dough, which was then sprinkled with cinnamon and melted goat’s milk butter and baked in the oven. Mushrooms picked during autumn field trips were brought home in bushels and set out in neat rows to dry. They were then turned into a sour mushroom soup which contained sauerkraut juice and fried onions. Sauerkraut, made from boiled cabbage, could also be mixed with pork and rice to make a cabbage roll.

The best-known Czech dessert is *koláče*, a sweet, squared-shaped dough bread filled with cheese; stewed prunes, apricots, or other fruit; or a mixture of poppy seed, custard pudding, and honey. Traditional at Christmas time was *vánočka*, a Christmas twist loaf flavored with mace, anise, and lemon and sprinkled with almonds and seedless raisins.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Czech American traditional costumes were worn as everyday apparel in some parts of the country until the twentieth century, when they were worn only on ceremonial occasions. Women’s billowy skirts, multicolored or solid, were topped by a gold-trimmed black vests and blouses with full puffed sleeves that might be trimmed in gold or lace and embroidered with a floral geometric motif. Women’s bright caps were worn flat on the head and had flaps on either side. Men’s trousers were of a solid hue but often were decorated according to individual taste. Men wore a black vest over a full embroidered shirt.

Bridal costumes were particularly ornate. The bride wore a crown covered with rosemary wreaths made by the groom; this crown might also be strewn with long, flowing ribbons. Her white vest was covered with light sea beads or with red, yellow, or green streamers. The groom wore a close-fitting blue or red vest and a plumed hat.

DANCES AND SONGS

Most Americans are familiar with the *polka*, but few of them know that it is a Czech courtship dance. The polka originated in Prague in 1837. Derived from the Czech word for “half,” it is danced with a half step to music written in two-quarter time, with the accent on the first three eighth notes. Another

These Czech emigrants are waving from the S.S. President Harding, which landed in New York City on May 25, 1935. They later joined relatives in Ohio.



popular Czech dance is the *beseda*, a collection of mazurkas, polkas, and waltzes arranged according to local tradition and performed at festivals.

Czech melodies, strongly Western European in character, were usually composed to accompany dances. The *koledy*—ritual carols that were sung at Christmas, the New Year, and Easter—date back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A typical rustic band included a clarinet, violins, and the *dudy*, a shepherd's bagpipe that had a goat's head on top. Another traditional Czech instrument played in the United States is the *tamburash*, a stringed instrument similar to the lute.

HOLIDAYS

For Czech Americans, Christmas began on December 24 with a Christmas dinner that was served as soon as the first stars came out. Before dining, it was customary to eat consecrated bread dipped in honey; extra place settings were made for deceased members of the family, who were said to be present in spirit. Christmas Day, December 25, was celebrated at church in an extended ceremony where the women

and girls stood in front of the altar for the duration of the service. New Year's Eve (sometimes called St. Sylvester's) was celebrated in the streets, with revelers spending all night in song and dance. Also commemorated were Epiphany (January 6), to honor the journey of the Magi; St. Valentine's Day; and Whitsunday, in remembrance of the Ascension. On Sprinkling Day, the first Monday of Easter week, boys would go through the town spraying the girls with little homemade "spritizers" or, if lucky enough to abduct one of them, would throw her into the river; the girl was required to show her gratitude for this treatment by baking the boy a homecooked meal. Czechs also observe St. Joseph's Day (March 19), a day honoring their national heritage.

Mother's Day was more than just the promotional holiday it is today. It was celebrated either at church, if it fell on a Sunday, or at a separate festival, and was marked by the wearing of red and white carnations grown especially for the occasion, a red carnation signifying that one's mother was living, the white carnation that she was no longer living.

A festival celebrated by Czech Americans in Iowa and Minnesota is the Rogation Days—the

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the Feast of the Ascension. After the mass, the congregation would follow the priest through the fields, reciting the Litany of the Saints and praying for a good harvest.

HEALTH ISSUES

Czech immigrants sometimes turned to home remedies to cure common ailments. A wedding ring tied around the neck of a child was believed to cure fever. Poultices made of bread and milk were used to heal cuts. Concern about scoliosis prompted Czech women to ensure that their babies had adequate calcium, and at one time it was mandatory for newborns to have their hips examined to see whether they would develop the disease. Czech Americans have always been very diet conscious. When fruits were in scarce supply in the winter, they served rosehip tea as well as sauerkraut, a rich source of vitamin C.

Czech Americans believe that there is a strong connection between mental and physical well-being. Their commitment to physical fitness led to the establishment of the Sokol (Falcon) gymnastic organization, which strives to develop a person “perfect physically, spiritually, and morally, of a firm and noble character, whose word is irrevocable, like the law.”

LANGUAGE

Czech is a Slavic language with a declension system based on seven cases. The present orthographic system was introduced in the fourteenth century by the religious reformer Jan Hus, who instituted a system of diacritical markings to eliminate consonant clusters. Thus, the consonants “ž,” “š,” “č,” “ř,” “ň,” “ť” and “d” stand for “sh,” “ch,” “rzh,” “zh,” “ny,” “ty,” and “dy,” respectively. Czech is a phonetic language; every sound is pronounced exactly as it is written, with the accent always on the first syllable.

Because of the differences between Czech and English—Czech is a Slavic language, while English is Germanic—the acquisition of English as a second language presents a challenge to Czech Americans. The U.S. public school system and Czech American benevolent organizations have provided systematic English-language instruction to assist Czech American immigrants in learning English. Numerous American colleges and universities also teach the Czech language, including Stanford University, Yale University, the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, and Harvard University.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Greetings and expressions include *dobré jitro*—good morning; *dobrý den*—good afternoon; *dobrou noc*—good night; *nazdar*—hello; *s Bohem*—good-bye; *na shle-da-nou*—till we meet again; *prosím*—please; and *děkuji pěkně*—thank you very much. Other polite expressions are *Jak se máte?*—a polite form of “How are you?”), and *Jak se máš* (the familiar form); *Jak se jmenujete?*—What’s your name? (polite form), and *Jak se jmenuješ* (familiar form); *Těší mne*—Nice to meet you; and *Dobré chutnání*—Enjoy your meal.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The lifestyle of nineteenth-century Czech immigrants was determined by the region and community in which they settled. Those who came to New York in the 1860s lived in sparsely furnished rented quarters, and it was not uncommon to find two families sharing the same small apartment. Immigrants who came to Chicago in the early 1850s had trouble settling permanently there: driven from place to place, they resided in makeshift housing until they could find permanent lodging. While the men loaded lumber to assist in the new building in the area, the women and children did the chores and went to the slaughterhouse where they could obtain the poorer cuts of meat, often purchased on a cooperative plan.

Hardships also were endured in rural communities. Dwellings in Nebraska, Kansas, and Iowa were simple sod houses—no more than underground burrows. Immigrants to rural Wisconsin built log cabins and lived off meager provisions, in some cases subsisting on cornbread and on the “coffee” that they made from ground roasted corn.

The accumulation of wealth by first-generation families made it easier for the second generation to purchase property. They began by building wood-frame homes and eventually saved enough money to build with brick. In the early twentieth century, an estimated 64 percent of Czech families living in Chicago owned their own dwellings, a high proportion for an immigrant community at that time. Children were sent to college and frequently went on to pursue professional vocations, such as law, education, or medicine.

Historically, the Czechs have been markedly active in community groups that have assisted immigrants and have promoted greater familiarity with Czech culture. In 1854 Czechs in Ripon, Wisconsin, formed the Czech-Slavonic Benevolent Society, the oldest continuous benevolent society in

the United States, to provide insurance and aid to immigrants, as well as social services to the young, the elderly, and the poor. The Sokol (Falcon) gymnastic organization, established in St. Louis in 1865, continues to attract people of all ethnic backgrounds to its sponsored gymnastic meets.

Czech American women have played an exceptionally important role in community life, forming a number of active social and political organizations. By 1930 approximately one-third of the membership of Czech American benevolent societies was consisted of women. The National Council of Women in Exile, convened in 1948, provided assistance to Czech refugees. Although Czech women were prominent in their communities, the women's suffrage movement in the early twentieth century was viewed with either polite tolerance or outright scorn and had difficulty winning acceptance among Czech Americans.

WEDDINGS

Traditional Czech weddings were announced by the groom's attendants, who would go from house to house extending the invitations. Food and drink were prepared days in advance. On the day of the wedding, the couple, their parents, and the bridal party would gather for the wedding breakfast. The groom was not allowed to see the bride in her gown until 2:00 in the afternoon, when the sponsor would present the bride and the parents to the groom, admonishing him to be kind, gentle, and worthy, and telling the bride to be moral, obedient, and submissive. After the wedding ceremony, as the guests proceeded to the feast, friends of the couple would stand along the path and tie a ribbon from one side to the other, requesting a donation. This gift was later presented to the couple or was sometimes given to the musicians as a gratuity. At the wedding feast, the bridesmaids would present the guests with sprigs of rosemary, a symbol of fidelity, and a collection would be taken up for the birth of the first child.

BAPTISMS

Preparation for the birth of a child traditionally began even before the wedding, when the bride-to-be would knit a set of white bonnets, boots, jackets, and shawls—sometimes enough for a family of six children—which were then carefully arranged in neat, ribbon-tied bundles and set aside until the arrival of the firstborn. Baptisms occurred a week after birth. They were followed by baptismal parties, where the godfather recited a customary toast and

the godmother presented the gifts. Godparents adhered to their pledge to safeguard the child in the event of the parents' death. Six weeks after the baptism, the baby was taken to the church, where the religious officiant joined with the parents at the altar to say prayers of thanksgiving for the baby's arrival and health.

FUNERALS

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, vigils were still kept in the home, a custom brought over from Europe. The casket might be brought to the home by the undertaker, if the village were prosperous enough to have one; in some villages, the caskets were kept in the general store. Family members would take turns sitting by the side of the deceased, who was waked in the home for a period of days.

On the day of the funeral, the religious officiant came to pray over the coffin with the family. In some rural areas, as in central Texas, businesses might be closed one hour before a funeral. The town bells summoned the townsfolk to the service. After the procession to the cemetery, the family would gather around the grave and sing hymns while the earth was shoveled into the grave. In *My Ántonia*, a novel about the life of a Czech immigrant family on the Nebraska plain, Willa Cather related the superstition that a suicide could not be buried in the cemetery, but only at a crossroads. In populous areas, the Czechs sometimes established their own national cemeteries; Bohemian National Cemetery in Chicago is one example.

After the funeral, not just the surviving husband or wife, but the entire family would observe a period of mourning, usually for several months. Widows observed the custom of wearing black; other family members, children included, were expected to preserve an atmosphere of deep solemnity, neither laughing nor indulging in games or amusement.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

The earliest immigrants settled in proximity to ethnic groups for whom they had a strong affinity. In an important early study on Czech immigration (*The Čechs (Bohemians) in America.*), Thomas Čapek noted that many Czech settlements were located near German settlements (e.g., in St. Louis and Milwaukee) and observed that "the Čechs were drawn to the Germans by a similarity, if not identity, in customs and mode of life." By 1900, intermarriages with other nationalities were more common,

most of them occurring with Germans, but also with Austrians, Hungarians, and Poles.

During World War II, Czech Americans participated in the national American Slav Congress, which convened in Detroit in 1940 and 1942. The war effort brought them closer to other Slavic ethnic groups, particularly to the Poles, an alliance that had its international parallel in a European concord of November 1940, when Czech and Polish refugees living in Europe agreed to establish friendly relations after the conclusion of the war.

RELIGION

Many of the Czechs who immigrated to the United States were Roman Catholic when they arrived. But the Czech immigration movement is unique in that as many as 50 percent of the Czechs immigrants broke their religious ties when they arrived in the United States. Their arrival in this country gave many Czechs an opportunity to sever their relationships with the Roman Catholic Church, an institution that was closely associated with the oppressive Habsburg regime that they had left behind. Some of them were also influenced by movements that questioned all forms of religious dogma.

The first Roman Catholic church was established in St. Louis. According to Kenneth Miller in *The Czech-Slovaks in America*, in 1920, *Katolik*, the official almanac of the Czech Benedictines, listed as many as 338 Roman Catholic parishes and related organizations. Traditionally, the Roman Catholic Church was strong in Texas, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Minnesota and had a greater following in rural than urban areas. Among urban centers, Chicago and St. Louis had the strongest Czech Roman Catholic following. The Roman Catholic Church maintained its following by establishing churches or mission stations, founding benevolent chapters, publishing Catholic periodicals, and opening schools, which included a Czech college and seminary: Illinois Benedictine College (formerly St. Procopius), located in Lisle, Illinois.

In the early part of the twentieth century, approximately two percent of the Czechs living in the United States were Protestant. Unlike the Slovaks, who tended to adhere to the old-world Calvinist and Lutheran denominations, Czech Protestants tended to affiliate with American denominations. Common affiliations were Presbyterian, Methodist, the Bohemian Moravian Brethren, and Congregational. The predominantly high number of Presbyterian adherents was due both to the perceived similarities between the Pres-

byterian Church and the old-world Reformed Church and to early missionary efforts.

The Moravian Brethren, who settled in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, were descendants of the followers of Jan Hus, the initiator of the reform movement. During the persecution of Protestants by the Habsburg dynasty in the seventeenth century, the Moravians, who had converted many German Waldensians living in Moravia, emigrated to Saxony. In time, members of this group, the majority of whom were German, made their way to Pennsylvania, where they purchased a large tract of land from William Penn. The Brethren established a number of schools; in keeping with the precepts of the educator Comenius, who believed in equal education for women, they founded the first American preparatory school for girls in 1742.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many of the Czechs who immigrated to the United States in the late 1850s were farmers or laborers. Of the three classes of Czech peasants who lived in Europe—the *sedlák*, or upper-class farmer, who owned 25-100 acres and a farmhouse; the *chalupník*, or cottager, who owned 5-25 acres and a small cottage; and the *nadeníci*, or day laborer, who dwelt on the nobleman's estate or on the farm of the *sedlák* and owned no property—Czech immigrants to the United States most frequently derived from the middle, or cottager, class. This was probably because the *sedlák* had little to gain by leaving behind his rich farmland, while the *nadeníci* did not have the means to emigrate.

Settlers who came to the Midwest lived in log cabins; those on the plains resided in dugouts and sod houses. With no tools at their disposal, farmers were limited to hard manual labor. In the off-season they focused on survival, migrating to the cities or to the lumber and mining camps to find what work they could.

Occasionally, Czechs specializing in a certain industry—such as the cigar-making industry in New York—had emigrated from a particular region, in this case, Kutna Hora, which was preeminent in the cigar trade. In the 1870s, 95 percent of the Czechs in New York were employed in the cigar-making industry. Working conditions were harsh, and wages poor. Joseph Chada noted that it took the average Czech industrial laborer ten years to attain the economic status of the average American laborer. Many women and children were also employed in these factories.

Urban-dwellers were eager to purchase property. Community-minded and thrifty, the Czechs created the building and loan association, an institution which became one of their most significant contributions to U.S. economic life. The building and loan association, introduced in Chicago in 1873, was a small cooperative agency to which shareholders made minimal weekly contributions with an aim toward eventually purchasing a home. So successful were these agencies that during the Great Depression, when other banks were failing, Czech building and loan associations posted a total of \$32,000,000 in deposits, a substantial figure for that period.

“The factories in the regions of Seventieth street, New York, are filled with Bohemian women and girls employed in the making of cigars.... [They] dread going into the cigar factories. The hygiene is bad, the moral influences are not often the best, and the work is exhausting.”

Jane E. Robbins, “The Bohemian Women in New York,” cited in *The Czechs in America, 1633-1977*, edited by Vera Laska (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1978, p. 111).

By the first half of the twentieth century, Czech businesses were flourishing. Czech breweries (Pilsen and Budweiser are both derived from Czech place names) kept pace with the best German establishments. The Bulova watch company, a Czech enterprise, is an example of a successful, well-established Czech American business. And the character of the Czech labor force was changing as well. By the second generation, among Czech laborers, there was a greater proportion of salesmen, machinists, and white-collar laborers.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Czechs were relatively slow to take part in U.S. political life. By the 1880s, however, Czechs were playing an increasingly active role in government, both at the state and local levels. Most Czechs voted the Democratic ticket, in part because of the perception that the Democrats favored labor. Some Czechs ran successfully for high public office. Charles Jonáš served as senator of Wisconsin in 1883 and as governor of Wisconsin in 1890.

By the 1880s support had grown among Czech American labor for the socialist movement. But in the aftermath of the Haymarket Riot of 1886—a

violent confrontation between labor protesters and police in Haymarket Square in Chicago, initially triggered by the crusade for the eight-hour work day—the movement was forced underground. With the emergence of the American Socialist Party, Czech Americans renewed their membership, many of them recruited by appeals in the ethnic press. By 1910, Czech American socialists numbered approximately 10,000. They reduced their activities during World War I, however, as the concerns of nationalism began to loom over those of internationalism. And as the lifestyle of second- and third-generation Czech Americans improved, they became less concerned with the labor situation. By the 1920s the movement had all but come to a standstill.

The prospect of establishing Czech independence from Austria led Czech Americans fervently to support the Allied cause during World War I. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Czech Americans openly demonstrated their support for the Serbs and rallied for the establishment of an independent Czech homeland. The Czech National Alliance was established in Chicago to provide political and financial support to the Czech cause in Europe. Also characteristic of this period was the willingness of the Czech American community to band together with the Slovak American community to establish a common political framework that would unite Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia under a single government. On October 25, 1915, the Czechs and Slovaks met in Cleveland to agree on such a program. In April 1917, the Czechs succeeded in gaining the introduction of resolutions in Congress supporting the establishment of an independent European homeland.

Czech Americans also played an active role in supporting the cause of Czechoslovakia during World War II. During the Munich Crisis, Czechs organized a protest rally of 65,000 at Chicago Stadium. The war efforts of Czech Americans were coordinated primarily by the Czechoslovak National Council. In addition to publishing *News Flashes from Czechoslovakia*, with a circulation of 5,000-105,000, the council aided soldiers and refugees who participated in the Allied campaign. Czech Americans effectively used propaganda to direct world attention to the Nazi massacre of the village of Lidice.

After the Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia, Czechs were admitted to the United States under the American Displaced Persons Act. The Czechoslovak National Council assisted these individuals in their struggle to regain their homeland, primarily through the publication of anti-Communist propaganda. In addition to requesting that members of the Czech

American community sign affidavits that would assist refugees in obtaining shelter and employment, on June 3, 1949, the Council presented a memorandum to President Harry Truman, asking that the United States push for United Nations-sponsored free elections in Czechoslovakia.

MILITARY

Czech Americans on the whole were opposed to slavery and therefore supported the North during the U.S. Civil War, serving at Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, and Bull Run. Many of those living in the Confederacy (primarily in Texas) avoided conscription into the Southern army at enormous cost to their lives, hiding in the woods or swamps or serving as drivers on perilous journeys to Mexico.

Czech Americans in the First World War either served in the Czechoslovak Army on the Western Front (if they were immigrants) or enlisted as draftees in the U.S. Army. Approximately 2,300 Czech immigrants served in European Czech contingents. During World War II Czech American loyalties were divided between providing active military service to their country and providing moral support to the Czech community in Europe, both duties which they admirably fulfilled. They also made a financial contribution to the war effort by investing substantially in war loans.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Aleš Hrdlička (1869-1943), curator of the physical anthropology division at the Smithsonian Institution, developed the theory that Native Americans migrated to North America from Asia across the Bering land bridge and did extensive research on Neanderthal man. Jaroslav Pelikan (1923–) is the author of the five-volume *The Christian Tradition*, an authoritative work on the history of Christian doctrine. Francis Dvorník (1893-1975) was a noted Byzantine scholar affiliated with the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. Managed by Harvard University, the center is located in Washington, D.C.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Miloš Forman (1932–), who immigrated to the United States in 1969, won Academy Awards for best direction for *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*

(1975) and *Amadeus* (1984). Actress Kim Novak (1933), who made her screen debut in 1954, starred in such films as *Pal Joey* and *Boys Night Out*. Television and screen actor Tom Selleck (1945–) is best known for his role in the television series “Magnum P.I.” (1980-1988). John Kriza (1919-1975) was a ballet dancer who performed with the American Ballet Theater and the Chicago Opera Ballet.

JOURNALISM

Charles Jonáš (1840-1896), who served in the Wisconsin state legislature, founded *Pokrok* (Progress), an anticlerical weekly. In 1869 Frank Kořízek (1820- 1899) established the weekly *Slowan Amerikánský* in Iowa City. Lev J. Palda (1847-1912), the founder of Czech American socialism, established the first Czech social-democratic or socialist newspaper, *Národní noviny* (*National Newspaper*), in St. Louis, Missouri. Josephine Humpal-Zeman (1870-1906), an important figure in the women's suffrage movement, founded the *Ženská Listy* (*Woman's Gazette*).

LITERATURE

René Wellek (1903–), a member of the Prague Linguistic Circle, settled in the United States in 1939, where he established the field of comparative literature at Yale University. Bartoš Bittner (1861-1912) was an essayist and political satirist. Paul Albieri (1861-1901) wrote stories of military life.

MUSIC

The composer Antonin Dvořák (1842-1904) lived in the United States from 1892 to 1895, where he wrote the *New World Symphony*, a piece inspired by American folk motifs, particularly Native American rhythms and African-American melodies. Rafael Kubelík (1914–), son of the violinist Jan Kubelík, studied music at the Prague Conservatory and conducted the Czech Philharmonic (1936-39, 1942-48) and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1950-53). In 1973-74 he was musical director of the Metropolitan Opera. Bohuslav Martinu (1890-1950), a contemporary composer whose music exhibits French and Czech influences, wrote the *Double Concerto* (1940), an expression of grief at the partition of Czechoslovakia. Jarmila Novotna Dauberk (1907-1993) was an opera singer with the Metropolitan Opera Company who studied under the renowned Czech opera singer Emmy Destinn; she also performed at the Salzburg Festival and the National Theater in Prague. Ardis Krainik (1929–)

is general director of the Lyric Opera in Chicago. The pianist Rudolf Firkušný (1912-1993) made his first appearance with the Czech Philharmonic in 1922 and played with numerous orchestras in the United States, including those in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit.

PUBLIC LIFE

Ray Kroc (1902-1984), founder of McDonald's restaurants, was a pioneer in the establishment of the fast-food industry. Francis Korbel (1830-1920), who entered the United States inognito to avoid an arrest warrant, purchased redwood forest in northern California and established the Korbel winery. Louis D. Brandeis (1856-1941), descended from a Jewish family that immigrated to the United States in 1849, became the first Jewish Supreme Court Justice (1916-39). He helped to draft the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, issued in 1918. Anton Joseph Cermak (1873-1933), a mayor of Chicago who established Illinois as a stronghold of support for Franklin D. Roosevelt, was killed in Miami by an assassin intending to kill President Roosevelt. Eugene A. Cernan (1934-) was copilot on the Gemini 9 mission, lunar module pilot of the Apollo 10 mission, and spacecraft commander of Apollo 17. James Lovell (1928-) served on the Apollo 8 mission, the first manned flight around the moon.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Biochemists Gerty Cori (1896-1957) and Carl Cori (1896-1984) won the 1946 Nobel Prize for physiology or medicine, for their studies on sugar metabolism. The physician Joseph Goldberger (1874-1929) discovered a cure for pellagra, which he correctly attributed to diet deficiency, against the prevailing view that it was due to infection. Frederick George Novy (1864-1957) made important contributions to the field of microbiology. Joseph Murgaš (1864-1930) was a pioneer in wireless technology who, although never able to amass sufficient resources to carry out his research, shared research with Guglielmo Marconi that contributed to the invention and patenting of the device.

SPORTS

George Halas (1895-1983) was founder and owner of the Chicago Bears football team. As head coach he led his team to seven championship seasons. Jack Root (1876-1963) was the first world champion lightweight boxer in 1903. Stan Musial (1920-)

was an outstanding baseball hitter and outfielder with the St. Louis Cardinals who won seven batting championships. Martina Navratilova (1956-) dominated women's tennis in the 1970s and 1980s, winning the U.S. Open and Wimbledon numerous times and becoming only the fifth person in history to win the Grand Slam. Ivan Lendl (1960-) has likewise dominated men's tennis in the 1980s, winning the U.S. Open in 1985 and the Australian Open in 1989. Stan Mikita (1940-) was an outstanding hockey center with the Chicago Blackhawks, with 541 career goals.

VISUAL ARTS

Andy Warhol (1927-87) was an artist and filmmaker whose name is particularly associated with the Pop art movement. He is perhaps most famous for his paintings of mass-produced images of consumer goods, such as the Campbell's soup can. Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939) was an Art Nouveau decorative artist, recognized for his posters promoting the actress Sarah Bernhardt.

MEDIA

PRINT

Hlas Národa (Voice of the Nation).

Publishes items related to religious and political topics and events in both the United States and the Czech Republic.

Contact: Vojtech Vit, Editor.

Address: 2340 South 61st Avenue, Cicero, Illinois 60650-2608.

Telephone: (708) 656-1050.

Hospodar.

Prints general news, letters, and features on farm topics.

Contact: Jan Vaculik, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 301, West, Texas 76691.

Nedelni Hlasatel (Czechoslovak Herald).

Subtitled "The Oldest Czechoslovak Newspaper in the World." General interest newspaper published in Czech, English, and Slovak.

Contact: Josef Kucera, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 5906 West 26th Street, Cicero, Illinois 60804.

Telephone: (708) 863-1891.

Fax: (708) 863-1893.

RADIO

KMIL-AM (1330).

Broadcasts eight hours weekly in Czech.

Contact: Joe Smitherman.

Address: Drawer 832, Cameron, Texas 76520.

Telephone: (817) 697-6633.

Fax: (254) 697-6330.

E-mail: kmil@nstar.net.

Online: <http://www.kmil.com>.

WCEV-AM (1450).

"Czechoslovak Sunday Radio Hour" in Chicago is a weekly one-hour broadcast in Czech.

Contact: Diana Migala.

Address: 5356 West Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60641-4103.

Telephone: (773) 282-6700.

Fax: (773) 282-0123 .

WRMR-AM (850).

"Czech Voice of Cleveland" broadcasts in Czech on Sunday, 11:00 to 12:00 p.m.

Contact: Thomas J. Embrescia.

Address: 1 Radio Lane, Cleveland, Ohio 44114.

Telephone: (216) 696-0123.

Fax: (216) 566-0764.

E-mail: wdok102@aol.com.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Sokol Educational and Physical Culture Organization (ASEPCO).

Founded in 1865, ASEPCO is a physical fitness organization for children and adults of all ages, with 8,500 adult members and 8,000 gymnasts. It sponsors gymnastic meets and competitions, clinics, workshops, and schools; conducts educational activities; and offers lectures and films.

Contact: Mildred Mentzer, Secretary.

Address: 6424 South Cermak Road, Berwyn, Illinois 60402.

Telephone: (708) 795-6671.

Fax: (708) 795-0539.

E-mail: asosokol@mcs.com.

CSA - Fraternal Life (Ceskoslovenské spolky americké).

Founded in 1854, CSA is a fraternal benefit life insurance society that hosts contests, including a Miss National CSA competition; bestows awards;

and coordinates scholarship programs. The CSA also maintains a museum, biographical archives, and a library of Czech books and periodicals.

Contact: Vera A. Wilt, President.

Address: 122 West 22nd, Oak Brook, Illinois 60523-1557.

Telephone: (630) 472-0500.

Fax: (630) 472-1100.

Czech Catholic Union (CCU).

Founded in 1879, the CSU is a Catholic fraternal benefit life insurance society that makes an annual donation to the Holy Family Cancer Home, bestows awards, participates in local civic and cultural events, and provides services for children.

Contact: Mary Ann Mahoney, President.

Address: 5349 Dolloff Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44127.

Telephone: (216) 341-0444.

Fax: (216) 341-0711.

Czech Heritage Foundation.

Individuals interested in Czechoslovak heritage and culture. Purpose is to foster interest in Czechoslovak culture, heritage, language, and the collection of artifacts of Czechoslovak origin, especially in the Cedar Rapids area.

Contact: Russell Novotny, President.

Address: P.O. Box 761, Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52406.

Telephone: (319) 365-0868.

Czechoslovak Genealogical Society International (CGSI).

Founded in 1988, CGSI supports research in Czechoslovakian culture and genealogy, hosts workshops, and maintains a research library. Publishes a quarterly newsletter, *Nase rodina* and a journal entitled, *Rocenka*.

Contact: Mark Bigaouette.

Address: P.O. Box 16225, St. Paul, Minnesota 55116-0225.

Telephone: (612) 595-7799.

E-mail: cgsi@aol.com.

Online: <http://www.cgsi.org>.

Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (CSAS).

Founded in 1958. CSAS sponsors lectures, concerts, and exhibitions. It promotes the activities of professors, writers, artists, and scientists interested in Czech or Slovak concerns.

Contact: Dr. Vera Ulbrecht, Secretary General.

Address: 1703 Mark Lane, Rockville, Maryland
20852-4106.
Telephone: (301) 279-2498.
Fax: (301) 279-8973.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Czechoslovak Heritage Museum and Library.
Founded in 1854, the museum houses a large collection of books, periodicals, and historic documents, as well as costumes, dolls, and antiques.

Contact: Dagmar Bradac.
Address: 2701 South Harlem Avenue, Berwyn,
Illinois 60402.
Telephone: (708) 795-5800.

Moravian Historical Society.
Hosts guided tours through its collection of art and artifacts on the history of the Moravian Church. The museum also exhibits paintings by John Valentine Haidt, as well as early musical instruments.

Contact: Rev. Charles Zichman, President.
Address: 214 East Center Street, Nazareth,
Pennsylvania 18064.
Telephone: (215) 754-5070.

**National Czech and Slovak Museum
and Library.**
Located in the restored home of a Czech immigrant, this museum preserves national costumes, as well as porcelain ethnic dolls, handwork, wood-carved items, paintings, prints, maps, and farm tools. There is also a library with reference materials and oral history videotapes.

Contact: John Dusek.
Address: P.O. Box 5398, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
52406-5398.
Telephone: (319) 362-8500.

The Western Fraternal Life Association.
Houses a library and archives and sponsors educational lectures on Czech language and culture.

Contact: Charles H. Vyskocil.
Address: 1900 First Avenue, N.E., Cedar Rapids,
Iowa 52402.

Wilber Czech Museum.
Maintains a collection of dolls, dishes, murals, pictures, laces, costumes, and replicas of early homes and businesses.

Contact: Irma Ourecky, Chairman.
Address: 102 West Third Street, Wilber,
Nebraska 68465.
Telephone: (402) 821-2183.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Čapek, Thomas. *The Čechs (Bohemians) in America.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920.

Chada, Joseph. *The Czechs in the United States.* Chicago: SVU Press, 1981.

Dvornik, Francis. *Czech Contributions to the Growth of the United States.* Washington, D.C., 1961.

Habenicht, Jan. *History of Czechs in America.* St. Paul, Minnesota: Czechoslovak Genealogical Society International 1996.

Laska, Vera. *The Czechs in America, 1633-1977.* Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1978.

Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Minnesota. *The Bohemian Flats.* St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986.

DANISH AMERICANS

by
John Mark Nielsen and
Peter L. Petersen

The majority of the
Danes who
immigrated to the
United States looked
to agriculture for
a livelihood.

OVERVIEW

Denmark is geographically the southernmost of the Nordic nations, which also include Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. Its land mass includes Jutland, a peninsula extending north from Germany, and more than 480 islands. Denmark consists of 16,630 square miles (43,094 sq. km.). With the exception of its 42-mile southern border with Germany, Denmark is surrounded by water. Sweden lies to the east across the Oresund, a narrow body of water that links the North and Baltic Seas; Norway lies to the north; and the North Sea to the west. Denmark has nearly 4,500 miles of coastline, and no part of the nation is more than 30 miles from the sea. Denmark also possesses Greenland, the world's largest island, and the Faeroe Islands, both of which are semiautonomous. Denmark means "field of the Danes." The Danish national flag, the oldest national banner in the world, is a white cross on a red field. Legend has it that the banner, called *Dannebrog*, descended from the heavens in the midst of a battle between the Danes and the Estonians on June 15, 1219.

Although the smallest of the Nordic countries in terms of land mass, Denmark, with 5.2 million people, is second in population after Sweden. The Danish people are among the most homogeneous in the world. Almost all Danes are of Nordic stock, and most are members of the Lutheran church. In 1990 foreigners made up less than 2.5 percent of the

population. Because of the ancient practice called patronymics, whereby Peter, the son of Jens, became Peter Jensen, many Danes have the same surname. Although a government decree in 1856 ended patronymics, some 60 percent of all present day Danish names end in “sen” with Jensen and Nielsen being the most common. Approximately one out of every four Danes lives in the capital of Copenhagen (*København*) and its suburbs on the eastern island of Sealand. Other major cities include Århus, Odense, and Ålborg. The country’s official language is Danish, but many Danes, especially the young, also speak English and German.

HISTORY

It was not until the Viking Era of the ninth and tenth centuries that Danes, along with Swedes and Norwegians—collectively known as Norsemen or Vikings—had a significant impact upon world history. Sailing in their magnificent ships, Vikings traveled west to North America, south to the Mediterranean, and east to the Caspian Sea. They plundered, conquered, traded, and colonized. For a brief period in the eleventh century, a Danish king ruled England and Norway.

While Vikings roamed far and wide, those Danes who stayed at home cleared fields, built villages, and gradually created a nation. After a king with the colorful name of Harald Bluetooth (d. 985) was baptized in circa 965, Christianity began to spread across Denmark. Many Vikings encountered the religion on their voyages and were receptive to it. The current Queen of Denmark, Margrethe II (1940–), traces her sovereignty back to Harald’s father, Gorm the Old (d. 950), thus making Denmark one of the oldest monarchies in the world. Slowly the forces of Crown and Church helped make Denmark a major power in northern Europe. Under the leadership of Margrethe I (1353-1412), Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were joined in 1397 in the Kalmar Union. Eventually, the growth of nationalism led Sweden to abandon the union in 1523, but Norway and Denmark remained allied until 1814. Like much of Europe in the early sixteenth century, Denmark struggled with the religious and political issues set in motion by the Protestant Reformation. In 1536 King Christian III defeated the forces of Roman Catholicism, and Denmark embraced Lutheranism.

Growing rivalry with Sweden and various rulers along the north German coast created new problems for Denmark, but the greatest international disaster to befall the country came during the Napoleonic Wars (1804-1814) when an ill-fated alliance with

France left the nation bankrupt and Norway lost to Sweden. New threats to Danish territory soon followed from the south. After decades of intrigue and diplomatic maneuvering, Denmark and Prussia went to war in 1864 over the status of the Danish-ruled Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The Prussians quickly gained the upper hand and Denmark was forced to surrender both Duchies. This meant a loss of about 40 percent of its territory and more than 30 percent of its population. This defeat reduced Denmark to the smallest size in its history and dashed any remaining dreams of international power.

The nineteenth century was also a time of great domestic change for Denmark. A liberal constitution, which took effect June 5, 1849, brought to an end centuries of absolute monarchy. Danes could now form political parties, elect representatives to a parliament, and were guaranteed freedom of religion, assembly, and speech. The country also underwent an economic revolution. Danish farmers found it difficult to compete with the low-priced grains offered in European markets by American and Russian exports and increasingly turned to dairy and pork production. The growth of industry attracted many job-hungry Danes to developing urban centers. But agricultural change and the rise of industrialism were not enough to stop rising discontent and eventually one out of every ten Danes felt compelled to emigrate; most traveled to the United States.

MODERN ERA

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century Denmark pursued a policy of neutrality in international affairs. While this policy enabled the country to remain a non-belligerent in World War I (1914-1918), it did not prevent a German occupation during much of World War II (1939-1945). It was during this occupation that the Danish people won the admiration of much of the world by rescuing 7,200 of some 7,800 Danish Jews from Nazi forces in 1943. After World War II, Denmark moved away from neutrality, and in 1949, it joined with the United States, Canada, and nine other European nations to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a pact aimed at containing the expansion of the Soviet Union. In 1973 Denmark became the first and thus far the only Scandinavian country to join the European Economic Community (EEC).

The twentieth century also witnessed great economic and social change. Danish agriculture became more specialized and moved toward increased exports while industrial development transformed most urban areas. Denmark gradually

became a prosperous nation, and with the development of a welfare system which provides education, health care, and social security from cradle to grave, its citizens now enjoy one of the highest living standards in the world. Since 1972, Queen Margrethe II has presided over this small, peaceful, and civilized land whose character is best symbolized by its most famous author, Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875), a writer of fairy tales with profound psychological depths, and by one of its modern exports—the small, colorful plastic bricks called Lego.

THE FIRST DANES IN AMERICA

Although it is clear that Vikings reached the coast of Newfoundland early in the eleventh century, it is impossible to determine if there were any Danes among these early voyagers. Jens Munk (1579-1628), a Danish explorer, reached North America in 1619, 12 years after the English first settled at Jamestown. The Danish king, Christian IV (1577-1648), had sent Munk to find a trade route to the Orient via the Northwest Passage. With two ships and 65 men, Munk reached Hudson Bay before winter halted his exploration. Near the mouth of the Churchill River, members of the expedition celebrated a traditional Danish Christmas—the first Lutheran Christmas service in North America. Another Danish explorer, Vitus Jonassen Bering (1681-1741), discovered in 1728 that a narrow body of water separated the North American and Asian continents. Today this strait is named the Bering Sea in his honor. Bering also was the first European to find Alaska in 1741.

Other Danes sought warmer climes. In 1666 the Danish West Indies Company took possession of the island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean. Eventually, Danes took control of nearby St. John (1717) and St. Croix (1733). Danish planters imported slaves from Africa; raised cotton, tobacco, and sugar on the islands; and engaged in a lively commerce with England's North American colonies and, later, the United States. In 1792, Denmark became the first country to abolish the slave trade in overseas possessions. Denmark sold the islands, today called the Virgin Islands, to the United States in 1917 for \$25 million.

Individual Danish immigrants reached North America early in the seventeenth century. By the 1640s approximately 50 percent of the 1,000 people living in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands (later New York) were Danes. It has long been believed that Jonas Bronck—for whom the borough of the Bronx was named—was a Dane, but recent research suggests that he may have been a Swede. After 1750 several Danish families who were mem-

bers of a religious denomination called the Moravian Brethren immigrated to Pennsylvania where they settled among German Moravians in the Bethlehem area.

Most Danish immigrants to North America from colonial times until 1850 were single men, and quickly blended into the general population. Rarely, with few exceptions, does the name of a Danish immigrant appear in the historical annals of this period. Hans Christian Febiger or Fibiger (1749-1796), often called "Old Denmark," was one of George Washington's most trusted officers during the American Revolution. Charles Zanco (1808-1836) gained a degree of immortality by dying at the Alamo in March 1836 during the struggle for Texan independence. A Danish flag stands today in one corner of the Alamo Chapel as a reminder of Zanco's sacrifice. Peter Lassen (1800-1859), a blacksmith from Copenhagen, led a group of adventurers from Missouri to California in 1839, establishing a trail soon to be followed by "forty-niners." Lassen is considered one of the most important of California's early settlers. Today a volcano in northern California, a California county, and a national park bear his name.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Between 1820 and 1850, the number of Danes entering the United States averaged only about 60 each year. But soon this trickle became a steady stream. From 1820 to 1990, more than 375,000 Danes came to the United States, the vast majority arriving between 1860 and 1930. The peak year was 1882, when 11,618 Danes entered the country. Converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) represent the first significant wave of Danish immigrants to America. Mormon missionaries from Utah arrived in Denmark in 1850, only months after the Constitution of 1849 granted the Danish people religious freedom. Between 1849 and 1904, when Mormons stopped recruiting immigrants, some 17,000 Danish converts and their children made the hazardous journey to the Mormon Zion in Utah, making Danes second only to British in number of foreigners recruited by the church to the state. Many of these Danes settled in the small farming communities of Sanpete and Sevier counties, south of Salt Lake City; today these counties rank second and fifth respectively among all the counties in the United States in terms of percent of Danish ancestry in their population.

Another source of sizable Danish emigration was the Schleswig area of Jutland. As noted earlier, Denmark had been forced to surrender Schleswig to

Prussia in 1864. Some 150,000 residents of North Schleswig were thoroughly Danish and many bitterly resented their area's new status. After Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, became Emperor of Germany in 1871, the policy of Prussia in Slesvig was essentially that of Germany. This meant the abolition of the Danish language in the schools and the conscription of young Danish men for the German military. Between 1864 and 1920, when North Schleswig was returned to Denmark as a result of a plebiscite following Germany's defeat in World War I, some 50,000 North Slesvigers immigrated to the United States. Ironically, most of these Danes appear in census statistics as immigrants from Germany rather than Denmark.

Most Danes who immigrated to the United States after 1865 were motivated more by economic than religious or political motives. Like much of nineteenth-century Europe, Denmark experienced a steep rise in population. Better nutrition and medical care had produced a sharp decline in infant mortality, and Denmark's population rose from approximately 900,000 in 1800 to over 2,500,000 by 1910. Denmark's economy was unable to absorb much of this increase, and the result was the rise of restless and dissatisfied elements within the population. For these people, migration to a nearby city or to America appeared to offer the only chance for a better life. Many used the Homestead Act or other generous land policies to become farmers in the United States. The work of emigration agents, often employed by steamship companies and American railroads with land to sell, and a steady stream of American letters (some containing pre-paid tickets) from earlier immigrants, stimulated the exodus. During the 1870s almost half of all Danish immigrants to the United States traveled in family groups, but by the 1890s family immigration made up only 25 percent of the total. Perhaps more than ten percent of these later immigrants, largely single and male, would eventually return to Denmark.

SETTLEMENT

By 1900 a Danish belt of settlement had spread from Wisconsin across northern Illinois and southern Minnesota and into Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota. The largest concentration of these settlers was in western Iowa where today the adjacent counties of Audubon and Shelby rank first and third respectively in the United States in percentage of population with Danish ancestry. Communities with Danish names—Viborg and Thisted in South Dakota; Dannebrog and Nysted, Nebraska; and Ringsted, Iowa—attest to the role of Danes in settling the Midwest.

As the midwestern and eastern Great Plains began to fill with settlers, a variety of immigrant leaders and organizations sought to establish Danish agricultural colonies elsewhere by arranging for land companies to restrict sales in specific tracts to Danes. The *Dansk Folkesamfund* (Danish Folk Society) sponsored several of these colonies, including settlements at Tyler, Minnesota, in 1886; Danevang, Texas, 1894; Askov, Minnesota, 1905; Dagmar, Montana, 1906; and Solvang, California, 1911. Similar colonies were established in Mississippi, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Alberta, Canada. Most of these colonies were quite small and eventually blended into the surrounding community. An exception is Solvang, 45 miles north of Santa Barbara, which has become a major tourist attraction and bills itself today as "A Quaint Danish Village."

Not all Danish emigrants sought land; a significant minority settled in American cities. Chicago led the way in 1900 with over 11,000 Danish-born residents while New York counted 5,621. Omaha, Nebraska, and its neighboring city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, also had sizable Danish populations. Smaller concentrations of Danes could be found in Racine, Wisconsin (the city with the highest percentage of Danes among its population), the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and in San Francisco. By 1930 political and economic reform in Denmark, along with the closing of the American farming frontier, brought this wave of immigration to an end.

The latest wave of immigrants came during the 1950s and the 1960s when some 25,000 Danes, mostly highly educated young professionals, moved to the United States where they settled in major cities, particularly New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Historians agree that the Danes were among the most easily acculturated and assimilated of all American ethnic groups. A variety of studies indicate that in comparison to other immigrants Danes were more likely to speak English, become naturalized citizens, and marry outside their nationality. Several factors explain the relative ease of Danish assimilation. In comparison to people from many other countries, the number of Danish immigrants to the United States was quite small. In the census of 1990, 1,634,669 Americans listed Danish as their ancestry group. This represents only 0.7 percent of

These Danish Americans are sampling the food at a 1995 ethnic festival.



the total population of 248,709,873. Even in Iowa, which had more Danish American residents than any other state from 1890 to 1920, people born in Denmark made up little more than two percent of the total population. Danes were generally literate and understood the democratic process, were Protestant in their religion, and easily blended with the majority northern and western European majority. Because Danes offered little challenge to the more established Americans, they seldom encountered resistance.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Danes have a variety of traditions and customs that have been adapted or preserved in Danish American society. Everyday life customs include men and women shaking hands with everyone when entering or leaving a group. Danes and Danish Americans take great pleasure in setting a proper table and following a proper etiquette. This often means using fine Danish porcelain from one of the two famous Danish porcelain makers, Royal Copenhagen or Bing and Grøndahl. Being a guest requires that one

bring flowers for the hostess. When a guest meets the host or hostess shortly after being entertained, the proper greeting is *Tak for sidst* (“tuck for seest”)—Thanks for the last time.

Entertaining and tradition merge in the many customs surrounding Christmas. Because of the dark Scandinavian winter nights, Christmas, with its message of hope, light, and love, is especially welcomed and celebrated in Denmark. Danish Christmas customs are also celebrated by Danish Americans. December begins with baking. No home is without at least seven different kinds of Christmas cookies. These treats are shared with guests, and it is customary to take decorated plates of cookies to friends and relatives. This custom is the origin of the well known porcelain Danish Christmas plates that can be found in many homes.

The celebration of Christmas culminates on Christmas Eve, a holiday traditionally shared with close family. Usually the family attends church in the late afternoon and then returns to a feast of roast goose and all the trimmings. A special dessert is prepared: “*risengrød*” (reesingroidth), a rice pudding in which one whole almond is placed. The person who

discovers the almond will have good luck throughout the coming year. After dinner, the family sees the decorated Christmas tree for the first time. It is lit with candles and decorated with paper cuttings of angels, woven straw ornaments, heart-shaped baskets, and strings of Danish flags. In Danish American homes, the tree is decorated earlier and lit with electric lights. The family joins hands and dances around the tree, singing favorite carols. Gifts are exchanged, and the family enjoys coffee and cookies. To assure happiness and good fortune, before the family goes to bed it is important to take a bowl of porridge to the *nisse* (“nisa”)—the mythical little people of Denmark who inhabit the lofts and attics of homes.

CUISINE

Danes love to eat, and often do so six times a day. This includes morning and afternoon coffee and cookies and *natmad* (“nat-madth”), a snack eaten before going to bed. Many Danish Americans continue this routine. A Danish breakfast consists of an array of breads, cheeses, jellies, and plenty of butter. This is often topped off with pastry that in no way resembles what has come to be known in America as a “Danish.” This pastry is baked fresh, with flaky, golden brown crust, and rich fillings.

Lunch often includes open-faced sandwiches or *smørrebrød* (“smoorbroidth”). These are artfully created to be both a feast for eye and palate. Combinations include: sliced, smoked beef, fried onions and a mayonnaise topping; carrots and peas mixed with mayonnaise topped with mushrooms; par-boiled egg slices topped with anchovies or smoked eel; and a children’s favorite, liverpaste and slices of pickled red beets, which is eaten like peanut butter and jelly sandwiches in the United States. Beer, *sodavand* (“soda-van”)—soda, and coffee are popular beverages.

The most important and time-consuming meal of the day is *middag* (“mid-da”)—midday, though it is eaten in the evening. Danes linger for at least an hour over this meal. *Middag* might include stuffed pork, fish (often plaice or cod) or *frikadeller* (“fre-kadella”)—Danish meatballs of pork, beef, flour, and egg. Inevitably, the meal would also include *brunede kartofler* (“bru’-na-the car-tof-ler”)—potatoes browned in butter and sugar; *rødkål* (“roidth-coal”)—red cabbage; marinated fresh cucumbers; beer or a glass of red wine; and a dessert of cookies and fruit pudding, *rød grød med fløde*.

Other popular Danish dishes served in Danish American communities are: *rullepølse* (“rol’-la-pool-sa”)—spiced, pressed veal; *medisterpølse* (“ma-dis’-ta-poolsa”)—pork sausage; *sød suppe* (“sooth

soopa”)—sweet soup made with fruit; *æbleskiver* (“able skeever”)—Danish pancake balls; and *kringler* (“cringla”)—almond filled pastry.

Danes and Danish Americans welcome any excuse for gathering together and eating. Formal dinners are held at Christmas, confirmations, wedding anniversaries and “round” birthdays—birthdays that can be divided by ten. Formal dinners normally last at least four to five hours and include toasts, light-hearted speeches, singing, and much conversation.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

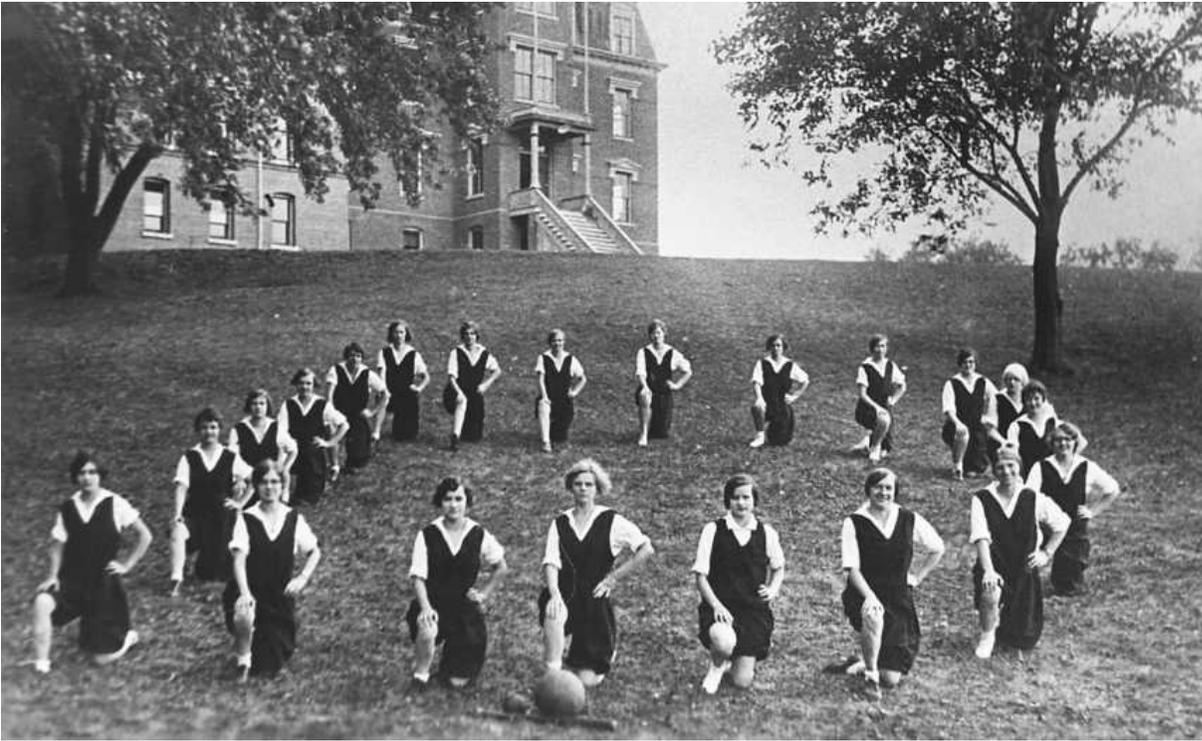
Danish peasant costumes were colorful, yet practical. A woman’s costume consisted of headdress, scarf, outer bodice, knitted jacket, apron, shift, and leather shoes with clasps of silver or pewter. The scarf was often embroidered in bright colors of red and yellow on one side and with more somber, mourning colors on the other so that it could be reversed depending on the occasion. The cut and design of headdress, scarf, and apron reflected regional identities. Men wore hats or caps, a kirtle or knee-length coat, shirt, waistcoat, trousers, woolen stockings, and shoes or high boots. By the 1840s, these folk costumes of rural Denmark became a thing of the past. On special occasions in the Danish American community, some will dress in “traditional” costumes, but these often reflect a nostalgic recreation of the past rather than a true authenticity.

DANCES AND SONGS

Danish folk dancing mirrors other northern European countries with both spirited and courtly dances. On the Faeroe Islands, a stately line dance dates back to the time of the Vikings. Singing is a part of many Danish and Danish American gatherings. Popular are songs from the period of Danish Romanticism (1814-1850), which celebrate former national greatness or the gently rolling Danish countryside. The two Danish national anthems capture these important themes: “*Kong Christian stod ved højen mast*” (King Christian Stood by Lofty Mast) by Johannes Ewald (1743-1781) and “*Der er et yndigt land*” (There is a Lovely Land) by Adam Oehlenschläger (1779-1850).

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Danish immigrants often interacted first with other Scandinavians and with the German American community. Because they shared beliefs, attitudes,



Danish immigrants and their daughters form the shape of a “D” at Dana College in Blair, Nebraska. “Dana” is the poetic name of Denmark.

and general customs similar to the dominant culture in America, they made the transition to life in the United States without having to change many of their traditions.

LANGUAGE

Danish is a North Germanic language closely related to Norwegian and Swedish, and is also related to the West Germanic languages, including German and English. Contemporary Danish has adopted many English and American words such as weekend, handicap, film, and hamburger. Danish, however, has also had an influence on English. When Danish Vikings settled in England in the ninth century and established the Danelaw, many of their words became a part of English. Examples are: by, fellow, hit, law, sister, take, thrive, and want. The English town of Rugby is Danish for “rye town,” and the word “bylaw” means “town law.” Modern Danish has three vowels not found in English: “æ” (pronounced as a drawn-out “ei” in eight); “ø” (pronounced as “oi” in coil or as “oo” in cool), and “å,” formerly spelled “aa” (pronounced as “o” in or).

There is a popular saying among Danes that “Danish is not a language at all; it’s a throat disease.” Unlike the other Scandinavian languages, Danish makes use of the guttural “r” and the glottal stop, a sound produced by a momentary closure of the back of the throat followed by a quick release. The language is not as melodic as Norwegian or Swedish. Danes or Danish Americans challenge people who do not speak the language to say the

name of a popular dessert, a fruit pudding made from raspberries or currants called, *rød grød med fløde* (“roidth groidth meth floodthe”)—literally: red gruel with cream. The guttural “r”s and the “ø” sound, made deep in the back of the throat, make this phrase virtually impossible to say for someone who does not speak Danish.

Because the Danish language is similar to English in syntax and the use of regular and irregular verbs, Danish immigrants did not have as much difficulty learning English as many other immigrants did. Almost all Danish immigrants were literate when they arrived, which also contributed to rapid linguistic assimilation.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Though Danes quickly acquired English, many phrases and expressions remain popular and are understood within the Danish American community. Common greetings and other expressions include: *goddag* (“go’-day”)—good day; *godmorgen* (“go’-mo’-ren”)—good morning; *godaften* (“go’-af-ten”)—good evening; *farvel* (“fa’-vel”)—goodbye; *på gensyn* (“po gen-soon”)—see you later; *værsgo* (“vairs-go”)—please; or, would you be so kind?; *til lykke* (“til looka”)—congratulations; *tak* (“tuck”)—thanks; *mange tak* (“monga tuck”)—many thanks; *velkommen* (“vel-komin”)—welcome; *glædelig jul* (“gla-le yool”)—Merry Christmas; *godt nytår* (“got newt’-or”)—Happy New Year. When toasting each other, the Danes, like other Scandinavians, use the word *skål* (“skoal”) which literally means “bowl.”

One popular tradition suggests that the expression was used when Vikings celebrated victory by drinking from the skulls of their enemy. A more civilized Danish word for which there is no exact English equivalent is *hyggelig* (“hoo’-ga-le”). *Hyggelig* describes a warm, cozy environment in which friends eat, drink and converse.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Education has played an important role in the Danish American community. A significant early influence were folk high schools. Inspired by the writings of Bishop Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872)—a Danish poet, pastor and educator—these schools offered an education that sought to instill a love of learning in its students, though they offered no diplomas and no tests or grades were given. Folk schools were established in Elk Horn, Iowa (1878-1899); Ashland, Michigan (1882-1888); West Denmark, Wisconsin (1884); Nysted, Nebraska (1887-1934); Tyler, Minnesota (1888-1935); Kenmare, North Dakota (1902-1916); and Solvang, California (1910-1931). Because the educational philosophy differed from many American institutions, folk high schools eventually ceased to exist. Grundtvig’s philosophy lives on in adult education programs and in the work of the Highlander Research and Education Center in Tennessee which played an important role in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Elderhostel, a popular program offering one-week educational experiences on college and university campuses for senior citizens, has roots in the folk high school experience and the thoughts of Grundtvig. Two liberal arts colleges founded by Danish Americans are Dana College in Blair, Nebraska, and Grand View College, in Des Moines, Iowa.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to Christmas, many Danish Americans celebrate *Grundlovsdag*, or Constitution Day on June 5, marking the date in 1849 when the modern Danish state was born. An unusual celebration held on the fourth of July in Denmark and attended by many Danish Americans is *Rebildfest*. It was begun by Danish Americans in 1912 and is billed as the largest celebration of American independence held outside the United States.

RELIGION

With the exception of the Mormons in Utah and small numbers of Methodists, Baptists, and Seventh Day Adventists, most Danish immigrants were Lutheran and at least nominal members of the *Folkekirke*, the Danish National Church. After the adoption of the liberal constitution of 1849, the Church of Denmark was no longer a state church; however, it has always been state-supported. For many years there was no established Danish Lutheran organization in the United States, and those immigrants who were religiously inclined frequently worshiped with Norwegian or Swedish Lutherans. Eventually two clergymen from Denmark and some laymen met in Neenah, Wisconsin, in 1872 and organized what became the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. The church faced many difficulties, including slow growth. By one estimate, only about one out of every ten Danish immigrants joined a Danish Lutheran church.

A second problem involved the development within the Danish National Church of a factionalism which immigrants carried to the United States. On one side were the followers of the aforementioned Grundtvig, the Danish educator and church leader, who emphasized the Apostle’s Creed and the sacraments. These people were called Grundtvigians. Their opponents were identified as members of the Inner Mission. They stressed Biblical authority, repentance, and the development of a personal faith. Eventually the theological disputes within the Danish Church in the United States grew so serious that in 1892 it was forced to close its seminary at West Denmark, Wisconsin. Two years later many of the Inner Mission members left the church and formed their own organization. In 1896 they joined with another Inner Mission group that had started a small Danish Lutheran church headquartered at Blair, Nebraska, in 1884. This new body called itself the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. The divisions among Danish Lutherans in the United States weakened the church’s role as a rallying point, thus contributing to the immigrant’s rapid assimilation.

The Danish Church (*Grundtvigian*) was more inclined than the United Danish Church to stress its immigrant heritage. It opened Grand View Seminary in Des Moines, Iowa. The seminary also offered non-theological courses and in 1938 it became an accredited junior college. Its seminary function ceased in 1959 and Grand View continues today as a four-year liberal arts college. The Danish Church and its 24,000 members joined with three non-Danish Lutheran bodies in 1962 to form the Lutheran Church in America.

The United Church (Inner Mission) operated Trinity Seminary (founded 1884) and Dana College on the same campus at Blair, Nebraska. In 1956 Trinity moved to Dubuque, Iowa, where four years later it merged with Wartburg Seminary. In 1976 Queen Margrethe II of Denmark came to Dana and gave the spring commencement address in recognition of the American Bicentennial. The 60,000-member United Church joined with German and Norwegian churches to form the American Lutheran Church in 1960.

In 1988, when the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church merged to create the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the century-long organizational division among Danish Lutherans in the United States came to an end.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The majority of the Danes who immigrated to the United States looked to agriculture for a livelihood. Many who were farm laborers in Denmark soon became landowners in the United States. Danish immigrants contributed to American agriculture, particularly dairying, in a variety of ways. Danes had experience with farmers' cooperatives and helped spread that concept in the United States. The first centrifugal cream separator in the United States was brought to Iowa by a Dane in 1882. Danes worked as buttermakers, served as government inspectors, and taught dairy courses at agricultural colleges.

Young, single women often took jobs as domestic servants, but few remained single very long as they were in demand as spouses. Men who sought non-farm work found it in construction, manufacturing, and various business enterprises. Other than small concentrations in a Danish owned *terra cotta* factory in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and in several farm equipment manufacturing companies in Racine, Wisconsin, urban Danes were rarely identified with a specific occupation.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Given their small numbers and widespread distribution across the United States, Danes have seldom been able to form any kind of voting bloc beyond local elections in a few rural areas. Nevertheless, politicians of Danish descent have served as governors of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California. Several others have served in the United States Congress. In every election these Danish American

politicians have had to depend upon non-Danish voters for a majority of their support. Danes have not displayed any collective allegiance to a particular political party.

Two events in the twentieth century involving Denmark have attracted significant political interest among Danish Americans. The first of these was the status of Schleswig after World War I. Danish Americans organized to lobby the administration of President Woodrow Wilson to ensure that a provision granting Schleswigers the right to vote on their status be included in any peace treaty with Germany. Accordingly, in February 1920, residents of North Slesvig voted to return to Denmark after 56 years of foreign rule. Danish Americans expressed considerable concern about the German occupation of Denmark during World War II. After the war many Americans sent relief parcels to their Danish relatives.

“He who can do a little of everything gets along best. He must not shirk hard work, and he must not shirk being treated like a dog. He must be willing to be anyone’s servant, just like any other newcomer here.”

Peter Sørensen in a letter dated April 14, 1885.

MILITARY

By one estimate nearly 30,000 Danish Americans served in the armed forces of the United States during World War I. During World War II, 195 members of the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church died in the service of their country—a sizable number for a church that had less than 20,000 adult members and only 192 congregations. Generally, it appears that Danish Americans were no more or less willing to serve in the military than other Americans.

RELATIONS WITH DENMARK

Relations between Denmark and the United States have been unusually cordial. In 1791 Denmark became the eighth nation to recognize the independence of the United States, and it has maintained uninterrupted diplomatic relations since 1801, longer than any other country. In 1916, by a margin of nearly two to one, Danes voted to approve sale of the Danish West Indies (the U.S. Virgin Islands) to the United States. During World War II the United States and Denmark signed a treaty authorizing the United States to build two air bases in Greenland. After the war the United States provided Denmark with \$271 million in Marshall Plan aid. In 1949

both nations joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and thereafter jointly operated several military installations in Greenland.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Peter Sørensen “P.S.” Vig (1854-1929), church leader and teacher, wrote six books on the Danish immigrant experience and contributed to and edited the two-volume *Danske i Amerika* (*Danes in America*), published circa 1908. Marcus Lee Hansen (1892-1938), who studied under the renowned American historian Frederick Jackson Turner, is acclaimed as a scholar who early understood the importance of the immigrant experience in American life; his book, *The Atlantic Migration*, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1941. The preeminent historian, Henry Steele Commager (1902–) has written of the influence his maternal grandfather, the Danish born Adam Dan, had on him as a child; Dan was one of the founders of the Danish Lutheran Church in America and an important writer in the immigrant community. Alvin Harvey Hansen (1887-1975), a Harvard economist influenced by the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes, played a role in the formation of the Social Security System in 1935 and the Full Employment Act of 1946 that established the Council of Economic Advisors.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Individuals of Danish descent have made important contributions to American media. The A. C. Nielsen Company, founded in 1923 by Arthur C. Nielsen, Sr., pioneered media market listener surveys for radio and television. The Nielsen Ratings have become an integral part of programming decisions both by the networks and cable companies. Bill and Scott Rasmussen, a father and son team with roots in Chicago’s Danish American community, founded the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) in 1979.

The most famous Danish American entertainer is Victor Borge (1909–). Fleeing Copenhagen after the Nazi occupation of Denmark in 1940, Borge came to New York; in 1941, a successful guest appearance on Bing Crosby’s Kraft Music Hall radio program launched his career. Known as “The Clown Prince of the Piano,” Borge has since entertained audiences with a unique blend of music and humor. Jean Hersholt (1886-1956) appeared in over

200 films between 1914 and 1955; he is best remembered for his creation in the 1930s of the popular radio character, “Dr. Christian.” Another well-known actor of Danish descent is Buddy Ebsen (1908–), who starred in three long-running television series, “Davy Crockett,” “The Beverly Hillbillies,” and “Barnaby Jones.” More recently, Leslie Nielsen (1926–), a descendant of Danish immigrants to Canada, has gained wide popularity in the *Naked Gun* films.

JOURNALISM

Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914), the most important Danish American journalist, fought for the rights of the poor; his work, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), described the impoverished conditions of laborers in New York City. Riis had a powerful ally in the person of President Teddy Roosevelt. Two important newspaper men in the Danish American community were Christian Rasmussen (1852-1926) and Sophus Neble (1862-1931). Rasmussen, a Republican, founded or purchased a number of papers in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and his printing company, headquartered in Minneapolis, published magazines and books as well. Neble’s newspaper, *Den Danske Pioneer* (*The Danish Pioneer*) published in Omaha, championed the Democratic Party and had the largest circulation of any Danish American newspaper, reaching an estimated readership of 100,000.

LITERATURE

A number of writers have described the Danish immigrant experience. Most, however, have written in Danish. Kristian Østergaard (1855-1931) wrote both poetry and fiction; his five novels combine fantastic tales of Indians, horse thieves, and bank robbers with accounts of Danish immigrants struggling to create Danish communities on the prairies. The poet, Anton Kvist (1878-1965), found audiences through the Danish American press; many of his poems were set to music and sung within Danish immigrant circles. Enok Mortensen (1902-1984) published several collections of stories, novels, and an important history, *The Danish Lutheran Church in America* (1967); his novel, *Den lange plovfur* (*The Long Plow Furrow*), published in Denmark in 1984, is the last novel by an immigrant who participated in the major wave of Danish immigration. The most important Danish American novelist writing in English was Sophus Keith Winther (1893-1983); three of his novels, *Take All to Nebraska* (1936), *Mortgage Your Heart* (1937), and *This Passion Never Dies* (1937), portray the struggles of the Grimsen

family who arrives in Nebraska in the 1890s where they must rent land; the novels illustrate the darker side of the rural experience as fluctuating grain prices drive the family into bankruptcy. Julie Jensen McDonald's novel, *Amalie's Story* (1970), recounts the story of an immigrant woman whose poor parents are forced to give her up for adoption. Later she finds success as an immigrant in the Danish American community in Iowa.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Lauritz Melchior (1890-1973), the great heroic tenor, won world-wide acclaim on European and American stages for his roles in the operas of Richard Wagner. Born in Copenhagen, Melchior began his career with the Metropolitan Opera in 1926; shortly before World War II, he immigrated to the United States with his German-born wife, settling in California where he starred in a number of films; he continued to perform with the Metropolitan Opera until his retirement in 1950. Peter Martin (1946–) first appeared as a guest artist with the New York City Ballet; he became the company's principal dancer in 1970, and in 1983 he was named ballet master and co-director of the company. Libby Larsen (1950–), an award-winning composer and the granddaughter of Danish immigrants, was named composer-in-residence with the Minnesota Orchestra in 1983.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Several Danish Americans have served multiple terms in the United States Congress. For example, Ben Jensen (1892-1970) represented Iowa's Seventh District from 1938 to 1964 while voters in Minnesota's Second District sent Ancher Nelsen (1904–) to Congress for eight terms between 1958 and 1974. Lloyd Bentsen (1921–), the grandson of a Danish immigrant to South Dakota, was elected to the House of Representatives from Texas in 1948; at the age of 27 he was then the youngest member of Congress. In 1970 Bentsen won election to the Senate, and in 1988, he was the vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket headed by Michael Dukakis. President Bill Clinton appointed Bentsen as Secretary of the Treasury in 1992. Another high-profile member of the Clinton Cabinet, Attorney General Janet Reno (1938–), is also of Danish descent; her father, Henry Reno, was an immigrant who changed his surname from Rasmussen to Reno after his arrival in the United States; prior to her appointment, Reno had served as State Attorney in Dade County, Florida. Although she never reached full Cabinet rank,

Esther (Eggertsen) Peterson (1906–), has held a variety of important governmental posts. An outspoken consumer advocate, Peterson was named by President John F. Kennedy as assistant Secretary of Labor and director of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor; in 1977 President Jimmy Carter appointed her as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Max Henius (1859-1935), a chemist, specialized in fermentation processes; proud of his Danish heritage, he was the prime mover in founding the Danes Worldwide Archives in Ålborg, Denmark, and establishing the Rebuild Celebration of the Fourth of July in Denmark. Niels Ebbesen Hansen (1866-1950), a horticulturist, did pioneering work in the development of drought resistant strains of alfalfa. Peter L. Jensen (1886?-1961) and an American partner invented the loudspeaker system and founded the Magnavox Company; later, he established the Jensen Radio Manufacturing Company, which makes Jensen Speakers. A Danish born blacksmith who settled in Nebraska, William Petersen (1882-1962) invented and registered the name VISE-GRIP which is manufactured by the Petersen Manufacturing Company. William S. Knudsen (1879-1947), who was born in Copenhagen, became president of General Motors in 1937 and was chosen by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to lead the development of defense production programs during World War II.

SPORTS

While there have been a number of Danish Americans of later generations who have played in professional sports, the most famous recent Danish American immigrant to play professionally is Morten Andersen (1960–), the kicker for the New Orleans Saints. Born in Denmark, Andersen came to the United States at the age of 17 as a high school exchange student; before coming to this country, he had never kicked a football. After the 1993 NFL season, Andersen was already fifteenth among the NFL's all-time leading scorers.

VISUAL ARTS

One of the most important monuments in the United States is Mount Rushmore National Memorial in South Dakota. The heads of presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt were sculpted by Gutzon Borglum (1867-1941), the son of Danish immigrants. Christian Guldager (1759-

1826), the earliest of Danish American artists, painted George Washington's portrait in 1789. A Danish Mormon, Carl Christian Anton Christensen (1831-1912), created a panorama of works depicting important events in the history of the Mormon trek to Utah. Benedicte Wrensted (1859-1949), born in Hjørring, Denmark, photographed many Native Americans at her studio in Pocatello, Idaho. More recently, two artists, Olaf Seltzer (1877-1957) and Olaf Wieghorst (1899-1988) have been recognized for their depictions of the Old West. Marshall Fredericks (1908–) is a contemporary, award-winning sculptor of Danish descent who has exhibited in the United States and Europe.

MEDIA

A comprehensive study of the role of the press in Danish immigrant life is Marion Marzolf's book, *The Danish-Language Press in America*, published by Arno Press of New York in 1979. Marzolf explored the history of the two existing Danish language newspapers *Bien* and *Den Danske Pioneer* as well as a number of others that have ceased publication, illustrating how stories and readership reflected an assimilating ethnic group.

Bien (The Bee).

The only weekly Danish newspaper printed in the United States. Founded in 1882 in California, it continues to print stories in Danish and English on international news and news of Denmark and the United States. A special focus is on Danish American lodges and organizations on the west coast.

Contact: Poul Dalby Andersen, Editor.

Address: 1527 West Magnolia Boulevard,
Burbank, California 91506.

Telephone: (818) 845-7300.

Church and Life (originally Kirke og Folk).

A monthly publication by the Danish Interest Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Articles often reflect the influence of the Danish church reformer, N.F.S. Grundtvig, and are published in both English and Danish.

Contact: Thorvald Hansen, Editor.

Address: 1529 Milton, Des Moines, Iowa 540316.

Telephone: (515) 262-5274.

Den Danske Pioneer (The Danish Pioneer).

The oldest Danish newspaper published in the United States, it was founded in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1872. Because of its liberal agenda it was banned in Denmark between 1887 and 1898. In 1958, the paper was sold and moved to Illinois where today it

is published bi-weekly and carries news of the Danish American community and stories of interest from contemporary Denmark in both Danish and English.

Contact: Chris Steffensen, Editor.

Address: Bertlesen Publishing Company,
1582 Glen Lake Road, Hoffman Estates,
Illinois 60195.

Telephone: (708) 882-2552.

Fax: (708) 882-7082.

E-mail: Info@TheDanishPioneer.com.

Online: <http://www.thedanishpioneer.com/index.html>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Danish American Chamber of Commerce and Danish American Society (DACC and DAS).

The DACC is an organization of over 200 business leaders, firms, and institutions that promotes commercial relations between the United States and Denmark and seeks to avoid duplication of governmental activities. The DAS is an affiliated society sponsoring cultural events. Separate organizations of the Chamber of Commerce exist in Chicago and Los Angeles.

Contact: Werner Valeur-Jensen, DACC Board
Chairman; or Mrs. Neel Halpern,
DAS President.

Address: 1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza,
885 Second Avenue, 18th Floor, New York,
New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 980-6240.

Danish American Heritage Society (DAHS).

Founded in 1977, the DAHS has a membership of 650 individuals across the United States. Its purpose is to promote an interest in Danish culture, heritage, and language and to encourage research in the life, culture, and history of Danish Americans. The society publishes a journal, *The Bridge*, and a newsletter.

Contact: Dr. James Iverson, President.

Address: 4105 Stone Brooke Road, Ames,
Iowa 50010.

Telephone: (503) 998-8562.

Danish Brotherhood in America (DBA).

Founded in 1882 in Omaha, Nebraska, the DBA is a fraternal association of 8,000 members, featuring social activities celebrating the Danish American heritage and offering life and health insurance to members. In 1995 the DBA is proposing a merger of

its insurance functions with a larger fraternal benefit society while retaining its name and independent lodge structure.

Contact: Jerome Christensen.

Address: 1323 Wright Street, Blair,
Nebraska 68008.

Telephone: (402) 426-5894.

Danish Interest Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (DIC).

Founded in 1962 when the Danish Evangelical Lutheran in America merged with several other Lutheran synods, the DIC seeks to preserve Danish contributions to the Lutheran heritage. A meeting is held annually at the Danebod Folk High School in Tyler, Minnesota.

Contact: Roland Jespersen, President.

Address: 116 North Seventh Street, Box 376,
Eldridge, Iowa 52748.

Telephone: (319) 285-4693.

Rebild National Park Society, Inc.

Founded in 1912, this society of over 1,000 members supports what is acclaimed as the largest observation of American independence outside the United States. The festival is held annually on the Fourth of July in Rebild National Park, just outside the city of Ålborg, Denmark.

Contact: Erik Meyer, Corporate Secretary.

Address: 1788 North Fern Street, Orange,
California 92667.

Telephone: (714) 637-8407.

Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies.

With more than 600 members in the academic communities in the United States and Scandinavia, it publishes the respected journal, *Scandinavian Studies*.

Contact: Dr. Terje Leiren.

Address: Department of Scandinavian Studies,
DL-20, University of Washington, Seattle,
Washington 98195.

Telephone: (206) 543-1510.

Supreme Lodge of the Danish Sisterhood of America (DSA).

Founded in 1883 at a time when the Danish Brotherhood did not accept women as members, the DSA continues as an active social organization of 3,200 members, celebrating Danish heritage and supporting education through scholarships.

Contact: Else M. Lassiter, National President.

Address: c/o Else Lassiter, 3176 Horizon Dr., Santa Ynez, California 93460-9690.

Telephone: (805) 688-5411.

Fax: (805) 688-0866.

Online: <http://www.danishsisterhood.org/>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Danes Worldwide Archives.

Founded by Danish Americans in 1932 to record the history of Danes who immigrated to other countries, the archives contain letters, manuscripts, diaries, biographies, photographs, tape-recorded interviews, and over 10,000 titles related to Danish emigration. Also available are the emigration lists compiled by the Copenhagen police between 1860 and 1940 and microfilms of church records from most Danish parishes. There is a charge of \$25 (U.S.) for requests received by mail or telephone.

Contact: Birgit Flemming Larsen.

Address: Ved Vor Frue Kirke, P.O. Box 1731,
DK-9100 Ålborg, Denmark.

Telephone: 45 98 12 57 93.

Danish Immigrant Archives-Dana College.

Contains an extensive collection of books in Danish published in the United States, as well as periodicals, newspapers, journals, and letters relating to Danish immigration. The religious emphasis is on Danish Lutherans influenced by the more pietistic Inner Mission movement. Special holdings include the Lauritz Melchior, Sophus Keith Winther, and Hansen-Mengers Collections. Genealogy is not a focus of the archives.

Contact: Sharon Jensen.

Address: 2848 College Drive, Blair, Nebraska
68008-1099.

Telephone: (402) 426-7300.

Danish Immigrant Archives-Grand View College.

A repository for books, periodicals, letters, documents, and memoirs relating to Danish immigration. The archives' religious emphasis is on those Danish Lutherans influenced by N.F.S. Grundtvig, and the archives include a special N.F.S. Grundtvig Studies Collection. Genealogy is not a focus of the archives.

Contact: Rudolph Jensen.

Address: 1351 Grandview Avenue, Des Moines,
Iowa 50316-1599.

Telephone: (515) 263-2800.

Danish Immigrant Museum.

Tells the story of the life and culture of Danish immigrants with displays of house furnishings, costumes, tools, church furniture, photographs, and many other items. The collection contains over 8,000 artifacts and includes a family history room for researching genealogy. Situated in Elk Horn, Iowa, the museum is located in an area settled by Danish immigrants during the late nineteenth century.

Address: 2212 Washington Street, P O Box 470,
Elk Horn, Iowa 51531-0470.

Telephone: (712) 764-7001; or (800) 759-9192.

Fax: (712) 764-7002.

E-Mail: dkmus@netins.net.

Online: <http://dkmuseum.org>.

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Dominican Americans
are one of the newer
national-cultural
communities in the
United States.

D

OMINICAN

by
Sean T. Buffington

AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

The Dominican Republic shares the island of Hispaniola with the nation of Haiti. Hispaniola defines the northern rim of the Caribbean Sea along with Cuba, which lies just to the west, and Puerto Rico, Hispaniola's eastern neighbor. The Dominican Republic occupies the western half of the island.

The Dominican Republic is a nation of approximately 5.5 million people. Its significant sources of revenue are the tourist industry, remittances sent home by Dominicans abroad, and the sugar industry. Dominicans speak Spanish as a first language although increasing numbers also speak English. The Dominican Republic has traditionally and predominantly been a Roman Catholic nation. However, there are notable and historic Protestant, Jewish, and Afro-Christian religious communities as well. While the Trujillo government and the Balaguer administration to a lesser degree have emphasized the Spanish ancestry of Dominicans, the population is diverse in its origins. African-descended slaves, Spanish colonizers, and Haitian invaders and later laborers, as well as other Europeans, Middle Eastern and Chinese merchants, and immigrants from neighboring Caribbean islands have all contributed to the diverse population and culture of the Dominican Republic.

HISTORY

The nation now called the Dominican Republic was originally colonized by the Spanish in the late fif-

teenth and early sixteenth centuries. The previous inhabitants, Taino indigenes, were destroyed by diseases, weapons, and enslavement brought by the Spanish. Like the other Spanish Caribbean colonies, Santo Domingo, as it was called then, was peopled sparsely by Spanish, Spanish creoles (people of Spanish descent born in the Americas), and relatively small numbers of African and African-descended slaves. Isolated from a distant Spanish monarch, underpopulated, and with little investment from the outside, Santo Domingo languished in comparison to her French and British West Indian neighbors. Barbados in the seventeenth century and Saint Domingue (now called Haiti) in the eighteenth century became centers of sugar production and generated great wealth for the British and French planters who worked those lands. It was not until the nineteenth century that Santo Domingo became a central presence in the Western Hemisphere.

In 1822, the newly founded nation of Haiti, which had won its independence from France at the turn of the century and become the first black sovereign nation in the Americas, invaded and occupied the Spanish half of Hispaniola. For the remainder of the century, Santo Domingo passed into and out of sovereignty, winning independence from Haiti in 1844 and then voluntarily resubmitting to Spanish colonial rule in 1861. After regaining independence after several years of colonial rule, the Dominican government discussed the possibilities of annexation with U.S. officials.

At the same time that the government was discussing new political directions, the economy began to move in new directions too. After centuries of slow progress, the Dominican economy experienced new growth: Cuban immigrants, along with others from North America and Europe, brought new capital into the country. They invested heavily in the sugar industry, which soon became the most important productive industry in the nation.

The Dominican Republic's claims to sovereignty, however, did not go unchallenged in the twentieth century. Twice, the United States invaded and occupied the Caribbean island, first from 1916 to 1924, and again in 1965. The second invasion played a more significant role in launching the most recent migration of Dominicans to the United States. The assassination of military ruler Rafael Trujillo in 1961 marked the start of a period of political uncertainty in the Dominican Republic that was ended when U.S. paratroops intervened by order of President Lyndon Johnson. The U.S. troops brought to a close a civil war between supporters of democratically elected President Juan Bosch and his right-wing opponents in the Dominican military

and oversaw the election of former Trujillo aide Joaquin Balaguer to the presidency.

That civil war and subsequent intervention by the United States on the side of the conservative military led to an outflux of Bosch supporters and other like-minded political activists from the Dominican Republic in the 1960s (Luis E. Guarnizo, "Los Dominicanyorks: The Making of a Binational Society," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 533, 1994, p. 71). Those emigrants, most of whom came to the United States, were the first of many Dominicans who have come in ever-increasing numbers in the past several decades.

IMMIGRATION

In the 1980s, immigration to the United States from the Dominican Republic rose to unprecedented levels. The number of Dominicans legally entering the United States between 1981 and 1990 was far greater than the number of Cubans: indeed, more Dominicans entered the United States in the last decade than any other Western Hemisphere national group except migrants from Mexico (Ruben G. Rumbaut, "The Americans: Latin American and Caribbean Peoples in the United States" in *Americas: New Interpretive Essays*, p. 288).

Despite these numbers, however, Dominican immigrants have been relatively unstudied. Systematic research on the Dominican population in the United States is scarce, and newspaper and magazine coverage is sparse compared to the coverage received by other Caribbean immigrant groups (e.g., Cubans and Haitians). Those studies that do exist rely on data from the 1980 census or from studies conducted in the early or mid-1980s. Thus, up-to-date, accurate, and complete information on Dominicans in the United States is difficult to find. As the raw data from the 1990 census is analyzed and studied, more work on this important immigrant group will result.

Most Dominicans in the United States arrived after 1960. Of the 169,147 Dominican-born persons resident in the United States at the time of the 1980 census, only 6.1 percent had come to the United States before 1960. More than a third came during the decade of political instability in the Dominican Republic—the 1960s—and the remaining 56 percent arrived in the 1970s. During the 1980s, however, Dominican immigration soared. In those ten years, more than 250,000 Dominicans were legally admitted to the United States. The number of new immigrants in that ten-year period was 50 percent greater than the entire Dominican-

born population of the United States at the start of the decade. The 1990 U.S. Census reported that of the 506,000 persons of Dominican descent in the United States, the vast majority were Dominican-born. Thus the Dominican American community is primarily an immigrant community and, indeed, a community of recent immigrants.

According to the 1990 census, most Dominicans have settled in the Northeast (86.3 percent). Though the greatest number reside in New York and New Jersey (nearly 390,000), there are significant Dominican communities in Massachusetts (29,000) and Florida (36,000). These communities are predominantly urban: most Dominicans in New York and New Jersey live in New York City (the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan is one prominent location) and its New Jersey suburbs, while Florida and Massachusetts Dominicans tend to reside in Miami and Boston. By the late 1990s, in New York City, Dominicans were the second largest Hispanic group, after Puerto Ricans. They were also considered the biggest and fastest growing immigrant population in the city.

No reliable figures on the number of undocumented immigrants in this country exist; however, many who have studied Dominican immigration believe it to be quite high. One scholar writing in 1986 suggested that there were at that time some 300,000 undocumented Dominicans in the United States (John A. Garcia, "Caribbean Migration to the Mainland: A Review of Adaptive Experiences," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 487, 1986, p. 119). Although that number seems high given the statistics collected by the Census Bureau in 1990, it does suggest the significance of undocumented migrants in the Dominican community in the United States.

A number of Dominican migrants also return to the Dominican Republic either to visit or to resettle permanently. Again, no recent or reliable statistics show exactly how many Dominicans have returned to the Caribbean or for how long. Other indicators, however, suggest that the return movement is significant. For example, the Tourism Secretariat in the Dominican Republic reported in 1985 that 20 percent of all visitors to the island from abroad were Dominicans who had previously emigrated. Moreover, businesses in the Caribbean nation that serve the returned migrant community, and schools, apartment buildings, and discos have been opened especially for returned migrants.

Many *retornados*, or returned migrants, as well as those living overseas have invested heavily in their country of origin, establishing real estate brokerages and grocery stores, among other businesses,

on the island. Even those who do not start businesses contribute vitally to the economic life of the Dominican Republic. Remittances, monies sent back to family members still resident on the island, bring more foreign currency into the Dominican economy than any industry except tourism. It is clear from these examples that Dominicans in the United States maintain a strong interest in their country of origin.

The causes of the Dominican immigration are various and have changed over time. As suggested above, the first significant immigration from the Dominican Republic to the United States was in large part the product of political and social instability at home. Those who opposed or had reason to fear the new regime in 1965 and those who were fleeing violence throughout the 1960s came to the United States in notable numbers. As time went on, however, and the political situation stabilized, Dominicans continued to emigrate, because of limited employment opportunities and poor economic conditions. Studies have shown that those who emigrate are better educated than those they left on the island and were more likely to have been employed when they left the Dominican Republic. These urban, often professional migrants left the Caribbean to find better opportunities elsewhere (Sherri Grasmuck, "Immigration, Ethnic Stratification, and Native Working Class Discipline: Comparisons of Documented and Undocumented Dominicans," *International Migration Review*, Volume 18, No. 3, 1984, p. 695).

Puerto Rico is also a principal destination of Dominicans leaving the Dominican Republic. Many Dominicans find employment in this Caribbean territory of the United States, primarily in the service sector (Maria del Carmen Baerga and Lanny Thompson, "Migration in a Small Semiperiphery: The Movement of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans," *International Migration Review*, Volume 24, No. 4, 1990, pp. 671-677). Many others use Puerto Rico as a stepping stone to the mainland United States. Dominicans maintain a significant presence in Puerto Rico and should be considered a small but important stream in the movement of Dominicans to the United States.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER AMERICANS

The Dominican Republic has had a long and often contentious relationship with the United States, its culture, and its citizens. Because of extended periods of U.S. occupation and because of U.S. cultural and political hegemony in the Caribbean basin, Dominicans are familiar with the United States and

American culture. U.S. movies and television programs are shown regularly in the Dominican Republic. Baseball is the most popular sport in the country. And American values are admired and emulated by many Dominicans. Thus, Dominicans coming to the United States already have more than a passing familiarity with the country to which they are immigrating. Moreover, those migrants who return home are disparaged for the degree to which they have adopted American cultural forms.

Nonetheless, the available evidence suggests that Dominican migrants do not have a simple and wholly positive relationship with Americans and American culture. Most Dominicans work in non-unionized workplaces for wages that most “established” Americans would refuse. Many Dominicans have encountered race prejudice in the United States also. The mixed Afro-Hispanic heritage of many Dominicans has led them to be categorized as black by white Americans; they have encountered the same racial prejudice that African Americans have experienced for centuries. Despite the accusations by their compatriots that they have been assimilated into American culture, Dominicans have tended to be seen by Americans as especially resistant to assimilation and committed to their country, culture, and language of origin.

Dominican Americans are one of the newer national-cultural communities in the United States. They are still in process of creating a unique place for themselves here. Their relationships to the United States and its culture and to the Dominican Republic and Dominican culture are still evolving. The space that Dominicans create for themselves here will surely look in some ways like the spaces other immigrant groups have carved out. However, the Dominican American community will find its own ways of living in the United States, and will make its own unique culture.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Dominicans in the United States have neither abandoned their country and culture of origin nor embraced wholly the culture of their adopted land. The accusations of non-migrant Dominicans that migrants are too “American” clearly indicate that migrants have adopted certain highly visible characteristics of American culture. On the other hand, the regular return of migrants to the Caribbean, the settling of migrants in mostly Dominican, localized areas, and the continued presence of Dominicans near the bottom of the U.S. economic ladder, sug-

gest that Dominicans probably will sustain their “Dominicanness” and remain distinct from the American population as a whole into the twenty-first century. Dominicans still resident in the Caribbean who criticize Dominican migrants point to several aspects of Dominican American culture as “foreign” or “un-Dominican.” According to Professor Luis E. Guarnizo, “[M]igrants’ style of living, their tastes, and their manners, especially those of youngsters and the most prosperous ... are judged as tasteless and revolting especially by the upper classes.” This may suggest that migrant children and the children of migrants are abandoning traditional children’s roles and adopting American models of proper behavior and attitude for children. At least one young Dominican migrant has noted that American young people behave differently than Dominican youngsters, that they are “too ‘liberal’—so preoccupied with boyfriends, clothes, and the latest fads” (David Gonzalez, “New Country Is Like Prison to Asenhat, 18,” *New York Times*, 20 April 1993, p. A1). Studies have also shown that the Dominican migrant family as well as the occupational profile of migrants are much different from the island family and the occupational profile of islanders.

Many Americans hold several misconceptions about Dominican migrants. Like many other immigrant groups, Dominican migrants have been regarded as coming from the poorest, least educated segment of their country of origin. They have also been accused of placing a substantial burden on federal and state social services. Research conducted in the 1980s has shown both of these ideas to be false. Researchers have reported that the proportion of highly educated Dominicans is greater among the migrant community than among island Dominicans. In the group of Dominicans who entered the country between 1986 and 1991, there were 15,000 professionals. Dominican migrants have also been shown to have more schooling as a group than island Dominicans. Likewise, 99 percent of undocumented immigrants surveyed in 1981 and 85.9 percent of documented immigrants reported that they had never received welfare payments. A majority of both groups also reported that they had never received unemployment compensation or food stamps.

By the late 1990s, however, this trend had changed, with poverty among Dominican Americans on the rise. With the growth of single-parent households headed by women, up 8.6 percent between 1989 and 1997 in New York City, public assistance was more heavily relied on. In 1997, a survey conducted in New York City by City College and Columbia University showed that 50 percent of Dominican American households had a woman at their head, while the poverty rate was 45.7 percent. The trend

towards poverty was not sudden. In 1990, only immigrants from the former Soviet Union received more public assistance than Dominicans in New York City.

CUISINE

Little specific information about the Dominican American diet is available. However, many Dominicans operate small independent grocery stores, or *bodegas*, in Dominican neighborhoods. Such grocery stores, in addition to selling toiletries and American food products, also sell Caribbean and Latin American products and ingredients commonly used in Dominican cooking. The presence of these stores indicates that Dominicans in the United States continue, at least with some frequency, to prepare traditional Dominican dishes (Allen R. Myerson, "Thriving Where Others Won't Go," *New York Times*, 7 January 1992, pp. D1, D5).

HOLIDAYS

Though it was not an official Dominican American holiday, the growth of the Dominican population can be seen in the annual Dominican Day Parade in New York City. An annual August event since 1981, the parade grew from a small festival confined to one avenue in Washington Heights to a much larger affair. Traditional rituals were performed including the gaga ceremonies (a rite for the sugar cane harvest); merengue music was played; and Dominican delicacies like plantains are eaten. In 1996, the parade attracted 100,000 people.

HEALTH ISSUES

No sources address the question of the state of Dominican Americans' health in a systematic and complete way. The 1991 report of the American Medical Association on Hispanic health in the United States does not distinguish Dominicans from the group "Central and South Americans" (Council on Scientific Affairs, "Hispanic Health in the United States," *Journal of the American Medical Association* [JAMA], Volume 265, No. 2, 1991, pp. 248-252); however, the findings for Puerto Ricans may be suggestive. Puerto Ricans are also an Hispanic Caribbean migrant group who have settled largely on the East Coast and especially in New York City. Like Dominicans, they are poorer and have less social power than most Americans. A greater proportion of Puerto Rican infants are born premature or with lower birth weights than white American infants. The homicide rate among Puerto Ricans is much higher than among whites, and the proportion of those not insured is also much greater (Fernando S. Mendoza, et al., "Selected



These Dominican American women are performing in New York City's Hispanic Day Parade.

Measures of Health Status for Mexican-American, Mainland Puerto Rican, and Cuban American Children," in *JAMA*, Volume 265, No. 2, 1991, pp. 229-230). These few indicators suggest that the health status of Puerto Ricans in the United States is worse than that of white Americans. It is not unreasonable to extrapolate from the Puerto Rican community to the Dominican community and conclude that Dominicans share with Puerto Ricans a lower health status than white Americans.

LANGUAGE

Dominican migrants are Spanish speakers. The 1980 Census showed that 45 percent of foreign-born Dominicans reported that they could speak English well or very well. More than 52 percent said that they could not speak English well or at all. The large and rapid influx of migrants during the 1980s indicates that a somewhat higher proportion of migrants in the late 1990s might report poor English language capabilities.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The Dominican family in America is a different institution than the family in the Dominican Republic. Although kin relationships have continued to be important to migrants in the United States, families have tended to become smaller and more nuclear as migrants remain in the United States longer.

Dominican families in the Caribbean are more likely to be large and non-nuclear. A 1981 study showed that while only 1.1 percent of those surveyed resided in nuclear households before emigrating, 30.6 percent did so after more than six months in the United States. Likewise, 43.1 percent of respondents said that they had lived with family members but not with spouses or children before emigrating; after emigration, that proportion was reduced to 23.5 percent (Greta Gilbertson and Douglas T. Gurak, "Household Transitions in the Migrations of Dominicans and Colombians to New York," *International Migration Review*, Volume 26, No. 1, 1992, p. 27). These numbers suggest both that migrants have tended to marry after some period of residence in the United States and that, after marrying, they have tended not to live in extended or non-nuclear families. Other studies have shown that Dominican women in the United States tend to have fewer children than women in the Dominican Republic (Vivian Garrison and Carol I. Weiss, "Dominican Family Networks and United States Immigration Policy: A Case Study," in *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*, p. 229).

Gender roles within the family seem also to have been transformed in the migration. The Dominican family tends to be patriarchal. Male heads of household exercise control over household budgets and have final authority over family members. Women in households are responsible for domestic tasks and maintenance. Among Dominican migrants, however, this pattern seems to be changing. Dominican women in the United States have demanded greater control over budgets and have wrested some authority from their husbands. Their new role as co-breadwinners seems to have empowered them to challenge male authority in the household more effectively (Patricia R. Pessar, "The Linkage Between the Household and Workplace of Dominican Women in the U.S.," in *Caribbean Life in New York: Sociocultural Dimensions*, pp. 241-245).

These changes in the structure and organization of the Dominican family in the United States suggest that the process of courting and the institution of marriage have changed. While there are no authoritative or specific treatments of these topics, it seems reasonable to conclude from the above evidence about gender relations within marriages that gender relations among dating couples may well be changing also.

However, by the late 1990s in New York City, a trend towards single-parent households headed by women among Dominican Americans was identified. In a 1997 survey, nearly 50 percent of Dominican American households were headed by a

woman; nearly the same number lived in poverty. Some experts blamed the immigration process itself for long-term separations of families. Others point to economic pressures in the United States and the lack of formal marriages among many Dominicans. When men failed to fulfill their role as providers, they abandon their families, often leaving them destitute. Many of these women had no job skills and did not speak English, and were forced to scrape by, with the help of public assistance, to support themselves and their children. Seeing that their children get an education in the United States was often seen as their only hope.

Education seems to occupy a place of importance in the Dominican migrant world view. Certainly the migrants themselves are as a group better educated than Dominicans who remain at home. Dominicans in the United States have also fought some of their most significant political battles over education. In the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan, Dominicans organized to gain a voice on the local school board. That board had been dominated by non-Dominicans even though Dominicans represented a majority of school age children in the district. Dominicans campaigned to put representatives of their own community on the board and were successful. The political mobilization around education marked one of the New York Dominican community's early forays into the realm of city politics, and at least one Dominican city leader began his political career on the Washington Heights board of education.

Statistics on the level of education of the native-born Dominican American community as a whole are difficult to find. The Census Bureau classified Dominicans as "Central/South Americans" for the 1990 census—along with many other South and Central American communities. These groups, of course, are not comparable: their forebears came from radically different cultures, and they inhabit very different socioeconomic "worlds" in the United States. The 1990 Census showed that 15.6 percent of Americans of Central/South American origin were college graduates. However, it is likely that the percentage of Americans of Dominican descent who had graduated college by 1990 is substantially smaller. The percentage of Dominican migrants that the 1980 Census reported as college graduates was 4.3 percent.

Apparently as important to the community as education is another institution that at first glance seems frivolous. Baseball, however, is far more than sport or recreation to Dominicans both in the Caribbean and in the United States. According to one writer, baseball is integral to Dominican identi-

ty: “In the Dominican Republic baseball has a place all out of proportion to the normal one of sport in society. There is nothing comparable to it in the United States.... Americans may love the game of baseball as much as Dominicans do, but they do not need it as much.” (Milton Jamail, “Baseball and Latin America” [book review], *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, No. 11, 1992, p. 220.)

A story on baseball in Washington Heights, New York, suggests that Dominican migrants have retained their love for the game. Players use their earnings to pay for equipment, and mothers make sure that sons do not work on game days. The community gathers to watch the young people on the diamond (Sara Rimer, “Summer’s Game and the Ties that Bind,” *New York Times*, 6 May 1991, pp. B1, B6). Scholars of baseball in the Dominican Republic have noted that becoming a professional baseball player is the dream of many Dominicans. Baseball represents a way out of poverty for the largely poor population of the Caribbean nation. And, as the national pastime, baseball represents a way to demonstrate the pride Dominicans have in their nation.

RELIGION

Religion remains little commented upon in the literature on Dominicans in the United States. Dominicans in the Caribbean are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, and it seems likely that a majority in the United States also profess that faith (Saskia Sassen-Koob, “Formal and Informal Associations: Dominicans and Colombians in New York,” in *Caribbean Life in New York: Sociocultural Dimensions*, p. 262). Some Dominicans also participate in Afro-Catholic religious rituals and communities of the tradition known as *Santería*. It is not known how many Dominicans in the United States practice *santería*, which is primarily associated with Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans. *santería* combines certain aspects of Catholic belief with aspects of West African, chiefly Yoruba, belief and practice. Participating in *santería* rites does not preclude belonging to a Catholic church and practicing that tradition (Stephen Gregory, “Afro-Caribbean Religions in New York City: The Case of *Santería*,” in *Caribbean Life in New York: Sociocultural Dimensions*, pp. 287-302).

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

While significant numbers of those who immigrate from the Dominican Republic to the United States were professionals before they emigrated, the vast



Dominican American Ysaes Amaro performs a traditional dance for the Latin Festival of the Day of the Dead.

number once they are in the United States are employed in low-wage, low-prestige jobs. The 1980 census showed that, among foreign-born Dominicans, only 6.9 percent occupied “upper white-collar” positions while 33.5 percent occupied “lower blue-collar” positions. Rates among the U.S. population as a whole were quite different: 22.7 percent upper white-collar and 18.3 percent lower blue-collar; and 22.1 percent of foreign-born Dominican families lived in poverty, compared with 9.6 percent of the total U.S. population. In 1997, in New York City, those number were considerably higher. Approximately 45.7 percent of Dominicans lived in poverty, compared to a city-wide rate of 23.8 percent.

A study conducted around the same time provides more detailed information about Dominican migrants. That study showed that the proportion of professionals among migrants decreased markedly as migrants moved from the Dominican Republic to the United States. At the same time, the proportion of laborers increased dramatically. That study also showed that among those employed as laborers, the majority worked in manufacturing, with a sizable number of men also working in restaurants and hotels. These laborers worked primarily for smaller firms; 40 percent earned less than \$150 each week; and 45 percent worked in non-unionized workplaces. A much larger proportion, in other words, earned less and were less protected at their workplaces than most Americans. According to Guarnizo, more recent treatments of the topic have suggested that things have not changed for most Dominicans in the United States: “Toiling in dead-end, low-paid jobs in the secondary labor market remains the most common

path of economic incorporation for Dominicans in the United States.” The reasons for the economic position of Dominican Americans are easy to guess at: the language barrier, discrimination, the illegal status of many in the community, and the lower level of education of the Dominican American community as a whole relative to the average level of education of the U.S. population.

The garment industry employs the greatest number of Dominican women in the New York area. Many of these Dominican garment workers are employed in what is called the “informal sector” of the garment industry, in small firms that are not regulated or unionized. Women who work for these firms are paid much lower wages and enjoy little job security or protection while on the job. Other women clean houses and do other odd jobs outside the organized labor market.

Despite the fact that most in the U.S. Dominican community work in low-paid, low-status jobs, a significant number own businesses that often draw many of their customers from the immigrant and ethnic communities. The Ctown Group, a voluntary association of 167 small grocery stores in metropolitan New York, says that half of its stores are owned and operated by Dominicans. Other similar associations in New York report high levels of Dominican ownership as well. The Dominican involvement in the groceries trade goes even farther: many Dominicans own and operate *bodegas* in their neighborhoods that are not affiliated with any grocery association.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The U.S. Dominican community has taken up several important political issues both in the United States and in the Dominican Republic. Education, the status of undocumented migrants in the United States, citizenship status, and police violence against Dominicans have been the most important. In the 1970s, a union of several Dominican associations called *Concilio de Organizaciones Dominicanas* (Council of Dominican Organizations) began to push for greater rights for undocumented Dominicans in the United States. In the same decade, a group called *Asociacion Nacional de Dominicanos Ausentes* (National Association of Absent Dominicans) lobbied the Dominican government for the right of migrants in the United States to vote in Dominican elections. More recently, Dominican migrants have pushed the Dominican Republic to permit Dominicans in the United States to retain their Dominican citizenship so that they will be considered citizens when they return home to visit or to live, as many do.

The most significant recent mobilization of Dominicans in the United States was in response to the 1992 police shooting of Dominican Jose Garcia in New York City. The Dominican community was outraged. Already established Dominican organizations joined the mobilization against police violence, and new organizations formed in response to it. Demonstrations were held in the Washington Heights neighborhood, and there were other, less peaceful expressions of anger as well. The *Alianza Dominicana*, a community organization, worked to channel communal anger into positive directions, and Dominican leaders worked with city and police officials. The mobilization attracted the attention of community leaders throughout the city (Maria Newman, “New Leadership Forms in a Crucible of Violence,” *New York Times*, 11 July 1992, p. 23). Other groups, such as the Union of Young Dominicans, hoped to address the issues faced by Dominican immigrants. The Dominican Women’s Development Center provided help towards self-sufficiency. Dominicans have not yet entered the arena of national politics, but they have made impressive strides at the local level. The 1990s have seen the election in New York City of the city’s first Dominican city councilor, Guillermo Linares.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Though Dominicans have been coming to the United States in very significant numbers only for 25 years, they have as a community already contributed immensely to U.S. culture, society, and politics.

ACADEMIA

Elsa Gomez serves as president of Kean College of New Jersey. Born in 1938 in New York City, she faced a controversy at Kean that catapulted her into the national spotlight; Jewish students were outraged when a Nation of Islam speaker made remarks that many regarded as anti-Semitic.

FASHION

Oscar de la Renta (1932–), born in the Dominican Republic, is a world-renowned fashion designer and creator of his own line of high-end women’s clothing.

FILM AND TELEVISION

Agustin Rodriguez (1967–), born in New York City, is frequently seen on network television and in the movies; he has had smaller roles in *Final Analy-*

sis and *Falling Down* and has guest-starred on the television series "Street Justice" and "Sirens." He was a regular on the series "Moon over Miami."

JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE

Born in the United States and raised in part in the Dominican Republic, Julia Alvarez has already shown herself to be a talented and provocative writer and poet; Alvarez is the author of the much-lauded story collection, *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents*; her work has treated the experience of growing up in two cultures. Tony Marciano (1960–) has served as a reporter for several nationally known newspapers during his career as a journalist; he was born in New York City and served as editor of the "City Times" section of the *Los Angeles Times*.

POLITICS

Guillermo Linares (1950–), born in the Dominican Republic, is a former Washington Heights school board member and the first Dominican city councilor in New York City; he has had a distinguished career as local politician.

SPORTS

Mary Joe Fernandez (1971–) was born in the Dominican Republic; she played in her first Grand Slam tennis tournament at the age of 14; she has played in the final of the Australian Open and the semifinals of the U.S. Open; she has also been a winning doubles player, taking eight tournaments; her earnings exceed \$2.1 million. Juan Marichal (1938–), born in the Dominican Republic, is a baseball Hall of Famer and a former pitcher for the San Francisco Giants, the Boston Red Sox, and the Los Angeles Dodgers; he works as a scout for the Oakland A's.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Center for the Development and Protection of Dominicans.

Contact: Yutelka Tapia.

Address: c/o Yutelka Tapia, 245 East 180th Street, Suite 2C, Bronx, New York 10457-2905.

Dominican-American Foundation.

Contact: Dr. Hugo M. Morales.

Address: 1211 Gerard Avenue, Bronx, New York 10452-8001.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Dominican Genealogic Institute.

Founded in 1983. Historians, academics, and genealogy researchers who encourage the study and practice of genealogy in the Dominican Republic. Identifies the ancestors of Dominican families and constructs family trees. Publishes a bulletin called RAICES.

Contact: Luis José Prieto-Nouel, General Secretary.

Address: EPS A306, P.O. Box 52-4121, Miami, Florida 33184.

Telephone: (809) 686-8849.

Fax: (809) 687-0027.

E-Mail: idg.rd@codetel.net.do.

Online: <http://www.geocities.com/athens/3356/>.

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Since the late 1980s,
the American Druze
Society has been
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educational
campaign to tell
the public that they
are neither Muslim
nor leftists nor
anti-American.

D R U Z E

by
Pam Rohland

OVERVIEW

The Druze, also known as the “Sons of Grace,” are a secretive, tightly-knit religious sect whose origins can be traced to Egypt a thousand years ago. They believe that God was incarnated on earth in the form of their leader, al-Hakim bi-Amrih Alla. The Druze do not have their own homeland. Thus, many of them migrated to the isolated mountains of Lebanon, Syria, and Israel, while others settled throughout the Middle East.

The Druze are of mixed race. They are largely of Arab descent but they also have Iranian, Kurdish, and European heritage. Little scholarly study has been done on the Druze, and much of what is available has not been translated into English. The Druze themselves are reluctant to share information about their faith or their culture with outsiders, primarily because of the fear of persecution. They have seemed radical for their belief in equality for men and women, the abolition of slavery, and separation of church and state.

The Druze have survived and thrived within their own communities by remaining isolated and secretive. Estimates of their numbers vary from 700,000 to 2 million worldwide. This wide range is because the Druze have not been part of any formal census since the 1930s. However, rough estimates place the number of Druze at 390,000 in Lebanon, 420,000 in Syria, 75,000 in Israel, 15,000 in Jordan, and about 80,000 scattered around the rest of the

world, mostly in North America, Australia, and West Africa. The American Druze Society estimates the number of Druze in the United States at between 15,000 and 20,000.

Although they live in various parts of the world, the Druze have a flag, which strengthens their sense of unity. The flag includes five colors, which represent five prophets. It combines a green triangle on the hoist side and four horizontal stripes of red, yellow, blue, and white. Red symbolizes the heart and love of humanity, green the farmer and life, white the air and purity, yellow the sun and wheat, and blue the sky and faith.

HISTORY

In 1009, al-Hakim bi-Amrih Alla announced that he was the earthly incarnation of God. He began attracting followers, and the Druze sect was born near Cairo, Egypt. Early years were marked by fighting with members of the Shi'a, a sect of Islam, who were incensed that the supremacy of the prophet Muhammad, leader of the Muslims, was disputed. The last years of al-Hakim's life were marked by unusual, irrational actions, which led outsiders to stereotype the Druze as madmen. The Druze themselves found al-Hakim's actions to be further evidence of his divinity. Druze historians believe al-Hakim's reputation for instability was exaggerated, but they do describe him variously as capricious, whimsical, enigmatic, and prone to violence. In *The Druze*, Robert Benton Betts wrote, "The general picture that emerges is of a brilliant megalomaniac who dreams of uniting the Islamic world under his own aegis at whatever cost - a goal toward which all his political moves, internal reforms, even the creation of a new religious movement with himself as the divine center, were aimed." Al-Hakim disappeared around 1020. The widely accepted theory is that he was murdered by conspirators with the help of his sister. Others believe he simply vanished while despairing that his goals would ever be reached.

Al-Hakim's apostle Hamzah ibn Ali ibn Ahmad subsequently gave the religion form and content, and formed the various dogmas into a creed. But fear was rife among the Druze, and for six years following their leader's disappearance, they hid. They slowly re-entered public life, but most began emigrating to remote mountainous regions in Lebanon, Syria, and what became Israel, where they hoped they could practice their faith without persecution. Because of their fear of outsiders, no new members have been admitted to the sect since 1043.

Despite trying to avoid conflict with large religious groups, Druze living among Muslims in the

Middle East faced retribution. Tribal skirmishes have been sporadic but ongoing for nearly a thousand years. Over the years, Druze who did not want to contend with the hostility publicly adopted the doctrine of the Muslims, while privately practicing their own religion.

During the mid-1800s, Protestant American missionaries traveled to Syria to convert the Druze, but failed. A missionary named A. L. Tibawi wrote, "The Druze are a deceitful and truculent race who, under changed conditions, professed themselves to be Muslims with the same readiness that they declared themselves Protestants." During the same era, the Druze in Lebanon worked their way into a position of power, some becoming feudal lords. But an insurrection by the Christians turned many of the Druze into serfs.

The Druze in Syria fared somewhat better, remaining autonomous, mainly because of their self-imposed isolation. This detachment also led to poverty, as Syrian Druze attempted to make a living from farming. They were considered more militant than their Lebanese counterparts and were involved in various tribal wars with other sects.

MODERN ERA

The Druze developed a fierce loyalty to each other because of their isolation. It also made them an easier target for French, British, and, later, Israeli occupying forces that wanted to undermine Arab nationalism after World War I. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the Druze lived under Christian rulers. Although the Druze were not really part of the Arab Nationalist movement, they were at odds with Christian leaders, especially the French. They feared that the French maintained contacts with Muslim sects that still tried to suppress them.

In 1926, Syrian Druze rose up against the French in what is called the Druze Rebellion. This insurrection failed and French authority was restored. Tensions continued to simmer until 1936, when France recognized both Lebanon and Syria as independent states and sovereign members of the League of Nations. The French remained a presence in both countries until the end of World War II.

The Druze had no geographical base from which to lobby for an autonomous regional authority. They were also too small in number to take any kind of powerful role in national affairs, which were dominated by two large sects, the Maronite Christians and Sunni Muslims. They had one privilege granted by the French that they had not enjoyed under the Ottomans: the right to officially adminis-

ter their own civil affairs according to the laws and customs of their community. Despite this, a long and complicated number of coups and upheavals continued in Syria and Lebanon.

Later, in Israel, the growing Druze population was permitted to exercise separate jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce, although the Druze had to participate in the same compulsory military service required of all residents. During the period of civil and political unrest in the 1960s and 1970s, some Druze protested Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights, and a minority of Druze was involved in violent acts. It was at this point that the rest of the world began hearing about the Druze from media reports, and modern misconceptions of the Druze as radical and violent emerged. Since the late 1980s, the American Druze Society has been involved in an educational campaign to inform the public that they are neither Muslim nor leftists nor anti-American.

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

An information packet distributed by the American Druze Women's Committee described the first wave of immigrants arriving in the United States in the early 1900s. Most settled in small towns across the country, with a significant group in Seattle, Washington. They maintained a very low religious profile. Many became at least nominally Christian, usually Protestant.

The second period of immigration lasted from 1947 to 1970, and the third phase occurred from 1971 until the late 1980s. Many Druze still send money to relatives in their homeland and visit as often as they can. Some arrange marriages with women from their home village. Their cultural ties, more than their religious bonds, are what bind the Druze together in their adopted countries.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

CUISINE

By tradition, the Druze are farmers who depend on olive groves and fruit orchards, carefully nurtured on the hillsides in the Middle East, for food. They grow cherry and apple trees, as well as wheat. Most families grow their own vegetables and fruit, bake their own bread and live, for the most part, on a vegetarian diet, with meat, primarily lamb, served only on special occasions.

A typical meal may include olives, pita or "mountain bread," eggplant, cauliflower, cheese,

and chickpeas flavored with onions, garlic, and sesame oil, rice, *burghul* (dried cracked wheat) or potatoes, a salad made of cucumbers, tomatoes, parsley and other herbs flavored with lemon and olive oil, yogurt, *baklava*, and seasonal fruit. Strong coffee is often served with meals.

In places where there are no butcher shops, animals are slaughtered infrequently, and the meat is eaten the same day. Animals are butchered by slitting their throats, in the Muslim fashion. The basic cooking ingredients are olive oil, clarified butter, and, sometimes, animal fat. The Druze favor lamb but also eat chicken and beef. They frown upon eating pork, although not as severely as Muslims. Most Westernized Druze do not object to eating it.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Druze living in America typically wear Western dress. But in most of the Middle East women still wear the traditional long black or blue dress with a white head covering. Men, who often grow mustaches, have abandoned the *shirwal* (traditional baggy pants, tight around the ankles) for Western-style trousers, but *shirwal* still can be purchased in Middle Eastern shops. Men working in the fields usually wear the traditional red and white checkered *kufiya* on their heads.

NAMES

The Druze are often given a name that could be Christian or Muslim. In the past, men were given Muslim names such as Mahmud, Ali or Muhammad; now, a Druze boy is more likely to be called Samir, Samih, Amin or Fawzi, names of no particular religious significance. The same is true for Druze girls. Muslim names such as A'isha and Fatima have all but disappeared in favor of neutral or even Christian names. Few family names are predictably Druze, aside from Arslan, Junbalat and al-Atrash.

HOUSING

In keeping with their belief in austerity, traditional Druze homes are sparsely furnished with low wooden tables and thin cushions lining the walls.

LANGUAGE

The Druze language is derived from Arabic. In everyday speech, the Druze are easily recognizable by the use of the *qaf*, a strong guttural "k" sound that is found in Arabic and translated as "q" in Eng-

lish. Outside the Middle East, the Druze may consciously drop the qaf and other distinct speech characteristics to avoid identification or appear more sophisticated.

GREETINGS AND COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Among the many Druze sayings are "Reason is above all" and "The pen is in thy hands, write and fear not." A traditional Druze war song proclaims, "We are the Children of Maruf! Among our rocks is sanctuary. When our spears grow rusty, we make them bright with the blood of our enemies."

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The life of the average Druze revolves closely around his or her family and his or her relationship with other Druze. Apart from Thursday night religious meetings, the Druze enjoy spending time together through visits to each other's homes. Hospitality is an important feature of the culture. The Druze are known for their generosity and are guided by a sense of chivalry and honor. This concept compels the Druze to look after each other, including widows, orphans, and the destitute. If the extended family cannot take care of a member, the larger community will find a means of support.

BIRTH

The birth of a baby, especially a son, is cause for celebration, with a typical gathering including family members and friends and gift giving. Sons are considered an asset, socially and economically. If a Druze couple has only daughters, they keep having children until sons are born. This leads to large families. The average Druze family has five or six children. More recent generations of Druze see the logic of having fewer children and providing for them, so the size of modern Druze families is shrinking. Male circumcision, which is universal among Muslims, is not ritually practiced by the Druze. There is no ceremony for the circumcision of newborns, although it is practiced among those living in urban areas or outside the Middle East, mainly for hygienic reasons.

WEDDINGS

Weddings and funerals provide another opportunity to bond, and these usually involve the whole community. Marriage celebrations can be quite extensive, depending on the means of the families

involved. Guests expect large quantities of food and drink. The dishes served are copious and extravagant and, unless there are too many disapproving attendees, wine and other spirits may be served. Although frowned upon, the Druze drink alcohol, the men more frequently than the women.

Marriage festivities also provide one of the few social occasions in which young men and women are allowed to mix socially and eye each other as potential marriage partners. Both the bride and the groom are expected to be virgins at the time of marriage, although men find opportunities to engage in premarital sex. The subject of sexual relations is taboo in a traditional Druze household. Nothing of a physical or sexual nature is ever brought up in conversation, especially with elders. The telling of a slightly off-color anecdote is considered a breach of manners.

Polygamy, while permitted to Muslims, is forbidden among the Druze. The Druze may marry within their family, including first cousins. Marriage outside of the Druze faith is forbidden. "If you marry out, you convert out," said Haeyl Azaam, a 30-year-old Israeli Druze who was quoted in *The Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*. "You're excommunicated. There's just no place for you in the community any more."

To keep marriage ties strong, a Druze will marry a spouse from another country rather than wed a local non-Druze. In an event arranged by the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1993, seven Druze brides in elaborate white gowns crossed the Israel-Syrian border to marry bridegrooms in the Golan Heights, according to a report in the *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*. From both sides of the cease-fire lines, hundreds of Druze danced and cheered as the couples married in the United Nations zone. The couples met each other through videotapes.

DIVORCE

Divorce is not easy for Druze. Although a Druze woman can initiate divorce proceedings, this is a rarity. The most frequent grounds for divorce by men are the failure of a wife to bear children, especially sons, disobedience, immodest behavior, or some chronic mental or physical illness that makes intercourse impossible. The wife may ask for divorce based on impotence, non-support, and desertion or lengthy absence. If a woman is divorced through her own failings, the husband is permitted to reclaim the dowry and the marriage expenses. In most cases, the Druze follow the custom of compensating the divorced wife for her

“exertions.” This benefit is especially important for the older woman who has few prospects of remarriage and cannot return to her father’s house or expect other support in her old age.

FUNERALS

Funerals are major events in the Druze community, even more so than marriage. Funeral arrangements are made immediately after death, and ceremonies are held that day, or the next day, at the latest. The body is washed and dressed in the finest clothes. At the funeral, women lament loudly and at length, and acquaintances tell stories of the departed’s virtues. Bodies are interred above ground, marked by monuments ranging from the very simple to the highly elaborate.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Druze women have always had the right to own and dispose of property freely. Historically, a significant number of Druze women were literate and educated. At the end of the twentieth century, literacy was almost universal for people under the age of 25. But a Druze woman holding a full-time job was still the exception.

Marriage is expected of all Druze women at a relatively early age, usually between 17 and 21 years, although a few marry as early as 15 years of age. The marriage, which often is arranged by the families, is usually preceded by a two-year engagement. Marriage partners are chosen from eligible young people within the same community.

Although Druze women traditionally enjoy a privileged status of near equality with men, there is no compromise in the matter of female chastity. A young woman is expected to be faithful to her husband throughout her whole life. A woman’s honor is the single most important factor in Druze family life, and its defilement is cause for great humiliation. If a woman’s dishonor becomes public knowledge, it is the responsibility of her father or brother to take what is considered appropriate action in their culture. It is not unknown, even today, for a Druze woman living in the Middle East to be murdered by her nearest male relative for shaming the family.

In Israel, Druze judges have forced the government to waive the requirement for a Druze woman’s photograph to appear on official documents, such as identity cards. They also object to male doctors attending or autopsying women. Many conservative Druze consider these acts as a shaming of a woman’s honor, in addition to things such as going to a cin-

ema. It is becoming more common, however, for women to leave the house with other women in pursuit of innocent pleasures such as shopping or going to lectures.

RELIGION

The origins of the Druze faith can be traced to Egypt in the early eleventh century. Their faith subsequently spread to many regions in the Middle East and North Africa. The basis of the religion is the belief that at various times God has been divinely incarnated in a living person. His last, and final, incarnation was al-Hakim bi-Amrih Alla, who announced himself as the earthly incarnation of God in about 1009. A year later, his followers helped shaped a creed that is still followed today.

The Druze religion is an outgrowth of Islam, although Muslims disavow it. The religion also incorporates elements of Judaism and Christianity. When the religion was established, its founders were influenced by Greek philosophy and Asiatic thought. Their progressive ideas—including the abolition of slavery and the separation of church and state—were considered unorthodox and placed its followers at risk. This cloak of secrecy continues today.

The tenets of the Druze religion are secret and mysterious, even to many Druze themselves, since the faith allows only a limited number of elite men and sometimes women, called *uqqal* (“the enlightened”), to study and learn all of its aspects. The *uqqals* oversee the religious life of their particular community, acting almost as intermediaries with God. Other Druze, known as the *juhhal* (“the unenlightened”), are not permitted to access the religion’s six holy books but are given a simplified outline of their faith in the form of a strict code of moral and ethical behavior.

The seven duties that all Druze are required to observe are recognition of al-Hakim and strict adherence to monotheism; negation of all non-Druze tenets; rejection of Satan and unbelief; acceptance of God’s acts; submission to God for good or ill; truthfulness; and mutual solidarity and help between fellow Druze. While they are respectful of other religions, the Druze are convinced that a severe judgment awaits all non-Druze.

Religious meetings are held on Thursday nights in inconspicuous buildings without embellishments or furniture, except a small lectern to lay books on during meditation. Men and women may sit together, but with a divider between them. During the first part of the service, community affairs are discussed, and everyone may attend. However, the *juhhal*

must leave when prayer, study, and meditation begin. The secrecy surrounding the Druze faith is meant to protect its followers from persecution.

In order to protect their religion and not divulge its teachings, the Druze worship as Muslims when among Muslims, and as Christians when among Christians. They allow no outside converts to their religion: one must be born into the Druze faith. What is known is that the Druze are *Muwahhidun*, or Unitarians, who believe in one God whose qualities cannot be understood or defined and who renders justice impartially.

Reincarnation is a key belief of the faith. The Druze believe that the number of days of one's life is fixed, not to be exceeded or diminished by a single day. Since a Druze considers his body a mere robe for the soul, he does not fear death because it is only a tearing of the robe. The Druze believe that as soon as one dies, his soul immediately is reborn into another body. If that person was bad in a previous life, however, his soul may return in the body of a dog. Reincarnation continues until one's soul achieves purification and merges with the Holy One. Hell is the failure to achieve this state.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although still a largely rural people with a long tradition of farming, younger Druze are seeking more professional occupations as they arrive in the United States and other countries, where they study and establish businesses. Today, the Druze work in banking, trade, small business, and transportation services. Druze students in American universities are likely to major in business administration, economics, or engineering. In Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, Druze men are prominent members of the local business community, particularly in American and European firms. They are known to be especially hardworking and trustworthy. In recent years, a number of Druze have joined the ranks of academia and can be found on the faculties of high schools and universities, particularly in the Middle East.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

MILITARY

The Druze believe in the co-existence of all religions, national and ethnic groups living under one flag. The sect's beliefs include loyalty to the country in which they reside, although all maintain close

ties with their homeland. Syrian Druze serve in the Syrian military; Lebanese Druze serve in the Lebanese Army; and Israeli Druze service in the Israeli Defense Forces. Many young Druze play a part in the daily defense of Israel's borders, serving the required three years.

When called upon, Druze living in America have served in the U.S. Armed Forces. However, Druze are reluctant to battle other Druze, and some defected from the Lebanese and Syrian armies when those countries were at war. Having been subjected to onslaughts from other sects, Druze also form their own militias to defend their territory when necessary.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

POLITICS

Salwa Shuqayr, the elder daughter of Druze immigrants from Lebanon, was appointed the State Department's chief of protocol by President Ronald Reagan in 1982.

MEDIA

There is no established Druze media in the United States, but Druze around the world stay connected through the Internet. Most Druze get news of what is going on in their native country and within their community in the United States through websites posted by the American Druze Society, the American Druze Foundation, and the American Druze Youth. *Actadruze* is a quarterly publication of the Druze Research and Publications Institute. It includes articles of special interest to the Druze community and general information about Druze around the world. The first issue appeared during the third quarter of 1999. To receive one free copy, go to (www.druzeinfo.com/actadruze.htm).

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Druze quickly recognized that modern technology could enable them to maintain contact with other Druze around the world. Websites are posted, but most of the associations do not list a contact name or mailing address.

American Druze Foundation.

Provides cultural and heritage information on Druze.

Address: P.O. Box 7718, Flint, Michigan 48507.
Telephone: (810) 235-3200.
E-mail: adf@druzeadf.com.
Website: <http://www.druzeadf.com>.

American Druze Society—Michigan Chapter.

Provides information about Druze activities and events around the United States. Holds an annual convention.

E-mail: druze@druze.org.
Website: <http://www.druze.org>.

Young Druze/Tawheed Professionals.

Provides information and networking opportunities.

E-mail: webmaster@ydp.com.
Website: <http://www.ydp.com>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Druze Research and Publications Institute.

Formally organized as a non-profit institute in 1998. Researches all aspects of Druze culture and publishes works based on that research. Implements projects intended to preserve Druze culture.

Address: PO Box 1433, New York, NY 10018.
Toll Free: (877) 500-3774.
Fax: (718) 426-1940.
E-mail: druze@druzeinfo.com.
Website: <http://druzeinfo.com>.

Institute of Druze Studies (IDS).

Dedicated to research and discourse on the Druze.

Address: P.O. Box 641025, Los Angeles, CA
90064.
Fax: 310-474-5900.
E-mail: ids@idspublications.com.

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DUTCH AMERICANS

by
Herbert J. Brinks

Mainstream culture
has either attracted
Dutch ethnics out of
their enclaves or the
surrounding culture
has so altered the
ethnic communities
that they can no
longer flourish on
ethnic exclusivity.

OVERVIEW

Located in northwestern Europe, the Netherlands is bounded to the east by Germany, to the south by Belgium, and to the north and west by the North Sea. The Netherlands has about 16,000 square miles of landmass, making the country roughly equal in size to New Jersey and Maryland combined. The nation supports a population density of about 1,000 people per square mile. A coastal region, incorporating two major harbors (Rotterdam and the Hudson Bay), the Netherlands' economy is heavily dependent upon shipping.

During the New Stone Age (c. 8000-3500 B.C.), the Netherlands' landmass roughly equaled its current 16,000 square miles, but by 55 B.C., when Rome's legions gained hegemony in the area, rising sea levels and erosion from winds, tides, and rivers reduced the coastal areas by at least 30 percent. Since then, the Dutch have employed various strategies to regain the land lost to the sea. Simple earthen hills (village sites) linked by dikes long preceded the complex drainage systems that drain the enclosed lowlands today with electrically powered pumps.

Windmills, preserved currently as historic monuments, pushed water up and out of the Netherlands for some five centuries (1400-1900) because viable habitation of the western provinces (South Holland, Zeeland, and North Holland) required flood control along the Rhine River delta and along the North Sea's shifting shoreline. The massive Delta Works,

stretching across the islands of South Holland and Zeeland, was constructed following disastrous floods in 1953 to protect the Netherlands from storms and high water. Because the most productive farm land together with the most populous commercial and industrial districts lie as much as 20 feet below sea level, hydrological science has become a hallmark of Dutch achievement.

HISTORY

While historians believe that nomadic peoples hunted and fished in the Netherlands as early as 16,000 B.C., the area was not settled until about 4000 B.C. Around 60 B.C., Roman armies under Julius Caesar conquered the Saxon, Celtic, and Frisian groups occupying the Netherlands at that time. The Romans built roads and made improvements to existing dikes in the lowlands. In the A.D. 400s, as Rome weakened, the Germanic Franks conquered the area and later introduced the Dutch to Christianity.

From the 700s to the 1100s, the Dutch were subjected to violent raids by Viking sailors from Scandinavia. During this unstable period, power passed to local nobles, whose arms and castles offered protection in return for rent, labor, and taxes. This system gradually declined when, beginning in the 1300s, much of the Netherlands was taken by the dukes of Burgundy, a powerful French feudal dynasty. In the early 1500s, Charles V, Duke of Burgundy, inherited the thrones of both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. While he was well-liked by the Dutch, his successors were not. In 1568 the Dutch prince, William the Silent (1533-1584), led a rebellion against the Spanish Habsburgs (Phillip II, 1527-1621), initiating the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648). Although William was assassinated in 1584, his efforts eventually resulted in Dutch independence. For this reason, he is often regarded as the Father of the Netherlands.

Resistance to the Spanish united the lowlanders, who previously had local (rather than national) loyalties. In 1579 the Union of Utrecht unified the seven northern lowland provinces. (Their 1580 agreement, essentially a defensive alliance, served as a national constitution until 1795.) Two years later (1581), those provinces declared the Netherlands an independent country. Meanwhile, Dutch exploration and trade had flourished and by the 1620s, the Dutch shipping fleet was the world's largest. This "Golden Age" lasted until the 1700s, after which the Netherlands underwent a gradual decline as the balance of colonial power shifted in favor of England. The beginning of this change can be traced to the 1664 sale of New Netherland (New York) to England.

MODERN ERA

The Netherlands was occupied by the French during the Napoleonic Era (1795-1813). Afterwards, in 1814, descendants of the House of Orange established a monarchy, which was reformed successively in 1848, 1896, and 1919 to create a broadly based democracy. Today, the Netherlands has a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral, multi-party system administered by a premier and a coalition cabinet of ministers. Queen Beatrix (1938–), the titular head of state, performs largely ceremonial duties.

THE FIRST DUTCH SETTLERS IN AMERICA

Following English explorer Henry Hudson's 1609 exploration of the Hudson River, a new joint stock company, the Dutch West India Company (1621), gained colonization rights in the Hudson River area and founded New Netherland (New York). The Dutch West India Company was chartered specifically to trade in the New World, where the Dutch had acquired colonies in Brazil, the Caribbean, and the east coast of North America. Pursuing its commercial interest in New Netherland, the company established Fort Orange (Albany), Breuckelen (Brooklyn), Vlissingen (Flushing), and in Delaware, Swanendael (Lewes). In 1624 the company also established the Dutch Reformed Church (the Reformed Church in America) which has exercised a significant influence in the Dutch American community.

In New Amsterdam (New York City) Governor Peter Stuyvesant (1592-1672) attempted to eliminate all worship apart from that of the Dutch Reformed Church, but his governing board in Amsterdam opposed the policy as detrimental to commerce. Like Amsterdam itself, New Amsterdam did not enforce rules which prohibited worship to Jews, Catholics, and others. Thus, New Amsterdam flourished and, as New York City, it continues to host a diverse populace with widely varying religious expressions.

After the British captured New Netherland in 1664, Dutch immigration virtually ceased but England imposed no severe restraints on the Dutch and the vast majority remained in New York. By 1790 they numbered about 100,000 and, in addition to New York City, they clustered in towns and villages scattered along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers. In New Jersey they established towns beside the Hackensack, Passaic, and Raritan Rivers. In such places they dominated the local culture, spoke Dutch, and established both Reformed churches and day schools. After the American Revolution, the Dutch more rapidly assimilated into the dominant Anglo-



In this 1921 photograph, a Dutch woman and her children prepare to depart from the *S.S. Vedic* in New York City.

American culture by adopting English for worship, by attending public schools, and by attaining social status within the general culture. Consequently, when a new wave of Dutch immigrants came to the United States in the 1840s, they found few in New York or elsewhere who spoke Dutch.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Nineteenth-century Dutch immigration, numbering about 200 people annually before 1845, increased that year to 800 and averaged 1,150 annually over the next decade. That movement stemmed from religious and economic discontent in the Netherlands; a

potato famine (1845-1846) and high unemployment combined with a division in the Reformed Church that pitted conservative Calvinists against the increasingly liberal State Church forced many Dutch to emigrate. At the same time, three clergymen organized colonies on the Midwestern frontier. In 1848 Father Theodore J. Van den Broek (1783-1851) established a Catholic community in Little Chute, near Green Bay, Wisconsin. Two conservative Reformed pastors, Albertus Van Raalte (1811-1876) and Hendrik P. Scholte (1805-1868) founded respectively, Holland, Michigan (1847) and Pella, Iowa (1847). Once these communities were established, printed brochures and private correspondence triggered a persistent flow of newcomers until 1930, when immigration quotas and the Great Depression closed out that 85-year period of migration. During that era, Dutch immigration followed typical northern European patterns, increasing or decreasing in response to economic prospects at home or in the United States. With peaks in the mid-1870s, the early 1880s and 1890s, and again from 1904 to 1914, a total of about 400,000 Netherlanders immigrated to the United States between 1845 and 1930.

Seventy-five to 80 percent of these immigrants originated from rural provinces surrounding the Netherlands' urban core. They settled mainly in the Midwest, clustering where the original colonies had been established in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Iowa. They also settled in and around Chicago, in Paterson, New Jersey and in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Those with hopes of becoming independent farmers moved West and gained land under the Homestead Act, which encouraged settlement in northwestern Iowa, South Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, and California. In nearly every settlement, they organized and had prominent roles in local towns where they established churches, private schools, and farm-related businesses of all sorts. After 1900, when the best homestead lands were occupied, the Dutch selected urban industrial locations and formed solid ethnic enclaves in Grand Rapids, Chicago, and Paterson. By 1930 Dutch immigrant communities stretched from coast to coast across the northern tier of states, but they concentrated most heavily around the southern half of Lake Michigan, from Muskegon, Michigan, through Chicago and north to Green Bay, Wisconsin.

After World War II, when a war-ravaged economy and a severe housing shortage caused a third of the Dutch populace to seriously consider emigration, a new wave of 80,000 immigrants came to the United States. The Dutch government encouraged emigration and sought to increase the annual U.S. immigration quota of 3,131. Consequently, under special provisions of the Walter-Pastori Refugee

Relief Acts (1950-1956), about 18,000 Dutch Indonesians were admitted to the United States. These Dutch Colonials, who had immigrated to the Netherlands after 1949 when Indonesia became independent, settled primarily in California, the destination of many other postwar Dutch immigrants. The 1970 U.S. Census recorded the highest number (28,000) of foreign-born Dutch in California, while seven other states—Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Washington, Florida, and Iowa—hosted nearly the whole 50,000 balance. Apart from Florida, these states had been traditional strongholds for Dutch Americans.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

During the chief era of Dutch immigration, 1621-1970, religious and ideological viewpoints structured the character of public institutions in the Netherlands. In the Dutch Republic (1580-1795), Reformed Protestants controlled the government, schools, public charities, and most aspects of social behavior. Although both Catholics and Jews practiced their faith without hindrance, they could not hold public offices. Then, beginning in the 1850s, when the national constitution permitted a multi-party system, political parties grew from constituencies identified with specific churches or ideologies. The Reformed, the Catholic, and the Socialist groups each organized one or more parties. In addition, each group established separate schools, labor unions, newspapers, recreational clubs, and even a schedule of television programs to serve constituencies. Dutch Americans recreated parts of that structure wherever they clustered in sufficient numbers to sustain ethnic churches, schools, and other institutions. Since the 1960s, these enclaved groups have begun to embrace mainstream American institutions more rapidly and they have altered the goals of their private organizations to attract and serve a multicultural constituency.

Religious and cultural separation flourished primarily in the ethnically dense population centers of Reformed Protestants. Dutch Catholics, apart from those in the Green Bay area, were not concentrated in large numbers. Instead they joined other Catholic parishes in Cincinnati, St. Louis, New York City, and elsewhere. Even around Green Bay, Dutch Catholics intermarried readily with Catholics of other ethnicities. Lacking large and cohesive enclaves, Dutch Catholics were neither able nor inclined to re-establish ethnic institutions in America. Similarly, Dutch Jews settled mainly in cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, where they assimilated the



Dressed in traditional Dutch garb, one-year-old Micah Zantigh inspects tulips at the Tulip Festival in Pella, Iowa.

social and religious patterns of much larger Jewish groups from Germany, Russia, and Poland. One prominent Dutch rabbi in New York, Samuel Myer Isaacs (1804-1878), attempted to maintain a Dutch identity by founding a synagogue, a school, and the orthodox periodical *The Messenger*, but these institutions faltered after his death.

Currently, the major strongholds of Dutch American separatism are fragmenting rapidly. Reformed churches, schools, colleges, theological schools and even retirement facilities for the aged are campaigning to gain a full spectrum of non-Dutch clients. Marriage outside of the ethnic group has become common and media-driven popular culture has altered traditional behavior among all age groups. In short, mainstream culture has either attracted Dutch ethnics out of their enclaves or the surrounding culture has so altered the ethnic communities that they can no longer flourish on ethnic exclusivity.

There are no aggressively mean-spirited or demeaning stereotypes of Dutch Americans. They are correctly perceived as valuing property, inclined to small business ventures, and culturally conserva-

tive with enduring loyalties to their churches, colleges, and other institutions. The perception that they are exceptionally clannish is also accurate, but that characteristic is demonstrated primarily among Reformed Protestants. Other ethnic stereotypes—financial penury, a proclivity for liquor and tobacco, and a general humorlessness—reflect individual rather than group features.

CUISINE

The earlier immigrants' plain diets (potatoes, cabbage and pea soup with little meat beyond sausage and bacon) could not compete with America's meat-oriented menu. In general, Dutch foods are not rich or exotic. Potatoes and vegetables combined with meat in a Dutch oven, fish, and soups are typical. The Indonesian rice table, now widely popular in Dutch American kitchens, came from Dutch colonials. Holiday pastries flavored with almond paste are a major component of Dutch baked goods. Social gatherings thrive on coffee and cookies with brandy-soaked raisins during the Christmas season.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

In the Netherlands traditional costumes vary by region, demonstrating local loyalties, once paramount, that still flavor Dutch life. Men often dressed in baggy black pants and colorful, wide-brimmed hats, while women wore voluminous black dresses, colorfully embroidered bodices, and lace bonnets. Such costumes have been replaced by modern clothes in the Netherlands. In the United States, traditional dress is reserved for special occasions.

HOLIDAYS

Dutch Jews and Christians generally celebrate the holidays associated with their particular religious affiliation. Many postwar immigrants, however, have preserved a distinctive pattern of Christmas observance which separates gift exchanges on St. Nicholas Day (December 6) from the religious celebrations of December 25.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no specifically Dutch related medical problems or conditions. Health and life insurance, either private or from institutional sources, has long ago replaced the need for immigrant aid cooperatives which once provided modest death benefits. Reformed churches regularly assisted widows, orphans, and chronically dependent people prior to the Social Security system. In isolated cases, church funds are still used to supplement the incomes of especially needy persons or to assist those with catastrophic needs. For mental diseases, a cluster of Reformed denominations established the Pine Rest Psychiatric Hospital in 1910, but that institution now serves the general public. Other institutions, the Bethany Christian Home adoption agency and the Bethesda tuberculosis sanatorium, have also been transformed to serve a multicultural clientele.

LANGUAGE

In general, the Dutch language is no longer used by Dutch Americans. The vast majority of postwar immigrants have adopted English and the small number of immigrants who have arrived since the 1960s are bilingual because English is virtually a second language in the Netherlands. Still, some Dutch words and expressions have survived: *vies* (“fees”) denotes filth and moral degradation; *benauwd* (“benout”) refers to feelings of anxiety, both physical and emotional; *flauw* (“flou”) describes tasteless foods, dull persons, and faint feeling; and *gezellig* (“gezelik”) is a comfortable social

gathering. Typical Dutch greetings, *dag* (“dag”), which means “good day” and *hoe gaat het* (“who gat het”) for “how are you doing,” are no longer in common usage in the United States.

There are small groups of Dutch Americans—descendants of nineteenth century immigrants—who have maintained provincial Dutch dialects (including dialects from Overijssel, Drenthe, and Zeeland) that have all but disappeared in the modern-day Netherlands. Consequently, some Dutch linguists have traveled to western Michigan and other Dutch American strongholds to record these antiquated dialects.

Formal Dutch remained vital among the immigrants until the 1930s, due partly to its use for worship services, but World War I patriotism, which prohibited the use of German, Dutch and other languages, signaled the demise of Dutch usage in Reformed churches. Long before the World War I, however, Dutch Americans, and especially their American-born children, began to reject the ancestral language. It was well understood and frequently asserted among them that economic opportunities were greater for those who spoke English. Consequently, daily wage earners, business people, and even farm hands adopted English as quickly as possible. Formal Dutch is currently used only in commemorative worship services, and in the language departments of several colleges founded by Dutch Americans. Among these, only Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, offers a major in Dutch language and literature.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Colonial New Netherland (New York), like Jamestown and other trading post colonies, attracted single men, few women, and even fewer families. Every account of New Amsterdam (New York City) refers to its rough and raucous social character—the products of an astonishing mixture of people, languages, and behavior which severely tested polite standards of social order. By the time of the British conquest in 1664, however, the arrival of immigrant women and the high colonial birth rate provided a population base for marriages and family life.

When the British took formal control of the colony, the Dutch populace, about 8,000 people, struggled to retain their cultural identity. Until about 1720, Dutch ethnics married within the group, worshiped together, and joined hands for economic and political objectives. Family cohesion was at the core of this ethnic vitality, but by 1800,

Dutch ethnicity had weakened because economic and cultural bonds were established outside of the ethnic subculture. These bonds eventually led to marriages across ethnic lines.

Apart from New York City, in the many towns founded by the Dutch (such as Albany and Kinderhook, New York, and Hackensack and New Brunswick, New Jersey) ethnic solidarity persisted well into the nineteenth century. In such places Dutch families adhered to the values instilled by Reformed churches and their day schools. Men dominated all the public institutions, while women managed typically large households with six or seven children. Domestic life, including the education of girls, depended largely on Dutch homemakers. Girls and boys gained basic skills from part-time teachers who were also expected to indoctrinate their students for church membership. Formal education continued for boys, who excelled academically, usually in the form of an apprentice relationship with lawyers, pastors, and business firms. Women received the bulk of their training from mothers and older female relatives. By 1800 most of the parochial schools were replaced by public instruction, which led to an increase in the level of formal education for girls.

In the nineteenth century, most Dutch immigrants to America had family members who had preceded them. The newcomers (80 percent) came largely from rural areas and resettled in rural America where extended families were frequently reconstituted. Siblings, parents, and even grandparents regularly joined the first settlers, contributing to the family-oriented character of that ethnic subculture. The original colonies in Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin spawned more than one hundred similarly rural towns and villages which attracted successive waves of farmers, farm hands, and craftspeople. When Dutch immigration shifted from rural to urban destinations (1890-1930), the newcomers clustered in enclaves that grew once again when extended families reunited in places like Paterson, New Jersey; Grand Rapids, Michigan; and the Chicago area. These Dutch American communities still exist, but the urban enclaves have regrouped in suburban areas, while many farmers have moved either to ethnic towns or suburban neighborhoods. Throughout its history, the Dutch subculture has been sustained by a complex institutional structure of churches, schools, homes for the aged, recreational organizations, and small businesses.

Private schools, which were especially attractive to devoted traditionalists, provided educational opportunities without a notable gender bias, but most women became housewives and supported the

male-dominated institutions which served the ethnic subculture. Since the 1960s, Dutch American women have moved beyond the teaching, secretarial, nursing, and homemaking professions into medicine, law, business, and ecclesiastical positions.

The new infusion of 80,000 Dutch immigrants, who arrived after World War II (1946-1956), reinvigorated Dutch ethnicity across the continent. It is more from them than their nineteenth-century predecessors that ethnic foods and customs have been introduced to the Dutch American community.

RELIGION

Neither Dutch Catholics nor Jews have retained discernible ethnic practices in their religious exercises. Both groups are part of international organizations which, because they used either Latin or Hebrew in formal rituals, were not drawn into major controversies regarding vernacular language usage in worship. Furthermore, due to their general dispersion, Dutch Catholics and Jews have had few opportunities to dominate either a parish or a synagogue. Instead they have worshiped and intermarried readily within multi-ethnic religious communities. Furthermore, Dutch Jews and Catholics have not acted in concert to support particular branches of Judaism or specific viewpoints within the Roman Catholic Church. Even the Dutch Catholic stronghold around Green Bay, Wisconsin, has become ethnically diverse, including French, German, and Flemish Catholics. One village, Little Chute, however, does continue to promote its Dutch ethnicity with a mid-September celebration (*kermis*), featuring a Dutch-costume parade, games, and craft exhibits. And Holland, Michigan, hosts its annual tulip festival in the spring.

By contrast, Dutch Protestants, most of whom affiliated with a cluster of Reformed churches, have spawned a long history of controversy regarding language usage, doctrinal interpretations, and liturgical expressions—all issues that were intimately related to cultural adaptation. In the Colonial Era the Dutch Reformed Church experienced crippling divisions (1737-1771) due to conflicting views of ordination and theological education. One group favored continued interdependence with church authorities in the Netherlands (the Classis of Amsterdam), while the American party, led by Theodore Frelinghuysen (1692-1742), promoted education and clerical ordination at “home” in the colonies. Then, in 1792, the Dutch Reformed Church became an independent denomination known as the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church (RCA). With that the RCA moved toward main-

These Dutch Americans are performing in the 1985 Tulip Festival, an annual event that takes place in Holland, Michigan.



line status by adopting English, cooperating with other major church groups (Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal), and participating in interdenominational campaigns to establish churches on the Midwestern frontier.

In the late 1840s about 3,000 Dutch Protestant immigrants settled in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and by 1850 a large majority of these newcomers became affiliated with the New York-based RCA. The immigrants' spiritual patriarch, Albertus Van Raalte, had contacted the RCA's leaders before immigrating, and because he found them both helpful and doctrinally compatible, he and his followers united with the RCA. Some Midwestern immigrants, however, objected to this fusion; they initiated a separatist movement in 1857 which became the Christian Reformed Church (CRC).

Throughout the next hundred years, the two denominations pursued different strategies for cultural adaptation. The RCA acquired American church programs, including the revival, the Sunday school movement, and ecumenical cooperation, while neglecting its Netherlandic connections and traditions. The CRC, however, remained loyal to its religious cohorts in the Netherlands. That posture was marked by its general use of Dutch until the 1920s, and by the CRC's efforts to recreate Calvinistic schools and other institutions on the Dutch model. In this practice they followed the views of Dr. Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920), the most prominent Reformed leader in the Netherlands. Consequently, the CRC attracted a majority of the Reformed immi-

grants who arrived between 1880 and 1920.

Since the 1960s and especially during the period from 1985 to 1995, the RCA and CRC have become increasingly similar. Netherlandic theology and culture no longer influence the CRC significantly and the denomination increasingly emulates the liturgical and theological ethos of conservative evangelical groups affiliated with the National Association of Evangelicals. Although the RCA, with membership in the World Council of Churches, is more broadly ecumenical than the CRC, the two denominations have appointed a joint committee to encourage cooperation. At the same time, the growing tide of congregationalism has diminished denominational cohesion among them so that, like American political parties, the two denominations contain a wide spectrum of viewpoints. Neither denomination, then, can be labeled exclusively liberal or conservative.

The prospect for an eventual reunification of the RCA and CRC is good. At present their respective clergymen, theological professors, and parishioners move freely across denominational boundaries, and their parishioners have a long history of acting jointly to establish nursing homes, retirement facilities, and mental health institutions. The two denominations proclaim identical confessions of faith and no barriers restrict their mutual participation in sacramental rites. They are divided primarily by traditions, which are becoming increasingly irrelevant due to a rapid assimilation of America's mainstream religious attitudes and values.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Free enterprise capitalism was introduced to the United States by the joint stock companies that colonized the eastern seaboard. The New Netherland Colony (New York) exemplified that phenomenon just as obviously as Jamestown and the New England Company. Understandably, then, Dutch immigrants have never been seriously disoriented by economic procedures in the United States. Virtually the whole populace of New Amsterdam and its surrounding areas was defined by its relationship to the joint stock company. Early Dutch immigrants were stockholders, officers, and employees, or traders operating illegally on the fringes of the company's jurisdiction. In all these cases, including the farmers who provisioned the trading posts, small and large businesses dominated daily life in New Amsterdam.

Like others with roots in the Colonial Era, Dutch merchants, farmers, and land speculators benefited from being among the first to invest in the New World. Families such as the Van Rensselaers, Schuylers, and Roosevelts quickly joined the ranks of prominent Americans. By contrast, Cornelius Vanderbilt left a small farm to become a captain of great wealth 150 years after his ancestors immigrated to America in 1644. In fact, for all of the early Dutch Americans, as well as nineteenth-century immigrants, self-employment and economic security were major objectives.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, Dutch immigrants preferred agriculture as the means to economic independence. Because 80 percent of them were farm hands, day laborers, small farmers, and village craftsmen, they readily became self-employed farmers either on inexpensive government land or, after 1862, on free homestead land until about 1900.

Dutch immigrants arriving in the twentieth century were frequently employed in factories, the construction trades, and garden farming. But during the prosperous 1950s, many if not most Dutch Americans developed small family businesses—construction, trucking, repair shops, and retailing. They ranged from door-to-door vendors of eggs and garden farm produce to developers of supermarket chains. Few were unionized shop workers. Supported by the G.I. Bill of Rights (1944), many Dutch American veterans acquired college and professional training to enter law, medicine, dentistry, and teaching so that today nearly every Dutch American family has post graduate professionals among its children and grandchildren. Those who remain in

agriculture (less than ten percent) cultivate large farms. For non-professionals, incomes average about \$30,000 and for the 50 percent who have attended college and professional schools, incomes are between \$30,000 and \$100,000. Home ownership, usually in suburbs or small towns, is a common feature of the Dutch American community.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The vast majority of Dutch Americans are Republicans but they are usually not political activists. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), Dutch Americans organized to influence U.S. foreign policy in favor of the South African Boers. Because they distrusted Great Britain, the Dutch resisted Woodrow Wilson's pro-British policies prior to World War I. But when war broke out, they did not resist the draft. Instead, to demonstrate their loyalty, they enlisted, bought war bonds, and adopted English. During that era, religious and educational leaders promoted patriotism, which has remained vibrant to the present.

“We all have our pet notions as to the particular evil which is ‘the curse of America,’ but I always think that Theodore Roosevelt came closest to the real curse when he classed it as a lack of thoroughness.”

Dutch immigrant Edward Bok, from his Pulitzer Prize-winning account of his editorial career, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, 1920.

In places where the Dutch are concentrated, especially in western Michigan and northwestern Iowa, they have elected Dutch Americans to local, state and national offices. With few exceptions, Republican loyalty has not been breached by ethnic cohesion.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

BUSINESS

Major business leaders stretching from the railroad builder, Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794-1877), to Wayne Huizenga (1938–), co-founder of Waste Management Inc. and the Blockbuster Video chain, demonstrate that Dutch Americans have reached the highest levels of commercial success. But again, apart from its early engagement in establishing world-wide capitalism, Netherlandic culture has had little to do with the specific endeavors of its

most prominent Dutch American entrepreneurs. Others in this category—Walter Chrysler (1875-1940) of auto fame, retail innovator Hendrik Meijer (1883-1964), and the Amway Corporation's co-founders—Jay Van Andel (1924–) and Richard De Vos (1926–)—have created uniquely American institutions.

Among less prominent entrepreneurs, the Hekman brothers and several book publishers have adapted ethnic business ventures to gain national markets. John Hekman (1866-1951), his brother Jelle (1888-1957), and Jan Vander Heide (1905-1988) both inherited and purchased small-scale bakeries which currently market nationally under the Keebler and Dutch Twin labels. A third Hekman brother, Henry (1890-1962), developed his furniture company with an upscale inventory of office and home furniture. In this he joined several other Dutch-owned furniture companies in western Michigan—such as Bergsma Brothers, Hollis Baker, and especially Walter D. Idema, who with others founded the metal office furniture giant, Steelcase Inc. Doubtless the area's large number of Dutch immigrants with woodworking skills has contributed to Grand Rapids' long-standing identity as the furniture city.

ENTERTAINMENT

Pop culture icons like film producer Cecil B. de Mille (1881-1951) and rock star Bruce Springsteen (1949–) are Dutch American.

LITERATURE

Americans of Dutch descent have contributed significantly to American literature but, while firmly embedded in the literary canon, the works of Walt Whitman (1819-1892), Herman Melville (1819-1891) and Van Wyck Brooks (1885-1963) demonstrate little or nothing that reflects a Dutch American ethos. Well-known authors whose Dutch ethnicity shaped and informed their works include Peter De Vries (1910-1993), David (1901-1967) and Meindert De Jong (1906-1991), along with Frederick Manfred (1912–), and Arnold Mulder (1885-1959). Both De Vries' *The Blood of the Lamb* and Manfred's *The Green Earth* draw deeply from the wells of ethnic experience. Unlike Arnold Mulder's characters, who trade ethnic culture for that of the American mainstream, Manfred's *Englekings* and De Vries' *Don Wanderhope* incorporate their ethnicity and struggle with its meaning. David De Jong's *With a Dutch Accent* highlights conflicts between settled and newly arriving immigrants

within Dutch enclaves, while Meindert De Jong crafted his widely acclaimed children's literature from recollections of his Netherlandic (Frisian) boyhood.

POLITICS

Dutch American political activists who achieved national prominence—Martin Van Buren (1782-1862), Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (1906-1975), and Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945)—achieved nothing of significance that can be ascribed to their Netherlandic backgrounds. In contrast, Senator Arthur Vandenberg (1884-1951) and current U.S. Representatives Peter Hoekstra (1954–) and Vern Ehlers (1934–) owe much of their political success to the large percentage of Dutch ethnic support they attract in their districts. Similar correlations are evident in northwestern Iowa or in Whatcom County, Washington where the executive director, Shirley Van Zanten, receives crucial support from ethnic cohorts. The Dutch, wherever they cluster together—in western Michigan, in the Chicago area, in Washington State, and in Iowa—are pervasively conservative and Republican. Of 41 Dutch Americans holding national, state, and local offices, 35 are Republican. Thus, socialist Daniel de Leon (1852-1914) and pacifist A. J. Muste (1885-1967) are clearly atypical among their ethnic cohorts.

PUBLISHING

Grand Rapids, Michigan, has also become a center for the publication of religious books, led by the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. Eerdmans (1882-1966) and Louis Kregel (1890-1939) began by printing and reprinting Dutch and English books, catechisms, and pamphlets for the Reformed community. Since then, the Kregel firm has continued to feature the republication of standard religious works, while Eerdmans issues an inventory of new studies in theology, literature, and history aimed at a wide spectrum of religious interest groups. The Baker Book House, founded by Louis Kregel's son-in-law, Herman Baker (1912-1991), publishes primarily for traditional religious groups. Peter J. Zondervan (1909-1993) left Eerdmans in 1931 to organize the Zondervan Corporation which, with a chain of Midwestern book stores, has created a market among Christian fundamentalists. Edward Bok (1863-1930) came to America from Holland as a small child; he became editor of *Ladies' Home Journal* and addressed it to America's homemakers—a revolution in publishing.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, MEDICINE, AND HISTORY

Due largely to their abiding interest in Reformed religious perspectives, Dutch Americans are prominent in theology, philosophy and in some facets of history. They have founded theological schools in Grand Rapids, Michigan (Calvin Theological Seminary, 1876), in New Jersey (New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1784), and in Holland, Michigan (Western Theological Seminary, 1866). Graduates Lewis B. Smedes (1921–) and Richard Mouw (1941–), both currently at Pasadena's Fuller Theological Seminary, have gained national acclaim from their publications and lectures. Robert Schuller (1926–) is the most widely known preacher with a Dutch Reformed heritage. Among theological school professors, Ira John Hesselink (1928–) at Western, Cornelius Plantinga (1946–) at Calvin, James Muilenburg (1896–?) at Union, and Simon De Vries (1921–) at the Methodist Theological School in Delaware, Ohio, have gained wide acclaim due to their classroom teaching and many publications. In philosophy, Yale's Nicholas Wolterstorff (1932–) and Alvin Plantinga (1932–) from Notre Dame have reinvigorated religious discussions throughout the international community of philosophers. Both William Bousma (1923–), in his re-examination of John Calvin (1509-1564), and Dale Van Kley (1941–), with revisionist studies of the French Revolution, have rekindled and directed an interest in the historical significance of religion in Western history. Famed pediatrician Benjamin Spock (1903–1999) guided millions of young parents with his baby books.

MEDIA

Dutch-language journalism, vibrant between 1870 and 1920, included more than 50 periodicals, but none have survived without adopting English. *De Wachter* (*Watchman*) persisted from 1868 to 1985 with subsidies from the Christian Reformed Church. Two bilingual periodicals, *D.I.S.*—published by the Dutch International Society—and the *Windmill Herald*, retain an audience from among the postwar immigrants, but with the passing of that generation, even bilingual periodicals will probably cease to exist.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Dutch Family Heritage Society (DFHS).

Gathers and disseminates information on Dutch history, culture, and genealogy in the United States, Canada, and Netherlands.

Contact: Mary Lynn Spijkerman Parker, President.

Address: 2463 Ledgewood Drive, West Jordan, Utah 84084.

Telephone: (801) 967-8400.

Fax: (801) 963-4604.

E-mail: ndpc15b@prodigy.com.

The Dutch International Society.

With a North American and Netherlandic membership, the society maintains international relationships by travel tours, the quarterly *D.I.S. Magazine*, and sponsoring cultural programs and events.

Contact: Peter Wobbema, President.

Address: 5370 Eastern Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508.

Telephone: (616) 531-2298.

The Holland Society of New York.

Organized to collect and preserve information about the history of Colonial New Netherlands, membership consists primarily of Colonial Era descendants.

Contact: Annette Van Rooy, Executive Secretary.

Address: 122 East 58th Street, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 758-1675.

Fax: (212) 758-2232.

E-mail: hollso@aol.com.

Netherland-America Foundation (NAF).

Works to advance educational, literary, artistic, scientific, historical, and cultural relationships between United States and the Netherlands.

Contact: Wanda Fleck, Administrator.

Address: 135 East 57th Street, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 409-1900.

Fax: (212) 832-2209.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Association for the Advancement of Dutch-American Studies (AADAS).

Seeks to record the achievements and influence of North American Dutch and Americans of Dutch ancestry in government, industry, science, religion, education, and the arts. Analyzes North American-Netherlandic relations. Maintains the Joint Archives of Holland, which contains the combined archival resources of Hope College, the Western Theological Seminary, and the Holland, Michigan,

community, and centers on the general history of Dutch Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Contact: Larry J. Wagenaar, Executive Director.

Address: Joint Archives of Holland, Hope College
Campus, Holland, Michigan 49423.

Telephone: (616) 394-7798.

Fax: (616) 395-7197.

Calvin College and Theological Seminary Library Archives.

Contains manuscripts, books, microfilm, and periodicals for the study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Dutch American history, religion, and culture in the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands. Its publications include: *Origins*, a biannual historical journal; the annual *Newsletter*; and *Heritage Hall Publication Series*.

Contact: Zwanet Janssens, Archivist.

Address: 3207 Burton Street, S.E., Grand Rapids,
Michigan 49546.

Telephone: (616) 957-6313.

Dutch Heritage Center.

Contains books, manuscripts, microfilm, and periodicals for the study of Dutch American history and culture in the greater Chicago area.

Contact: Hendrik Sliemers, Curator.

Address: Trinity Christian College, 6601 West
College Drive, Palos Heights, Illinois 60463.

Telephone: (708) 597-3000.

Northwestern College Library Archives.

Provides manuscripts, books, microfilm, and periodicals for the study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Dutch American history in northwestern Iowa, Orange City, and Northwestern College.

Contact: Nella Kennedy, Archivist.

Address: Orange City, Iowa 51041.

Telephone: (712) 737-7000.

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EQUADORAN AMERICANS

by
Jeremy Mumford

Ecuadoran Americans
are ambivalent about
assimilation. It eases
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of home.

OVERVIEW

Ecuador is a small country on the northwestern coast of South America. It measures 280,000 square kilometers—roughly the size of Colorado. It is bordered by Colombia on the north, Peru on the south and east, and the Pacific Ocean on the west. The earth's equator, for which the country is named, runs through Ecuador only a few miles from its capital, Quito. Ecuador's flag consists of horizontal stripes—a wide yellow stripe above narrower blue and red stripes—surmounted by the national seal. This seal contains various national symbols, including a huge bird of prey with wings outspread, the sun in the sky, a white mountain and a boat on a river.

Geography divides Ecuador into three regions, western, central, and eastern. In the west is the coast, or *costa*. Flat and streaked with rivers, this region is a lush, hot jungle. East of that are the Andes, or the *sierra*. For centuries this was the most populous and dominant region. The highest peaks fall into two ranges that run parallel to each other, north and south; between them is a long, fertile plateau, which the nineteenth century explorer Alexander von Humboldt called “the Avenue of the Volcanoes.” This “avenue” and the lower slopes of the great mountains are crowded with history and human settlement. Below the mountains on the eastern side is the Amazonian area, or the *oriente*. While similar in climate to the *costa*, it has a denser jungle, greater rivers, and is in every way more iso-

lated from the outside world. Only two percent of Ecuador's population lived in the *oriente*. In much of this region, Spanish is not spoken. Of the three this region has the loosest ties to the Ecuadoran state. Yet it is here that Ecuador's greatest wealth in recent times is found: its oil, its "black gold."

Ecuador's population is about 11 million. The majority are descended from Spaniards and Indians. In the last 30 years, between 200,000 and 500,000 Ecuadorans—between about two and five percent of the national population—have immigrated to the United States.

Ecuador's history has long been shaped by empires from outside, and its identity as an independent unified nation is of recent origin. Historically, Ecuador has had to struggle against both external and internal forces threatening its national identity. On the one hand, larger neighbors have at various times absorbed part or all of its territory. On the other hand, Ecuador's three regions have such separate geographical and social characteristics that a sense of common nationality is difficult.

HISTORY

Many civilizations have inhabited Ecuador over the millennia, but there is little continuity between most of these groups and modern Ecuadorans. Coastal Ecuador has been called the cradle of South America because the earliest evidence of advanced human society was found here. A shroud of mystery covers the first settlement of the continent. Most historians assume its first inhabitants were migrants from northeast Asia who crossed the Bering Strait and worked their way south. Others think settlers may have reached South America by sea from Japan or elsewhere. In any case, the earliest South Americans whose artifacts have survived were coastal Ecuadorans—the Valdivian civilization in Manabí province, whose pottery dates from 3500 B.C. Later Ecuadorans *costeños* (people of the *costa*) produced finely worked gold and platinum ornaments; their descendants may have carried their pottery and metal-working skills into the Andean highlands and beyond.

While the earliest settled societies in Ecuador were on the coast, in later centuries the most powerful and advanced societies were found in the mountains. Various ethnolinguistic groups, with varying degrees of political organization, divided the highlands between them, sometimes at war, sometimes at peace.

During the middle of the fifteenth century A.D., the Inca state in what is now southern Peru began to expand rapidly under a series of gifted

leaders. In the 1460s the Inca army penetrated the southern part of what is now Ecuador. The Incas were able to transform their conquered lands in a short amount of time. They built excellent roads, leading to rapid and efficient communication within their empire. And they forced whole villages to relocate, placing speakers of their own language (Quechua) on the conquered soil while moving their new subjects to where they had no roots or allies. In a short time, the Incas virtually obliterated the political entities that had preceded them in Ecuador. Although Inca rule in Ecuador was brief, a descendant of Quechua remains the most common Indian language in Ecuador.

By the early sixteenth century, the Inca conquest of what is now Ecuador was complete. Ironically, it was soon after this first foreign conquest that Ecuador had its one moment of ascendancy over Peru. After the death of the emperor Huayna-Capac, his two sons were rivals for the throne. Huascar was born in the Inca heartland of Cuzco, the child of his father's sister. Atahualpa was born in Quito, the child of the emperor and a local princess. After a grueling civil war, Atahualpa prevailed, and by 1530 the portion of the aristocracy that had settled in Ecuador controlled the empire.

It was just at this moment that Spanish conquistadors entered the picture—one of the strangest moments in the history of warfare and cruelty. A minor nobleman named Francisco Pizarro, with an army of less than 2,000, was able to conquer an empire of half a million in ten years. The civil war, which had just ended, left the army and the emperor exhausted and demoralized. With little information about the invaders, and fearing that they would ally with his defeated brother, Atahualpa did not attack the Spaniards but sought to negotiate with them. He put himself into a position where they were able to make him their prisoner; this crucial advantage, skillfully exploited, eventually allowed Pizarro to defeat and all but exterminate the Inca ruling class by 1540.

This conquest led to a 300-year Spanish empire in South America. During this period, the region known as the *audiencia* of Quito (modern Ecuador) was semi-autonomous but remained a lesser sibling to its larger neighbors. Until 1720 Ecuador was a section of the viceroyalty of Peru; after that date, it was grouped with what is now Colombia in the viceroyalty of New Granada.

At the time of South America's independence in the early nineteenth century, Ecuador was again a pivotal territory, and was again contested by outside powers. Two great generals shared the glory of South America's liberation: Bolívar, a Creole from

Venezuela; and San Martín, a Spanish officer, born in Buenos Aires, who defected to serve his native land. Starting at opposite ends of the continent, each achieved a series of stunning victories by moving soldiers quickly and unexpectedly across mountains and jungles. After Bolívar had advanced as far as Quito, and San Martín took Peru from Spain, the two generals met in Quayaquil—the chief city of coastal Ecuador.

That meeting in 1822 between the continent's two greatest heroes has become legendary. Nobody knew how the great talents and plans of the two men would accommodate one another; and no one knows what they said to each other that day in Quayaquil. But after the meeting, San Martín left South America forever, while Bolívar became known as the continent's liberator. Historians from the southern part of South America charge that Bolívar denied San Martín reinforcements he needed, thus forcing his abdication. Northern historians, siding with Bolívar, say San Martín simply recognized Bolívar's superior greatness. In any case, an Ecuadoran city was the point where two movements of liberation met and where the continent's destiny was decided.

After independence Ecuador joined with what are now Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela to form a nation called Gran Colombia. Once again Ecuador was made a lesser section of a larger unit. But centrifugal forces pulled the nation apart. When Bolívar's chosen successor, the Ecuadoran Antonio José de Sucre, was assassinated the union collapsed and Bolívar left for Europe.

In modern times the uncertainty of Ecuador's national identity, with regard to its powerful neighbors, has persisted. In 1941 Peru seized in war more than one-third of Ecuadoran territory in the south and east. Most of this land was thinly inhabited Amazonian forest; and most of the people living there had little sense that they were Ecuadoran to begin with. Although Ecuadorans have never forgiven the seizure, their government at the time signed a treaty legitimizing it.

GEOGRAPHY

As well as being threatened from the outside, Ecuador's national identity is threatened by deep internal divisions. The country's three regions feel little affinity with one another. Each is markedly different from the others in geography, ethnic makeup, accent and language, and culture.

The people of the *costa* are descended from Europeans, Indians, and—in the northern state of Esmeraldas—from Africans. But not much tradition-

al Indian culture survives, and very few speak any language other than Spanish. They inhabit a land that is sparsely populated, flat, fertile, and covered by a dense tropical forest that resists cultivation at every step. Most live in great poverty. Many poor people own their own land but few become rich off it. Many farmers practice a primitive slash-and-burn agriculture, seldom pushing the encroaching jungle more than an arm's length away. In temperament the *costeños* are thought to be cheerful and egalitarian, giving little thought to the future. Led by the firebrand politicians of Quayaquil, the *costeño* political inclination is liberal, if not socialist.

The *sierra* is a very different land—dry, mountainous, and crowded. There is fertile land on the Andean plateau but not in abundance. The people are *mestizos* and Indians, many of whom live in ancient, traditional villages. Many *serranos* speak the Indian language Quichua (descended from the Quechua of the Incas) and some speak no Spanish. The soil in the *sierra* is of poorer quality than that on the *costa*, but the methods of farming are more sophisticated and it requires less struggle to keep the land in cultivation. Families may have farmed the same plot of land for many generations. Unlike on the *costa*, there is a strong sense of social hierarchy in the *sierra*, where one family may have run the village and farmed the most fertile land for a hundred years. There is also a greater tradition of handicrafts such as weaving in the *sierra* than the *costa*. The temperament of the people is believed to be far more serious, even melancholy, than on the *costa*. Politically, *serranos* tend to be conservative.

The third region of Ecuador is the *oriente*, the Amazonian rainforest. This region is far less populous than the other two, containing just two percent of the national population. Like the *costa*, it contains dense forests but the soil is far less fertile than on the *costa*, and the farming is primitive or nonexistent. Most of the people of the *oriente* are Indians living in traditional communities. Many preserve an ancient economy of hunting and gathering. About half speak neither Spanish nor Quichua and have little affinity with either the *mestizos* or the Indians to the west. Far less than either the *costeños* or the *serranos*, these people have little sense of themselves as Ecuadorans. With transistor radios, this has changed but only slowly.

Traditionally, the uncontested dominance of the *sierra* held Ecuador together. The *sierra* held the bulk of the population, the *costa* was lesser, and the *oriente* was mere territory to be owned. Recently, however, this situation has begun to change. According to John Martz in *Ecuador: Conflicting Political Culture and the Quest for Progress*, recent

decades have seen a gradual but continuous population shift from *sierra* to *costa*. In 1875 the *sierra* had three times as many inhabitants as the *costa*; by the 1970s the two regions were approximately equal in population. The fertile areas of the *sierra*, however, continue to be more crowded than almost any area of the *costa*.

As the two regions have become equal in population, their political rivalry has become more serious. Each side is unwilling to accept a leader from the other. Furthermore, the *oriente* is rising slightly from its subservient position. Since the early 1970s Ecuador's greatest wealth has been its oil, which is nearly all under the soil of the *oriente*. While the local people have so far received little benefit from this, they have been forced to become more aware of the outside world as foreigners and Ecuadorans have plunged into these forests to drill for oil. As serious oil spills threaten the ecology and even the survival of the people of the *oriente*, they have begun to claim a voice in national decisions, consideration for their way of life, and a share of the wealth of their land. Indian groups have even sued Texaco, the oil company whose pipeline has spilled an estimated 17 million gallons of crude oil into the forest, in United States court.

THE PEOPLE

Ecuador's 11 million people are descended from Spaniards, Indians, Africans, and other Europeans. About 40 percent of the country is *mestizo*, or of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry, and 40 percent is Indian. Traditionally, Indians are at the bottom of the social order, are less likely to own their own land, and work at the most menial jobs. In traditional communities, whites and *mestizos* call Indians by first names, while Indians must treat whites and *mestizos* with deference.

Identity as an Indian or a *mestizo* has less to do with ancestry, skin color, and features than with social identity. On rare occasions people move back and forth between the two communities. An Indian may move to the city, improve his Spanish, and wear *mestizo* clothes; or a *mestizo* may return to his grandparents' village and the protection of the community, and adopt Indian clothes and habits.

THE FIRST ECUADORANS IN AMERICA

Until the 1960s very few Ecuadorans immigrated to the United States. In the late 1960s, however, Ecuadorans began to emigrate in large numbers. The 1990 census found 191,000 Ecuadorans in the United States, but there are so many undocumented

Ecuadoran Americans that the true number is much larger. The Ecuadoran consulate in Manhattan estimates there are 300,000 Ecuadorans in New York and New Jersey, and 500,000 in the United States.

Several factors helped cause this large immigration. First, United States immigration law changed. Before 1965, national quotas on immigrants strongly favored Europeans; after that year, changes in the law made it easier for Latin Americans and others to immigrate. Furthermore, emigration was physically easier as air travel became affordable to ordinary people for the first time in history.

Another factor in Ecuadoran emigration—which, unlike those mentioned above, was specific to Ecuador—was the land reform of the mid-1960s. In 1964 Ecuador passed the Land Reform, Idle Lands, and Settlement Act. An attempt to end the feudal system that had existed in the *sierra* for centuries, the law redistributed land from absentee landlords to the peasants who farmed it. According to *Ecuador: A Country Study*, this act improved the lives of tens of thousands of poor Ecuadorans, and brought a measure of social justice to the countryside. But it also shook up what had been a stable society, causing far-reaching and unpredictable changes. Without credit or experience, many new small landowners had to sell their land. Peasants left the land their forefathers had farmed for generations. Large sections of the population left the *serrano* countryside for the cities, the *costa*, and foreign lands such as Venezuela and the United States.

Once Ecuadoran immigration to the United States began, it accelerated through a snowball effect. More than anything else, what makes emigration possible is having contacts in the new country. As immigrants send money home and encourage others to join them, the immigrant community builds on itself, causing its own growth. Ecuadorans come to the United States in many ways. Many immigrate according to the rules and procedures laid out by United States law: a close relative or a prospective employer petitions for them and they wait in Ecuador until a visa becomes available. But this means complex paperwork and often years on a waiting list. Others follow the correct procedures but stay illegally in the United States while awaiting their papers. Still others follow no legal procedure, but live in the United States for years without documentation. These may smuggle themselves across the border without papers—either by foot from Mexico, or by boat into Puerto Rico. Most often, they fly in with a limited-stay tourist visa and never leave. A study done in New York found that undocumented Ecuadorans are one of the three largest groups of illegal immigrants in the city (Deb-

orah Sontag, "Study Sees Illegal Aliens in New Light," *New York Times*, September 2, 1993, p. B1).

Many people make their living by helping Ecuadorans immigrate illegally. This is one industry where nationality counts. Immigrants from different Latin American countries may read the same newspapers and watch the same television shows, but for immigration help, Ecuadorans seek out other Ecuadorans. Immigrant smuggling ventures usually involve people who are all from the same country, even from the same city or village. There are businesses that advise Ecuadorans how to answer questions so as to obtain a tourist visa, and others that simply sell green cards. There are shipping workers who smuggle Ecuadorans as stowaways on commercial vessels. There are even businesses that falsely guarantee success in the INS green card lottery (Deborah Sontag, "You Don't Need a Tout for This Race," *International Herald Tribune*, June 21, 1994).

Ecuadoran Americans come from every part of Ecuador. In the early period of immigration most came from the northern and central *sierra*, including the area around Quito. Later, large numbers came from the *costa*. During the early 1990s the largest numbers have come from the southern *sier-ra*, near the border with Peru. An estimated five percent of the Ecuadoran states of Cañar and Azuay immigrated to the United States.

The majority of Ecuadoran immigrants come to one destination: New York City. According to the 1990 census, 60 percent of Ecuadorans live in the New York area; the second-largest group, ten percent, lives in Los Angeles. This concentration is due partly to the snowball effect mentioned above: the more Ecuadorans there are in one place, the more will come there. It is also due partly to New York's unusual hospitality to immigrants. New York has always been a city of newcomers, and in recent decades the city's growth has been largely dependant on immigrants. At a time when public opinion all over the country has turned against immigrants, including legal ones, New York has not followed suit. City officials emphasize getting illegal aliens into the taxpaying mainstream, not deporting them or denying them services.

Ecuadorans in New York cluster in neighborhoods, usually in the same ones where other South Americans live. The greatest number live in the borough of Queens, especially in the swath of northern Queens covering Astoria, Jackson Heights, and Flushing. Roosevelt Avenue in Jackson Heights is lined with Ecuadoran travel agencies, restaurants, and telephone and money-wiring services. Signs in local bars advertise South American soccer matches on cable television. Another group

of Ecuadorans settled in the Bronx, in the Morris Hills and Highbridge neighborhoods north of Yankee Stadium. Still other Ecuadoran neighborhoods are found in Brooklyn, in New Jersey cities such as Newark and Jersey City, and in working class towns in Connecticut.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Like most immigrants, Ecuadoran Americans are ambivalent about assimilation. It eases the difficulties of immigrant life, yet it steals what remains of home. New Ecuadoran immigrants do not tend to embrace a new American identity to the extent that some immigrant groups do. Many return home after a few years, or hope to do so. For those who stay, however, assimilation is difficult to resist. Older immigrants often complain that their grown-up children speak better English than Spanish, marry outside of the community, get divorced, abandon their religion, and ignore their parents.

Part of the assimilation that Ecuadoran Americans experience is not toward mainstream American culture, but toward the culture of the Latino American community. For instance, in Mexican American families a girl's fifteenth birthday, or *quinceañero*, is an extremely important occasion. She will wear a white dress and attend mass, surrounded by her friends in formal, matching outfits. Her party afterwards may be the fanciest occasion of her life before her wedding. Her parents will spend a lot of money, may even hire a live band. This custom has never been a common one in Ecuador. Among Ecuadoran Americans, however, it has become current, just as it is among other Americans of Latino background ("Today I Am a Señorita: In Latin American Tradition, the Quinceañera Marks a Girl's Transition to Womanhood," *The Record* [Bergen County, New Jersey], February 2, 1995, p. D1).

One difficult issue related to assimilation is whether or not to become a naturalized U.S. citizen. Only a minority of Ecuadoran Americans do so. Those who are undocumented aliens cannot become citizens, of course, and even those who have legally obtained a green card must wait five years before they are eligible to become citizens. However, even of those Ecuadorans who are eligible for citizenship, no more than 20 percent choose to become citizens. The number for immigrants generally is 37 percent (Deborah Sontag, "Immigrants Forgoing Citizenship While Pursuing American Dream," *New York Times*, July 25, 1993, p. 1). This is partly because the naturalization process can be

intimidating, involving a battery of paperwork, an English language test, and obscure civics questions such as: “In what order did the 13 original states enter the union?”

Furthermore, many Ecuadorans see U.S. citizenship as a betrayal of their own country. Recently, Ecuador began to permit expatriates to become citizens of other nations without losing their Ecuadoran citizenship. On an emotional level, however, many Ecuadorans feel uncomfortable swearing allegiance to the United States. Naturalization and assimilation, however, can be a defense against the discrimination that Ecuadoran Americans experience. Immigrants venturing into the wrong neighborhoods may be beaten by assailants shouting “Speak English!” (Ann Costello, “Ecuadorian Immigrants Finding Obstacles in Their Path,” *New York Times*, October 3, 1993, Section 13WC, p. 23; cited hereafter as Costello). Many English-speakers have negative stereotypes about Latinos: that they are stupid, lazy, and destined for low-status jobs. A mother whose son joined the army and received advanced training in electrical engineering was proud that he had disproved a city official, who once told her Ecuadoran immigrants were good for nothing except being dishwashers and waiters (Ken Yamada, “A Dream Dies in Desert Sand: Queens Family Mourns Soldier Slain by Mine,” *Newsday*, March 2, 1991, p. 12).

CUISINE

Each of the different regions of Ecuador has its own cuisine. Perhaps the most distinctive and highly prized Ecuadoran dish, or what most closely approaches a national dish, is the *ceviche* of the *costa*. The dish is consumed in many regions of Latin America, but Ecuadorans claim to have invented it. *Ceviche* is raw seafood marinated in the juice of citrus fruits and served cold. The acidic juice causes a chemical reaction in the meat: it toughens it, keeps it from going bad, and changes its flavor. *Ceviche* can be made with many different fish in lemon, lime, or even orange juice; but shrimp is most commonly used. The *ceviche* may also have vegetables such as onions and peppers, and roasted peanuts may be sprinkled on top. This dish can be found in any Ecuadoran American restaurant.

Besides fish, the other staple food of the *costa* is bananas. Ecuador was one of the original “banana republics,” depending utterly on banana exports. Bananas have always been at the heart of lowland Ecuadoran agriculture and cuisine and are a major part of the diet both in the *costa* and in the *oriente*. There are many *costeños* in New York, and these

New Yorkers eat a lot of bananas. A wide variety of bananas grow in Ecuador: *guineos* (the yellow bananas known in the United States); *magueños* (short, plump red bananas); *oritas* (tiny bananas); *platanos* (green plantains for cooking). These and others are all available in South American specialty groceries and are prepared by Ecuadoran Americans in many different ways—whole, sliced and pulped, raw, boiled, fried, and baked.

Where *costeños* use bananas, *serranos* use potatoes. The potato, which was first domesticated by ancient Andean farmers, has been a staple in the region ever since. Like the banana, the potato has many forms in Ecuador, and is prepared in many ways. Ecuadoran Americans from the *sierra* must seek out specialty groceries to find the various different potatoes they are used to. Besides potatoes, *serranos* also love corn, which can be eaten on the cob or in tamales. Much of *serrano* cooking takes the form of soups. Before the Spaniards came, Ecuadorans did not have ovens so they boiled a large part of their food. This custom has continued. The ordinary Ecuadoran meal will center on a *sopa* or *caldo*—a thin soup with potatoes and other vegetables and meat.

The ordinary diet in Ecuador has very little meat. One traditional meat is the *cuy*, or guinea pig. Many Indian families in rural Ecuador keep guinea pigs, which they kill and eat on special occasions. The meat is delicious, but there is very little of it. Ecuadorans in the United States have trouble getting *cuy* meat. But beef, chicken, and pork are more affordable in the United States than in Ecuador and have been more widely incorporated in Ecuadoran American cooking.

In Ecuador one of the most popular drinks is *chicha*, a fermented liquor from the yucca tuber. In villages in the *costa*, the drink is still made by women who chew the yucca up and spit it out. Chemicals in the saliva help to ferment the yucca. In the United States, this drink is difficult to obtain. Most Ecuadoran Americans drink wine or beer. Ecuadoran Americans still drink their coffee in the traditional way, which requires boiling the coffee down to a thick sludge known as *esencia* and bringing it to the table in a small pitcher or bottle. It is then blended in the cup with hot water, milk, and sugar. The final product has an odd, burnt taste quite different from the coffee most Americans drink. Ecuadorans prefer it.

MUSIC

Music is an important part of Ecuadoran culture. The Ecuadoran *sierra*, along with Peru and Bolivia, is the heartland of Andean music. This is an

ancient and highly evolved musical style, mainly played by Indians. Like all American musical forms, it has European and African influences; but musicologists believe that Andean music in its most basic form has remained the same since before the arrival of the Spaniards.

The essential components of Andean music are winds and percussion. The wind instruments are flutes or panpipes—a row of pipes of various lengths attached together; the percussion is drums and rattles. From the Spaniards, Andean Indians adopted string instruments: some violins, but more often guitars and small ukulele-like instruments. With these instruments, musicians produce a sound that is both emotional and danceable. The mood, carried by the winds and strings, is generally plaintive, even melancholy. The percussion carries the music forward at a steady pace, inviting dancing. The typical musical group is large (six or more different musicians) and is usually all male. To those unfamiliar with it, Andean music can sound monotonous with slight variations on a theme by the flutes. But to those who appreciate it, the long Andean song is a hypnotic exploration of a musical idea.

In recent years there has been a renaissance of traditional music throughout the Andes. In the past, traditional music was a local phenomenon, and musicians were seldom heard outside of their own region. Today, recordings of traditional music are widely available, groups tour, and certain musical groups have become famous throughout the whole Andean region. For instance, the Bolivian group Los Kjarkas won a wide following throughout Ecuador when they toured there, and their songs are now widely played in Ecuador. The listening public, both in the cities and countryside, has become more sophisticated about traditional music. Certain songs have become standards, and are played throughout the region. Panpipes from the southern Andes, called *zampoñas*, are becoming popular in Ecuador.

Traditional Andean music has also become popular in the United States. Many Ecuadoran Americans of *serrano* Indian background perform in traditional groups, often with Peruvians and Bolivians. Some play on university campuses and in halls, but many more play in the streets and subways of New York and other cities. Such groups may tour in a bus to play in the streets of different cities: with their long, straight hair, homburg hats and brightly colored *serrano* ponchos, they create a spectacle anywhere they have not been seen before, and may earn good money in spontaneous gifts. These musicians wear working clothes that emphasize their Indian background but that they would probably not wear at home, either in New York or Ecuador.

Traditional Andean music is by no means the only Ecuadoran music. Even in Ecuador, that music is less popular than so-called *musica nacional*, a style of music that uses amplified and electronic instruments, and blends elements of traditional and popular Latin music. This music is played at weddings and other festivities, and is also called *sanjuanitos*, after the festival of San Juan. Ecuadorans in the *costa* play a musical style closely related to the coastal Colombian *cumbia* style, with strong Afro-Caribbean influences. While traditional Andean music is Ecuador's most distinctive cultural export, Ecuadoran Americans at home are more likely to listen to *sanjuanitos* or the various other Latin styles that have come together in the Latino American community.

HOLIDAYS

The most important holiday for Ecuadorans is August 10, the anniversary of the *primer grito* or “first cry” of independence in Ecuador and South America. In New York this day is Ecuador Day and is marked by a parade on 37th Avenue in Queens. Ecuadoran New Yorkers also participate in the *Desfile de Hispanidad*, a parade of Latin American immigrants on the day before Columbus Day.

Many Ecuadoran Americans also celebrate the festivals of the Christian year, such as Christmas, Carnival, and Holy Week. In addition, individual saints have their festivals, which are associated with certain towns or regions of Ecuador. The feast of Saint John the Baptist (San Juan), celebrated on June 24, is of special importance to Otavaleños, and is celebrated by all-night music and dancing throughout the northern *sierra*. The feast of the Virgin of Carmen, on July 16, is marked by people from the town of Cuenca. Among immigrants, these religious holidays are generally celebrated in private and with friends, and not in public festivals as in Ecuador.

LANGUAGE

Ecuador is a bilingual country. Spanish is the country's primary language, but it shares its position with the Indian language Quichua.

Most Ecuadorans speak Spanish. In the *costa*, few people speak anything else. In the *sierra*, Spanish is also the dominant language, spoken with a very different accent from on the *costa*. However, in traditional Indian communities in the *sierra*, the first language is Quichua, although they may also speak Spanish. Quichua was the language of the Inca empire, and was carried to Ecuador by Peruvian populations whom the Incas brought in to

consolidate their position. Many of the Incas' subjects learned Quichua as the language of government and trade. Ironically, the Spaniards continued the spread of Quichua; Spanish missionaries taught Christianity in the Quichua language, prompting other Indian communities to learn it. In the *sierra*, Quichua is the only surviving Indian language. It has several dialects, and is no longer mutually comprehensible with the Indian language of Peru, called Quechua.

In the Amazonian *oriente*, about half the Indians speak Quichua. Their ancestral culture was destroyed by European diseases, and the survivors were gathered together by Spanish missionaries. The rest of the Amazonian Indians speak the languages of their separate tribes, such as the Shuar and the Achuar. These more traditional groups live mainly in the southern part of eastern Ecuador.

Nearly all Ecuadorans who immigrate to the United States speak Spanish. Only a minority of immigrants come from traditional Indian communities, and they lack sufficient numbers to maintain a Quichua-speaking community. But while Ecuadoran immigrants cannot avoid Spanish, the same does not hold true for English. The cohesive Ecuadoran American community allows many to avoid learning fluent English, even after ten years or more in the United States.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Ecuadorans have two models of family life: the Spanish and *mestizo* model, and the Indian model. In the first model the father rules the family. He has few responsibilities at home, spends much of his leisure time away from his family, and is tacitly permitted to see other women. The mother does the work within the family. Children are taught to be obedient to their parents. Daughters are allowed little freedom outside the house. In the Indian family, on the other hand, husband and wife have a more equal relationship. The wife plays a greater economic role and has more decision-making authority within the family. Sexual infidelity is socially unacceptable for either spouse.

Mainstream American society, meanwhile, exhibits a third model of family life. The position of the two parents is relatively equal, there is more sexual freedom than in either style of Ecuadoran family, and children have great freedom and independence. As do all immigrants, Ecuadoran Americans must grapple with the cultural differences in family life between their home and their adopted

country; and they must decide whether to resist or to embrace American norms.

Many Ecuadoran Americans believe that child-rearing in the United States is too lax, and they worry that the culture will be a bad influence on their own children. The children themselves experience culture shock at the freedom and informality of American childhood. But some Ecuadorans seek out American norms of family life. One woman filed an application for asylum in the United States, saying that she would be in danger from her abusive husband if she went home. She felt protected from him in America, but was afraid that if she went back to Ecuador he could hurt her without fear of punishment because the authorities would not object to a husband disciplining his wife. If they were divorced in Ecuador, she feared that the state would grant him full custody of their two-year-old daughter (Dan Herbeck, "Asylum Request Here Might Set Precedent," *Buffalo News*, January 3, 1995, p. 1).

Immigration inevitably brings change to family life, whether one accepts or rejects it. This is due not only to new cultural norms, but also to the ways in which immigrating separates and rearranges families. Often men immigrate alone leaving their wives and children in Ecuador. In this respect, Ecuadoran immigrants differ from other South American immigrants, among whom women outnumber men. Such men may plan to get settled in the United States and then send for their families, or they may intend to return home after earning some money. Often such immigrants will first send for their older sons, and only later for their wives and other children. In working-class Ecuadoran neighborhoods in the United States, there is a predominance of men. For the same reason, many Ecuadoran villages are currently made up mainly of women (Costello, p. 23).

Some immigrants, however, are young single women who may have a freedom and independence they would not experience in Ecuador. Among the community of immigrant Indian street peddlers from the Otavalo region, for instance, there are single women. Alone in an American city, they have a more free and independent life from the one they would have at home with their families. Interestingly, these women tend to be more culturally conservative than single Otavaleño men, and less likely to adopt North American clothing and values (Jonathan Kandell, "Shuttle Capitalism: an Ecuadorean Indian Community Turns a Traditional Craft into a Tool for Cultural Survival and Takes it to the Street Corners of the World," *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, November 14, 1993, p. 30).

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

The Ecuadoran American community's most important institution is the regional association, established to unite fellow-immigrants from the same province or town. For the Ecuadoran, loyalty to village, city or region often looms larger than national loyalty. An Ecuadoran may identify himself first as a resident of the city of Ambato, second as a *serrano*, and only third as an Ecuadoran. Outside of New York, an immigrant may join an organization for Ecuadorans generally; but in New York, where there are many Ecuadorans, an immigrant will join an association of his hometown or region. These associations, many of which have very little formal organization but join in federations with those from other regions, are a vital part of immigrant social life.

Regional associations allow immigrants to surround themselves with others who not only share their country and language, but their cultural background, their regional accent, and even perhaps friends in common at home. They provide an extended family to immigrants who may be homesick or lonely, a pool of credit for an immigrant to start a business, and an informal channel for news and information as well as gifts and money. Mail may be slow, there may be no telephone at home, but at any given moment someone from the club is about to visit or return from Ecuador.

One important outward function of a regional association is charity. Individually, Ecuadoran immigrants send money to family and relatives. They join regional associations partly to extend this generosity beyond their family. Regional associations send large amounts of money to Ecuador every year—to schools, libraries, youth sports clubs, orphanages, and soup kitchens. One fundraiser will be to renovate a hometown church, another to bring a sick child to the United States for an operation.

The associations use a variety of fund-raising techniques, including raffles, fund drives, and radio promotions, but the most popular method is the fund-raising party. Members will rent an appropriate space, perhaps a community center, dance-club or South American restaurant; or they will convince a community businessperson to let them use the space for free. They will advertise the event in community newspapers and with flyers in Ecuadoran neighborhoods and businesses. The party will have an admission price, often between \$10 and \$15, and will feature food, drink, music and disco-style lighting. The band will be Ecuadoran, and will play a mix or traditional Ecuadoran folk music, romantic ballads, modern Ecuadoran dance music, and other

Latino music. Those who dance to any one variety of music will probably not dance to the others (Evelyn Delori, "The Function of Voluntary Associations in the Ecuadoran-American Community in the New York-New Jersey Area," senior essay in anthropology, Columbia University, 1992).

Besides the regional associations, Ecuadoran Americans rely heavily on a range of services within the community. They depend on Ecuadoran groceries, restaurants, travel agencies, telephone services, and undertakers: the patchwork of services that make sections of Queens a little Quito, where one never has to feel like a foreigner. One of the most important of these services is Spanish-language banking. New York banks are notoriously unfriendly and will refuse to open accounts for those without much money, a job, or a social security number. Banks such as First Bank of the Americas, a Colombian-owned bank with branches in Queens, mean a great deal to Ecuadoran immigrants.

While Ecuadoran American community institutions are important, they do not aim to embrace every aspect of life, to keep their members separate from society, or to replace American government in the lives of immigrants. Regional associations do not undertake to provide work or housing for new arrivals, as the institutions of some immigrants from other countries do. Ecuadorans are not insular, and willingly seek out the benefits and services of society at large. For instance, 11 to 12 percent of Ecuadoran American families receive government welfare benefits (George Borjas, "Refugees More Likely to Be On Welfare," *Minority Markets Alert*, December, 1994).

SPORTS

Ecuadorans play soccer, popular throughout Latin America; and young Ecuadoran Americans play football, basketball, and all the other games played in American high schools. But the games at which Ecuadorans truly excel are net games: tennis and especially volleyball. Unlike in Olympic volleyball, with six-person teams, Ecuadorans play the game with three-person teams, and with a net over nine feet high. Each player must cover a lot of ground, and jump high. Without spiking, volleys are longer. The game is very arduous. On summer Saturdays, Ecuadorans play at Riverside Park in Manhattan's Upper West Side. Though Ecuadorans are shorter on average than most Americans, non-Ecuadoran challengers do not fare well in these hotly contested matches (Eric Pooley, "Sports: Little Ecuador," *New York*, September 16, 1985, p. 32).

RELIGION

Ecuadorans are about 95 percent Roman Catholic, and five percent Protestant. However, the proportions of the two faiths are slightly more equal among immigrants to the United States.

Over the centuries, the Roman Catholic church in rural Ecuador incorporated elements of Indian religions. In the *sierra*, and especially in villages, Ecuadoran Catholic practice centers around *fiestas* honoring the various saints' days of the Christian year. Individuals in the community make a religious commitment, known as a *cargo*, to sponsor these *fiestas*. They proceed upward through increasingly complicated and expensive affairs, to make a name for themselves as leaders of the community. These and other traditional practices have less to do with Catholic dogma than with ancient Indian customs.

In recent decades, evangelical Protestant missionaries have converted many in Ecuador, especially in the countryside and urban slums. These missionaries, mainly of North American origin, have had the most success in the southern *sierra*, including Cañar, Azuay, and Chimborazo provinces. In Chimborazo province, nearly 40 percent of the population was Protestant by 1980. During the 1980s and 1990s the southern *sierra* provinces contributed the largest number of Ecuadoran immigrants to the United States. For this reason, the number of Ecuadoran American Protestants is a greater proportion of the whole than among Ecuadorans in general. Furthermore, many Ecuadorans associate the United States with the Protestant missionaries who originate there, so Protestants are more likely to emigrate than Catholics are. There are no reliable statistics on this subject, but some community members estimate that one-third of Ecuadoran Americans are Protestant.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Due to the lack of hard statistics, it is difficult to generalize about the employment patterns of Ecuadoran Americans. Also, the community has a more diverse economic profile than that of other Latino immigrant groups. Mexican and Central American immigrants, for instance, have generally come from the working class; immigrants from certain South American countries, such as Argentina and Chile, have come largely from the professional class. Ecuadoran immigrants, however, come from both classes. Ecuador shares with other South American countries the problem of "brain drain"

emigration: Ecuadorans who graduate from universities, often in a technical field such as engineering, come to the United States hoping for a more affluent lifestyle. But there are also large numbers of Ecuadorans for whom emigration is simply the only alternative to grinding poverty at home.

Many Ecuadorans join the immigrant underclass of greater New York. They work not just with other Ecuadorans, but surrounded by other arrivals from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, often without a shared language. They work in the garment industry sweatshops, restaurant and hotel kitchens, and taxicabs. They frequently must work for less than minimum wage. Accustomed to a more activist labor movement at home, Ecuadorian Americans have often taken a lead in union organizing, but face frustration.

Another group of Ecuadoran Americans consists of the entrepreneurs. Many immigrants with initiative and capital start businesses catering to the Ecuadoran community. These include Ecuadoran restaurants, travel agencies, and telephone and money-wiring services. Such community-oriented businesses also provide jobs for other Ecuadorans.

A third group of Ecuadorans contains the professionals. Of all the immigrants, the members of this group occupied the highest status in Ecuador, received the most education there, and are often the unhappiest in the United States. Immigrating with great ambitions, they meet great disappointments. To resume their profession in their new country, doctors, lawyers, architects, and social workers must receive new training and pass new tests. They must become fluent in English even to begin this process. In the meantime, they must support themselves in a country where their savings from home have little buying power, and must often take menial jobs such as cleaning houses and waiting tables. Many never succeed and permanently enter a lower social class. Those who succeed tend to be the most assimilated of immigrants and participate the least in community organizations (Suzanne Bilello, "Here, Suddenly, I Am No One," *Newsday*, July 9, 1989, p. 1).

OTAVALEÑOS

The Ecuadoran immigrants who have made a unique contribution to the American economy and society are the Otavaleño Indians. Living in the northern *sierra* near the modern town of Otavalo this group has for centuries preserved its economic role: textile weaving for sale to outsiders. Even before the Inca conquest, Otavaleños produced wool clothing and peddled it throughout the region.

When the Spaniards came, they enslaved the Otavaleños and forced them to weave Spanish-style clothing in *obrajes*, or forced-labor workshops. After the end of slavery, white landowners kept control of the weaving by means of debts owed them by the weavers, which were passed down through the generations.

Finally, in the 1960s, this debt-slavery was outlawed and large amounts of land were redistributed to tenant farmers. Otavaleños finally began to earn real profits from their centuries of hard work. Otavaleños are both weavers and farmers, and they benefited from the land redistribution. They left the workshops and took their weaving home. Otavaleños were determined no longer to allow others to reap the reward from their skill and traditions. Returning to a pre-Inca model, they sent members of their own community to market their textiles in other countries. While other Indian communities practice traditional weaving, the Otavaleños are unique in their resourcefulness and success in selling their wares, without middlemen, on the international market.

In small factories in or near Otavalo, the Indians make heavy wool sweaters, ponchos, hats and blankets, all in bright colors and traditional designs. They send these clothes to Quito and other South American cities, to Mexico City, New York, and other North American cities, and to Europe and Asia to be sold in the streets. At any given time 6,000 Otavaleños, or ten percent of the whole community, live abroad as itinerant salespeople. The sellers may be the grown children of the manufacturer, who are working in the family business and seeing the world at the same time. Even if they are not related, all the people involved are Otavaleños. The profits do not leave the community.

Otavaleño street-sellers in New York, though relatively few in number (about 300 by one estimate), are highly visible with their traditional dress and appearance in outdoor shopping areas such as Canal Street. The men wear their long straight hair in braids and wear blue ponchos and white pants. The women wear embroidered white blouses, red wristbands, and heavy dark wraps around their shoulders and skirts. Otavaleño clothing is very traditional; in fact, the women's clothing has changed only slightly from the time of the Incas. The appearance that Otavaleño peddlers project helps them to sell their inventory, because it adds to the apparent authenticity of the product.

Of course, the outfit an Otavaleño peddler would wear in the streets of New York is not necessarily what he would wear at home. Furthermore, the product sold is not timeless. Each year

Otavaleño street-sellers send home samples of the latest fashions, and the manufacturers make changes in style and color, even introducing new products such as headbands. Many of the street-sellers hold licenses from the city while others are unlicensed. Some sellers cannot afford the license fee while others only intend to stay in the city for a short time, and so do not buy the license. Laws against unlicensed street-selling are often only loosely enforced, but at times such street-sellers must face having all their goods confiscated by police. Furthermore, like all people who do business out of doors, Otavaleño merchants must operate within the complex society of the street. They are subject to the whims of police, the maze of city regulations, the unwritten laws of those who sell clothes, food, stolen goods, sex, and drugs, and the extortionists and predators of the street. But the international marketing of their clothes has brought the Otavaleños great rewards.

Most Otavaleños abroad ultimately return home, often to attend university and enter a profession. Otavaleños have become wealthy and influential in their home province; indeed, the *mestizo* community of Otavalo is poorer than the Otavaleño Indians. The Otavaleños have converted that money into education and opportunities for their children. They have refused to allow wealth to steal their culture and traditions. While most Otavaleños today speak Spanish, most also speak Quichua. They have not changed the style of their clothes as they became richer, although some have improved the materials used, perhaps from rough cotton to velvet (Jonathan Kandell, "Shuttle Capitalism: an Ecuadorean Indian Community Turns a Traditional Craft into a Tool for Cultural Survival and Takes It to the Street Corners of the World," *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, November 14, 1993).

CHINESE ECUADORANS

One small but significant segment of the Ecuadoran American community is the Chinese Ecuadorans. People from southern China immigrated in the nineteenth century to every American country, including Ecuador. When Ecuadorans began immigrating to the United States in large numbers, after the mid-1960s, many Chinese Ecuadorans joined the migration—probably a disproportionate number compared to their numbers in the general Ecuadoran population. This was partly because the Chinese Ecuadorans had less deep roots in Ecuador than others, and had experienced discrimination there; and partly because New York, where most Ecuadorans went, had a large and established Chinese community. Today there are several thousand Chinese Ecuado-

rans in the United States, or about one percent of the Ecuadoran American community. Chinese Ecuadorans are more likely to be in commerce or the professions than other Ecuadorans, but in general are not demographically different from the rest of the community. Most have some familiarity with both Chinese and Spanish, but most are more fluent in Spanish. They typically live in Latino neighborhoods, not Chinese ones; most live in New York.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Ecuadoran Americans are not extremely politically active. Ecuador does not encourage its expatriates to cast absentee ballots in elections at home. While taking a keen interest in the news from home (Ecuadoran papers in the United States carried extensive news and analysis of the 1995 border hostilities between Ecuador and Peru) the immigrants seldom organize around specific policy issues at home. On the other hand, few Ecuadoran Americans are U.S. citizens with the right to vote. And because so many Ecuadorans plan to return home one day, they do not concern themselves much with American politics.

One of the few legislative acts for which Ecuadoran Americans actively lobbied was the passage, in Ecuador, of a dual citizenship law. The Ecuadoran congress passed the measure in response to vigorous and coordinated efforts by the Ecuadoran American organizations—in particular, by the New York umbrella group *Comite Cívico Equatoriano*. Ecuadoran Americans no longer have to choose between being an Ecuadoran citizen and being an American citizen, but can embrace both sides of their identity.

When Ecuadoran Americans do take a political stand it is often linked to their region of origin. *Costeños* tend to be liberal, while *serranos* are conservative. This difference can be seen in the different attitudes in *serrano* immigrant neighborhoods in Queens and *costeño* neighborhoods in the Bronx. Yet overall, Ecuadorans from all regions are socially conservative by U.S. standards. For instance, they are among the most outspoken proponents of the death penalty, long an object of controversy in the state of New York.

In general, however, Ecuadoran Americans are a non-citizen, non-voting community, which may hurt them. Elected officials have less incentive to address their concerns than those of voting citizens. Many Ecuadoran New Yorkers live in state Assembly districts with Latino majorities; but even there, politicians focus attention on the needs of Puerto

Ricans and other voting Latinos, and ignore the Ecuadoran American community (Nicholas Goldberg, "District Boosts Hispanic Clout," *Newsday*, June 12, 1992, p. 8). Non-citizens become ever more vulnerable as politicians across the nation advocate anti-immigrant measures. Concern over such measures is now prompting more Ecuadorans to file for citizenship.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Because large-scale emigration from Ecuador to the United States began only recently, there are not many famous Ecuadoran Americans. However, there are Ecuadorans who have made a mark on American society.

ART

Oswaldo Guayasamin (1919–), born to an Indian father and a *mestizo* mother, has forged a powerful art that addresses what it means to be Indian, to be *mestizo*, to be Ecuadoran. His semi-abstract paintings are generally figurative, and feature rugged faces and bodies of Indians at work or at home; they often illustrate scenes from Ecuadoran history and express his left-wing views, his spirit of protest, and his sense of sadness at social injustice. His work is internationally acclaimed and has been exhibited all over the world.

In 1988, Guayasamin caused controversy in the United States by painting a mural in the Ecuadoran hall of Congress. One of the panels in the mural—intended to summarize Ecuador's history—showed a skeleton's head in a helmet, with the letters "CIA." Despite his frustration with aspects of American policy, Guayasamin was an Ecuadoran American during the 1950s, when Nelson Rockefeller arranged an official invitation for him to come to the United States. He lived for several years with his family in the Bayside neighborhood of Queens, New York. In 1960, however, a visit to communist China earned him official hostility in the United States, and he returned with his family to Ecuador.

BUSINESS

One Ecuadoran American who made an important contribution to American business is Napoleon Barragan, founder of Dial-a-Mattress in Queens, New York. Recognizing that speed and convenience matter the most to some people, he sold mattresses over the telephone and delivered them immediate-

ly. In 1994 his business was the ninth largest minority-owned business in the New York area. However, some of the company's sales, as well as some of its payments to employees, were cash-only, which skirted reports and payments to the government. Barragan pleaded guilty to tax fraud and paid \$1 million to the state.

FEMINISM

Lorena Bobbitt (1970–) was born in Bucay, Ecuador, and moved with her family to Venezuela at a young age, but always considered herself an Ecuadoran. As a young woman she moved to the United States, where she met and married John Wayne Bobbitt. During their stormy relationship, she accused her husband of beating and raping her; she severed his penis with a kitchen knife while he slept. Although her husband was tried and acquitted of rape, Lorena faced the charge of malicious wounding. As Lorena's trial approached, women throughout America protested the prospect of Lorena's conviction and Ecuadoran women took to the streets in her defense, in Quito and in Manassas, Virginia (the site of her trial). She was found not guilty by reason of temporary insanity. Although widely criticized as a tabloid media event, the Lorena Bobbitt trial forced the nation to address the issues of wife-beating and marital self-defense. For this reason, feminists welcomed it as consciousness-raising, and considered Lorena a hero.

MILITARY

Mario Fajardo, an Ecuadoran New Yorker, was the first soldier from the borough of Queens to die in the Gulf War.

POLITICS

In 1993, Ecuadoran immigrant Aida Gonzalez was named director of cultural affairs to Queens Borough President Claire Shulman; she is one of a handful of Ecuadoran New Yorkers who are acquiring power and influence in the Democratic Party establishment.

SPORTS

Probably the most famous Ecuadoran athlete is Andres Gomez, the world-class tennis player; many of his great matches have been played in the United States and he has been a source of inspiration to Ecuadoran Americans and all lovers of tennis. Another important Ecuadoran tennis player is Fran-

cisco Segura (1921–), who has made the United States his home; an unorthodox but highly successful player in his youth, "Panco" Segura surprised the professional tennis world with his powerful two-fisted forehand; former tennis director at the La Costa Resort and Spa in California, he retired from pro tennis and coached both Jimmy Connors and Andre Agassi.

MEDIA

PRINT

Various weekly, monthly, or occasional newspapers have been produced and distributed to the Ecuadoran American community in New York. Most do not last long. The monthly newspaper *Amazonas*, produced in Queens, falls into this category; it contains news, analysis, and opinion pieces about affairs in Ecuador, along with advertisements for local Ecuadoran American businesses.

Magazines and daily and weekly newspapers from Quito and Quayaquil are also available in newsstands in Queens, with a lagtime of several days. These are rather expensive, and do not contain local news or advertisements.

For most of their local, national, and international news, Ecuadoran Americans rely on the general Spanish-speaking press, especially New York's *El Diario* and *Noticias del Mundo*.

These papers were originally founded for a Puerto Rican readership; but in recent decades, the growing New York population of Ecuadorans, Colombians, Cubans, and Dominicans has forced the New York Spanish press to broaden its focus. These papers now contain news from various Latin American countries, as well as local news that is relevant to the new arrivals.

RADIO

There are several radio shows in the New York area geared toward Ecuadoran Americans.

WADO-AM (1280).

Broadcasts "Presencia Ecuatoriana" ("Ecuadoran Presence"), a talk show discussing news, art, sports and culture from Ecuador, hosted by Homero Melendez, president of the Tunguahuah regional association on Sunday from 2:00 to 3:00 p.m.

Address: 666 Third Avenue, New York,
New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 687-9236 .

Fax: (212) 599-2161 .

WNWK-FM (105.9).

Formerly WHBI. Broadcasts two shows: "Así Canta el Ecuador" ("This is How Ecuador Sings"), a music show on Saturdays at 9:00 a.m.; "Pentagrama Sentimental Ecuatoriano" ("Sentimental Ecuadoran Music-sheet"), a news, music and culture show on Mondays from 7:30 to 8:30 a.m.

Address: 449 Broadway, 2nd Floor, New York, New York 10013.

Telephone: (212) 966-1059 .

Fax: (212) 966-9580.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Alianza Ecuatoriana Tungurahua.

Contact: M. Vargas.

Address: 465 41st Street, Brooklyn, New York 11232.

Telephone: (718) 854-1506.

Asociación Chino Ecuatoriana.

Contact: Mirna Chiang, President.

Address: 3407 36th Avenue, Astoria, New York 11106.

Telephone: (718) 937-3291.

Club Social Salitre.

Contact: Gaston Sanchez, President.

Address: 421 Menahan Street, Brooklyn, New York 11385.

Telephone: (718) 366-8467.

Comite Cívico Ecuatoriana.

Contact: Srowell Ugalde, President.

Address: 7312 35th Avenue, Suite 261, Queens, New York 11372.

Telephone: (718) 476-2851.

Confraternidad Ecuatoriana.

Contact: Antonio Pinargote, President.

Address: 47 Duncan Avenue, No. 45, Jersey City, New Jersey 07306.

Telephone: (201) 332-7285.

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Egyptian Americans

are among the more recent groups to have immigrated to the United States.

Egyptian Americans

by
Mona Mikhail

AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

Situated in northeast Africa, Egypt (known since 1971 as the Arab Republic of Egypt) occupies an area of 390,000 square miles (1,010,100 sq. km.). With 90 percent of the land covered by desert, only a small portion of it, about 14,000 square miles, is arable, and it is here that the majority of Egyptians live. Egypt is bordered by Israel to the northeast, the Red Sea to the east, the Sudan to the south, Libya to the west, and the Mediterranean Sea to the north. The majority of people in Egypt are Muslim, although some Egyptians belong to the Coptic Church and practice Christianity and an even smaller percentage are Jews.

HISTORY

Ancient Egypt was the cradle of Western Civilization. Here, as early as 4000 B.C., people had come together and formed organized societies. By 3100 B.C., the pharaoh Menes had united the peoples of the Nile delta with those living southward along the river into a single empire. During Egypt's height, its people thrived in the Nile valley; they constructed massive pyramids, created world-renowned art, established an advanced writing system, made advancements in science, built irrigation systems, and developed trade with Middle Eastern and Asian powers. But by 1085 B.C., the Egyptian empire had begun to decay and again divided into

Upper and Lower kingdoms—that of the delta and that of the river. Many sought to conquer the valley and claim its riches: Greeks, Romans, Aradians, North Africans, Turks, French, and, most recently, the British. All these people contributed to the rich culture of Egypt.

For centuries, the majority of arable land in Egypt was possessed by a select few. This land was worked by the *fellahin*, who wielded two to three crops each season, usually keeping one-fourth to one-half of the harvest for themselves. Agricultural reform did not take place until the latter half of the nineteenth century, when Egyptians began to grow cotton in an attempt to establish a market economy rather than simply growing food products. However, when other world markets began producing cotton as well, the market suffered and the well-being of the Egyptian rural class greatly deteriorated.

In 1882 the British assumed economic control of the country and built roads, railways, telegraph systems, and canals. Egypt's royal family and the already wealthy landowners greatly benefitted from British occupation. Although the rural class was heavily taxed, many prospered as well, thus creating a new social class. It was this newly established middle class, along with the nation's armed forces, that instigated Egypt's 1952 Revolution, which freed the country from British occupation and initiated land reform, thus altering the social, economic, and political power of Egypt's ruling families.

In 1956 Egypt elected Gamal Abdal Nasser as its first president. Under Nasser's leadership, in 1962, the newly established national charter limited the amount of land held by farm owners to 100 acres. The remaining land was confiscated by the government, divided into plots, and awarded to the middle and lower classes. Improved housing, transportation, and health care resulted in a significant increase in Egypt's population. Despite the efforts of such leaders as Nasser (who tried to industrialize the country) and Anwar Sadat (who created an open economy) to modernize Egypt, inflation, overpopulation, and the general unrest in the Middle East have hindered the nation's progress.

Modern Egypt is the most populous and most advanced of the Arab nations. Traditionally allied with the Arab cause, it is the seat of the League of Arab States. Egypt has also played a leadership role among the African nations, with Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak presiding over the Organization of African Unity. Egypt's social order is partially composed of intellectuals, government officials, urban businessmen, and landowners. It is this segment of the population that has emigrated the most, largely for economic or educational purposes. The vast

majority of Egypt's population is composed of rural laborers and factory workers.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Egyptian Americans are among the more recent groups to have immigrated to the United States. Unlike other peoples of Arab descent who settled in the Americas in large numbers as early as the mid-nineteenth century, the Egyptians, regarded as one of the most sedentary ethnic groups, began to emigrate in significant numbers only during the latter part of the twentieth century. While the majority left for economic or educational reasons, many Copts, Jews, and conservative Muslims emigrated because they were concerned about the political developments in Egypt. Still, thousands of others left after Egypt's 1967 defeat in the Arab-Israeli War; approximately 15,000 Egyptians immigrated to the United States from 1967 to 1977. The past three decades have witnessed unprecedented movements of large Egyptian populations not only to the United States and Canada but also to Australia, Europe, and the Gulf Arab countries.

The majority of the first Egyptian immigrants to the United States comprised educated professionals and skilled workers. Their immigration was eased by the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which welcomed certain professionals, especially scientists. Estimates of the number of Egyptian immigrants to the United States have varied from 800,000 to two million, with the largest concentration of Egyptians living in New Jersey, New York, California, Illinois, Florida, and Texas. Climate has had an important influence on the settlement patterns of Egyptian Americans. Accustomed to the warm and temperate climate of their homeland, many Egyptians have gravitated toward America's southern states.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Egyptian immigrants and their American-born children have had little difficulty adjusting to American culture. This is largely due to the strong educational background of most Egyptian Americans. Numerous Egyptian Americans have also married outside their ethnic community, which has further eased their assimilation. Still, Egyptian Americans have united to establish numerous secular organizations, many of which have a professional, academic, or business orientation. These include the Egyptian American Professional Society, the Egyptian Physi-

cians' Association, and the Egyptian Businessmen's Association. Several have also joined the numerous organizations of the more established Arab American community such as the Arab American University Graduates, the American-Arab Relations Committee, and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

CUISINE

Egyptian cuisine is a mixture of Middle Eastern cuisine and a modified continental (French-style) cuisine. Traditional Egyptian dishes include *mullkhia*, a thick green soup made from chicken or meat broth (sometimes rabbit). *Squab* (stuffed pigeon) and *fatta*, a rice-and-bread dish, are among the many favorites. What came to be known in the United States as *falafel* is also a favorite, as is *baklava*. Another popular food is *kahk*, a sweetbread baked for special feasts. To make *kahk*, a well-kneaded dough of flour and rarified butter is filled with honey or a mixed-nut filling. The dough is beautifully decorated by a special tool, a *minkash*, then is baked and sprinkled with powder sugar. *Kakh* can be purchased at bakeries.

During Lent and Advent, Egyptian Copts do not eat meat or dairy products, a practice that has given rise to many delicious nondairy and meatless grain-based meals that are a delight to the vegetarian and the health-conscious. Muslims are prohibited from eating pork and therefore buy their meats at *halla* or kosher butcher shops. In Brooklyn, on Atlantic Avenue, a large concentration of Arab and Muslim shops cater to the needs of the Middle Eastern community at large. Jersey City also has a growing community of Egyptians where one can find most of the specifically Egyptian ingredients to prepare native dishes. Middle Eastern specialty items can be found at grocery stores in almost every major U.S. city, and some staple items—such as pita bread—are found at supermarkets across North America.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

Egyptian Americans who live in urban areas do not wear traditional garments. Since the turn of the century, urbanized Egyptians have adopted Western-style clothing, and the vast majority who have come to the United States have retained this custom. It is only in approximately the past two decades that Muslim women have chosen to dress in a traditional Islamic garment consisting of a floor-length, long-sleeved dress and a head covering. Many Muslim women adhere only to the tradi-

tion of covering the head, while the vast majority of Egyptian Americans wear the usual Western-style wardrobe. The men wear suits, though on rare occasions they wear a *gallabiyya*, a long white robe, for prayers or at home.

HOLIDAYS

Most Egyptian holidays are religious observances. There are two major Muslim holidays: *Eid al Fitr* falls at the end of Ramadan; *Eid al-Adha* (Feast of Sacrifice), which follows soon after, commemorates the slaughtering of the lamb by the Prophet Abraham and is followed by a pilgrimage. The Islamic New Year as well as the birthday of the Prophet are also important holidays for Muslims. Major holidays are celebrated at the mosques and among friends. Traditionally, children wear new clothes and receive monetary gifts (*iddiyya*).

Christian Copts celebrate Christmas according to the Gregorian calendar, usually on January 6-7 of every year. Easter is a week-long observance of strict religious rituals culminating in Good Friday, a midnight mass on Holy Saturday, and a mass at dawn on Easter Sunday. A secular holiday, the New Year is celebrated by Muslims and Christians.

Another important holiday is *Sham al-Nassim*, a rite of spring dating to ancient times that is celebrated on the Monday after Easter Sunday. Egyptians go out into the fields or onto the beaches and eat a specially prepared salted fish (*fisikh*), onions or shallots, colored hard-boiled eggs, fruits, and sweets. This tradition is dying out in the United States because Monday is a workday. Since *Sham al-Nassim* is a moveable feast, Egyptians sometimes celebrate it on Easter Sunday so that everyone can participate. It is an occasion when all Egyptians, irrespective of religious faith, can get together and enjoy themselves.

HEALTH ISSUES

Traditional health care practices and beliefs are rarely practiced by urban dwellers in Egypt. Because the majority of immigrants to the United States are from urban centers, there is no evidence that such practices are being carried over to the United States. A large percentage of the first wave of immigrants were trained as physicians in Egypt and acquired additional fields of specialty in the United States. Many of these physicians serve people in their own communities, who turn to them for advice and medical care and who also find Egyptian American medical doctors a source of comfort, especially if they are still in the midst of overcoming the language barrier.

LANGUAGE

Ancient Egyptians developed a pictographic and ideographic writing system known as hieroglyphics. With the fall of the Egyptian empire, the language was lost altogether until the recent discovery of the Rosetta Stone. Scientists have since established that this writing system, which functioned both vertically and horizontally in either long or abbreviated forms, has qualities similar to an alphabet.

Arabic has been the common language of all Egyptians since the eighth century. The dialect most often spoken in Egypt is Cairene Arabic, which is also the Arabic dialect most widely known throughout the Arabic-speaking world. Cairene Arabic is widely used by all Egyptian Americans at informal social gatherings. The great popularity of Egyptian singers and movies assists the dissemination of this dialect. Formal Arabic is used in religious services by Muslims and Copts. Recently, Copts have introduced English into their church services (usually in sermons) to maintain the participation of new generations of American-born Egyptians.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The nuclear family is the basic social unit of Egyptian society. Although the extended family also continues to play a dominant role in the intricate family grid, familial ties are beginning to loosen, even in Egypt. Some of these changes have become more accentuated in the United States. Wide distances may separate children from their parents, brothers, and sisters and from other members of the extended family. Whereas once people would grow up and spend their lives in the same neighborhood and would die and be buried in the same city, today things have changed so that families are scattered throughout the 50 states. More often than not, most Egyptian Americans opt for burial in the United States.

The growing prevalence of intermarriage between Egyptians and Americans—most commonly between Egyptian-born men and American women—has challenged the family structure. A Muslim woman's husband is required by religion and law to convert to Islam, while a Muslim man's wife may retain her Christian or non-Muslim faith. In either case, the children must be raised as Muslims. Christian Egyptians experience relatively fewer difficulties integrating into American society, although Egyptian Copts tend to be conservative and prefer that their children marry within the Coptic church.

COURTSHIP

Having been raised in a conservative and traditional society, Egyptian Americans—particularly Muslims—worry about their offspring's dating habits and urge their children to marry someone of Egyptian descent or to choose someone from the larger community of Arab peoples. Families commonly send their children back to Egypt to immerse them within Egyptian society in the hope that they will choose a bride or groom there. Some Egyptian Americans encourage marriage between cousins, a practice common in Egypt.

For these reasons, the role of the mosque as a social center and as a religious gathering place is changing from what it was in Egypt. Today, for instance, women not only pray at the mosque but also participate in social activities there. The custom of women praying at the mosque has now become prevalent in Egypt, having been brought back there by returning Muslim Americans.

CHILDREARING

Boys are often treated differently than girls and are given more leeway when it comes to curfews and dating. However, because education is highly esteemed by Egyptians, and because many members of the first generation of Egyptian Americans possess advanced college degrees, children—both boys and girls—are encouraged to attend college. Children who decide to attend school out of state generally obtain their parents' blessing, although some parents still prefer to have their children—especially their daughters—nearby. In some cases, mothers will move to another state just to live with their children. Some parents encourage their children to return to Egypt to obtain a degree, not only because it is less costly to do so (medical students receive free education in Egypt), but also because it ensures that their children will be supervised by members of the extended family.

EDUCATION

Because the majority of first generation of Egyptian Americans are highly educated professionals, they have a tendency to apply to the best schools, private or public. In rare cases their children attend religious-affiliated schools; there are a few Muslim schools in New Jersey and Washington, D.C. However, because of the emphasis on higher education, Muslims attending these schools tend to join regular school systems beyond the primary level. The vast majority of Egyptian Americans go on to four-year colleges. There is still a premium on the traditional professional disciplines such as medicine, engineering, and accounting. Yet growing numbers of Egyptian Amer-

icans are now enrolled in business or law schools or are pursuing degrees in the humanities. Many Egyptian Americans are enrolled in Ivy League schools, especially if their parents can afford the high cost of tuition, but larger numbers are entering state schools. It is not unusual to find young Egyptian Americans working their way through school to help pay for their tuition. Some opt to work after high school for a few years before going on with their studies. While some Egyptian Americans do not complete high school, they represent a very small percentage of the Egyptian American population.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Since the nineteenth century, women in Egypt have come to play a more prevalent role in improving their status and in increasing the degree of their participation within society. World War I and World War II brought radical change in the status of women in Egypt. By the 1920s women began to enroll in universities and entered the workforce as physicians, lawyers, and educators. They became fuller participants in the workforce after the 1952 Revolution and after the implementation of the National Charter in 1962, which stipulated that “women must be regarded as equal to men, and must shed the remaining shackles that impede their free movement.” Consequently, they have enjoyed a relatively long tradition of active participation in the public domain. Many Egyptian American women carried this tradition to their new home in the United States.

Whether they immigrated to the United States or are American-born, most Egyptian women are active within American society on several levels. Women tend to participate within the workforce, even those who are raising families. This is especially true of the second wave of immigrants, some of whom have not acquired employment on a par with their college backgrounds. These underemployed immigrants work in jobs as foodstand operators, baby-sitters, or waitresses either in family-run restaurants or in the catering trade. Many Egyptian American women have created lucrative catering businesses that specialize in preparing foods for Egyptian households. Many others have successful careers in medicine and accounting, with a high number of them in academia.

RELIGION

The majority of Egyptians are Muslim, while Copts (Orthodox Christians), the largest religious minority, are believed to form approximately eight percent of the religious community in Egypt. Both Egyptian

Muslims and Egyptian Copts have settled in the United States. Within this immigrant community, the number of Egyptian Christians possibly surpasses the number of Egyptian Muslims, although Egyptian Muslims in the United States have increased their numbers steadily in the past two decades.

Islam, which was introduced to Egypt by Arab Muslim invaders in 641 A.D., is a religious system that permeates Egyptian society at every level. Islam means submission to the will of God. A Muslim is one who has submitted to Allah and who acknowledges Muhammad as God’s Prophet. Islamic tradition takes into account the doctrines of both Judaism and Christianity, and Muslims consider their Prophet Muhammad the last in a series of prophets that included Abraham, Moses, and Jesus.

Muslims believe in one God and in the afterlife as do Christians and Jews. Islam also acknowledges Jews and Christians as “people of the Book” or *Bible* (*ahl al-Kitab*) and has granted them privileged status from the early days of the Islamic Empire. For this reason, religious minorities throughout the Arab world have survived and flourished during periods of severe cultural and religious repression elsewhere.

Islamic acts of devotion and worship are expressed in the five Pillars of Islam. The first Pillar is the profession of faith, “There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet,” or the *Shahada*, which requires the believer to profess the Unity of God and the mission of Muhammad. The assertion forms part of every prayer.

The second Pillar is prayer, or *Sala*, required five times a day: at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and dusk. It may be performed in a state of ritual purity. The worshipper has the choice of praying privately in open air, in a house, with a group, outdoors, or in a mosque. Because Islam opposes the practice of withdrawing into ascetic life, there is no priesthood. There are, however, *Ulama*, or learned men who are well versed in Islamic law and tradition. Muslims also pray in mosques on Friday, their holy day of the week.

The third Pillar is almsgiving, or *Zakat*. This embodies the principle of social responsibility. The fourth Pillar is fasting, or *Saum*, which is observed during the month of Ramadan when God sent the *Qur’an* to the angel Gabriel who in turn revealed it to the Prophet. Fasting demands complete abstinence from food and drink from sunrise to sunset. Ramadan is followed by *Iftar*, a sumptuous banquet where friends and family gather to celebrate the break of fast. Dearly cherished by Egyptians in Egypt, this tradition is observed closely in America where it is celebrated with Christian Egyptians and American friends alike.

The fifth Pillar is the pilgrimage to Mecca, which should be made by every able-bodied Muslim who can afford to do so at least once in a lifetime. Attached to the experience of the pilgrimage is an added status: the person will henceforth be addressed as *al-Haj* or *al-Hajjah*, a title which carries great prestige. Many Egyptian Muslims living in the United States go on a *Haj*, or pilgrimage, as well as an *Umrah*, a modified pilgrimage which can take place at different times of the year and not necessarily at the officially specified time.

The other significant group of Egyptian Americans are the Coptic Christians. The Copts are native to Egypt, having converted to Christianity from their Ancient Egyptian religions as early as the first century A.D. After the Arab conquest of Egypt in 642, the Coptic language began to give way to Arabic; however, Coptic is still used as the liturgical language in church services, is taught in Sunday schools, and is employed in some daily communications among *Ulama*.

Today, Coptic is still used in church services in the United States where large congregations of Egyptian Copts are found. There is an archdiocese in Jersey City, New Jersey, where one of the first American Coptic churches was founded in the early 1960s.

There are well-developed cordial and reciprocal social relations between Egyptian Copts, Egyptian Muslims, and the general American public. In Egypt, many Copts have adopted a number of Islamic customs, just as some Egyptian Muslims have adopted certain Coptic customs, and this has carried over to the United States. Egyptian Copts sometimes share in the festivities of Ramadan, while Muslim Egyptians celebrate certain aspects of Christmas and the New Year.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The first wave of immigrants consisted of individuals who either had obtained a professional degree or had come seeking further education. They pursued careers as doctors, accountants, engineers, and lawyers, and a good number joined the teaching faculties of major universities. The second wave held college degrees but had to accept menial jobs. When they first arrived many drove taxicabs or waited on tables in restaurants. The economic recession and corporate downsizing undoubtedly have affected Egyptian Americans. Some enterprising citizens have gone into business for themselves. Because of the stigma attached to being unemployed or on welfare, Egyptian Americans have

resisted receiving these benefits, but as time goes on their participation in social aid programs will become an increasing fact of life.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Egyptian Americans are only now beginning to show interest in municipal and national politics. As with every immigrant group, they first had to establish themselves in society before venturing into the political arena. Unlike other groups of Arab Americans who have been in the United States for more than a century and who are only now coming into their own by being elected to positions in national and local government, Egyptian Americans are just beginning to get involved politically, by exercising their right to vote and supporting their preferred candidates. Because significant numbers of them do not belong to trade unions, they have not had a perceptible influence on union politics. Egyptian Americans are politically conservative and tend to vote Republican, although a growing number who have been in the United States for more than 20 years are beginning to lean toward the Democratic Party or to vote independent. A few Egyptian Americans have volunteered for the armed forces, especially physicians.

RELATIONS WITH EGYPT

Only recently have there been attempts at involvement in the politics of Egypt. The Egyptian government is interested in its expatriate communities and maintains good relations with them by encouraging them to invest in its economy. For instance, in the past few years the Egyptian American Businessmen's Association has taken official tours to Egypt, meeting with officials and advising the country on various economic matters. The Union of Egyptians is a loosely structured organization that claims to meet Egyptian needs abroad by securing links with the homeland. Other organizations, such as the Egyptian American Professional Organization, prefer to avoid political matters, instead focusing on educational and cultural ties between Egyptian Americans and their home country.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

In Hollywood, Egyptians who have made a name for themselves include the sitcom director Asaad Kelada.

INDUSTRY AND FINANCE

Fayz Sarofim is an investment banker and financier who is one of the wealthiest people in the world. Many prominent Egyptians work in Washington-based organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, notably Ibrahim Shehata, Vice President of the World Bank.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Boutros Boutros Ghali is the Secretary General of the United Nations. Dr. M. Sherif Bassiouni, who was born in Cairo Egypt in 1937, has written a number of books on International Criminal Law; he is the founder and first Vice-President of the Association of Egyptian American Scholars.

MUSIC

Halim al Daabi', composer and musician, has written scores for ballets of Martha Graham.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Farouk Al Baz was born in Egypt in 1938. Since 1975 he has been the Research Director of the Center for Earth and Planetary studies at the National Air and Space Museum at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; Baz was one of the principal scientists involved in the NASA lunar-landing project. Dr. Samy Farag, who was born in Egypt in 1942, served as U.S. delegate to the Congress of Rheumatology in Paris in 1981.

MEDIA

PRINT

American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter.

Reports quarterly on the Center's activities, plans, and projects. Covers archaeology, history, culture, and language of Egypt in all periods from pre-history to contemporary times.

Contact: Joan Meisel, Editor.

Address: 30 East 20th Street, Suite 401, New York, New York 10003-1310.

Telephone: (212) 529-6661.

Fax: (212) 529-6856.

E-mail: arce.center@nyu.edu.

RADIO

WJPF-AM (1340).

Formerly WJPF-AM and WHPI-AM, broadcasts continuously and offers 40 percent local programming.

Contact: Mike Murphy.

Address: Egyptian Broadcasting Co., Box 550, Herrin, Illinois 62948.

Telephone: (618) 942-2181.

Fax: (618) 988-8111.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

In addition to those listed below, prominent Egyptian American organizations include: Association of American Muslims; Egyptian American Businessmen's Association in Greenwich, Connecticut; Egyptian American Physicians' Association; Egyptian American Professionals' Society in Westchester, New York.

American Coptic Association (ACA).

Founded in 1974. Copts (Christian Egyptians) who have immigrated to the U.S. Promotes Coptic culture and history; defends human rights of the Copts in Egypt; helps U.S. immigrants to be good and productive citizens. Sponsors lectures; conducts research and charitable programs.

Contact: Dr. Shawky F. Karas, President.

Address: P.O. Box 9119 G.L.S., Jersey City, New Jersey 07304.

Telephone: (201) 451-0972.

Fax: (201) 451-3399.

American Egyptian Cooperation Foundation (AECF).

Founded in 1987. Companies, organizations, and individuals having an interest in promoting commercial, investment, tourism, and closer relations between Egypt and the United States. Focuses on efforts that increase international understanding.

Contact: Abdel Fattah Zaki, CEO & President.

Address: 330 East 39th Street, Suite 32L, New York, New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 867-2323.

Fax: (212) 697-0465.

E-Mail: aecf32@aol.com .

Egyptian-American Society.

Contact: Sarwat Fahmy.

Address: 10586 Creston Drive, Los Altos, California 94024-7417.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Research Center in Egypt.

Independent, nonprofit research organization operating in New York and in Cairo, Egypt, centering its attention on ancient and Islamic civilization in Egypt, including humanities and social studies in all periods.

Contact: Dr. Charles D. Smith, President.

Address: 30 East 20th Street, Suite 401,
New York, New York 10003-1310.

Telephone: (212) 529-6661.

Fax: (212) 529-6856.

E-mail: arce.center@nyu.edu.

Online: <http://www.arce.org>.

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E NGLISH AMERICANS

by
Sheldon Hanft

The descendants of
English expatriates
are so numerous and
so well integrated in
American life that
it is impossible to
identify all of them.

OVERVIEW

England, a country slightly larger than New York State, occupies 50,363 square miles (130,439 square kilometers) of the southern end of the largest island off the Atlantic coast of Europe. A land of rolling hills, moderate climate, abundant rainfall, fertile plains, many navigable rivers, and nearly 2,000 miles of ocean coastline, it is mineral rich and very arable. From the southwestern plateau of Cornwall and southeastern marshy downs through the gentle plains, the Pennine uplands, and the lake country, to the Cambrian mountains and Cheviot Hills, which shapes its western and northern borders with Wales and Scotland, no point is more than 75 miles from the seas that brought commerce, migrations, and invasion throughout much of England's early history.

While 80 percent of its 50 million people are native born, England has large communities of Scots (nearly ten percent), Irish, and Welsh in its border counties and about two million Asian Indians, Pakistani, West Indians, and other nonwhite peoples in its large cities. These Asian and Caribbean groups settled in England during and after the collapse of the British empire in the last half century. London, with a population approaching seven million, is the capital of England and the United Kingdom. The government is a constitutional monarchy with a Parliament and a cabinet system dominated by the Conservative and Labour parties. Seventy-eight percent of the English population belong to the Church

of England (the Anglican Church, or the COE), which is legally established (tax supported) and officially governed by the monarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are also sizable groups of Methodists, Evangelicals, Roman Catholics, Muslims, Jews, and Quakers in England. The national flag, commonly called the “union jack,” has a broad red English cross (of St. George) with white borders imposed over the Scottish cross (of St. Stephen), shown as thinner red diagonals with thin white borders traversing from corner to corner on a field of royal blue.

HISTORY

The English descend from the Celtic tribes who brought iron age technology and Druid ceremonies, reflected in such monumental megaliths as Stonehenge, to the British isles in the first millennium. Their language and heritage are reflected in Welsh and Gaelic more strongly than in the English language. Roman conquests, begun by Emperor Claudius, brought England and Wales under Roman control by the end of the first century. During the next three centuries, England developed as a typical Roman colony, protected by the 73 mile-long Hadrian’s Wall in the north and policed by the legions, who also constructed roads. During their occupation, Romans promoted commerce, established their institutions, and introduced Christianity in England.

The collapse of Roman rule in the early fifth century ended urban life, as groups of Germanic Angles, Jutes, and Saxons carved the country into tribal enclaves and later created the heptarchy. This diverse group of seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms vied among themselves for control of the island and later resisted the waves of Viking invaders from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. The most famous Anglo-Saxon ruler was Alfred the Great, who defeated the Danish Vikings, began the English navy, and made Roman Catholicism dominant.

In 1066 William of Normandy conquered England, ending a century of instability, and imposed systemic feudalism by constructing hundreds of castles. During the next three centuries, the institutions of Common Law and Parliamentary government developed, Henry II created a large Angevin empire, Richard the Lionhearted won fame on the Crusade of Kings, and his brother John provoked a baronial revolt that led to the signing of the Magna Carta—the first serious limitation on monarch’s power in England. Royal power was further weakened by England’s defeat in the Hundred Years’ War (1337-1453), depopulation caused by the Black Death, and the baronial War of the Roses, which

brought the Tudor dynasty to the throne in 1485.

Henry VII’s victory at Bosworth restored strong central government, began transatlantic exploration, developed fiscal reform, and reasserted strong kingship. Henry VIII patronized the Renaissance, separated the Church of England from papal control, and furthered the Tudor revolution in government administration. After “Bloody” Mary’s brief effort to return to Catholicism during the middle of the sixteenth century, her younger sister, Queen Elizabeth, restored Henry’s church and defended it from the Spanish Armada of 1588. Her prosperous reign supported explorers like Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, a cultural revival led by William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon, and let merchant adventurers settle England’s first permanent American colony.

Between 1603 and 1714 a succession of Stuart rulers encountered Parliamentary opposition to their religious, tax, social, and constitutional policies, which resulted in massive emigration, three civil wars between 1642 and 1649, the public execution of Charles I, and Oliver Cromwell’s republican Commonwealth. While Charles II was restored in 1660, the Glorious Revolution ensued in 1688-1689, establishing a Bill of Rights and making England the chief opponent of Louis XIV’s wars during the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne.

In 1715, eight years after England united with Scotland, the present dynasty, the Hanoverian Windsors, ascended to the throne. During the eighteenth century, England compiled a vast empire, defeated the French in the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), and dominated international trade, notwithstanding having lost the 13 American colonies. Led by such English writers as John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton, the Enlightenment constituted the century’s main cultural movement. The English organized the alliance that eventually defeated Napoleon in 1815.

Strengthened by electoral reforms, the Industrial Revolution, and imperialistic expansion in Africa and Asia, Britain remained a dominant world power throughout most of the nineteenth century. Although troubled by the Potato Famine, which began in Ireland, the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) has become synonymous with the expansion of imperialism and the cosmopolitan culture of the age. While creating an empire on which the sun never set, as it was said, England adopted social and economic reforms that made the government more democratic despite challenges to England’s economic and political leadership.

The burden of fighting two world wars, the loss of much of its empire, and the demands of its

new “welfare state” policies diminished England’s political importance in the second half of the twentieth century. To accommodate these changes, Britain strongly allied itself with the United States and reluctantly increased its involvement in the European Common Market, a policy reflected in the difficult struggle to complete the channel tunnel connecting England with France in 1994. Yet the policy continues to meet strong resistance in Parliament and among the peoples of the British Isles. The challenges of surrendering their historical independence and cooperating with the policies and obligations of Common Market membership remain among the most difficult problems facing England and Great Britain at the end of the twentieth century.

CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND

Contemporary England is at the center of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which also includes Scotland, Wales, the Sea Islands, and the Channel Islands. Presently, the United Kingdom is composed of several distinctive areas that maintain their national churches and ethnic traditions and harbor a reluctance to be absorbed into a “greater England.” In the 1960s the desire for greater independence led to national referenda in Wales and Scotland and erupted into sustained violence in Northern Ireland. These movements have declined considerably in recent decades. Less than ten percent of the people of the United Kingdom live in Scotland, while 5.5 percent inhabit Wales and under three percent live in Northern Ireland. The Channel Islands, mainly Jersey and Guernsey (off the French coast) and the Isle of Man (in the Irish Sea), historically considered part of England, have received self-government and dependency status in the last half century.

Scotland, directly north of England, has nearly five million inhabitants who occupy the northern 37 percent of the main island. It is a diverse area of over 30,414 square miles of land (78,772 square kilometers) that includes the Inner and Outer Hebrides and other islands in the Irish Sea and the Orkney and Shetland Islands in the North Sea. Edinburgh is its capital and three-quarters of its population live in its southern lowlands. This region makes use of inexpensive hydroelectric power and North Sea oil, which sustain an industrial complex and the textile, fishing, herding, and whiskey industries traditional in this region. The English language is spoken throughout Scotland, but Scottish accents are strongly divergent from those in England. Nearly 100,000 Scots speak Gaelic in addition to English.

The principality of Wales is 8,018 square miles (20,768 square kilometers) of generally mountainous terrain and nearly 2.8 million residents. While English is the official language, about 12 percent of its residents are bilingual in Welsh and English and about two percent speak only Welsh. Although the Church of England is established, it never won the loyalty of the general populace. During the nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution, Welsh “Calvinistic Methodists” gained the support of most of the working class and added a religious dimension to the social and economic issues separating working-class Welsh from the wealthier social groups who accepted the established Church. Administratively, Wales remains part of England, and, while Welsh nationalism has declined as a political force, it remains an important cultural and social expression of the Welsh character.

While England occupied parts of Ireland since the Middle Ages and conquered the whole island in the sixteenth century, deep religious loyalties, punitive economic legislation, and cultural differences left native Irish Catholics resentful of the transplanted Protestant minority who enjoyed great privilege. This division fueled periodic rebellions and led, in 1920, to a division of the island into a predominantly Catholic republic in the south and a predominantly Protestant Northern Ireland, which stayed part of the United Kingdom. These six Ulster counties with an area of 5,452 square miles (14,121 square kilometers) and over 1.5 million people were given semiautonomous local government centered in Belfast under the supervision of a royal governor and a Parliamentary committee. The eruption of sectarian violence in 1969 prompted London to resume direct control of local government. Negotiations in the 1990s provided hope for a solution to “the troubles.”

Elizabeth II, of the House of Hanover-Windsor is the reigning sovereign. She married a Greek prince, Philip Mountbatten, and succeeded her father, George VI, to the throne in February 1952 and was crowned on June 2, 1953 in a ceremony televised worldwide. Her husband was made Duke of Edinburgh in 1947 and added the title of Prince of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland a decade later. Prince Charles Philip Arthur George, born November 14, 1948, was created Prince of Wales and is the heir apparent. His son, William Philip Arthur Lewis, born June 21, 1982, is next in the line of succession.

The Sovereign is the titular head of government and summons the meeting of Parliament—the national legislature, the members of which sit for five years or less. The House of Lords, empowered

only to delay legislation, is composed of the two archbishops and 24 bishops of the Church of England, 763 hereditary nobles, and 314 life peers who are nominated by the government and created by the monarch. The House of Commons has 650 members directly elected by universal suffrage from 516 districts in England, 71 in Scotland, 36 in Wales, and 12 in Northern Ireland. Scottish, Welsh, and Irish nationalist parties elect some members to Parliament, and a Social Democratic Party has emerged to weakly challenge the Conservative and Labour parties. Asian and West Indian members of Parliament were returned from urban constituencies in every election since 1987.

Executive power is exercised by the Prime Minister and his or her cabinet, who are appointed by the monarch from among the members of the party receiving a majority in the House of Commons. Cabinet members must sit in Parliament, and they, individually and collectively, are responsible to the Crown and the Parliament whose support they must have in order to frame legislation, tax, and determine domestic and foreign policy.

While no longer an economic superpower, England remains a major manufacturing, food-producing, and commercial nation that has regained a favorable balance of trade. London remains one of the premier financial markets in the world, and its universities, museums, scientific establishment, and tourist attractions draw millions of people to England, especially from former colonies that remain affiliated through the British Commonwealth of Nations.

IMMIGRATION, SETTLEMENT, AND EMPLOYMENT

The English were the first non-Native Americans to settle the area that became the United States of America. From the first permanent colonies established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 and at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay in 1620-1622 to James Oglethorpe's settlement in Savannah, Georgia, in 1732, English joint-stock companies, proprietors, and Crown officials sought to create a modified version of their native society in their American colonies. While many Englishmen came to America to exercise their own religion, and others sought liberation from the religious intolerance on both sides of the Atlantic—as did Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island—most English settlers were drawn by the economic opportunities and cheap land. Despite their diverse origins, the majority of colonies came under royal control, established the Church of England Episcopal Church after 1776, and created laws that adapted

and imposed the English systems of law, governmental administration, education, commercial and financial management, and agriculture, as well as the arts and popular entertainment.

The group of single men sent by the Virginia company in 1607 to find gold and create a profitable trade failed, and the survival of the colony was doubtful, even under royal proprietorship, for two decades. It was not until the late 1620s, when stability agriculture and a profitable tobacco export began attracting an annual English immigration of several thousand men and women, that the success of Jamestown was assured. This rate of English immigration to the Chesapeake area was maintained until the early part of the next century, when it expanded as England suffered economic difficulties. After Maryland and Delaware were founded, the latter by Catholics, indentured Englishmen and working-class families constituted a majority of the new English settlers.

In addition to the small number of gentry, clergy, lawyers, officials, and minor aristocratic families who settled in the Chesapeake basin to develop plantations, over 30,000 male and female prisoners convicted of serious felonies were transported to Virginia, Maryland, and southern Pennsylvania between 1717 and 1776. Most of the prisoners and indentured servants, as well those as those who paid their passage to the Chesapeake, were young men with some training, possessions, and vocational skills. Although all colonies from Virginia to Georgia received a stream of English prisoners and indentured servants, many were successful in attracting the younger sons and poorer cousins of gentry and merchant families. In the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sizable numbers of Scots, Germans, French, Irish, and Scotch-Irish settled in the South, and they accepted the culture and institutions already established.

Pilgrim and Puritan settlement in Massachusetts Bay attracted over 20,000 settlers from East Anglia and the counties west of London between 1620 and 1642. During these decades English settlements were planted in New Hampshire and Maine, and several English communities were established in Rhode Island and Connecticut by religious reformers who were not tolerated in Massachusetts. Unlike the southern colonies, most of the New England settlers were older and came to America with their family, friends, and assorted relatives. In some instances whole congregations immigrated to New England in this period. The influences of the clergy and the government was strong throughout the region, and successful efforts were made to convert Indians to Christianity.

English settlers from Virginia migrated into North Carolina in the seventeenth century, and English immigrants settled in all of the colonies between Connecticut and Maryland in the middle decades of the century. When an English fleet captured New Amsterdam in 1664 renaming it New York, their countrymen already comprised a majority of the city's population and were well established in New Jersey. While Pennsylvania, founded by English Quakers, attracted large numbers of German, French, Welsh, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish settlers, the colony retained its English character throughout the colonial period.

In the late seventeenth century most English immigrants were younger men who came from the rural areas of southern and south central England. Unlike the New England farming families, most who settled in the region from the Chesapeake to Charleston came as indentured servants and had training as farmers, skilled tradesmen, laborers, or craftsmen. By the last decade of the century, when the English and their descendants comprised 90 percent of the European settlers, Southern planters began importing slaves and the number of new indentured servants decreased. In the eighteenth century, many of those who indentured themselves to get to America were older than those who came before them and were accompanied by their family or related to the families in whose employ they remained.

In the eighteenth century, people from London and the northern counties comprised the majority of English immigrants. The percentage of women increased slightly, from about 15 percent to nearly 25 percent of the English settlers. English Americans began to intermarry more frequently than any other European group. This was partly due to the increased numbers of mobile tradesmen, craftsmen, and merchants among the new English Americans. After the government began transporting felons to the colonies after 1717, the number of unskilled settlers increased in the New England and middle colonies that were willing to accept them. Economic and political troubles brought new spurts of English immigration in the 1720s and in the decades preceding the American Revolution. Americans cited the writings of John Locke, the defender of England's Glorious Revolution, to condemn George III for abusing their "rights as Englishmen."

While English settlers and their descendants constituted only about 60 percent of the European settlers and half of the four million residents living from Maine to Georgia, according to the 1790 census, they had ensured the dominance of English institutions and culture throughout the new repub-

lic. This was reflected in the leaders of the national and state governments as well as in the movement to add an English-style Bill of Rights to the new Constitution. While Massachusetts had the largest number of English Americans, only in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Northwest Territory were they a plurality. A cadre of English-trained officials, educated clergymen, wealthy merchants, landlords, and professionals dominated the governments and social structure in all of the colonies, despite the growing influx of immigrants from other parts of Great Britain and Europe.

English immigration to America sharply decreased between 1780 and 1815, as a consequence of English involvement in India and Latin America, events surrounding the French Revolution and Napoleonic conquest, and a "second war of independence" with the United States. During the War of 1812 British aliens were forced to register with local marshals; many English merchants were kept from their trade and forced to relocate; and for the duration of the war English aliens were treated with suspicion, and their freedom of movement was severely restricted.

In the decades preceding the war, London prevented English craftsmen from immigrating to America and restricted the number of settlers each ship could transport. Despite the general decline in immigration to America, several short spurts of English immigration to America occurred. One such increase developed at the end of the Revolutionary War, and another resulted from the monarchy's suppression of English radicals in 1793.

Although German, Irish, Scandinavian, Mediterranean, and Slavic peoples dominated the new waves of immigration after 1815, English settlers provided a steady and substantial influx throughout the nineteenth century. The first wave of increasing English immigration began in the late 1820s and was sustained by unrest in England until it peaked in 1842 and declined slightly for nearly a decade. Most of these were small farmers and tenant farmers from depressed areas in rural counties in southern and western England and urban laborers who fled from the depressions and from the social and industrial changes of the late 1820s-1840s. While some English immigrants were drawn by dreams of creating model utopian societies in America, most others were attracted by the lure of new lands, textile factories, railroads, and the expansion of mining.

The Chartist movement in the late 1840s, with its massive urban protests, spurred another period of English immigration, which peaked in 1854 and coincided with the waves of Germans and central

Europeans who fled to America after the failed revolutions of 1848. With this new influx, as with the previous one, there was a preponderance of English people traveling with one or more family members, and the number of industrial workers, tradesmen, and craftsmen outnumbered farmers more than three to one. Along with its economic appeal, America attracted English settlers because of its similar language and customs and the popular admiration for “things English,” especially in its large cities and in the South. A number of English labor unions, Poor Law authorities, charitable organizations, and utopian colonization schemes also encouraged English resettlement in America.

“We were put on a barge, jammed in so tight that I couldn’t turn ‘round, there were so many of us, you see, and the stench was terrible.”

Eleanor Kenderdine Lenhart in 1921, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

During the last years of 1860s, annual English immigration increased to over 60,000 and continued to rise to over 75,000 per year in 1872, before experiencing a decline. The final and most sustained wave of immigration began in 1879 and lasted until the depression of 1893. During this period English annual immigration averaged more than 80,000, with peaks in 1882 and 1888. The building of America’s transcontinental railroads, the settlement of the great plains, and industrialization attracted skilled and professional emigrants from England. Also, cheaper steamship fares enabled unskilled urban workers to come to America, and unskilled and semiskilled laborers, miners, and building trades workers made up the majority of these new English immigrants. While most settled in America, a number of skilled craftsmen remained itinerant, returning to England after a season of two of work. Groups of English immigrants came to America as missionaries for the Salvation Army and to work with the activities of the Evangelical and Mormon Churches. The depression of 1893 sharply decreased English immigration, and it stayed low for much of the twentieth century.

Throughout the nineteenth century, England was the largest investor in American land development, railroads, mining, cattle ranching, and heavy industry. Perhaps because English settlers gained easy acceptance, they founded few organizations dedicated to preserving the traditions of their homeland. While the English comprised only 15 percent

of the great nineteenth-century European migration to America, those going to America from England made up less than ten percent of the people leaving England between 1820 and 1920. These migrations in the late nineteenth century were important in that they altered the distribution of English settlers in America. By the end of the century the middle-Atlantic states had the largest number of English Americans, followed by the north-central states and New England. The growing number of English settling in the West and Pacific Coast regions left the South with the smallest percentage of English Americans by the end of the century.

In the twentieth century, English immigration to America decreased, a product of Canada and Australia having better economic opportunities and favorable immigration policies. English immigration remained low in the first four decades of the century, averaging about six percent of the total number of people from Europe. English culture, literature, and family connections became widely coveted in the early decades of the twentieth century, due to a number of well-publicized marriages of wealthy Americans to children of English aristocrats and to the introduction of Western history and literature courses stressing America’s English heritage in colleges and in the public school curriculum after World War I. During the decade of the Great Depression of the 1930s more English returned home than immigrated to the United States. For the first time, more English women than men immigrated.

This decline reversed itself in the decade of World War II when over 100,000 English (18 percent of all European immigrants) came from England. In this group was a large contingent of war brides who came between 1945 and 1948. In these years four women emigrated from England for every man. Although total English immigration increased to over 150,000 (the level maintained in the 1920s) it was less than 12 percent of the European influx during the 1950s. In the 1960s English immigration rose by 20,000 (15.5 percent of all Europeans migrating) and continued in the next decade because of the so-called brain drain of English engineers, technicians, medical professionals, and other specialists being lured to America by multinational corporations. In the three decades since 1970, English immigrants, who were about 12 percent of the total arriving from Europe, were usually unmarried, professionally trained men and women. While the average age of immigrants rose in the last decades of the twentieth century, the number of married people and children continued to decline, and immigrants continued to merge almost imperceptibly into American society.

The periods of increased English immigration in this century are notable because they involved more people from middle and upper-class groups whose migrations raised political issues in England, not because the level of immigration was significant. For most of the period between 1921 and 1969, when immigration quotas were based on the country of origin, England did not fill the generous quotas granted to it. Despite the slight decline in English immigration under the current immigration structure adopted in the 1970s, 33 million Americans identify themselves as being of English descent in the 1990 census. They constitute the third largest ethnic group in the United States, and despite the fact that the Southeast is the region of the nation with the largest number of Americans of English descent, the states currently having the largest number of English Americans are California, Texas, Florida, New York, and Ohio.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Since all but two of the original colonies were founded by Englishmen, were administered by English officials, were protected by England's army and navy, and were led by English-trained clergy, lawyers, and educators, they adapted English models in their laws, constitutions, educational system, social structure, and cultural pursuits. From the colonial period it remained fashionable for wealthy Americans to send their sons to England for a year of college, and English styles in literature, poetry, music, architecture, industry, and clothing were the models to emulate until the twentieth century. Throughout the colonial period Americans supported England's wars enthusiastically, and when resentment and resistance to English policies developed in America in the 1760s and 1770s, Americans looked to Parliament for redress of their grievances, which they perceived as emanating from a tyrannical King and his corrupt ministers. Numerous colonial towns created in this period were named in honor of William Pitt and John Wilkes, two popular English Parliamentarians who opposed George III.

While differences developed, it is not surprising that English immigrants had little difficulty in assimilating to American life. Although some loyalists left the United States for England and other colonies after the revolution, the American resentment against the policies of the English government was rarely transferred to English settlers who came to America in the first decades of the nineteenth century. This separation is seen in the sharp rise in English imports in the two decades after the Amer-

ican Revolution. As British naval policies and practices, adopted in their long struggle against Napoleonic France, kindled new conflicts with America, which culminated in the War of 1812, popular resentment against English immigrants intensified. In such states with large German, French, and Celtic communities as Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and the Carolinas, broadsides and pamphlets such as *Niles' Weekly Register*, rebuked English immigrants for their "assumed superiority," their poverty, and their provincialism. During the War of 1812, English merchants, primarily in Charleston, Baltimore, and New York, were relocated and prevented from conducting their business, and recent English immigrants were required to register with local government agencies.

In 1820, English immigration again increased and the new settlers found an easy acceptance, though some resentment remained in the Northeast and in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard with large Irish and Scotch-Irish communities. Faced with few language barriers and a familiar legal and political system at the local level and American variants of nearly every English religious denomination, they had little inclination to establish their own churches, newspapers, or political organizations. While the immigrants often confined their socializing to friends and relatives from their own county (shire) or region of England, their children found easy acceptance, resettled comfortably, and merged into the general population virtually unnoticed by all but their parents.

The only English social organizations to endure for several generations were the assorted groups of Odd Fellows, English fraternal societies for the working class recreated in America by Thomas Wildey and John Welch in Baltimore in 1819 and James B. Barnes in Boston the following year. These lodges appealed to the more skilled immigrant tradesmen and craftsmen because they provided the companionship of English pubs, employment connections, and shelter from critics of English immigrants. Despite difficulties in the 1830s and 1860s, the fraternity survived by accepting immigrants from other parts of Britain and Americans of mixed lineage. Its appeal to waves of English immigrants from 1870 to 1893 was limited, and at the turn of the century there were fewer than three dozen chapters, mostly in New England and the northern states. The organization survived to the present by opening its membership to all Americans and by devoting its activities to civil affairs.

While a few social organizations and newspapers were established for English immigrants in the early nineteenth century, they all failed to gain sig-

English Morris

Dancers perform at
the Red Lion Inn in
Stockbridge,
Massachusetts.



nificant support and did not last long. New York was the home of the first newspaper published in 1827 for English American readers. Named *Albion; or, the British and Colonial Foreign Gazette*, it survived until 1863 and outlasted its rivals, the *Old Countryman* (1830-1835), the *Emigrant* (1835-1838), and the *Anglo-American* (1843-1847). Inexpensive editions of English newspapers became available in the 1840s and undermined the three efforts made in the 1870s and 1880s to publish dailies for the expanding communities of English residents in Massachusetts and New York.

In comparison with other new immigrants, the English immigrants in the decades preceding the Civil War were more prone to separate from the community of their fellow immigrants, more willing to intermarry, and more enthusiastic in embracing the culture of their new land. For most groups of English immigrants throughout the century their ethnic identity was expressed by their participation in the Episcopal Churches in most states and in the Methodist and Baptist Churches in the rural South. Throughout the century, such groups as the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal

Church of England, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Salvation Army sent ministers and missionaries to English congregations in America. With funds raised in England and in English immigrant communities along the Atlantic seaboard, Kenyon College and Jubilee College were established in Ohio and Illinois, respectively, to train Episcopal ministers for service in towns in the middle and far western states where numerous English immigrant communities of miners, craftsmen, and farmers had settled. In many of these states, English immigrants avoided political office beyond the local level and were more reluctant than members of other ethnic groups to apply for American citizenship.

The tendency to adapt and integrate increased in the second half of the century. One study concluded that less than 20 percent of children from the turn of the century's largest community of English immigrants eventually married someone of English descent. While a number of English immigrant groups in the second half of the nineteenth century, like the textile workers in Lowell, Massachusetts, the cutlery workers in Connecticut, and English

miners in West Virginia, may have lived close together and established distinctly English denominational congregations, they were absorbed into the mainstream of American life within a generation. While some communities of English miners, mill workers, and agricultural settlers in the Midwest established libraries, social clubs, and musical societies to provide English culture, most, including the chapters of the St. George's Society in Madison, Wisconsin, and in Clinton, Iowa, rarely survived for more than a decade.

While English immigrants unsuccessfully tried to establish local labor unions, labor exchanges, and political pressure groups in this period, small groups of English skilled workers in industrial and mining communities in the East and Midwest were able to maintain some social cohesion and community identity in the periods of heightened immigration. These groups were able to maintain, for as long as two decades, the self-help associations, buying cooperatives, fraternal lodges, and sporting associations common in English communities in the late Victorian era.

The English immigrants in the last three decades established their own groups of working-class fraternal, social, political, and literary organizations. The Sons of St. George was one of the most durable of these groups and survived until the Great Depression. Originally excluding all but native born English and their descendants, the lodges developed insurance services, secret rituals, and special social functions that were characteristic of other groups. The organization declined as English immigration decreased and America became more isolationist in the two decades following World War I.

A major stimulus for English immigrants to organize was the emergence of the Irish as a major constituency in American politics. In order to increase their political influence, English American groups encouraged the reluctant English immigrants to become citizens in the last decades of the century. While a smaller percentage of English renounced their loyalty to their homeland than did immigrants from other parts of Europe, the census of 1900 showed a significant increase in the percentage of English Americans becoming citizens of the United States. This trend continued and grew in the twentieth century until the rate of English immigrant assimilation matched that of other European settlers.

One result of this trend was the organization of English American and British American political clubs in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, as well as in smaller industrial towns including Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Stanford, Maine; and in Ohio, Iowa, and California, where communities of

English miners, artisans, and industrial workers asserted their political muscle, predominantly on behalf of the Republican party. These activities escalated after an 1887 banquet celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in Boston's Faneuil Hall was disrupted by thousands of angry Irish protesters, who tried to prevent the entry of the 400 ticket holders. When only a few British politicians condemned the protest, English American and Scottish American leaders organized a federation of more than 60 political action clubs and launched a number of periodicals. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois each had a dozen or more English communities that organized politically, and New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and California each had several chapters. These clubs had little impact on the elections of 1888 and 1892, and most were absorbed into a broader anti-Catholic confederation, the American Protective Association, an offshoot of the nativism and populist movements of the 1890s.

Three publications launched in the late 1880s—the *British-American Citizen*, published in Boston between 1887 and 1913; the *Western British American*, published in Chicago between 1888 and 1922; and the *British-American*, published in New York and Philadelphia between 1887 and 1919—attained a limited degree of success by appealing to immigrants from all parts of Britain. They were not successful in uniting Americans of Scottish, English, Irish, and Welsh descent into a single effective political action group, but they did serve to sharpen the ethnic identity of their readers and underscore the importance of the British contribution to American society. The survival of these periodicals after the collapse of the political clubs was due in part to improved diplomatic relations between the United States and Britain after 1895, which led to an alliance in World War I.

The Anglo-American partnership begun in World War I has endured to the present. Britain's actions and policies throughout the century, represented in the American consciousness by the Tommies in the trenches of World War I, Prime Minister Winston Churchill's resistance to Hitler, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's support of America in the Persian Gulf War, has increased the popularity and general acceptance of English immigrants.

COMMON STEREOTYPES AND MISCONCEPTIONS

Derived from stage plays, BBC television shows, and novels, many of which have been made into Hollywood movies, a number of overdrawn stereotypes abound that exaggerate class distinctions and distort

the social attitudes of English Americans. The long-lasting series, “Masterpiece Theater,” and the many movies made from Noel Coward plays and Agatha Christie mysteries have reinforced the cartoonish view of the English aristocracy as a rather stuffy, humorless, reserved, and insensitive group of social relics living hollow lives and wasting their remaining resources on trivial pursuits. They survive the traumas of modern life only with the assistance of their ever-dependable gentlemen’s gentleman. English rulers and political leaders are unrealistically portrayed as charismatic, cosmopolitan, and solely responsible for all of the grand achievements in English history. From the craftiness of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth to the architects of the British Empire and such gifted orators like Pitt and Churchill, English leaders emerge as incorruptible patriots with unerring policies and a love of their citizens not matched in the history books. Despite its inaccuracy, this image is the one with which American presidents from John Fitzgerald Kennedy to Bill Clinton have tried to associate themselves in the course of their relations with England.

The stereotypes of middle-class English Americans keep alive an unreal idealization of the Victorian era. This depiction of the irascible and hardworking English detective, lawyer, professor, or businessman with an idiosyncratic personality has become a stock figure on both sides of the Atlantic. They are the more respectable versions of such working-class bounders as the comic strip character Andy Capp, lazy sports zealots inclined to violence, alcoholism, and womanizing. Working-class women, typified by the cheerful movie heroine Mary Poppins, are just the opposite; English nannies, secretaries, and junior executives are perceived as extremely hardworking and efficient and are in great demand in the homes of elite families and in the offices of American corporations.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no particular health problems or psychological conditions that are specifically associated with British Americans. A number of descendants of British Americans were among the founders of medical societies and others have been prominent in the health insurance industry. England expatriates brought the cooperative movement to America in the early nineteenth century and were early supporters of group health insurance. The success of the National Health system in Britain created benefits for employers, making British multinational corporations advocates of national health insurance in the United States.

LANGUAGE

The popularity in America of English music—both classical and contemporary—movies, television, and theater, and of English performers might suggest that the only distinction between the speech of England and America is in the accents. Pronunciation in England, however, is an important indicator of social class and region of origin, as it is in America. Yet Americans make little distinction between the working-class cockney staccato of the east end of London and the slower, precise articulation of well-educated professional. After living in the United States for several decades, most English immigrants are not identifiable by their accents, and their descendants are indistinguishable from other native born Americans.

The sharper distinction between English of the immigrant generation and those born in the United States is a vocabulary of several hundred words and phrases. While some newer English words, especially slang words, are popularized in America by English musicians and actors, the names of ordinary items distinguish the immigrant English from other Americans. While an American might guess that petrol powers an automobile, he might be hesitant to open the car’s bonnet (hood) or eat some crisps (potato chips) or ring off (hang up) the telephone. The English refer to sausages as bangers and call the toilet the “loo” or the “W.C.” (for water closet).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

As in other areas of American society, it was the English pattern of the nuclear family—focused on the husband, wife, and children with an occasional relative family living in close proximity—that set the pattern of early life in the colonial era. While women were in short supply in the early decades of the colonial era, the majority of Puritan settlers came to New England with their families, as whole congregations and sizable groups of religious dissidents transferred their hopes of a “Godly commonwealth” to America. They set the pattern for establishing Sunday “blue laws,” to sanctify the Sabbath by prohibiting public drinking, dancing, and work-related activities and encouraging prayer and charitable and missionary activities, especially among family members. Outside New England the pastimes described in King James’s *Book of Sports* (1681) were more prevalent; modest displays of entertainment, especially dancing, singing, and athletic competitions among family groups were common and often held under the auspices of the local Episcopal con-



English Americans flock to pubs that remind them of home, like “The King’s Head” in California.

gregation. As noted above, English immigrants, especially those who were part of the larger waves of migration in the nineteenth century, usually settled in small towns with other English miners, metal workers, farmers, and skilled textile specialists and recreated English-style pubs, choral groups, sporting clubs, self-help societies, unions, and fraternal organization, few of which endured for very long beyond the lifetime of the founders.

In all social classes, to differing degrees, English American women dominated the domestic and social life of family as well as its relations with friends and extended family as completely as men dominated the public aspects of family life and business. As in the land of their birth, family celebrations and the maintenance of connections with the prominent relatives or members of “cadet” branches of the family were left to women, especially in more affluent and socially prominent families. Among middle- and upper-class families, care was taken to educate and discipline the older children and to encourage them to continue family businesses and social obligations. Their greater reliance on family, kinsmen, and contacts from their native regions of England and the ease with which they blended into American society, may help explain why English immigrants were last among the new settlers to embrace American citizenship.

This may partially explain the greater proclivity of their children to eventually marry spouses who were not of English ancestry and their willingness to leave the communities in which they were reared. They found that they could be “at home” anywhere in America and that their heritage was not an

obstacle, but rather an asset, in finding a mate who could improve their social and economic status.

For most groups of English immigrants throughout the century, the church was central to ethnic identity. The literature and scriptures of the Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist churches across the country were nearly the same as those in the communities of their birth. Many of these congregations maintained and supported projects of the Episcopal Church of England, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Salvation Army, making it easy for descendants of English immigrants to transfer their loyalties from their parents’ congregation to one in the community to which they had moved to create their own family. This pattern may change in the future, as the acceptance of the ordination of women and negotiations for a reconciliation with the Vatican and the Church of England proceed and as the Episcopal Church worships with its own “modern” Prayer Book.

From the colonial era, English Americans were concerned about higher education and the need for a trained ministry. A large percentage of the early colleges in America were founded and supported by English immigrants and their descendants especially in New England and the southeast. A number of traditional English sports such as sculling (team rowing) and rugby are still supported at colleges founded by English Americans, but the three English aristocratic pastimes that enjoy the greatest popularity in America, and have shed their English identity, are “lawn” tennis, horse racing, and sailing. In a scattering of communities in America, rugby, cricket, and English football (soccer) fields—where

teams wearing traditional outfits of long socks, short pants, and shirts with broad horizontal stripes—keep alive a uniquely English sports heritage.

While many groups, including the New England Puritans and the English Quakers in Pennsylvania, were among the earliest advocates of free public education at all levels, the wealthy and professional classes of English settlers favored private schools and colleges, often affiliated with their particular denomination. When they could, they provided their older sons with a junior year abroad at a British university, as a substitute for the “grand tour” of the continent provided by their own parents. Many endowments were provided to subsidize the education of the children of expatriates in England, the most famous of which is the Rhodes scholarship program, named for the English financier and colonial official Cecil Rhodes. Throughout the United States, English immigrants and their descendants were among the leading philanthropists, supporting museums, colleges, and cultural organizations and many donated facilities in England to enable American colleges to conduct exchange and study-abroad programs. After World War II, Americans of English descent raised millions of dollars for the restoration of churches, schools, and other public buildings in England that they had visited or attended.

Few particularly English holidays are celebrated by English Americans. In some communities small Guy Fawkes Day commemorations are held on November 5 to remember the deliverance of the King and Parliament from a plot in 1605 to destroy them by gunpowder. The English equivalent of July 4, it is celebrated in a similar fashion, with games, fireworks, and a large meal. Among some royalist families, St. Charles Day, marking the martyrdom of King Charles I on January 29, 1649 is celebrated with a somber ritual resembling a wake but featuring the imbibing of spirits, flag waving, and the reading of Charles’s final speech from the gallows.

Because of their shared heritage, the family structure and community dynamics of English Americans have differed little from the rest of mainstream American. The mass media have continued to shape the culture of English and American societies in similar ways in the late twentieth century.

RELIGION

Beginning in the colonial era, the Church of England was active in every colony, despite the fact that many groups of English immigrants came to America to escape that institution and enjoy the freedom to practice other forms of Christianity. In the feder-

alist period, as the Church of England became the Episcopal Church of America, other evangelical denominations including Quaker and Methodist ended their affiliation with their English counterparts and joined the American religious establishment. Throughout the history of the United States, there was little need for English expatriates to found separate churches, as virtually all English denominations found support in the American religious establishment. The exceptions to this situation were the groups of mill workers, miners, and tradesmen who settled in distinct enclaves in small towns in the 1870s and 1880s. A half dozen of these communities formed small congregations affiliated with less prominent English evangelical sects but were absorbed by other mainstream denominations within a decade. The Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal churches remained an important segment of American Protestantism, and English immigrants and their descendants make up a significant and influential part of their membership.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The histories of England and America were inseparable during the colonial period, and English settlers dominated all aspects of colonial government and society. The American colonies successfully fought a war of rebellion against Britain from 1776 to 1783, after which several thousand English loyalists migrated to other Crown colonies, while others returned home. Several diplomatic problems, American aspirations to annex Canada, and the impressment of American sailors by the British navy led to the War of 1812. After America defeated Britain in 1815, a nationalist spirit swept the victorious nation, resulting in harsh public criticism of England, a brief period during English immigration was discouraged, and a number of conflicts renewed tension between the two countries.

Diplomatic relations began to improve as Britain promised naval support for the Monroe Doctrine, sealing off the American continent from colonial settlements by European powers, and as disputes over the Canadian border were settled. While new problems arose during the American Civil War and the period of Western expansion, cordial relations developed in the last part of the nineteenth century as the interests of Britain and America were challenged by other imperialist nations. Throughout the twentieth century a special relationship has endured, through alliances in two world wars and the Cold War. Britain was America’s strongest supporter the Persian Gulf War, and the United States supported Britain in its war against Argentina to retain the Falkland Islands.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

During all of American history English immigrants and their descendants were prominent on every level of government and in every aspect of American life. Eight of the first ten American presidents and more than that proportion of the 42 presidents, as well as the majority of sitting congressmen and congresswomen, are descended from English ancestors. The acronym WASP, for white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, is used to describe the dominant political and cultural demographic segment in America.

The descendants of English expatriates are so numerous and so well integrated in American life that it is impossible to identify all of them. While they are the third largest ethnic nationality identified in the 1990 census, they retain such a pervasive representation at every level of national and state government that, on any list of American senators, Supreme Court judges, governors, or legislators, they would constitute a plurality if not an outright majority.

MEDIA

PRINT

Albion.

An interdisciplinary quarterly journal that features scholarly articles and reviews of books dealing with English history and culture. It is published by the North American Conference on British Studies and Appalachian State University.

Contact: Michael J. Moore, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 32072, Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina 28608-2072.

Telephone: (828) 262-6004 .

Fax: (828) 262-2592 .

E-mail: albion@conrad.appstate.edu.

British Record.

A free bimonthly newsletter published by the British Information Services that provides a brief listing of British news items, cultural events, and short feature articles on people and places of general interest.

Address: 845 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 752-8400.

In Britain.

Monthly magazine published by the British Tourist Authority that includes an abundance of pictures

and special features of tourists attractions, festivals, and historical and architectural monuments.

Address: 680 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 581-4708.

Manchester Guardian Weekly.

North American edition of *The Guardian*. It summarizes the news of the week in England and contains a variety of features, book reviews, international news, advertisements aimed at expatriates, and selections extracted from the Parisian *Le Monde* and the *Washington Post*. It has the largest circulation of any English newspaper in America.

Address: 19 West 44th Street, Suite 1613, New York, New York 10036-6101.

Telephone: (212) 944-1179.

Union Jack.

Brings news of Britain to the British community in the United States.

Contact: Ronald Choularton, Editor.

Address: Box 1823, La Mesa, California 91944-1823.

Telephone: (619) 466-3129; or (800) 262-7305.

E-mail: 74537.2416@compuserve.com .

Online: <http://sd.znet.com/~unionj> .

RADIO AND TELEVISION

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

Publishes *London Calling*, a program guide for several shortwave radio programs broadcast by the BBC to the United States and other countries. Also distributes such BBC television series such as "The East-Enders," "Mystery Theatre," and "Are You Being Served," which are featured on America's Public Broadcasting System.

Address: 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 507-1500; or, (212) 507-0033.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

British Social and Athletic Club.

Founded in 1966 and centered in California, it has a dozen branches in the state and abroad. It provides a range of social and recreational activities and teaches and promotes cricket and soccer. It sponsors group flights to important matches around

the world and has branches in Australia and New Zealand.

Address: 13429 Tiara Street, Van Nuys,
California 91401.

Telephone: (213) 787-9985.

Daughters of the British Empire in the United States of America National Society (DBE).

Founded during World War I, this charitable society maintains facilities for aged British men and women.

Contact: Rena Platt, President.

Address: P.O. Box 872, Ambler, Pennsylvania
19002-0872.

Telephone: (919) 846-2318.

Fax: (919) 846-2318.

E-mail: dbesociety@mindspring.com.

Online: <http://www.mindspring.com/~dbesociety>.

English Speaking Union of the United States.

Founded in 1920 to promote British American friendship and understanding it sponsors debates, lectures, and speakers. It provides scholarships and travel grants and has over 70 branches throughout the United States. It publishes a quarterly newsletter.

Address: 16 East 69th Street, New York,
New York 10021.

Telephone: (212) 879-6800.

International Society for British Genealogy and Family History (ISBGFH).

Strives to foster interest in the genealogy and family history of persons of British descent, improve U.S.-British relations, increase the educational opportunities and knowledge of members and the public, and encourage preservation of historical records and access to records.

Contact: Anne Wuehler, President.

Address: P.O. Box 3115, Salt Lake City, Utah
84110-3115.

Telephone: (801) 272-2178.

Online: <http://www.homestart.com/isbgfh/>.

North American Conference on British Studies.

Founded in 1951, it is a national scholarly group that promotes scholarly research and discussion of British history and culture. It has seven regional branches, publishes *Albion* and the *Journal of British Studies*, and awards several prizes for the best new works in British Studies.

Contact: Brian P. Levack, Executive Secretary.

Address: Department of History, University of
Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

Telephone: (512) 475-7204.

Fax: (512) 475-7222.

E-mail: levack@maul.utexas.edu.

Online: <http://www.nacbs.org>.

St. George's Society of New York.

Founded in 1770, it is a charitable organization whose membership is limited to British citizens, their descendants, and members of Commonwealth nations. It provides assistance for needy British expatriates in the New York area.

Contact: John Shannon, Executive Director.

Address: 175 Ninth Avenue, New York, New York
10011-4977.

Telephone: (212) 924-1434.

Fax: (212) 727-1566.

E-mail: stgeony@aol.com.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Center for British Studies.

Interdisciplinary unit of University of Colorado at Boulder, operating under its own board of control. Concentrates on British history, literature, and art. Based on research collections in the university's libraries, which include microfilmed sets of original manuscripts and early books and journals from the medieval, early modern, and modern periods.

Contact: Elizabeth A. Robertson,
Executive Director.

Address: CB 184, Boulder, Colorado 80309-0184.

Telephone: (303) 492-2723.

Fax: (303) 492-1881.

E-mail: britishc@colorado.edu.

Online:

<http://www.colorado.edu/artssciences/british>.

Yale Center for British Art.

Founded in 1968, the center is part of Yale University. It includes the Paul Mellon collection of British art and rare books, and it features a gallery, lecture, and seminar rooms and a library of over 100,000 volumes. It is affiliated with the undergraduate and graduate programs at the University and provides scholarships for research projects.

Address: 1080 Chapel Street, New Haven,
Connecticut 06520.

Telephone: (203) 432-2800.

Fax: (203) 432-9628.

E-mail: bacinfo@yale.edu.

Online: <http://www.yale.edu/ycba>.

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With nine distinct
cultural identities,
Eritrea is a country
rich in customs and
religious beliefs.

ERITREAN AMERICANS

by
Lolly Ockerstrom

OVERVIEW

A land of dramatically changing terrain, Eritrea spans 670 miles of coastline along the Red Sea on the northeast Horn of Africa. It has six provinces covering mountainous highlands and arid lowlands over a total of 48,000 square miles. To the north and west lies Sudan, and to the south, Ethiopia. The tiny country of Djibouti is located to Eritrea's southeast.

About 400,000 people live in the capital city of Asmara, located in the smallest province, Maakel. The low-lying plains states of Semenawi Qayih Bahri and Debubawi Qayih Bahri make up the coast line. Anseba, Gash-Barka, Debub, and Maakel are located inland and are comprised of the central highlands, the western lowlands, and the mountainous north. Over 100 islands lie in the Red Sea.

At least nine languages are spoken in Eritrea, although linguists report a total of twelve languages, including one used only for religious purposes. The government conducts its business in Arabic, English, and Trigrigna. There is no official state language.

Life expectancy in Eritrea is 46 years. Only 15 percent of the population has access to safe drinking water. The infant mortality rate is 135 per 1,000 births. There is only one doctor for every 28,000 people. Between 750,000 and one million Eritreans left the country as refugees as a result of a 30-year long war with Ethiopia, and approximately two-thirds of them relocated to Sudan. About 2.7 million Eritreans remain in Eritrea.

Equally divided between Christian and Muslim religions, Eritreans live a mostly agrarian life. Eighty percent of the population is rural, with 50 percent working as farmers. The Gross Domestic Product is \$115 per capita. The monetary unit is the Nakfa. The Eritrean flag is green, red, and blue with a gold olive wreath. Its emblem is a camel encircled by an olive wreath.

The youngest nation in Africa, Eritrea celebrated its independence on May 24, 1993. Eritreans maintain a strong national identity. Despite the presence of several distinct ethnic groups and nine languages in their country, Eritreans have experienced little internal conflict. Continued border wars with Ethiopia throughout the latter half of the twentieth century demanded that Eritreans overcome cultural differences among themselves in order to survive as a nation. For most Eritreans, particularly those removed from Eritrea, national identity took precedence over their ethnic identity.

HISTORY

For centuries, peoples of diverse religions, traditions, and ways of life inhabited the area now known as Eritrea. The earliest reference to the name Eritrea, which is derived from the Greek word for red, is found in *Fragment 67* of Aeschylus: "There the sacred waters of the Erythrean Sea break upon a bright red strand...."

Although a young country politically, Eritrea's history reaches back to about 4000 B.C., when people from the Nile valley migrated to the Mereb-Setit lowlands. They are thought to be the first food-producing peoples in Eritrea. For several thousand years thereafter, migrations of Nilotic, Cushitic, and Semitic-speaking people entered Eritrea, and were among the first in Africa to grow crops and domesticate livestock.

In the fourth century A.D., Eritrea became part of the Ethiopian kingdom of Axum, although it remained a semi-independent state. Other powerful kingdoms were established in portions of Eritrea, though none controlled the entire area. Some of these kingdoms included the Ptolemaic Egyptians of the third century B.C.; the seven Beja kingdoms of the eighth to thirteenth centuries; and the Bellou kingdom of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire annexed Eritrea.

MODERN ERA

The modern state of Eritrea was created by the decree of King Umberto I of Italy on January 1,

1890, at the height of European colonial expansion. A mission had been established at Adua in 1840 by an Italian priest, Father Guiseppe Sapeto, who later established one at Keren. In 1882, the Italian government purchased all the land near Assab, acquired earlier by a shipping company, *Societa di Navigazione Rubattino*, with the help of Father Sapeto. In 1889, the government also purchased land from the Sultan of Raharita.

From 1890 to 1941, Italian plantation growers and industrialists settled in Eritrea. The Italian government established administrative oversight in Eritrea, creating transport services and a communications network. During World War II, Italian forces were defeated throughout Africa, and the British established a protectorate in Eritrea. It became a strategic regional center for British and Americans during the War. In 1950, a United Nations resolution placed Eritrea under the Ethiopian federation. Despite Eritrea's desire for independence, the resolution went into effect in 1952, although Eritrea retained limited democratic autonomy.

In 1961 Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie annexed Eritrea using military force, ending Eritrean resistance to Ethiopian rule. Selassie was assassinated in 1974, and a ruling unit called the *Derg* took over Ethiopia. In 1977, the *Derg* received large amounts of military aid and forced Eritrean troops to withdraw from cities they had controlled.

Between 1978 and 1990, border disputes between Eritrea and Ethiopia erupted in violent military struggle. Ethiopian forces were supported with Soviet aid. By 1991, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front succeeded in establishing the Provisional Government of Eritrea. At the same time, an Ethiopian resistance group overthrew the *Derg*, and a transitional government was established in Ethiopia.

In April 1993, 99.8 percent of voting Eritreans passed a referendum for independence in an internationally monitored election. Independence was declared on May 24, 1993. The National Assembly was reorganized and a four-year plan for drafting a democratic constitution was put into place.

When Eritrea's first constitution was ratified on May 23, 1997, a 75-member legislative body was established. A repatriation program for 25,000 Eritrean refugees living in the Sudan also began. However, border disputes between Eritrea and Ethiopia continued to escalate during 1998 and 1999. In a statement to the United Nations Security Council in New York on March 22, 1999, Eritrean Foreign Minister Haile Woldensae expressed Eritrea's willingness to abide by cease-fire proposals put forth by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

Following its 30-year war with Ethiopia, Eritrea spent much of the 1990s rebuilding the country. The transportation infrastructure had all but collapsed, food was scarce as a result of drought and the war, and Eritrea's industrial base was shattered. The economic system was also in ruins. By the time Eritrea gained independence in 1993, it was estimated that 75 percent of Eritreans depended on food aid for daily survival. Many Eritreans were forced to leave not only their homeland, but the African continent as well, relocating to the Arab peninsula and the United States.

THE FIRST ERITREANS IN AMERICA

Significant Eritrean immigration to the United States did not take place until the 1970s and 1980s when drought and famine drained the resources of a country already devastated by war. Between one fourth and one third of Eritrea's population was forced to leave Eritrea. Many of Eritrea's refugees came to the United States.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

When Ethiopia annexed Eritrea in November 1962, a resistance movement soon emerged. The militant Eritrean People's Liberation Front was supported by the great majority of Eritreans, who were willing to engage in combat for their country. For more than 30 years, until Eritrea declared Independence on May 23, 1993, the country was at war with Ethiopia. As a result of the war, in addition to drought and famine, more than 750,000 left their country as refugees. Two-thirds of the refugees settled in neighboring Sudan, although many came to the United States. Metropolitan Washington, D.C. hosted the largest Eritrean community outside of Eritrea, but sizable communities also formed in Columbus, Ohio, Atlanta, Georgia, and Dallas, Texas.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Eritrean family ties are very strong. Eritreans forced to leave their country seek out other family members and members of the larger Eritrean community. While this is a common pattern among many immigrant groups, Eritreans feel a particularly close bond and move to areas where other Eritreans live. They are deeply loyal to their country and are always conscious of Eritrea's continued struggle for sovereignty. Most Eritreans living in the United States in the late 1990s expressed a desire to return to their homeland and the majority of Eritreans identified themselves as displaced people.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Through education, younger Eritreans tend to assimilate more easily than their older counterparts. Throughout the 1990s, the lack of English language skills among Eritrean immigrants continued to prevent many of them from fully participating in American culture. This was especially true for Eritrean women. The literacy rate in Eritrea in 1999 was 20 percent overall, but for women it was 10 percent. Many Eritrean immigrants settled where they could interact only in their native languages if they so chose. The strong sense of national identity felt among Eritreans, along with the fear of losing their culture, also contributed to the slow pace of acculturation. As families resettled in their new country, and new generations were born in the United States, the young more successfully balanced the cultures of their past with the customs of their adopted country.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

With nine distinct cultural identities, Eritrea is a country rich in traditions and religious beliefs. The major cultural group in Eritrea is the Trigrigna. The eight other ethnic groups are the Nara (or Baria), Afar, Bilen, Hedareb, Kunama, Rashaida, Saho, and Tigre. Each group speaks its own language and observes its own customs.

About half of the population is Muslim, while the other half is Christian. It is not uncommon to see older Eritreans with a tattoo of a cross on their forehead, identifying them as Christians. Dress can also denote religion. Muslim women wear scarves covering their entire heads, while Christian women wrap scarves about their head for a distinctive headdress.

Eritreans follow both the Orthodox and the Roman calendars, though most businesses prefer the Roman. The Orthodox Church calendar differs significantly from the Roman, with thirteen months rather than twelve. Twelve of the thirteen months have 30 days each; the thirteenth month has five days, or six in a leap year.

Eritrea is largely rural and undeveloped, and camels play an indispensable role in everyday life. Found primarily in the western lowland areas, camels are used to transport both household goods and items for trade. Eritreans rely on camels to carry firewood and water for household consumption. During periods of migration, the animals transport tribal communities, often as far as several hundred kilometers. Some ethnic groups move up to five

times a year, and it is essential for each household to have adequate numbers of pack camels.

Camels are also used as draft animals on farms. For small industries camels provide a source of power. In addition, they are also a source of milk. Milked three times a day, camels produce nine liters of milk per day during the wet season. During the dry season, they produce about six liters per day, significant in a country prone to great drought. Capable of carrying 200 kilograms of food, camels can work between eight and ten hours a day. During the Ethiopian-Eritrean War, camels were especially important to troops who needed to move arms and supplies in areas lacking roads.

Although the *dromodarius*, or one-humped, camel is the most common type of camel found in Eritrea, many different sub-categories of camels exist. Each location has a different type of camel, which can be classified according to function, color, and tribal ownership. Pastures are used communally to raise individually owned camel stock, as both herds and households migrate seasonally. The camel is such an important part of Eritrean life that it is on the national flag as a symbol of Eritrean life and its many cultures.

PROVERBS

Eritrean proverbs provide insight into their worldview. Two typical proverbs of the Tigrigna people have to do with the importance of patience. One proclaims: “*Zurugay sava luchae yo-u-se*,” or, “If you are patient, you’ll get butter.” Turning milk into butter takes a long time when churning, but the required patience and hard work is rewarded. A Trigrigna parent might say to a child, “*Kwakolo kus bekus bougru yehahid*,” which means, “Little by little an egg will walk.” The reference is to the process by which an egg is hatched, a chick emerges, and gradually grows into an adult. The message is that you will reach your goal by working at it day by day.

Another common Trigrigna proverb has to do with possession and envy. “*Adgi zeybulu bakeali yenekeah*” can be roughly translated as, “You don’t have a donkey, but you sneer at my horse.” This means that those with nothing should not negatively comment on the possessions of others.

CUISINE

Eritreans like spicy foods and are fond of bread. Two particular types of breads are staples in Eritrean diets. *Kitcha* is a thin pancake-type bread, made from wheat. It is baked and unleavened. *Injera* is another type of pancake, more spongy, made from

teff, wheat, or sorghum. It is fried on top of a special stove called a *mogogo*, which measures about 30 inches in diameter. Traditional mogogos were fueled by wood fires, although modern ones are electric. The dough is made from grains that are ground into a watery mixture and allowed to ferment for several days. Women usually cook enough bread to last from three days to one week. *Injera* is eaten with a stew, or *zigini*, in large pots set in the middle of a table. Family and friends gather at the table and eat out of the same plate, using pieces of the bread to scoop up the stew. Another popular food is a bread into which whole eggs and large pieces of chicken is baked. Lamb, goat, and beef are also eaten frequently, as are lentils. A chickpea puree called *fool* is eaten at breakfast. A large cake-like bread called *basha* is also eaten at breakfast. A legacy from Italian colonial days is the *frittata*, made by scrambling eggs with onion and peppers.

I have come to like American food, but it took time, because the spices and texture of Ethiopian food are very different. After living here for two years, we have shifted our expectations and feel more comfortable being a part of this society.

Citing Tesfai Gebrema in *New Americans: An Oral History: Immigrants and Refugees in the U.S. Today*, Al Santoli (Viking Penguin, Inc., New York, 1988).

Women prepare and cook all the food. Much cooking is done in huge pots over a wood fire, stirring ingredients with a long stick. Food is eaten communally with fingers. Those who share the meal often offer each other pieces of bread, putting it directly in the mouth of another. Meals tend to be noisy, joyous affairs, and no one is turned away. Eritreans enjoy sharing their food and their culture with outsiders, and show great pleasure when non-Eritreans try eating without the use of utensils.

The national drink is *sowa*, a bitter alcoholic beverage made of fermented barley. It is usually drunk from a special cup called a *millileek*. For holidays and important celebrations, a sweet honey wine, *mez*, is served. Eritrean-Americans make these drinks in the home using traditional techniques. In Eritrean-American communities, families signal that they have *sowa* to sell by putting a tin can atop a long stick in front of their house. The drink is considered a staple for everyday meals.

In Eritrea, coffee remains a delicacy outside the major cities. An invitation to drink coffee is a spe-

cial occasion, and the guest is expected to spend at least an hour waiting for the coffee to be prepared. It is often accompanied by burning incense. The common practice is to drink three cups. The experience of drinking coffee is surrounded by a great deal of ritual, which is communal in nature, and as important as the coffee itself.

MUSIC

Music plays an integral part of daily life in Eritrea. Festivals are usually religious in nature, and are always accompanied by singing and chanting. Family groups and community groups, express their cultural and ethnic experiences through songs. Following religious ceremonies that last all night, in which religious songs are sung for hours, many Tigrigna Eritreans continue their celebrations at home, eating, singing, and dancing. Drums called *kabaro* are often used in non-religious festivities. Women frequently *ululate*, or make high-pitched trilling sounds with their tongues, to signify joy.

Drums used in Orthodox Church festivals are called *nagaret*. They are made of hollowed out tree trunks with cowskin stretched on either end and tied with rawhide strips. The tree trunks are of the *oule-eh*, a tree indigenous to Eritrea. *Kabaro* used as an accompaniment for general, non-religious singing are also made of cowskin, though the skins are stretched over a metal cylinder.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Prior to Italian colonialism, Eritrean costumes were very simple. Among the Tigrigna, leather kilts were widely worn by both genders. Some, including young girls, wore loin cloths. These were baggy calico pants made of cotton and came just to the knee. They were worn with loose cotton shirts. Tigrigna women wrapped themselves in *netselas*, or cotton shawls embroidered at the edges. Sometimes more elaborate, multi-layered shawls called *gabi* were worn.

As Italian influence spread, clothing began to change, particularly in villages and towns. Footwear, for example, was uncommon among Tigrignas until the Italians. Roughly made thonged sandals were worn only in lowland areas where the terrain was rocky. The Italians introduced rubber soles, and slowly shoes replaced traditional bare feet.

Traditional Tigrigna attire differed according to age and sex. Women were expected to cover their heads with *netselas*, although young girls were not. Women wore long *jellebyas*, or gowns with long sleeves, which covered them almost completely. Young girls wore a short-sleeved *jellebya* reaching

only to the knee. Tigrigna men and boys wore long, tight-fitting cotton shirts slitted at the sides that came to the knee. During periods of mourning, women wore black or black-spotted clothing; men in towns wore black ties or hats, similar to those worn in Ethiopia.

Among Tigrigna women, gold jewelry was worn, particularly on holidays or for special occasions. The more important the occasion, the more gold was worn. In earlier times, earrings, bracelets, necklaces, rings, and armbands were made of silver or wood, though gold is traditionally the metal of wealth and security.

Tattoos were common for both therapeutic and aesthetic purposes, especially in villages. Women with goiters were tattooed on the throat. Young girls often had their gums tattooed. First they were pricked, then rubbed with charcoal to turn them blue. This was considered a sign of great beauty. The herbs *illam* and henna were used by women to soften and beautify their skin.

DANCES AND SONGS

The national song of Eritrea pays homage to the Eritrean struggle for independence. Roughly translated, the first couple of lines evoke Eritrean strength: "Eritrea, Eritrea, she did well in her fight for independence/ the world witnesses Eritrea's strength." Other songs are usually celebratory in nature, and sung on such special occasions as weddings, holidays, and religious festivals.

Hymns of praise to God are frequently sung. Singing is usually accompanied by clapping hands and the beating of the *kabaro*, while celebrants dance together in a circle. Everyone joins in the *gwila*, or circle dance, which often occurs spontaneously when a joyous event occurs. Dancing the *gwila* is a boisterous activity, which builds in momentum as the rhythms of songs increase in tempo and the beating of the *kabaro* grows faster. More and more family members and friends join in a large circle, which moves slowly around. Inside the circle are the drummers, sometimes two or three or more, who jump up and down while beating the *kabaro*. Singing and dancing is accompanied by a great deal of laughter and joking, and spirits remain high among the participants.

Church dancing, by contrast, occurs only in certain locations inside Orthodox churches, which have been designated for men. Women do not dance in church. Church dancing, which is referred to as either *zayma* or *mahalet* consists of clapping hands and swaying back and forth while remaining in place. On special feast days, they encircle the

outside of the church building three times, but do not dance once they leave the building.

Tigrigna folk poetry, handed down through oral tradition, is usually sung from memory. Usually a lamentation, the poems are in couplets. They may express grief over the loss of a loved one, disillusionment with life, longing for home, or the pain and sorrow of the poor. They are sung and accompanied by a guitar-like instrument called a *k'rar*, or on a local violin-like instrument called the *chira wata*. Both instruments are special to Eritrea.

HOLIDAYS

Eritrean holidays reflect both Muslim and Christian traditions. The major Christian holidays include Christmas, on December 25; the New Year, January 1; the Orthodox Christmas, January 7; *Timket*, or the Baptism of Christ, January 19. Women's Day is celebrated on March 8.

The dates of Muslim holidays, which follow the lunar calendar, change each year. *Eid el-Fitr* is a feast celebrated in the spring, as is Easter, or *Fasika*. The Eritrean National Day, or Liberation Day, is marked on May 24. Martyrs' Day on June 20. Another feast day is *Eid el-Adha*, which is summer's day. September 1 is celebrated as the Start of the Armed Struggle, followed by the Orthodox New Year on September 11. *Meskel*, or the Festival of the True Cross, is celebrated on moveable days in late September. The Prophet's Birthday, *Eid Milad el-Nabi*, is celebrated in autumn. January and February are popular months for weddings in Eritrea.

Orthodox Church holidays are preceded by periods of fasting, sometimes as long as 42 days following Biblical example. When fasting, celebrants abstain from eating meat, dairy products, and other foods. On the day of the holiday, Orthodox Eritreans attend an all-night church service, which begins at sundown. Eritrean Orthodox Churches do not have pews or chairs; most churchgoers stand for the entire period unless they are elderly or sick. Many hold long staffs, and when tired, they lean upon them. They sometimes pass them around during the service so another person can take a turn leaning on the staff.

Most traditional Christian singing, chanting, and praying takes place under the leadership of priests dressed in special black clothing and colorful vestments. Incense burners are lit. Men generally occupy one side of the church. Women, usually dressed in traditional shawls and tunics, occupy another side. They remain in separate areas of the church throughout services, which sometimes last for hours. Children remain with the women.

The conclusion of the ceremony includes a procession in which church members go outside the building and encircle the church three times chanting and singing. Several traditional Eritrean drums and bell-like instruments accompany them. Finally, families return to their homes to eat. Women have spent days preparing for the feast, which includes breads, stews, and traditional *sowa*. The meal takes several hours, during which songs are sung and stories are told. Following the meal is more singing, dancing, and drum beating.

HEALTH ISSUES

Once removed from the immediate threats of war, drought, and famine, Eritreans Americans have no greater health issues than the general population. However, the long-term physical and mental effects of years of deprivation have yet to be documented. Eritreans find strength in their religious tradition and in their family and community relationships.

LANGUAGE

The working languages of the Eritrean government are Arabic, Trigrigna, and English. Many older Eritreans speak some Italian. The government does not claim an official language, probably because of the religious diversity of the populace. Language and ethnic groups are divided along religious lines. Muslims generally speak Arabic, while Christians speak Trigrigna. According to the 1996 Summer Institute of Linguistics, twelve distinct languages are known to exist in Eritrea, although most Eritreans claim only nine. Indigenous languages include Afar, Bedawi, Bilen, Geez Kunama, Nara, Saho, and Tigre. Many Eritreans also know Amharic, a language spoken widely in Ethiopia.

The Tigrigna language is spoken by about 1,900,000 people in Eritrea, out of a total of 6,060,000 speakers of Tigrigna worldwide. Roughly half of the people of Eritrea know or can speak Tigrigna. It has its own script of more than 200 characters, based on the ancient language *Ge'ez*, used now only in the Orthodox Church. Each character represents a different sound. It is more of an oral than a written language, and is very difficult to learn.

Although there is no text offering phonetic instruction of Tigrigna, a few general characteristics of sound can be observed. The sound of the letter "r" is always slightly rolled; the hard "k" sound is sounded in the back of the throat; and the "t" sound is pronounced with the tip of the tongue. Several other sounds originate in the back of the throat,

often as a voiceless click rather than a voiced fricative. This includes the hard “g” sound and the hard “h” sound.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Typical greetings in Tigrigna, spelled phonetically, are: *Selam*—hello; *selamat* or *dehaan waal*—good-bye; *yekanyelay*—thank you; *uwauway*—yes; and *noaykone*—no. Questions have different endings depending on whether you are addressing a single male, a single female, or several persons. For example, the greeting, “How are you?” has several variants: *Kemayla-ha* (male); *kemayla-hee* (female); *kemayla-hoom* (male or mixed plural); and *kemayla-hen* (female plural). The same is true when asking, “What is your name?": *Men shem-ka* (male); *Men shem-kee* (female); *Men shem-koom* (male or mixed plural); *Men shem ken* (female plural). Other phrases are: *Ayeteredanen*—I don’t understand; *Shegur yelen*—no problem; and *Dehaan*—okay.

The most common exchange among Eritreans speaking Tigrigna is *selam*—hello; *keyayla-ha*—how are you?; *tsebuk*—I’m fine. In Arabic-speaking regions, the most common greeting is *keff*—hello.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Eritreans celebrate major events with members of their community. Birthdays, marriages, graduations, and other events are commemorated with great fanfare. Traditional foods, songs, and music always play a major role. Many members of the community are included.

Lengthy, elaborate greetings are very important, especially on special occasions. Women greet each other by ululating, or making a high pitched sound by trilling the tongue. They kiss each other on each cheek three times. It is customary to ask how things are, and also inquire about one’s spouse, children, and other family members. The happier one is to see a friend, and the more important the occasion, the longer the list. Each greeting is accompanied by a great deal of genuine laughter and joyousness.

Care is taken to make guests feel welcome and included in all phases of the celebration. In the United States, Eritreans retain their cultural ways of celebrating life’s milestones, and are pleased when non-Eritreans show an interest in their customs.

EDUCATION

The overall literacy rate in Eritrea is 20 percent, although for women it is only 10 percent. Children learn English after the sixth grade. By the end of the 1990s, more children attended school than ever before, but continued war and drought drastically impeded the educational process. Prior to the defeat of the Italians by the British in 1941, the country had been administered by colonial rule, which barred Eritreans from occupying civil service positions. During the fascist period of the 1920s and 1930s, only 24 primary schools existed in Eritrea. There were no secondary schools.

Following British rule, the first teacher training institution was established in 1943. Eritreans were allowed to train for the civil service. Although some progress occurred when the British founded educational institutions in Eritrea, the country was subsequently beset by high unemployment. Military projects were closed down, and the workforce shrank from 30,000 in 1947 to barely over 10,000 in 1962. During that time, little attention was given the education of children. When war broke out, the country remained in a state of emergency. In the hierarchy of needs, food, water, and medical attention preempted money that might have been used for building schools and supporting education.

The University of Asmara is Eritrea’s only university. The missionary Comboni sisters founded it in 1958 as the Holy Family University Institute. Italian was the language of instruction. In 1964 English was adopted. It became the sole language of instruction in 1975. In 1990, the university was disbanded by the Ethiopian government, which moved its staff and movable property to Ethiopia.

The Provisional Government of Eritrea reestablished the school in Asmara in 1991. Academic work was resumed in October 1991 with five faculties: natural sciences, social sciences, agriculture, law, and languages. University officials planned to develop additional programs in engineering, architecture, medicine and public health, marine resources, and education. In 1991, 1500 students were enrolled in the regular day program. Another 1200 registered in the evening extension. The academic staff numbered 80.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Among the Nara ethnic group, childbirth is perceived as a natural process unless complications develop during labor. Traditional tribal medicine is then used. At the birth of a boy, women ululate seven times. If the child is a female, the number of ululations is reduced to four, or omitted completely.

When a disabled child is born to a Naran woman, it is killed immediately. The birth of twins is considered a tragedy. The mother, along with her twins, is traditionally banished. Male children are circumcised at the age of six or seven.

Unlike Tigren families, Naran families do not arrange marriages for their children. Both men and women are able to choose their own spouses. Virginity among young brides has no value. Unmarried women who have previously given birth are in great demand, since they have already proved their ability to bear children.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women in Eritrea generally experience less privilege, status, and economic security than men. An estimated 85-90 percent of Eritrean women were considered to be functionally illiterate in 1999. In addition, Eritrean women and their children have had to bear many of the consequences of the war. In an attempt to address these conditions, the National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW) was formed in 1979 as part of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Its slogan was "Emancipation through equal participation."

The NUEW started several progressive programs during the 1990s, including a literacy campaign. The goal was to help women develop language skills so they could find productive employment in business and management. Vocational training programs were also started in such traditionally female professions as tailoring and typing, as well as in nontraditional skills of carpentry, masonry, and electrical and plumbing service. In the rural areas of Barka, Gash, and Setit, a pilot program in credit and finance was started with the goal of providing women with a means for establishing economic support structures. The National Union of Eritrean Women remained active throughout the 1990s in promoting human rights in Eritrea.

BAPTISMS

Babies born to Orthodox Christian families are christened several weeks after birth. An Orthodox priest performs the ceremony, which is attended by family and friends. Godparents are chosen for the baby, gifts are given, and generally the baby's parents offer a meal to those who attend the christening. Female babies are baptized 80 days after birth; boys are christened after 40 days. Following the christening, the priest ties four strands of red and white thread around the infant's neck to signify he or she has had a Christian baptism. The baby is

then dressed in new clothes to begin his or her new life as a Christian.

WEDDINGS

Marriage customs differ among Eritrea's nine ethnic groups, and closely follow either Muslim or Christian traditions. Among the Tigre ethnic group, marriage is intimately connected to the financial and social well being of families. Marriages may be arranged, even before birth, among affluent families strictly for the purpose of keeping their wealth in the family. However, if two families are experiencing a blood feud, they may settle their agreement through a marriage alliance. Also, if a poor man is able to marry off his daughter to a wealthy man in order to pull his family out of financial difficulty, he will do so. Tigre parents have the final say in their children's marriage arrangements. Such agreements are preceded by many lengthy familial consultations, which include everyone's opinion except those who are to marry.

However, in many Tigre villages, practices are changing as a result of influences from both Catholic and Protestant churches. Ethnic border influences and geographical differences among Tigre communities have created variations in how marriages are arranged and conducted.

Among the Tigre, marriages between two closely related people may take place. This allows families to keep family wealth within a close circle. In some Tigre communities, people may not marry if they are blood-related within seven generations.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHERS

In the United States, Eritreans remain fiercely loyal to their country. They have been able to put aside differences with Ethiopians, however, and they sometimes socialized with each other, as they do with other immigrant Africans. Both Eritreans and Ethiopians speak Amharic and shared other common cultural characteristics, which create a close bond. Eritrean Americans might have mixed feelings about Ethiopians being their closest cultural allies. So long as they avoid the topic of the war, the two groups are able to get along very well. In addition, many Eritreans had previously lived in Ethiopia, or married Ethiopians.

RELIGION

Religion among Eritreans is equally divided between Orthodox Christians, who live mostly in

the highlands, and Muslims, who reside primarily in the lowlands. Large numbers of lowland Muslim groups were displaced during the 1970s and 1980s. This resulted in a greater number of Christian groups in Eritrea, at least temporarily. Among Christians, most are of the Orthodox Church. A smaller number adhere to Roman Catholicism. Less than five percent of the population are animists. This includes such tribes as the Kunama.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Traditionally, Eritreans lived rural lifestyles as farmers or nomadic herdsmen and women. Farmers made up one half of the population. Upon coming to the United States, Eritreans settled in urban communities, dramatically changing their way of life. Those who came to the United States had to develop new ways of earning a living. They became business owners, pharmacists, computer scientists, or entered other professions. Many Eritreans immigrants relied on their cultural traditions to start Eritrean restaurants.

During the 1990s, major efforts in Eritrea centered around rebuilding the country and repatriating refugees. Skilled carpenters, engineers, and city planners were in demand to help build roads, railways, ports, homes, and businesses. Because road reconstruction and repair was less costly than rehabilitating ports and airports, two thirds of the transportation budget in the early 1990s was allocated to building roads. The goal was to build a modern transport system that could connect the whole country.

Equally important was the rebuilding of Eritrea's industries, which had either closed down altogether or moved to Ethiopia during the war. Recovery projects included efforts to revive stagnant industries and provide raw materials. Others tried to generate investment capital to restart dying industries.

The agricultural industry of Eritrea was particularly hard hit during the war. Eighty percent of the population relied on agriculture for their livelihood at the end of the twentieth century. Drought and war almost wiped out agricultural businesses completely. Particular focus was placed on enhancing farming productivity by providing seeds, fertilizers, implements, and making sure reliable water sources were available. The Eritrean government was determined to end dependency on other governments for food sources.

Many Eritreans who came to the United States as refugees first had to study English. Some went on to study engineering or business so they could to return to Eritrea and help in the rebuilding process.

In 1987 the Eritrean Government created the Commission for Eritrean Refugee Affairs (CERA) in response to the needs of Eritrean refugee communities. In 1991, working with the United Nations, CERA developed a plan to repatriate refugees living in Sudan. A budget of \$262 million was set up to provide relief to repatriated refugees. On November 14, 1994, 279 refugees from Sudan returned to Eritrea as part of a pilot program.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Eritrean government is composed of a National Assembly, a president, and a council of ministers. Administrators appointed by the president govern each of the six Eritrean provinces. The National Assembly was established when Eritrea won its independence on May 24, 1993. It included the 75 members of the Eritrea People's Liberation Front. They were the original members of a congress set up in February 1994 to design a transitional government for the new nation. In addition, the provinces elected 75 legislative representatives. The National Assembly sets international and domestic governmental policies, regulates policy implementation, and writes budgets. It also elects a president for the country.

With approval of the National Assembly, the president appoints ministers to head the various commissions, offices, and bureaus of the government. The president chairs the cabinet, which is made up of 18 ministers and two director generals, and serves as the country's executive branch. The judicial branch of government oversees Eritrea's court system on village, district, provincial, and national levels.

Major political organizations include The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the most prominent political force since Ethiopia took control of Eritrea in 1962. The EPLF organized the national referendum on independence. Other significant political parties include the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Eritrea (DMLE) and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). The National Union of Eritrean Youth (NUEY) is a student organization deeply involved in the movement for Eritrean independence and liberation.

The Eritrean government was committed to the development of a democratic constitution in which all adult citizens can vote. As a young country facing the daunting task of rebuilding itself after years of drought, famine, and war, Eritrea also faced the responsibility of educating its citizens. For many in Eritrea, the experience of voting in local, regional, and national elections was entirely new.



These Eritrean Americans are protesting Ethiopian aggression in their homeland.

MILITARY

All Eritreans are expected to join the military at the age of eighteen. Eritrean children are raised with a sense of patriotism. For 30 years, no model other than a military state existed for young Eritreans. Even after the war ended in 1991, Eritrea had only a short-lived period of peace. With high unemployment and constant threat of invasion, Eritreans felt little choice but to join the military.

RELATIONS WITH ERITREA

Most Eritrean immigrants were forced to leave their homeland, and many wish to return. Those who left Eritrea as adults, especially, maintained close contact with family members who have remained behind. Because the border wars with Ethiopia continued after independence, Eritreans living in the United States followed political news closely well into the end of the twentieth century. First and second generations of Eritreans born in the United States also followed political developments closely, though with less urgency than older Eritreans.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

CULINARY ARTS

As a group, Eritreans made their food popular in large cities with Eritrean communities. In the Adams-Morgan section of Washington, D.C., famous for a wide variety of ethnic restaurants, many Eritrean restaurants opened during the 1990s.

SPORTS

Eritreans combined a love of soccer with an opportunity to celebrate their culture while living outside of Eritrea. The Eritrean Sport Federation in North America (ESFNA) played a significant role in helping expatriate Eritreans maintain a strong sense of ethnic and national identity by founding an annual sports festival in 1986 in Atlanta, Georgia. Only five teams played. The tournament was held every year in a different North American city. By 1991, the San Jose tournament drew 26 teams, all of whom viewed the gathering as a time to celebrate Eritrea's newly gained independence.

Participation rose and fell in years following, but the organization continued to expand its mission to include children's sports and sporting events for women. In 1994, \$10,000 was awarded to the winning team from Santa Clara, California. The players used the money to travel to the Eritrean capital city of Asmara to represent North America and play local Eritrean teams. In 1997, the tournament was held for the first time in Canada, which has a growing Eritrean community in Toronto.

MEDIA

WATB-AM (1420).

"Voice of Eritrea," a weekly radio program, is broadcast Sundays between 12:00 p.m. and 1:00 p.m.

Address: 3589 North Decatur Road, Scottdale, Georgia 30079.

Telephone: (404) 292-1420.

Fax: (404) 508-8930.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Embassy of Eritrea.

Contact: Semere Russom, Ambassador.

Address: 1708 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (202) 319-1991.

Fax: (202) 319-1304.

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E STONIAN AMERICANS

by
Mark A. Granquist

Estonian Americans
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OVERVIEW

Located on the east coast of the Baltic Sea, the Republic of Estonia is the northernmost of the three Baltic Republics. The country measures 17,413 square miles (45,100 sq. km.), including some 1,500 islands in the Baltic Sea. The population is approximately 72 percent urban in character, and the capital city is Tallinn. Estonia is bordered on the north by the Gulf of Finland, on the east by Lake Peipus and Russia, on the south by Latvia, and on the west by the Baltic Sea.

The 1992 census estimated the population of Estonia at 1,607,000. Of these inhabitants 65 percent are Estonian, while 30 percent are Russian, and the rest are Ukrainian and Byelorussian. The ethnic Russian immigration intensified during the Soviet period (1940-1991) and is concentrated in the east, especially around Narva. Lutherans constitute the largest religious group, although there are other Protestant denominations (principally Baptist) and a significant number of Eastern Orthodox Christians. The official language is Estonian, with Russian also widely spoken. The Estonian flag consists of three evenly spaced horizontal bands—blue on the top, black in the middle, and white on the bottom.

HISTORY

The Estonians are a Baltic-Finnish group related to the Finno-Ugric peoples. Their first significant his-

torical contact was with the Vikings, who in the ninth and tenth centuries conquered the Estonian homeland, bringing trade and cultural exchange. In the Middle Ages the Swedes, Danes, and Russians all attempted to conquer the land and to introduce Christianity, but it was not until the thirteenth century that the Germans prevailed and introduced Christianity by force. The Teutonic Order, a German order of crusading knights and priests, won control of Estonia by 1346, subjugating the native population and establishing a tradition of German rule that would extend into the twentieth century. As the power of the Teutonic Knights began to wane in the fifteenth century, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia all laid claim to Estonian territory, but it was Sweden who won control after the dissolution of the Teutonic Order in 1561. With Russia's defeat of Sweden in the Great Northern War, Estonia was transferred to Russian rule in 1721. Although some Estonians looked favorably to Russian rule as a way to free their country from German and Swedish domination, Russian government proved to be a mixed blessing. During the eighteenth century rural Estonians lost many of their traditional liberties. Serfdom was finally eliminated by 1819, and other social reforms followed. Imperial attempts at the "Russification" of Estonian life in the late nineteenth century broke the grip of the Baltic-Germans over the country, but these efforts came into conflict with an ascendant wave of Estonian nationalism.

The January 1905 Revolution in Russia spread to Estonia, with Estonian leaders demanding national autonomy. When the revolution was crushed by imperial forces, many Estonian revolutionary leaders fled abroad. With the collapse of imperial government in 1917, Estonia won first autonomy and then independence. This was opposed by the Communists, who backed down only with the advance of German troops into the Baltic States in 1918. From 1917 to 1920, with British and Finnish aid, Estonians fought for independence from Russia. By 1920 Estonian troops had forced all remaining Soviet troops out of Estonia, and the country was finally independent. Between the World Wars, the newly emerging state had to contend externally with continued pressure and intrigue from the Soviets and internally with economic and political instability. In 1940, with the secret compliance of the Germans, Soviet troops took over Estonia and incorporated it into the Soviet Union. From 1941 to 1944, Estonia was occupied by the Nazis, and when Soviet troops reentered Estonia in 1944, large numbers of Estonians (perhaps ten percent of the total population) fled the country. Estonia continued as a Soviet Republic until 1991, undergoing another wave of Russifica-

tion in the 1950s and 1960s. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, Estonia declared its independence in 1991, and a new Estonian government was elected in 1992.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

During the period of Swedish rule over Estonia in the seventeenth century, a few Estonians assisted the Swedes in establishing the colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River. Estonian immigration to the United States was nevertheless quite limited until the late nineteenth century. The first Estonian immigrants were fortune hunters or seamen who jumped Russian sailing vessels. Immigration records do not identify them as Estonians, referring to them instead as "Russians," a practice that continued until 1922. In 1894, one group settled near Fort Pierre, South Dakota, while others settled in New York and San Francisco.

The first significant wave of immigration came after the failure in Estonia of the 1905 Revolution. This wave brought a strong Socialist contingent to the United States that led to the formation of many Estonian American Socialist and Communist organizations. Population estimates of the Estonian American community during this period vary widely and are difficult to reconcile. By 1930, official immigration and census records reveal that there were only about 3,550 Estonian Americans in the United States. Other sources, however, including government estimates, suggest that this number was much larger, recording 5,100 Estonian Americans in 1890, 44,100 in 1910, and 69,200 in 1920. The establishment of an independent Estonia in 1920, combined with the tightening of American immigration laws in the 1920s, dramatically slowed Estonian immigration to the United States. After World War II, there was a tremendous exodus of Estonians from Soviet rule; most Estonians made their way to Sweden or Germany, although about 15,000 of them came to the United States. Unlike the group that arrived in 1905, this group was strongly anti-Socialist and nationalistic; it spanned a larger exile community and was connected by a web of international organizations. The U.S. Census of 1990 lists 26,762 Americans claiming Estonian as a first or second ancestry.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Early settlements arose on both coasts, in New York City and around San Francisco and Astoria, Oregon. In the late nineteenth century, there were rural, agricultural colonies of Estonian Americans



These Estonian refugees, who sailed to Florida to escape Russian domination, were granted immigration visas by President Truman on November 2, 1946.

in Fort Pierre, South Dakota; Bloomville, Wisconsin; Dickenson, North Dakota; and Chester, Montana, among other places. But these rural Midwestern settlements did not represent the bulk of Estonian immigrants. Rather, the two major waves of Estonian immigration in the twentieth century were mainly urban in nature. Major Estonian American settlements were located in the northeastern United States (Boston, Connecticut, New York City, New Jersey, Baltimore, and Washington), in the Midwest (Detroit and Cleveland), and on the West Coast (San Francisco and Los Angeles). More than half of Estonian Americans lived in the Northeast, with 20 percent concentrated in California and 15 percent in the Midwest. There was limited reverse migration back to Estonia in the 1920s, but this never became a significant trend. During the period of German and Russian occupation from 1940 to 1991, there was virtually no reemigration.

RELATIONS WITH SETTLED AMERICANS

Estonian immigrants have not stirred much reaction from the dominant culture in America, as the group is rather small in number. Because they share many characteristics with their white, middle-class urban neighbors, they quickly assimilate into their surroundings and have become part of their local communities. These immigrants tend to be literate, skilled, and hardworking and have made successful lives in the United States. One possible source of tension was the emergence of a radical socialist and communist movement among Estonians from 1905 to 1920. Instigated by refugees who took flight from

Estonia during the 1905 Russian Revolution, this radicalizing movement captured and transformed many Estonian American institutions, causing great turmoil within the immigrant community. Coming at a time when Estonians were considered Russian in the popular mind, and when fear of communism was rampant, this did not go far to create a positive image of the Estonian immigrant. Nevertheless, the events of the World War II, the Russian invasion of Estonia, and the flood of refugees out of the country created a swell of popular recognition for all the Baltic countries, including Estonia.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Estonian immigrants in the United States have generally assimilated well into the mainstream of American society, especially after 1945. Before World War II, the Estonians did not push hard to become American citizens; in 1930 only 42 percent of immigrants had citizenship (a pace behind Finnish and other Baltic immigrants). In the late twentieth century, however, Estonian Americans have rapidly climbed the social and economic ladder, specializing in areas of technical expertise. A number of factors have contributed to a high degree of assimilation among Estonian Americans: the size of the community, its rapid educational and social success, and the wide geographical dispersion of the immigrants.

Estonian Americans have created a large network of social and cultural organizations, schools,

The Estonian
American family
enjoys the
completion of
chores together.



churches, and clubs to keep alive the language and culture of their homeland. This network is coordinated by the Estonian American National Council, headquartered in New York City. A major goal of these institutions is to retain and transmit the Estonian heritage to succeeding generations. A network of 14 Estonian schools in the United States teaches Estonian language, history, and culture to the children of the community. Estonian American scouting is a national program with sponsored activities. Local Estonian American groups include women's and veterans' organizations and literary and cultural circles. Before 1992 and the establishment of the independent Republic of Estonia, many groups were dedicated to the opposition of communism and the eventual freedom of the Baltic states.

The tensions inherent in acculturation and assimilation are best displayed in the lives of the refugees who fled Estonia after the World War II. On the one hand, they were glad to be in the United States and emphasized success within the American culture. On the other hand, as with many political refugees from Soviet communism, they held a strong passion for the overthrow of communism in Estonia

and maintained hope that they would someday return to their native land. This refugee status created internal turmoil for some Estonian Americans, as they tried to balance the demands of their homeland and heritage with feelings of patriotism for the United States and a desire to assimilate into American society. Today, much of the active Estonian American community is composed of these first- and second-generation immigrants.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Estonian Americans are closely affiliated with immigrants from other Baltic countries (Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland). Not only did these groups arrive in the United States at roughly the same time, they share a common history in Europe. Since the Soviet takeover of the Baltic Republics in 1940, Americans of Baltic descent have joined in common action toward securing independence for their ancestral homelands. A number of groups were formed around this issue, including the Joint Baltic American National Committee (1961) and the Baltic World Council (1972). There are also joint

cultural and educational efforts and celebrations, and a Baltic Women's Council (1947).

CUISINE

Estonian cooking combines the culinary influences of Scandinavia, Germany, and Russia with native traditions. The raw ingredients come from the forests, farms, and coastal waters of Estonia: berries, pork, cabbage, sour cream, and seafood (salmon, herring, eel, sprat) are staples. From Scandinavia and Finland come the traditional foods of the *smorgasbord*; from Germany come sauerkraut and various cold potato salads. Russian influences also abound. *Rossolye* is a cold mixed salad of potatoes, vegetables, diced meat, and herring, with a sour cream-vinegar dressing. *Mulgikapsad* is a pork and sauerkraut dish that takes its name from an Estonian province. Other salads, common to the Baltic region, include a preserved mixed fruit salad and a sour cream-cucumber salad.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Estonian Americans do not wear a distinctive everyday garment that would set them apart as being Estonian. As with many other European groups, Estonians have colorful regional costumes that immigrants sometimes brought with them, but these are worn only on special occasions, such as ethnic celebrations or festivals.

Traditional costumes for women include a tunic shirt, a full colorful skirt, and an embroidered apron. The headdresses worn by women vary according to region and village. In southern Estonia, the traditional headdress for a married woman is a long, linen, embroidered kerchief worn around the head and down the back. In northern Estonia, small, intricately designed *coifs* (hats) adorn women's folk costumes. Heavy necklaces are also common. Men's costumes generally consist of wide-legged pants gathered at the knee and loose-fitting shirts. The principal headdress for men is a high, stiff felt hat or fur cap with earflaps, the latter of which is worn during the winter months. Both men's and women's traditional costumes include a decorative broach used to fasten shirts and blouses. During the winter, traditional Estonian costumes included high felt boots called *valenka* to protect them from the cold.

HOLIDAYS

Along with the traditional Christian and American holidays, there are certain festival days that are of

special significance to the Estonian American community. February 24 is celebrated as Estonian Independence Day, marking the formal declaration of Estonian independence in 1918. A two-day holiday in June combines two separate celebrations, St. John's Eve (Midsummer) on June 23, and Victory Day on June 24. Reaching far back into history, Midsummer is a common festival in the Scandinavian and Baltic countries. Victory Day commemorates the defeat of the Soviet Armies in the Estonian War of Independence (1918-1920). In their celebration of Christmas, Estonians extend the holiday a day or two after December 25; the first few days after Christmas are devoted to visiting friends and family.

A feature of resurgent Estonian nationalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been national song festivals, celebrated for a period of days during the summer. Estonians in Europe and North America continue to celebrate these festivals, organizing mass gatherings to honor Estonia and to maintain national identity. In North America Estonians from Canada and the United States gathered in such celebrations from 1957 to 1968, twice in New York and twice in Canada. The Estonian World Festivals, a series of worldwide Estonian gatherings, began in 1972. The first such event was in Toronto, followed by Baltimore, Maryland, and Stockholm.

HEALTH ISSUES

Estonian Americans have embraced medicine as it is practiced in the United States and have been eager to become medical practitioners. A 1975 survey by the *Väliseestlasea kalendar* (*Almanac for the Estonian Abroad*) listed over 100 Estonian American doctors or dentists, of whom 25 percent were women.

LANGUAGE

The Estonian language is a branch of the Baltic-Finnish group of the Finno-Ugric family, related to Finnish. Most ethnic Estonians speak Estonian, but ethnic Russians and others in Estonia continue to speak Russian because Estonian is considered to be a difficult language to learn. Historically, there have been a number of dialects, but the one spoken around the capital of Tallinn has come to dominate literary expression, thus ruling the development of modern Estonian. Another form of Estonian is spoken by Estonian war refugees in Sweden and has absorbed some Swedish influences. The written language uses the Roman alphabet and consists of 14

consonants and nine vowels (a, ä, e, i, o, õ, õ, u, and ü). The consonants c, f, q, w, x, y, and z are generally used only in names and words of foreign origin. The language has a musical quality and employs a great number of diphthongs and other vowel combinations.

The Estonian American community has made strong attempts to maintain the language, with mixed success. A number of schools, publications, congregations, and learned societies within the community still use Estonian as a means of discourse. This is somewhat problematic within the larger community because new generations and the non-Estonian spouses of mixed marriages have a hard time understanding Estonian. Still, Estonian is taught at Indiana University, Kent State University, and Ohio State University, and a number of public libraries throughout the United States offer Estonian language collections, including the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, and the Cleveland Public Library.

“After I got my citizenship, I sponsored two Estonian immigrant families. And a few years ago, I married a man from one of those families. So I have a new life. I feel that I have been blessed, really. This country has given me many things: a home, friendship, a chance to live again.”

Leida Sorro in 1951, cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*, edited by Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980).

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Estonian greetings and other expressions include: *Tere hommikut* (tere hommikoot)-“Good morning;” *Tere õhtut* (tere erhtut)-“Good evening;” *Jumalaga* (yoomahlahgah)-“Good-bye;” *Kuidas käsi käib* (kooydahs kasi kayb)-“How are you?;” *Tānan hästi tanahn haysti*-“Fine, thanks;” *Palun* (pahloon)-“Please;” *Tānan* (tanahn)-“Thanks;” *Vabandage* (vahbahndahge)-“Excuse me;” *Jah* (yah)-“Yes;” *Ei* (ey)-“No;” and *Nāgemieseni* (nagesmiseni)-“See you later.”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Before 1920 the Estonian American community tended to be dominated by young single men and women who came either to look for work or to escape the religious and political repression of tsarist Russia. Because the vast majority lived in

cities on the East or West Coast, a stable immigrant community, with a predominance of families and other social and cultural institutions, was slow to develop. But the 1920s and 1930s saw the appearance of a strong immigrant community that was augmented after 1945 by the arrival of war refugee families. A significant degree of educational and economic advancement, a high rate of intermarriage, and the dispersal of this relatively small community have moved the Estonians well into the mainstream of American life. In addition, research has shown a considerable degree of ethnic consciousness among the contemporary Estonian Americans that will help hold the community together.

EDUCATION

Education has played an important role in shaping the Estonian American community and in moving these immigrants into mainstream American life. Because Estonia in the nineteenth century was more advanced in literacy than many other parts of the Russian Empire, many of the early immigrants were literate. Likewise, a significant number of the political refugees who fled Estonia after the abortive 1905 Revolution were educated, and the Socialist ferment within the community produced journals, newspapers, and reading rooms. However, the emphasis on education was nowhere more apparent than in the refugees who arrived in the United States after 1945. Many of them were members of the educational and political elite of Estonia, and in the United States they pushed for their children to get a good education. Studies of the second generation of these Estonian Americans have shown that a large majority have at least some college education, a modest majority have completed college, and a sizable number have graduate degrees. Also among this last group of immigrants were a number of Estonian intellectuals and academics who took positions in the American educational system. Estonian Americans have tended to specialize in science and technology, moving into fields such as engineering and architecture.

The Estonian American community has established a number of institutions to promote advancement in scholarship and education. These include Estonian academic fraternities and sororities, as well as an Estonian Students Association in the United States that promotes students' knowledge of Estonian language and culture and Estonian study abroad (especially in Finland). Learned societies, such as the Estonian Educational Society and the Estonian Learned Society in America, sponsor publications and conferences. A number of other specialized edu-

cational groups have a broader membership that extends throughout North America and Europe.

Estonian schools, located in major centers of the Estonian American community, are designed to supplement the education of Estonian youth by teaching them Estonian language, geography, history, and culture. These schools are interlinked in a regional and national network.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Since the advent of the Estonian American community, women have traditionally worked outside the home, pursuing education and careers. In 1932 an anonymous Estonian American writer commenting in his journal *Meie Tee* (quoted in *The Estonians in America, 1627-1975: A Chronology and Factbook*, p. 83) remarked about his community: "Estonian women here have always worked, even though the husband might have a well-paying job. Perhaps this is ... an established tradition." A 1968 survey of young Estonian American women showed that only 14 percent had ended their education at the high school level, whereas 61 percent were college graduates. The advanced level of women's education and work outside the home partly explains the swift rise in socioeconomic status of the Estonian American community. Estonian American women have also formed numerous local, national, and international women's organizations centered on educational, cultural, and social concerns and have banded with other Baltic-American women's groups to achieve common goals.

RELIGION

In Estonia the dominant form of Christianity is Lutheranism, with smaller numbers of Baptist and Orthodox adherents. In Estonian American communities Lutheranism continues to be the dominant religious force. Headquartered in Stockholm, the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church is easily the largest organized religious group within the Estonian American community, with 38 congregations and 12,032 members across North America. The Estonian American Baptists came to the United States before World War I to escape persecution in Estonia and have maintained a number of congregations. The Baptist congregation in New York City, one of the first congregations formed, was an important early institution within the immigrant community. Estonian Orthodox parishes are active in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York City. There are also several Estonian Pentecostal congregations.

This is not to say, however, that religious belief and affiliation have been universally important for Estonian immigrants in America; indeed, many Estonians were ambivalent or even hostile toward religious belief, especially early in this century. There are a number of reasons for these negative feelings, which spring from religious faith and practice in Estonia. The Lutheran Church in Estonia had traditionally been dominated by the Baltic-Germans, who monopolized many aspects of Estonian national life; not until 1860 did ethnic Estonians serve as Lutheran pastors. Thus, to many nineteenth-century Estonians Lutheranism represented a "foreign" presence. Another factor in the ambivalence of early Estonian immigrants toward religion was their adherence to socialist and communist ideologies that opposed organized religion. These dynamics proved to be very difficult for early Estonian American pastors to overcome, as they clashed with anticlerical and socialist immigrant groups.

The first religious leader in the Estonian American community was the Reverend Hans Rebane, who arrived in New York in 1896. Rebane had been invited by the American denomination, the German Missouri Lutheran Synod, to establish a mission for Estonian and Latvian Lutheran immigrants. Rebane established a small congregation in New York City and visited other Estonian settlements in the East and Midwest. Rebane also established a newspaper, *Eesti Amerika Postimees* (*Estonian American Courier*), the first Estonian publication in the United States. Rebane used this newspaper to push his religious views and feuded with Estonian socialist groups until his death in 1911. Though the congregation in New York survived, and the Missouri Synod continued mission work among Estonian immigrants, this work was not particularly successful. During the period before World War II only two other Estonian American congregations took hold: a Baptist congregation formed in 1919, and a Pentecostal congregation formed in 1928, both in New York City.

After 1945 the influx of Estonian war refugees resulted in the construction of a number new Lutheran congregations, all linked with the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC). Established in 1954, the EELC has Lutheran congregations in most major Estonian settlements in North America. The other religious force to appear after 1945 was Estonian Orthodox Christianity, establishing several regional parishes. Orthodoxy took root in Estonia during the nineteenth century, winning Estonian converts who were discontent with German-dominated Lutheranism and Russian inducements. The first Estonian Orthodox parish was formed in New York City in 1949.

Especially since 1945 religion has come to play an important role in the life of the Estonian American community and has helped maintain a sense of group identity and cultural cohesion.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The large majority of early immigrants settled in cities on the East and West Coasts, seeking jobs in labor and industry. Many Estonian men worked in the construction trades, and some rose to the level of independent contractors. Many women worked as domestics or in small retail or industrial operations. In the 1920s and 1930s numbers of Estonians were employed as building attendants and superintendents in apartments and office buildings, especially in New York. Other Estonians started small businesses, some of which were fairly successful.

An early conflict within the Estonian American community was over socialism and communism. Many of the refugees from the failed 1905 Revolution were socialists who were influential in establishing a strong socialist-oriented urban workers' movement among the Estonian Americans. Workers' societies were formed in centers of Estonian settlement, and in 1908 a central committee was organized to coordinate their activities. These organizations were often the only collective Estonian bodies in the community and thus came to be influential. However, the leadership of these organizations proved to be more radical than the American socialists and the majority of Estonian American workers. Between 1917 and 1920 the Estonian workers' movement was split over the issue of whether to support the Soviet military takeover of the newly independent Republic of Estonia. Many of the movement's leaders adopted a communist platform that supported inclusion of Estonia within the Soviet Union, whereas the majority of the rank and file opposed the move. The split shattered the effectiveness of the immigrant institutions and the Estonian American worker's movement as a whole. The communists were eventually absorbed into the American Communist Party, losing any particular ethnic identity.

After 1945 the employment and economic status of the community shifted in response to the new wave of political refugees, many of whom were well-educated professionals. A strong emphasis on education, professionalism, and the two-income family brought prosperity and socioeconomic mobility to the Estonian American community, which became predominantly middle class. Education, engineering

and applied technology, medicine, science, and music and the arts were the leading professions. In 1962 a study of young Estonian American professionals found that 43 percent worked in the fields of engineering and technology; 18 percent in the sciences; 16 percent in the humanities and social sciences, respectively; and seven percent in medicine. Some Estonians have gone into business, often starting small- to medium-sized businesses within the Estonian American community.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Political activity within the Estonian American community has been responsive to events within Estonia itself. Fluctuations in Estonia's status as an independent country have had a significant impact on this activity.

Because of Estonia's dependent status in the nineteenth century, many Estonian immigrants had not formed a clear consciousness of their national identity. But the rise of Estonian nationalism, coupled with the socialist struggle against the tsarist government, prompted the Estonian American community toward greater involvement in the affairs of the homeland. As political refugees began streaming into the country after the 1905 Revolution, the leadership of the immigrant community and many of its institutions passed into socialist hands. The communist revolution and the struggle to free Estonia (1917-1920) split the Estonian American community between those who supported a free Estonia and those who supported its inclusion into the Soviet Union. The Estonian nationalists prevailed because of a growing sense of national pride and because of the arrival (after 1920) of many veterans of the Estonian struggle for independence. In the wider sphere of American politics, the immigrant community was not particularly active unless the Republic of Estonia's affairs were directly involved. The number of immigrants seeking citizenship during this period was lower than for other Baltic nationalities.

The Soviet invasion of Estonia in 1940, along with the arrival of the war refugees after 1945, dramatically changed the face of the Estonian American community and its political efforts. The major concern now was Estonian independence from Soviet control. Many Estonian and Baltic-American groups formed to support their Estonian homeland in achieving this goal. Their initial activities centered on lobbying both the U.S. government and the United Nations to prevent the legal recognition of the Soviet conquest of Estonia. Because of their efforts (in concert with Latvian and Lithuanian

Americans), the U.S. government never formally recognized the annexation of the three Baltic countries by the Soviet Union in 1940 and again in 1944 until 1991 when these countries regained their independence. Consequently, in the post World War II years, all three Baltic nations maintained consulates in the United States. Estonian Americans, as well as other Eastern European immigrant groups, were particularly outraged by the 1945 U.S.-Soviet agreement at Yalta, which they viewed as a sellout of the nations under communist domination.

After 1945 most Estonian Americans supported the Republican Party, faulting the Democrats for the Yalta agreement and viewing the Republicans as more sympathetic to their concerns. This trend of support for the Republican Party has continued. In 1970 the Estonian American National Republic Committee was formed, with a network of Estonian American Republican clubs established in geographic centers of the immigrant community. Socialist influence in the community has diminished.

UNION ACTIVITY

Estonian American involvement in organized labor grew with the rise of the workers' movement in the early twentieth century. Support for this movement saw the rise many local workers' and socialist organizations and a number of newspapers and periodicals. Many of the activities of the workers' movement went beyond economic and union concerns to include social and cultural activities as well as political mobilization. However, the socialist leaders of the movement tended to be more radical than either the rank and file or the American labor movement, and this was the cause of much friction. With the drift toward communism and agitation over Estonian independence, the worker's movement became divided and lost much of its vitality.

ARMED FORCES

Estonian Americans have served in the U.S. armed forces in every significant military conflict in the twentieth century. There was a small Estonian American presence during the two World Wars, while a larger group fought in the Korean and Vietnam Wars. In 1951 an Estonian American, Kalju Suitsev, was awarded a Silver Star and Purple Heart for bravery in Korea. In Vietnam many Estonian youth participated, including a number who were killed or decorated for bravery. Given the fervent patriotic and anti-communist stance of the Estonian American community during this period, support for military service was strong.

RELATIONS WITH ESTONIA

The intense support given to the Republic of Estonia during the 1920s and 1930s, and the agitation for a free Estonia after 1940, galvanized the immigrant community and created a course of common action. The drive toward nationalism has not always won universal support, however, the most notable example being the Estonian American communists who favored Soviet rule over Estonia. It remains to be seen how Estonian independence, achieved in 1991, will shape the activities of the Estonian American community.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although small in number, Estonian Americans have played a significant part in their communities and in the United States. Their most striking accomplishments have been in the fields of education, engineering and technology, architecture and applied arts, and music.

ARCHITECTURE

The most prominent of all Estonian Americans is probably the architect Anton Hanson, who was born in Estonia in 1879 and immigrated to the United States in 1906. Hanson was one of the designing architects of the Seattle World's Fair, for which he was awarded the grand prize.

EDUCATION

Herrman Eduard von Holst (1841-1904) studied in Estonia and received his doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in Germany. He became the first chair of the history department at the University of Chicago and wrote a number of important works on American and European history. He also held academic positions in Germany and France. Theodore Alexis Wiel was born in Estonia in 1893 but attended college in America. After being decorated for service in France in World War I, Wiel earned a doctorate in international relations and taught at American International College, where he also served as dean. Ragnar Nurske (1907-1959) studied in Estonia and England before coming to the United States, where he taught Economics at Columbia University. Nurske authored a number of works on international economics and also served on the League of Nations prior to World War II. Ants Oras was an English professor at the University of Tartu, Estonia. He

came to America via England after World War II and taught at the University of Florida. Arthur Vööbus (1909-1990) obtained his doctorate in Estonia in 1943 and came to the United States after the war. A biblical scholar and expert on early Syrian Christianity, Vööbus taught at the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago.

FILM AND THEATER

Miliza Korjus was born in Estonia to Estonian and Polish parents. A soprano, Korjus performed the leading role in the film *The Great Waltz* (1938), a biography of the waltz king, Johann Strauss. Korjus later settled in California to continue her singing career. Ivan (John) Triesault, born in Estonia, was a film actor who made over 25 films, from *Mission to Moscow* (1942) to *Von Ryan's Express* (1965). He specialized in playing character roles, including German military officers.

GOVERNMENT

William Leiserson (1883-1957), born in Estonia, received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1911. A specialist in labor affairs, he was employed by the U.S. Department of Labor and was appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt to the Labor Arbitration Commission in 1939.

INDUSTRY

Carl Sundbach, born in Estonia in 1888, invented a freezer that greatly reduced the time required to bulk freeze fish. William Zimdin (1881-1951) was an international businessman and millionaire. Zimdin began his career in the United States in 1920 by arranging transactions between the United States and the Soviet Union; he eventually settled in California. Otto Lellep, born in Estonia in 1884, was a metallurgical engineer who came to the United States in 1917. Working in the United States and Germany, he developed a cement baking oven and made advancements in the processing of steel, iron ore, and nickel. Lellep went into business manufacturing his ovens in the United States after World War II. John Kusik, born in Estonia in 1898, rose to become director and senior vice president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and served on a number of other corporate boards.

JOURNALISM

Edmund Valtman (1914-) came to the United States in 1949. A political cartoonist with the *Hart-*

ford Times, Valtman received the Pulitzer Prize for his drawings in 1961.

MUSIC

Ludvig Juht (1894-1957), an Estonian-born musician, specialized in the contrabass. Juht had an international career in Estonia, Finland, and Germany until he was brought to America in 1934 by Serge Koussevitzky to be principle contrabass with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. In addition, Juht taught at both the New England Conservatory of Music and Boston University, and worked as a composer. Evi Liivak was born in Estonia in 1925 and studied the violin. In 1951 she joined her American husband in the United States and has enjoyed an international career.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Elmar Leppik, a biologist educated in Estonia and Europe, came to America in 1950. He taught at a number of American universities and then worked as a research scientist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Maryland. Igor Taum, born in Estonia in 1922, came to the United States in 1945 and has served as a research physician at Rockefeller University, New York City, where he specializes in the study of viruses. Richard Härm, born in 1909, was educated in Estonia and Germany prior to coming to the United States after World War II. He taught mathematics at Princeton University. Rein Kilkson (1927-) was born in Estonia, and received his doctorate at Yale University in 1949. A physicist, he did research in the areas of biophysics and virology and taught at the University of Arizona. Lauri Vaska (1925-), a chemist, discovered a new chemical compound, which was eventually named the "Vaska compound." Vaska taught at Clarkson College of Technology, Potsdam, New York. Harald Oliver, Jyri Kork, and Rein Ise have participated as scientists in the U.S. space program on the Apollo moon project and the Skylab space station.

VISUAL ARTS

Voldemar Rannus (1880-1944) came to the United States in 1905. A sculptor, Rannus studied at the National Academy of Design in New York, and later in Europe. He molded a bas-relief of Albert Beach (the designer of the New York City subway) for the subway station near the New York City Hall. Andrew Winter (1893-1958) painted realistic winter scenes and seascapes. Born in Estonia, he came

to the United States and studied here, eventually settling in Maine.

MEDIA

PRINT

Journal of Baltic Studies.

Published by the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies (AABS), this quarterly provides a forum for scholarly discussion on topics regarding the Baltic Republics and their peoples.

Contact: William Urban or Roger Noel, Editors.
Address: 111 Knob Hill Road, Hacketstown, New Jersey 07844.

Meie Tee (Our Path).

Estonian American monthly journal, established in 1931, with general information about the American and worldwide Estonian community. Published by the World Association of Estonians.

Address: 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 684-9281.

Vaba Eesti Sõna (Free Estonian Word).

Estonian American weekly newspaper, established in 1949. Known for its staunch anti-communist and nationalist views.

Contact: Mati Koiva, President.
Address: Nordic Press, Inc., 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 686-3356.
Fax: (212) 686-3356.
E-mail: nordicpress@earthlink.net

Väliseestlase Kalendar (Calendar for Estonians Abroad).

Annual publication for the immigrant community, established in 1953.

Address: The Nordic Press, P.O. Box 123, New York, New York 10156.
Telephone: (212) 686-3356.

Yearbook of the Estonian Learned Society in America.

Published by the Estonian Learned Society in America to advance and disseminate scholarly knowledge for and about Estonia and Estonians.

Address: 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Estonian American National Council (EANC).

Founded in 1952, this umbrella organization represents all Estonian Americans and major Estonian American organizations. Coordinates the efforts of the member groups; supports political, cultural, and social activities; provides grants for study; and maintains a library and archives at its headquarters in New York City.

Contact: John J. Tiivel, Secretary General.
Address: 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 685-0776.

Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC).

Founded in 1954. Ecclesiastical structure for all Estonian Lutherans outside of Estonia, headquartered in Sweden. Promotes religious education and outreach in the immigrant communities, conducts religious services, and maintains congregations. The North American branch of the EELC consists of 38 congregations in the United States and Canada.

Contact: Rev. Udo Petersoo, Archbishop for North America.
Address: 383 Jarvis Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5B 2C7.
Telephone: (416) 925-5465.

Estonian Heritage Society (EHS).

Promotes and seeks to preserve Estonian cultural heritage.

Contact: Mart Aru, Chair.
Address: P.O. Box 3141, 200090 Tallinn, Estonia.
Telephone: (142) 449216.

Estonian Learned Society in America.

Founded in 1950, this scholarly organization represents Estonian Americans with graduate degrees; it seeks to encourage Estonian studies, especially in English and supports translation of Estonian literary works. Publishes a yearbook every three to four years.

Contact: Dr. Tõnu Parming, Secretary.
Address: 243 East 34th Street, Estonian House, New York, New York 10016.

Estonian Relief Committee, Inc.

Founded in 1941, this committee assists Estonians with settlement and employment in the United States. It also supports Estonian American activities and groups, especially Estonian American scouting programs.

Contact: Alfred Anderson, Secretary-General.
Address: 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 685-7467.

Federated Estonian Women's Clubs.

Founded in 1966, this club coordinates and encourages ties between Estonian women's organizations throughout the world. It also sponsors scholarship and cultural activities, such as folk art, language training, Estonian handicrafts, and camping.

Contact: Juta Kurman, President.
Address: 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.

United Baltic Appeal (BATUN).

Serves as an information center dealing with events and circumstances pertinent to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Contact: Baiba J. Rudzifis-Pinnis, President.
Address: 115 West 183rd Street, Bronx, New York 10453.
Telephone: (718) 367-8802.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Estonian Archives in the United States.

The main archives for documents on the immigrant settlements and their development. Located in the Estonian American community of Lakewood, New Jersey, this institution is particularly valuable to the study of Estonian Americans.

Address: 607 East Seventh Street, Lakewood, New Jersey 08701.

Estonian Educational Society (EHS).

Maintains school of Estonian language and history and library of 3,000 volumes in Estonian.

Contact: Rudolf Hamar, Manager.
Address: Estonian House, 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 684-0336.

Estonian Society of San Francisco.

A cultural, educational, and social foundation for Estonian Americans on the West Coast. It sponsors ethnic scouting, dancing, and scholarship and maintains a library and reading room.

Contact: August Kollom, President.

Address: 537 Brannan Street, San Francisco, California 94107.
Telephone: (415) 797-7892.

Immigration History Research Center.

Located at the University of Minnesota, this is a valuable archival resource for many of the immigrant groups from Eastern and Southern Europe, including the Estonians. In addition to newspapers and serials, the center also has a collection of books and monographs, along with the records of Estonian American groups in Minnesota and Chicago.

Contact: Dr. Rudolph Vecoli, Director.
Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.
Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

Office of the Estonian Consulate General.

Representing the Republic of Estonia in the United States, it is a valuable resource for general information on Estonia and the Estonian American community.

Address: 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York 10020.

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E ETHIOPIAN AMERICANS

by
Paul S. Kobel

When Ethiopian
refugees first
arrived in the
United States their
first inclination
was to emigrate
toward regions
already heavily
populated with
Ethiopians.

OVERVIEW

Ethiopia is a landlocked country in Eastern Africa located on the Horn of Africa. It is bordered by Eritrea to the north, Djibouti to the east, Kenya to the south, and the Sudan to the west. The size of the country is 437,794 square miles (1,133,882 square kilometers), which is roughly twice the size of Texas. Ethiopia is a mountainous region in the East and West highlands divided by the Great Rift Valley. The major cities are Addis Ababa (the capital city), Asmara, Dire Dawa, and Harar. The bulk of the population lives in the East and West highlands, where the tropical climate is broken up by heavy rainfall.

There are many different ethnic and linguistic groups that comprise modern-day Ethiopia. The largest group is the Galla, who constitute roughly 40 percent of the population. The Amhara and the Tigre, who together represent 40 percent of the population, have historically been the most politically influential ethnic groups. The majority of the remaining population is composed of the Walamo, the Somali, and the Gurage.

HISTORY

Ethiopia is one of the oldest kingdoms in the world. Among the first peoples to inhabit Ethiopia were Ge'ez speaking agrarians, who settled in the Tigrayan highlands around 2000 BC. At this time the Da'amat

Kingdom was formed. The inland Aksum Kingdom was founded by Menilek I after the fall of the Da'amat Kingdom. Menilek I is believed to be a descendent of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Aksum King Ezana made Christianity the official religion around 700 AD. When Muslims began to occupy much of Northern Africa and the Mediterranean, the Aksum Kingdom was crippled by poor external trade. The kingdom was subsequently replaced by the Zagwe' dynasty in Ethiopia between 1137 and 1270. Their most significant contribution was the creation of eleven churches carved out of stone, which continued to stand at the end of the twentieth century in the city of Roha. In the sixteenth century, several small kingdoms replaced the former Ethiopian empire, which would not be reunified until 1889, when Menilek II gained control. One of the most important accomplishments of Menilek II was the defeat of the Italians in 1896 at the Battle of Adwa. Menilek II then expanded the Ethiopian Empire to nearly twice its size. He also rebuilt the Ethiopian infrastructure, which included the construction of a railway system and the improvement of public health and education institutions.

In the early nineteenth century there was a brief period of internal strife brought on by the weakness of Menilek's successor, Lij Iyasu, and Great Britain, France, and Italy were called upon to intervene to resolve the crisis. The modernization of Ethiopia then resumed under Emperor Haile Selassie in 1930. Haile Selassie introduced Ethiopia's first constitution in 1931. In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia in an effort to expand its influence in North Africa. Although Italian rule was coercive, many improvements to Ethiopia's infrastructure during this period were profitable to the country. With the help of Great Britain, Ethiopia drove out the Italians during World War II and Haile Selassie was restored to power. In the early 1960s a civil war broke out in Ethiopia instigated by the Eritreans' demand for independence. Eritrea had been taken over by the Italians in the late nineteenth century and reincorporated into Selassie's rule in the 1950s.

MODERN ERA

After a period of economic stabilization in the 1950s and 1960s, the Ethiopian army overthrew the Selassie government. The provisional military government which took over in 1974 was shortly thereafter replaced by a Marxist regime. In 1984 the Ethiopian Socialist Party consolidated power and became the uncontested political party. In 1987 the country was declared a democratic republic. Ethiopia was ruled by Mengistu Haile Mariam (1977-1991), whose tyrannical regime violently

repressed any opposition to Marxist rule. In 1978, the Soviet Union and Cuba helped put down a brief uprising led by the Somalians. The military dictatorship that governed Ethiopia between 1974 and 1991 had a tremendous impact on the social and economic development of modern day Ethiopia. The Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), known as Derg to native Ethiopians, was a Marxist regime modeled after the Soviet Union and ruled by military officers. Though a constitution was formally introduced in 1987, the Derg retained centralized power under Mariam. In 1991, a group of insurgents led by Eritreans and Tigreans overthrew the Mariam regime. Eritrea subsequently seceded from Ethiopia, gaining independence in 1993. In 1994 a new constitution was adopted and the following year Ethiopia enjoyed its first multiparty democratic election. The Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front, which had essentially run the government since 1991, won the election.

The Ethiopian governmental structure is a parliamentary democracy consisting of a bicameral legislature, a prime minister, and a president. The legislature, called the Federal Parliamentary Assembly, consists of the Council of the Federation and the Council of the People's Representatives. There are 117 members in the Council of the Federation and 548 members in the Council of the People's Representatives. Members of the Council of the Federation are elected by the states and the people elect the members of the Council of the People's Representatives. The head of government is the prime minister, who is elected by the Council of People's Representatives. The president, who is primarily a figure head, is appointed by the Federal Parliamentary Assembly. Members of parliament are elected to five-year terms and the structure of government provides for minimum representation from the major ethnic groups. The constitution of 1995 decentralized power, drew state borders along geographic ethnic divisions, and granted the states the right to secede.

THE FIRST ETHIOPIANS IN AMERICA

According to the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR), Africans have only recently begun immigrating to the United States and their numbers are rather small compared to other groups from Asia and Europe. Ethiopians were among the first African immigrants to voluntarily come to the United States. In 1991 there were an estimated 50,000 to 75,000 Ethiopians living in the United States. Ethiopians began to migrate to America after the passage of the 1980 Refugee Act. The Refugee Act was the first formal policy the United States adopted toward the African refugees.

Ethiopians have been the most heavily represented group from Africa admitted to the United States between 1982 and 1994. Only Somalis have exceeded Ethiopians in the numbers of African immigrants arriving in the United States after 1994.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The 1980 Refugee Act set limits on the number of African refugees allowed into the country in a given year. The ceiling was initially set at 1,500 in 1980 and it has grown to 7,000 in 1995. The ceiling does not, however, reflect the actual number of refugees admitted to the United States. Often the actual number of immigrants that come to the United States is lower than the ceiling. For example, in 1986, 1,315 African refugees were admitted in relation to the 3,500 person limit. Ethiopians began to immigrate to the United States in large numbers in large part to escape the repressive political tactics of the Mariam regime. Mariam's government, the Derg, or the "Committee," exercised violent tactics against opposition groups and controlled the media in order to maintain power between 1974 to 1991. The political climate at the time worked in favor of Ethiopians who wished to begin a new life in America. In the early 1980s the United States was being criticized in the international community regarding its commitment to combating the spread of Marxism in Africa. It was at this time that the United States decided to open its doors to African refugees.

In relation to other continents, the number of refugees admitted from Africa has been consistently low. David Haines in *Refugees in America in the 1990s: A Reference Handbook* cites several reasons that account for the rather tenuous U.S. policy toward the admission of African refugees. First, there is little political capital for U.S. public officials to earn by admitting African refugees. The number of politically active Ethiopians in the United States in comparison to other nationality groups is negligible. There is therefore little pressure among U.S. policy makers to admit Ethiopians in high numbers. Second, when Africans first began seeking asylum in the early 1980s, there was a desire among African governments, the OAU, and the United Nations to relocate African refugees in other African countries. Lastly, the fear of uncommon diseases being introduced to the United States made politicians cautious about opening its doors to Africa.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

During the 1980s famine in Northern Africa and during the repressive Marxist rule, many Ethiopians migrated to Sudan. The majority of Ethiopians that

ultimately migrated to the United States came from Khartoum, Sudan. The transitional resettlement period for Ethiopians in Sudan during this period was unpleasant for most. The majority of Ethiopians in Sudan were unemployed and relied on financial support from family members in Ethiopia or they lived in resettlement camps. Given the poor economic status of Sudan at the time, Ethiopian refugees would not fare well in the region. When the opportunity to resettle to a third country emerged, most Ethiopians targeted the United States. They believed that they would receive the greatest opportunity to improve their condition as previous refugees in North America had. When the nationalist wars in Ethiopia ended in 1991, much of the impetus for resettlement in the Horn of Africa was eliminated. However the defeat of the Derg led to violent upheaval in Southern Ethiopia which again instigated some displacement.

When Ethiopian refugees arrived in the United States, their first inclination was to emigrate toward regions already heavily populated with Ethiopians. Many Ethiopians therefore targeted Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Dallas, and New York City. Of these cities the metropolis that attracted the most Ethiopians in their secondary resettlement patterns was Washington, D.C. because of its large service sector economy. According to 1992 Office of Refugee Resettlement data, the majority of Ethiopians that were admitted to the U.S. were males (62 percent). The primary reason males far outnumbered females pertains to the patriarchal social structure that exists in many African countries. The social structure enabled men to meet the educational and occupational requirements established by the U.S. government for admittance into the United States. Another factor that related to admission was religion. The majority of Ethiopians admitted to the U.S. were Christian because they were considered the best candidates to easily assimilate into American culture. However the main factor that determined whether an Ethiopian immigrant could enter the United States was educational background. Because the Amharic-speaking Ethiopians had the greatest access to educational opportunities in Ethiopia they were the most heavily represented group of Ethiopians admitted to the U.S. in the 1990s.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

According to a 1986 survey in *The Economic and Social Adjustment of Non-Southeast Asian Refugees* edited by Cichon et. al., assimilation into American culture has not been easy for Ethiopians. According

Berhanu Adanne is surrounded by Ethiopian American friends and fans after his victory in the second largest 10 kilometer race in the United States, the Bolder Boulder in Colorado.



to this study, Ethiopians have not adapted well to the fast pace and “fend for yourself” attitude inherent in an advanced capitalist society. This has resulted in an unusually high rate of suicide and depression. Many Ethiopian refugees have managed to find support in areas where there are higher concentrations of Ethiopians. Cities such as Washington, D.C. and Dallas, where previous generations of Ethiopians have established a social and economic foundation, facilitate the transition for incoming Ethiopians. There is also evidence in the same study to suggest that Ethiopians have greater success adapting to their new country when they gravitate to regions heavily populated with African Americans. Some of the activities Ethiopians engage in to strengthen their sense of belonging include playing soccer and joining social and economic support groups called *Ekub*. Traditionally, an *Ekub* was an Abyssintine financial group designed to make capital accessible and generate social activity. While some Ethiopians have penetrated middle class American society with little difficulty, others have relied on social organizations modeled after the social structure in their native land.

Book Lakew, an Ethiopian scholar suggested that even though there are now generations of educated Ethiopians in the United States, they still suffer social and economic resistance in American society. Part of the problem, according to Lakew, is that Ethiopians lack valuable exposure to the team work, leadership, and organizational activities that many American children are trained to thrive in at an early age. Lakew claimed that groups like the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and grade school mock elections provide American youth with the skills necessary to work in organizational settings later in life. The inability to flourish in an organizational setting, according to Lakew, prevents Ethiopian immigrants from making career advances in the United States. Lakew stated that this organizational handicap explains why Ethiopians rarely collaborate in business ventures in the United States, fail to form strong social and political organizations that promote the interests of Ethiopians in the United States, and lag behind other groups of immigrants who have graduated to the middle class in America.

CUISINE

Ethiopian cuisine is similar to Cajun and Middle Eastern fare which combine pepper spices with staples such as lentils, potatoes, green beans, and olive oil. Many Ethiopian dishes are made with *berbere*, or red pepper. Dishes are usually prepared warm rather than hot. A popular Ethiopian dessert is a sweet, but dry, version of the Greek baklava.

Most Ethiopian dishes are eaten without utensils. In place of a fork Ethiopians use bread called *injera* and their hands to deliver succulent entrees such as *Fifit*, *Kitfo*, and *Gored* to the pallet. *Injera* is similar to a Greek pita or a tortilla made from sourdough and soda water which makes for a chewy pancake-like texture. The conventional way of eating Ethiopian cuisine is to place a small portion of the entree on a torn piece of *injera* and rolling it up like a finger sized tortilla. Many Ethiopian entrees are served in a stew formed, called *wot*. Some common Ethiopian dishes include *alicha-sega wat*, consisting of beef cubes in purified butter; *doro wat*, chicken and egg cooked in red chili powder; *misir wat*, red split lentils cooked in spices; *tikil-gomen*, a combination of spiced cabbage, carrots, and potatoes; and *Fosoli*, spiced string beans, carrots, onions, and garlic sautéed in olive oil.

MUSIC

One form of music popular among Ethiopians is a chant deriving from the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church. Ethiopian tradition holds that a series of chants was revealed to a man named Yared who subsequently transcribed the hymns in the sixth century. The Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church trains chanters who are called *debtara*. *Debtara*, who are not ordained but considered part of the church's administration, lead hymns for the congregation. The system of chants used by Ethiopians, which are written in the mother language of Ge'ez, is called *melekket*. Ge'ez is easily adapted to melody because each sign represents a syllable. Ethiopians use chants to accentuate different moods and occasions. *Araray* chants are used to punctuate a joyous occasion and *ezel* chants are performed during periods of fasting and mourning.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The native Ethiopian dress is a white robe-like garment made of cotton called a *shamma*. Both men and women wore the *shamma*. Men traditionally wear tight-fitting white cotton pants beneath the *shamma*, while women wear colorful dresses that hang down to their ankles. During feast days, the

shamma is adorned with a red stripe down the hem, which is called a *jano*. Men of distinguished heritage or rank wear an embroidered silk tunic called a *kamis*, which is color-coded in accordance with rank. In the evening, when it is cool, a shawl called a *barnos* is sometimes wrapped around the shoulders. A hood is usually attached to the *barnos*, though it is seldom worn. Few Ethiopians dress in their native attire except on special occasions.

HEALTH ISSUES

Ethiopians generally receive superior health care services in the United States in comparison to their home country. In rural areas in Ethiopia health care is often inadequate, when available. A small percentage of Ethiopians have access to modern health care services. The infant mortality rate in Ethiopia is one of the highest in the world and the life expectancy is one of the lowest (46 years for men and 48 years for women). Because many Ethiopians have entered the service sector in the United States, few have comprehensive medical coverage. Fewer employers are providing health coverage in the United States and wages in the service industries are often insufficient for Ethiopian immigrants to pay for their own coverage. Consequently, many Ethiopian immigrants either rely on subsidized health care assistance programs, holistic practices, or go without coverage.

LANGUAGE

Ge'ez is the classical Ethiopian language. However, the most commonly spoken languages in Ethiopia are Amharic and Oromo. Amharic is the official language of the country. The majority of the languages spoken in Ethiopia derive from the Semitic languages of Abyssinia. *Amharic* has been called *lesana negus*, which means "language of the kings." It is predominantly spoken by Christians. The most idiosyncratic feature of Amharic pronunciation is the use of the pallet and the formation of sentences ending with a verb. The Amharic alphabet is made up of 33 letters and has seven vowels.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Ethiopia suffers one of the highest illiteracy rates in the world, over 60 percent. Education is mandatory for six years (to the age of 13), but there is no federal

law in Ethiopia requiring attendance. Very few Ethiopians have had an opportunity to expand their education beyond basic literacy. The primary higher education institution in Ethiopia is Addis Ababa University, which did not attain university status until 1961. In the United States, second generation Ethiopians and beyond have access to the same educational services as American children. Although many Ethiopian immigrants have taken advantage of these services, some Ethiopian youths have turned to drugs, crime, and gang membership in Los Angeles and Washington D.C. Racism in the United States and the decline in influence of the Ethiopian Christian Church have been cited as primary reasons as to why some Ethiopian youths have strayed.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Ethiopia is a patriarchal society, with status largely determined by one's class and ethnicity. Regardless of class and ethnicity, however, Ethiopians view women as subservient to men. Women generally have less access to education and fewer economic opportunities in Ethiopia. Coming from a patriarchal society often makes the transition to American culture more difficult, as the culture is more egalitarian. The social, political, and economic freedom granted to women in the United States often causes friction between Ethiopian couples. Ethiopian men, who are accustomed to being dominant and exercising leadership in the family, have a difficult time accepting women as equals. The difference in attitude towards women has resulted in battery and divorce for many Ethiopian refugee households in the United States. In addition to the change in social status that an Ethiopian marriage must adapt to in the United States, married Ethiopian couples are disadvantaged by a general lack of family support through which marital guidance is often provided in their homeland. In the long run, however, female Ethiopian immigrants profit from the elevation in social status.

WEDDINGS

Marital arrangements are governed under a customary law in Ethiopia called the *Fetha Nagast*. Polygamy is forbidden under civil law. There are three different types of marriages in Ethiopia: *damoz*, *kal kidan* or *serat*, and *bekwerban*. A *damoz* marriage is a temporary contractual arrangement between couples where a woman lives with a man for a period of time longer than one month. The *kal kidan* is the most common form of marriage among Ethiopians. Here, the parents of the bride and groom enter a civil contract where the parents of the bride agree to offer their

daughter for marriage sometime after puberty. Marriages are usually celebrated without the involvement of the church and are accompanied by days of elaborate feasting. The third type of Ethiopian marriage is the *kal kidan bekwerban*, or *bekwerban*, which is a civil marriage that is administered by the church. This type of marriage is usually entered into by older individuals, and the dissolution of a *bekwerban* marriage is not permitted. The religious ceremony involved in this type of marriage is the taking of communion by the newly joined couple. Divorces are relatively easy to obtain and can be requested by either the husband or wife. According to Ethiopian customary law, during a divorce property is divided between the couples in accordance with their individual contribution to the combined assets.

FUNERALS

Few events are celebrated with greater vigor among Ethiopians than death. Both men and women cry and sing dirges to the deceased. The body of the deceased is washed, wrapped in cloth, and taken to a church to be blessed shortly after death. It is buried a few hours after passing in a shallow grave. In place of headstones, Ethiopians usually mark a gravesite by piling stones shaped in a pyramid. Friends and relatives visit the home of the deceased throughout the first week after death. On the twelfth, fourteenth, and eighteenth days after death, memorial services called *tezkar* are held.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethiopians are aware of racial divisions that exist in the United States, however, they generally try to resist forming an identity out of their ethnicity. Although they generally feel more comfortable interacting with African Americans, they do not feel privy to the historical, political, and socio-economic fight for equal standing held by the African American community. Because Ethiopians were not born to the ethnic tensions that exist in American culture and politics, they do not feel entitled to position themselves within ethnic cleavages in America. Ethiopians are more concerned with satisfying basic needs, such as learning the language, finding gainful employment, and establishing some sort of social network through which they can communicate and seek support when necessary. Second generation Ethiopians seem most at home with the African American community and take advantage of the social support networks established by first generation Ethiopians.

RELIGION

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, or Ge'ez Tewahdo, is a derivation of the Coptic Church of Egypt, which broke from the Roman Catholic Church over the issue of monophysitism. Monophysitism holds that Christ had one divine nature. The Catholic Church of Rome and Constantinople condemned the doctrine in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon. Christianity was introduced into Ethiopia during the Aksum Kingdom in the fourth century A.D. In the seventh century, Muslim Arabs slowed the spread of Christianity in Ethiopia by cutting off the region from its Christian neighbors. In the twelfth century Alexandria appointed an archbishop to Ethiopia whose title was *abuna*, meaning "our father." The bishop appointed was always of Egyptian origin. It was not until 1950 that a native Ethiopian was appointed the position of *abuna*. Ultimately, in 1959, Ethiopia formed an autonomous patriarchate.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has historically been an integral part of Ethiopian political and social life and has been practiced mainly by the Amharan and Tigrayan people of the north. Emperor Haile Selassie used it to solidify his reign. The military regime that took control of Ethiopia in 1974 undermined religious practice, particularly the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, by seizing its land holdings. Despite these efforts to curb religious practice, many Ethiopians held to their religious beliefs during Ethiopia's Marxist period. Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity incorporates many of the conventional Christian beliefs, particularly those advanced in the Old Testament, with beliefs in good and evil spirits. The ark, the remains of which are believed by some archaeologists to be somewhere in Ethiopia, is a popular icon in Ethiopian churches. Both Saturdays and Sundays are considered Sabbath and fasting is common during holy days. Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity also incorporates musical chants into its mass, which are led by *debertera*.

Today the vast majority of Ethiopians subscribe to either the Christian or Muslim faith. Over time, however, religious practice has waned for Ethiopian refugees in the United States. First generations of Ethiopian immigrants have had a difficult time passing on their linguistic and religious heritage to the next generation. Like many immigrants who are forced to adapt to American culture, Ethiopians have found it hard to compromise between the culture from which they came and the culture in which they must now live. One of the most common casualties resulting from the Americanization of Ethiopian refugees is the loss of religion in second and third

generation refugees. Second generation Ethiopians are forced to construct their own identity from the cultural heritage they inherit from their parents and the American culture they are exposed to.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Ethiopia itself functions primarily on an agricultural economy. Agriculture accounts for 90 percent of Ethiopian exports and the vast majority of Ethiopians (80 percent) are employed through this industry. The bulk of the industrial sector, which includes food processing, beverages, textiles, chemicals, metals processing, and cement, is run by the state. This means that very few Ethiopians gain industrial work experience necessary for gainful employment in advanced capitalist economies such as the United States. Only a small percentage of wealthy Ethiopians possess the skills necessary to forge a middle class livelihood in the United States. Many Ethiopians come to the U.S. under the impression that economic success is guaranteed. Unfortunately, very few have realized their dream of blending into middle class America. With the exception of professionals such as medical doctors and academics, the majority of Ethiopians have found work in the service sector of the American economy.

Contrary to their expectations, many Ethiopian immigrants intent on escaping the poverty of their homeland find themselves underemployed after they arrive in the United States. Ethiopian immigrants earn their living in low wage service jobs such as parking lot and gas station attendants, waiters and waitresses, and convenience store attendants. A minority of Ethiopian immigrants managed to open successful restaurants that feature Abyssinian cuisine. This opportunity usually only exists in larger U.S. cities such as Washington, D.C., Dallas, and Los Angeles. In these three cities, where most Ethiopian immigrants are concentrated, the majority of Ethiopians have managed to secure some form of employment. According to a 1986 survey reported in *The Economic and Social Adjustment of Non-Southeast Asian Refugees* edited by Cichon et. al., 92 percent of Ethiopian immigrants in Dallas, 67 percent in Washington, D.C., and 47 percent in Los Angeles were employed. Although these numbers are promising, many Ethiopians live beneath the poverty level and the unemployment rate among Ethiopian immigrants is much higher than it is for Americans in general.

Those who have been unable to secure gainful employment have participated in state and federal

assistance programs when qualified. Those Ethiopians who have migrated to Dallas seem to have been the most successful economically, where there has been no need to participate in welfare assistance programs. However, in Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles, roughly one half of Ethiopian immigrants have been forced to rely on federal and state assistance programs to survive.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Because the United States did not adopt a formal policy toward the admission of African refugees until 1980 there has been little opportunity for Ethiopians to offer their services in the U.S. military.

RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA

First generation Ethiopian refugees retain a strong sense of kinship toward their native land. Most refugees have, at one point or another, revisited their homeland and relatives, particularly after the nationalist civil war with Eritrea subsided in 1991. The major exception has been the Amharic-speaking Ethiopian refugees, who do not recognize the new Ethiopian government that was established in 1995. The Amharic-speaking Ethiopians have initiated a political movement in the United States, whose activities include operating a radio station and forging ties with dissident groups in Ethiopia. Their goal is to discredit the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) currently in power.

Although most Ethiopians maintain positive sentiments toward their former country, very few opt to repatriate. The primary reason for this, according to a study by Mespadden and Moussa (1995) is that upon revisiting Ethiopia many Ethiopian refugees find that the people and places they left behind have changed beyond recognition. Many Ethiopians therefore choose to resume the life they have established for themselves during their "transitional" period of residence in the United States.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Ethiopian Community Association of Greater Philadelphia (ECAGP).

Address: 4534 Baltimore Ave. 2nd floor,
Philadelphia, PA 19143.
Telephone: (215) 222-8917.

Fax: (215) 382-3608.

E-mail: ecagp@libertynet.org.

Ethiopian Community Mutual Assistance Association.

Individuals of Ethiopian descent; members reside primarily in New York City metropolitan area. To advance the economic and social welfare of Ethiopians living in the U.S. Identifies the needs of the Ethiopian community, particularly regarding immigration and civil rights, and provides appropriate assistance. Works to strengthen communication among Ethiopians; aims to preserve Ethiopian culture as a source of historical identity; promotes understanding between Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians. Operates refugee assistance project that provides newly-arrived Ethiopians refugees or migrants with access to various educational, health, and other facilities; also offers overall orientation, guidance, and job placement assistance. Conducts a community-wide educational/information program with a view to hastening the acculturation and social adjustment efforts of members. Maintains museum.

Contact: Misrak Assefa, President.

Address: 552 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 209,
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Telephone: (617) 492-4232.

Fax: (617) 492-7685.

Ethiopian National Congress (ENC).

Founded on October 10, 1997, its mission is to combat the political crisis in Ethiopia.

Address: P.O. Box 547, Swarthmore, PA 19081.

Fax: (610) 543-3467.

Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

Founded in April of 1972 this political organization advocated the overthrow of the Ethiopian Monarchy. It was forced into exile by Emperor Haile Selassie, who did not allow political opposition.

Address: P.O.Box 73337, Washington DC 20056.

Telephone: (202) 986-2851.

Fax: (202) 986-7098.

Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).

The OLF was established in 1973 by Oromo nationalists whose political objective is to liberate the Oromo people from Abyssinian rule.

Contact: The Department of Information.

Address: OLF, USA Office, P. O. Box 73247,
Washington, DC 20056.

Telephone: (202) 462-5477.

Fax: (202) 332-7011.

Tigrrian Alliance for National Democracy.

The political mission of the Tigrrian Alliance is to establish a multiparty system and implement basic civil liberties in Ethiopia.

Address: P.O. Box 1131, Silver Spring,
MD 20910.

E-mail: Alpha6986@aol.com.

Saint Michael Ethiopian Orthodox

Tewahedo Church.

Religious organization founded in 1993. Its sole purpose is to provide spiritual guidance and a house of

worship for Ethiopian Americans who subscribe to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Address: 3010 Earl P1, N.E. Washington
D.C. 20018.

Telephone: (202) 529-7077.

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Ullendorff, Edward. *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Filipino Americans
came from a society
where families,
composed of
paternal and
maternal relatives,
were the center
of their lives.

FILIPINO AMERICANS

by
H. Brett Melendy

OVERVIEW

The Philippine Islands, off the east coast of Asia, are part of the Pacific Ocean's fiery volcanic rim. The Philippine archipelago, consisting of about 7,100 islands, lies along a north-south arc of 1,152 miles. From east to west, its widest dimension is 682 miles. Most islands, large and small, have high mountains, and many are surrounded by coral-reef shorelines.

The Philippines' land area is 115,831 square miles, slightly larger than the state of Nevada. Eleven islands comprise about 95 percent of the land mass of the Philippines, with the two largest, Luzon and Mindanao, accounting for 65 percent of the total. The national capital, Quezon City, and the de facto capital and largest city, Manila, are both situated on Luzon, on which over 25 percent of the country's population lives. Thirty-five percent inhabits the Visayan Islands, a cluster of islands—Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Cebu, Negros, Panay, and Masbate—that lie between Luzon and Mindanao. Cebu has the highest population concentration with more than 400 people per square mile. The country's total population in 1992 was about 67,144,000. Malays are in the majority; major ethnic minorities are Chinese, Americans, and Spanish. Eighty-three percent of the population is Roman Catholic, nine percent is Protestant, and five percent is Muslim. Mindanao has the greatest Islamic concentration.

Climatic conditions, which are about the same throughout the archipelago, help determine the islanders' lifestyle. The climate, both tropical and maritime in nature, usually has high humidity and high temperatures. Monsoons and typhoons, overriding normal conditions, bring periods of heavy rain. All of these factors have determined where and how Filipinos have cultivated their land. Agriculture, ranging from subsistence farming to export plantations, remains the basis of the islands' economy. Even so, given the mountainous terrain, only about 15 percent of the land is cultivated. Major domestic crops are rice and corn; important export crops are *abaca* (Manila hemp), *copra* (dried coconut meat, from which coconut oil is made), pineapple, sugar, and tobacco.

One of the persistent problems for Philippines islanders has been inequitable land distribution. A share tenant system has made most farmers captives of landlords, or *caciques*. At the time of independence in 1946, over 70 percent of the crops went to *caciqueors*. Share tenancy has brought considerable political and social unrest. Historically, limited economic opportunities tied to tenancy and a high birthrate led to immigration to Hawaii and the mainland United States.

HISTORY

The islands have seen the arrival of different peoples over the centuries leading to the evolution of the present diverse culture. Among the earliest immigrants were the Little People, shorter than five feet tall. They were dark skinned, had Negroid features, and were named Negritoes by the Spanish. They may have arrived about 25,000 years ago, and they lived throughout the islands. In recent decades, they occupied the mountain interiors of Luzon, Mindanao, and Palawan, living in isolation and not mixing with later arrivals.

Sometime between 4000 B.C. and 3000 B.C., the first Indonesians arrived from the Asian continent. A second Indonesian influx occurred about 1000 B.C. and lasted about 500 years. Both waves of Indonesians settled throughout the islands, and over the centuries assimilated with subsequent immigrants. Present-day Ilonggo are one result of tribal intermixing.

The Malays, an Iron Age people, began arriving in the third century A.D. Peak influxes started in the thirteenth century and continued well into the next. The Bontoks, Igorots, and Tinguians are descendants of the Malays. Tribes that in time became dominant were the Visayans, Cebunos, and Ilocanos. European and American colonists discov-

ered some of these groups were "head-hunting pagans." Those Malays who came in the later waves had elements of an alphabet and metal tools. More peaceful than earlier arrivals, they were the ancestors of most present-day Filipino Christians. While considered primitive by Western standards, these Malays were in fact far advanced over the earliest immigrants. During the fourteenth century, Islamic Arab traders arrived; their descendants, the Moros, populated the southern islands and remained militant Muslims.

The Chinese and Japanese have had a major impact in the twentieth century, although trade between the Philippines and South China began to develop as early as the fourteenth century as Chinese emigrants became successful merchants and traders. Descendants of Filipino and Chinese marriages continued this domination of island businesses, gaining economic successes and power. Their virtual monopoly of the nation's big businesses in the twentieth century led some Filipinos, particularly those in urban areas, to resent the Chinese and to engage in occasional hostile activities. Japanese immigration occurred after 1900; emigrants from Japan settled first on the island of Mindanao, and they developed several large abaca plantations. Unlike the Chinese and earlier Malay emigrants, the Japanese remained largely a homogeneous group, rarely intermarrying. At the outbreak of World War II, Japanese could be found throughout the islands, working mostly at such crafts as cabinetmaking and photography.

SPANISH RULE, 1565-1898

The first European immigrants did not intend to settle permanently in the Philippines. Spanish settlement proved transitory during the 400 years of Spain's colonial occupation. The first contact between Spain and the Philippines occurred in March of 1521, when Ferdinand Magellan's fleet reached the island of Samar on its circumnavigation of the earth. Magellan claimed the archipelago for Spain and the Catholic church, but Spain did not make his claim official until 1565. The country was named the Philippines in the 1550s after King Philip II of Spain.

In 1565, nine years after ascending to the Spanish throne, Philip II sent a royal governor to the Philippines. The governor, from his first seat of government on Cebu, sent expeditions to other islands and imposed Spanish rule. From the outset, colonial officers exerted forceful and lasting control, using the colonial methods used in the Americas as their model.

From 1565 to 1810 the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade flourished. It connected the Spanish empire in Latin America with the Asian market via the Philippines. Manila served as the entreport to the China trade route. Gold bullions were extracted by the Spanish in Latin America and exchanged for silk, spices, and tea in the East. The galleon trade provided the first opportunity for native Filipinos to leave the islands as members of the crews aboard the Spanish ships.

As royal governors gained greater dominion over the islands, they moved the colonial capital to Manila, with its superior harbor. Endorsing European ideas of mercantilism and imperialism, Spain's monarchs believed that they should exercise their power in the Philippines to enrich themselves. In the course of almost four centuries, Spanish settlers and their descendants in the islands came to own large estates and to control the colonial government.

The Catholic church, supported by the colonial powers, controlled large areas of land and held a monopoly on formal education. The church and the Spanish language were major Spanish cultural institutions imposed upon Filipinos. By 1898, over 80 percent of the islanders were Catholics. Most young Filipinos, migrating to Hawaii and the mainland before World War II, came from Catholic backgrounds.

The Spanish, in installing an autocratic imperialism that alienated Filipinos, created a class society and a culture that many Filipinos later tried to imitate. Some of the Spanish, who made the islands their home, married Filipinos; the descendants of these marriages were known as *mestizos*. By the nineteenth century, mestizos had inherited large areas of agricultural lands. This Filipino upper class found that the lighter their skin color, the easier it became to mingle with Europeans and Americans. They also learned to control local politics through power and corruption. This economic-political dominance came to be known as *caciquism*.

Local revolts against Spanish imperial corruption, caciquism, racial discrimination, and church abuse began late in the nineteenth century. These first revolts called for reform of the economic-political system but not for independence. An early leader, Jose Rizal, who formed *La Liga Filipina* (the Filipino League), called for social reform. After the Spanish banished Rizal, more radical leaders emerged. When Rizal returned to the islands, the Spanish colonial government arrested, tried, and executed him in 1896, thus unwittingly creating a martyr and national hero.

Twenty-seven-year-old Emilio Aguinaldo became the next leader of the insurrectionists—

now fighting openly against the Spanish. In 1898, Aguinaldo conferred with American officials in Hong Kong and Singapore. He was led to understand that the Filipinos would become allies with the United States in a war against Spain, the anticipated outcome of which would be an independent Philippine nation. Admiral George Dewey and Consul General E. Spencer Pratt, with whom Aguinaldo met, later denied that they had made such a promise. In 1898, the United States declared war against Spain, and as a result of the ensuing Spanish-American War, the United States went to war with the Philippines. The war took more than one million Filipino lives and 6,000 American lives. The Treaty of Paris, approved on February 6, 1899, made the United States an imperial power and started a 47-year relationship with the Philippines.

Filipinos, following Aguinaldo's lead, protested the arrival of American imperialism, and the insurrection first launched against the Spanish continued. After annexation of the Philippines by the United States, the U.S. Army fought to quell uprisings throughout the islands. With his capture on March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo advised his followers to swear allegiance to the United States. On July 4, 1902, the Army declared the insurrection to be at an end, even though the Moros, who had become largely independent under Spanish rule, continued to fight until 1913.

AMERICAN COLONIAL PERIOD, 1898-1946

U.S. President William McKinley sent several commissions to the Philippines even as the U.S. Army fought the Filipinos. William Howard Taft, president of the Philippine Commission, began installing American control on September 1, 1900. A year later, he became the first governor-general of the Philippines. Between 1901 and 1913, American officials, controlling executive, legislative, and judicial offices, rebuilt the islands' government from the village to the national level. An elected lower house, the Philippine Assembly, soon participated in national affairs. Both the judicial system and the civil service, modeled after American counterparts, replaced the Spanish system.

Undoubtedly, the great American impact came in education, with primary schools set up in most communities and high schools in each province. Nationwide vocational schools and teacher colleges were established, as was the University of the Philippines in Manila, founded in 1908 as the capstone of the islands' education program. Religious freedom was guaranteed, and government support of the Catholic church as the state religion ended. Most of

the provincial colleges remained under Catholic control with a curriculum reflecting the church's traditional education. A major cause of Filipino unrest under Spanish imperialism was church-controlled Friar lands. To ease this crisis, the United States bought about 400,000 acres from the Catholic church. This land was then sold, mostly to former tenants at low prices and with easy payment terms.

While American administrators tended to be benevolent authorities, Filipinos still desired independence. From the outset of American rule, the leaders of the *Nacionalista* party called for immediate independence. From 1907 on, the *Nacionalistas* gained and held control of elective offices in villages, provinces, and the Philippine Assembly. A small number of wealthy party members, drawn from among large landowners, used *caciquism* to control the *Nacionalista* party. Early major political leaders were Sergio Osmena and Manuel Quezon. By 1917, these two men had concentrated national political power under their absolute control. Most immigrants to the United States and the Territory of Hawaii were *Nacionalistas*.

In 1916, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, committed to making the Philippines an independent nation, supported passage of the Jones Act, which promised that the Philippines would be free as soon as a stable government was established. The act provided that during a transitional period, executive power would remain with an American appointed governor-general while Filipinos elected members to the Assembly and to the newly established Senate. The Jones Act helped Osmena's and Quezon's political machine entrench itself. In 1921, with the election of a Republican administration in the United States, independence was no longer strongly advocated, as Republican governor-generals insisted that the islands were not ready to be set free.

During the late 1920s, concerns over the large influx of Filipinos into the West Coast of the United States and falling agricultural prices for certain American commodities led to agitation that called for change in the relationship between the islands and the United States. American farmers wanted an end to free trade of commodities from the islands while exclusionists wanted to stop Filipino immigration. These two political forces began calling for Philippine independence.

In December 1931, Congress passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill, which was intended to grant independence to the islands after a ten-year period. It then overrode President Herbert Hoover's veto, and the bill became law. The new law provided that American goods would be imported into the islands duty free, while Philippine goods exported to the

United States would be subject to increasing tariff rates during these ten years. During this period, Filipino immigration would be limited to an annual quota of 50, and general United States immigration laws would apply. The Philippine national legislature had to approve the act, but in October 1933, Quezon-led forces rejected the proposal, which had the backing of Osmena and Manuel Roxas adherents. Quezon then led a delegation to Washington to negotiate with the new American president, Franklin Roosevelt.

Quezon obtained only a slight modification of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act; key issues relating to the island economy and immigration to the United States remained unchanged. At the end of the ten-year transition period, the United States was to withdraw its forces from all military and naval bases, something that did not actually happen until the 1990s. The Tydings-McDuffie Act, signed into law on March 23, 1934, promised independence after ten years and created the Commonwealth of the Philippines. The Philippine legislature approved this act on May 1, 1934, and a year later the Filipino people approved a constitution.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1934-1946

At the first presidential election in September 1935, Filipinos elected Quezon as president and one of his major rivals, Osmena, as vice president. With their inauguration on November 15, 1935, the Commonwealth of the Philippines came into being, although many Filipinos were ambivalent about the prospect of complete independence. While independence appealed to their sense of nationalism, the hard economic fact was that the islands depended upon tariff-free American markets. Many felt that, in due course, imposition of a tariff upon Philippine products could be disastrous.

With the Tydings-McDuffie Act, independence was to come to the Philippines in 1944, but the Japanese conquest of the islands in 1942 brought a two-year hiatus to the commonwealth. The Quezon government fled, first to Australia with General Douglas MacArthur and then to the United States, where Quezon continued to serve as the commonwealth's president until his death in 1944.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

After U.S. President Harry Truman proclaimed the independence of the Philippines on July 4, 1946, Manuel Roxas was elected the first president of the Republic of the Philippines. However, the Philip-

Filipino immigrants came to the United States in the early 1900s looking for a better life.



pine Rehabilitation Act and the Philippine Trade Act, imposed upon the new republic by the United States, created a favorable environment for American corporations at the expense of the Philippine economy. With the growing threat of communism, the United States continued to maintain air and naval bases in the islands.

The new republic struggled to nationhood during the turmoil of the postwar years. Communist-dominated Huks soon confronted Roxas' government with armed resistance in an internal war that lasted until 1954. Huks is a shortened term for Huk-bon Magpapalaya ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon, or People's Anti-Japanese Liberation Army. Since independence in 1946, urban and rural violence have continued; election days in the Philippines are marked by many deaths. Under the leadership of Ramon Magsaysay, who succeeded Elpidio Quirino, the republic by 1955 came to be seen as a sturdy bastion of democracy in the Far East, one that the United States hoped would be a model for other Asian countries.

In 1965, Ferdinand Marcos was elected president. When several groups conducted terrorist tactics and the Moros continued to fight for their independence, Marcos, declaring martial law in September of 1972, seized dictatorial powers. This state of affairs lasted fourteen years. Early in 1973, Marcos proclaimed a new constitution, naming himself as president. In 1978, he gave his wife, Imelda, extensive powers to control national planning and development. In the face of growing political repression, many of Marcos's political opponents

found it expedient to leave the country as *croyism* was elevated to the national level. Marcos lifted the decree of martial law in 1981 and turned political power over to the national legislature. He was then elected to another six-year term as president.

Following the 1983 assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., a leading rival of Marcos, political unrest and violence became commonplace until 1986, when Marcos fled the country, and Corazon Aquino, Benigno Aquino's widow, was declared president. The end of the Marcos era did not bring political and economic calm to the nation, however; unsuccessful coups against the government have continued and the national economy has remained weak. Additionally, widespread poverty and communism have posed threats to the unstable central government.

Since the end of Mrs. Aquino's presidency in 1992, there have been two peaceful transitions of power through the process of elections. Under presidents Fidel Ramos and Joseph Estrada the communist rebellion and the Muslim rebellion have been severely weakened and the Philippines has made substantial economic strides.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Filipino arrivals in the Territory of Hawaii and the United States mainland came in three waves. The earliest, from 1903 to 1935, brought many young men to enroll in American universities and colleges and then return to the Philippines. Also during this time, plantation workers arrived to work in Hawaii

from 1906 to the 1930s, with a parallel movement occurring along the Pacific Coast during the 1920s—an immigration that lasted until enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934. A much smaller influx to American shores occurred following World War II. The third and largest immigration wave arrived after passage of the 1965 Immigration Act. Since 1970 the Philippines have been surpassed only by Mexico in the number of immigrants coming to the United States.

The first Filipino immigrants came to the United States seeking higher education. Governor-General Taft's administration prepared an educational plan, the *Pensionado* Act, to send promising young Filipinos to United States' institutions of higher learning. Beginning in 1903, a group of 100 students left for the United States, and by 1910 all had returned. Once home, these new college graduates were met with confusion and jealousy by fellow Filipinos and with hostility by American colonials. However, these men came to play key roles in agriculture, business, education, engineering, and government.

Other students followed; a later estimate indicated that between 1910 and 1938 almost 14,000 Filipinos had enrolled in educational institutions throughout the United States. Most of these came as independent students, apart from the *Pensionado* program. Many of these hopefuls became overwhelmed by the high cost of living, their inadequate academic preparation, insufficient language skills, and an inability to determine what level of American education best suited their state of educational preparation. These Filipinos soon found themselves trapped as unskilled laborers. Those who were successful in graduating from major universities returned to the Philippines to take their places with *Pensionados* as provincial and national leaders.

FILIPINO WORKERS IN HAWAII AND THE WEST COAST, 1906-1935

A chance encounter in 1901 between a trustee of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) and a band of Filipino musicians en route to the United States led the planter to speculate about Filipinos as potential plantation workers, for he felt that these musicians had a "healthy physique and robust appearance." Even before 1907, Hawaii had begun looking for other pools of unskilled labor on the island of Luzon. During 1907 some 150 workers were sent to Hawaii. Two years later, with Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans now banned from immigrating to the United States, the HSPA returned to the Philippines, looking for workers. The Bureau of

Census reported that there were 2,361 Filipinos in Hawaii in 1910. Recruiting efforts after 1909 centered on the Visayan Islands, Cebu in particular, and Luzon's Tagalogs.

In 1915 recruiters focused on Luzon's northwestern Ilocano provinces: Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and La Union. Immigrants from Pangasinan, Zambales, and Cagayan account for about 25 percent of those from Ilocano. The Ilocanos, suffering greatly from economic hardship and overpopulation, proved willing recruits. The HSPA awarded a three-year labor contract to Filipinos migrating to Hawaii; this paid their passage to Hawaii and guaranteed free subsistence and clothing. If they worked a total of 720 days, they received return passage money. A worker was not penalized for violating his contract, but if he did, he forfeited all guarantees, including his return passage. Plantation owners found the Ilocanos to be the "best workers," and poverty in their provinces provided a stimulant for out-migration. By 1935, young single Ilocano men were the largest Filipino ethnic group in Hawaii.

According to census figures, the Filipino population in Hawaii climbed from 21,031 in 1920 to 63,052 in 1930, but dropped to 52,659 by 1940. The decline in the number of Filipinos during the late 1930s is attributable to the return of many to the Philippines during the Depression years and to others seeking greener pastures on the West Coast. The high point of immigration to Hawaii occurred in 1925, when 11,621 Filipinos arrived in Honolulu. At that point, the HSPA closed active recruiting in the Philippines, relying upon self-motivation to maintain the influx of workers.

In 1910, only 406 Filipinos lived on the United States mainland. The largest group, of 109, lived in New Orleans, the remnants of a nineteenth-century settlement of Filipino sailors who came ashore at that port city, married local women, and found jobs. The state of Washington had 17 and California had only five. In 1920, 5,603 Filipinos lived along the West Coast or in Alaska. California then had 2,674 Filipinos while Washington had 958. The northeastern United States had the second-largest number: 1,844.

The 1920s saw dramatic changes as California's Filipino population, mostly single young men, increased by 91 percent; over 31,000 Filipinos disembarked at the ports of San Francisco and Los Angeles. In 1930, there were 108,260 Filipinos in the United States and the Territory of Hawaii. California had 30,470, and this number rose to 31,408 by 1940. Washington had 3,480 in 1930 and 2,222 in 1940. Apart from the West Coast and Hawaii, the next largest concentration was in New York, which in

1930 had 1,982 and 2,978 in 1940. Many of these Filipinos experienced significant racial discrimination.

POSTWAR IMMIGRATION

Emigrants in the second wave left the Philippines in increasing numbers during the late 1940s and 1950s. This group included war brides, the “1946 boys,” and military recruits. War brides were the spouses of American GIs who married Filipina women while being stationed in the Philippines. After the passage of the War Brides Act of 1946, it is estimated that 5,000 brides came to the United States. Contracted workers called the “1946 boys”, or Sakadas, numbered 7,000 were a major component of the second wave. They were the last large group of agricultural laborers brought to Hawaii by the sugar planters. Plantation owners brought them in an effort to break up the first interracial and territorial-wide strike organized by the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU). The Philippine workers supported the ILWU strike, which resulted in the first major victory for Hawaii agricultural workers. Filipinos who came to the United States through the U.S. military were another component of the second wave. A provision of the 1947 US-RP Military Bases Agreement allowed the Navy to recruit Filipino men for its mess halls. During the same year President Truman ended racial segregation in the military and the Filipino replaced African Americans in mess halls. By the 1970s, more than 20,000 Filipinos had entered the United States through the U.S. Navy.

Internal conditions in the new republic contributed to many moving from the islands to the United States. By 1960 Hawaii, which had become a state a year earlier, had 69,070 Filipinos, followed closely by California with 65,459. The two states together accounted for 76 percent of all Filipinos living in the United States. The Pacific Coast states had 146,340 (83 percent of the total), while the East and the South had slightly more than 10,000 each and the Great Lakes states had 8,600. Included in these census numbers were second-generation Filipino Americans.

Changes in American immigration law in 1965 significantly altered the type and number of immigrants coming to the United States. Unlike pre-war immigrants who largely worked as unskilled laborers in West Coast and Hawaiian agriculture and in Alaska’s salmon canneries, the third wave was composed of larger numbers of well-educated Filipinos between the ages of 20 and 40 who came looking for better career opportunities than they could find in the Philippines. This highly skilled third-wave pop-

ulation had a command of the English language, allowing them to enter a wide range of professions.

Unlike earlier arrivals, most of the Filipino immigrants after 1970 came to the United States without intending to return to the Philippines. In 1970, 343,060 Filipinos lived in the United States; in 1980, the number was 781,894, with 92 percent of these living in urban areas. By 1990, the number of Filipinos had reached 1,450,512. The West, as reported in the 1990 Census, had 991,572, or 68.4 percent of the Filipinos. The other three areas, Northeast, Midwest, and South, ranged from 8.8 to 12.5 percent. California in 1990 had the largest Filipino population, almost 50 percent of the total; Hawaii had fallen to second place. Every state in the union had a Filipino population. Florida, Illinois, New York, New Jersey, Texas, and Washington had Filipino populations in excess of 30,000.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

From the outset of their arrival in Hawaii and the Pacific Coast, Filipinos, as a color-visible minority, encountered prejudice and discrimination as they pursued their economic and educational goals. One major problem for Filipinos prior to 1946 was the issue of American citizenship.

From 1898 to 1946, Filipinos, classified as American nationals, could travel abroad with an American passport and could enter and leave the United States at will, until the Tydings-McDuffie Act limited the number entering as immigrants to 50 a year. The opportunity for most Filipinos to become American citizens before 1946 was closed to them by the United States Supreme Court in its 1925 decision, *Toyota v. United States*. This decision declared that only whites or persons of African descent were entitled to citizenship, thus closing the opportunity for Filipinos to become United States citizens. Those Filipinos, however, who had enlisted and served three years in the United States Navy, Marine Corps, or Naval Auxiliary Service during World War I and who had received an honorable discharge could apply for citizenship. In 1946, Congress passed a law that permitted Filipinos to qualify for American citizenship.

The inability to acquire citizenship, besides being a social stigma, presented serious economic and political implications. Since most states required citizenship to practice law, medicine, and other licensed professions and occupations, Filipinos were prohibited from these occupations. Filipinos had no recognized voice of protest to speak



Filipino Americans
pose in traditional
dress at the
Lotus Festival.

for them, unlike immigrants from other countries who had ambassadors and consuls to support them. The Philippines had a Resident Commissioner in Washington who could protest, but this commissioner generally proved ineffective in dealing with federal and state bureaucracies.

Throughout the Depression years of the 1930s, Filipinos found it difficult to qualify for federal relief. Although the Works Progress Administration in 1937 ruled that Filipinos were eligible for employment on WPA projects, they could not receive preference since they were not citizens. During the 1920s and 1930s, those Filipinos living on the Pacific Coast encountered prejudice and hostilities resulting in hateful discrimination and race riots. A sagging economy made assimilation difficult if not impossible.

At the height of discrimination in California, the California Department of Industrial Relations published in 1930 a biased study, *Facts about Filipino Immigration into California*, claiming that Filipinos posed economic and social threats. On the West Coast, Filipinos were frequently denied service in restaurants and barbershops and were barred from swimming pools, movies, and tennis courts. They found that their dark skin and imperfect English marked them, in the eyes of whites, as being different and therefore inferior. White Californians presented several contradictions that confused Filipinos. Farmers and certain urban enterprises welcomed them because they provided cheap labor. However, discriminatory attitudes relegated them to low-paying jobs and an inferior social existence.

Consequently, many other Californians criticized the Filipinos' substandard living conditions and attacked them for creating health problems and lowering the American standard of living. Faced with discrimination in real estate, Filipinos were forced into "Little Manilas" in California cities. Filipinos in cities such as Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C., also clustered together.

Discrimination against Filipinos has persisted into the late twentieth century, but civil rights legislation, affirmative action, and equal opportunity laws have improved the daily lives of most Filipinos who have arrived in recent decades. A perhaps unexpected form of discrimination for immigrants arriving after 1965 was the hostility that they met from second-generation Filipinos who saw the new arrivals as snobs and upstarts who were benefitting from advances made by the older group. At the same time, more recent Filipino immigrants have treated their older compatriots with disdain, considering them the equivalent of "hillbillies."

During the 1990 Census, Filipinos reported a median income of \$46,698, while the median income for the entire United States was \$35,225. This can be attributed to the ongoing stream of highly educated and highly skilled Filipinos from the Philippines and to second and third generation Filipino Americans finishing college.

ENTERTAINMENT

The Filipinos who came to Hawaii and the West Coast during the 1920s and 1930s sought a range

of leisure-time activities to relieve the monotony of unskilled labor. A result of the recruitment tactics of the agribusiness industry in Hawaii and the West Coast, the pre-World War II Filipino Community was made up mostly of single, uneducated men, with few or no relatives in the United States. These men attended and enjoyed spectator sports, bet on prize fights and wrestling matches, and gambled at poker, blackjack, and dice. During the 1930s they increased the profits of Stockton gambling operators and prostitutes by about \$2 million annually. Gambling, dance halls, and prostitution gave credence to white Americans' complaints that Filipinos were immoral and lawless. Many in California traveled to Reno, Nevada, looking for the proverbial "pot of gold." Pool halls in the "Little Manilas" provided both recreation and gambling. Cockfighting, a major source of entertainment and gambling, was imported from the Philippines. The fighting of cocks, although illegal, continues to attract Filipinos in Hawaii and on the mainland.

CUISINE

Filipino Americans, like other immigrants, brought with them cuisine from their native country. As with many Eastern Pacific Rim countries, rice is the basic staple. Three favorite foods are *lumpia*, *kare kare*, and chicken and pork *Adobo*. Lumpia is an egg roll—a lumpia wrapper filled with pork, shrimp, cabbage, beans, scallions, and bean sprouts and fried in peanut oil. Kare Kare is a peanut-oil-flavored, stewed mixture of oxtail and beef tripe mixed with onions and tomatoes. Chicken and Pork Adobo consists of these two meats boiled in vinegar and soy sauce and flavored with garlic and spices. This dish is then served over rice.

HEALTH ISSUES

Second-wave Filipinos incurred severe health problems as they aged. One illness that seemed almost endemic was gout arthritis, coupled with an excessive amount of uric acid in the blood. Doctors have speculated that a genetic characteristic makes these Filipinos unable to tolerate the American diet. Unmarried men also had a high rate of venereal disease. Complicating these health problems was the fact that these men did not or could not obtain regular health care when they had good health.

There is evidence, according to a study conducted in Hawaii, that Filipino women have a higher rate of heart disease and circulatory problems than does that state's general population. The same

study noted that Filipino men suffered more from lateral sclerosis than other men did. Other diseases of high incidence were liver cancer and diabetes. The more highly educated fourth-wave Filipinos know the value of good health care and have utilized the medical services available to them.

LANGUAGE

The official languages in the Philippines are Pilipino (a derivative of Tagalog) and English. Linguists have identified some 87 different dialects throughout the country. At the time of Philippine independence, about 25 percent of Filipinos spoke Tagalog, the language of central Luzon. About 44 percent spoke Visayan; Visayans in the United States generally spoke Cebuano. The language most commonly spoken by Filipinos in Hawaii and the United States mainland is Ilocano, although only 15 percent of those in the Philippines speak this language. The coming of the fourth wave of Filipinos brought more Tagalog speakers. However, the high number of university graduates in the fourth wave communicated easily in English. Others, however, did not know English or spoke it poorly. In Hawaii, social service centers taught English by showing Filipinos how to shop in supermarkets and how to order in restaurants.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The distinct migration patterns of the Filipinos have led to unique community dynamics. The vast majority of the second wave of Filipinos migrating to Hawaii and the West Coast, as noted, were single young men. Only a very few married and had families in the United States. The dream that most Filipinos never realized—of returning to the Philippines—led in time to disillusionment as these young men grew old, trapped as unskilled laborers. Many of these "birds of passage" sent money to the Philippines to help their families pay taxes, buy land, finance the education of relatives, or meet obligations owed by the Philippines' family alliance system.

Relatively few Filipinos of the second wave who returned to the Philippines came from the West Coast. Many more from Hawaii's plantations were able to do so. Those who did return were called *Hawayanos*. In comparison to those in their Philippine villages, they had a degree of affluence. Filipino American philanthropy aimed mostly to benefit relatives in the Philippines. Filipinos sent funds to their families in Philippine *barrios*. Several

mayors of villages in the Ilocos Norte reported that about \$35,000 a month was received through the pension checks of returned Ilocanos workers and from remittances sent by fourth-wave immigrants. During the Marcos regime the Philippine government offered inexpensive airfares and incentives to foster return visits by recent immigrants, who in turn furnished information about life in America and provided money, as had earlier immigrants, to pay taxes, buy land, and finance college education.

While some Americans believed that Filipinos of the second wave were headhunting savages, others feared that they were health hazards because of a meningitis outbreak in the early 1930s. However, the greatest concern came from the attention that these young men lavished on white women. Given that in 1930 the ratio of Filipino males to females was fourteen to one, it was only natural that the men would seek companionship with white women. Young men frequented taxi-dance halls (where white girls, hired to dance with male customers, were paid ten cents for a one minute dance) during the 1920s and 1930s, seeking female companionship. Many white citizens believed that meetings between the young Filipinos and white women, whose morals were assumed to be questionable, led to inappropriate behavior by these men. In addition to these urban dance halls, "floating" taxi-dancers followed the Filipino migrant workers from California's Imperial Valley to the central and coastal valleys. Coupled with white hatred of Filipino attention to white women was an economic motive—the fear of losing jobs to the migrant labor force.

Filipino Americans came from a society where families, composed of paternal and maternal relatives, were the center of their lives. The family provided sustenance, social alliances, and political affiliations. Its social structure extended to include neighbors, fellow workers, and ritual or honorary kinsmen, called *compadres*. All of these people were welded together by this *compadrazgo* system. Through this system, which stemmed from the Roman Catholic church's rituals of weddings and baptisms, parents of a newborn child selected godparents, and this in turn led to a lifelong interrelated association. This bound the community together while excluding outsiders. Given the tightly knit villages or *barrios*, the *compadrazgo* system created obligations that included sharing food, labor, and financial resources. This system assured the role of the individual and demanded loyalty to the group.

To offset the absence of kin in the Philippines or to compensate for the lack of Filipina immigrants, Filipino Americans sought out male relatives and *compadres* from their *barrios* to cook, eat,

and live together in bunk houses. Thus they formed a surrogate family, known as a *kumpang*, with the eldest man serving as leader of the "household." In addition, Filipino Americans compensated for the lack of traditional families by observing "life-cycle celebrations" such as baptismals, birthdays, weddings and funerals. These celebrations took on a greater importance than they would have in the Philippines, providing the single Filipino men without relatives in the United States the opportunity to become part of an extended family. Such new customs became an important part of the Filipino American strategy to adapt to the new world and culture in the United States.

A few Filipinos in California married Filipinas or Mexicans, while those living in Hawaii married Filipinas, Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, or Portuguese. These women who married Filipinos in mixed marriages came from cultures whose value systems were similar to those of the men. However, large weddings, common in the *barrios*, did not occur because of the lack of family members. The birth of a child saw the duplication of the *compadrazgo* system. The rite of baptism gave an opportunity for those of the same *barrio* to come together for a time of socializing. As many as 200 sponsors might appear to become godparents, but there was not the same sense of obligation as there was in the Philippines. Marriages and funerals were also occasions that brought Filipino Americans together to renew their common ties.

Recent immigrants, unlike the agricultural workers of the 1920s and 1930s, have moved to major metropolitan areas of the United States, finding that urban areas provided better employment opportunities. They came with their families or sent for them after becoming established in the United States. These recent arrivals also brought with them the *barrio* familial and *compadrazgo* structures. Having complete families, they found it much easier to maintain traditional relationships. Those in the greater New York area settled in Queens and Westchester County in New York and in Jersey City, Riverdale, and Bergen County in New Jersey. A part of New York City's Ninth Avenue became a Filipino center, with restaurants and small shops catering to Filipinos' needs. Unlike the West Coast, however, there was no identifiable ethnic enclave. Outsiders saw these East Coast Filipinos merely as part of the larger Asian American group. They were largely professionals: bankers, doctors, insurance salesmen, lawyers, nurses, secretaries, and travel agents.

Filipinos have organized community groups representing a wide range of concerns, but the tendency to fragment has made it difficult to present

a common front on issues of mutual concern. Organizations may be based upon professions or politics, but most have evolved from a common religion, city or *barrio*, language, school, or church in the Philippines. In 1980 California had more than 400 cultural and social organizations representing Filipinos.

Second-wave Filipinos in California, finding white society closed to them, organized three major fraternal organizations: *Caballeros de Dimas-Alang*, *Legionarios del Trabajo*, and *Gran Oriente Filipino* (Great Filipino Lodge). The first, organized in 1921, honored Jose Rizal, the Philippine national hero (his pen name while writing revolutionary tracts was Dimas-Alang). This fraternal lodge at one time during the 1930s had 100 chapters throughout the United States and was one of many that commemorated Rizal's execution on Jose Rizal Day, December 30. *Legionarios del Trabajo*, organized in San Francisco in 1920, originated in the Philippines. Centered in the Bay City, it had about 700 members, some of whom were women. Filipinos established *Gran Oriente Filipino* in San Francisco in 1924. At one time it had 3,000 members in 46 states and in the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii. All lodges sponsored beauty pageant contests and dances in their various communities. Such pageants continue, and now often include a Mrs. Philippines pageant.

Besides these formal organizations, Filipinos gather with others from their province for ritualistic and religious ceremonies and festivals. Most Filipinos, from the first wave of immigrants, were either nominal or practicing Roman Catholics, and in the United States, they participated in church celebrations. Some Filipinos have, however, become members of evangelical churches.

As second-wave Filipinos grew old and remained in California, various organizations started looking after their welfare. *Caballeros de Dimas-Alang*, using federal and city agencies, built the Dimas-Alang House in San Francisco to care for elderly and low-income Filipinos. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee established the Paulo Agbayani Retirement Village near Delano for older Filipino field workers. As younger Filipinos worried about the fate of these aging agricultural workers, the organization Pilipino Bayanihan built in 1972 the largest federally funded community located in Stockton; subsequently, branches were built in Tulare County, Cochella, Brawley, and Ventura. Pilipino Bayanihan hoped to fulfill the needs of the unemployed, underemployed, and senior citizens.

RELIGION

The vast majority of Filipino Americans are Roman Catholic, although about five percent are Muslim. Both Roman Catholicism and Islam, however, are heavily influenced by a belief in the intervention of spirits, reminiscent of religious beliefs that existed in the Philippines prior to European and Asian settlement. Because the majority of early Filipino immigrants to the United States were single males, few Catholics attended church with any regularity. Once families began settling in the United States, however, religion became a central component of family and community life.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Second-wave Filipinos came primarily "to get rich quick"—by Philippine standards—and return to their home provinces to live in affluence. Thus their goal was not to adjust to life in the United States but to find high-paying jobs. They faced severe handicaps because of limited education and job skills, inadequate English, and racial prejudice.

Some found ready but low-paying employment as Pacific Coast migratory field hands and cannery workers. Others were employed in the merchant marine, the United States Navy, and Alaska's salmon canneries. Compared to Philippine wages, agricultural workers' pay seemed high. The workers, however, became ensnared in these jobs due to the higher cost of living in the United States. Consequently, many of the young Filipinos grew old in California, unable to fulfill their dream of returning to their homeland.

California agriculture, with its specialty crops, relied on migratory field workers. From the Imperial Valley to the Sacramento Valley, farmers sought cheap field labor to harvest their crops. Filipino and Mexican workers dominated in harvesting asparagus, cantaloupes, citrus fruits, cotton, lettuce, potatoes, strawberries, sugar beets, and tomatoes. Filipinos returned annually to work as members of an organized work gang headed by a *padrone* who negotiated contracts with growers. The *padrone* supervised the gang's work and provided housing and meals, charging a fee against wages. These gangs followed the harvest season north from California into Oregon's Hood River Valley and Washington's Wenatchee Valley. As late as the 1950s, Filipinos provided the largest number of migrant workers for western agriculture.

Migrant jobs ended after the harvest season. Filipinos then moved to cities in the late fall and win-

ter in search of employment. But most usually had to return to the fields in the spring. By 1930, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Stockton, and Seattle each had “Little Manilas,” as discriminatory real estate covenants restricted Filipinos to congested ghettos. The number living in these racial enclaves varied depending on the time of year, with the population highest in the winter months. A few Filipinos catered to their countrymen’s needs—barbershops, grocery stores, pool rooms, dance halls, restaurants, and auto-repair garages. Others found employment in hotel service jobs, working as dishwashers, bellhops, and elevator operators. Some worked in various unskilled restaurant jobs or as houseboys.

Second-generation Filipino Americans, descendants of immigrants of the 1920s and 1930s, worked in unskilled and skilled jobs. California trade unions remained closed to them, keeping them out of many industrial jobs. Second-generation Filipinos in Hawaii found employment on plantations and in the islands’ urban centers. Unions there became open to all Asians during the New Deal years. Many who immigrated to the United States after 1970 with limited education entered the unskilled labor market and soon found themselves joining second-generation Filipinos on welfare.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Declining market prices for agricultural produce in the late 1920s and during the Great Depression of the 1930s seriously affected the Filipinos. As migrant workers saw their wages fall lower and lower, they threatened strikes and boycotts. Given the American Federation of Labor’s antipathy to non-white workers, minority workers, such as Filipinos, sought to organize ethnic unions. In 1930, an Agricultural Workers Industrial League tried without success to organize all field workers into a single union. California’s Monterey County saw two short-lived unions emerge in 1933—the Filipino Labor Supply Association and the Filipino Labor Union.

The Filipino Labor Union, utilizing the National Industry Recovery Act’s collective bargaining clause, called on the Salinas Valley lettuce growers to recognize the union. The lettuce workers struck, leading to violence, white vigilante action, and defeat for the workers time and time again. The Filipino labor movement generally failed during the Depression years and well into the 1950s as growers used strikebreakers and court injunctions to quash union activities.

During the 1920s many Filipinos spent summer seasons in salmon canneries in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. Again, Filipinos worked in labor

gangs under a contractor for seasonal work lasting three or four months. In 1928 there were about 4,000 Filipinos employed in Alaskan canneries but at low wages. Wages remained in dispute each season. This conflict continued until 1957 when Seattle’s Local 37 of the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU) became the sole bargaining voice for cannery workers in California, Oregon, and Washington.

In 1959, the AFL-CIO formed the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) to organize grape pickers in California’s lower San Joaquin Valley. About the same time, Cesar Chavez founded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). Both unions were ethnically integrated, but Larry Itliong led the largely Filipino AWOC union. Itliong, born in the Philippines in 1914, campaigned during the 1960s to improve the lot of Filipinos and other minorities. Other Filipino union leaders were Philip Vera Cruz, Pete Velasco, and Andrew Imutan.

Both AWOC and NFWA spent their initial energy recruiting members. In 1965, the unions protested the low wages being paid to grape pickers. On September 8, at the height of the picking season, AWOC struck against 35 grape growers in the Delano, Kern County, area. Domestic pickers, including Filipinos and Mexicans, demanded \$1.40 an hour plus 20 cents a box. They argued that domestic pickers were receiving \$1.20 an hour while Braceros, under a United States Department of Labor order, received \$1.40. Chavez’s NFWA joined the strike, which lasted for seven months.

In August of 1966 AWOC and NFWA joined forces to end any unnecessary conflict between themselves. The merger resulted in the formation of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). Some major grape growers recognized this union as the bargaining agent for workers in the vineyards. Itliong was instrumental in securing three contracts with a \$2.00 minimum wage for field workers. The battle between the growers and their workers continued as the UFWOC challenged California’s agriculture strongholds.

Filipinos were also instrumental in Hawaii’s labor union movement. The key figure during the 1920s was Pablo Manlapit (1892-1969), who organized the Filipino Federation of Labor and the Filipino Higher Wage Movement. His organizations ran head long into the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA), which refused to meet the Filipinos’ demands. This led to a 1920 sugar strike that lasted about six months. To rebuild his union, Manlapit continued to organize Filipinos as they arrived from the Philippines. A second confrontation between Manlapit’s followers and plantation owners caused a

strike in 1924 which resulted in a bloodbath in Hanapepe, Kauai, where sixteen workers and four policemen were killed. During the 1930s, the Filipinos' ethnic union, *Vibora Luviminda*, failed to make headway against the powerful HSPA. The ILWU started organizing dock and plantation workers in the 1930s and gained economic and political power after World War II. An important ILWU president was Filipino Carl Damasco. Another key labor leader was Pedro dela Cruz, born in Mindanao. He was a leading spokesman for the workers on the island of Lanai who worked in Dole's pineapple fields.

By 1980, Filipinos constituted 50 percent of the Hawaii branch of the ILWU. Agricultural workers were not the only union members; Filipinos also formed 40 percent of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union.

Many of those Filipinos arriving during the 1970s and after created a "brain drain" for the Philippines. By 1980, the Philippines had replaced all European countries as the leading foreign provider of accountants, engineers, nurses, physicians, teachers, and technical workers. It is noteworthy that the Philippines have had a higher number of college and university graduates per capita than any other country. In the early 1970s, one-third of all immigrants seeking licensure in the United States were Filipino, and many found employment easy to obtain. Such was often not the case for physicians, pharmacists, dentists, lawyers, and teachers. These professionals ran into the highly protective bureaucratic screens that had been enacted by western state legislatures in earlier years. A Filipino dentist, who had served in the United States Navy for eight years, found it took him three years to gain a California license. A physician, licensed in the Philippines in 1954, had been in practice for 16 years before moving to Hawaii, where he was denied a license and forced to take a job as a janitor in a drive-in restaurant. He eventually found employment as a meat cutter. His employer thought he "was very good at separating the meat from the bone." Those professionals who settled in eastern and middle states found it easier to start careers because these states had less stringent laws or had reciprocity agreements.

By the 1990s, with affirmative action and equal opportunity programs, the lot of Filipino American professionals improved greatly, and they were able to employ their talents in the skills for which they were trained. Doctors and nurses found ready employment once they gained certification. In most urban areas with a high concentration of Filipino businessmen, Filipino chambers of commerce were organized. The purpose of such organizations was to

stimulate business, but these chambers also provided support groups for small businessmen.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

During the Depression years, discrimination against Filipinos led to efforts by exclusionists to bar further emigration from the Philippines. Some Filipino organizations, concerned about the economic hardships confronting their fellow countrymen, suggested a program of repatriation to the Philippines. Several members of Congress tried to enact a repatriation measure, but did not gain much support until Representative Richard Welch of San Francisco introduced his repatriation bill. This bill provided that the federal government would pay repatriation expenses of those wishing to return to the Philippines. These repatriates could only return to the United States as one of the annual quota of 50 immigrants. When this program ended in 1940, 2,190 of the 45,000 Filipinos living in the United States had elected to be repatriated. Many who took this opportunity for free transportation across the Pacific were university graduates who had already planned to return to assume leadership roles in the Philippines.

Repatriation did not satisfy California's exclusionists, who attempted to demonstrate that Filipinos were taking scarce jobs. However, Los Angeles County reported that of the 12,000 Filipinos who lived in the county in 1933, 75 percent could not find work. At the time, they were not eligible for federal relief programs. During the Depression, not only did Filipinos face legal discrimination in obtaining licenses to practice their professions, but they found that restrictive housing covenants prohibited them from living where they wished. During the New Deal era, Filipinos registered for relief projects only to be denied positions by the Civil Works Administration. In 1937, the United States Attorney General restated that Filipinos were American nationals and thus eligible for employment on Works Progress Administration projects. However, they could not receive preference because they were not citizens.

MISCEGENATION LAWS AIMED AT FILIPINOS

Filipinos found that miscegenation laws denied them the right to marry white women. In 1901, the California legislature had enacted a law forbidding whites to marry blacks, Mongolians, or mulattos. In the early 1930s, California Attorney General U. S. Webb ruled that Filipinos were Mongolians, but since his opinion did not have the force of law, it was up to each of the 58 county clerks to make his/her interpretation as to the racial origin of Fil-

ipinos. By 1936, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington had enacted laws prohibiting marriages between Filipinos and whites. Consequently, white women became common-law wives. In 1948, the California Supreme Court ruled in *Perez v. Sharp* that the miscegenation law violated individual civil rights, thus freeing Filipinos to marry whomever they pleased.

MILITARY SERVICE

During World War I, some Filipinos enlisted in the United States Navy and the Marine Corps. Men who had served three years and had received an honorable discharge could apply for American citizenship, and several did so. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the Philippines in 1941, which triggered America's involvement in World War II, Filipinos tried to volunteer for military service and/or work in defense factories. Existing law had no provisions to enlist nationals, thus denying Filipinos employment in war industries. However, given the need for Army personnel, Secretary of War Henry Stimson on February 19, 1942, announced the formation of the First Filipino Infantry Battalion, which began training at Camp San Luis Obispo in California. It was activated on April 1, 1942, but in July the Army reformed the unit as the First Filipino Regiment. A few weeks later, President Franklin Roosevelt issued an executive order that opened the way for Filipinos to work in government and in war industries. He also ordered a change in the draft law, reclassifying Filipinos from 4-C to 1-A, making them eligible for Army service.

The First Filipino Regiment, after training in several California Army posts, transferred to Camp Beale near Marysville, California. The citizenship of the troops remained a major issue. On February 20, 1943, Army officers on Camp Beale's parade grounds administered the oath of allegiance, granting citizenship to 1,000 Filipinos. Many in the First Regiment believed that citizenship gave them the right to marry their common-law wives, thus providing family allowances and making these women their federal insurance beneficiaries. An appeal of the miscegenation law fell upon deaf ears, leading the regimental chaplain and the Red Cross to obtain emergency leaves so that couples could travel to New Mexico to become legally married before the regiment went overseas.

A second Army unit, the Second Filipino Infantry Battalion, was formed in October 1942 and reorganized in March 1944, training at Camp Cooke, California. This battalion and the First Infantry were sent to Australia and fought in New Guinea before landing in the southern Philippines. The First

Infantry Regiment also went to Australia and then to New Guinea. They fought in Mindanao, the Visayan Islands, and northern Luzon. From the First Infantry Regiment came the First Reconnaissance Battalion, organized in 1944, to undertake pre-invasion intelligence in Luzon. Some 1,000 went ashore from submarines to work undercover as civilians.

The First Filipino Infantry Regiment earned the prestige of fighting bravely and with honor, closely paralleling the record of the more widely known Japanese American 442 Regimental Combat Team. At the war's end, 555 soldiers returned to the United States, 500 of whom reenlisted; 800 of the regiment remained in the Philippines. Altogether, more than 7,000 Filipinos served in the United States Army.

The United States Navy began early to recruit Filipinos in the Philippines, Hawaii, and the mainland. By the end of World War I, about 6,000 Filipinos had served in the Navy or the Marine Corps. During the 1920s and 1930s, enlistments totaled about 4,000. However, the only billet open to these men was mess steward, for the Navy had determined during World War I that this was the best assignment for Filipinos. During World War II, the Navy continued its mess-boy policy and denied these men the opportunity to secure other ratings and privileges.

In 1970, over 14,000 Filipinos served in the Navy. Most had sea duty as personal valets, cabin boys, and dishwashers. Captains and admirals had Filipino stewards assigned directly to them. Others worked at the White House, the Pentagon, the United States Naval Academy, and at naval bases. At the same, the Navy discovered that its ships' galleys had become "Filipino ghettos." The Navy then provided opportunities for a few to train for other ratings. Some 1,600 Filipinos gained new assignments. The Navy continued to recruit mess stewards in the Philippines. Of the some 17,000 Filipinos in the Navy in 1970, 13,600 were stewards. Those in the Navy did not complain quite as much as did outsiders. The steward's entry-level pay of \$1,500 equalled the salary of a lieutenant colonel in the Philippine Army. Naval service was an important way for Philippine nationals to gain American citizenship.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

EDUCATION

James Misahon was a prominent administrator at the University of Hawaii and served as the chairperson of the 1969 Governor's Statewide Conference on Immigration in Hawaii. Many other Filipinos are active in public and higher education.

LITERATURE

Two prominent authors of earlier years were Manuel Buaken, who wrote *I Have Lived with the American People* and Carlos Bulosan, author of *America Is in the Heart*.

POLITICS AND LAW

Several Filipinos have entered politics and won election to office. Those in Hawaii have had the most success, in part because of large Filipino enclaves and because of their strength in the ILWU, a strong arm of the Democratic Party in Hawaii. In 1954, the Democratic Party gained control of the legislature and won the governorship in 1962; Democrats have controlled Hawaii's politics ever since. Between 1954 and the winning of statehood in 1959, three Filipinos were elected to the House of Representatives. Peter Aduja, born in Ilocos Sur, received his education in Hilo, Hawaii, and graduated from the University of Hawaii before completing his law degree at Boston University. He was elected to one term in 1955 but was defeated in his bid for a second term. After statehood, Aduja was elected to three terms, starting in 1966. Bernaldo D. Bicoy, another of the five Filipino lawyers in the Territory of Hawaii, was elected in 1958. He was defeated in 1959 for a seat in the new state senate, but he won election for one term to the House in 1968. The third pioneer Filipino legislator was Pedro dela Cruz of Lanai, a longtime ILWU labor leader who was first elected to the House in 1958 and served 16 years until his defeat in 1974. In his later years in the House, he served as vice speaker. During the 1970s Emilio Alcon and Oliver Lunasco served as representatives from the island of Oahu.

Alfred Laureta became Hawaii's first Filipino director of the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations. Born in Hawaii on May 21, 1924, he graduated from the University of Hawaii in 1947 and then received his law degree from Fordham University. Governor John Burns appointed him to the directorship in 1963 and then in 1969 appointed him judge of Hawaii's Circuit Court One. He then became the first federal judge of Filipino ancestry. Since then Benjamin Menor and Mario Ramil were appointed to the Hawaii Supreme Court. In 1999, there were five judges in Hawaii and two in California.

In 1974 Benjamin Menor, born in the Philippines on September 27, 1922, became the first Filipino appointed to the Hawaii State Supreme Court. He migrated to Hawaii in 1930 and graduated from the University of Hawaii in 1950, later earning his law degree from Boston University. After practicing law in Hilo, he served for a time as

Hawaii county attorney. In 1962 he was elected to the Hawaii State Senate, becoming the first Filipino in the United States to be elected as a state senator.

Two other Filipino firsts also occurred in Hawaii. In 1975, Eduardo E. Malapit, who had served several terms on the Kauai County Council, was elected mayor of Kauai. In 1990, Benjamin Cayetano, a member of the Hawaii legislature, was elected lieutenant governor of Hawaii.

Only a few Filipinos have achieved political success outside of Hawaii. In California, Maria L. Obrea has served as Los Angeles municipal judge; G. Monty Manibog served as mayor of Monterey Park; Leonard Velasco held the same office in Delano. Glenn Olea was a councilman in the Monterey Bay community of Seaside.

SPORTS

Most American sports enthusiasts remember Roman Gabriel, who gained national recognition as quarterback for the Los Angeles Rams football team.

MEDIA

For a good list of Filipino media, try the Kang & Lee list at <http://www.asian.mediaguide.com/filipino/fm.html>.

PRINT

From the early 1920s to the late 1980s, several Filipino newspapers were published, although their existence was generally short-lived. In Hawaii, the *Kauai Filipino News* became the *Filipino News* in 1931. In California, early papers were the *Philippine Herald* of 1920, the *Commonwealth Courier* of 1930, and the *Philippine Advocate* of 1934. In 1930, the *Philippine Mail* began publishing in Salinas, California. It succeeded the *Philippine Independent News*, started in Salinas in 1921. The *Philippine Mail* is still published in Salinas, making it the oldest Filipino newspaper in the United States. Over the years, it has reported news from the Philippines as well as news stories about Filipinos in the United States. In the 1990s, Filipino publications included the *Philippine News*, printed in South San Francisco, the *Filipinas Magazine* of San Francisco, and *The Philippine Review* of Sacramento and Stockton, California.

California Examiner.

Bi-weekly newspaper for Filipino communities. Most widely-read periodical for Filipinos in the United States.

Address: Tri-Media Center Building,
4515 Eagle Rock Boulevard, Los Angeles,
California 90041.

Telephone: (323) 344-3500.

Fax: (323) 344-3501.

Filipinas.

Contact: Rene Ciria-Cruz, Editor.

Address: Filipinas Publishing, Inc., 655 Sutter
Street, Suite 333, San Francisco,
California 94102.

Telephone: (415) 563-5878; or (800) 654-7777.

Fax: (415) 292-5993.

E-mail: filmagazin@aol.com.

Online: <http://www.filipinasmag.com>.

Magazine founded in 1992. Covers Filipino
American interests and affairs.

Philippine News.

Weekly newspaper for the Filipino community with
six U.S. editions.

Contact: Alex A. Esclamado, Publisher.

Address: 371 Allerton Avenue, San Francisco,
California 94080.

Telephone: (415) 872-3000; or (800) 432-5877.

Fax: (415) 872-0217.

E-mail: pnnewshq@aol.com.

Online: <http://www.philippinenews.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Filipino American National Historical Society.

Gathers, maintains, and disseminates Filipino
American history.

Contact: Dorothy Cordova, Director.

Address: 810 18th Avenue, Room 100, Seattle,
Washington 98122.

Telephone: (206) 322-0203.

Fax: (206) 461-4879.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Asian American Studies Center at the University
of California, Los Angeles; Asian American Studies
Department at the University of California, Davis;
the Oakland Museum History Department in Oak-
land, California; and the Social Science Research
Institute of Hawaii at the University of Hawaii in
Honolulu.

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Once in the United
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benefit societies,
and cooperatives.

FINNISH AMERICANS

by
Marianne Wargelin

OVERVIEW

Finland, a nation-state created in the closing days of World War I, is located in the far northern reaches of Europe. It is bounded by Sweden to the west, Russia to the east, Norway to the north, and the Gulf of Finland to the south. About 90 percent of Finns are Lutheran; the Russian Orthodox church (two percent) is the second largest in the nation. Finnish people continue to maintain a unique language spoken today by only about 23 million people worldwide.

The nearly five million people of contemporary Finland reflect the traditional groups who settled in the nation centuries ago. The largest group consists of Finns who speak Finnish; the second largest group, some six percent, are Finland-Swedes (also known as Swede Finns) who speak Swedish; the most visible minority groups are the Sami (about 4,400), who speak Sami (or Lappish) and live in the North, and the Gypsies (about 5,500), who live in the South.

HISTORY

The ancestors of these peoples came under the domination of the Swedes in the twelfth century, when Finland became a province of Sweden. While the Swedish provinces operated quite independently for a time, efforts to centralize power in the kingdom in the sixteenth century made Finns citizens

of Sweden. Sweden was the primary power in the Baltic region for more than a hundred years, until challenged by Russia in the eighteenth century. By 1809 Sweden was so weakened that she was forced to cede her entire Baltic holdings, including Finland, to Russia.

Russia gave Finland a special status as a “Grand Duchy,” with the right to maintain the Lutheran religion, the Finnish language, and Finnish constitutional laws. This new status encouraged its leaders to promote a sense of Finnish spirit. Historically a farming nation, Finland did not begin to industrialize until the 1860s, later than their Nordic neighbors; textile mills, forestry, and metal work became the mainstays of the economy. Then, in the final days of the nineteenth century, Russia started a policy of “Russification” in the region, and a period of oppression began.

Political unrest dominated the opening years of the twentieth century. Finland conducted a General Strike in 1906, and the Russian czar was forced to make various concessions, including universal suffrage—making Finland the first European nation to grant women the right to vote—and the right to maintain Finland’s own parliament. The oppressive conditions returned two years later, but Finland remained a part of Russia until declaring its own independence in the midst of the Russian Revolution of 1917. A bitter civil war broke out in Finland as the newly independent nation struggled between the philosophies of the bourgeois conservatives and the working class Social Democrats. In 1919 the nation began to govern itself under its own constitution and bill of rights.

MODERN ERA

With basic democratic rights and privileges established, the 1920s and 1930s emerged as a period of political conservatism and right wing nationalism. Then, in 1939, the Soviet Union invaded Finland. War between the two nations ensued—first in a war known as the Winter War, then in the so-called Continuation War. When it ended, Finland made major concessions to the Soviets, including the loss of a considerable portion of its eastern territory.

In the 1950s Finland continued its transformation from a predominantly agricultural economy into a modern industrial economy. By the 1960s it had established itself as a major design center in Europe, and by the end of the 1970s it maintained a post-industrial age culture with a stable economy that continued to produce premier quality work in the arts. Throughout the rest of the twentieth century, Finland maintained a strict policy of neutrality towards its neighbors to the east and west.

THE FIRST FINNS IN AMERICA

The first Finns in North America came as colonists to New Sweden, a colony founded along the Delaware River in 1638. The colony was abandoned to the Dutch in 1664, but the Finns remained, working the forest in a slash-and-burn-style settlement pattern. By the end of the eighteenth century, their descendants had disappeared into a blur amidst the dominant English and Dutch colonist groups. However, many Finnish Americans believe that a descendant of those Finnish pioneers, John Morton, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Few material signs—other than their distinctive log cabin design and place names—remain to mark their early presence.

A second colonial effort involved Finns in the Russian fur trading industry. In Sitka, Alaska, Finns mixed with Russian settlers in the 1840s and 1850s, working primarily as carpenters and other skilled craftsmen. Two of Alaska’s governors were Finnish: Arvid Adolph Etholen (1799-1876) served from 1840 to 1845, and Johan H. Furuholm (1821-1909) served from 1859 to 1864. A Finnish pastor, Uno Cygnaeus (1810-1888), who later returned to Finland to establish the Finnish public school system, also served the Finnish American community. Today, this Finnish presence is represented in the Sitka Lutheran church, which dates from that period. After 1867, when Alaska was transferred to the United States, some of the Sitka Finns moved down to communities developing along the northwest coastline—places like Seattle and San Francisco.

Colonial settlers were small in number. Similarly, according to Reino Kero in *Migration from Finland to North America in the Years Between the United States Civil War and the First World War*, the Finnish sailors and sea captains who left their ships to enter the California Gold Rush or to establish new lives in American harbor cities like Baltimore, Galveston, San Francisco, and New York, numbered only several hundred. One sailor, Charles Linn (Carl Sjudahl; 1814-1883), became a wealthy southern merchant who ran a large wholesale business in New Orleans and later established Alabama’s National Bank of Birmingham and the Linn Iron Works. He is credited with opening the immigration from southern Finland to the United States when, in 1869, he brought 53 immigrants from Helsinki and Uusimaa to work for his company.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Finnish immigration is considered to have occurred primarily between 1864 and 1924. Early Finnish immigrants to the United States were familiar with

agricultural work and unskilled labor and were therefore new to industrial work and urban life. Later, skilled workers like carpenters, painters, tailors, and jewelers journeyed to the States, but the number of professionals who immigrated remained small until after 1965. Most scholars have estimated that, at the most, some 300,000 Finnish immigrants remained to become permanent residents and citizens of the United States of America. Of these, about 35,000 were Finland Swedes and about 15,000 Sami.

The first immigrants arrived in 1864, when Finns from northern Finland and Norway settled on homestead prairie lands in south central Minnesota. The next year 30 Finnish miners living in Norway went to work in the copper mines in Hancock, Michigan. These Finns, originally from northern Finland, developed the first permanent Finnish American communities in the American Midwest. Continued economic depression in Finland encouraged others to leave their homeland; the number of immigrants grew to 21,000 before 1887.

Those from northern Norway and Finland who traveled as family groups were part of the Great Laestadian Migration of 1864-1895, a migration that began shortly after the death of founder Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861). Looking for ways to maintain a separatist lifestyle as well as to improve their economic standing, Laestadian families began a migration that has continued in some form to the present day. Finnish American Laestadian communities formed in the mining region of Michigan and in the homestead lands of western Minnesota, South Dakota, Oregon, and Washington. These Laestadians provided a sense of community stability to the additional immigrants, single men who had left their families in Finland and who migrated from job to job in America. Some of these men returned to Finland; others eventually sent for their families.

After 1892 migration shifted from northern to southern Finland. Most emigrants from this phase were single and under the age of 30; women made up as much as 41.5 percent of the total. A very large increase in the birthrate after 1875 added to the pool of laborers who left home to work in Finland's growing industrial communities. This wave of internal migration to the city foreshadowed an exodus from Finland. "Russification" and a conscription for the draft added even further to the numbers after 1898.

Twentieth-century emigration from Finland is divided into three periods: before the General Strike; after the General Strike and before World War I; and between World War I and the passage of the Immigration Restriction Act. Before the General Strike, the immigrants who settled in the States

were more likely to be influenced by the concepts of Social Democracy. After the General Strike, the immigrants were largely influenced by the use of direct force rather than political action to resolve social problems. Immigrants after World War I—now radicalized and disenchanted from the experience of the bloody civil war—brought a new sense of urgency about the progress of socialism.

Two immigration periods have occurred since the 1940s. After World War II, a new wave of immigration, smaller but more intense, revitalized many Finnish American communities. These Finns were far more nationalistic and politically conservative than earlier immigrants. A more recent wave of immigration occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, as young English-speaking professionals came from Finland to work in high-tech American corporations.

SETTLEMENT

Finnish American communities cluster in three regions across the northern tier of the United States: the East, Midwest, and West. Within these regions, Finland Swedes settled in concentrations in Massachusetts, New York City, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, and California. Sami peoples settled predominantly in Michigan, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Oregon, and Washington.

The 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report confirms that these regions still exist for the 658,870 Americans who claim Finnish ancestry. The five states with the largest populations are Michigan, with 109,357 (1.2 percent of the total state population); Minnesota, with 103,602 (2.4 percent); California, with 64,302 (.02 percent); Washington, with 44,110 (0.9 percent); and Massachusetts (0.5 percent). Half of all Finnish Americans—310,855—live in the Midwest, while 178,846 live in the West. Three further regions—the southeastern United States (Florida and Georgia), Texas, and the Southwest (New Mexico and Arizona)—have developed as retirement communities and as bases for Finnish businesses selling their products to an American market.

Reverse immigration occurred both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century, many men came without families and worked for a while in mining (especially copper and iron ore mining) and lumber, in fishing and canning, in stone quarries and textile mills, and on railroads and docks; they then returned to the homeland. Others came and worked as domestics, returning to Finland to retire. The most significant reverse immigration occurred in the late 1920s and early 1930s,

when 10,000 Finnish American immigrant radicals and their families sold all their belongings and left to settle in the Finnish areas of the Soviet Union. They took their dreams of creating a workers' paradise with them, as well as solid American currency, American tools, and technical skills. Today, reverse migration occurs primarily among the Laestadians who may marry and move to Finland.

Like the Swedes and Norwegians, Finns in America were tolerated and accepted into the communities of "established" Americans during the first wave of mass immigration. Their early competitors for work in the mines were the Irish and the Cornish, two groups with whom they had ongoing strained relations.

Finnish Americans soon developed a reputation for clannishness and hard work. Work crews of strictly Finnish laborers were formed. As documented in *Women Who Dared*, Finnish domestics were always sought after because they worked so hard and excelled at cooking and homemaking. Reputations for good and hard work were tarnished, however, when the second wave of immigrants began to organize themselves and others to fight poor wages and working conditions. Finns became known as troublemakers for organizing strikes and leading protests. They were blacklisted and efforts were made to deport them. Racist slurs—epithets like "Finn-LAND-er" and "dumb Finn"—developed, and some Finns became victims of violent vigilantism. Specific efforts to single them out from other working-class immigrants as anti-American put them on the front pages of local, regional, and national newspapers.

By the end of the twentieth century, Finnish Americans had essentially become invisible. They worked hard to be indistinguishable from other Euroamericans and, as descendants of white Europeans, fit easily into the mass culture. Many do not visibly identify with any part of their heritage.

Key issues facing Finnish Americans in the future relate to their position as a culture on the margin. Recent generations seem to be drawn more strongly to America's hegemonic culture and therefore continue to move away from their unique heritage.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Finnish Americans themselves are a multicultural society. Being a part of the Laestadian, Finland-Swede, or Sami minorities is different than being part of the Finnish American hegemony. Early

Finnish Americans had a reputation for being clannish. Reported by sociologists studying Finns in the 1920s and 1930s, this impression was echoed by citizens who lived beside them. Reenforcing this belief was their unusual language, spoken by few others anywhere. Finnish immigrant children, who spoke their native language in the grade schools of America, were marked as different; Finnish was difficult for English speakers to learn to use, a fact that encouraged American employers to organize teams of "Finnish-only" workers. And the "sauna ritual," an unheard of activity for Anglo-Americans, further promoted a sense that Finns were both exotic and separatist.

Once in the United States, Finnish immigrants recreated Finnish institutions, including churches, temperance societies, workers' halls, benefit societies, and cooperatives. Within those institutions, they organized a broad spectrum of activities for themselves: weekly and festival programs, dances, worship services, theater productions, concerts, sports competitions, and summer festivals. They created lending libraries, bands, choirs, self-education study groups, and drama groups. Furthermore, they kept in touch with each other through the newspapers that they published—over 120 different papers since the first, *Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti*, which appeared for 14 issues in 1876.

Finnish immigrants used these recreated Finnish institutions to confront and ease their entrance into American culture. The activities helped them assimilate. For example, Finnish American socialists created their own Socialist Federation that functioned to organize Finns; then, the federation itself joined the Socialist Party of America's foreign-language section, which then connected them with the struggle for socialist ideas and actions being promoted by "established" Americans. In a similar manner, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America wrote their Sunday school readers in Finnish, yet used the reader to teach American citizenship and history, including stories of American role models like Abraham Lincoln, together with Finnish cultural heroes.

To help maintain their own identities in America, early Finnish immigrants also developed at least two institutions that had no counterpart in Finland. The first was a masonic-type lodge called the Knights of Kaleva, founded in 1898, with secret rituals based on the ancient Finnish epic *The Kalevala*. (A women's section called the Ladies of Kaleva followed in 1904.) Local chapters, called a *tupa* for the knights and a *maja* for the ladies, provided education in Finnish culture, both for the immigrants and for the larger "established" American community.

The second institution, directed toward the immigrants' children, was based on the American Sunday school movement. Both the Church Finns and the Hall Finns published materials specifically for use in Sunday schools. They taught their children the ways of Finnish politics and religion in Finnish-language (and later in English-language) Sunday schools and summer camps.

Finnish American businesses and professional services were developed to serve Finnish communities. In big cities like Minneapolis, Detroit, and Chicago, immigrants created Finntowns, while in small cities like Worcester and Fitchburg, Massachusetts, or Astoria, Oregon, they created separate institutions. In some cities—like those on the Iron Range in Minnesota—Finns became the largest foreign-born population group. Finns actually made up more than 75 percent of the population of small towns like Wakefield, Michigan, and Fairport Harbor, Ohio.

The immigrants were quick to adopt American ways. Almost off the boat, young women would discard the triangular cotton scarf (*huivi*) worn over their hair or the heavy woolen shawl wrapped around their bodies and begin to wear the big wide hats and fancy puffed sleeve bodices so popular in the States at the end of the nineteenth century. Men donned bowler hats and stiff starched collars above their suit coats. Those Finnish immigrant women who began their lives in America working as domestics quickly learned to make American style pies and cakes. And the Finns' log cabins, erected on barely cleared cutover lands, were covered with white clapboard siding as soon as finances permitted.

Recent emigrants from Finland have been quick to adopt the latest in American suburban living, becoming models of post-modern American culture. Privately, however, many Finnish Americans maintain the conventions of the homeland: their houses contain the traditional sauna, they eat Finnish foods, they take frequent trips to Finland and instruct their children in the Finnish language, and their social calendar includes Finnish American events. In the process, they bring new blood into Finnish American culture, providing role models for Finnishness and reenergizing Finnish language usage among the third and fourth generations.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

Finnish Americans became the victims of ethnic slurs after socialist-leaning Finnish immigrants began to settle in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Finnish immigrant promot-

ers of labor activism prompted racist responses directed at all Finnish Americans. The racist response reached its apex in 1908, when "established" Americans turned to the power of federal law, bringing to federal district court the deportation trial of one John Swan, a Finnish immigrant worker. According to Carl Ross in *The Finn Factor*, the unusual argument that Finns were actually of Mongolian descent—and therefore subject to the Asian Exclusion Act—hit many Finnish Americans hard and polarized the community into two camps, one conservative, identifying itself as "True Finns," and the other socialist, promoting American citizenship to its membership. In spite of efforts on both sides, various vigilante activities continued against Finnish Americans even into the late 1930s, as the 1939 wrecking of the Finn Hall in Aberdeen, Washington, attests. Being called a "Finn-LAND-er" became "fighting words" to both first and second generation Finnish Americans.

Stereotyping hastened Finnish assimilation into the American mainstream. As white Europeans, they could do just that. Some Finnish Americans anglicized their names and joined American churches and clubs. Others, identifying themselves as indelibly connected to America's racial minorities, entered into marriages with Native Americans, creating a group of people known in Minnesota and Michigan as "Finndians."

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In this drive to assimilate, Finnish customs that could remain invisible to the outside world were maintained in the States. Such diverse activities as berry picking, hunting, trapping, woodworking, knitting, and weaving can all be traced to the homeland. And many Finns in America have not lost their love for the sauna.

Today, the institutions of the immigrants are, for the most part, gone. For example, except for the Laestadians, few Finnish Lutheran churches offer a glimpse into the rituals of the Church of Finland. Yet an identifiable Finnish American culture remains. Beginning in the 1950s, older institutions began to be replaced by a Finnish American club movement, which includes such organizations as the Finlandia Foundation, the Finnish American Club, and the Finnish American Historical Society. Some organizations from the former days, like the Saima Society of Fitchburg and the Knights of Kaleva in Red Lodge, Montana, have been recycled to serve a new generation's club needs. Meanwhile, large Finnish American populations like the one in greater Detroit have created a new Finn Hall tradi-

tion that unifies all the various political and religious traditions.

FinnFest USA and Salolampi Language Village further strengthen Finnish traditions and customs in the States. An annual national summer festival, FinnFest USA, founded in 1983, brings Finnish Americans from all political and religious camps together for three days of seminars, lectures, concerts, sports events, dances, and demonstrations. The festival's location revolves each year to a different region of the Finnish American geography. Salolampi, founded in 1978, offers a summer educational program that allows young people to immerse themselves in Finnish language and culture. Part of the Concordia College Language Villages Program in northern Minnesota, the school serves children from throughout the United States.

A Finnish American renaissance has also blossomed. The movement began in the 1960s, when third and fourth generation Finnish Americans looked to their own past for models that could help solve the social crises in America. It expanded to include efforts to define and express themselves as members of a culture of difference. The renaissance, which includes cultural revival and maintenance as well as new culture creativity, has nurtured new networks between Finland and the United States.

Within the new social history movement, the renaissance gave rise to a new generation of scholars and creative writers who focused on Finnish American history. By the 1970s, in response to the folk music movement of a decade earlier, musicians also turned to their Finnish American heritage for inspiration. The renaissance includes the visual arts as well.

While this collective renaissance activity can be found throughout the various regions of Finnish America, its center is in Minnesota, most specifically the Twin Cities, where the University of Minnesota has provided a home at the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) and Finnish Department. The IHRC helped to direct the "Reunion of Sisters Project: 1984-1987," a unique cultural exchange program that brought women and men together from Finland and the United States to consider their common cultural heritage. Then, in 1991, the IHRC co-sponsored the first conference organized to examine this renaissance, a conference entitled "The Making of Finnish America: A Culture in Transition."

CUISINE

The Finnish diet is rich in root vegetables (carrots, beets, potatoes, rutabagas, and turnips) and in fresh

berries (blueberries, strawberries, and raspberries in season). Rye breads (*ruisleipa* and *reiska*) and cardamom seed flavored coffee bread (*pulla* or *nisu*) are absolute necessities. Dairy products—cheeses, creams, and butters—make the cakes, cookies, pancakes and stews quite rich. Pork roasts, hams, meat stews, and fish—especially salmon, whitefish, herring, and trout, served marinated, smoked, cooked in soups, or baked in the oven—complete the cuisine. At Christmas, many Finnish Americans eat *lutefisk* (lye-soaked dried cod) and prune-filled tarts. The traditional, meatless Shrove Tuesday meal (the day before Lent) centers on pea soup and rye bread or pancakes. Plainness, simplicity, and an emphasis on natural flavors continue to dominate Finnish and Finnish American cooking even today. Spices, if used, include cinnamon, allspice, cardamom, and ginger. One beverage dominates: coffee (morning coffee, afternoon coffee, evening coffee). "Coffee tables," as the events are called, served with the right assortment of baked goods, are central to both daily life and entertaining.

More recent Finnish immigrants favor foods that gained popularity after World War II—foods often associated with Karelia, the province lost to the Soviets in the Winter War. Among these are *karjalan piirakka* (an open-faced rye tart filled with potato or rice); *uunijuusto* (an oven-baked cheese, often called "squeaky cheese"); and *pasties*, (meat, potato, and carrot or rutabaga pies).

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Finnish immigrants who landed on American soil in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as peasants or workers wore heavy woolen stockings, shirts, and skirts. Women wore a triangular scarf, called a *huiivi*, over their heads. However, no traditional clothing was worn for special events and ceremonies. By the 1930s, as Finnish Americans became more affluent, the popularity of Finnish national folk costumes increased. (By this time, members of the middle-class were in a position to travel to Finland to purchase costumes.)

HOLIDAYS

Finnish Americans observe a number of holidays celebrated in Finland. On December 6, many communities commemorate Finnish Independence Day. Christmas parties known as *Pikku Joulut* are central to the holiday season, just as *Laskiainen* (sliding down the hill) is celebrated on Shrove Tuesday. Some communities also hold programs in honor of the Finnish epic *The Kalevala* on Kalevala

Traditional Finnish folk clothing often varies according to region.



Day each February 28. Festive midsummer celebrations, featuring a *kokko* or large bonfire, occur every year.

Finns in the United States invented St. Urho's Day, a humorous takeoff on St. Patrick's Day, a traditional Irish holiday celebrated on March 17. St. Urho's Day, observed in Finnish American communities each March 16, purportedly commemorates the saint's success in driving the grasshoppers out of Finland.

HEALTH ISSUES

According to some researchers, Finnish Americans are people with a high propensity for heart disease, high cholesterol, strokes, alcoholism, depression, and lactose intolerance.

Many Finnish people believe in natural health care. Immigrants in both the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used such traditional healing methods as massage and cupping (or bloodletting). The sauna is a historic part of healing rituals. When Finns are sick, they take a sauna. Even childbirth was handled by midwives in the sauna. A Finnish proverb, *Jos ei sauna ja viina ja terva auta niin se tauti on kuolemaksi*, states that if a sauna, whiskey, and tar salve do not make you well, death is imminent. Saunas treat respiratory and circulatory problems, relax stiff muscles, and cure aches and pains. Modern Finnish Americans often turn to chiropractors and acupuncturists for relief of some ailments, but the family sauna remains the place to go whenever one has a cold.

LANGUAGE

As late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigrants, Finns spoke either Finnish or Swedish. Those who spoke Swedish used a form known as Finland-Swedish; those who spoke Finnish used a non-Indo-European language, part of a small language group known as Finno-Ugric. Immigrants to America most likely spoke a regional form of Finnish: most nineteenth-century Finns spoke a northern rural Finnish, while later immigrants spoke a southern rural Finnish. An entirely new language was born in the United States—dubbed “Finglish.” Finns arriving in America at the close of the twentieth century tend to speak in a Helsinki dialect.

Assimilation issues often revolved around the maintenance of language. John Wargelin (1881-1970), past president of Suomi College, lost his presidency in 1928 largely because he advocated using English at the college. The Finnish Socialist Federation exploded over orders that they “Americanize” their cultural practices, including their use of Finnish. Various churches vacillated on the language question, most of them finally giving in to using English after World War II. The Laestadians, however, have moved more slowly. Some groups still do all their preaching in Finnish; others use simultaneous translation.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Typical greetings in Finnish include the following: *Hyvä päivä* (“huv-vaeh pa-e-vaeh”)—Good day;



Three generations of Finnish American women visit at the Kurttis home in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Nearly 70 percent of the Finnish American population of the area has left in search of better career opportunities.

Hyvä ilta (“huv-vaeh ill-tah”)—Good evening; *Tervetuloa* (“terr-veh-too-loh-ah”)—to welcome someone; *Tervesiä* (“terr-veh-see-ah”)—a general response to a greeting; *Näkemiin* (“nah-keh-mean”)—Good-bye, until we meet again; *Kiitos* (“key-tohs”)—Thank you; *Hauska Joulua* (“how-skah yo-lu-ah”)—Merry Christmas; *Onnellista Uutta Vuotta* (“own-nell-ee-stah oo-tah vu-oh-tah”)—Happy New Year; *Mitä kuuluu* (“mi-taah koo-loo”)—How are you?; *Kyllä* (“kyl-lah”)—Yes; *Hyvä huomenta* (“huv-vaeh who-ow-men-tah”)—good morning; *Olkaa hyvä* (“ol-kah huv-vaeh”)—please; *Oma tupa, oma lupa*—Your own cottage, your own independence. All Finnish words are pronounced with the accent on the first syllable.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Typical family structure among Finnish immigrants was patriarchal. Rural Finnish families were usually large, but in the urban areas, where both husband and wife worked, families often had only one child.

Today only the Laestadians continue the tradition of large families.

Since immigrants were separated from their parents and extended families, Finnish American communities developed among immigrants from the same village or region. The 1920 U.S. Census Bureau records indicate that Finnish Americans mostly married other Finnish Americans, both in the first and second generations. By the 1990s, however, Finnish Americans of the third and fourth generations were marrying outside their ethnic group. One exception is the American Laestadian community, whose members prefer courtships within the community and who travel to Finland to meet suitable members of their faith.

EDUCATION

Education is highly valued by Finnish Americans. Even early immigrants were largely literate, and they supported a rich immigrant publishing industry of newspapers, periodicals, and books. Self-education was central. Thus, immigrant institutions developed libraries and debate clubs, and immigrant

summer festivals included seminars, concerts, and plays. That tradition continues today in the three-day FinnFest USA festival, which maintains the lecture, seminar, and concert tradition.

In spite of economic hardship, many immigrant children achieved high school and college educations. Two schools were founded by the Finns: the *Työväenopisto*, or Work Peoples College, in Minnesota (1904-1941), where young people learned trades and politics in an educational environment that duplicated the folk school tradition in Finland; and *Suomiopisto*, Suomi College, in Hancock, Michigan (1895), which began by duplicating the lyceum tradition of Finland. The only higher education institution founded by Finnish Americans, Suomi provides a Lutheran-centered general liberal arts curriculum to its students. The college continues to honor its Finnish origins by maintaining a Finnish Heritage Center and Finnish American Historical Archives. Suomi started as an academy and added a junior college in 1923 and a four-year college in 1994. The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Suomi Synod) established and maintained a seminary there from 1904 to 1958.

Although parochial education never was part of the Finnish tradition, Finnish Americans did develop a program of summer schools and camps where young people learned religion, Finnish culture, politics, and cooperative philosophies. Camps teaching the ideals and practice of cooperativism ran until the late 1950s.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Finnish women have played leading roles in family affairs and community life. In the old country, they ran and organized the household. In addition, immigrant women oversaw the farms while the men found work in the cities, mines, and lumber camps. The women also found daytime employment outside the home, working in laundries and textile manufacturing. In the evenings, they were active in choirs, theaters, politics, and the organization of religious events.

PHILANTHROPY

Finnish Americans practice group-organized philanthropy. Together, they raise barns, build community halls and churches, and do the ritual spring cleaning. Finnish Americans have also supported famine relief in Finland, assisted the Help Finland Movement during the Winter War, and even held a fund-raising drive for microfilming Finnish language newspapers in 1983.

Over 90 percent of Finnish American immigrants are Lutherans—some more devout than others. Baptized into the church so that their births were recorded, they were also confirmed so that they could marry and be buried—all with official state records.

During the nineteenth century, within the State Church of Finland, four different religious revivals occurred: the Awakenists, the Evangelicals, the Laestadians, and the Prayers movement. These movements operated within the church itself. In addition, socialism—a secular movement with all the fervor of a religion—also developed. During the immigration process, many Finns left the church entirely and participated only in socialist activities. Those who remained religious fell into three separate groups: Laestadians, Lutherans, and free church Protestants.

The Laestadians, who came first, called themselves “Apostolic Lutherans” and began to operate separately in the heady atmosphere of America’s free religious environment. However, they could not stay unified and have since divided into five separate church groups. These congregations are led by lay people; ordained ministers trained in seminaries are not common to any of the groups.

In 1898 the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran church was formed as an expression of the Evangelical movement. The Finland Swedes, excluded from these efforts, gradually formed churches that entered the Augustana Lutheran Synod (a Swedish American church group). In recent years, the Suomi Synod became part of an effort to create a unified Lutheran church in the United States. They were part of a merger that created first the Lutheran Church in America in 1963, and then the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America in 1984.

The Suomi Synod maintained the Church of Finland “divine worship” service tradition and continued the practice of a clergy-led church. However, a new sense of power resting in the hands of the congregation developed, and the church evolved into a highly democratic decision-making institution. Although women were not yet granted the right to be ordained, they were given the right to vote in the affairs of the church in 1909. In addition, they were elected to high leadership positions on local, regional, and national boards. Pastors’ wives were known to preach sermons and conduct services whenever the pastor was serving another church within his multiple-congregation assignment. The rather democratic National Synod also granted women the right to vote in the affairs of the congregation. This became an issue when the National Synod merged with the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, which did not allow women to vote.

In addition to Lutherans, Finnish immigrants also organized a variety of free Protestant churches: the Finnish Congregational church (active mainly in New England, the Pacific Northwest, and California), the Finnish Methodist church, the Unitarian church, and the Pentecostal churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

In the Midwest and the West, early Finnish immigrant men worked as miners, timber workers, railroad workers, fishers, and dock hands. In New England, they worked in quarries, fisheries, and in textile and shoe factories. When single women began to settle in the United States, they went into domestic work as maids, cooks, and housekeepers. In the cutover lands across northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and in the farmlands of upstate New York and New England, immigrant families left work in industry to raise grain crops and potatoes and run dairy and chicken farms. In the cities, Finnish American immigrants worked in several crafts—as carpenters, painters, tailors, and jewelers.

Later generations who have had the advantage of an American education have chosen professions that expand on the worklife of the immigrants. Men frequently specialize in agriculture-related subjects, such as natural resources management, mining engineering, and geology. A large percentage of women study nursing and home economics, working as both researchers in industry and as public managers in county extension agencies. The fields of education, medical research, the arts, music, and law have also attracted Finnish American students.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Finnish Americans are a politically active people. As voters in American politics, they overwhelmingly supported the Republican party until the 1930s. After Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president in 1933, Finnish Americans became known as Democratic voters.

Early immigrants emphasized Temperance Societies as a political action force. In 1888 they organized the *Suomalainen Kansallis Raittius Veljeyssseura* (the Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood), which later had as many as 10,000 members. Many immigrants after 1892 had socialist leanings, and itinerant Finnish agitators found many converts in the States. In 1906 the *Amerikan Suomalaisten Sosialistiosastojen Järjestö* (the Finnish American Socialist Federation) was formed; two years later, the organiza-

tion became the first foreign-language affiliate within the Socialist Party of America. (Over the next decade, however, the federation began to lose members because of its increasing alignment with the Communist party.)

At the turn of the twentieth century, Finnish Americans worked to change U.S. national policy toward Finland. In 1899 a Finnish American delegation presented a petition to President William McKinley asking for aid to Finland in its fight against czarist Russia. They also lobbied for early recognition of the Finnish Republic and for relief support to the homeland.

Finnish American immigrant women organized feminist-based groups as early as 1895 for the purpose of self-education and the improvement of conditions for women. After 1906—when women in Finland were granted the right to vote—Finnish Americans became heavily involved in American suffrage politics, passing petitions throughout the Finnish American community, participating in suffrage parades, and appearing at rallies. They organized into two wings: one aligned with the temperance movement, which promoted suffrage per se; the other aligned with the socialist movement, which promoted working women's issues. Each published a newspaper, the *Naisten Lehti* (*Women's Newspaper*), and the *Toveritar* (*The Working Woman*). Both worked to improve conditions for all American women through political action.

Finns have been very active in union organizing, working often as leaders of strikes that developed in the mining and timber industries. Their workers' halls were centers of union activity and headquarters for strikes, notably in the Copper Country Strike of 1913-1914 and the two Mesabi Range strikes of 1907 and 1916. After World War II, Finnish Americans were central to the organizing of iron miners into the Steelworkers Union on the Marquette Range in Michigan. In addition, Detroit auto workers used the Wilson Avenue Finn Hall to develop their union organizing.

Finns have been elected to political positions, mainly on local and regional levels, serving as postmasters, clerks, sheriffs, and mayors. As of 1995, no Finn had been elected state governor, and only one Finn, O. J. Larson, had been a member of the U.S. Congress. (He was elected to the House in 1920 and again in 1922.) However, Finnish Americans have served in state Houses in Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Alaska. Barbara Hannien Linton, who represents a northern Wisconsin district, is one of the most prominent and progressive members of the Democratic Party in the Wisconsin state legislature. The first woman elected to the office of mayor of Ohio—Amy Kaukkonen—was a Finnish

Finnish American proponents of socialism pose with their families outside their Glassport, Pennsylvania, meeting hall.



American medical doctor. She beat her opponent on a prohibition platform in 1922.

During the effort to win support for U.S. entry into World War I, the administration of President Woodrow Wilson orchestrated a loyalty movement among the Finns. In spite of their anti-draft stance in World War I, Finns have readily served in the U.S. armed forces, beginning with the Civil War, when former Finnish sailors and recent immigrants signed on. Finns served in the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, and the Spanish Civil War. Finnish American nurses—mostly female—also contributed to the American war effort over the years.

RELATIONS WITH FINLAND

Finnish Americans have long been involved in the political issues of Finland. The American Finnish Aid Committee gathered considerable funds for famine relief in 1902. After the General Strike occurred in 1906, a number of Finnish agitators sought a safe haven in the Finnish American community. After Finland declared itself a republic, Finnish Americans worked with Herbert Hoover to

provide food to famine-stricken Finland. Later, they lobbied effectively in Washington, D.C., to get official recognition from the American government for the new nation-state. Their most concerted effort on behalf of the Finns, however, occurred in 1939 and 1940, after the Winter War broke out. They mobilized efforts at such a level, again with Hoover's assistance, that they were able to send \$4 million in aid to the war-torn country. Individual family efforts to collect food and clothing for relatives continued well into the end of the decade. In the 1990s Finnish Americans worked actively as volunteers and fund-raisers, promoting religion in the Finnish sections of the former Soviet Union.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Finnish Americans as a group tend not to promote the concept of individual merit. (*Oma kehu haisee*—a Finnish proverb often quoted by Finnish Americans—means “self-praise smells putrid.”) The following sections list contributions made by Finnish Americans:

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The father and son architectural team of Eliel (1897-1950) and Eero (1910-1961) Saarinen is closely associated with Michigan's Cranbrook Institute, where Finnish design theory and practice were taught to several generations of Americans. Eero Saarinen designed a number of buildings, including the Gateway Arch in St. Louis; the General Motors Technical Center in Warren, Michigan; the TWA terminal at New York's Kennedy International Airport; and Dulles International Airport near Washington, D.C.

Painters include Elmer Forsberg (1883-1950), longtime professor at the Chicago Institute of Arts and a significant painter in his own right. Religious painter Warner Sallman (1897-1968), a Finland Swede, is most famous for his "Head of Christ," the mass-produced portrait of a Nordic-looking Jesus that became an icon of American Protestantism.

Photojournalist Kosti Ruohomaa, a second generation Finnish American from Maine, created a portfolio of photographs after working more than 20 years for *Life* and other national magazines. Rudy Autio (1926-), also a second generation Finnish American, is a fellow of the American Crafts Council whose work is in the permanent collections of major museums. Minnesota-born sculptor Dale Eldred (1934-1993) became head of the Kansas City Institute of Arts and creator of monumental environmental sculptures that are displayed throughout the world.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

The earliest successful Finnish American businessman was Carl Sjodahl (Charles Linn; 1814-1883) who began as a sailor and became a wealthy wholesaler, banker, and industrialist in New Orleans and Birmingham, Alabama. Another early Finnish seaman, Captain Gustave Niebaum (1842-1908), established the Inglenook winery in California.

Vaino Hoover, former president and chief executive officer of Hoover Electric Company, designed and manufactured electric actuators and power flight control system components for aircraft and deep sea equipment. An important figure in the American defense industry of the 1950s and 1960s, he was a member of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's National Defense Advisory Committee. Yrjö Paloheimo (1899-1991) was a philanthropist as well as a rancher in New Mexico and southern California. He organized Help Finland activities in the 1940s, founded a farm and garden school for orphans in Finland in 1947, and established the Finlandia Foundation in 1952. In addition, he and his wife organized the Old Cienega Village, a living history museum of early Hispanic life in New Mex-

ico. Finnish American Armas Christian Markkula, co-founder of the Apple Computer Co., is listed as one of the 500 richest men in America.

EDUCATION

Finnish Americans in education include Margaret Preska (1938-). One of the first women in the United States to head an institution of higher learning, she was president of Mankato State University from 1979 to 1992. Robert Ranta (1943-) is dean of the College of Communication and Fine Arts at the University of Memphis and also serves as a freelance producer of such television specials as the Grammy Awards.

GOVERNMENT

Among the best-known Finnish Americans in government is Emil Hurja (1892-1953), the genius political pollster who orchestrated Franklin Delano Roosevelt's victorious presidential elections. Hurja became a member of the Democratic National Committee during the 1930s. O. J. Larson was a U.S. representative from Minnesota in the early 1920s. Maggie Walz (1861-1927), publisher of the *Naisten Lehti (Women's Newspaper)*, represented the Finnish American suffragists in the American suffrage and temperance movements. Viena Pasanen Johnson, co-founder of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, was the first woman member of the Minnesota State Teachers' College board of directors. She later became a national leader in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Gus Hall (1911-) remains president of the Communist Party of America.

LITERATURE

Jean Auel (1936-), author of *Clan of the Cave Bear* and other bestselling novels dealing with prehistoric peoples, is a third generation Finnish American. Less well known but still significant to American letters is Shirley (Waisanen) Schoonover (1936-), whose *Mountain of Winter* (1965) has been translated into eighteen languages. Anselm Hollo (1934-), the renowned translator and writer with more than 19 volumes of verse to her credit, teaches at the Naroba Institute. Pierre DeLattre, author of two novels, *Tales of a Dalai Lama*, 1971, and *Walking on Air*, 1980, has been published in some 50 magazines. Recent writers emerging from the small press movement include poet Judy Minty, fiction writer and poet Jane Piirto, and fiction writers Lauri Anderson, Rebecca Cummings, and Timo Koskinen.

MUSIC

Composer Charles Wuorinen (1938–)—the youngest composer to win a Pulitzer Prize—was named a MacArthur fellow in 1986. His music is performed by major symphony orchestras throughout the United States. Tauno Hannikainen was the permanent director of the Duluth Symphony and associate conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Heimo Haitto was a concert violinist who performed as soloist with major philharmonics in Europe and the United States. Legendary virtuoso accordionist Viola Turpinen (1909-1958) became a recording artist and professional musician. Jorma Kaukonen (1942–) played lead guitar for Jefferson Airplane. Elisa Kokkonen, a young emerging solo violinist, performs with major orchestras in the United States and Europe.

RELIGION

Finnish America's major contributor to American Lutheran theology was renowned professor of theology Taisto Kantonen (1900-1993) of Wittenburg University. Melvin Johnson (1939–), an administrator at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America headquarters in Chicago, and retired theologian Raymond W. Wargelin are among the most prominent living church leaders of Finnish descent in America.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Olga Lakela, a former professor of biology at the Duluth campus of the University of Minnesota and the author of numerous scientific papers on plant and bird life in Minnesota, had her name inscribed on the Wall of Fame at the 1940 New York World's Fair as one of 630 Americans of foreign birth who contributed to the American way of life. Ilmari Salminen, a research chemist with Eastman Kodak, specialized in color photography. Vernen Suomi, now an emeritus professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, was responsible for several inventions currently used in the exploration of outer space. A younger generation of scientists includes Donald Saari (1940–), a Northwestern University mathematician in astronomy and economics; Markin Makinen (1939–), a biophysicist at the University of Chicago; and Dennis Maki (1940–), a medical doctor who serves as an infectious disease specialist in the Medical School at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

SPORTS

Finnish American sports figures have achieved recognition in track, cross country skiing, ski jump-

ing, and ice hockey. The Finnish American Athletic Club was one of the strongest organizations in U.S. track and field competition. U.S. Olympic hockey and ski jumping teams have included Finnish Americans. Midwestern American sports teams in the 1930s were often called "Flying Finns," after legendary Finnish runner Paavo Nurmi, whose tour of the United States during the 1920s caused a sensation among American track and field enthusiasts. Waino Ketonen was world champion middleweight wrestler from 1918 to 1927. Rick Tapani, pitcher for the Minnesota Twins, and sportscaster Dick Engberg are both third generation Finnish Americans.

THEATER AND FILM

Stage actor Alfred Lunt (1892-1977), who teamed with his actress-wife Lynn Fontanne from the 1920s through the 1950s was a second generation Finnish American from Wisconsin; he showed his Finnish pride when he chose Robert Sherwood's poignant *There Shall Be No Night* as a touring vehicle and a significant way for the duo to present the plight of Finns fighting in the Winter War in Finland. Bruno Maine was scenic art director for Radio City Music Hall, and Sointu Syrjälä was theater designer for several Broadway shows. Movie actor Albert Salmi (1928-1990) began his career in the New York City Finnish immigrant theater, and Maila Nurmi, who once used the stage name Vampira, hosted horror movies on television in the late 1950s in Los Angeles. She also starred in Ed Wood's immortal alien flick *Plan 9 from Outer Space*, considered by many critics to be the worst movie of all time. Other Finnish American actresses include Jessica Lange (1949–) and Christine Lahti (1950–), granddaughter of early Finnish American feminist Augusta Lahti.

MEDIA

PRINT

Amerikan Uutiset.

A weekly newspaper in Finnish with some English; it has a long tradition of providing a national forum for nonpartisan political and general news from Finnish American communities across the country. Founded in 1932, the paper was later bought by Finland-born entrepreneurs interested in creating a more contemporary Finland news emphasis. It has the largest Finnish American readership in the nation.

Contact: Sakri Viklund, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 8147, Lantana, Florida 33462.

Telephone: (407) 588-9770.

Fax: (407) 588-3229.

E-mail: am uutiset@aol.com.

Baiki: The North American Sami Journal.

A quarterly journal published since 1991 by descendants of Sami peoples. It explores their own unique heritage.

Contact: Faith Fjeld, Editor.

Address: 3548 14th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407.

Telephone: (612) 722-0040.

Fax: (612) 722-3844.

Finnish Americana.

Founded in 1978, this English-language annual journal features creative writing as well as scholarly articles. The journal reflects the growth of a new group of Finnish Americans interested in Finnish American history and culture. *Finnish Americana* is the major forum for the new generation of Finnish American intellectuals.

Contact: Michael G. Karni, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 120804, New Brighton, Minnesota 55112.

Telephone: (612) 636-6348.

Fax: (612) 636-0773.

Finnish American Reporter.

A newsprint journal featuring personal essays, Finnish American community news, and brief news articles reprinted from and about Finland. Founded in 1986, this monthly has gradually built itself into the leading publication for readers seeking an American-oriented presentation of Finnish American cultural life. It is published by the Työmies Society, the left-wing political movement of Finnish America.

Contact: Lisbeth Boutang, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 549, Superior, Wisconsin 54880.

Telephone: (715) 394-4961.

Fax: (715) 392-5029.

New Yorkin Uutiset.

A weekly independent newspaper featuring news from Finland and Finnish American communities. Founded in 1906 as a daily, the paper—written primarily in Finnish with some English articles—is now a weekly. *New Yorkin Uutiset* takes a nationalistic and politically conservative position on issues.

Contact: Leena Isbom, Editor.

Address: The Finnish Newspaper Co., 4422 Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11220.

Telephone: (718) 435-0800.

Fax: (718) 871-7230.

Norden News.

A weekly newspaper featuring news from Finland and Finland-Swede American communities. This Swedish-language paper provides the only current information on the Finland-Swede community in the United States.

Contact: Erik R. Hermans, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 2143, New York, New York 10185-0018.

Telephone: (212) 753-0880

Fax: (212) 944-0763.

Raivaaja (Pioneer).

A weekly newspaper featuring news from Finland and Finnish American communities. Founded in 1905 as a daily, the newspaper provides a voice for Social Democratic Finnish Americans.

Contact: Marita Cauthen, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 600, Fitchburg, Massachusetts 01420-0600.

Telephone: (508) 343-3822.

Fax: (508) 343-8147.

E-mail: raivaaja@netplus.com.

Työmies/Eteenpäin.

A weekly newspaper of the Finnish American left wing. Published since 1903, it continues to present Finnish American communist views. Readership remains small and largely Finnish-language directed. The newspaper features both news from Finland and news about the United States, written from a politically radical perspective.

Address: P.O. Box 549, Superior, Wisconsin 54880.

Telephone: (715) 394-4961.

Fax: (715) 394-7655.

RADIO

KAXE-FM, Northern Minnesota.

“Finnish Americana and Heritage Show,” In Bemidji, 94.7 FM; in Brainerd, 89.5 FM; in Grand Rapids, 91.7 FM. This English-language program—presented the first Sunday of each month—includes Finnish folk and popular music as well as information about Finnish music events in Minnesota.

Address: 1841 East Highway 169, Grand Rapids, Minnesota 55744.

Telephone: (218) 326-1234.

Fax: (218) 326-1235.

E-mail: kaxe@kaxe.org.

KUSF-FM (90.3).

"Voice of Finland," a weekly one-hour program in the Finnish language provides music, news, interviews, and information about Finnish activities occurring in the region.

Address: 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, California 94117-1080.

Telephone: (415) 386-5873.

E-mail: kusf@usfca.edu.

Online: <http://web.usfca.edu/kusf>.

WCAR-AM (1090).

"Finn Focus," a light entertainment program in Finnish provides music, news, notice of local activities and interviews.

Address: 32500 Park Lane, Garden City, Michigan 48135.

Telephone: (313) 525-1111.

Fax: (313) 525-3608.

WLVS-AM (1380).

"Hyvät Uutiset" (Good News), sponsored by the Lake Worth Finnish Pentecostal Congregation, is a weekly half hour broadcast in Finnish featuring religious music and talk. "American Finnish Evening Hour" provides light entertainment, music, and information about happenings in the listening area and in Finland. "Halls of Finland," a program broadcast in Finnish, includes news reports about local events and activities occurring in the United States and in Finland. "Religious Hour" is sponsored by the Apostolic Lutheran church.

Address: 1939 Seventh Avenue North, Lake Worth, Florida 33461-3898.

Telephone: (561) 585-5533.

Fax: (561) 585-0131.

WYMS-FM (88.9).

"Scandinavian Hour," broadcast once a month, this program provides news from Finland and the local region, interviews, and Finnish music. Broadcast in two languages. "Scenes from the Northern Lights" originates in Bloomington, Indiana, and is offered through syndication on National Public Radio (NPR). It features a wide variety of Finnish music (rock, pop, classical, folk, opera).

Address: 5225 West Vliet Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53208.

Telephone: (414) 475-8890.

Fax: (414) 475-8413.

Online: <http://www.wyms.org>.

TELEVISION**WLUC.**

"*Suomi Kutsu*" (Finland Calling) is telecast weekly on Sundays from 10:00 to 11:00 a.m. The first half hour is a newsmagazine about Finland and Finnish America, featuring interviews, music, news, and video essays. The second half hour is a Finnish language devotional worship service led by area Lutheran clergy.

Address: 177 U.S. Highway 41 East, Negaunee, Michigan 49866.

Telephone: (906)475-4161; or (800) 562-9776.

Fax: (906)475-4824.

E-mail: tv6sales@wluctv6.com.

Online: <http://wluctv6.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Finlandia Foundation.

Founded in 1952, this national philanthropic organization's mission is to cultivate and strengthen cultural relations between the United States and the Republic of Finland. Finlandia Foundation distributes over \$70,000 annually for cultural programs, grants, and scholarships.

Contact: Carl W. Jarvie, President.

Address: 607 Third Avenue, Suite 610, Seattle, Washington 98104.

Telephone: (206) 285-4703.

Fax: (206) 781-2721.

Finnish American League for Democracy (FALD).

Promotes the study of Finnish American history and culture.

Contact: Marita Cauthen, Executive Officer.

Address: P.O. Box 600, 147 Elm Street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts 01420.

Telephone: (508) 343-3822.

International Order of Runeberg.

Promotes the preservation of pan-Scandinavian culture and traditions, with special emphasis on Finland. Conducts student exchange program.

Contact: Deidre Meanley, Secretary.

Address: 1138 Northeast 153rd Avenue, Portland, Oregon 97230.

Telephone: (503) 254-2054.

Fax: (503) 261-9868.

E-mail: dmeanley@worldaccess.net.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Finnish American Historical Archives of the Finnish American Heritage Center, Suomi College.

Features the best collection of materials that predate the twentieth century, as well as modern materials, including records of the Help Finland Movement, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Suomi Synod), and the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Delaware Colony. A small uncataloged and unsystematic collection of material objects has accumulated; parts of this collection are usually on display. A large photograph collection, an oral history collection, and microfilm archives of newspapers and records stored in Finland round out the resources.

Address: 601 Quincy Street, Hancock, Michigan 49930.
Telephone: (906) 487-7347.
Fax: (906) 487-7366.

Finnish-American Historical Society of the West.

People of Finnish ancestry and friends of Finland interested in discovering, collecting, and preserving material to establish and illustrate the history of persons of Finnish descent in the American West. Maintains Lindgren Log Home, a museum of Finnish-American artifacts from the 1920s.

Contact: Roy Schulbach.
Address: P.O. Box 5522, Portland, Oregon 97228-0552.
Telephone: (503) 654-0448.
Fax: (503) 652-0558.
E-mail: finamhsw@telepor.com.
Online: <http://www.teleport.com/~finamhsw>.

Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota.

This collection—one of the largest available anywhere—is part of a larger collection of 24 late immigration groups. The Finnish section includes materials from the Finnish American radical and cooperative movements, Finnish American theater, and music.

Contact: Joel Wurl, Curator.
Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114-1076.
Telephone: (612) 627-4208.
Fax: (612) 627-4190.
Online: <http://www1.umn.edu/ihr>.

Other archival collections of Finnish American materials are more regional. For example, the Iron Range Research Center in Chisholm, Minnesota, has a rich northern Minnesota collection, and the Finnish Cultural Center at Fitchburg State College in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, has been trying to reconstitute materials from the New England region.

Finnish Americans have not developed any major museums. The most systematically catalogued collection of Finnish American materials can be found at the Michigan State University Museum in East Lansing, Michigan. The Nordic Heritage Museum in Seattle, Washington, includes an interesting display of Finnish culture, collected and organized by the local Finnish American community.

Finnish Americans have preserved their cultural landscape history at two significant sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Hanka Homestead in Arnheim, Michigan, provides an example of a small backwoods farmstead, while the town of Embarrass, Minnesota, is an excellent example of an entire Finnish American farming community.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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Sampo: The Magic Mill—A Collection of Finnish American Writing, edited by Aili Jarvenpa and Michael G. Karni. Minneapolis: New Rivers Press, 1989.

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FRENCH AMERICANS

by
Laurie Collier
Hillstrom

OVERVIEW

The French Republic (République Française)—more commonly known as France—occupies 212,918 square miles, making it the largest country in Western Europe and slightly smaller than the state of Texas. It is hexagonal in shape, with half its borders, or 1,920 miles, made up of coastline. It borders on the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the English Channel to the northwest, Belgium and Luxembourg to the north, Germany to the northeast, Switzerland to the east, Italy to the southeast, the Mediterranean Sea to the south, and Spain to the southwest. The topography of France includes the Pyrenees mountains along the southern border and the Alps along the southwest border. The remaining terrain varies from mountain ranges to plains to forests, and includes four major river systems.

The population of France was approximately 55.5 million in 1987, and it has remained relatively stable over time. The capital and major cultural center is Paris, where about one-fifth of the total population resides. France has held a prestigious position in Western culture since the Middle Ages, showing particular influence in art, architecture, philosophy, and literature. The country became a leading member of the European Economic Community (EEC) and later the European Community (EC) and is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. The French national flag consists of three wide vertical stripes of blue, white, and red.

In only a few cases did groups of French citizens make a collective decision to leave France for the United States. Instead, typical French immigrants came as individuals or families seeking change or economic opportunity.

About 80 percent of French people consider themselves Roman Catholic, though only 20 percent of French Catholics attend church regularly. According to Jonathan Harris in *The Land and People of France*, French discord with the Catholic church dates back to the eighteenth century, when the church reached the height of its wealth and power. Since then, anticlericalism has been a pervasive attitude in French society. France is also home to about 800,000 Protestants, who, despite their minority status, enjoy a strong influence in business and the government. In addition, with 700,000 Jewish residents, France has the largest Jewish community in Europe besides Russia. About 1.5 million Muslims—mostly emigrants from the former French colonies of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia—comprise another sizable religious minority in France.

Since conditions in France historically have been considered humane and prosperous, relatively few French citizens have decided to emigrate. On the contrary, an estimated four million people from other lands have chosen to immigrate to France in the past 150 years. The most prevalent sources of immigrants to France in modern times include Portugal, Spain, Italy, eastern Europe, northern Africa, and Asia. The foreign population in France grew by 4.5 percent annually throughout the 1970s. Although this rate slowed to 0.7 percent during the 1980s, immigrants comprised seven percent of the population of France by the early 1990s. One estimate suggested that up to 500,000 of these immigrants had remained in the country illegally. While France has faced some problems in assimilating such large numbers of immigrants from different cultures, some experts claim that the French have largely succeeded in forging a sense of national identity.

HISTORY

The history of France dates back to about 1000 B.C., when Celtic tribes moved into large areas of northern Europe. The Celts who remained in the area that eventually became France were known as Gauls. Around 600 B.C., Greek colonists settled in the Mediterranean area of Marseilles, and their civilized ways had a strong influence on the Gauls. In 59 B.C., however, Julius Caesar led Roman forces in conquest of the area, which the Romans ruled for the next 500 years. During this time they built the foundation of many modern French roads and cities and ensured that Latin would form the basis of the French language. After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D., France was ruled as an absolute monarchy by four successive dynasties. By the time King Henry IV established the Bourbon dynasty in 1589, France had

developed a strict system of social hierarchy known as feudalism. Wealthy aristocrats owned the land and participated in government, while poorer people worked the land and had few rights.

The stage was set for French immigration to North America in the early 1500s, during a religious movement known as the Reformation. At this time, many citizens of France and other European nations protested against some of the doctrines and corrupt practices then prevailing in the Roman Catholic church. The Reformation caused conflict throughout Europe, eventually dividing the church into two separate factions, Catholics and Protestants. John Calvin, a French priest, was instrumental in the spread of Protestantism. His followers, called Huguenots, built 2,000 churches in France by the mid-1500s, though they also became the targets of persecution by French Catholics during 30 years of civil war. King Henry IV, who was born a Protestant but converted to Catholicism, stopped the conflict temporarily in 1594 by enacting the Edict of Nantes, which granted political rights and freedom of religion to French Protestants. After spending several years unsuccessfully pressuring Protestants to convert, however, King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This sudden loss of rights and status caused thousands of Huguenots to leave France for North America. The majority of Huguenot immigrants were skilled, well-educated, and prosperous.

Another important event in French history that affected immigration to North America occurred in 1763, with the conclusion of the Seven Years' War (also known as the French and Indian War) between France and England. These traditional enemies had clashed repeatedly over expansionist policies and colonization in Europe, North America, and India. After losing this conflict, France relinquished to England control of its colonies, through the Treaty of Paris. According to Jean-Baptiste Duroselle in *France and the United States: From Beginnings to Present* (1976), French Americans "nursed the knowledge that they had been abandoned by a country that was no longer their homeland, and of which they today retain nothing but the language." Duroselle goes on to state that this event marked the end of French political power in the land that would become the United States. The American Revolution began just 12 years later, however, and France was persuaded to provide invaluable military aid to the American side. In fact, many historians claim that the French support enabled the United States to form.

France became embroiled in its own revolution in 1789. As the French middle class, or bourgeoisie,

became more prosperous and powerful, they began to resent the feudal system and demanded equal rights and tax reform. King Louis XVI accepted some of the people's demands, but later brought troops into Paris to try to crush the rebellion. On July 14, crowds of armed protesters destroyed the Bastille, a fortress that was used to hold political prisoners and that gradually had become a symbol of oppression. This event marked the end of the old regime and the beginning of the French Republic, and it has been celebrated ever since as a national holiday—Bastille Day. France soon adopted a constitution that ensured equal rights for all citizens and limited the powers of the monarchy and the church. The French Revolution continued, however, as conservative and radical forces vied for control of the new government. These factions staged reciprocal campaigns of violence against one another during what came to be known as the Reign of Terror.

In the meantime, France entered into war with a coalition of European nations determined to halt the revolution and its radical ideas. Napoleon Bonaparte gained prominence as a French military leader and then overthrew the government of France in 1799, granting himself dictatorial powers as Emperor Napoleon I. Although Napoleon scored many popular military victories and initiated lasting reforms to the French educational and legal systems, he also severely limited individual rights. His rules made it virtually impossible for French citizens to emigrate, for example, so only a few immigrants came to the United States until the end of his reign in 1815.

Public opinion in the United States, which had been generally positive toward France since the American Revolution, gradually became negative during the Reign of Terror. The United States eventually claimed neutrality during the French Revolution and refused to provide assistance during the resulting war in Europe. Relations with France became the subject of intense debate among the leaders of the U.S. Congress and in the newly influential American press. Negative attitudes toward France peaked in 1797 with the XYZ Affair, when three unnamed French diplomats demanded a huge bribe before they would agree to speak with American delegates about a new treaty. This perceived insult caused the United States to prepare for a war with France.

During this time, French Americans—especially those who had come to the United States as refugees from the French Revolution—were viewed by some American leaders as a potential threat to national security. In 1798 the U.S. government passed the controversial Alien and Sedition Acts, which were intended to monitor and limit the

power of immigrant groups. For example, the Acts increased the residency requirement from five to 14 years before immigrants were allowed to vote, forced ships to compile dossiers on immigrant passengers, and granted the government the power to deport anyone it considered “dangerous.” The Acts became the subject of considerable public outrage and were allowed to expire two years later. Shortly thereafter, the 1803 purchase of the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon helped relax the tension over immigration. This vast tract of land doubled the size of the United States and provided a new frontier for a large wave of new immigrants.

After Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo in 1815, France was ruled first as a constitutional monarchy and then as a republic. In 1848, Napoleon's nephew Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president of the republic, but he soon overthrew the government and proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III. He was soundly defeated in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, however, which resulted in the loss of the French provinces Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. Thousands of Alsatians chose to immigrate to the United States at this time rather than live under German rule. France approved the democratic constitution of the Third Republic in 1875.

World War I helped improve relations between France and the United States when French and American soldiers fought together. In the period between the World Wars, France endured a weak government and low birth rates. These conditions contributed to the fall of France in 1940, shortly after the beginning of World War II, and to its occupation by German troops for the next four years. The Fourth Republic was established in 1946, but the government was unstable and faced constant conflict with French colonies seeking independence. Charles de Gaulle was elected president of the Fifth Republic in 1958 and managed to bring peace and economic recovery to France.

PATTERNS OF FRENCH IMMIGRATION

The history of French immigration to the United States involves a number of patterns. In only a few cases did groups of French citizens make a collective decision to leave France for the United States. Instead, typical French immigrants came as individuals or families seeking change or economic opportunity. Some analysts attribute this lack of group movement to the humane climate of France, while others claim that in general the French are reluctant to organize into groups. As a result, the number of immigrants to the United States from France has always

been smaller than from other European countries.

According to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, for example, immigrants from France accounted for only 0.46 percent of total American immigrants over the 30-year period from 1961 to 1991—or 78,300 out of a total 16.98 million. In addition, only 18,000 people came to the United States from France between 1980 and 1988, compared to 112,000 from England and 56,000 from Germany (“French American Relations: Rapprochement,” *Economist*, March 16, 1991). In total, approximately 740,000 immigrants from France have settled in the United States since 1820, and between 30,000 and 40,000 came earlier. In 1990, 119,233 people living in the United States told the U.S. Census Bureau that they had been born in France. The flow of French immigrants to the United States also has been very stable in comparison to other countries, ranging from a high of 77,000 during the decade of the 1840s to a low of 18,000 during the 1970s.

While these figures provide useful information about the trends of French immigration, demographers admit that counting French Americans has been problematic since U.S. colonial times. For many years U.S. officials tended to overestimate the number of French immigrants because they equated immigrants’ nationality with their last place of domicile before arrival. This policy meant that many people who actually hailed from Germany or Eastern Europe and had settled in France temporarily in order to facilitate their eventual passage to the United States were regarded as French Americans. Another problem in the U.S. immigration figures involves inconsistent treatment of the French speaking people who came to America from Canada or the Caribbean. French Canadian Americans, Acadians (or Cajuns), and Creoles form distinct U.S. ethnic groups but are not always distinguished from French Americans in census figures. Compounding the problems with U.S. immigration figures, for many years French officials tended to underestimate the number of emigrants because they wished to downplay any outflow of French citizens. However, most sources agree that French immigration to the United States has been small and steady over time.

Despite their relatively small numbers, French immigrants have tended to be more successful and influential than other groups in America. French immigrants are generally urban, middle-class, skilled, and progressive, and they are most likely to be employed as artisans or merchants. The U.S. Census of 1910 showed that French Americans were more literate, more concentrated in liberal

professions, and had fewer children and larger living spaces than other immigrant groups. In the 1930s, moreover, French Americans accounted for ten percent of the entries in *Appleton’s Encyclopedia of American Biography*, although they made up only two percent of the overall population. However, many French immigrants returned to France despite their high rate of success in the United States. In fact, a 1980 estimate showed that only one-third of registered French immigrants ultimately decided to seek U.S. citizenship.

THE FIRST FRENCH AMERICANS

Many of the earliest French settlements in North America were mainly intended as trading outposts. Jean Ribaut, a French Huguenot sailor, established two of the first French colonies near Beaufort, South Carolina, and Jacksonville, Florida, in the 1550s. He settled in these locations in order to compete with the Spanish for control of trade in the Caribbean region. In 1534, French explorer Jacques Cartier became the first to travel the length of the St. Lawrence River. Although he failed to find the gold he was seeking, by 1542 he did reach the area that would become Quebec, including Montreal, in Canada. After forming an alliance with the powerful Algonquin Indians, Samuel de Champlain founded the first permanent French settlement in Quebec in 1608.

Originally, French colonial policy allowed only Catholics to emigrate, but most French Catholics were reluctant to leave their homes. As a result, the few people who came to North America from France were mostly explorers, traders, or Jesuit missionaries seeking to convert the Indians. These individuals tended to spread out and travel far into the wilderness. In fact, by the time the Pilgrims arrived in New England in 1620, the French had already discovered three of the Great Lakes. This migration to the Midwest later led to French bases in Detroit and St. Louis. Robert Cavalier de La Salle traveled the length of the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico in 1682, and upon completion of his journey founded Louisiana by claiming the entire Mississippi Basin in the name of King Louis XIV of France. Jean-Baptiste Bienville followed by forming a successful French colony in New Orleans in 1717.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

There have been several notable waves of French immigrants to the United States based upon economic, religious, or political factors. For the most

part, however, French immigration has been a result of individual decisions rather than a mass movement. The earliest flow of French immigrants began around 1538 and consisted of Huguenots who felt alienated from mainstream French society due to their Protestant faith. The Huguenots' emigration peaked after King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, outlawing the Protestant religion and forcing the Huguenots to either convert to Catholicism or face death. According to Albert Robbins in *Coming to America: Immigrants from Northern Europe*, the king's official decree gave orders to "kill the greatest part of the Protestants that can be overtaken, without sparing the women, to the end that this may intimidate them and prevent others from falling into a similar fault."

Many Huguenots decided to flee from France, but it was still illegal for Protestants to emigrate. Those who managed to leave often had to pay bribes or use connections to acquire false passports. As a result, the majority of the 15,000 Huguenots who arrived in North America were wealthy and skilled, and they eventually gained prominence as craftsmen and merchants. The Huguenots established a strong presence in New York with settlements in Harlem, Staten Island, New Rochelle, and New Paltz. In fact, the first child born in New York City was Jean Vigné, the son of a Huguenot immigrant. Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Massachusetts also became the sites of successful Huguenot settlements. Since the Huguenots could not settle among French Catholics and felt alienated from France, most accepted North America as their new homeland and changed their names to sound more English.

With the beginning of the French Revolution, a wave of Roman Catholic refugees emigrated from France to the United States. Many of these immigrants were either wealthy aristocrats or working-class people, such as chefs and hairdressers, who depended upon the aristocrats for their livelihood. Another important group of refugees to arrive at this time included 100 French priests. Since there were only 25 priests in the American colonies prior to their arrival, these immigrants had a strong influence on the development of the American Catholic church. Missionary work carried the Roman Catholic refugees to far-ranging French colonial areas, such as Michigan, St. Louis, and Louisiana.

About 10,000 political refugees managed to leave France during the French Revolution, and many of these immigrants traveled through French colonies in the Caribbean to reach the United States. This group included about 3,000 people of mixed black and French ancestry who settled in



Sally Eustice wears a dress and a lace kerchief veil in a style worn by French brides in the 1700s at Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan.

Philadelphia. Following Napoleon's defeat in 1815, a large wave of French immigration began, which lasted through the start of the American Civil War. Napoleon's brother Jérôme came to the United States at this time with several hundred former soldiers and tried unsuccessfully to establish settlements in Texas, Alabama, and Ohio.

The California Gold Rush, which began in 1848, convinced a record number of French immigrants to make their way to the United States. About 30,000 people arrived between 1849 and 1851, with an all-time high of 20,000 coming in 1851 alone. Unfortunately, few of these immigrants ever found the riches they were seeking. According to Abraham P. Nasatir in *French Activities in California*, the following letter written by Montes Jean—one of the French immigrant "forty-niners"—describes the conditions immigrants encountered in San Francisco in December 1849: "It is twenty-four days since we arrived in California, but in what condition.... We have been very fortunate being in a country where a great deal is earned and where work is not lacking. I say 'work'; that is to say, go to the dock of San Francisco, become a working man, carry bales of merchandise to various stores and you will be quite well paid. For carrying a trunk weighing about a hundred livres for a distance of fifty meters or more one is paid three dollars (about sixteen francs); and in this way we have lived up to now, when I am writing you. But at present, since people are arriving in large numbers, prices are diminishing greatly. One cannot go to the mines at this time on account of the rising waters and because the routes are miry and submerged.... Food

is very expensive in this country. Bread, for example, costs a half-dollar a livre, and meat twenty-six sous de France. Work is not progressing very much at present, although there are two hundred vessels in the harbor.”

In 1871 a group of Alsatian Jews settled in Los Angeles, after the Franco-Prussian War put the French provinces Alsace and Lorraine under German rule. Immigration slowed significantly during the American Civil War, and the years immediately following saw a larger percentage of unskilled workers from France moving to the United States. A number of French Jews immigrated after the fall of France to the Germans in 1940. From the end of World War II onward, a strong cultural and economic recovery in France caused the flow of French immigrants to slow considerably. Most French immigrants in the second half of the twentieth century came to the United States because they married an American citizen or simply wanted to try something different, rather than out of religious, economic, or political necessity.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

French American settlement patterns reflect the fact that French immigrants typically came to the United States as individuals or families seeking economic opportunity. Rather than joining groups of previous French settlers or establishing French American communities, these immigrants most often scattered to the areas where new opportunities seemed likely to be found. For example, the number of ethnic French living in Louisiana dropped from 15,000 in 1860 to half that number by 1930 as the prosperity of the South declined. In the meantime, the French population of California rose from 8,000 in 1860 to 22,000 by 1970 as immigrants pursued new opportunities in the West. According to *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity*, in 1980 more immigrants directly from France lived in California, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania than in any other states. Many of these French immigrants possessed professional skills that were most valuable in urban environments. Less than 40 percent of French Americans immigrated directly from France, however, as the majority came from French speaking parts of Canada. In general, these groups came from different French social classes and tended to avoid contact with each other despite their shared language.

According to the U.S. Census of 1980, the counties with the largest number of people of French ancestry—including those whose ancestors immigrated to the United States directly from

France as well as those whose ancestors immigrated from Canada or the Caribbean—were Worcester, Massachusetts, with 90,332; Providence, Rhode Island, with 72,461; Middlesex, Massachusetts, with 66,911; Los Angeles, California, with 65,263; and Hillsborough, New Hampshire, with 58,278. The counties (parishes) with the highest percentage of their population claiming French ancestry were all in Louisiana: Vermillion, with 43.13 percent French ancestry; St. Martin, with 37.67 percent; Evangeline, with 36.22 percent; Lafourche, with 36.2 percent; and Avoyelles, with 33.48 percent.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Historically, the people who immigrated to the United States from northern Europe—including France—were more readily accepted than some other immigrant groups. For example, when the U.S. Congress passed a law restricting immigration in the 1920s, northern European groups received the most liberal quotas. This favored status allowed northern European immigrants to assimilate more easily into American culture. The type of individual who was most likely to leave France for the United States, moreover, had a particularly strong propensity toward assimilation. For instance, a high percentage of French immigrants were professionals or merchants who earned their livings among the greater population and within an urban environment. At the same time, very few French farmers—who would have lived in rural areas and been more isolated from the dominant culture—decided to emigrate. Typical French immigrants were also modernists who felt estranged from mainstream French culture and viewed the United States as a progressive, classless, secular, and innovative society. “Given this background of alienation and yearning,” Patrice Louis René Higonnet explains in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, “it is hardly surprising that French immigrants, self-selecting and at odds with the national ethos, should have been assimilationists.”

Higonnet also attributes the absence of group spirit among French Americans to their geographic dispersion, a general French distaste for group interaction, and the fact that French immigrants came to the United States seeking new forms of society and culture. One early example of assimilation among French immigrants was when the Huguenots chose to join the less-extreme Anglican Church in North America. In the modern era, despite the strong cultural nationalism found in France, French Ameri-

In 1989 French Americans celebrated the bicentennial of the French Revolution.



cans have shown a higher rate of intermarriage than any other non-English-speaking immigrant group. In fact, French Americans tend to assimilate so quickly and completely that most sources can only cite their overall impact on American culture. As James S. Pula confirmed in *The French in America*, “Place names and linguistic quirks remain as a lasting testimony to the influence of France on American culture, but the people have all but disappeared into an abyss of assimilation. Unlike many other national groups, the French generally held no special reluctance toward Anglicanizing their names and their speech.”

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The rapid assimilation of French immigrants into American society ensured that few traditional customs were carried over and practiced by French Americans. Instead, Americans studied and emulated French culture, manners, cuisine, fashion, art, and literature. French Americans mainly disseminated information and acted as role models. French culture first gained widespread popularity in the United States in the early nineteenth century—shortly after the Revolutionary War—when Americans followed the events and supported the principles of the French Revolution. French chefs and restaurants bolstered the popularity of French cuisine, while the influence of French impressionists on American art became apparent. Several U.S. presidents also ordered French furniture and silverware for use at the White House.

CUISINE

French immigrants introduced a wide range of interesting foods to America. For example, French Americans made the first yeast breads in North America and brought technical farming skills that vastly improved American rice and wines. Huguenots grew and prepared the first okra, artichokes, and tomatoes. The popularity of French cuisine took off in the 1780s, following the alliance between France and the United States during the American Revolution. Many respected French chefs, such as Arthur Goussé in Los Angeles, immigrated to the United States and established restaurants. Even non-French Americans began to prepare buns and rolls, omelettes, and delicate soups. A number of French culinary terms remain prominent in modern times, including *bouillon*, *purée*, *fricassée*, *mayonnaise*, *pâté*, *hors d'oeuvres*, *bisque*, *fillet*, *sauté*, *casserole*, *au gratin*, and *à la mode*.

FASHION

Imported French attire gained popularity in the early nineteenth century, particularly items such as gloves and lace. Around 1850, the French custom of wearing beards swept across the United States. In 1908, several women wearing imported French skirts and fishnet stockings were arrested for indecent exposure. France has maintained its position on the leading edge of world fashion through the present day.

HOLIDAYS

The French national holiday of Bastille Day—which commemorates the uprising that destroyed a

The Cape Vincent French Festival, in Cape Vincent, New York, attracts many French descendants and children.



major symbol of oppression in Paris and led to the formation of the First Republic in 1789—is celebrated in some communities throughout the United States on July 14. In addition, the New Orleans tradition of Mardi Gras—a week-long series of parades and parties usually held in February—was first organized in 1827 by French American students.

HEALTH ISSUES

The average life expectancy in France is exactly the same as in the United States—70 years for men, and 78 years for women. Although there are no known congenital diseases specific to French Americans, the French have shown a higher than average susceptibility to lung and throat cancers, mainly because they tend to smoke and drink heavily. France has one of the highest rates of alcoholism in the world.

LANGUAGE

French is a Romance language derived from Latin. It has enjoyed a prestigious position in world culture for over three centuries. French was the official language of diplomatic negotiations, and the preferred language among the upper classes of Western civilization, beginning around 1650. By about 1920, however, English began to gain popularity, and it eventually surpassed French in terms of international status. In 1975 the French National Assembly, reacting to what it viewed as an encroachment

of English slang upon the French language (commonly called “franglais”), passed a law restricting the use of untranslated English words in advertising materials. They also hoped to discourage the French public from using English words when an equivalent French term existed.

As of 1990, an estimated 1.93 million people in the United States spoke the French language at home. The influence of French is also apparent in American English. For example, since French explorers often served as guides for other settlers after the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory, French words were used to describe many aspects of the frontier experience, such as *portage*, *rapids*, *bayou*, *butte*, *peak*, *gopher*, *prairie*, *pass*, and *cache*. French explorers also left a legacy of American place names, including Baton Rouge, Sault Ste. Marie, Detroit, Couer d’Alene, Marquette, Joliet, Lake Champlain, Lake Pontchartrain, Des Moines, Eau Claire, Fon du Lac, Charlevoix, and Terre Haute. Finally, numerous French words occur in everyday American usage, such as *croquet*, *poker*, *roulette*, *automobile*, *garage*, *lingerie*, *restaurant*, *crayon*, *bouquet*, and *boutique*.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common French greetings and other expressions include: *Bonjour*—Hello, Good morning, Good afternoon; *Comment allez-vous*—How do you do; *Au revoir*—Good-bye; *Très bien*—Very good; *Oui, c’est ça*—Yes, that’s right; *Merci beaucoup*—Thank you very much; *À votre service*—You’re welcome; or, Don’t mention it.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

The French educational system, which was initiated during Napoleon’s rule, has had a marked influence on schooling in the United States since the early 1800s. The French system features innovative nursery and primary schools, followed by *collèges*, the equivalent of American junior high schools. Students then must decide whether to complete their secondary education at an academic or a vocational *lycée*—a three-year preparatory school similar to American high schools. Admission to French universities is based upon a rigorous, competitive examination in a specific subject area. Only top students may attend the *grandes écoles*, or elite schools, that serve as a prerequisite for top jobs in business and government. Educators in the United States

emulated the French system of progressive schooling culminating in admission to a private or municipal university. In France, however, the entire educational system is administered by the Ministry of National Education, while in the United States education is controlled by states or local communities. Proponents of the French system claim that it is superior, in that it demands students' best efforts and rewards exceptional performance. On the other hand, some detractors claim that the system works to maintain a social class system in France, since the vast majority of students at the *grandes écoles* hail from upper-class backgrounds.

RELIGION

The majority of French immigrants to the United States have been Roman Catholic. This fact is so partly because Catholics form a majority in France, and partly because during colonial times only Catholics were allowed to emigrate. Descendants of the 15,000 French Huguenots who came to the United States tend to be Anglican. More recently, the United States became a refuge for French Jews during and after World War II.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

On the whole, French immigrants have been highly successful and have made a lasting impact in the United States. According to *We the People*, the French immigrants who remained in the United States tended to be "less traditional and more enterprising, ambitious, and forward-looking" individuals who typically "adjusted without much apparent stress to American ways." In contrast to other immigrant groups, only 12 percent of French Americans were farmers. Instead, French immigrants most often worked as professionals, clerical workers, cooks, waiters, artists, and managers.

Specific French immigration waves contributed different labor practices to American society. For example, the Huguenots introduced a number of skilled crafts to the United States, including sophisticated techniques of weaving, leather dressing, lace making, and felt manufacture. Some historians claim that the Huguenots' stylish ways helped transform crude frontier settlements into civilized cities and towns. Refugees from the French Revolution and the fall of Napoleon who came to the United States tended to be former army officers or aristocrats. These educated individuals often taught the French language or such elite activities as fence-

ing and dancing. A number of French chefs, hairdressers, dress designers, and perfumers accompanied the wave of aristocrats and introduced French cuisine and fashion to America.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Americans of French ancestry began to influence politics in the United States during colonial times. Most French immigrants rapidly became "Americanized," however, and participated in government as individuals rather than as a group. Four U.S. presidents—John Tyler, James B. Garfield, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—were of French Huguenot descent.

MILITARY SERVICE

Many descendants of French Huguenots, including Paul Revere, were distinguished patriots during the American Revolution. In addition, the French government provided invaluable support to the American cause. One French army captain in particular, Marquis de Lafayette, had an important influence on the events at this time. Lafayette fought brilliantly as a major general in George Washington's army, and later returned to France to convince King Louis XVI to formally recognize the independence of the United States and to provide military aid against the British. French immigrants fought passionately on both sides of the American Civil War. For example, Brigadier General Benjamin Buisson, a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, formed troops out of French volunteers to defend New Orleans for the Confederacy. A number of all-French American groups, known as Zouave units, fought for both the North and the South, wearing uniforms in the French colonial tradition.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART AND LEISURE

Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754-1825), a civil engineer by training, fought with Lafayette during the American Revolution. He later became the architect of the United States capital city in Washington, D.C. His designs of majestic buildings and tree-lined squares were considered visionary. French artist Régis François Gignoux came to the United States in 1844. He served as the first president of the Brooklyn Art Academy and had a vast influence on American landscape painting. In 1876,

John La Farge painted the first mural in America to decorate Trinity Church in Boston. He later went on to develop techniques that allowed stained glass to be used on a large scale for decorative purposes. Marcel Duchamp, the French Dadaist painter and conceptual artist, lived in New York from 1942 until his death in 1968.

Celebrated poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), of French descent, was perhaps best known for his epic *Song of Hiawatha*, published in 1855. John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) became a prominent abolitionist as well as poet. French American author and naturalist Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) gained renown with the 1854 publication of *Walden*, a diary of his two years in the wilderness near Concord, Massachusetts. Two other respected French American writers were Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892-1950), who won the Pulitzer Prize in 1923 for *The Harp Weaver, and Other Poems*, and Stephen Vincent Benét (1898-1943), who won the 1929 Pulitzer Prize for his epic poem "John Brown's Body."

Among the French American actors to gain prominence in the United States were Leslie Caron (1931–), Charles Boyer (1899-1978), and Claudette Colbert (1905-1996). After making her American debut in 1924, Colbert won an Academy Award as best actress for her role in *It Happened One Night* in 1934. Actor Robert Goulet made his debut in the Broadway production of *Camelot* in 1960, and went on to appear in many feature films and receive both Tony and Emmy Awards. Composer Maurice Jarée won several Academy Awards for the musical scores he wrote for such classic American films as *Lawrence of Arabia*, *Dr. Zhivago*, *Grand Prix*, and *The Longest Day* in the 1960s. In sports, French American jockey Ron Turcotte rode the most famous American racehorse of all time, Secretariat, to victory in the Triple Crown of horse racing.

EDUCATION

Thomas Gallaudet (1787-1851) founded the first American school for the deaf in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1817. He also established teachers' training schools and promoted advanced education for women. Gallaudet College, a national institute for the deaf, was established in Washington, D.C. in 1855. French American Edouard Seguin (1812-1880) was responsible for significant developments in the education of mentally challenged individuals. In 1842, Father Edward Sorin, a French priest, founded a seminary which later became the University of Notre Dame. Finally, James Bowdoin served as governor of Massachusetts and first presi-

dent of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. He also founded Bowdoin College and established the Massachusetts Humane Society.

GOVERNMENT

One of the most influential French Americans in the history of U.S. government was John Jay (1745-1829). Among his many contributions, Jay acted as president of the Continental Congress, negotiated the treaty with England that ensured American independence, and served as the first Chief Justice of U.S. Supreme Court.

INDUSTRY

One of the most famous French Americans, partly due to the variety of his contributions, was Paul Revere (1735-1818). The son of Huguenot Apollos Revoire de Romagnieu, Revere led several protests against British rule of the American colonies, including the Boston Tea Party. He also made the legendary "midnight ride" to warn Massachusetts residents that British soldiers were approaching at the start the American Revolution. In his time, however, Revere was also known as a talented silversmith who developed a distinctly American style. He designed and engraved the plates for the first paper money in Massachusetts and established the first mill for rolling copper sheets. Pierre Faneuil, who belonged to a wealthy and influential family of merchants, donated to the city of Boston the public market and meeting place known as Faneuil Hall.

Eleuthère Irénée Dupont de Nemours (1772-1834), who was considered a radical in France, came to the United States after losing his publishing business during the French Revolution. He opened a gunpowder mill in 1799, which grew rapidly during the War of 1812. Eventually, under the management of his heirs, his holdings grew into the Dupont Chemical-General Motors complex, one of the largest industrial concerns in the world. In 1851, French American John Gorrie invented an ice machine and received the first U.S. patent for mechanical refrigeration. Philip Danforth Armour, whose Armour brand meats are still sold in the United States, first entered the meat-packing business in 1863. His contributions to the industry included the development of advanced slaughtering and modern refrigeration techniques.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Civil engineer Octave Chanute came to the United States from France at the age of six. He conducted

numerous experiments in aeronautics and created the wing design that became the basis for the Wright Brothers' successful airplane. John J. Audubon (1785-1851), the son of a French immigrant who fought in the American Revolution, is remembered as America's premier naturalist. His comprehensive study *Birds in America*, which included over 1,000 illustrations drawn or painted by Audubon, appeared beginning in 1827. Matthew Fontaine Maury is credited as the founder of the modern science of hydrography. He was the first person to chart the flow of the Gulf Stream, to conduct deep-sea soundings, and to imagine the potential of a transoceanic cable. His best-known work, *The Physical Geography of the Sea*, was published in 1856. Marine explorer Jacques Cousteau (1910-1997) contributed to the invention of the aqualung in 1943 and won an Academy Award in 1957 for his documentary film feature *The Silent World*.

In medicine, surgeon François Marie Provost performed the first successful cesarean sections in Louisiana in 1809. Alexis Carrel (1873-1944) became famous during his tenure at the Rockefeller Institute as the first doctor to sew blood vessels together, transplant animal organs, and keep human tissue alive in jars. He wrote the seminal work *Man, the Unknown*, and won the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1912.

MEDIA

PRINT

France-Amérique.

Published by Trocadero Publishing, Inc., this weekly periodical is a French language tabloid established in 1943 by prominent refugees. It covers news from France and Franco-American life in the United States.

Address: 1560 Broadway, Suite 511, New York, New York 10036-1525.

Telephone: (212) 221-6700.

Fax: (212) 221-6997.

E-mail: franceam@aol.com.

Online: <http://www.france-amerique.com/>.

France Today.

Published ten times annually by France Press, Inc., *France Today* covers contemporary issues, events, trends, and travel in France.

Address: 1051 Divisadero, San Francisco, California, 94115.

Telephone: (415) 921-5100.

Journal Français d'Amérique.

Published bi-weekly by France Press, Inc., this periodical covers French history, politics, culture, and travel.

Contact: Anne Prah Perochon, Editor.

Address: 1051 Divisadero, San Francisco, California, 94115.

Telephone: (415) 921-5100.

Fax: (415) 921-0213.

E-mail: fpres@hooked.net.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Fédération Féminine Franco-Américaine de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (Federation of French American Women).

FFFA was founded in 1951, the 8,000-member FFFA promotes French culture; conducts an oral history program; sponsors French speaking contests, youth festivals, ethnic vacations, and an annual scholarship for outstanding students of French; compiles statistics; and maintains an archive and a hall of fame.

Contact: Marthe W. Whalon, President.

Address: 240 Highland Avenue, Fall River, Massachusetts, 02720.

Telephone: (508) 678-1800.

French American Foundation (FAF).

Founded in 1976, FAF works to strengthen relations between the United States and France by creating opportunities for French and American professionals to discuss problems of concern to both societies. FAF sponsors exchanges of specialists, internships, study tours, conferences, and fellowships, including the Tocqueville Grant Program for U.S. doctoral candidates and a continuing Chair in American Civilization at a university in Paris.

Contact: Diantha D. Schull, Executive Director.

Address: 509 Madison Avenue, Suite 310, New York, New York 10022-5501.

Telephone: (212) 288-4400.

Fax: (212) 288-4769.

E-Mail: french_amerfon@msn.com.

French Institute/Alliance Française (FI AF).

Formed in 1971 through the merger of Alliance Française de New York (founded 1898) and French Institute in the United States (founded 1911), FI AF encourages study of French language and culture among its 8,600 members and fosters friendly rela-

tions between French and American peoples. FIAF also offers a program of French lectures, films, concerts, theater, and art; operates a school of French for adults; and maintains a library of 40,000 volumes in French.

Contact: Jean Vallier, Director.
Address: 22 East 60th Street, New York, New York, 10022-1077.
Telephone: (212) 355-6100.
Fax: (212) 935-4119.
E-Mail: tbechara@fiaf.org.
Online: <http://www.fiaf.org>.

National Association of Franco-Americans (AFA). Also known as Assemblée Nationale des Franco-Américains. Founded in 1977, AFA works to provide a cultural identity and create a forum for the exchange of ideas among its 7,000 members, who share a French linguistic heritage or belong to a French speaking population in the United States. AFA also represents Franco-Americans in legislative matters, conducts research on Franco-American history and culture, and publishes a bimonthly newsletter.

Contact: Real Gilbert, President.
Address: 500 Chestnut Street, Manchester, New Hampshire 03101-1614.
Telephone: (603) 627-0505.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL) Project.

Cooperative effort of the University of Chicago and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique that is involved in the development of an online database covering French language and literature from the Middle Ages to the present, including more than 150 million words of major literary, technical, and philosophical texts.

Contact: Dr. Robert Morrissey, Director.
Address: Department of Romance Languages and Literature, 1050 East 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60637.
Telephone: (773) 702-8488.
E-mail: mark@barkov.uchicago.edu.
Online: <http://humanities.uchicago.edu/ARTFL/ARTFL.html>.

The Center for French and Francophone Studies.

Located at Louisiana State University, the center conducts research into French and francophone culture of the southern United States and the Caribbean, including studies of mores and customs, work, law and commerce, role of women, Creole languages, and literature.

Contact: Assia Djébar, Director.
Address: Department of French and Italian, Louisiana State University, 225 Prescott Hall, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 70803.
Telephone: (504) 388-6589.
Fax: (504) 388-6620.
E-mail: Djébar_Homer@forlang.lsu.edu.
Online: <http://www.lsu.edu>.

Henri Peyre French Institute.

An integral unit of the graduate school of the City University of New York, the institute conducts research into French literature, philosophy, politics, film, and the arts with the support of the French government.

Contact: Dr. Mary Ann Caws, Director.
Address: 33 West 42nd Street, New York, New York, 10036.
Telephone: (212) 642-2311.
Fax: (212) 642-2761.
E-mail: cawsma@aol.com.

Society for French Historical Studies.

Independent, nonprofit historical society focusing on French history in the United States and Canada.

Contact: Professor Shelton Stromquist.
Address: University of Iowa Department of History, Iowa City, Iowa 52242.
Telephone: (319) 335-2330.
Fax: (319) 335-2293.
E-mail: shelton-stromquist@uiowa.edu.

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The family is
at the center of
the French-Canadian
American's world.

FRENCH-CANADIAN AMERICANS

by
Marianne Fedunkiw

OVERVIEW

Canada, with an area encompassing just over six million square miles, is the largest country in the world. This American neighbor to the north is bordered on the other three sides by oceans: the Pacific to the west, the Atlantic to the east, and the Arctic to the north. At 5,525 miles, its border with the United States is the longest undefended border in the world.

More than half of the 26.9 million people in Canada are concentrated in the corridor between Windsor, Ontario, and Québec City, Québec. Much of the remaining population lives in the southern areas of each of the nation's ten provinces and two territories. The country's largest cities are Toronto, with 3.8 million residents, Montréal with 3.1 million, and Vancouver with 1.6 million. Although there are French Canadians in each of the provinces, by far the greatest number can be found in the province of Québec. In 1991, 81 percent of the population of Québec cited French as their "mother tongue" (the first language spoken as a child and still understood), compared to about nine percent for English. The next-highest concentration of French-speaking Canadians is in New Brunswick (33 percent). All of the remaining provinces reported figures of less than five percent, ranging from 0.4 to 4.6 percent. Overall, 6.5 million Canadians, or 24 percent of the population in 1991, reported French as their "mother tongue."

English-speaking Canadians numbered 16.5 million, or almost 61 percent of the total population.

There is also a strong and growing trend of bilingualism in Canada. According to the 1986 census, 16 percent of the population spoke both English and French, again with the province of Québec leading the way. In Québec almost 60 percent of anglophones, more than 30 percent of francophones, and close to half of those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French were bilingual. For comparison, outside Québec only about five percent of anglophones and 80 percent of francophones were bilingual.

Québec was by far the leading point of departure for French-Canadian immigration to the United States, although there were those who travelled south from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Ontario. Québec is the largest province, making up almost 16 percent of Canada's total area and over one-fourth of its population. The provincial motto is *Je me souviens* (I remember), and the flower is the fleur-de-lis. Both motto and flower are featured prominently on the provincial coat of arms.

HISTORY

The man who is credited with discovering the Canadian mainland was French explorer Jacques Cartier (1491-1557). He was seeking gold and riches via the famed Northwest Passage to the East, but reached Newfoundland instead in May 1534. He made another journey to Canada in 1535 and, unlike earlier explorers, continued west along the St. Lawrence River as far as modern-day Québec City, and then pressed on even farther to the future site of Montréal. This first foray into the interior was difficult—particularly because of the harsh winter conditions in Québec City and the rampant scurvy that killed many men. The remainder were said to be saved by a native tea made from the bark of the white spruce tree.

Cartier's third voyage to Canada was a failure in terms of establishing a settlement. Permanent settlement would have to wait until the fur trade gave reason to send more than the occasional fishing vessel. Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635) finally established the first trading post on the site of Québec City in 1608. Champlain, too, had sought the Northwest Passage, but he soon realized that beaver pelts would be responsible for the survival of any settlements. He set up a system of company monopolies to systematically hunt and sell pelts and, in exchange for 300 settlers coming to the new land annually, to serve as the area's government from 1627 until 1642.

Unfortunately, Champlain's early settlement was attacked by English and Iroquois Confederacy rivals. The Catholic church, an integral part of French settlement, also suffered during the mid-seventeenth century at the hands of those opposed to French colonization. Groups such as the Jesuit missionaries, who were sent to convert the natives, were often attacked, and many missionaries and their followers were tortured and killed.

In addition to founding Québec, Champlain ventured into northern New York (he discovered the lake named for him in 1609), and explored the Atlantic coast as far as Massachusetts, including many of the larger rivers in Maine. However, Champlain's efforts to establish a successful French colony were thwarted by weather, battles with the English and certain native groups, and limited support from France. He died in Québec in 1635, at the age of 68.

NEW FRANCE

For all of the hardships, the King of France, Louis XIV, did not give up. In 1665 he sent two ships to Québec containing the first regular troops to be sent to Canada, in addition to Alexandre de Prouville, the Marquis de Tracy (1596-1670), who was made lieutenant-general for all French possessions in North America. The government changed from Champlain's company monopolies to a Sovereign Council composed of the governor of New France, a bishop, and an intendant—the latter being the chief representative of royal power in a French colony. France shipped boatloads of *demoiselles bien choisies* (women of good health and upbringing), or *filles du roi* (king's girls), to raise the numbers and help settle New France. Jean Talon (1626-1694), the first intendant of New France, was instrumental in doubling the population between 1666 and 1678, to 7,605 settlers. He was joined in his efforts by the first bishop, François de Montmorency-Laval (1623-1708), who established a seminary that would become the University of Laval, and the governor of New France, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac (1622-1698).

Talon also successfully implemented the seignorial system, in which feudal land tenures were granted to settlers free of charge in exchange for clearing the land and pledging loyalty to the King of France. The seigneur would, in turn, subdivide his acreage to tenants who paid a nominal rent, cleared, and farmed the land. These *habitants* were the first French Canadians. Soon the settlements had, at their center, a parish church and an established *curé* (priest) to meet their religious needs. In

addition to the *habitants*, there were the *coureurs de bois*, traders who negotiated for furs with the Indians in the upper reaches of the Ottawa River and in the Great Lakes.

SETTLEMENTS OUTSIDE QUÉBEC

The French settled in other parts of North America as well. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), France ceded Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia to England. The French, however, retained control of present-day Cape Breton Island on the east coast of Nova Scotia where they built the fortress of Louisbourg (1720-1740) to defend its remaining territory. In addition to Acadia, or the Maritime provinces of Canada, the French could be found in the coastal region of northern Maine. The first Acadian settlement was established in 1604 by Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts at St. Croix Island in the Bay of Fundy. In 1755, 6,500 Acadians were deported to the American colonies of the Atlantic Seaboard for having refused to take an oath to the king of England. Many of them would later find their way to Louisiana where they became known as Cajuns, a derivation of the word Acadian. Other early French towns in the United States included Detroit, Michigan, founded by Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac (1658-1730) in 1701. Cadillac also served as colonial governor of the Louisiana territory.

Finally, outside of Québec, the major concentration of French settlers was in what are now Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois. The Louisiana Territory was claimed for France in 1682 and named by explorer Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle (1643-1687), after King Louis XIV. French forts along the Mississippi River spread northward from New Orleans. A pair of French Canadians founded and helped to colonize this southern French territory. Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville (1661-1706) established the city of Biloxi, Mississippi, in 1699, and Jean-Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, established New Orleans in 1718. In 1803 the United States bought the land, which spread from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, from France for \$15 million in the Louisiana Purchase.

There are many other place names in the United States that tell the tale of French influence and settlement. The state of Maine is said to have been named for the province of Mayne in France, and Vermont comes from the French words *vert mont*, which mean "green mountain." Duluth, Minnesota, is named for Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut (1636-1710), who won the Lake Superior and upper Mississippi region for France. Likewise, Dubuque, Iowa, is named for Julien Dubuque (1762-1810), a

pioneer settler of Iowa. Vestiges of the French connection remain in Minnesota's motto, *L'Étoile du Nord* (The star of the north).

WAR WITH THE ENGLISH

The English, French, and Spanish all wanted to claim North America for their own. After a series of smaller skirmishes, the French and Indian Wars of 1689-1763 (between the French and the English) finally led to the fall of the French colonies. These battles, offshoots of various European wars, culminating in the Seven Years' War, saw the French and native peoples aligned against the British and their American colonists. In 1745 English forces captured the fort at Louisbourg. (It was returned to France in 1748.) The most renowned battle, however, took place on the Plains of Abraham in modern-day Québec City in 1759. By the time the assault was over, both the French General, Louis-Joseph de Montcalm (1712-1759), and the British commander, Brigadier General James Wolfe (1727-1759), lay dead on the battlefield. The Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763 and France ceded her Canadian and American territories east of the Mississippi to England, as well as much of French Louisiana to Spain as compensation for Florida, which Spain yielded to Great Britain. This temporarily ended immigration from France to the Canadian colonies—the French numbered around 60,000 in 1763. During the American Revolution, some French Canadians moved to the United States to escape British rule, while many American Loyalists (who were British sympathizers) were granted land in Québec and the Maritime Provinces.

In recognition of the differing interests of English and French Canadians, what are now the provinces of Ontario and Québec became Upper Canada and Lower Canada, respectively, in 1791. Lower Canada had its own legislature, and French Canadians were allowed to practice their Roman Catholic religion. Nevertheless, tensions culminated in a revolt in 1837, when Britain tried to unite the two Canadas. After the rebellion was quelled, the two halves were successfully joined in 1840. Many of the French rebels fled to the United States, particularly to New England. Finally, the Dominion of Canada was established in 1867.

THE RIEL REBELLION

The battle to maintain French Canadian culture and language in a land under British rule also surfaced outside of Québec. Resentful of the encroach-

ing power of the English from the East, Louis Riel led a group of French Canadian Métis (individuals who are part French and part American Indian) settlers in an attack on Upper Fort Garry, the main camp of the Hudson Bay Company, in 1869. Riel was one-eighth Native Canadian and seven-eighths French Canadian, and his Métis followers were of similarly mixed native and French ancestry. They captured the fort and used it as leverage to bargain for special rights for the French and the Métis in Manitoba.

Riel's actions—including the execution of Thomas Scott, a Protestant who fought the French Canadians and Métis—led to a growing hatred on the part of the English in the East. Although Manitoba entered the Canadian confederation in 1870, Riel was banished from Canada in 1875. He settled in Montana temporarily, but returned to Canada in 1884 to participate in the fight for French Canadian and Métis independence. He was charged with treason and later executed for his part in the Saskatchewan Rebellion of 1885.

MODERN ERA

French Canadians continued to resent having to subordinate themselves to British rule throughout the twentieth century. When World War I broke out in 1914, French Canadians fought against conscription to fight in what they perceived to be Britain's war. French-speakers also fought to have their culture and language recognized and maintained. The 1960s saw a resurgence in the "Quiet Revolution" to preserve "Québec for the French Canadians." In 1976, the Parti Québécois (PQ), a group of militant separatists, was elected to national office for the first time. Their leader was René Lévesque (1922-1987). The year after gaining power, the PQ declared French to be the official language of the province of Québec, but this was overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1979.

A number of referenda have been taken in Québec to gauge popular support for the idea of separating from Canada. In 1980 the vote was against separating, but just a year later the province refused to acknowledge the new Canadian constitution. To address this issue, the premiers of the provinces met in 1987 and drew up the Meech Lake Accord (named for the site of the meetings). The Accord recognized Québec as a "distinct society," but changes to the constitution were not forthcoming, since many English Canadians were opposed to special treatment for Québec. The Accord failed to be ratified by all the provinces. In 1994 Québec once again voted in favor of the PQ, which has renewed

its call for independence. Separatism, therefore, remains by far the most significant issue facing French Canadians in Québec during the later decades of the twentieth century.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Exploration by the French was not limited to Canada. Jesuit missionaries travelled south along the Mississippi River, and in 1673 Louis Joliet (1648-1700) and Jesuit Priest Jacques Marquette (1637-1675) explored the Mississippi River. Robert Cave-lier, Sieur de la Salle (1643-1687), discovered the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682.

MAJOR IMMIGRATION WAVES: 1830-1870

Small groups or individuals of French Canadian descent have decided to settle in the United States since the major periods of exploration in the seventeenth century. Some fled the aftermath of the Patriote Rebellion of 1837, when hostility toward the French was high. The large number who crossed the border in the nineteenth century, particularly to the New England states, made their choice to seek a better life. These were predominantly young adults, some with families and others who were single. Traditionally, French-Canadian Americans had large families, and these numbers, coupled with dismal economic conditions, drove them south. Some estimates put the extent of the migration at 600,000, which had the effect of draining Canada of a generation.

Work in textile mills and the logging industry—anything besides the backbreaking farm work in Québec—was what drew them. For example, six mills opened in the Lewiston area of the state of Maine alone between 1819 and 1869. When they did settle, French-Canadian Americans sought to build a sense of community much like what they were used to "back home"—centered about a parish church and school, thus combining both the nuclear family and the extended family of the ethnic community. By 1850 about 20,000 French Canadians had settled in the New England area, with the majority living in Vermont. By 1860 there were another 18,000, including clusters in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

THE WAVE CONTINUES: 1865-1920

The influx of French Canadians in the years following the American Civil War resulted from the initiative of American businessmen to expand the textile and shoe industries. Although the French Canadian

population was largest in Vermont throughout the 1850s and 1860s, since 1870 Massachusetts has claimed the majority. In his book *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England*, Gerard J. Brault notes that the French Canadians “have the distinction of being the only major ethnic group to have immigrated to the United States in any significant number by train.” Most French Canadians settled in a circular pattern around Boston—in towns such as Lewiston, Maine, Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, to the north; Worcester and Holyoke, Massachusetts, to the west; and Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and Fall River, Massachusetts, to the south. New York State also attracted some settlers as did the Midwestern states of Michigan, Illinois, and Minnesota. The majority of Franco-American settlements were established from the 1860s to the 1880s, though some areas of Vermont had high numbers of French-Canadian Americans as early as 1815.

Québec did not enjoy losing its youth. Starting in 1875, the Canadian government made fairly successful efforts to bring them back by offering either free or cheap land. In fact, up to half of those who had travelled south returned to Canada by 1900. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, recessions in the United States and relative prosperity meant that immigration to the United States fell off from previous years and some French Canadians returned home.

French Canadian settlers in the United States maintained a high level of concentration and a low level of mobility. By 1900 towns such as Woonsocket, Rhode Island (60 percent French-Canadian American), and Biddeford, Maine (also at 60 percent), were very much French Canadian. The most outstanding example is the area in Maine, along the Canadian frontier, known as the St. John Valley, which was almost entirely Franco-American. This level of concentration heightened the sense of community for the new immigrants and facilitated getting French Canadian priests to serve the thriving parishes. Spiritual guidance and a sense of community became all the more important because, for those who toiled in tedium at the mills, “home” was no longer fresh air and open land but crowded, dingy tenement houses.

1920 TO 1960: EDUCATION KEEPS THINGS ALIVE

According to *The Canadian Born in the United States*, a book published in 1943 using American census data, 47 percent of those reporting themselves as “French Canadian born” immigrated to the United States earlier than 1900. Almost 16 percent of those in the United States through the year 1930

came from 1901 to 1910, while about ten percent came between 1920 and 1930.

The 1920s and 1930s were decades of strength for French-Canadian Americans—organizations had been established, French-language newspapers were thriving, and there were successful battles against attempts to abolish teaching in French. Mount Saint Charles Academy, a Franco-American diocesan high school in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, was established in 1924 and hailed as a strong academic school. Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, continues to offer Franco-American studies as well as French-language instruction. Founded in 1904, it was built upon the model of the French Canadian *collège classique*, in which liberal arts were taught with traditional values and Catholic doctrine.

Elementary schools were set up in great numbers in the 1920s and 1930s. These were parochial schools, supported by the parishes, and they offered a half-day of exposure to the French language and culture. By the 1960s, however, these schools, faced with the increased cost of having to pay lay teachers, were forced to close.

Maintaining French identity became more of a challenge after World War II. The initial immigrants had established a vibrant community of French-language parishes, schools, press, and fraternal organizations, but the group was slowly assimilating and there was no large wave of immigration to keep up the enthusiasm. Immigration to the United States dropped off after the Great Depression of the 1930s. At the same time, many French-Canadian Americans took advantage of the proximity of their home country and lived where the economic conditions or political situation was better for them.

The French were also regarded differently in Canada than in the United States—in Canada they represented one of the two founding nations, while in the United States they were just one of many ethnic groups to arrive in America after much of the country had been settled. After World War II, the original incentives to remain a tight community faded away. More French-Canadian Americans had the opportunity to get an education, for example, and their economic situations improved so that they no longer had to huddle in tenement houses while working long, hard hours in the textile and shoe mills. As a result, many began to drift outside of traditional Franco-American enclaves. For example, most of the once-numerous French-speaking parochial schools near Albany, New York, had ceased to exist by the 1960s, having been demolished for urban renewal or sold to other denominations.

This trend reversed in the 1970s and 1980s, however, with a move toward reviving French



Many French-Canadian immigrants continued to be farmers, growing potatoes in the Northeastern United States.

Canadian traditions and language. Many books have been written, in both English and French, on the Franco-American experience, and a number of historical centers, such as the French Institute at Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, support Franco-American studies.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Historically, most of the French Canadian immigrants settled in the New England states, geographically closest to the province of Québec. Some, however, travelled further to settle in Illinois, Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, and even California. By 1990, the state with the highest number of French-Canadian Americans was Massachusetts, with 310,636, followed by Michigan with 174,138, California with 156,625, New York with 155,531, New Hampshire with 118,857, Connecticut with 110,426, Florida with 110,221, and Maine with 110,209. All other states have less than 100,000.

Although California ranks third, the Northeast predominates as home to French-Canadian Americans—that region alone makes up 45 percent of the total of 2.16 million who cited French Canadian ancestry in the 1990 census. This total is a small percentage of the American population—just under one percent of the total 248.7 million—but it ranks French-Canadian Americans at sixteenth on a tally of the most frequently reported ancestry groups. Franco-American New England is often divided into three regions: central and southeastern New England, which includes southern Maine; western Vermont and upper New York

State; and northern Maine, particularly the area known as the St. John Valley.

It is interesting to note that the number of individuals citing French Canadian as their ancestry for the 1990 census was substantially larger than for the census a decade earlier. One possible explanation cited by census takers was that French Canadian was listed among sample response categories—intended to help those who were uncertain of their ethnic origin—in 1990, but not in 1980.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

French Canadian life, in Canada and in the United States, centered around the community—first that of the family (which tended to be large), and then that of the larger French-speaking community. One thing French-Canadian Americans had in common with their French Canadian ancestors was resistance to other ethnic influences. In Canada, French-speakers long opposed all things British, and in the United States, Irish or English Americans often viewed the newest immigrants as interlopers. This lack of acceptance helped to draw Franco-Americans closer together and resulted in maintaining traditions, customs, and language through the generations. Many of the traditions and beliefs are also tied to a strong sense of religion. To be a Franco-American immigrant was to be a strict Catholic, especially for the early settlers.

A French Canadian
potato farmer on
his horse drawn
digger in Caribou,
Maine.



PROVERBS

Many French Canadian proverbs can be interpreted as similar to those found today in English, although several are French Canadians in origin. Some well-known examples include: Each to their own taste; God dictates and women decide; Better to prevent than to heal; If the young knew and if the old could...; To leave is to die a little; Speech is silver, but silence is golden; Better late than never; Slow but sure; After the storm comes good weather; Tell me with whom you associate, and I will tell you who you are; and, One you have is worth more than two you think you may get.

CUISINE

French Canadian farmers ate hearty, simple meals. Breads and other carbohydrates were popular and readily available. Breakfast items included pancakes, fried eggs, salt pork spread on slices of bread, coffee, and tea. Soup, made from peas, cabbage, or barley, was a staple for lunch and dinner meals; also on the daily menu might be potatoes, bread and butter covered in maple syrup, pork, and seasonal vegetables. In the Roman Catholic tradition, no meat was served on Fridays.

More elaborate meals were prepared for special religious holidays and celebrations. *Tourtière* (pork and spice pie), *cretons* (pork terrine), *ragoût boulettes* (a stew of chicken, beef, or veal), *boudin* (blood sausage) and sugar pies are some of the dishes associated with French Canadians. In fact, one French Canadian dish, *poutine* (french fries covered with gravy and cheese curds) is now being served in North American fast-food restaurants.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional French Canadian costumes harken back to the days when the *coureurs de bois* hunted for beaver pelts and the *voyageurs* explored Canada. Most recognizable were the brightly colored, woven sashes, or *ceintures fléchées*.

As Brault explains, more common were the clothes worn by the farmers. They wore flannel shirts over loose-fitting pants fashioned of *droguet*, or drugget, a durable and coarse woolen fabric. The pants would be held up by suspenders or a broad leather belt. On his feet, a man would wear stockings and moccasin-style boots. To combat the cold, the French Canadian farmer would add a vest or sweater, a *tuque* (woollen cap), and an overcoat made of wool or animal skins fastened about his waist with a *ceinture flechee*.

Women made many of their materials, such as the drugget. They, too, would wear woolen stockings and moccasins in addition to a flannel skirt over a heavy slip or *jupon*, as well as a long-sleeved bodice and sturdy apron. In the winter, women would wear heavier blouses and skirts, shawls, and a cotton or woollen *capuche* on their heads to keep warm. Since most French-Canadian Americans today live in towns or cities rather than on farms, these clothes are worn only on festive cultural occasions. Part of the assimilation process was to adopt clothing that was “American.”

DANCES AND SONGS

Rounds were a popular form of song for French Canadians. Round dances, in which the partici-

pants, often children, danced in a circle making certain actions as they sang, were also popular.

Among the most popular traditional folk songs were those that told stories of settlers, voyageurs, or kings, and courtships between maidens and young men. For example, “À Saint Malo” told the tale of ladies and sailors who argued over the price of grain until the women eventually won and got the grain for nothing. Perhaps the best-known song is “Alouette,” which came from France but is identified with Québec. It can be sung as a round and tells the tale of a lark.

Traditional French Canadian dances include the *quadrille* and the *gigue* (or jig). Square dances, with many of the calls in French, also became popular in the twentieth century. All of these involved musical accompaniment, with fiddles, harmonicas, and later accordions. As part of the tight family and community structures in French Canadian life, music and dancing were featured at any celebration.

HOLIDAYS

Some of the major holidays are part of the Christmas season, from Advent (a time of fasting and prayer) to Christmas and its midnight mass followed by a *réveillm* (a repast designed to “wake you up”). There is also the feast on New Year’s Day (a holy day of Obligation for Catholics that includes family visits and the *bénédiction paternelle* in which the father blesses all of his children and grandchildren) and finally Epiphany (called *la Fête des Rois*) on January 6. For the evening meal on January 6 it was a French Canadian tradition to serve the Twelfth Night Cake (*le gâteau des Rois*—“the cake of kings”). Inside the cake were a pea and a bean; whoever got the slice with the bean was deemed king and whoever found the pea was named queen. *La Chandeleur* or Candlemas, another winter holiday held on February 2, included a candlelit mass and pancake parties in the evening.

In addition to the religious liturgies and worship of Holy Week and Easter, there is Saint-Jean-Baptiste day on June 24. John the Baptist was declared the patron saint of French Canadians by the Pope in 1908. A society was established in the saint’s name in 1834 to promote patriotic celebrations. November featured both All Saints’ Day and Saint Catherine’s Day, during which it was a French Canadian custom to pull taffy.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no ailments specific to French Canadians in the United States, with the exception of occupa-

tional maladies related to the fact that many of the newly arrived immigrants worked in dusty, grimy mills or quarries. Dr. Paul Dufault (1894-1969) and Dr. Gabriel Nadeau (b. 1900), both French Canadian immigrants, were leaders in the treatment of tuberculosis, spending the better part of their careers at the Rutland, Massachusetts State Hospital, the first State Hospital for tuberculosis patients in the United States.

LANGUAGE

French belongs to the Latin and Romance group of Indo-European languages. In *The French Canadian Heritage in New England*, Brault notes that “correct” speech was a sign of status, but that did not stop the evolution of syntactical and phonological differences. One French Canadian “dialect,” called *joual*, is synonymous with the lower classes, or at least with loose pronunciation. Brault goes on to summarize some of the most obvious phonetic differences in the French spoken by French Canadians in Canada and the United States compared to France. A computerized dictionary called *Trésor de la langue française au Québec* (*The Treasures of the French Language in Québec*) documents Canadian French.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some of the most common French Canadian sayings are similar to those of France. Greetings and popular expressions include: *Bonjour*, or *Salut*—each of which can be translated as “hello” depending on what degree of formality is intended; *Au revoir*—Good bye; *Bonne chance*—Good luck; *Merci*—Thank you; *De rien* or *Il n’ya pas de quoi*—You’re welcome, or (literally in the first case), It was nothing; *Félicitations*—Congratulations; *Bonne Fête* or *Joyeux Anniversaire*—Happy Birthday; *Bonne Année*—Happy New Year; *Joyeux Noël*—Merry Christmas; and *À votre santé*—To your health.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The family is at the center of the French-Canadian American’s world. In previous decades this meant not only the nuclear family but the extended clan who would come together to eat, play card games, sing, drink, and dance.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Some tension has existed historically between French immigrants and French Canadians because,

while French immigrants tended to be well-educated, most of the first French Canadian immigrants were farmers and received little if any formal education.

Although the French-Canadian Americans worked with Irish Americans in the mills and had a common religion in Catholicism, the language barrier and the sense that the Irish were established immigrants, having come a generation earlier, led to tension. In his 1943 account of New England immigrants, *The Shadows of the Trees*, Jacques Ducharme wrote that “many were to feel the *caillou celtique*, or ‘Kelly Biscuit,’ for in the early days the Irish were not averse to violence by way of showing their distaste for the newcomers.” There was opposition to French teaching in schools, and it spilled over into the workplace, where there was favoritism based upon background, and the church, where it took years before American bishops brought French-speaking priests to Franco-American parishes.

There was also rampant prejudice against Catholics and Jews in New England in the 1920s. By 1925 the Ku Klux Klan numbered more than half a million. It supported the Protestants in the area and their efforts to “take back what was their own.” This resulted in cross burnings and hooded Klansmen fighting with French-Canadian Americans throughout New England. Many French Canadian immigrants hid in their houses while the Klan stormed through the streets.

WEDDINGS

The tradition for immigrants at the turn of the century was a conservative courtship where a potential suitor might visit a young girl’s home on Sunday evenings to spend time with the entire family. After a series of visits that became more private—although always in public pursuits, such as buggy rides or swinging on the porch—the young man, or *cavalier*, would ask the father for the hand of his *blonde* in marriage. Often the young man was at least 21, although his fiancée could be as young as 16.

The wedding itself was a festive affair marked by feasting and dancing. In parishes, the bans would be read for three consecutive Sundays, naming the intention of that particular couple to marry. With all parishioners being so informed, if any impediments to the upcoming marriage existed, they could be announced then. Brault notes that in rural Québec, the bans might only be read once, because this procedure was viewed as embarrassing to the couple.

Much like today, the groom was given a stag party in his honor. In this case it was called the *enterrement de la vie de garçon*, or “burial of the bachelor life,” and was symbolized by a mock funeral in

which the groom lay on planks while a eulogy, sincere or in fun, was read over him. The bride, in turn, might be honored with a shower.

Wedding attire was influenced by the fashion of the time. The elaborateness of the ceremony was dictated by the wealth of the participants. The church bells pealed for the morning nuptial mass and a reception followed. Honeymoons often meant a few days’ stay at a relative’s home. Brault says that after marriage, French Canadian women were often expected to dress more conservatively and in darker colors, while men displayed their marital status by growing a mustache or wearing a gold watch and chain. Today, many of the marriage practices reflect a greater assimilation into American culture as well as a move away from a predominantly rural way of life.

BAPTISMS

Until recently, French-Canadian Americans tended to have large families, often with ten or more children. Baptisms, as a religious rite, were an integral part of life. As Brault describes, if there was any risk that the newborn might not survive, the priest was called immediately to baptize the baby. Otherwise the ceremony was performed within the first week. Traditionally, boys were given, as part of their name, Joseph, and girls given the name Marie, in addition to being named by the parents. Often one of the other given names was that of a godparent.

The role of godparent, as in other cultures, is filled by close relatives or friends. They are responsible for bringing up the child if the parents die, part of which includes ensuring that the child is brought up in the Catholic faith. After the baptismal ceremony, the parents, godparents, child, and guests returned to a family home for a celebratory meal. Godparents would bring gifts for the child, and, in the past, for the mother and the church sexton, who would ring the church bells to mark the occasion.

FUNERALS

Brault states that French Canadians feared sudden death or *la mort subite* most because it meant there would be no time to prepare for death, particularly for the administering of the last rites by a priest. When a person died, the church sexton signalled the death by ringing the church bells. This, Brault says, not only told all those in the town that there had been a death, but also revealed who had died: one stroke signalled a child, two a woman, and three a man.

The wake took three days, during which visitors greeted the family in their home. Until it

became the practice to carry out wakes in “funeral parlours,” the dead were laid out in the family home. Flowers were not part of the setting, although it was customary to shroud the room in white sheets so it resembled a chapel and to hang a cross between a pair of candles at the person’s head. The visitors came to pray with the family and gathered once an hour to recite the rosary.

After the wake, a morning funeral was held, complete with a mass in church, and then the body was taken to the cemetery for burial. The priest accompanied the family and other mourners and said a prayer as the casket was lowered into the burial plot. Everyone then returned to the family’s home for a meal in honor of the dead person.

RELIGION

Religion is at the heart of French Canadian life. While in Canada, French Canadians were staunch Roman Catholics; this did not change when they immigrated to the United States. In fact, as was true in Canada, the church was an integral part of the early settlements—often the priest acted as counselor in secular matters, in addition to spiritual leader. Some of the earliest parishes were established in the 1830s and 1840s in rural northern Maine. By the turn of the century, there were 89 Franco-American parishes.

In his book *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America*, Harold J. Abramson states that the completeness with which French-Canadian Americans transplanted their religion, especially to the New England area, was partly due to being close to Canada. Basically, the immigrants set up the same sort of parish-centered social organization that had existed in the home country. In his book about Franco-American life in New England, *The Shadows in the Trees*, Jacques Ducharme wrote: “The Franco-Americans are profoundly attached to their parish church, and there one may see them every Sunday.... From Maine to Connecticut these churches stand, forming a forest of steeples where men, women and children come to pray in French and listen to sermons in French. When the tabernacle bell rings, know that it proclaims the presence of *le bon dieu*.”

Despite their proximity to Canada, French Canadians in New England experienced many of the trials typical to new immigrants, including discrimination by religion and language. The church offered them a place where their language could be freely spoken and celebrated. But in the early days, mass was often conducted by priests who spoke lit-



tle or no French. Because of this, many attendees could not understand sermons, risked getting their meatless days wrong, and gave little for special collections because they did not understand what they were for.

The fight for French masses began in earnest in the late nineteenth century. For example, in October of 1884 parishioners at the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Church in Fall River, Massachusetts, began a two-year struggle against the Irish American Bishop of Providence, Rhode Island, to gain a French-speaking priest after the death of their French Canadian pastor. Their battle successfully ended what became known as “the Flint Affair.”

Often it was the Irish Americans who opposed French-language services. In May 1897, for example, French-Canadian Americans in North Brookfield, Massachusetts, wrote to the Papal Delegate to tell him that their Irish American priest would not allow religious services or teaching in French. It was not until 1903 that a French priest and French services were permitted. Such fights also went on in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maine communities. It was also a matter of some time before French Canadians assumed positions of power within the Catholic church. The first Franco-American bishop was Georges-Albert Guertin (1869-1931), named Bishop of Manchester in 1906. He was followed by, among others, Ernest J. Primeau (1960-1974) and Odore J. Gendreau (1975–).

These battles with the Irish Americans over religious issues continued into the 1920s. One of the most notable was the “Sentinelle Affair” of 1924-

Many French
Canadians are
Roman Catholics,
as is often
evidenced in
their homes.

These children of French Canadian papermill workers have an enjoyable day playing on the hill looking down on the town.



1929. A group of French-Canadian Americans, most from Woonsocket, Rhode Island, had been concerned about their religion, language, and culture surviving in the United States. They resented the hierarchy of the Catholic church in the United States, which was mostly Irish, and militantly defended the Franco-American parochial schools and the fragile autonomy of the French-language parishes.

Religion played another role in Franco-American communities through religiously affiliated fraternal organizations. Like other ethnic groups, the French-Canadian Americans set these up to offer insurance as well as language and cultural activities to new and recent immigrants. The oldest of the two most prominent mutual benefit and advocacy organizations is the Association Canado-Américaine, founded in 1896, followed by the Union St. Jean Baptiste in 1900. Both still exist today, although the Union has since become affiliated with Catholic Family Life Insurance.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Immigration to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries effectively drained Québec of a large number of its young adults. Economic times were tough in Canada, and the newly opened mills in New England offered employment for both women and men—although this was hard, back-breaking, and often unhealthy work. Many children joined the labor force in the

mills as well. Women also earned money by taking in boarders. Another group of French Canadians settled near the forest of northern Maine to work in the logging industry.

Although the first major wave of immigrants was made up predominantly of farmers, mill workers, and lumbermen with little education, there was also a select group of educated individuals, such as priests, doctors, and lawyers who came to serve the needs of their people. Of course, as Franco-Americans became more established, the numbers of professionals grew. There is a rich history of French-language journalism, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, in the early 1870s, Hugo Dubuque (1854-1928) of Fall River, Massachusetts, led the way in refuting Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright's description of French-Canadian Americans as "the Chinese of the Eastern States;" Dubuque became a Massachusetts Superior Court Justice after serving ten years (1888-1898) in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Another judge, Alfred J. Chretien, (b. 1900), who was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, attended Harvard University after spending his adolescence in Québec. After graduating, he established a law practice in Manchester, New Hampshire, and went on to be named Chief Justice of the Manchester Municipal Court in 1940. He played an active role in the formation of the Legal Aid Society of New Hampshire and was a member of the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges.

A number of French-Canadian Americans distinguished themselves in labor unions and syndi-

cates. J. William Belanger (1902-c.1992), born in Newmarket, New Hampshire, began his working career at the age of 14 in the Hamlet Mills. As an employee of the Hope Knitting Company in Central Falls, Rhode Island, he founded a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labour (AFL) during the Great Depression, and later became director of the Textile Union of Massachusetts, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In 1948 he was elected president of the Massachusetts CIO.

The first financial institution controlled by French Canadians in New England, the Banque Coopérative Lafayette, was set up in 1894 in Fall River, Massachusetts. Not long afterwards, the first Franco-American Credit Union in the United States, La Caisse Populaire Sainte-Marie, opened in Manchester, New Hampshire on November 24, 1908. Credit Unions were founded in most of the important Franco-American centers of New England. Initially parish-based, they later became independent entities that did much to support small businesses and to encourage home ownership.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In his study of Franco-American life in New England, Gerard J. Brault states Franco-Americans have supported the Democratic presidential candidate since the election of 1928 when the Catholic Al Smith was defeated by Herbert Hoover. Franco-Americans also voted for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, but by 1952 and 1956 most voted for the Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower. There are also regional trends: most today are Democrats, with the exception of French-Canadian Americans in New Hampshire and Vermont, where many are “dyed-in-the-wool Republicans.” The Franco-American elite has also supported Republican candidates in the past. Even the working class voted the Republican ticket, as in Rhode Island, to elect one of their own, Aram Pothien, as governor or to distinguish themselves from the Irish who usually voted the Democratic ticket, as in Worcester, Massachusetts. Brault adds, however, that no recent comprehensive study has addressed the issue of historical voting patterns for the group at large. Patterns usually take into account religious and economic considerations, with French-Canadian Americans choosing the candidate who, on these two counts, is most supportive of their views.

In addition to being involved in local politics—Maine alone boasts of more than 500 Franco-American mayors and state legislators in a single century. According to Brault, there have been a number of

Franco-Americans in state and federal politics as well. Aram J. Pothier (1854-1928), a Republican, was chosen governor of Rhode Island in 1908 and served two terms, from 1909 to 1915 and from 1925 to 1928. Subsequent Franco-American governors also served in Rhode Island, including Democrats Emery J. Sansoucy (1857-1936) from 1921 to 1923 and Philip W. Noël (1931–) from 1973 to 1977.

On a federal level, Franco-American senator Félix Hébert (1874-1969), a Republican, was elected in 1928 and served until 1934. Jean-Claude Boucher (1894-1960) was also a senator. Born in Rivière-Ouelle, Québec, his family moved to Lewiston, Maine, around the turn of the century, and he was elected a senator from Maine in 1935. Journalist Antonio Prince (1894-1973) made a run for the senate in 1935 as a Democratic candidate, but was not successful. Georgette Berube of Lewiston, Maine, a member of the state legislature, also made a run in the Democratic primary of June 1982, but was defeated.

Among those who have been elected U.S. representatives, there have been three French-Canadian Americans from Rhode Island (Louis Monast from 1927-1929; Aime J. Forand with two terms, 1937-1939 and 1941-1961; and Fernand J. St. Germain from 1961-82) and two from New Hampshire (Alphonse Roy from 1938-1939 and Norman E. D'Amours from 1975-1984). Internationally, editor Elie Vézina (1869-1942) was named a special ambassador to Haiti by President Herbert Hoover as a member of a Commission of Inquiry in 1930. Vézina, born in Québec, founded the newspaper *Le Devoir* in Michigan. Franco-Americans were also named to consular posts in France; Alphonse Gaulin, Jr., (b. 1874) of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, was Consul to LeHavre in 1905 and to Marseilles in 1909, and Eugene-L. Belisle was named Consul to Limoges in 1906.

MILITARY SERVICE

Franco-Americans have served in all of the major wars, including the American Revolution; some 800 French-Canadian Americans are believed to have fought for American independence. Rémi Tremblay (1847-1926) fought in the Civil War and wrote about his experiences in a novel entitled *Un Revenant* (1884). There are also many tales of French Canadians being tricked into enlisting in the Union Army. After being offered jobs in the United States and given gifts of money, many signed a document they could not read and travelled south only to find themselves put in uniform and bullied into taking part in the Civil War. For

many who survived, it was a natural decision to stay in the United States, and if they were married, they sent for their families as soon as they were able.

One of the most famous images of World War II features a Franco-American, Private René A. Gagnon (1924-1979) of Manchester, New Hampshire, one of three raising the American flag on Mount Suribachi during the battle for Iwo Jima on February 19, 1945. It was captured on film by Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal. Gagnon survived the battle and returned from the war to settle in Hooksett, New Hampshire.

RELATIONS WITH FRENCH CANADA

Because of the proximity of Canada—at least to the large pockets of French-Canadian Americans in New England—many French Canadians in the United States still have strong ties to their home country. However, family ties seem to diminish with each passing generation: many third- and fourth-generation French-Canadian Americans have lost touch with relatives who stayed in Canada. French-language newspapers and Franco-American studies programs help French-Canadian Americans keep abreast of what is going on in Québec.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Will Durant (1885-1981), raised in Massachusetts and New Jersey, received his Ph.D. from Columbia University at the age of 32. He published the first installment of *Story of Civilization* in 1935, and the tenth volume, entitled *Rousseau and Revolution* (co-written with his wife Ariel), won the 1968 Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction.

Maximilienne Tétrault (1884-1959) of Southbridge, Massachusetts, studied at the University of Boston and at the Sorbonne in Paris, after which she taught French at the University of Baltimore, at Notre-Dame in Indiana, and from 1936 to 1944 in Detroit. Her doctoral thesis dealt with the role of the press in the evolution of the Franco-Americans of New England.

Professor Joseph Medard Carrière (1902-1970), whose specific interest was in folklore, published, in 1937, *Tales from the Folklore of Missouri*. He was awarded the Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur by the French government in 1950.

Professor Gérard J. Brault (1929–) was born in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts. A specialist in the

Middle Ages, he is also interested in the language and culture of Franco-Americans. In 1986 he published *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England*, an important English-language work on Franco-American life in the United States.

Armand Chartier (1938–), born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, is a professor of French at the University of Rhode Island. He published *Historie des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* in 1991, a thorough compendium of facts and figures on Franco-Americans from 1775 to 1990.

Claire Quintal (1930–) is a professor of French at Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, as well as the founding director of its French Institute. A native of Central Falls, Rhode Island, she is a scholar of Franco-American, French, and French-Canadian culture. Under her direction, the Institute has organized 11 colloquia, publishing the proceedings of these between 1980 and 1995.

Eloise Brière, born in Northhampton, Massachusetts, in 1946, has taught at Rutgers University and the State University of New York in Albany. Among her published work are *The North American French Language in New York State* (1982) and *Franco-American Profiles* (1984).

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Hubert Prior “Rudy” Vallée (1901-1988) earned a doctorate from Yale but is best known for his film and stage career as a bandleader. In 1927 he created the Connecticut Yankees orchestra and later opened the New York cabaret club Villa Vallee. He starred in *The Vagabond Lover* (1939) and later on television. Born in Island Pond, Vermont, he was brought up in Westbrook, Maine, where he is buried in St. Hyacinthe cemetery.

Eva Tanguay (1878-1947), born in Marbleton, Québec, was brought up in Holyoke, Massachusetts. She starred for many years in the *Ziegfeld Follies*. Paul Bunyan (who had a blue bull named “Babe”) was a French Canadian made famous by the loggers of Michigan. The “strong man” tradition was once very current throughout French North America. The best known of these were Joe Montferrand and Louis Cyr, who both performed in New England. The name Montferrand became synonymous with strength among Franco-Americans.

JOURNALISM

Many Franco-Americans have had distinguished careers in journalism, particularly in the early years of immigration to the New England states, when

many started up French-language publications. One such individual was Ferdinand Gagnon (1849-1886), often referred to as “the father of Franco-American journalism.” Gagnon was born in Saint-Hyacinthe, Québec, and after studying at the seminary there, moved to Manchester, New Hampshire before settling in Worcester, Massachusetts. There he published *Le Travailleur*, the foremost newspaper of its day.

Born in Wottonville, Québec, Philippe-Armand Lajoie (1887-1964) moved to New England with his family in 1889. Lajoie became editor of Fall River’s *L’Indépendant* in 1926, which later became one of the four best French-language dailies in New England. In addition to his writings, he was a noted composer of religious music.

Marthe Biron-Péloquin (1919–) came from a family of journalists. Her father, Louis-Alphonse Biron (1861-1947), was born in Saint-Louis-de-Lotbinière, Québec, but after moving to Lowell, Massachusetts, he founded *L’Impartial* in 1898 and later acquired *L’Étoile* (1939-1957), a local daily. Marthe wrote for *L’Étoile*, and served as an editor for *Bulletin de la Fédération féminine franco-américaine* (*Bulletin of the Federation of Franco-American Women*) from 1973 to 1986.

Alexandre Bélisle (1856-1923) founded *L’Opinion publique* (*Public Opinion*), in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1893. Bélisle also published a history of the French-language press in 1911, called *Histoire de la presse franco-américaine*.

Born in L’Epiphanie, Québec, Élie Vézina (1869-1942) immigrated to Michigan in 1890 where he founded the weekly *Le Devoir* in Muskegon. Vézina then worked in Chicago for the *Courrier de l’Illinois*. In 1930 President Herbert Hoover named him to a special commission in Haiti.

Wilford Beaulieu (1900-1978) founded *Le Travailleur* in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1931. The second newspaper in New England by that name, it honored the memory of Ferdinand Gagnon. A literary and cultural affairs weekly, the paper was an ardent voice in the cause of French *survivance* in New England. It ceased to be published after the death of its owner/publisher.

LITERATURE

Among the best-known Franco-American authors is “Beat Generation” novelist Jean-Louis “Jack” Kerouac (1922-1969). In addition to *On the Road*, he profiled his youth spent in the French-speaking community of Lowell, Massachusetts, in books such as *Doctor Sax* (1959), *Visions of Gerard* (1963), and

Vanity of Duluo (1968). Another famous author is Grace (DeRepentigny) Metalious (1924-1964) of Manchester, New Hampshire, who wrote *Peyton Place* in 1956. The fiction best-seller was made into a film in 1957 and a long-running television series in the 1960s. Two of Metalious’ other novels, *The Tight White Collar* (1960) and *No Adam in Eden* (1963), deal with working-class French Canadians in New England.

Josaphat Benôit (1900-1976), in addition to being editor of *L’Avenir national*, a paper in Manchester, New Hampshire, and co-founder of the paper *L’Action* in 1949, wrote a number of books dealing with Franco-Americans, such as *L’Âme franco-américaine* (1935), *Rois ou esclaves de la machine?* (1935), and *Catéchisme d’histoire franco-américaine* (1939).

Georges-Alphonse Boucher was born in 1865 at Rivière-Bois-Clair, Québec. Trained as a physician, he settled in Brockton, Massachusetts, in 1890. His first work of poetry was titled *Ode à Québec*, which was followed by three editions of *Je me souviens* and then *Sonnets de guerre* (1943), inspired by World War II. Other works include *Chants du nouveau monde* and his memoirs, *Vie abrégée*, published after his death in 1956.

Rémi Tremblay (1847-1926) was author of *Un Revenant*, one of the earliest novels published by a Franco-American, which dealt with the Civil War battle of Cold Harbor. Rosaire Dion-Lévesque (1900-1974), another Franco-American poet, translated Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*. Novelist and journalist Camile Lessard-Bissonette (b. 1883) was the author of *Canuck* (1936). Poet, novelist, and critic Louis Dantin (1865-1945), who was born Eugene Seers in Québec but later lived in Boston, wrote *Les Enfances de Fanny*.

Novelist Gérard Robichault, who spent his childhood and youth in Maine, writes such autobiographical novels as *Papa Martel* and *The Apple of His Eye*. Annie Prouex won the National Book Award (1993) and the Pulitzer (1994) for *The Shipping News*. The novel also received the Heartland Prize from the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Irish Times International Fiction Prize*. Prouex was awarded a Pen/Faulkner Award in 1993 for her first novel *Postcards*. Annie David Plante (1940–), who was born in Providence, Rhode Island, is a prolific writer with nine novels to his credit. Robert B. Perreault, the only Franco-American to publish a French-language novel since 1938, wrote *L’Héritage* (1983). Playwright Grégoire Chabot and poets Paul P. Chassé and Normand C. Dubé are also worthy of mention.

MUSIC

Composer Calixa Lavallée (1842-1891), born in Verchères, Québec, left for the United States at age 15, in 1857, to participate in the Civil War as part of the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment. After that he studied in Paris and, in 1879, became organist of the cathedral in Boston. Among his compositions are operas, marches, waltzes, and the music for the Canadian national anthem, “O Canada.”

Opera singer Albaninée Emma Lajeunesse (1847-1930) moved to Plattsburgh, New York, from Chambly, Québec, in 1852, then back to Montréal before settling in Albany, New York, in 1864. She was a soloist, at age 18, at the cathedral in Albany and went on to sing at Covent Garden in London as well as touring Europe, Russia, Ireland, and the United States in various operatic roles. At the request of Edward VII, she sang at the funeral of Queen Victoria.

The Champagne brothers—Octave (1859-1941), Eusebe (1865-1929), and Philias (1871-1957)—played various instruments in local bands and orchestras in Lowell, Massachusetts where the family had settled. Masterful performers of French Canadian folk music, they also played their own compositions. Octave published and distributed the songs written by the other two.

Violinist Joseph-Émile Chambord Giguère (1877-c.1957) was the son of French-Canadian musicians who moved to the United States around 1874. Giguère, who was born in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, studied in both Canada and the United States as well as at the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, Belgium. After returning from Europe, he toured North America extensively.

Montréal-born composer and musician Pierre-Amedee Tremblay (1876-c.1949) served as organist at cathedrals in Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. He composed the operetta *L'Intransigent* and also published, in 1902, a collection of French Canadian folksongs, *Dix-huit chansons populaires du Canada*.

C. Alexander Peloquin (1918–), born in Northbridge, Massachusetts, is a noted organist and composer of sacred music. He began his career in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and has for more than 40 years been organist at the Catholic Cathedral in Providence, Rhode Island. Named Director of Choral Activities at Boston College in 1955, he also founded the Peloquin Chorale in Rhode Island after World War II.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Inventor Victor Bélanger (1856-1918), the founder of the Worcester, Massachusetts, newspaper *Le*

Courrier de Worcester is credited for developing a rotating coil for spinning cotton. Another inventor was John C. Garand (1888-1974). Born in St. Remi, Québec, Garand moved to Jewett City, Connecticut. He is credited with the design of the .30 caliber Springfield rifle, which was used by American troops during World War I. His M1 rifle, which eliminated manual operation of the bolt mechanism, was adopted as standard equipment by the Army, Navy, and Marines in 1936 and was a staple weapon during World War II and the Korean War.

SPORTS

Napoléan (“Larry” or “The Big Frenchman”) Lajoie (1875-1959), a member of the Cleveland Indians baseball team, was a contemporary of Ty Cobb. Lajoie still ranks as the player with the seventh-highest batting average in major league history, averaging .339 in his 21 years in the major leagues, which ended in 1919. He was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1937. Another Cleveland Indian was Louis Boudreau, born in Harvey, Illinois, in 1917. He was with the Cleveland team from 1938 to 1950, as both player and manager, during which time he was the youngest manager in the major leagues. Boudreau went on to play for and manage the Boston Red Sox (1950-1955) and then moved on to the Kansas City Athletics (1955-1957). He was nominated to the Hall of Fame in 1970. A third famous Franco-American in baseball is Leo Durocher (1905-1982), born in Springfield, Massachusetts. Durocher spent 41 years in the major leagues, first as a player and later as a manager. He led the Brooklyn Dodgers and then the New York Giants to three National League pennants in the years 1941, 1951, and 1954, and the Giants to a World Series victory in 1954.

Other Franco-American athletes include marathon runner and Olympic gold medalist Joan Benoit (1957–); boxer George “Kid” Lavigne (1869-1936); and Henri Renaud, the first Franco-American to win the Boston Marathon on April 19, 1909.

VISUAL ARTS

Sculptor Lucien Gosselin (1883-1940) was born in Whitefield, New Hampshire. The nephew of French-Canadian sculptor Louis-Philippe Hébert, he studied in Paris from 1911 to 1916 and is known for his statues, monuments, and designs for commemorative medals. Another artist of the period was Lorenzo de Nevers (1877-1967), born in Baidu-Febure, Québec. He spent ten years in Paris (1902-1912) at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and upon

his return, he established his studio in Central Falls, Rhode Island, where his family had prospered in the furniture business. He is known for his religious paintings, portraits, and landscapes.

Born in Old Town, Maine, Bernard Langlais (1921-1977) is known for his large and somewhat whimsical carvings of animals. The Ogunquit Museum of American Art has three of his sculptures—"Seated Bear," "Horse in Field," and "Lion"—in its permanent collection. Another Franco-American sculptor, Armand Lammtague (c.1940–), who was born in Central Falls, Rhode Island, is known for his life-size statues of sports figures, especially Larry Bird, the basketball star, and Bobbie Orr of hockey fame.

Woodcarving is a celebrated art in Franco-American culture. One of the most famous woodcarvers was Adelard Côté (1889-1974), originally from St. Sophie, Québec. Côté moved to Biddeford, Maine, in his early twenties. Although a blacksmith by trade, he began whittling in his fifties and was a prolific artist, creating elaborate primitive carvings, many with moving parts.

Photographer Ulric Bourgeois (1874-1963) received his first camera at age 11. This artist, born in Fulford, Québec, moved to Manchester, New Hampshire, soon after he married in 1899, and opened up a studio. His work documents Franco-American life in New England and Québec, which he visited often. His life provided inspiration for the Québec film *J.A. Martin, photographe*.

MEDIA

PRINT

The first French Canadian newspaper published in the United States was *Le Patriote Canadien*, the first issue of which was printed in Burlington, Vermont, on August 7, 1839. The Franco-American press served not only to disseminate news, but also as a forum for ideas. French-language and bilingual papers flourished in the United States until the 1930s, when many were abandoned by readers in favor of English-language dailies. Some of those available today follow.

Le Canado-Américain.

Quarterly fraternal magazine published in English and French.

Contact: Julien Olivier, Editor.

Address: 52 Concord Street, P.O. Box 989,
Manchester, New Hampshire 03101-1806.

Telephone: (603) 625-8577; or (800) 222-8577.

Fax: (603) 625-1214.

Le F.A.R.O.G. Forum.

A bilingual quarterly, first printed in 1972, it comes out of the University of Maine's Center for Franco-American Studies with a circulation of more than 4,500. The Center also publishes the bilingual quarterly newspaper *Le Forum*, which offers articles on the activities of prominent Franco-Americans, book reviews, genealogy information, and scholarly pieces on Franco-American studies.

Contact: Rhea Côté-Robbins.

Address: Center Franco-Américain,
University of Maine, 126 College Avenue,
Orono, Maine 04469.

Telephone: (207) 581-3775.

Le Journal de Lowell.

Founded in 1975, the journal has a circulation of about 4,200, mostly in Massachusetts. This French-language monthly features news on the New England region as well as news from Québec and France.

Contact: Albert V. Côté.

Address: P.O. Box 1241, Lowell, Maine 01853.

Telephone: (508) 453-1780.

La Revue Canado-Américaine.

Published by the Association Canado-Américaine.

Contact: Paul Paré.

Telephone: (603) 622-2883.

Le Soleil de la Floride.

This monthly, founded in 1983 with a circulation of 65,000, reaches French-speaking readers throughout Florida, Québec, and parts of the Caribbean, especially French-Canadian "snowbirds" who spend winter in warmer climates.

Contact: Jean Laurac, Editor.

Address: 2020 Scott Street, Hollywood,
Florida 33020.

Telephone: (305) 923-4510.

Fax: (305)923-4533.

E-mail: jeanl@icanect.net.

Online: <http://planete.oc.ca/soleil>.

L'Union.

This bilingual quarterly newspaper, which is free to its members, is sent to some 16,000 households. It is published by the Union St.-Jean-Baptiste (USJB), a fraternal life insurance organization for French-Canadian Americans with 44,000 members.

Contact: Joseph Gadbois (English); or, Bernard Theroux (French).

Address: 68 Cumberland Street, P.O. Box F,
Woonsocket, Rhode Island 02895-9987.
Telephone: (401) 769-0520.

RADIO

WCUW-FM (91.3).

“L’Heure Française” Airs every Saturday from noon to 1:30 p.m.

Contact: Marcel Raymond.
Address: 910 Main Street, Worcester,
Massachusetts 01610.
Telephone: (508) 753-1012.

WFEA-AM (1370).

“Franco-American Hour” broadcasts music and information from 9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. on Sundays.

Contact: Joe Maltais.
Address: 500 Commercial Street, Manchester,
New Hampshire 03101.
Telephone: (603) 669-5777.
Fax: (603) 669-4641.

WHTB-AM (1400).

Broadcasts every Sunday from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m.

Contact: Bernard Theroux.
Address: 1 Home Street, Somerset, Massachusetts
02725.
Telephone: (508) 678-9727.
Fax: (508) 673-0310.

WNRI-AM (1380).

Broadcast on Saturdays and Sundays from 10:00 a.m. to noon.

Contact: Roger Laliberte.
Address: 786 Diamond Hill Road, Woonsocket,
Rhode Island 02895.
Telephone: (401) 769-6925 .
Fax: (401) 762-0442.

WSMN-AM (1590).

“The French Program,” broadcast every Sunday from 9:00 a.m. to noon.

Contact: Maurice Parent.
Address: 502 West Hollis Street, P.O. Box 548,
Nashua, New Hampshire 03061.
Telephone: (603) 882-5107.
Fax: (603) 883-4344.
E-mail: wsmn1590@aol.com.

TELEVISION

“Bonjour.”

This half-hour program—produced in Manchester, New Hampshire, on the Cable Network and re-broadcast on the public broadcasting system in Maine—is repeated a number of times each week. It includes interviews of French-Canadian Americans on topics from music to cooking. Broadcast in French, it serves local audiences in New England and New York. It is also broadcast in the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Québec.

Contact: Paul Paré.
Address: Association Canado-Américaine, 52
Concord Street, P.O. Box 989, Manchester,
New Hampshire 03105-0989.
Telephone: (603) 625-8577.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

In addition to the organizations listed below, there are many local historical societies and genealogical societies for Franco-Americans throughout the United States. See *Le Répertoire de la vie française en Amérique*, a sourcebook of French Canadian organizations in the United States and Canada, for more information.

Association Canado-Américaine.

Supports 45,000 members and local branches in many states, including Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, as well as in Canada. Its interests include life insurance, cultural excursions, a summer camp, and a French-language cable television program for the New England region.

Contact: Eugene Lemieux.
Address: 52 Concord Street, P.O. Box 989,
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105-0989.
Telephone: (603) 625-8577.

Fédération Féminine Franco-Américaine de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (Federation of French-American Women).

Consists of some 5,000 women in 49 local associations who organize conferences, projects for seniors, cultural exchanges, and aid for students in French programs in a bid to promote French cultural interests in the New England region. Among the local associations are branches in Bristol, Connecticut; Lowell, Massachusetts; Manchester, New Hampshire; Woonsocket, Rhode Island; and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

Contact: Marthe W. Whalon, President.

Address: 240 Highland Avenue, Fall River,
Massachusetts, 02720.
Telephone: (508) 678-1800.

Union St. Jean Baptiste.

USJB, which serves over 40,000 members, has local branches throughout New England.

Contact: Charles Boisvert, Assistant Vice
President.

Address: 68 Cumberland Street, P.O. Box F,
Woonsocket, Rhode Island 02895-9987.

Telephone: (401) 769-0520; or (800) 225-USJB.

Fax: (401) 766-3014.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Center Franco-Américain.

Established in 1991, the Center is loosely affiliated with the fraternal organization Association Canado-Américaine. This resource center has an art gallery with featured exhibitions, a library, and offers French-language classes. The Center is also affiliated with the Federation Americaine Franco-Américain des Aînés/Francophone American Federation of the Elderly (FAFA), founded in 1981 to promote the interests of Franco-American seniors in both local affairs, as well as on a state and national scale.

Contact: Adele Baker, Director.

Address: 52 Concord Street, P.O. Box 989,
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105-0989.

Telephone: (603) 669-4045.

Center Franco-Américain de l'Université du Maine.

Part of the University of Maine since 1972. Resources here include library and video materials on Franco-Americans and their publications, *F.A.R.O.G. Forum* and *Maine Mosaic*.

Contact: Yvon A. Labbé, Director.

Address: 126 College Avenue, University of
Maine, Orono, Maine 04469.

Telephone: (207) 581-3775.

Conseil International d'Études Francophones.

Founded in 1981, this research center conducts studies of Franco-American literature, history, culture and language. Although its headquarters are at Montclair State University in New Jersey, it includes in its membership 300 individuals and 25 organizations.

Contact: Maurice Cagnon, President.

Address: French Department, Montclair State
University, Upper Montclair, New Jersey 07043.
Telephone: (201) 655-4000.

Fédération Franco-Américaine du New York.

Sponsors lectures on the French in America, Québec films, language courses, the *Fête du Roi* (Twelfth Night) a winter cultural celebration, and exchanges with Québec. These activities, mostly in English, are for the public as well as members. Founded in Cohoes, New York in 1980, this organization, with about 140 members, also publishes a bulletin, *Franco-Nouvelles*, at least nine times a year.

Contact: Bernard Ouimet.

Address: Box 12-942, Albany, New York 12212.

Telephone: (518) 692-2690.

Institut Français.

Founded in 1979, the institute is associated with Assumption College. It has organized 11 colloquia and published 12 books dealing with the French experience in New England. These include *The Little Canadas of New England*, as well as books on schools, religion, literature, the press, women, and folklore. The center collects documents on Franco-Americans and its holdings contain such archival materials as manuscripts, newspapers, and books.

Contact: Claire Quintal, Director.

Address: Assumption College, 500 Salisbury
Street, Worcester, Massachusetts 01615-0005.

Telephone: (508) 752-5615.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Brault, Gerard J. *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986.

Doty, C. Stewart. *The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Histories from the Federal Writers' Project, 1938-1939*. Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1985.

French America: Mobility, Identity, and Minority Experience across the Continent, edited by Dean R. Louder and Eric Waddell, translated by Franklin Philip. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

Parker, James Hill. *Ethnic Identity: The Case of the French Americans*. Washington: University Press of America, Inc., 1983.

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GARIFUNA AMERICANS

by
Liz Swain

OVERVIEW

Common heritage and language, rather than geographical boundaries, unite the Garifuna people of Central America. They are the descendants of Africans who escaped slavery in the seventeenth century and intermarried with Caribs living in the eastern Caribbean Island area. Garifuna (ga-RIF-una) refers to the people and the language they speak. Garinagu (ga-REEN-a-goo) is the plural form preferred by these people, whose ancestors settled in the countries of Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

The Republic of Honduras is slightly larger than the state of Tennessee. The country measures 43,644 square miles (112,090 square kilometers). It borders the Caribbean Sea between Guatemala and Nicaragua. The west borders the North Pacific Ocean between El Salvador and Nicaragua. Honduras' population in July of 1998 was approximately 5,861,995 people. Ninety percent of the population are of *mestizo* (mixed Amerindian and European) ethnic origin, 7 percent are Amerindian, 2 percent are Black, and 1 percent are white. Ninety-seven percent of the population is Roman Catholic. There is also a Protestant minority. Spanish and various Amerindian dialects are spoken. The capital city is Tegucigalpa. Honduras's flag consists of three horizontal bands, with a white band in the middle of two blue ones. Five blue stars in the white section represent the members of the former Republic of

Central America (Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala).

Belize is somewhat smaller than Massachusetts, measuring 8,867 square miles (22,965 square kilometers). The country is bounded on the east by the Caribbean Sea, by Mexico to the north, and by Guatemala to the west. Belize had a population of approximately 230,160 people as of July of 1998. Seven percent are Garifuna, 44 percent are mestizo (mixed ancestry), 30 percent are Creole, 11 percent are Mayan, and eight percent are members of other ethnic groups. Sixty-two percent of the population belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, 12 percent are Anglican, and six percent are Methodist. Small percentages belong to Mennonite, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Jehovah's Witness, and other faiths. The country's official language is English. Spanish, Garifuna, and Mayan are also spoken. After a 1961 hurricane demolished the capital of Belize City, the national capital was moved to Belmopan. Belize's national flag is blue with red bands at the top and bottom. In the center is a white disk with a coat of arms. Pictured on the coat of arms is a shield with two workers in front of a mahogany tree. A scroll on the flag reads *Sub Umbra Floreo* (I Flourish in the Shade).

The Republic of Guatemala is slightly smaller than Tennessee. It measures more than 40,000 square miles (100,000 square kilometers). With coasts on the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, Guatemala is bounded on land by Mexico, Belize, El Salvador, and Honduras. Guatemala's population was about 12 million people in July of 1998. Fifty-six percent of the population is of mestizo ethnic origin. These Amerindian-Spanish people are known locally as Ladinos. The remaining population is Amerindian or primarily Amerindian. The country's religions are Roman Catholic, Protestant, and traditional Mayan. Sixty percent of the population speaks Spanish; the remaining 40 percent speak Amerindian languages. Guatemala City is the nation's capital, and the flag consists of three vertical bands. In the middle of two light blue bands is a white band. On the center band is a coat of arms with a green-and-red quetzal, the national bird.

The Republic of Nicaragua is slightly smaller than New York State, measuring 50,464 square miles (130,700 square kilometers) and it is bounded by Costa Rica and Honduras. In 1998, Nicaragua had an estimated population of 4,583,379 people. Sixty-nine percent of the population is mestizo (mixed Amerindian and white ancestry), 17 percent is white, nine percent is black and five percent is Amerindian. Roman Catholics account for 95 percent of the population; the remainder is Protes-

tant. Spanish is Nicaragua's official language. English and Amerindian-speaking minorities live on the Atlantic Ocean coast. The national capital is Managua, and the flag consists of three horizontal bands. A white band is in the center of two blue bands. On the white band are a coat of arms and the words *Republica de Nicaragua* and *America Central*. Five stars on the band form an X.

HISTORY

Garifuna history represents the intersection of people from two continents. By the year 1000 A.D., the Arawak people of South America had migrated east to the Caribbean Sea and settled along the coast and islands. They hunted, fished, and farmed cassava, a plant with a starchy root. The Arawaks also traded with the Carib people living along the coast. Inter-marriage of the Arawaks and Caribs resulted in a new people called the Island Caribs.

Then Europeans discovered the New World. Christopher Columbus first walked on American soil in 1502 after landing at what is now Trujillo, Honduras. Navigators from other European countries soon followed Columbus. Some claimed New World land for their home countries; others sailed to Africa and enslaved people for labor in the Caribbean. Island Caribs fought to keep their islands. They managed to hold on to two—Dominica and St. Vincent Island (then called Yolome or Yurume).

In 1635, two Spanish ships carried West African peoples captured from the Yoruba, Ibo, and Ashanti tribes of what is now Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. Both vessels were shipwrecked near St. Vincent, an island north of Venezuela in the Lesser Antilles. The Africans escaped and swam to shore. The Island Caribs sheltered the refugees. The mixture of these two groups resulted in the blending of ancestry, traditions, and language. The new people called themselves "Garifuna" or "Karaphuna" in Dominica. There is some debate about the definition of the appellation. *Gari* is African for food, according to Father Amadeo Bonilla, a Catholic Garifuna priest from Honduras interviewed for this essay. In contrast, the authors of *Belize: A Natural Destination*, say that Garifuna roughly translates to "cassava-eating people."

Garifuna chiefs ruled the people, who had set roles in society. Men hunted and fished. Women raised the children and they also tended the farm, raising domestic animals and growing foods such as cassava. As boys grew, they went with the men. The community organized activities such as war raids and celebrations. The Garifuna religion included rites to appease ancestors.

In the eighteenth century French people settled on St. Vincent and co-existed with the Island Caribs. The British tried unsuccessfully to gain control the island in 1713. The British labeled the Garinagu the “Black Caribs” and referred to the Amerindians as the “Red and Yellow Caribs.” That labeling would be used as a tool to discredit Garinagu claims to St. Vincent, according to Mark Anderson, in the paper, “The Significance of Blackness: Representations of Garifuna in St. Vincent and Central America, 1700-1900.”

By 1750, the Garifuna population had increased and was prosperous. However, their way of life was threatened after the 1763 Treaty of Paris gave the British control of St. Vincent. The British knew the fertile land of St. Vincent was ideal for growing sugarcane and tried several strategies to obtain it. These efforts included arguments that the land belonged to Red and Yellow Caribs (the Amerindians) and the Black Caribs had no claim on the land. The situation escalated into war in 1772, with the French joining the Garinagu in the fight against the British. The leader during much of these struggles was Joseph Chatoyer, a chief named paramount chief and king in 1768. Chatoyer was respected as a leader, military strategist, freedom fighter, and priest. He signed a peace treaty in 1773 that shifted property boundaries. The British continued to press for more land, however, and by 1795 the Garinagu decided to take their land back from the British. Chatoyer led the revolt, going into battle on March 10 with Garifuna and French soldiers. On March 12, he gave a speech in French titled “The 12th Day of March and the First Year of Our Liberty.” While historical accounts state that Chatoyer was murdered two days later, various causes of death are listed. In some accounts he was shot in battle, while other sources said he died in a duel.

After Chatoyer’s death, the war continued. The French surrendered in 1796, and the Garinagu continued fighting until the following year. They surrendered, and the British exiled 4,338 people to Roatan, one of Honduras’s Bay Islands. The British justified their actions by use of Carib labels. They “seized upon the blackness of the Garifuna to question their [ethnic] purity and legitimacy—and to justify their expulsion,” Anderson wrote.

The war and imprisonment left the Black Caribs weakened and undernourished. Only 2,026 people reached Roatan on April 12, 1797. The majority left the island and sailed to Honduras. Those who stayed on Roatan established Punta Gorda, the oldest town where Garinagu have lived continuously.

MODERN ERA

On September 23, 1797, the 1,465 Garinagu who left Roatan landed at Trujillo. Garinagu also established villages along the Caribbean coasts of Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Belize. Women continued to tend the family farm while men worked in pursuits ranging from woodcutting to smuggling.

Anderson noted that racial origin was less of an issue for the Garinagu in Central America. “While in St. Vincent, Garifuna stood as a mortal enemy to the settler economy and the plantation economy,” he wrote. “In Central America, where labor was scarce ... they became almost universally recognized as a mobile, versatile, and industrious population.”

Politically, Mexico’s successful struggle for independence from Spain also brought independence in 1821 to some Central American countries. Honduras and Guatemala were among the five countries that merged as the United Provinces of Central America. British Honduras remained under British control.

Spain continued to fight the new alliance, and Garinagu participated in the unsuccessful 1832 battle to overthrow the Central American president. A large number of Garinagu then fled to British Honduras. They arrived in Stann Creek, now Dangriga, on November 19, 1832.

The union of five countries with varied interests fell apart in 1839. The twentieth century brought greater change when U.S. companies began exporting bananas from Honduras. The Cuyamel Fruit Company made the first shipment in 1911, followed in 1913 by the United Fruit Company. Honduras soon led the world in banana exports and was a world leader for decades. Guatemala became a major exporter, too. With the economy virtually controlled by the United Fruit Company, Guatemala and Honduras were transformed into what some called “banana republics.”

For Garinagu during the early 1930s, the United Fruit Company of Honduras and Guatemala provided jobs. In an interview, Clifford Palacio said that employment included work in the fields and also on wharves loading ships. Palacio lives in Los Angeles in 1999 and has long been active in promoting the Garifuna culture.

Several events during the 1930s crippled the banana industry. In the early part of the decade, Panama disease plagued the banana crops. Prices for bananas fell, and processing plants were closed. The start of World War II further reduced trade. As the war continued, hundreds of Garifuna men found work by signing on with the merchant marine of the United States and Great Britain.

Both organizations needed sailors because men had enlisted in the military.

The employed men remembered their jobless friends. “These merchant marines surreptitiously allowed their friends and relatives to stow away and many found their way to the U.S. through that illegal *modus operandi*,” said Clifford Palacio.

Garinagu in British Honduras were British subjects, so they received assignments to aid England during World War II. Several contingents were sent to Scotland and Panama. Clifford Palacio’s father went to Scotland and worked in the timber industry to replace Scottish men who went to war. The ship carrying some Garinagu to Scotland was torpedoed. The vessel “barely limped into Liverpool,” said Palacio.

British Honduras remained a British colony until 1964, when self-government was approved. The county that is now Belize became independent in 1981, six years after Stann Creek’s name was changed to Dangriga, which translates as “standing water.” November 19, the anniversary of the 1832 arrival, is celebrated as Garifuna Settlement Day in Belize and in other countries where Garinagu live. Garinagu also celebrate the April 12 Honduras Arrival Day. The 1997 observance drew Garinagu from the United States and Central America to Honduras. They gathered for the bicentennial celebration of what is now known as the Garifuna Nation—people united not by geographical boundaries but by culture and language.

THE FIRST GARINAGU IN AMERICA

Although there is no official record of when the first Garinagu arrived in North America, a New York City theater playbill revealed that Garinagu may have migrated during the nineteenth century. The playbill was for an 1823 play about Garifuna hero Joseph Chatoyer, according to an article in a 1995 Garifuna Homecoming Celebration program. Playwright William Henry Brown was believed to be a Garifuna from St. Vincent. His play, *The Drama of King Shotoway*, was said to be based on eyewitness accounts about the Garifuna war against the British. Brown’s play was staged at the African Grove Theatre, which was located at the corners of Mercer and Bleecker streets. Founded in 1821, it was the first African American theater, according to the program.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

It is difficult to determine exactly how many Garinagu migrated to the United States because U.S.

Immigration and Naturalization Service admissions records are based on country of birth. Ethnic origin is not listed in the records that date back to 1925. Forty-two people from Belize were admitted into the United States that year, and some perhaps were Garinagu. Each year through 1930, 57 or fewer Belizeans were admitted to the country. In 1931, admission records showed 28 people from Belize, 179 from Guatemala, 159 from Nicaragua, and 123 from Honduras.

Garinagu men came to the United States during or just after World War II, according to Clifford Palacio. Men worked as merchant marines, and sea duty took Garinagu to ports around the world. They returned home with stories of new places that inspired other Garinagu men to enlist. Some settled in port cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and New Orleans. Most worked in the United States and then returned home to their families. Garifuna Americans living in cities ranging from New York to Los Angeles spoke of how military service brought them or their fathers to the United States. In addition, some Garinagu, primarily from Belize, settled in London. During the 1960s Garinagu women began emigrating. In 1961, Palacio says, Hurricane Hattie’s destruction in Central America opened the door to legal immigration.

In 1962 INS records showed admissions of 191 Belizeans, 939 Guatemalans, 1,154 Hondurans, and 1,083 Nicaraguans. In comparison, in 1997 the INS admitted 664 Belizeans, 7,785 Guatemalans, 7,616 Hondurans, and 6,331 Nicaraguans.

According to Father Bonillo, an estimated 100,000 Garinagu lived in the United States in 1999. Belizean Garinagu usually settled in Los Angeles. Garinagu from Honduras settled primarily on the East Coast, particularly in New York. Other communities are found in Houston and San Francisco. Palacio estimated Los Angeles’s 1999 Garifuna population as between 12,000 and 15,000 people. That year an estimated 60,000 Garinagu lived in New York City, according to Rejil Solis, coordinator of Garifuna Coalition USA. According to Rhodel Castillo, a poet/musician interviewed for this essay, approximately 5,000 to 10,000 live in Chicago.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Garinagu in Central America have long been valued as teachers. They are also known for their flair for languages. That was an important skill because Garinagu were dispersed to countries where their language was not the mother tongue. The Garinagu

first migrated to Honduras, which was then controlled by Spain. Other Garinagu migrated to what was then British Honduras. The Garinagu spoke Garifuna and learned their country's official language. The Belizean Garinagu came to the United States as English speakers. This gave them some advantages over the Spanish-speaking Garinagu from Honduras.

Not even fluency in some English, however, prepared retired prison chaplain George Castillo for the culture shock of New York City. Reverend Castillo described his immigration experience in his 1996 autobiography *My Life between the Cross and the Bars*. With the Garifuna quest for education in mind, he left Dangriga, Belize, in 1952. At the age of 21, he was astounded by the skyscrapers, traffic, and the fast-paced life. He was amazed that electricity, not kerosene lamps, illuminated homes. Other challenges were in store. "I had never used a telephone, radio, television or kitchen appliance, and wondered if I would ever be able to master them," Reverend Castillo wrote. He did learn, and he found opportunity and advancement in the U.S. Air Force. Military service shortened the time for citizenship, and he fulfilled his dream of entering the seminary. He married and started a family.

Castillo also discovered another reality of American life—discrimination and segregation. The lesson in prejudice came during a bus ride from New York City to Texas. In Mississippi, he was ordered to the back of the bus. When the Castillo family wanted to rent a home in Maine in 1960, their landlady hesitated before accepting them—she would only rent to the Castillos if the white tenant living next door gave permission.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Garifuna traditions, customs, and beliefs reflect the bond of community and respect for elders, both living and dead. As recently as the 1950s Belizean villages would hold a community clean-up. Men used machetes to hack away the growth on roads, and women and children took on other responsibilities. The day ended with a celebration, said Rhodel Castillo.

While marriage is established legally through a civil ceremony or a church service, an older ceremony used to unite couples in Honduras, said Father Amadeo Bonilla. The *tatuniwa wuritagu* ("the drinking of coffee") brought together the couple and their parents, who were joined by family members and the elder, an older person respected for wisdom. The ceremony started with the elder seated next to an empty chair. The woman's parents

brought her to the man. They "gave" her to him. When she sat next to him, those in attendance drank coffee.

One tradition, the *Dugu*, is regarded as a belief by some Garinagu. The Dugu (the Feasting of the Dead) is the most elaborate of three Garifuna ancestral rites. It is also regarded as the most sacred. According to an article by Sebastian and Fabien Cayetano on the Garifuna World website, a Dugu ceremony is scheduled after a request made by a deceased ancestor to a *bueyi* (priest/healer). The rite is scheduled to appease the ancestor. Arrangements are made for food, beverages and performers, who include drummers and singers. The other two ancestral rites are the *Amuyadhani* (Bathing of the Spirit of the Dead) and the *Chugu* (Feeding of the Dead).

PROVERBS

Garifuna proverbs bring vivid images of Central American life: "The monkey believes in his own tail" (you can't trust others to do things for you); "Don't say that you will never drink this water again" (Never say never); "If someone hasn't touched your tail, don't turn around" (Mind your own business); "Today for you, tomorrow for me" (What goes around, comes around); "Just the same, not dying, not getting better" (Still the same, no better, no worse); "If you don't get into the water, you don't get wet" (If you don't try, you don't succeed).

CUISINE

Coconut is a popular ingredient in Garifuna food. Offerings include coconut candy, *pan de coco* (coconut bread), coconut water, *leche de coco* (coconut milk), and coconut soup. *Sere* is a stew of fish cooked with herbs in coconut cream. A popular dessert is grated banana cooked in sweetened coconut milk.

Also common in the Garifuna diet are vegetables such as sweet potatoes and yucca. The food associated most with Garinagu is cassava bread. It used to take several days to make the flat bread. Preparation included extracting poisonous juices from the plant before it could be used to make the bread.

MUSIC

The internationally acclaimed *punta* rock is a modern adaptation of the sacred Garifuna punta music. Belize is regarded as the "cradle of punta rock," and Belizean Andy Palacio is described as the "King of

Punta Rock.” He is a former teacher whose commitment to his culture led him to develop and popularize punta rock during the 1980s. He has performed in the United States, France, and other countries. Other punta rock musicians known in the United States, Central America, and the Caribbean include: Herman “Chico” Ramos, Aziatic, Horace “Mahobob” Flores, Paula Castillo, Peter “Titi-man” Flores, and Thamas “Bootsy” Lauriano. The punta rock groups playing in Los Angeles in 1999 included Libayan Baba, Ibanyani Band, Wagiya Band, Gunwin Band, Wahima Band, and Satuye Band.

DANCES AND SONGS

Garifuna songs tell stories ranging from the loneliness of being far from loved ones to the commemoration of an event. Their dances include the punta dance, which is performed by couples who try to outdo each other with their moves and the *huhungu*, a circle dance. Another dance, performed at Christmas, reflects the history of the Caribbean, according to an article by Sebastian and Fabien Cayetano. The *wanaragua*, also known as the John Canoe dance, was performed in the Caribbean, when slaves were allowed to dance and enjoy themselves for an extended time. The dancers wore headdresses and rattles on their knees and painted their faces white or wore masks made from basket material. They visited the homes of their masters. The slaves danced and were rewarded with food and drink. Today the masks are made of screens and depict either male or female faces. Men compose and lead the songs. Some costumes have skirts for the female dancer. This dance is no longer a Christmas tradition in the United States. It can be seen in performances of Garifuna entertainment. However, the Cayetano brothers wrote that in Belize and other areas dancers go from house to house during the Christmas season, scaring children and collecting payments.

HOLIDAYS

Garinagu observe Christian holidays such as Christmas and Easter. They also celebrate two days related to their history. April 12 is Garifuna Arrival Day, the anniversary of the arrival in Central America. While the 1997 bicentennial attracted international attention, this day is observed more on the East Coast where Honduran Garinagu migrated. The November 19 Belize Settlement Day is observed with a daylong celebration on the closest weekend. The observance in Los Angeles starts with a Garifuna language Catholic Mass. The Garifuna Choir sings and dancers perform sacred dances. The cele-

bration in cities including Chicago and New York features speeches, dancing, music, and food.

HEALTH ISSUES

There were no documented health and mental health problems for Garifuna Americans beyond those that face other Americans. These include the lack of affordable health care, according to Dr. Jorge Bernardez, a Honduran Garifuna who was practicing in Los Angeles in 1999. Garinagu may consult a *bueyi* (traditional healer) when modern medicine proves ineffective, Dr. Bernardez said in an interview.

The strong Garifuna community bond extends to concern about health issues in other countries. The AIDS crisis in Honduras prompted Garifuna Mirtha Colon of New York to found Hondurans Against AIDS in 1992. The organization focuses on AIDS/HIV education to the Garifuna community in Central America and New York. HIV was “prevalent in one adult in 100” in Latin America and the Caribbean, according to the World Health Organization’s June of 1998 “Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic.”

Another issue surfaced when members of New York Garinagu groups met for retreats during the late 1990. “There was guilt, anger and frustration that we were deported [in 1797] and we never knew that. A couple years ago, we started rebuilding our history,” said Mirtha Colon.

LANGUAGE

Garifuna spellings vary because there is no common orthography (method of spelling), which is spoken in five Central American countries. For instance, the name of the Garifuna leader Chatoyer is sometimes spelled Satuye. Garifuna was for years an oral tradition, with history relayed to others through speech, dance, and song. Gender plays several roles in the Garifuna language. As with languages like Spanish and French, there are masculine and feminine words. Words in the Garifuna language can also identify the gender of the speaker. A man would identify the sea as *barawa*, while a woman would say *barana*, said Garifuna poet Rhodel Castillo. He traced the gender differences to the intermarriage of Carib men to Arawak women. However, it would not be incorrect for a man to say the female word.

Some pronunciation tips for speaking Garifuna have been provided by Pamela Munro, a linguistics professor at the University of California, Los Angeles. Most Garifuna consonants are pronounced as in English. Additional consonants include *ch* (pro-

nounced as in *church*, sometimes *sh* in *ship*.) The *r* and *h* sounds are sometimes deleted by speakers. For vowel, *a* is pronounced as in *father* or *sofa*, *e* as in *bed* or *ego*, *i* as in *police* or *bit*, *o* as in *Ohio*, *u* as in *Lulu*. The sixth Garifuna vowel, ü (u diphthong, u umlaut), is written as a slashed *i*. To approximate the pronunciation, pronounce *u* with the lips spread wide (not rounded), as they would be when pronouncing *i*. Nasal vowels are pronounced like oral vowels, except that air is released through the nose rather than through the mouth, said Professor Munro. They are written with *n* following the vowel letter: in *en* an *un* onün.

The first vowel of a two-syllable word is stressed. The second vowel of a words with three or more syllables is stressed. Any word that does not follow these rules must have its stress marked. Stress is written if it falls on the second syllable of a two-syllable word or on the first syllable of any longer word. Stress is written with an acute accent on the stressed vowel.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Garifuna greetings and expressions include: *Mábuiga*—Hello; *Búiti binafi*—Good morning; *Búiti amidi*—Good afternoon; *Búiti ranbá weyu*—Good evening; *Búiti gúyoun*—Good night; *Ayóu*—Goodbye; *Seremei*—Thank you; *Úwati mégeiti*—You're welcome; *Belú*—Come in (to the house, used in place of "Welcome"); *Buída lámuga lidi b?n*—Good luck; *Adüga ba*—Congratulations (Literally "You made it"); *Buídu lá buweyasu*—Have a good trip; *Bungúu bín*—God bless you (when someone sneezes); *Bungúu buma*—Go with God; *Bungúu buma súwan dán*—God be with you always; *Magadei bámuga*—Get well soon; *Búiti báüsteragüle*—Happy birthday; *Mábuiga Fedu*—Merry Christmas; *Búmagien láu sún ísieni*—(Sincerely, as in the close of a letter); *Buídu lámuga básugurani ugúyen lábu súwan dán*—Best wishes today and always.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

For more than two centuries, the mother was the focus of the home in Garifuna society. She raised the children and tended the farm while men went away to hunt or fish. As the economy changed, men had to accept jobs that took them away from the village—and sometimes out of the country. This matri-focal arrangement placed women as heads of the households. According to Sarah England, a doctoral

candidate in anthropology at the University of California-Davis in 1999, this situation gave women independence and also established them as the "spiritual and maternal glue that holds society together." Other characteristics of matrilocality include the remittance of money by immigrants to mothers back home, allocating the care of children to women relatives and the formation of "female-centered mutual aid societies. England found in her 1998 paper "Gender Ideologies and Domestic Structures Within the Transnational Space of the Garifuna Diaspora" that when Garifuna women migrated to the United States some of these practices continued. Garifuna women in the United States banded together for support, and working women gave remittances to their mothers, as they sent their children back home to be cared for by female relatives.

Garifuna American men and women continue to maintain a strong community bond. Their efforts focused on transmitting the Garifuna heritage and helping Garinagu in the United States. This was demonstrated in Los Angeles during the 1970s. Belizeans "Don Justo" Flores and Christola Ellis-Baker founded the Garifuna Sick Aid Association. The group provided financial assistance to members when faced with costs associated with illness and death. The organization also worked to maintain Garifuna culture, traditions, and customs. They organized the first Garifuna Settlement Day celebrations during the 1960s to commemorate the arrival of the Garinagu to Belize in 1832.

Belizean Anita Martinez founded the Wagiameme ("Still Us") Performing Troupe and co-founded Project Help. The group initially helped a woman who needed kidney dialysis. Since she had few relatives, the community came together and helped. The woman recovered and returned home. Project Help continues to offer financial assistance.

As of 1999 the Los Angeles community has a Garifuna choir, a pageant, a language study group, soccer clubs, dance groups and square dance groups, a dinner dance, and a fraternity. Garinagu have also worked with the American consul of Belize to sponsor trips to Belize for the Settlement Day celebration. Groups in other cities such as Chicago branch out to work on immigration, health and other issues.

EDUCATION

In Los Angeles during the late 1970s, the Concerned Belizean Association gave a plaque to every high school and university graduate, including Garifuna graduates. However, by mid-1999, only Garifuna graduates were acknowledged in an annual newsletter.

In New York, programs of *Mujeres Garinagu en Marcha* (MUGAMA) include an outreach to the Spanish-speaking community. English as a second language classes were started in 1990. Implementation of Spanish-language GED in Spanish in 1996 made it easier for people to get their high school diplomas. Since 1996, MUGAMA has held summer cultural programs for children. Each June, MUGAMA sends letters of congratulations to Garifuna graduates. The group also issues two scholarships annually.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

MUGAMA illustrates the matrifocal Garifuna tradition that Sarah England described. The organization was founded in 1989 to showcase Garinagu during the March International Month of the Woman. The group recognizes Garifuna women during March. MUGAMA helps organize the celebration associated with Garifuna Arrival Day and provides educational and cultural programs. MUGAMA's center has been the site of forums on employment, education, immigration, domestic violence, and child abuse.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Garifuna identity with African Americans in various ways. They attend Catholic services where drums and dance are part of the service. They celebrate their culture during African American History month in February. Furthermore, some museums and universities include Garifuna displays in programs in exhibits related to African American history. In addition, because of their unique Afro-Latin heritage, Garinagu also identify with Hispanics.

RELIGION

The majority of Garinagu are Roman Catholic, and a highlight of their worship is the Garifuna Mass. The Mass opens with a procession that symbolizes a welcome and that life is a procession to heaven, said Father Bonilla. Another procession precedes the Gospel reading. During the offertory procession, the people give thanks by presenting gifts to God. The Mass ends with a final procession that is both a "great goodbye" but a reminder to return again for Mass.

A dramatic example of Mass is the thanksgiving service that opens the November 19 Belizean Settlement Day celebration. The service starts at 9:00 A.M. and the service and songs are in Garifuna.

Liturgical dances during the processions serve as a form of prayer.

Another Garifuna tradition is a novena, the recitation of the rosary for nine days after a death. Garifuna teacher Clifford Palacio implemented that tradition in Los Angeles in 1979. Those gathered sang hymns in Garifuna, Spanish, English, and Latin. The activity usually culminates in a *beluria*, an evening rite that includes punta dancing, choral singing, drumming and storytelling. There is an abundance of Garifuna food served.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Garinagu work in occupations ranging from real estate to religious life. Sarah England found during her research that Garifuna women in New York worked in factories and as home attendants. Men continued to work in the marine industries, including employment on cruise ships. Garinagu across the country continue to gravitate towards education. According to Clifford Palacio, many in Los Angeles work as teachers at Catholic elementary schools. The military continues to draw Garinagu, with sometimes a second or third generation Garifuna on active duty.

Many Garinagu work as nurses and several practice medicine as doctors. In addition, they are also represented in religious groups. Sister Ruth Lambey is a Catholic nun belonging to the Holy Family order. Garifuna Americans ordained to the priesthood in 1999 include Fathers Martin Avila in San Francisco and Milton Alvarez in Chicago. Brother Thomas Herman Joseph ministered in Chicago, and Deacon Santiago Lambey served as an ordained layman in Los Angeles.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

MILITARY

Military service has long been a tradition for Garinagu, but it is difficult to determine how many Garifuna Americans served in the military. Under the U.S. Department of Defense's statistics for the ethnic background of active duty personnel Garinagu are classified under the broad category of Latin American ancestry. The figures do provide an overview for service that would include Garinagu as of March 31, 1999.

In the U.S. Army at that time, 3,287 men and 623 women were of Latin American ancestry on

active duty. Of these, 170 men and 42 women were officers. In the U.S. Navy were 1,076 Latin American men and 193 women. Forty women and 206 men were officers. On duty with the Marine Corps on March 31, 1999 were 1,172 men and 73 women of Latin American ancestry. Seventy-two men and one woman were officers. On active duty with the Air Force were 59 men and 18 women of Latin American ancestry. Seven women and 32 men were officers. Coast Guard service attracted the greatest number of people of Latin American ancestry. On active duty on March 31, 1999 were 5,594 men and 907 women. Of these, 480 men and 90 women were officers.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRIES

The Garifuna Americans' strong ties to their former countries were best illustrated by the 1997 celebration that marked the 200th anniversary of the Garifuna arrival in Honduras. People from Central America, the United States, and other places planned the celebration held in Honduras. They traveled to Roatan for the re-creation of the arrival from St. Vincent. Garinagu from different countries met together as the Garifuna Nation, a people bound by their ancestry.

However, that transnational connection started before the bicentennial celebration. Honduran Garinagu who migrated to New York City remained active involved in politics back home, according to Sarah England. That involvement included 1993 fund-raising efforts in New York City to support a Honduran mayoral candidate. The money was used for buses to take voters to the polls, England wrote in her 1999 paper, "Negotiating Race and Place in the Garifuna Diaspora: Identity Formation and Transnational Grassroots Politics in New York City and Honduras."

These transnational people visit their former countries and make remittances to relatives living there. Some Garinagu living in the United States told England they were saving money to buy a home in Honduras.

Garinagu from around the globe are also connected through the Garifuna World website. The site contains information about history, entertainment, travel, and other topics. The click of a mouse brings samplings of punta rock. The "People Connection" features a chat room, bulletin board, and archives that provide a virtual library of Garifuna information. In 1999, there were letters of congratulations for MUGAMA's tenth anniversary. Joseph Flores, the son of "Don Justo" Flores, wrote of the fledgling Garifuna celebration in Texas. Another

posting in May of 1999 demonstrated how far Garinagu have traveled. A woman married to a Garifuna wrote from Southeast Asia. The couple named their son Chatoyer, and they wanted more information about the hero.

Belizean scholar Dr. Joseph Palacio once asked if Garifuna culture would survive migration. Clifford Palacio offered his assessment in May of 1999. "Our culture will survive, given the determination in which we hold on to our traditions and spiritual beliefs," he said.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

CULTURAL PROMOTION

Dr. Jorge Bernardez (1958–) was born in Manali, Honduras, and is board-certified in family medicine. He lives in California and is well known for promoting the Garifuna language and culture. His children speak the language. His book, *Wabagari: Wagucha, Wechun, Wererun (Our Life: Roots, Culture and Language)* was scheduled for publication in the fall of 1999.

Clifford Palacio (1930–) was born in Seine Bight, Belize, and has long been active in promoting the Garifuna culture in Los Angeles. His efforts included organizing the Garifuna Settlement Day celebration. During the 1990s he conducted weekly Garifuna language study sessions.

DANCE

Manuela Sabio, a secondary education teacher in New York City, founded Wanichigu Dance Company in 1988 to teach Garifuna traditions and values to youths. The company's name means "Our Pride," and the troupe performed August 17, 1997 at New York City's Lincoln Center Out of Doors Festival.

Anita Martinez (1951–) was born in Belize. In Los Angeles, she founded the Wagameme Performing Troupe and is co-founder of Project Help. She is a volunteer with Project Success, a program that targets at-risk students. She and her daughter, Shantel Martinez (1980–) are co-directors of the troupe whose name means "A Still Us" in English. Wagameme consists of female dancers between the ages of 14 and 21. They perform dances and skits portraying Garifuna life. In addition to performances at the November 19 Settlement Day celebration, the group's performances included the Bob Marley Reggae Festival in Long Beach.

EDUCATION

Jocelyn Palacio-Cayetano, Ph.D. (1961–) was born in Dangriga, Belize, and in 1999 was the director of outreach activities for the IMMEX (Interactive Multimedia Exercises) project at the University of California, Los Angeles. IMMEX is a Windows-based problem-solving software program used in the classroom.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Antonieta Maximo (1942–) was born in La Lima, Honduras, and immigrated to New York during the 1970s. She was active in New York theater during the 1970s and the 1980s. She appeared in Broadway and off-Broadway productions. She won the best supporting actress award from the Organization of Latin American Actors for her work in *Contrastes* during the late 1970s. Maximo also wrote the play's nominated theme song, "Me Llamen En Vagabundo" ("They Call Me A Vagabond"). Other theater credits include an appearance in the play *The Motion of History*. She appears briefly in the 1992 movie *Malcolm X*. She played a doctor in the 1980s movie Spanish-language movie *Amigos (Friends)*.

After noticing a lack of awareness about her home country's arts, Maximo concentrated on promoting Honduran culture. That effort frequently spotlighted Garinagu. She founded the Honduran American Cultural Association in 1986. That year, the Honduran government gave her the prestigious José Cecilio del Valle award for promoting the country's culture outside Honduras. In addition, Maximo paints and writes music and poetry. She wrote, directed, and performed in the 1984 production of *Donas*. Garinagu played most of the roles. She began showcasing culture and other Honduran subjects on *Conversando con Antonieta Maximo*, (*Conversing with Antonieta Maximo*) a half-hour television talk show. The weekly program debuted in 1994. Guests included painters, artists, writers, the archbishop of Honduras, doctors, politicians, and community leaders. In 1999, Maximo was working on a documentary about the Garifuna arrival at Honduras. She planned to complete it at the end of the year.

LITERATURE

Justin Mejia Flores (1918-1994) was born in Dangriga, Belize, and was known as "Don Justo." He was a member of the Honduras National Soccer Team during the early 1950s. A renowned musician in Central America and the United States, Don Justo made and played several instruments. He wrote, produced, and released several records with his band El Ritmo Caribe. He was a founding member of the annual

November 19 Garifuna Settlement Day Celebration of Los Angeles during the early 1960s. While working as a machinist in Los Angeles, he wrote his first book. *Tumba Le*, published in 1977 was a fictional account of life, love, sports, and fun in a Garifuna village. Other books included *The Garifuna Story—Now and Then*; the first Garifuna dictionary compiled and published by a Garifuna; the first Garifuna calendar; and *The Story of Mary and The Christ Child in Garifuna*; *The Anthropological Study of the Garifuna Language*, and *The Life and Obituary of Aunt Dominica*.

Rita Palacio (1935–) was born in Dangriga, Belize, and her poem, "The Garifuna Woman" is found on the Garifuna World Website.

MUSIC

Rhodel Castillo (1959–) was born outside Dangriga, Belize, and is a poet who sets many of his works to music. His poem "Our Children Must Know" is heard at the beginning of the 1998 documentary, *The Garifuna Journey*. His album *The Punta Rock Medley* was released in 1998 and was working on a second album during 1999. He founded the Progressive Garifuna Alliance.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Reverend George Castillo (1932–) was born in Dangriga, Belize, and is a United Church of Christ minister. In 1973 he began 20 years of service as a chaplain in the Federal Bureau of Prisons systems. He wrote about that service in his 1996 book *My Life Between the Cross and Bars*. Since retiring in 1993, he has given lectures and workshops on subjects such as the importance of marketable skills for prisoners, humane prison treatment, and support for families.

Mirtha Colon (1951–) was born in Honduras and is the founder of Hondurans Against AIDS in 1992. She is president of the New York organization provides AIDS/HIV education and support in Central America and New York. She works in New York as a social worker.

Dionisa Amaya (1933–) was born in Honduras and is one of three founders of MUGAMA (Mujeres Garinagu en Marcha). She is a retired guidance counselor and has been involved in Garifuna community activities in New York since 1974.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Leonard Cayetano (1961–) was born in Cirque Arena, Toledo, Belize, and in 1999 was the director of operations and production at Earthlink Internet service.

Identical twins Tomas Alberto Avila, a mechanical engineer, and Jose Francisco Avila, an accountant, established a global link for Garinagu through the Internet in 1996. It was expanded to the Garifuna World website in 1997. Audio clips allow visitors to hear Garifuna music.

MEDIA

TELEVISION

Channel 34, Manhattan Neighborhood Network.

Un Conversando Con Antonieta Maximo (Conversing with Antonieta Maximo) is a half-hour talk show with a Honduras focus. Host Antonieta Maximo, a Honduran Garifuna, has been on the air since 1994. Her guests have included the archbishop of Honduras, the Honduran ambassador, artists, writers, and doctors. The program airs at 7:30 p.m. Saturdays.

Contact: Antonieta Maximo.

Address: 537 West 59th Street, New York, New York 10019-1006.

Telephone: (212) 396-3752.

RADIO

WHPK-FM (88.5).

Belizean Rhythms is a half-hour weekly broadcast from the University of Chicago. Belizean host Randolph Coleman brings listeners the musical sounds of his homeland. The show airs at 6:00 P.M. Saturdays, and regularly features “news, views, interviews, and recipes.”

Contact: Randolph Coleman.

Address: Reynolds Club, 5706 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Telephone: (773) 702-8289.

INTERNET

Garifuna World Website

Contact: Tomas Alberto and Jose Francisco Avila.

Address: P.O. Box 6619, Johnsville Station, New York, New York 10128-0011.

Telephone: (800) 859-1426.

Online: <http://www.garifuna-world.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Garifuna umbrella organization of 1999 started out for the most part as a group of friends who had

migrated to the same city. They met together to celebrate holidays such as the Nov. 19 Belize Settlement Day and the April 12 Arrival to Honduras Day. The groups organized community celebrations and also united to help their community with issues including education, health, and immigration. As more groups formed to address issues, Garifuna Americans in the 1990s formed umbrella groups to coordinate communication among groups in the community. Groups sent delegates to the umbrella organization meetings.

Garifuna Coalition USA.

Founded in May 1998 as the umbrella group for Garifuna organizations in New York City. One year later, the coalition encompassed 14 organizations including MUGAMA (see below).

Activities in 1998 include an annual retreat. Membership in groups overlaps, with members from various groups participating in the April 12 Honduras arrival commemoration.

Contact: Rejil Solis, Coordinator.

Address: 2189 Pitkin Avenue, Number 3-B, Brooklyn, New York, 11200.

Telephone: (718) 385-0577.

Garifuna Settlement Day Group.

Started in the 1960s in Los Angeles to celebrate Settlement Day, the group by 1999 was a nonprofit organization. Representatives in mid-1999 included the Garifuna Choir, the Honduran Sociedad Negra Hondurena de California (the Society of Black Hondurans of California), the Youth Group, UBAFU (Power), and Project Help.

Contact: James Castillo, President.

Address: P.O. Box 11690, Los Angeles, California 90011.

Telephone: (323) 234-8202.

MUGAMA (Mujeres Garinagu en Marcha).

Founded in 1989, the group's name translates as “Garinagu Women Marching.” Honduran Garinagu Dionisia Amaya, Lydia Hill, and Mirtha Sabio founded the group to recognize the accomplishments of Garifuna women in the New York tristate area. The organization branched out and its activities include awarding scholarships and offering English as a Second Language classes.

Contact: Dionisia Amaya.

Address: 420 Watkins Street, Brooklyn, New York 11212.

Telephone: (718) 485-6484.

Progressive Garifuna Alliance.

Founded in 1991, the alliance is dedicated to preserving and advancing the Garifuna culture. Represents the approximately 5,000-10,000 Garinagu in Chicago. Activities include staging the Nov. 19 Belize Settlement Day celebration, educating the public, and holding town meetings to inform the community about issues such as immigration. Alliance members perform Garifuna dances and music and give talks on their culture at area festivals and museums.

Contact: Rhodel Castillo, Founder.

Address: 4943 South Champlain Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60615.

Telephone: (773) 548-9870.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

In 1999, a group in New York formed to create a Garifuna culture center, which will be the first of its kind in the United States. However, both public and university museums have held exhibits about the Garinagu. Sometimes the exhibits are tied into the February celebration of Black History Month. Generally, these exhibits have included cultural demonstrations that include dance and food. Another feature is the screening of the no set exhibit.

The Garifuna Journey

A traveling exhibit centered around a 46-minute documentary of the same name produced by filmmakers Andrea Leland and Kathy Berger. The documentary was filmed in Belize and involved Garinagu from that country and the United States. The documentary has been part of multimedia exhibits at museums. A study guide was under development in 1999.

Contact: Andrea Leland or Kathy Berger,
Leland/Berger Productions.

Address: 1200 Judson Avenue, Evanston,
Illinois 60202.

Telephone: (847) 864-7752.

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Contributing Editor
ROBERT VON DASSANOVSKY

Author of Introduction
RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

Edited by
JEFFREY LEHMAN

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G E O R G I A N A M E R I C A N S

by
Vladimir F. Wertsman

According to
traditional Georgian
accounts, Georgians
are descendants
of Thargamos,
great-grandson of
Japhet, son of the
Biblical Noah.

OVERVIEW

Georgia, called Sakartvelo by Georgians, is a European country occupying about 27,000 square miles (69,700 square kilometers). It is almost half the size of Illinois and is located in the mountainous region of Transcaucasia. Georgia is bounded by Russia to the north and northeast, Azerbaijan to the east, the Black Sea to the west, and Armenia and Turkey to the south. The country's population, which was 5.5 million in 1995, is predominantly Georgian. The Georgians comprise 71 percent of the population. Ethnic minorities include Armenians (8 percent), Russians (6.5 percent), Azerbaijanis (4.6 percent), Greeks (3 percent), Ossets (3 percent), and Abkhazians (2 percent). There are also smaller groups of Ukrainians, Turks, Persians, and Jews. Georgians are Christians and belong to the Georgian Orthodox Church. Islam and Judaism, which are practiced by ethnic minorities, are tolerated.

Georgia has a rich cultural heritage that is expressed in the original architecture of its churches, castles, and fortresses. The country is also known for its exquisite gold and silver jewelry, polyphonic songs, and uniquely painted icons. The Georgian people are noted for their courage, passionate love of music, dancing, poetry, and longevity. Every 51 of 100,000 people in Georgia are 100 years of age or more.

Tbilisi is the capital of Georgia. The official language is Georgian, but Russian is used as a second language. The Georgian flag has a red back-

ground, with a white and blue horizontal square in the left corner.

HISTORY

According to traditional Georgian accounts, Georgians are descendants of Thargamos, the great-grandson of Japhet, son of the Biblical Noah. The ancient name of Georgia was Colchis, which was associated for centuries with the Greek myth of Jason and his 50 Argonauts, who sailed from Greece to Colchis to capture the Golden Fleece. The legend describes how Medea, the daughter of the King of Colchis, assisted Jason in his adventure, but at the end was deserted by him. Colchis is historically recorded by Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), Xenophon (c.430-354 B.C.), and Josephus Flavius (37-95 A.D.).

Georgia was formed as a kingdom in the fourth century B.C. and, over several centuries, was ruled by Romans, Persians, Byzantines, Arabs, and Turkish Seljuks. It regained full independence and unity under King David the Restorer (1089-1125), and reached the height of territorial expansion and cultural development under Queen Tamar (1183-1213). During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Mongolian invasions by Genghis Khan and Tamerlane devastated the country and split its unity. In the fifteenth century, Georgia was divided into the three kingdoms of Iberia, Imertia, and Kakhetia. In 1555, Turkey took over the rule of West Georgia, while East Georgia fell under Persian rule. In 1783, Georgia became a protectorate of Russia. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the country was annexed and incorporated into Russia's czarist empire. Georgia remained a part of Russia until 1917, when the Bolsheviks overthrew the czar and established a Communist state.

MODERN ERA

In 1918, Georgia became an independent state. However, three years later, the Soviet Red Army invaded Georgia and incorporated it into the Soviet Union. A rebellion that was designed to restore Georgian independence failed in 1924. In 1936, a new constitution was proclaimed and Georgia became a Soviet Socialist Republic under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin (1879-1953), who was born a Georgian. Another Georgian, Lavrenti Beria (1899-1953), was a friend of Stalin and became the chief of NKVD, the Soviet secret police. Beria was notorious for extending Stalin's regime of terror through executions, mass arrests, and deportations to vast labor camps known as *gulags*.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia again became an independent nation in

April of 1991. During the first half of the 1990s, the country had to cope with difficult political, economic, and ethnic problems. Two secessionist movements in the autonomous regions of Abkhazia and Inghushetia required military intervention. Both conflicts ended in 1996 with the signing of a peace agreement. A bitter political struggle between various parties and factions brought President Eduard Shevarnadze, a former Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, to power. Shevarnadze quickly established a pro-Western government.

THE FIRST IN AMERICA

The Georgian presence in America began in 1890 with the arrival of 12 Georgian Cossack horsemen hired by Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild Congress of Rough Riders. The Cossack horseman successfully competed with talented horsemen from Mexico, Argentina, France, England, Spain, and the United States. Under the leadership of Prince Ivan Rostromov Marcheradse, the Georgians charmed audiences with their energy, style, and riding skills. In 1910, a second group of 30 Georgian male and female riders successfully performed with the Ringling Brothers Circus. A third group of nearly 50 Georgians were hired as laborers to work on the West Coast railroads. Shortly before World War I, a few dozen Georgians returned to their native land, while those who decided to settle in America formed the nucleus around which the Georgian American community developed in later years.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRANT WAVES

Following the Soviet invasion of Georgia in 1921, hundreds of families, fearing repression by Communist authorities, became refugees abroad. About 200 Georgian refugees, including former political leaders, members of aristocracy, and military officers, came to the United States. Unable to speak English and lacking financial resources or help from charitable organizations, many Georgian refugees had a very hard time adjusting to their new life in America. Some gave up their professional occupations to take menial jobs, while others with aristocratic titles married wealthy American women. Those who could not cope with life in America returned to Europe, and joined other Georgian refugees who established themselves in Germany, France, Poland, Turkey, and Belgium.

A second wave of Georgian refugees was recorded after World War II. More than 250 men, women, and children came to the United States by virtue of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the

Refugee Act of 1953. Several were former prisoners of war who feared reprisals if they returned to the Soviet Union. There were also some Georgians who lived in Europe as refugees from the Soviet Union before the start of World War II. These new immigrants, unlike the first wave, received assistance from various charitable and non-profit organizations, including the Georgian Association in the United States and The Tolstoy Foundation. Many immigrants from this second wave were skilled workers, professionals, military men, and clerical workers, and found it relatively easy to adjust to their new homeland.

During the final decade of Soviet rule in Georgia, a third wave of immigrants—consisting of a few hundred men and women—came to the United States for economic, religious, educational, business, or family reasons. This wave consisted of both professionals and non-professionals and included persons from various ethnic groups within Georgia. There are between 3,000 and 3,500 Georgian Americans, the majority of which have settled in or around New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Atlanta, and Los Angeles.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Because Georgian Americans are small in number, less information is available about them than other ethnic groups. Despite this, Georgian Americans have preserved their heritage and culture through various organizations. As early as 1924, Georgian organizations were founded in San Francisco and in New York City. These organizations held cultural activities and social gatherings, and provided assistance to other immigrants. Between 1955 and 1975, the Georgian American press was very active. *Kartuli Azri* (Georgian Opinion) was the most popular newspaper and was it was heavily supported by donations from Georgian Americans. Over the years, Georgians have been fully assimilated into American culture. However, Georgian Americans continue to proudly preserve many aspects of their unique culture.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In Georgia, some tribes forbid women to have children until after they have been married for three years. Georgian custom allows a maximum of three children per couple. The birth of a boy is cause for great celebration, while the birth of a girl is often met with disappointment. Many Georgian Ameri-

cans have long forsaken these customs. Other customs, however, are still observed. Formality and mutual respect guide the daily behavior of Georgian Americans. From an early age, children are trained in etiquette and the social graces. The display of any “sexual” behavior in public is considered a source of great shame. Privacy and modesty are greatly cherished and women are treated with respect.

PROVERBS

Georgians, like many other ethnic groups from Transcaucasia, are known for their many original proverbs. Examples include: Low places are considered high when high places are lacking; That which one loses by laughing one does not find again by crying; There is always a dirty spoon in every family; He who does not seek friends is his own enemy; If you put your nose into water you will also wet your cheeks; The cock cannot profit by the friendship of the fox; One blames one’s friend to his face and one’s enemy to his back; Don’t spit into a well, one day it may serve to quench your thirst; It is better to drink water from a small spring than salt water from a great sea; The cart is heavy, but it makes the load light.

CUISINE

Georgian Americans have a very rich, healthy, and tasty cuisine. Other ethnic groups also enjoy Georgian cuisine, and it is typically featured on menus in Russian restaurants. Georgian women often cook according to the traditions of their homeland. A typical first course in a Georgian-style meal may include fresh herbs, radishes, scallions, tiny cucumbers, quartered tomatoes sprinkled with dill, home cured olives, pickled cabbage, red kidney beans dressed with walnut sauce, eggplant puree, cheese, and smoked sturgeon garnished with tarragon. *Khachapuri* (flat bread with cheese filling), *lobio* (kidney beans in plum sauce) and other types of appetizers are usually accompanied by *lavash* (thin white bread) and *raki* (a dry and strong liquor made from berries or grape) or *chacha* (a grape vodka). *Sulguni*, a type of cheese, is served with fresh coriander and scallions. *Khmeli-suneli*, a very popular dish, consists of mixtures of dill, coriander, pepper, and other strongly scented spices. Melons and oranges are often added to goat or chicken that has been strongly spiced with peppers and heavily seasoned with garlic. A chicken soup called *kharcho* is also served with walnuts.

Second courses may consist of skewers of fried or broiled fish such as *khramuli* or *kogak*, a white flesh fish that is delicately flavored. Lamb or chick-

en stews (*chakhokhbili*) are served with wine. *Shashlik* is made of chicken, onions, and other vegetables on a skewer. *Kotmis satsivi* is a roast chicken or roast suckling pig served with walnut sauce. *Mtsvadi* is grilled lamb, pig or young goat, and *tabaka* is pressed fried chicken. Georgian cuisine also includes *pkhali* (vegetables and walnuts) *kinkali* (dumplings of beets), and pickled cabbage. All meals are served with excellent wines, especially *Kindzmarauli* and *Teliani*, both of which are prized for their aromatic flavors. Desserts include compotes, candied almonds or walnuts, various preserves, and *chuckella* (traditional candy made from grape juice and walnuts). Non-alcoholic beverages consist of yogurt, syrups, fruit juices, and Turkish coffee.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional clothing is still found in the homes of some older generation Georgian Americans, and is usually worn during Georgian folk festivals. Men wear black wool pants and a long-sleeved shirt that buttons half way down the front. This shirt is usually black and is often decorated around the edges with silver or gold thread. Soft, tight-fitting leather boots that extend above the knee are also worn. These boots have a thin sole and no heels. A wool coat, usually black, brown, white, or gray in color, is worn over the shirt and pants. It has no collar and is cut with a long, narrow, V shaped opening from the neck halfway to the waist. Rows of narrow pockets, six or eight on each side of the coat are sewn across the chest. A belt containing a dagger (*kinjal*) or sword is worn around the waist. The head is adorned with a *papakha*, a fur cap of sheep or goatskin with the fleece side out, which hangs down over the forehead. During winter months a *bashlik*, which is a hood of finely woven woolen material that can be tied around the neck, is worn. A cape made of goat or sheep wool, called a *bourka*, is worn around the shoulders. It is usually black and semicircular in shape, and fastened at the neck with thongs.

Georgian women wear long, floor-length gowns, with a tight bodice and long sleeves ending at the waist. The gowns are made of silk and come in white or a variety of pastel colors. A long, flowing scarf is often wrapped around the head and shoulders. The hair is worn in at least two braids, which frequently extend past the waist. An ornamental gold belt covers the waist. A headdress, in gold or another bright color, covers the head. Older women wear similar dresses, but in darker colors. They also wear a turban-like headdress. Georgian women, like their male counterparts, also wear boots. Unlike some of their neighbors, Georgian women do not wear a veil in front of their faces.

It should be noted that Georgian Americans, like their conationals in urban Georgia, dress in European or American-style clothes. Farmers also dress in European shirts and trousers that are conservative in color. Rural women typically wear blouses and long skirts.

DANCING, SONGS, AND MUSIC

Georgian men and women love to dance. Men dance on the tip of their toes at increasing speeds, incorporating breath taking leaps and swift head movements. Female dances employ scarves, handkerchiefs and pitches, intricate arm movements, and simple, gliding steps. The most popular Georgian dances are *Lezghinka*, in which men and women dance together; *partza*, a circular dance; *kartuli*, a dance of chivalry in which men are not permitted to touch the girls; and *Samaya*, which is performed by three young girls to celebrate a wedding feast. Young women often dance the *namari*, which features beautiful arm and hand movements.

Dances are accompanied by highly rhythmic music in which drumming plays a leading role. The characteristic feature of Georgian folk music is polyphony. As a rule, multi-voice songs are performed by men. Women perform some solos and duets. Georgian folk music is also rich in lyrical songs honoring popular heroes. Georgian orchestras include flutes, lutes, drums, cymbals, bagpipes, and mandolins. Beginning in the 1950s Georgian singers and dancers, trained in their homeland, have performed in the United States and throughout the world. These groups are widely acclaimed for their exceptional artistic qualities. They have performed in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Detroit, Cleveland, and many other cities.

HOLIDAYS

Dozens of religious holidays are celebrated in Georgia, depending on the region and locality. Several holidays are devoted to various saints, particularly St. George. Two religious holidays observed by Georgians and Georgian Americans are January 26 and May 19. Both of these days honor Saint Nino, the patron saint credited with bringing Christianity to the Georgians in the fourth century. Easter, Christmas, and New Year are also major holidays. Church services are followed by a meal and various festivities. Other important holidays include May 26, which celebrates the proclamation of Georgia's independence in 1918; and August 29, which marks Georgia's revolt against the Soviet Union in 1924. On April 9, 1991, Georgia declared its independence from the Soviet Union. This date has been added to the calendar of holidays.

HEALTH ISSUES

Georgian Americans are basically a vigorous people, with traditional longevity. As noted earlier, in Georgia, every 51 of 100,000 people are 100 years of age or more. There are no specific health problems affecting Georgian Americans.

LANGUAGE

Karthli, the Georgian language, is part of the Ibero-Caucasian family of languages and is distinct from Indo-European, Turkic, and Semitic languages. It does not have any connection to other Northern Caucasian language groups, even though it resembles them phonetically. Georgian is based on the Armenian alphabet and its roots are attributed to St. Mesrop. The Georgian language features a frequent recurrence of the sounds *ts*, *ds*, *thz*, *kh*, *khh*, *gh*. There are two systems of the Georgian alphabet. The first, Khutsuri, consists of 38 letters and dates back to the fifth century A.D. It was used in the Bible and liturgical works. The second Georgian alphabet, Mkhedruli, consists of 40 letters and is used in ordinary writing.

The Georgian language is rich, flexible, and contains a complex grammar. High proportions of older Georgian Americans speak Georgian, while younger generations tend to speak English. Georgian is taught at Columbia University, Indiana University at Bloomington, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Emory University. Georgian books can be found at the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and universities that teach the language.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Me kvia means my name is; *gamarjobat* is hello; *gmadlobt* is thank you; *inebet* is please; *nakhvamdis* is goodbye; *gauma . . . jobs* is cheers (when drinking wine). Other expressions: *deda* is mother; *mama* is father; *da* is sister; *zma* is brother; *mamuli* is fatherland; *ai* is this; *minda* is I want; *sadili* is dinner; “a” is pronounced like the a in the English word “car;” and “I” is pronounced in English like “ee.”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Georgian American families are known for their strong ties. Women play an important role both in families and society, and divorce is frowned upon. Although the father is the head of the family,

women may keep their own surnames when they marry, and there is no stigma when a husband lives with the wife's parents. Children are raised to value their family and respect older members. Young people are expected to be well-educated and encouraged to become professionals. Georgians enjoy gathering with family and close friends to gossip, praise traditions, and remember deceased family members. Georgians are also known for their hospitality.

WEDDINGS

Georgians usually marry at a young age, and married couples are expected to take care of their parents. In many cases, marriage is arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, relatives, or close friends. Wedding receptions traditionally include a series of toasts. The *tamada*, or toastmaster, is chosen by the audience, and leads toasts to the native land, to parents, to friends, to the memory of the dead, to women, to life, to children, and to the guests. After the toasts are made, all of the guests say “*gauma . . . jobs*” (cheers). No one except the *tamada* may make a toast without first asking permission. The couple then toasts the guests and thanks them for their good wishes. After each toast, the guests must drink an entire glass of wine.

Weddings in the Georgian Orthodox Church are performed according to old customs. In the wedding ceremony, the groom is called *mepe* (king) and the bride *dedopali* (queen). The couple sips wine from the same cup and puts crowns on their heads as a symbol of their union. The priest blesses the couple, and they officially become husband and wife. The wedding ceremony is followed by a reception with music and dancing.

BIRTH AND BAPTISMS

During a baby's christening (*natloba*), the godfather (*natlia*) plays a very important role. He first cuts the hair and nails of the newborn. By doing this, it is believed that the qualities and talents of the godfather are transmitted to the child. When the child is placed in water during the christening, small coins are thrown in to bring the child good luck and happiness.

FUNERALS

Following the death of a family member, church bells are rung three times a day until the funeral ceremony is completed. During the funeral ceremony the priest, assisted by a choir and deacon, sings prayers and hymns for the dead. In the name of the

deceased, the priest asks for forgiveness of sins from family and friends. Prayers are recited at the cemetery and the Gospel is read. The coffin is then lowered into the grave, and soil sprinkled with holy water is tossed on top of the coffin. Another recitation from the Gospel concludes the funeral. After the funeral, the family of the deceased shares a light meal and beverages to honor their loved one.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Georgian Americans maintain friendly ties with other ethnic groups who immigrated from Georgia. These groups include Circassians, Ossetians, and Cabardins. Many Georgian Americans have intermarried with Armenians, Russians, Jews, and Ukrainians. They have also developed good relations with Americans of other backgrounds and religious faiths.

RELIGION

Georgians became Christians in the fourth century A.D. under King Mirian (265-345) who erected the first Christian church, which was later renamed the Cathedral of Mtskheta. The Georgian Orthodox Church, a branch of the Eastern Orthodox Church, is headed by a Catholicos-Patriarch with its headquarters in Georgia. Georgian law grants the Catholicos the same power as that of a king, and the clergy actively participates in the life of state affairs. Bishops must be at least 35 years old, priests not less than 30 years, and deacons over 25 years.

Georgian liturgy uses characteristic liturgical texts called *Kondaki*, and various blessings for stated occasions called *Khurthkhevani*. Its system of chronology has a new *annus mundi*, its own order of ecclesiastical teachings and feasts. Mass is always accompanied by liturgical chants which employ specific Georgian styles and forms. The Georgian cross has a heraldic shape, which is different from the types of crosses used by other branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Georgian Americans do not have their own churches, and usually attend Russian Orthodox or Greek Orthodox churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Unlike the first wave of Georgian Americans who were employed as taxi drivers or in manual labor jobs, succeeding generations have enjoyed greater opportunities. Many are professionals (engineers,

teachers, doctors, artists, military officers), some are businessmen, others are clerical workers. Most Georgian Americans belong to the middle class.

MILITARY

Some Georgian Americans became career military officers after World War II. A Georgian American officer, General John Shalikashvili (1936–), served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff between 1992 and 1996. Shalikashvili emigrated to the United States with his parents following World War II, completed a master's degree in international affairs at George Washington University, and joined the military in 1958. He was a decorated veteran of the Korean and Vietnam Wars, and eventually became commander of American troops in Germany. Shalikashvili was also the commander-in-chief of American armed forces in Europe before President Clinton named him chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It marked the first time that a Georgian American had been named to such a high position within the military.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRY

Georgian Americans have always been extremely proud of their homeland and never accepted its forced incorporation into the Soviet Union. Georgian American organizations and newspapers lobbied constantly for the creation of an independent and democratic Georgia, a goal that was attained when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. New laws passed in Georgia have sought to facilitate increased economic, cultural, and educational ties with Georgian Americans.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA AND EDUCATION

Dodona Kiziria was a professor of literature, cinema, and video at Indiana University at Bloomington; Timur Djordjaz was a professor in the Theater and Fine Arts Department, Pace University, New York City.

BALLET AND MUSIC

George Balanchine (1904-1983), was born Balanchivadze, and was a noted ballet master and choreographer. He was considered the most influen-

tial and finest choreographer of the twentieth century. Balanchine was the cofounder and artistic director of the New York City Ballet Company, worked for the New York Metropolitan Opera, created more than 200 ballets, and choreographed several Broadway musicals and movies. He also wrote a book about 101 ballet stories.

Alexander Toradze (1952-) was a pianist and winner of the 1977 Van Cliburn competition in Moscow. He joined the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1983, and was later conductor of the Minnesota Opera.

George Chavchavadze (1904-1962) was a noted pianist with international credits.

LITERATURE

George Papashvily (1898-1978) was an author who married American Helen White after immigrating to United States in the 1920s. Together they wrote *Anything Can Happen* (1944), which chronicled his immigrant experiences. The book was a bestseller, and was made into a 1952 movie by Paramount Pictures. Papashvily and his wife also published the novel *All the Happy Endings* (1956) and *Home and Home Again* (1973), which included their impressions of Georgia after a visit during the 1960s.

Svetlana Allilueva (1926-), was born Djughashvili, and was the daughter of Joseph Stalin. She defected from the Soviet Union to the United States in 1967, and subsequently wrote *Twenty Letters to a Friend* (1967), and *Only One Year* (1969), both in Russian and English, which detail her experiences before and after her defection, and her impressions about America.

Valerii Chalidze (1938-), was an author, editor, and publisher, who focused his writings on human rights violations in the former Soviet Union; published *To Defend These Rights: Human Rights and the Soviet Union* (1975), *Criminal Russia: Essays on Crime in the Soviet Union* (1977), *The Soviet Human Rights Movement: A Memoir* (1984).

David Chavchadze (1938-), was an author and linguist, former intelligence officer, and a descendant of a noble family. He specialized in tracing the nobility of Tsarist Russia, and published *Crowns and Trenchcoats: A Russian Prince in the CIA* (1990).

Paul Chavchavadze (1899-1971), was the author of fiction books, and the translator of writings from Georgian into English. He came from the same noble family as David Chavchadze.

JOURNALISM

Vladimir Babishvili (1923-), was an international broadcaster, and worked for the Voice of America for more than 20 years. He also translated the works of Georgian writers in exile into English.

CULINARY ARTS

George Papashvily and his wife (already described in the Literature section) published *Russian Cooking* (1970), which includes both Russian and Georgian recipes based on their own kitchen experiences and also collected from other Georgian American sources.

SCULPTURE

George Papashvily produced several pieces of sculpture, including *Georgian Folk Singer*, which was featured in the documentary film *Beauty in Stone*.

SCIENCE

Alexander Kartvelishvili was an aeronautical engineer, designing the P-47 (Thunderbolt fighter plane) and S-84 (Thunderjet) during World War II and the Korean War. He founded Republic Aviation.

BUSINESS

Prince Artchil Gourieli-Tchkonia (1895-1955), who emigrated to the United States in 1937, and his wife Madam Helena Rubinstein (1882-1965), known as the queen of cosmetic products, became a successful business couple. They launched Gourelli Apothecary with two new lines of expensive cosmetic products for women and men. The prince also established the “Prince Machiabelli” line, which included “Cachet” in 1970, and “Chimere” in 1980. These perfumes continued to remain popular after the prince’s death.

SOCIAL WORK

Prince Teymuraz Bagration (1913-1992), a descendant of Georgian royalty, became president of the Tolstoy Foundation in New York City after World War II and remained in this position until his death. He was known for his efforts to resettle Georgian, Russian and other ethnic refugees from the Soviet Union and East European countries. He was also involved in the resettlement of refugees from Vietnam, Cuba, Uganda, and other countries. As a member of Care and Interaction, a coalition of

more than 100 charitable organizations, Bagration was instrumental in assisting displaced persons who wanted to start a new life in the United States.

MEDIA

PRINT

The Georgian American League published *Voice of Free Georgia* (1953-1958) in English; the American Council for Independent Georgia published *Chveni Gza/Our Path* (1953-1960s), in Georgian with English summaries; and the Georgian National Alliance sponsored the publication of *Georgian Opinion* (1951-1975). All three publications focused on events in Georgia, the fight for a democratic and independent Georgia, and events in the Georgian American community. By the end of the 1990s, there were no Georgian American periodicals being published.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Georgian Association in the United States (New York office).

Founded in 1931, this organization absorbed the Georgian National Alliance, and focused its activities on preserving Georgian heritage in America. It organizes cultural events, assists needy immigrants, maintains a library with books about Georgia, and publishes a newsletter.

Contact: Mrs. Elizabeth Zaldastani Napier,
President.

Address: 164 Burns Street, Forest Hills, New York,
New York 11375.

Telephone: (718) 268-5749 or (617) 227-0695.

Georgian Association in the United States (D.C. office).

Contact: Irakly Zurab Kakabadze.

Address: 3173 17th Street, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20100.

Telephone: (202) 223-1770.

Fax: (202) 223-1779 or (617) 742-8353.

U.S.-Georgia Foundation.

Founded in 1992, its goal is to assist Georgia in becoming a more democratic society with a free market economy and a multi-party political system.

Contact: Eduard Gudava.

Address: 1110 Vermont Avenue, Suite 600,
Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 429-0108.

Fax: (202) 293-3419.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Harvard University (Houghton Library).

Deposits-on-loan: (80 boxes with the archives of the Georgian government (1917-1921), and the correspondence of its legation abroad (Paris, Rome, Berlin, Constantinople, and Bern), expenses made by the government, domestic and foreign press about Georgia, and other valuable documents. The loan period is 1974-2004 and, since 1988, the microfilm of the archives has been available to scholars under the library's rules governing the use of manuscripts.

Contact: Librarian of Houghton Library.

Address: Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Telephone: (617) 495-2401.

Fax: (617) 496-4750.

Indiana University Libraries.

Possesses a collection of rare materials about Georgia and the Caucasus region for the historical scholarly community. Access is restricted only to those researchers that have permission to use the collection.

Contact: Head Librarian.

Address: 10th and Jordan Street, Bloomington,
Indiana 47405.

Telephone: (812) 455-3403 and 455-2452.

Fax: (812) 855-3143.

Projecto Sella.

Consists of more than 2,000 glass-plate negatives featuring people, landscape, and the architecture of Georgia and other regions of the Caucasus from the late 1890s. The pictures are well preserved and the negatives can be reproduced. They were taken by Vittorio Sella (1859-1945), a well-known Italian photographer with international credentials.

Contact: Paul Kallmes, Coordinator.

Address: P.O. Box 19928, Portland, Oregon
97280-0928.

Telephone: (503) 244-6319.

Fax: (503) 245-9879.

Russian Nobility Association.

Preserves biographical archives, and possesses more than 2,000 books on historical and genealogical subjects related to former members of nobility during Tsarist Russia. Among them are several Georgian princes who also belonged to the Russian nobility.

Contact: Alexis Shcherbatov.
Address: 971 First Avenue, New York, New York
10022.
Telephone: (212) 755-7528.

Tolstoy Foundation.

Founded in 1939 as a voluntary organization to help refugees who have escaped from oppressive regimes around the world. Its archives include documents and other materials regarding Georgian refugees who were helped by the organization from the end of World War II until the fall of communism in the Soviet Union.

Contact: Xenia Woyevodsky, Executive Director.
Address: 104 Lake Road, Valley Cottage, New
York 10989.
Telephone: (914) 268-6140; or (914) 268-6722.
Fax: (914) 268-6937.

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Goldstein, Darra. *The Georgian Feast: The Vibrant Culture and Savory Food of the Republic of Georgia*. New York: Harper-Collins, 1992.

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Under the redemptioner system, a German peasant could travel on a sailing vessel without charge. On arrival at an Atlantic port he was sold to an American businessman to work from four to seven years to redeem his passage and win his freedom.

GERMAN AMERICANS

by
La Vern J. Rippley

OVERVIEW

Situated in the heart of Europe, Germany today adjoins nine neighbors: Denmark to the north; Poland and the Czech Republic to the east; Austria and Switzerland to the south; and the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France to the west. With a population of nearly 80 million, Germany follows Russia as the most populous nation in Europe. In size, however, Germany is smaller than either France or Spain and equates roughly with the combined area of Minnesota and Wisconsin. With an average of 222 people per square kilometer, Germany has one of the highest population densities in Europe.

HISTORY

Recorded German history begins with the battle between the Roman legions and Arminius, a prince of the Germanic Cherusci tribe, recounted in the chronicles of Tacitus. *Deutschland*, the Germans' name for their country, came into use in the eighth century when Charlemagne incorporated German and French speakers into a common nation. As cohesion among the population of the eastern realm increased, the term *Deutschland* applied to all German speakers. Once confined west of the Elbe River, Germans gradually penetrated farther east into former Slavic territory, often peacefully, but sometimes by force.

Almost from the time of Charlemagne, Germany bore versions of the name Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, beginning with the Salian dynasty and proceeding with the rule of the Hohenstaufens, the Habsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns. Germany suffered religious schism when Martin Luther proposed reforms in 1517, which led to the pillaging of the country by those who profited from the weakened central political, religious, and social ruling structures. The religiously motivated Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which erupted a century after Luther's death, devastated Germany's territory and its moral fiber until the age of French absolutism. During this period, also known as the Enlightenment, Prussian king Frederick the Great (1740-1786) became a patron of the American Revolution. Frederick sent Baron von Steuben, Johannes DeKalb, and others to train American military novices at Valley Forge and elsewhere.

During the Napoleonic period, the Holy Roman Empire dissolved in favor of the *Deutscher Bund* (German Confederation), a loose confederation of individual sovereign states that functioned with a single participatory government unit, the *Bundestag*, a delegated parliament in Frankfurt. The *Bundestag* often behaved like a monarchical oligarchy, suppressing freedom, enforcing censorship, and controlling the universities and political activity.

Arguments arose among the liberals over whether to establish a "greater Germany," along the lines of Great Britain, or a "smaller Germany," which would include only the more traditionally German principalities without Austria. Because Austria wanted to bring into the union its more than a dozen ethnic groups, the National Assembly opted for a smaller Germany, for which they offered a constitution to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. The king's rejection of the constitution triggered popular uprisings in the German states, which were in turn met by military suppression. A large group of German intellectual liberals, known as the Forty-eighters, immigrated to the United States during this period to escape persecution. The contemporary flag of Germany with its black, red, and gold stripes derives from the flag of the Forty-eighter parliament.

Following three short wars in 1864, 1866, and 1870, the new Prussian chancellor Bismarck united the remaining German states into the smaller German Reich, which lasted until World War I. German industry grew during the late nineteenth century. Domestic unrest erupted when Kaiser Wilhelm I attempted to suppress the domestic socialist working class. In the early twentieth century, Germany struck up alliances with Austria and the age-old

Ottoman Turkey, triggering fear abroad. Ultimately, the entente between France, England, and Russia led to Germany's defeat in World War I in November 1918.

MODERN ERA

With the framers of the Versailles Treaty, German Social Democrats and the Catholic Center Party succeeded in writing a constitution dubbed the Weimar Republic. The Republic was doomed from the outset by its struggles with burdensome war reparations, inflation, foreign military occupation west of the Rhine, a war guilt clause in the Versailles Treaty, and heavy losses of territory. In 1925 Field Marshal von Hindenburg, a hero on the Eastern Front in World War I, was elected president. Stricken by the political-economic disaster of 1929, Hindenburg in 1933 appointed to the chancellorship Adolf Hitler. Hitler promptly banned parties, expelled Communists from the government, and restructured the military. Hitler's goals were to purify Germany by removing people with all but the purest Teutonic blood and to expand German territory throughout Europe. In 1940 Germans occupied France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, and Hungary, and acted on the policy of extermination of unwanted peoples that nearly resulted in destroying the Jews and Gypsies of Europe.

Hitler's troops rounded up Jews in Germany and in other countries forcing them to give up their lands and property. Systematically, Jews and political prisoners in Western Europe were shipped from Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, and Holland to forced-labor camps and to prisons. Concentration camps, which held Jews captive without regard for the accepted norms of arrest, appeared in France, Germany, and Austria, as well as Poland and Czechoslovakia. There were camps built to exterminate the Jews; most were gassed, but some were shot, drowned, or starved to death. Nearly six million people were killed by Nazi command although there was some national resistance. When Germany was defeated in World War II, the country was divided into several parts governed by the various countries of the opposing armies. Eventually the Western countries that had opposed the Germans combined their sections into a European-influenced West Germany. This part of Germany was established as a democratic republic in 1949. The territory of Germans in the east was formed into a Russian satellite, and East Germany became a communist people's republic. For nearly 40 years distrust among Germans was encouraged by the Soviet Union on the one hand and by the West on the other. Both feared a united Germany. Finally in 1990 a revolution in

East Germany deposed the communist regime there and the leaders sought reunification with West Germany. The two German states agreed to reunite under a two-house parliament and the pattern of free elections that had been developed by West Germany. Germany has worked to balance the economies of an agriculturally entrenched east and a west with a long-standing industrial sector.

THE FIRST GERMANS IN AMERICA

Since their arrival at Jamestown in 1607 along with the English, Germans have been one of the three largest population components of American society. When Columbus arrived in America in 1492, he did so in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, that is, with the entitlement of the Habsburgs who also ruled Germany as part of the Holy Roman Empire. It was a German cosmographer, Martin Waldseemüller, who suggested that the New World be designated “America.”

German immigration began in the seventeenth century and continued throughout the postcolonial period at a rate that exceeded the immigration rate of any other country; however, German immigration was the first to diminish, dropping considerably during the 1890s. Contrary to myth, the first German immigrants did not originate solely in the state of Pfalz. Although emigrants from Pfalz were numerous from 1700 to 1770, equally high percentages came from Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, Nassau, and the bishoprics of Cologne, Osnabrück, Münster, and Mainz. During the American pre-Revolutionary War period, immigrants came primarily from the Rhine valley, an artery that gives access to the sea. German emigration during this period was almost exclusively via French or Dutch ports like LeHavre or Rotterdam.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Between 1671 and 1677 William Penn made trips to Germany on behalf of the Quaker faith, resulting in a German settlement that was symbolic in two ways: it was a specifically German-speaking ward, and it comprised religious dissenters. Pennsylvania has remained the heartland for various branches of Anabaptists: Old Order Mennonites, Ephrata Cloisters, Brethren, and Amish. Pennsylvania also became home for many Lutheran refugees from Catholic provinces (e.g., Salzburg), as well as for German Catholics who also had been discriminated against in their home country.

By 1790, when the first census of Americans was taken, more than 8.6 percent of the overall

population of the United States was German, although in Pennsylvania more than 33 percent was German. During the Revolutionary War, these German Americans were numerically strengthened by the arrival of about 30,000 Hessian mercenaries who fought for England during the hostilities, of whom some 5,000 chose to remain in the New World after the war ceased.

In addition to those who had arrived for political and religious reasons until about 1815, Americans and some foreign shippers brought many Germans to America under the redemptioner system. The scheme was that a German peasant traveled on a sailing vessel without charge and on arrival at an Atlantic port was sold to an American businessman to work from four to seven years to redeem his passage and win his freedom. Some of the early sectarians—Baptist Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, Moravian Brethren, and others—were only able to reach America in this way.

Populous as German immigrants to America were by the end of the eighteenth century, the major waves of immigration came after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Germany's economy suffered in several ways. Too many goods were imported, especially cloth from industrialized England. Antiquated inheritance laws in southwestern Germany caused land holdings continuously to be divided, rendering farms too minuscule for assistance. A failing cottage industry collapsed when faced by a flood of foreign products. Finally, the population had grown artificially large because of growing dependence on the potato. Like Ireland, rural Germany in the 1840s was suddenly hit by famine precipitated by the potato blight.

Because the 1848 revolutions in Europe failed to bring democracy to Germany, several thousand fugitives left for America in addition to the nearly 750,000 other Germans who immigrated to America in the following years. While a mere 6,000 Germans had entered the United States in the 1820s, nearly one million did so in the 1850s, the first great influx from Germany. Despite annual fluctuations, especially during the Civil War period when the figure dropped to 723,000, the tide again swelled to 751,000 in the 1870s and peaked at 1,445,000 in the 1880s.

During the nineteenth century religious and political refugees were numerous. During the 1820s, for example, Prussia forced a union of the Reformed and Lutheran congregations, which by the late 1830s caused many Old Lutherans to emigrate. Saxon followers of Martin Stephan came in 1839 to escape the “wickedness” of the Old World. Other refugees were the Pietists, who founded communal



In this 1949 photograph, a two-year-old girl waits for her parents to complete their customs inspection in New York City following the family's arrival from Germany.

societies in America (including Harmony and Economy Pennsylvania—established by the Rappists—as well as Zoar in Ohio, St. Nazianz in Wisconsin, and Amana in Iowa).

Societies sponsored by German princes sought to use emigration as a solution to social problems at

home. For example, the Central Society for German Emigrants at Berlin (1844), the National Emigration Society at Darmstadt (1847), the Giessener Emigration Society (1833), and the Texas Braunfels Adelsverein (1843) operated on the principle that a one-way ticket for the downtrodden was cheaper

than a long-term subsidy. Also influential in unleashing a tidal wave of German emigration were writers like Gottfried Duden whose book (1829) about Missouri became a best-seller.

During the 1850s small farmers and their families dominated the first major wave of immigrants, who often came from southwest Germany. Soon after artisans and household manufacturers were the main arrivals from the more central states of Germany, while day laborers and agricultural workers from the rural northeast estates characterized subsequent waves of German immigrants. Not until German industrialization caught up with the English in the late nineteenth century did German emigrants no longer have to leave the country to improve their lives. Beginning in the late 1880s and for several decades thereafter, migrants from depressed German agricultural regions were destined less for America than for the manufacturing districts of Berlin, the Ruhr, and the Rhine in Germany itself.

“We were stationed in Hamburg in a tremendous big place. It was sort of an assembly building where you got processed. There was an exodus from Europe at that time, and they had all races in this place. You could see people from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, you name it. I can’t describe the way I felt—it was part fear, it was exciting. It’s something I’ll never forget.”

Ludwig Hofmeister in 1925, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

Interspersed among these waves of economic emigrants were fugitives from oppression, including thousands of German Jews who left because of economic and social discrimination. Young men sometimes fled to avoid serving in the Prussian military. Organized industrial laborers also fled the antisocialist laws enacted when a would-be assassin threatened the life of Germany’s Kaiser Wilhelm I, who blamed socialist labor leaders for the attempt. Catholics, too, were oppressed by Bismarck’s infamous May Laws during the 1870s, which suppressed the influence of the Catholic Center Party and its drive for greater democracy during the first decade of the new emperor’s reign.

Also during the latter half the nineteenth century, a host of agents fanned out across Germany to drum up emigration. Some were outright recruiters who were technically outlawed. More often these agencies took the form of aid societies working to

better the lot of the emigres in Germany, such as the Catholic Raphael Society, the Bavarian *Ludwigsmiissionsverein*, the Leopoldinen *Stiftung* in Vienna, the Pietist society of Herrnhut in Saxony, and the Lutheran support groups at Neuendettelsau of Franconia in northern Bavaria. Frankenmuth, Michigan, for example, traces its roots to the latter organization. Aiding the immigrants on this side of the Atlantic were such agencies as the Catholic Leo House in New York and the Central-Verein in St. Louis. Much better funded promoters were those established by the north-central states (most prominently, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota) as they joined the Union, many of which had ample support from their legislatures for their Immigration Commissioners. Even more influential were transcontinental railroads that sent agents to the ports of debarkation along the Atlantic and Germany to recruit immigrants to either take up their land grants or supply freight activity for their lines. Especially active was the Northern Pacific during the time when German immigrant Henry Villard headed the corporation and sought to populate his land grant with industrious German farmers.

In the latter phases of German immigration, newcomers joined established settlers in a phenomenon called “chain migration.” Chain migration is defined as the movement of families or individuals to join friends and family members already established in a given place. Chain migration strengthened the already existing German regions of the United States. One such concentrated settlement pattern gave rise to the phrase “German triangle,” that is, St. Paul, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, with lines stretching between them so that the triangle incorporates Chicago, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Davenport, and other strongly German cities. Other descriptors include the more accurate “German parallelogram,” which stretches from Albany westward along the Erie Canal to Buffalo and farther westward through Detroit to St. Paul and the Dakotas, then south to Nebraska and Kansas, back to Missouri, and eastward along the Ohio River to Baltimore. Except for large settlements in Texas, San Francisco, and Florida, German American settlement is still largely contained within the German belt.

The number of German Americans has remained constant. From 1850 to 1970 German was the most widely used language in the United States after English. In the 1990 U.S. census, 58 million Americans claimed sole German or part-German descent, demonstrating the persistence of the German heritage in the United States.



Dancing is just one of the many fun activities at the New Ulm, Minnesota German Heritagefest.

SETTLEMENT

Germans settled in different locations depending upon when they arrived and where the best locations for economic opportunity were situated. When France, which had attempted to colonize Louisiana in the early eighteenth century with the help of Germans, assumed an important role in the cotton trade, German immigrants arrived in New Orleans and made their way up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers. Others arrived in New York and travelled the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes to the Midwest. The primary port of arrival for early immigrants was Philadelphia and many Germans chose to settle in Pennsylvania. The German American population of 58 million breaks down demographically as follows: 39 percent live in the Midwest, 25 percent in the South, 19 percent in the West, and 17 percent in the Northeast. With regard to specific states, Americans reporting German ancestry are the most numerous in California, followed by Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Texas. In terms of absolute numbers, the Germans have always been at their largest in New York City. The German Americans are nowhere more densely settled than in Wiscon-

sin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa—in the traditional German belt.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In many respects, the Germans were slower to assimilate than their fellow immigrants from other countries. This was due in part to their size and in part to their overall percentage of the population. When a cross-section of basic needs can be supplied within an ethnic community, the need to assimilate in order to survive is less urgent. Germans had their own professionals, businesses, clergy, churches, and especially schools. However, second generation German immigrants were drawn more quickly into the mainstream and the survival of German communities depended upon immigration.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The true picture of German culture differs substantially from that presented in the popular media

This German American Tricentennial Multicycle from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is traveling along Fifth Avenue in New York City during the 1988 Steuben Day Parade.



where Germans are presented as either brutal or as jolly, overweight, and beer-guzzling. Equally enigmatic is post-World War II German Americans' perception of their heritage as inseparable from certain icons and costumes, notably, beer mugs, fast high-quality cars, sausage and sauerkraut—enlivened by the spirit of Bavarian folk music. In the United States Bavarian culture is regarded as synonymous with all German culture, even though Bavarian customs and language are confined to the regional state of Bavaria and its capital, Munich. German Day festivals almost always feature Bavarian dance and clothing such as the *lederhosen* (men's shorts with suspenders) and the *dirndl* (women's full skirt). Replicas of German cities—such as Leavenworth, Washington, or Frankenmuth, Michigan—invariably assume an air of Alpine Bavaria.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to traditional American holidays, Catholic communities celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi in which there are outdoor processions to altars decorated with flowers. At the Epiphany,

neighbors visited from house-to-house and young men adorned with paper crowns would sing in exchange for treats. The German Christmas served as the basis for the American celebrations; it emphasizes the family and the exchange of gifts; often, the Christmas tree is not illuminated until Christmas eve. December 6 was the traditional time of St. Nicholas' visit. Another tradition that has survived from German American communities is the greeting of the New Year by gunfire—young men would ride horses through the neighborhood and fire their shotguns when midnight arrived.

LANGUAGE

The German language is related to Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, and Icelandic, as well as to English. High German, the dialect spoken in the east-west central geographic elevation, differs linguistically from the language spoken in the lower-lying geographic regions of northern Germany, where once Low German was in everyday usage. It is also radically different from Bavarian and Swiss German which typically is voiced in the southern,

more Alpine regions. Spoken natively by 100 million people, German is the mother tongue of thousands of people who live beyond all of Germany's current borders. Ten percent of all books published in the world are in German.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

There was a low rate of tenancy among early German immigrants, who purchased homes as early as possible. German Americans have traditionally placed a high value upon home ownership and prefer those made of brick. The traditional German American family was essentially patriarchal with women assuming subservient roles. Because many German immigrants were from agricultural areas, they brought with them a traditional concept of the family. Farm families were, of necessity, large and family members worked together for the good of all. Wives and daughters worked together with husbands and sons to manage the harvests. In families whose work was not farm-centered, though, wives worked with their husbands in small family operated businesses. Children frequently left school early with the boys entering family businesses and the girls entering domestic service. According to 1880 census figures, though, a smaller proportion of German American women were part of the work force than other immigrant groups. Those who were employed outside the home did not work in factories or in jobs in which a knowledge of English was necessary; instead, they labored in janitorial work or the service industry.

EDUCATION

To emphasize the importance of their language in the transmission of cultural values, German Americans strove to maintain their own German-language schools, first by establishing private institutions and later, after 1849, by pressuring school districts to offer German or bilingual education where parents requested it. In addition to the German-language instruction offered in the public schools, there was the instruction in the parochial schools operated especially by Catholics and Lutherans, which enrolled thousands of the children of German immigrants.

Parochial schools started in colonial times and continued through the nineteenth century, sometimes sponsored by nonreligious organizations such as a local German school society which functioned as legal owner of the school. Some of these schools

operated according to new pedagogical principles and had a lasting impact on the American school system. For example, they introduced kindergarten. At all school levels sports programs, which had their origin in the German socialist *Turner* societies, became an integral aspect of American training for physical fitness. A few German American leaders dreamed of having their own university with German as the language instruction, but in spite of *Kultur* enthusiasm, it never came to fruition.

At the lower levels Germans achieved success in the political arena. When the question of teaching subjects in German drew the attention of truancy alarmists in Wisconsin and Illinois around 1890, the Wisconsin legislature passed the infamous Bennett Law, which required that children attend school more faithfully and which added the stipulation that at least some of the subjects be taught in English. In Illinois a similar measure was called the Edwards Law. As a result, the Lutheran and Catholic constituents of these states campaigned to defeat Wisconsin's governor William Dempster Hoard and to free the German language schools of state intervention. Over time, however, German faded in favor of English.

To supply teachers for these many schools, German Americans maintained a teachers' college while the *Turner* gymnastic societies developed their own teacher preparation institute for the production of scholars who would educate pupils. After the turn of the twentieth century, a special three-million-strong organization, the German American Alliance, actively promoted the cause of Germans. It did so in part to preserve their culture and in part to maintain a clientele for German products like newspapers, books, and beer. In 1903 the Alliance urged in its *German-American Annals*, "Only through the preservation of the German language can our race in this land be preserved from entire disappearance. The principal aim should be the founding of independent parochial schools in which the language of instruction would be German, with English as a foreign language."

Elementary German language school enrollments reached their zenith between 1880 and 1900. In 1881 more than 160,000 pupils were attending German Catholic schools and about 50,000 were in Missouri Synod Lutheran schools. Of the roughly one-half million people attending school with a curriculum partly or all in German, as counted by the German American Teachers Association around 1900, 42 percent were attending public schools, more than a third were in Catholic schools, and 16 percent were in Lutheran private schools.

However, when World War I broke out, the German element was so discredited in the United States that when Congress declared war in April 1917, within six months legal action was brought not only to dampen considerably German cultural activities but also to eliminate the German language from American schools. The flagship case was the Mockett Law in Nebraska, which anti-German enthusiasts repealed. Eventually, 26 other states followed suit, banning instruction in German and of German. When the Missouri Synod Lutherans of Nebraska brought the test case, *Meyer v. Nebraska*, the ban on German was reconfirmed by all the courts until it reached the U.S. Supreme Court. On June 4, 1923, the Supreme Court held that a mere knowledge of German could not be regarded as harmful to the state, and the majority opinion added that the right of parents to have their children taught in a language other than English was within the liberties guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Nevertheless, as a language of instruction in schools, during church service, and at home, German gradually drifted into oblivion as assimilation accelerated.

RELIGION

Religious differences have characterized the German people. Most of the population is Protestant and practice a form of Lutheranism—the Protestant Reformation church created by the German religious leader Martin Luther. Religion was important to German immigrants and the lack of ministers attracted Moravian missionaries in the early eighteenth century. The success of these churches strengthened the established Reformed churches, which rejected the ecumenical stance of the Moravians. In the eighteenth century the language, doctrine, and rituals of some of the established synods of the Reformed church had become Americanized and they were unable to attract new immigrants. The conservative synods, such as the Missouri Synod, were more successful, however.

Many German immigrants were Catholic; but because the Catholic church was controlled essentially by the Irish there was much friction between the two groups. Many parishes were established by lay people, which resulted in frequent friction between the pastors and trustees in pioneer churches. The German American churches, which used the German language exclusively, featured a liturgy rich with ritual and music and offered its parishioners a variety of associations and societies. They also addressed numerous social needs by supporting and operating orphanages and hospitals. By the

twentieth century, however, many of the German American Catholic parishes underwent severe attrition when many of its members moved to suburban mixed parishes.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

On the whole, Germans in America have been reluctant to participate in politics. They arrived without the necessary language skills, even if they had *not* lacked a tradition that conditioned them for political participation. Thus, at the national level, the first and most prominent German figure in American politics was Carl Schurz, who was influential in the election of Abraham Lincoln, served as ambassador to Spain, became a general in the Civil War, later was elected U.S. senator from Missouri, and finally was appointed Secretary of the Interior under Rutherford Hayes. At the state level, too, the Germans seem to have avoided public office. Except for John P. Altgeld, the German-born governor of Illinois from 1893 to 1897, no German was ever elected to head an American state. Even in the U.S. Senate, few German-born and a surprisingly small number of German Americans have ever entered that upper house.

Not until Dwight D. Eisenhower was there an American president with a German surname. Eisenhower's ancestors were colonial Pennsylvania Germans who had moved to Texas and then Kansas, but certainly this president was no friend of Germans. Political scientists have shown how strongly the Germans came to resent Franklin Roosevelt and General Eisenhower for their defeat of Germany during World War II. This resulted in a fading from Democratic Party support until the candidacy of President Harry Truman in 1948. During that campaign the German American electorate returned in droves to their traditional Democratic Party, handing Truman a surprise victory over Republican Thomas E. Dewey. Apparently, Truman's strong stand against Stalin at Potsdam, his subsequent anti-communist actions in Greece, and his May 1948 decision to save Berlin by airlift aided his November reelection chances with German Americans. There was no similar outpouring for Eisenhower in 1952, who won in spite of only mild German support.

LABOR UNIONS

Occupationally, the Germans were skilled in such trades as baking, carpentry, and brewing. They were also laborers, farmers, musicians, and merchants. According to the 1870 census figures, 27 percent of

German Americans were employed in agriculture, 23 percent in the professions, and 13 percent in trades and transportation. By 1890, however, some 45 percent reportedly were laborers or servants, perhaps as a result of industrial workers' migration rather than a farmers' migration. This may explain why the labor movement in the United States gained considerable impetus from its German component.

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed the introduction of the communist ideologies of Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871) and Joseph Weydemeyer (1818-1866), which gave impetus to early struggles for social and economic reform. The International Workingmen's Association in America was founded in 1869 as the first of the communist and socialist groups in America; and its membership was predominantly German American. And in 1886, German American anarchists were also instrumental in the forming of the labor movement implicated in the infamous Chicago Haymarket bombing during the labor strikes of that period. Had it not been for the greater need for workers to unite against their employers and join the American Federation of Labor (AFL), German trade unions might have been consolidated in the late 1880s. In future years many leaders of American labor were German American, including Walter Reuther, who fought on the picket lines during the 1930s before becoming president of the AFL-CIO following World War II. For German immigrants, labor union membership enabled them to not only improve working conditions, it helped them to form a solidarity with workers from other ethnic backgrounds.

RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

During the period from 1945 to 1990, the United States, with allies Great Britain and France, officially occupied West Germany, each in a special zone. The Americans occupied Bavaria, the Rhine-Main Frankfurt, and Palatinate areas. Each country was also allocated a sector in the capital of Berlin. During the Cold War, dramatic confrontations focused on Berlin because it lay 110 miles behind the Iron Curtain. For 11 months in 1948 and 1949, the Soviets noosed a land blockade around the city, only to have the Allies supply the needs of two million inhabitants by air. For example, when the city's electrical power supply was severed, West Berliners lived in darkness until an entire generating plant could be flown in and assembled on site.

After Khrushchev met John F. Kennedy at a June summit in Vienna, East German border police erected the Berlin Wall on August 13, 1961. Throughout the Cold War, the wall was an impor-

tant political symbol. It figured in the political phraseology of each U.S. president, most prominently in Kennedy's "Ich bein ein Berliner" speech at the city hall, which endeared him to Berliners for all time. After the collapse of Communism the wall was dismantled in 1990. Today a small portion of the wall stands as a museum. Before unification of the two Germanies on October 3, 1990, the four World War II Allied victors' flags were lowered from the *Komandatura* palace in Berlin. Thus ended four decades of control, returning Germany to full international autonomy, which further restored the confidence of Americans in their German descent. With its strong economy and continuous universal military conscription, Germany remains the linchpin of NATO and the core member in the European Community.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

German immigrants to the United States have distinguished themselves in virtually every field of endeavor. John Roebling (1806-1869) is still known from his prowess with bridges, although the once famous empire builder, John Jacob Astor (1763-1848), is little remembered for his American Fur Company. Baron Friedrich von Steuben (1730-1794) commands respect as a military hero, but cartoonist Thomas Nast (1840-1902) is all but forgotten, although his elephant and donkey mascots for the Republicans and Democrats and his Santa Claus are not. With the arrival of the computer screen, Ottmar Mergenthaler's (1854-1899) famous Linotype printing system has met oblivion. Even Wernher von Braun's (1912-1977) pioneer rocketry, which still carries Americans and their satellites into outer space, is fading from consciousness.

BUSINESS

In business John August Sutter (1803-1880) is remembered less for his Pacific trading prowess than for the fact that gold was found on his California land holdings in 1848. Claus Spreckels developed sugar refining in California and Hawaii, while Frederick Weyerhaeuser masterminded the Northwest timber industry. Henry Villard, born Heinrich Hilgard, completed the Northern Pacific Railroad. Prominent brewers include Philip Best, Valentin Blatz, Frederick Miller, Joseph Schlitz, and the Coors and the Anhaeuser-Busch families.

MUSIC

In music there were the father and son Walter Damrosch (1862-1950) and Leopold Damrosch, and Bruno Walter Schlesinger, all conductors in New York; opera singers Ernestine Schumann-Heink (1861-1936) and Lotte Lehmann (1888-1976); the composers Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) and Kurt Weill (1900-1950); film musicians such as Franz Waxman (1906-1967), Frederick Hollander (1896-1976), and Andre Previn (1929–), also renowned for his classical music.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In atomic energy Albert Einstein (1879-1955) is the most prominent scientist. In the laboratories it was his German-born colleagues, Nobel laureates James Franck (1882-1964), Otto Loewi (1873-1961), Victor Hess (1883-1964), Felix Bloch (1905-1983), Otto Stern (1888-1969), and Hans Bethe (1906–) who mattered. On the Manhattan Project they worked with two German-educated Hungarians, Edward Teller (1908–) and Leo Szilard (1898-1964), all under the command of Julius Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967), the American-born son of Forty-eighter immigrants, who had taken his Ph.D. at the University of Goettingen before engineering the bomb. Szilard and the German-born scientists Erwin Schrödinger (1887-1961) and Max Delbrück (1906-1981) later worked closely with colleagues to develop the Crick-Watson model of DNA. George Westinghouse (1846-1914) invented, among many other things, the air brakes to stop trains. For his electric motors, Charles Steinmetz (1865-1923) became known as the wizard of Schenectady.

SPORTS

George Herman Erhardt Ruth (1895-1948), better known as Babe, and Lou Gehrig, both the sons of German immigrants, continue to enjoy sports fame.

STAGE AND SCREEN

Carl Laemmle (1867-1939) founded Universal Studios. Famous actors of German descent include: one of the best known actresses of her time, Marlene Dietrich (1902-1992); Conrad Veidt (1893-1943), who appeared in *The Thief of Baghdad* and *Casablanca*; Lilli Palmer (1914-1986); Werner Klemperer (1920-1996), known most for his role of Colonel Klink in the 1960s television series *Hogan's Heroes*; and leading lady in many films during the 1960s and 1970s, Elke Sommer (1940–).

Renowned directors include: Ernst Lubitsch (1892-1947), known for the “Lubitsch Touch” in his comedies and an inspiration to fellow directors Orson Welles and Billy Wilder; William Dieterle (1893-1972), director of *Elephant Walk* (1954); Anthony Mann (1906-1967) of *El Cid*; and Roland Emmerich (1955–), famed for modern-day blockbusters *Independence Day* and *Godzilla*.

VISUAL ARTS

In architecture the famous Bauhaus School was headed by Walter Gropius (1883-1969) at Harvard and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) in Chicago. Marcel Breuer and Josef Albers (1888-1976) created the designation “modern design,” overshadowed now by the so-called postmodern style.

MEDIA

PRINT

Amerika Woche.

Newspaper with text in English and German.

Contact: Werner Baroni, Editor.

Address: 4732 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60625.

Telephone: (312) 275-5054.

Der Deutsch-Amerikaner/German American Journal.

Newspaper published by the German American National Congress; promotes the organization's efforts to maintain German culture, art, and customs.

Contact: Ernst Ott, Editor.

Address: 4740 North Western Avenue, Second Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60625.

Telephone: (312) 275-1100.

Fax: (312) 274-4010.

German Life.

Bi-monthly magazine on German culture, history, and travel, which also focuses on the German-American experience.

Contact: Heidi L. Whitesell, Editor-in-Chief.

Address: Zeitgeist Publishing, 226 N. Adams St., Rockville, Maryland 20850-1829.

Telephone: (301) 294-9081.

Fax: (301) 294-7821.

E-mail: info@germanlife.com.

Online: <http://www.GermanLife.com>.

IGAR News.

Monthly publication of the Institute for German American Relations; promotes friendly German American relations through education.

Contact: Dr. Bruce D. Martin, Editor.

Address: 9380 McKnight Road, Suite 102,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15237-5951.

Telephone: (412) 364-6554.

Nordamerikanische Wochen-Post.

Published in Troy, Michigan, this weekly carries a front page directly from Germany, reports on many German American organizations, and includes coverage of business activity in Germany. It is currently the best-edited and most widely distributed such publication in America.

Contact: Regina Bell, Editor.

Address: Detroit Abend-Post Publishing Co.,
1120 East Long Lake Road, Troy,
Michigan 48098.

Telephone: (313) 528-2810.

Fax: (313) 528-2741.

Society for German-American Studies— Newsletter.

Quarterly publication of the Society; focuses on German immigration and settlements in the United States and on German American history and culture.

Contact: LaVern J. Rippley, Editor.

Address: St. Olaf College, Northfie,
Minnesota 55057.

Telephone: (507) 663-3233.

New Yorker Staats-Herold is the oldest and among the best North American German-language publications. *America Woche*, *Wächter und Anzeiger*, *California Staats-Zeitung*, and similar publications typify efforts of regional German-language newspapers to continue their noble traditions. The Deutsch-Amerikanische Nationalkongress, headquartered in Chicago, publishes its own monthly, as do a number of its chapters.

RADIO

German-language programs on radio stations abound. There are at minimum one-hour radio programs on perhaps a dozen radio stations in Chicago, and several radio programs in Milwaukee; Pittsburgh; Detroit; Saginaw; St. Paul; Cleveland; Toledo; Cincinnati; Denver; Seminola, Florida; New Braunfels, Texas; and on the West Coast.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Throughout the German belt there continue to exist hundreds of German societies. In Michigan alone where the *Wochen-Post* carries a listing, there are 28 ranging from the Arion singers and the *Berlin Verein* to *Schwäbischer Männerchor* and the *Verein der Plattdeutschen* (Low German speakers). In other states there are dozens more, some representing Germans from beyond the borders of the nation, such as the German-Bohemian Society of New Ulm, the Germans from Russia Heritage Society in Bismarck, and the Transylvanian Saxons in Cleveland. New York City alone has perhaps 100 German clubs, listed periodically in the local German newspaper. So, too, hundreds of once German-language churches offer services routinely but not regularly, sometimes weekly, more often monthly for a persistent but waning German-language clientele.

German American Information and Education Association (GIEA).

Patriotic conservative organization seeking to improve the public image of "Germanity" and to publicize contributions to American culture made by German Americans.

Contact: Stanley Rittenhouse, President.

Address: P.O. Box 10888, Burke, Virginia 22015.

Telephone: (703) 425-0707.

German American National Political Action Committee (GANPAC).

Seeks to represent what the committee considers to be the interests of German Americans.

Contact: Hans Schmidt, Chair.

Address: P.O. Box 1137, Santa Monica,
California 90406.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Society for German American Studies, headquartered at the University of Cincinnati, functions as a scholarly umbrella for many others that have a more social or genealogical orientation. The Pennsylvania German Society in Philadelphia has a major library, while research centers with the name Max Kade Institutes recently have sprung up on university campuses, notably, at Madison, Wisconsin; Lawrence, Kansas; Indianapolis; and Penn State. There is no semblance of a German Ameri-

can museum, although local historical societies in the “German” states have much material.

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Ghanaian Americans

by
Drew Walker

Ghana was the origin of a great many African-Americans who were brought to America as slaves and thus significant numbers of African Americans can also claim an original identity as Ghanaians.

OVERVIEW

The nation of Ghana is located in West Africa. With an area of 92,098 square miles (238,533 square kilometers), it borders Burkina Faso to its north and northwest, the Ivory Coast to its west, Togo to its east and the Atlantic Ocean's Gulf of Guinea to its south. With a population of 16,445,000, Ghana is by no means a large African nation, yet its economy and production statistics are among the highest in the continent. Most of the land in Ghana is low-lying, with the highest altitudes not exceeding 3,000 feet (900 meters). Bisecting the landmass of the country is the Volta River Basin and the artificially created Lake Volta. The greatest masses of population are found in the country's southern and southeastern areas.

Within Ghana, there are many distinct ethnic groups, all of which affect Ghanaian Americans as an ethnic group. Ghanaians cannot be easily encapsulated into one shared Ghanaian cultural identity, as they also have strong local identities. Within Ghana there are roughly 100 distinct ethnic groups, most of which also differ in language. The major ethnic groups of Ghana are the Akan, Ewe, Guan, Mole-Dagbani, and Ga-Adangbe. The different communities which make up these groups share a common history, language, and cultural practices. Although a great number of Ghanaians and Ghanaian immigrants to the United States belong to these main groups, there are some who have different cultural practices.

HISTORY

The early history of the land which is today known as Ghana consists of migrations of peoples who lived as fishers and hunters. These peoples shared traditions, technologies and trade among themselves and larger trade networks to the north. From the eleventh to mid-fourteenth centuries there arose distinct states which were involved in the ever-growing trade networks from the north. Within these networks, gold was the most valuable and powerful commodity traded. In central Ghana, gold mining grew to become one of the key indirect exports across the Sahara to Europe and Asia via the great Malian kingdom to the north. With the first direct trading contact with European traders in 1471, North African routes of trade began to diminish in importance and the gold route began moving south to the Atlantic coast. With the trade in gold and other commodities underway, other European countries began coming to the coast and establishing trading posts, forts, and even castles to solidify their positions and relations within the region. These other European trading groups included the British, Danes, French and the Germans. It was not long before slaves also became objects of sale. With the growth of the slave trade, different groups from the interior grew in wealth and power, now using firearms and gunpowder to affect their neighboring groups. It was by this trade, competition, and violence that the modern history of Ghana was inaugurated. By the middle of the 18th century, the coast of Ghana had nearly 40 separate active forts controlled by European slave and gold traders. From early on much of the area today known as Ghana was called the Gold Coast, only taking the name Ghana in 1957.

MODERN ERA

As the power of the forts grew, southern coastal peoples like the Asante built ever stronger relations with the European traders, establishing themselves as middlemen between the Europeans and the peoples of the north. Growing throughout the 17th and 18th century, the Asante came to control the supply and market of slaves and other goods from the north. In doing so, they also led a series of successful conquests of the coastal peoples to further secure their power. By the early nineteenth century, however, the slave trade was losing strength and by 1814, the British, Dutch, and Danes had outlawed it altogether. In the following decades the British asserted their power over the Asante by making various alliances with other groups like the Fante. They also began to gain control of the Gold Coast by buying out the interests of other nations such as

Denmark. The British and Asante fought in a series of conflicts, until the British gained control after a decisive move in 1874 in which they sacked the Asante capital Kumasi. Later that year that the British declared the Gold Coast a colony of the British Empire.

Perhaps one of the most historically significant changes of this period in Ghanaian history was the introduction of cocoa farming, beginning in 1878. As the British government made various moves in the following decades to organize Northern and Asante territories into a colony under one government, the cocoa trade led to the creation of an entire infrastructure, including educational institutions, which was unique in West Africa at the time. Despite these developments, however, the political situation of the Ghanaian people left much to be desired. Divisions and long-standing resentment between the northern and southern peoples led to political unrest and riots in larger towns. Feeling that all-African control of the government would lead to a more just political and economic situation between laborers of different ethnicity and class, prominent Ghanaians and British colonial officials began to draw up plans for an all-Ghanaian legislative assembly which would be, for the most part, organized and run by the Ghanaians. While this plan was slowly developing, impatience and doubt began to grow. The leftist politician Kwame Nkrumah sought to exploit this situation and led his Convention People's Party (CCP) into power. Through popular support and loud demands for Ghanaian autonomy the CCP led their campaign for self-government with strikes and other forms of mass persuasion. In the elections of 1951, the CCP under Nkrumah had secured nearly every seat in the legislative assembly. The colonial Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, invited Nkrumah and his cabinet to lead the new administration and they soon came to hold power almost entirely independent of British rule. In 1957 Nkrumah renamed the new country Ghana and obtained recognition from the United Nations as an independent member of the British Commonwealth.

Leading Ghana for the next nine years, Nkrumah solidified his power by establishing a one-party system and making himself leader for life of both the government and the CCP. Facing a decline in living standards, corruption and massive debt, Nkrumah was ousted in a 1966 coup led by general Joseph A. Ankrah. Serving three years as the head of the governing National Liberation Council, Ankrah lost leadership to another coup leader and general named Akwasi Amankwaa Afrifa. In the following decades, Ghana has undergone a series of coups broken by elections which have failed to secure a democratic leadership. Under the leader-

ship of such figures as Ignatius Kutu Acheampong and Jerry Rawlings, Ghana has been subjected to periods of governmental and economic change which have affected both emigration and foreign economic relations.

THE FIRST GHANAIS IN AMERICA

Although there is no clear record of early Ghanaian immigrants in the United States, Ghana produced many sailors and it is likely that some of them found homes in the port cities of the United States. This lack of documentation is probably the result of Ghanaian immigrants being grouped into a larger category of African immigrants. It is also notable that Ghana was the country of origin of many African Americans who were brought to America as slaves.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The most significant influx of Ghanaians emigrating to the United States has been in the four decades since independence. While many long-time Ghanaian American immigrants in the United States came as students, many of the immigrants of 1980s and 1990s came seeking business opportunities as well as specialized experience and training. While times of economic hardship in Ghana have affected the number who emigrate, sometimes it was the temporary cessation of hardship which allowed emigrants to save money and to build resources for their emigration to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The highest concentrations of Ghanaians are found in the large cities of the United States including New York, Chicago, Washington D.C., Boston, Atlanta, and Los Angeles. According to 1996 population estimates, 8,000 Ghanaian Americans lived in the New York City metropolitan area; 4,000 in Los Angeles; 13,000 in the Washington, D.C. and Baltimore metropolitan areas; 6,000 in Chicago; and 5,000 in Boston.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Many Ghanaian American communities have support networks to aid recent immigrants. Often divided by ethnic group of origin, these networks are a crucial source for both the construction of new and the preservation of old cultural forms.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The traditions, customs, and beliefs of Ghanaian Americans can be roughly divided in terms of the major Ghanaian ethnic groups which have settled in the United States. Below are descriptions of these major groups.

The Akan people occupy the greatest part of the areas south and west of the Black Volta River. The primary form of social organization among the Akan is the extended family, or the *abusua*. The Akan are a matrilineal society, which means that a child's family and group membership is determined by his or her mother's lineage. Every member of the Akan becomes a member of a corporate group which has its own symbols, property, and individual identity. Each corporate group has its own symbolic, carved stool or chair. This chair is often named after the female founder of the group who often lived in the past. Such stools or chairs are seen as the most important possessions of each group. Each group also shares a belief in certain spirits and gods around whom many traditions and beliefs are centered. The Akan are also exogamous, which means that each person is obligated to marry outside of his or her own corporate group.

The Ewe live in southeastern Ghana as well as the southern regions of neighboring countries Togo and Benin. The majority of the Ewe make their living as farmers, although fishing is also a common profession some areas. The Ewe are also known as traders and makers of textiles and pottery. They are a patrilineal society who regard children as descending their father's family. The head of the patrilineal family or group is often the oldest man; he is responsible for keeping the peace, representing his group in political affairs with other groups, and heading rituals regarding the ancestors of the group. In addition to honoring their ancestors, the Ewe participate in group and village rituals involving local spirits and gods. Along with these rituals, many Ewes also practice Christianity.

The Guan are thought to have originated north of Ghana, in what is today Burkina Faso. The settlement of the Guan moved down the Black Volta, eventually reaching the coastal plains. Today the Guan form enclaves in or near areas settled by other groups such as the Akan, Ewe, and Ga-Adangbe. Guan culture has often been eclectic, taking customs and practices from their neighbors and adapting them for their own purposes.

Although many groups inhabit the northern parts of Ghana, the three most prominent groups are the Mole-Dagbane (also referred to as the Mossi-Grunshi), the Gurma, and the Grusi. Of these three subfamilies of the Gur language group,

Mole-Dagbane make up 15 percent of Ghana's population and are by far the largest group in their region. Being quite varied culturally, the Mole-Dagbane group includes subgroups such as the Dagomba, Wala, Mamprusi, Frafra, Talensi, Nanumba, and the Kusase. Known for their diversity of political structure, Gur-speaking peoples traditionally lived in small, self-governed communities which maintained relations among themselves through intermarriage and trade. In many of these communities, a traditional religious leader would sometimes be summoned to settle disputes. This was not, however, the rule in all Mole-Dagbane communities. Some, like the Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Gonja, lived in societies of a larger scale and had kings.

The Ga-Adangbe live in the Accra Plains along Ghana's southern coastal area. They are two distinct yet culturally similar groups, the Ga and the Adangbe. Their languages stem from the same root, but are today unintelligible to each other. Today the Adangbe include a number of subgroups all speaking different dialects like the Shai, Ningi, Kpone, La, Gbugle, Krobo, and the Ada. Among the Ga are groups such as the Ga-Mashie, who are found in the neighborhoods of central Accra, as well as those who have immigrated to this area from Akwamu, Akwapim, Anecho (in neighboring Togo), and other areas surrounding Accra. Ga communities are prominent within the capital city of Accra, and much of Ga culture is still practiced in such urban settings.

PROVERBS

Proverbs have traditionally been very important to Africans, including the people of Ghana and Ghanaian Americans. Proverbs often play quite complex roles which vary greatly from group to group. In many cases, proverbs can be brought out through reference to short stories. Sometimes a series of proverbs is sung and accompanied by drums, a form of expression which reveals levels of emotion and meaning that bare proverbs cannot well relate. Among different groups, the recognized forms of proverbs differ. For example, the Ga and Adangbe make strict separations between proverbs and riddles, but not between epigrams and proverbs. The Ewe divide proverbs into two groups of metaphorical use according to social status and age of their performers. Many proverbs contain simple truths in the form of simple statements, such as the Akan proverb 'Anomuto ne nam nye fan' or 'The toothless man's meat is cabbage,' or in the Adangbe proverb 'Bubulo yo bu we ba' or 'Even a pauper manages to cover his nakedness with cloth instead of leaves.' Other proverbs take the form of simple statements of everyday fact, such as the Akan say-

ings 'Bosompo botoo abotam' or 'The rocks existed long before the sea,' and 'Dam wobo kyere aman' or 'An insane person's behavior does not escape the notice of the community.' Another popular form of proverb reports the words of animals. The following are examples of this form: Akan-Abowa apatabi se de 'Adze woye no nano nano' (The squirrel sings 'things must be done in the proper way'); Adangbe-Ateplee ke efi nge mi ne ake yahe na (The cockroach says it gave its excrement as its contribution toward the purchase of a cow) and Krakpahe ke enyuwumi nge enane mi ne kee su pa mi loko emaafo, se kpo no lohwehu tsuo ke eza we (The duck says its activity rests in its feet and that it can run only when it is in the water, but all other animals accuse it of sluggishness).

CUISINE

Of the many traditional foods prepared by Ghanaian Americans, most vary from group to group. Ghanaian Americans can often obtain the items they need to prepare specialty foods at African food stores in the large cities in which they live. Many Ghanaian Americans who have immigrated to the United States from the more forested zones of Ghana eat foods prepared from maize, coco yam, plantain, and cassava, while those from savanna prepare dishes from cereals such as millet, rice, guinea-corn, and maize. A common staple food is the yam and pounded yam (known as fufu). Wet and dry vegetables as well as beans are also prepared and eaten with yams and other foods. Meat of all sorts is also commonly consumed. Traditional alcoholic beverages include palm wine and a drink known as *pito*, which is brewed from guinea-corn, sorghum or maize.

MUSIC

Ghanaian music, which varies among ethnic groups, is often performed at festivals. Such musical performances often feature traditional instruments. A *Gangkogui*, a double iron bell, is one of the most important instruments in many ensembles; it is used to anchor tempo and timing. The drum is also a key instrument. The complex drumming techniques of many African cultures are said to speak an intricate language.

The *Atsimewu* is a lead drum. Standing four and a half feet tall, the bottom of the drum is open and smaller in diameter than the top head. Played by striking it on the head as well as the rim and sides, this lead drum is a 'talking drum' and a powerful speaker of song in rhythm, often reciting syllables of prose with drum strokes.

The Sogo/Kidi are a pair of barrel drums which are closed at the bottom. The Sogo is larger and lower in pitch than the Kidi. Each drum is played by a single person who uses a combination of open and closed stick strokes and hand muting while playing.

Other instruments include the Agboba, a large barrel bass drum, three feet high, with a closed bottom, and the Kloboto/Totodzi, which are short open bottom barrel drums. The Kaganu is a narrow barrel drum which is played with light sticks and is of similar proportions to the Atsimewu but built to the height of the Kidi. The Atoken is a small single boat-shaped bell laid in the open palm and played by striking it with piece of metal. The Axatse is a gourd rattle which is usually shaken and struck with the hand and thigh.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Roughly speaking, traditional Ghanaian American modes of dress can be divided according to their geographic origin. These divisions, like many others in Ghanaian society, are drawn between north and south. For men, the cloth, a piece of fabric hanging over the shoulder and wrapped around the body, has traditionally been associated with the south. However, the smock, traditionally associated with the north, has become more popular overall. Among Muslims of the north, forms of Islamic clothing such as robes are also worn. Among the traditional outfits of Ghanaian American women, the slit and the Kaba, fashioned into long colorful dresses, are the most well known.

Of the cloths, Kente cloth is the most popular. Kente cloth has a long history, dating from 12th century Ghana. It was traditionally worn by kings, queens and other great figures of state during ceremonial events and functions. The name 'Kente' comes from the word kenten, which means 'basket,' due to its resemblance to the woven design of a basket. Traditionally each pattern of Kente was unique and had its own name and meaning, much the same way as great paintings or sculptures. Traditional smocks designs are often associated with a certain ethnic group. Among the noted areas in which smocks are manufactured are Yendi, Bimbilla, Tamale, Bawku, Bolgatanga, Lawra, Jirapa, Babile, and Nandom. Sites of Kente manufacture are Bonwire, Adansi, Accra, Keta, and Agbozume.

DANCES AND SONGS

At festivals, Ghanaian American ethnic groups often perform their varied dances and songs, which are often unique to the celebrated occasion. In addition to performing at festivals, a number of Ghanaian American groups also perform innovative and traditional dances within the United States. The following are examples of some of the dances performed by the California-based Ghanaian American performance group called Zadonu.

One prominent dance is called dowu. Dowu is a graceful dance that borrows from other dances like Kete and Denesewu. Originally a funeral dance, this graceful character is preserved in its own particular form of a dignified walking movement. Dowu is usually preceded by a chorus of voices which are accompanied at first by two boat-shaped bells and later joined by two drums. When the singing and drumming have set the mood in song, the Atumpan drums enter with parts of the drum rhythms being picked up by different parts of their bodies. This is accompanied by a spinning and bowing which the melody of the song suggest to the dancer. This dance is popular among the Twi, the Fante (who call it Adzewa), and the Ga.

Adzohu was originally a cult dance associated with a war god of Benin. In the first part of this dance, called Kadodo, only women dance. Gathering in a group as a chorus, the women sing and perform rituals while the young men are spiritually prepared for war. Then, in the second part called Atsia, the young men preparing for war begin to dance. Here, many of its movements imitate the various positions of battle, from moving in formation, to hand to hand combat, to reconnaissance.

Aside from these two examples, there are a number of other various dances and songs found in the Ghanaian American community. Dance and song are perhaps the most important cultural possessions of Ghanaian ethnic groups.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to celebrating most of the holidays of Anglo Americans, Ghanaian Americans try to preserve the traditional festivals and holidays of Ghana. Among them are: Adaekese, celebrated by the Asante; Odwira, celebrated by the Asante and Akuapim; Akwambo, celebrated by the Fantes of Agona and Gomoa; Homowo, celebrated by the Ga people of Accra; Hogejetsotso, celebrated by the Ewe people of Anlo; Damba, celebrated by the people of the northern and upper regions of Ghana; Bugum, celebrated by the Dagombas of the northern region; Kwafie, celebrated by the Dorma in the Brong Ahafo Region; Aboakyere, celebrated by the Effutu people of Winneba; and Oguaaa Fetu Afahye, celebrated by the people of the Cape Coast. The celebrations of these festivals are often sponsored by the Ghanaian American community.

sored by ethnic associations within the Ghanaian American community. They include traditional dancing, music and drumming, storytelling, and the display of traditional costumes. For example, the Homowo Festival celebrated in New York City annually is known as the most popular festival in the greater New York area. There is also a well-known Homowo Festival celebrated in Philadelphia. This celebration includes a pilgrimage to the Amugi Naa shrine at which participants pour libations and give thanks to ancestors and spirits. Most of these festivals are meant to give thanks to ancestors and gods, to provide purification of the group, and to offer times of reunion of families and groups. To many Ghanaians, these ceremonies are very important to maintaining links between the living and the dead by paying tribute to the departed and their memory. It is not uncommon for Ghanaian Americans, when possible, to return to the homeland, town, or village of their ancestors during one of the many such festivals to maintain links with their heritage and tradition.

Odwira is a traditional Akan festival which functions as a thanksgiving, dedication, purification, and reunion observed in Ghana and in the United States. Sponsored by the Okuapeman Association in America, it is one of the festivals observed by different groups of Ghanaian Americans. This festival is traditionally religious, reflecting and displaying many of the long-held cultural practices of the Akan people. It is considered key to maintaining a strong and respectful link between the living and the dead, and is therefore dedicated to the honor of ancestors and their spirits. This festival is usually celebrated on the ninth Sunday of the year according to the traditional Akan calendar.

The main ritual activity in this festival is the purification of the sacred royal black stools, called the Nkonnwa tuntum, and the calling for blessings of the ancestors.

The Aboakyer festival is celebrated by a Guan-speaking people called the Effutu. It begins in some communities on the first Saturday of May. The term "Aboakyer" means "animal hunt" and requires capturing a live antelope from the bush with bare hands, then bringing it to be offered in sacrifice to one of many important gods or spirits. After the antelope is captured and brought to the community, various rites, including the pouring of libation and the recitation of incantations, are performed. Thereafter the antelope is slaughtered, cooked, and parts are offered to important gods before the members of the community eat the rest of the meat. The next day, after continuing to feast, dance, and celebrate through the night, consultation rites are per-

formed and the future of the community is discussed. Festivals such as the Aboakyer are well known and often attract observers and visitors from other Ghanaian groups as well.

HEALTH ISSUES

For more recent immigrants from Ghana, diseases common in Ghana are an issue, including malaria and sickle cell anemia. Health insurance is also a concern to this group, as many immigrants, especially the more recent arrivals, are without it. However, because of the large number of Ghanaian American physicians, nurses, and health care workers, disease prevention and treatment are more manageable.

LANGUAGE

Among Ghanaian Americans, more than 100 languages and dialects are spoken. In addition, Ghanaians use English both in Ghana and in the United States to communicate with other Ghanaians outside of their own ethnic group. Today English is the official language of Ghana. The languages of Ghanaians are placed by linguists into two subfamilies of the greater family of Niger-Congo languages found throughout Africa. These two language groups are referred to as the Kwa group and the Gur group.

The Kwa group of languages, spoken by 75 percent of the population of Ghana, is generally spoken in the southern part of the country. This group includes such major languages as Akan, Ga-Adangbe, and Ewe. Further subdivisions are made within these groups as well, including: Asante, Bono, Akwapim, Akyem, Fante, Akwamu, Kwahu, Ahanta, Nzema, and Safwi (all belonging to the Akan subgroup); Ga, Adangbe, Ada, and Krobo or Kloli (belonging to the Ga-Adangbe subgroup); and the Nkonya, Tafi, Logba, Lolobi, Likpe and Sontrokofi (belonging to the Ewe subgroup). The Gur group of languages is primarily spoken in the northern parts of Ghana and includes subgroups called Gurma, Mole-Dagbane, and Grusi within which further subgroups can also be classified.

Since European colonialism, systems of writing based on the same Latin alphabet as English have been developed for many of these languages. While most publications in the Ghanaian and Ghanaian American communities are written in English, some are also written in the Twi dialects of Asante, Fante, and Akwapim and in other languages such as Ewe, Ga, Dagbane, and Nzema.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Traditionally, greetings are very important in Ghana and usually entail extended conversation and inquiries about the other person's health, family, and other subjects. To neglect greeting someone is considered a great insult, as witnessed in the popular African sentiment that to forgo greeting someone invites bad fortune. Greetings and popular expressions differ within the native languages of Ghana. In greeting a group of people, it is the custom to start from those to your right.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Ghanaian American family and community dynamics vary greatly from group to group. However, extended family ties are strong and create ongoing commitments to many Ghanaian Americans. For example, wealthy Ghanaian Americans often support relatives in Ghana or in the United States. Like many recent immigrant groups, Ghanaian Americans push themselves and their children to succeed while seeking a balance of the traditions and customs of both Ghana and the United States.

One of the most important factors in the community dynamics of Ghanaian Americans is the numerous ethnic associations found in cities where the bulk of Ghanaian Americans have made their homes. These associations are not a phenomenon of the Ghanaian immigrant experience in the United States, but rather have their roots in the urban centers of Ghana. Even in 1956, nearly 17,000 people belonged to one of the 94 ethnic associations in the greater metropolitan area of Accra alone. Of these associations, 45 were dedicated to people of the same ethnic group, district or state, and 35 were dedicated to persons from the same town or village; in total, 22 ethnic divisions were represented. Many of the ethnic associations in Ghana could be classified as cultural, political, economic, or any combination of these roles.

Ghanaian Americans ethnic associations came later; most of them were founded in the 1980s. Like the ethnic associations in Ghana's urban centers, many of these associations were created as support organizations for Ghanaian immigrants of a particular ethnic origin. In 1995 there were 11 major Ghanaian ethnic associations in New York City alone, and such organizations can be found in most major cities in which Ghanaian Americans have congregated. While membership is usually not restricted to persons of a particular ethnicity, most of the members of these organizations can claim

common roots in one of Ghana's ethnic groups. In addition, while an increasing number of Ghanaian Americans identify themselves as having two or more ethnicities, membership to most ethnic associations is granted on the understanding that a person does not belong to more than one such association. It is also not uncommon for Ghanaian Americans living in non-urban communities where there is no ethnic association to be members of an ethnic association in the nearest large city.

Ghanaian American ethnic associations are dedicated to cultural issues and charitable causes. Most associations operate as non-profit entities, channeling the excess from dues and fundraising into cultural education, group events, and aiding the families of members in the United States and Ghana. For the most part, these associations, unlike their earlier counterparts in Ghana, are not devoted to economic or political concerns. Of the many benevolent roles played by these associations, the provision of help for newly arrived immigrants and the families of members in times of distress are the most prominent. Most associations are run by volunteers and are headed and staffed by officials elected by the membership as a whole.

EDUCATION

The Ghanaian American community is devoted to both cultural and institutional education. Ethnic associations and related groups often educate the young in cultural traditions and art forms. In terms of more formal education, Ghanaian Americans are a very well-educated group, and many work in professions which require advanced degrees. Many earlier Ghanaian immigrants first came to the United States as foreign students and decided to stay. It is also not uncommon for Ghanaian Americans to continue their studies while in the workforce, with the hope of advancing their careers.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Ghanaians both within and outside of the Akan group have a custom of deriving names from the seven days of the week. Children born on a given day of the week are given a name, called the *kra din*, that is derived from that day's name. According to this custom, a child born on Tuesday, whose parents speak the Twi language, would have a name derived from *Benada*, the Twi word for Tuesday. A boy would have the name *Kwabena* and a girl, *Abena*. If born on Friday (*Fiada*), a boy would be named *Kofi* and a girl *Afua*, and so on. In addition, it is common among the Fante that nicknames or pet names, like

Siisi and Fiifi, are derived from these names. People from the northern and upper regions of Ghana practice a variation of this tradition by using the Hausa names of the week as their base for naming. Among these people names such as Teni, Lariba, Alamisa, Azuma and Atlata are common. Although different groups have their own variations on these names, this practice is a special element of Ghanaian and Ghanaian American culture.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The traditional roles of Ghanaian and Ghanaian American women have included retailers, farmers, and mothers. Motherhood has been particularly emphasized due to various cultural pressures. In a 1983 survey of Ghanaian women, childbirth was named as an essential role for women due to the benefits and honor it bestows on women and their families, and 60 percent of the women surveyed found it important to have five or more children. However, in the United States, as in urban centers in Ghana, the lower rates of infant mortality, the costs of child rearing, and the constraints of time and career are impacting the traditional views of Ghanaian women regarding their roles. Many Ghanaian American women have found successful careers in education, nursing, and secretarial work, and many others have also begun to seek training and pursue careers as entrepreneurs and businesswomen.

BAPTISMS

Baptisms and other related forms of traditional cultural practice are found throughout the Ghanaian American community. However, the importance and forms of these practices vary among both Christian and traditional groups. Among Christians, for example, non-Pentecostal, Pentecostal, and Catholic rites and traditions vary greatly.

COURTSHIP

While Ghanaian Americans have the opportunity to meet other Ghanaian Americans in group meetings and festivals held in the United States, the possibilities to meet others of African and non-African descent have increased. Traditional courtship practices vary among the ethnic groups of Ghanaian Americans, and many younger Ghanaians find it difficult to carry on the courting traditions of their parents in the urban centers in which most of them live. Nevertheless, many Ghanaian Americans are aware of the traditional practices which many older members of the community followed before emigrating to the United States.

WEDDINGS

It is not uncommon for Ghanaian Americans, especially when marrying within the group, to be married in both a Christian ceremony as well as a traditional religious ceremony most often held in Ghana, though the ceremonies may be performed at times well removed from each other. Generally speaking, Christian ceremonies differ little from the way Americans have them performed. Ghanaian traditions involve many preliminary steps in which the man gains the grace of the family of his prospective wife. During the ceremony, the families come together and gifts are bartered and exchanged according to local customs. When an agreement is reached and all are satisfied, the couple is considered to be married. Afterwards a long-running feast is usually held in which songs are sung (most often by women), and music is played, often accompanied by dancing.

FUNERALS

Among Ghanaian Americans there is no more critical and profound time than the death of a loved one. After services are performed in the United States according to the family's religious orientation, it is not uncommon for the ethnic association of the family of the deceased to hold a memorial service and to aid the family in returning the deceased to Ghana for burial, as Ghanaians believe the deceased must be returned to their ancestral homeland. Such memorial services are one of the major functions of Ghanaian American associations.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Outside of their ethnic groups, Ghanaian Americans often interact with other African immigrants with whom they often share common sentiments, traditions, and experiences as immigrants. To a lesser extent, Ghanaian Americans interact with the African Americans with whom they often live. Interaction with and assimilation into African American culture is more pronounced in younger Ghanaian Americans, who share many of the same experiences as other African Americans.

RELIGION

The spectrum of religious affiliation among Ghanaian Americans is quite varied. In the first census taken after Ghana's independence in 1960, 41 percent of Ghanaians identified themselves as Christian, 38 percent as following traditional religions, 12 percent as Muslims (mostly of the Sunni sect), and

nine percent as having no affiliation. Among the Christian population, 25 percent identified themselves as non-Pentecostal Protestants, 13 percent as Roman Catholics, two percent as Pentecostal Protestants, and one percent as belonging to independent African churches.

Since this time, Protestant Christianity has grown considerably within Ghana. The diverse religious affiliations of Ghanaian Americans reflects the affiliations of Ghanaians on the whole. Among Ghanaian Americans, church attendance and devotion at mosques are regular features of life. Overall, Ghanaian Americans are tolerant not only of different Christian and Muslim religious practices, but they are also inclusive of traditional Ghanaian religious practices. In this community, one religious interest and commitment rarely rules out another.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Ghanaian Americans are employed across the spectrum of jobs found in the urban United States. There is a strong sense of entrepreneurship which stems from long traditions of trade within Ghana. A significant number of women work in healthcare professions and business. As a group, Ghanaian Americans are upwardly mobile, pursuing advanced degrees in practical areas of study and using networks to compete in the global economy. There is also a large number of Ghanaian Americans in the arts, art education, the social and natural sciences, and the humanities.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Being a relatively young ethnic group in the United States, Ghanaian Americans have gained few notable positions in United States government. However, many are politically active, keep themselves abreast of government, and, when necessary, are outspoken and eloquent critics. While many of their concerns relate to the politics of Ghana and other African nations, Ghanaian Americans are also active in issues of immigration, racism, and economic concerns.

RELATIONS WITH GHANA

Relations with Ghana are very much alive in Ghanaian American communities. Extended family, village, and other group ties continually influ-

ence events among groups in Ghana and their related groups in the United States. Ghanaian Americans often act as connections between the Ghanaian and the United States economies, whether through investment or the wealth of international connections found in the major urban centers of the United States.

It is common for Ghanaian Americans to visit their homelands frequently and to sponsor relatives and other Ghanaians for visits, immigration, or study stays in the United States. The relations between Ghanaian Americans and Ghanaians is generally strong and beneficial to both groups.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

With only a short time in the United States as a large group, Ghanaian Americans have made many notable contributions to its culture.

ACADEMIA

Among the many successful scholars in the Ghanaian American community is Kwame Anthony Appiah. Having earned his doctorate at Oxford University, Appiah is a professor in the departments of philosophy and Afro-American studies at Harvard. Born in Ghana, Appiah's work deals with diversity, cultural identity, and community building. Covering areas as diverse as metaphysics, anthropology, history, and sociology, his work weaves together African, European, and American thought.

Among his many published works is a popular book entitled *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (1992), a collection of essays on race and culture which was named the *New York Times* Notable Book of the Year in 1992 and was the winner of the African Studies Association's Herskovits Award in 1993. With Henry Louis Gates, Jr., he has co-edited numerous volumes of critical perspectives on different African American writers, including Langston Hughes and Toni Morrison.

EDUCATION

Among the many great educators of Ghanaian descent, James Emman Aggrey is of special note. Born in 1875 in Ghana, Aggrey was educated at Methodist mission schools in which he also taught. His first major contribution was his work on translating the Bible into the Fante language. Working as an editor at the *Gold Coast Methodist Times*, Aggrey rallied a successful campaign against the Lands Bill

of 1897, thus stopping the colonial government from seizing all land which was not in visible use. It was in 1898 that Aggrey first came to the United States to study at Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina. Studying on a scholarship from an American church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, he stayed to work at the college as a registrar and teacher. During the next two decades, Aggrey engaged in ministerial work and studied theology at Columbia University and the Hood Theological School, where he received his doctorate in 1912. Serving in various posts, including a board member of the commission on education for the prestigious Phelps-Stokes Fund, Aggrey spent years working for the promotion of education and social transformation of African people. After founding the new university college of Achimota in Ghana in 1924, he was pressured to return to the United States in 1927. Shortly afterwards he died in New York. For further study of this remarkable figure see the 1929 biography of Aggrey by Edwin Smith, *Aggrey: A Study in Black and White*.

LITERATURE

Among the many great writers of Ghanaian descent is Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor. Known mainly as a poet, Awoonor (b.1935) has also written novels, short stories, essays, biographical pieces, plays, and scholarly works. After obtaining degrees in Ghana and the United Kingdom, Awoonor obtained a doctorate from the State University of New York-Stony Brook, where he became professor and chair of the department of comparative literature. At Stony Brook, Awoonor developed one of the first black studies programs in the United States and completed most of the writing for which he is known. Living in Harlem while at Stony Brook, Awoonor developed an ever-growing political consciousness. He returned to Ghana, where he held many important positions and his reputation as a writer, thinker, activist, and statesman continues to grow.

MUSIC

Among many successful Ghanaian American musicians and performance artists, Kobla and Dzidzorgbe Ladzekpo have had a wide range of successes. Kobla and Dzidzorgbe, a couple, are perhaps best known for founding the Zdonu Group in California. Both are long-time performers and instructors, having taught at the University of California-Los Angeles and the Naropa Institute. They have both been on the faculty of the California Institute of the Arts for 25 years, and Kobla is chair of the music department. The Zdonu Group is known throughout the

world for its workshops, seminars, and performances which have been successful for bringing together African cultural groups in the United States. They have performed for the president of Ghana and at the NFL Super Bowl XXVIII. The name Zdonu is derived from a combination of the names of Kobla's late father and brother, who were highly respected composers of the Anlo clan in their native Ghana. Among the credits of Zdonu are the score for the Hollywood film *Mississippi Masala*, the Chasima Series for PBS, and the advertisement for the Los Angeles Arts Festival. The couple has also appeared and taught across in the United States and abroad.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Edward Ayensu (b.1935) has been a very prominent Ghanaian American scientist. Ayensu, a noted international plant physiologist, is also widely known as a policymaker on international environmental issues. Born in Ghana, Ayensu was first educated at Achimota College, then went on to receive bachelor's and master's degrees in the United States, and earned a doctorate from the University of London. After receiving his degree in London, Ayensu returned to the United States, where he served as an associate curator of botany at the Smithsonian Institution, then as chair and curator from 1970 to 1989. While at the Smithsonian, Ayensu also served a director of the institution's Endangered Species Project from 1976 to 1980. During this time Ayensu also served on many prominent international boards for the environment. Among his more than 20 books and 100 published professional papers are *Tropical Forest Ecosystems in Africa and South America* (1973) and *Medicinal Plants of West Africa* (1978).

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

A good resource on Ghanaian American performance can be obtained from the Zdonu group at shoko.calarts.edu/~kozadonu/index.html.

A site for Ghanaian American children can be found at: heritage-international.com/cyberkid.htm.

Information on the Homowo harvest festival in Fairmont Park, Philadelphia is located at ghanaforum.com/news/phillynews080198.htm.

A good deal of other information can be found at Ghana Forum (<http://www.ghanaforum.com>) and at the Ghana Discussion Forum (<http://www.ghanaforum.com/discuss.pl?read=5504>), a bulletin board for issues affecting Ghanaians.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Address: 515 Malcolm X Boulevard, New York,
New York 10037-1801.

Telephone: (212) 491-2200.

Online: <http://www.nypl.org/ns-search/research/sc>.

Smithsonian Institution.

Address: Smithsonian Information, SI Building,
Room 153, Washington, DC 20560-0010.

Telephone: (202) 357-2700; or
(202) 357-1729 [TTY].

Online: <http://www.si.edu>.

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If there is one self-defining concept among Greeks, it is the concept of *philotimo*, which may be translated as “love of honor.”

GREEK

by
Jane Jurgens

AMERICANS

Overview

Officially known as the Hellenic Republic, Greece is a mountainous peninsula located in southeastern Europe, between the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. With a landmass of 51,000 square miles (132,100 square kilometers), Greece is bordered to the north by Bulgaria and Macedonia. Nearly 2,000 islands surround its eastern, southern, and western borders. The nine major land areas that constitute Greece include Central Pindus, Thessaly, the Salonika Plain, Macedonia/Thrace, Peloponnesus, the Southeastern Uplands, the Ionian Islands, the Aegean Islands, and Crete.

The capital city, Athens, and the cities of Thessaloniki (Salonika), Patras, Volos, and Larissa have the largest populations in Greece, which has a total population of approximately ten million. Ninety-seven percent of the ethnically and linguistically homogeneous nation speaks Greek, and one percent, Turkish. The Eastern Orthodox church is the dominant religion; only about 1.5 percent of the population is Muslim, and a small percentage is Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, or Jewish.

Traditionally, Greeks referred to themselves as “Hellenes” and to the country of Greece as “Hellas.” The word “Greek” comes from the Latin *Graeci*, a name given to the people of this region by the Romans.

The Greek flag features a small white cross in the upper left corner flanked to the right and bot-

tom by alternating white and blue stripes. The white cross symbolizes the Greek Orthodox religion, while the blue stripes stand for the sea and sky, and the white stripes for the purity of the Greek struggle for independence. The national anthem is “The Hymn to Freedom” (“*Imnos pros teen elefteeriahn*”). The basic monetary unit is the drachma.

HISTORY

Greece is an ancient country that has been continuously occupied from 6000 B.C., the beginning of its Neolithic period, until the present. The Bronze Age, traditionally divided into early, middle, and late phases, dated from 2800 B.C. to 1000 B.C. It was during this period that Minoan civilization of Crete and the Mycenaean civilization of mainland Greece flourished. These civilizations were destroyed around 1000 B.C. just as the individual city-state or “polis” was beginning to experience rapid growth. In 479 B.C. the city-states united to defeat Persia, a common enemy, but national unity proved to be short-lived. The power struggle between Athens and Sparta, the principal city-states, dominated the period.

Athens reached its zenith during the fifth century B.C., a period known as its Golden Age. At this time Athens experimented with a form of internal democracy unique in the ancient world, achieved a singular culture, and left enduring literary and architectural legacies. Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aeschylus came into prominence, and in 432 B.C. the Parthenon on the Acropolis was completed. The Peloponnesian War fought between Athens and Sparta from 431 to 404 B.C. and a plague that raged through Athens in 430 contributed to bring the Golden Age to an end. For a time Sparta dominated the Greek world, but war and severe economic decline hastened the decline of all of the city-states.

Greece came under Macedonian domination between 338 and 200 B.C. The Macedonian king, Alexander the Great, conquered Greece, Persia, and Egypt to create an empire, and he carried the idea of Hellenism to places as far away as India. The Hellenistic Age that followed Alexander’s rule lasted until 146 B.C. As a Roman state from 127 B.C. to A.D. 330, Greece and its city-states had no political or military power. When the Roman Empire was divided in A.D. 395, Greece became part of the Eastern Empire, which continued as the Byzantine Empire until 1453. That year the Turks captured Constantinople, the capital of Byzantium, and Greece became part of the Ottoman Empire.

MODERN ERA

Greece’s declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire on March 25, 1821, resulted in the Greek War of Independence, which lasted until 1829, and began the history of independent modern Greece. Great Britain, France, and Russia assisted Greece in its struggle for independence, and Greece came under the protection of these powers by the London Protocol of 1830. In 1832 the Bavarian Otto I became the first king of Greece, and in 1844 a conservative revolutionary force established a constitutional monarchy. George I, who succeeded Otto I, created a more democratic form of government with a new constitution in 1864.

During the 1880s and 1890s, transportation, education, and social services rapidly improved. Then in 1897 a revolt against the Turks in Crete led to war between Greece and the Ottoman Empire and to eventual self-governance for Crete. A revolt by the Military League in 1909 prompted the appointment of Eleuthérios Venizélos as Prime Minister of Greece. Between 1910 and 1933 Venizélos enacted major financial reforms.

During World War I Greece joined the Allied forces in opposing Germany. After the war Greece regained much of the territory it had lost to the Ottoman Empire. But in 1921 Greece began a war against the Turks in Asia Minor and suffered a crushing defeat in 1922. In 1923, under the Treaty of Lausanne, more than 1.25 million Greeks moved from Turkey to Greece, and more than 400,000 Turks in Greece moved to Turkey.

Between the World Wars, the Greek population vacillated between the establishment of a republican form of government and the restoration of monarchy. In 1936 Greece became a military dictatorship under General Ioannis Metaxas, who remained in power until 1944. The Germans occupied Greece during World War II, and the country did not recover until the 1950s, when it began slowly to regain economic and political stability. In 1952 Greece joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and also granted women the right to vote and to hold political office. During 1952 to 1963 Alexander Papagos and Konstantinos Karamanlis each held the office of prime minister.

On April 27, 1967, Colonel George Papadopoulos led a military coup, resulting in the suspension of constitutionally guaranteed rights and the imposition of harsh social controls. Papadopoulos declared Greece a republic in 1973 and put an end to the monarchy before his government was overthrown. In November 1974 Greece held its first free elections in more than a decade. Parliament adopted a new constitution in 1975, and a civilian government was established.

The first Socialist government in Greece gained control in 1981, the year Andreas Papandreou—the son of George Papandreou and a member of the Panhellenic Socialist movement—succeeded conservative Georgios Rallis as prime minister. In 1989 a conservative-communist coalition formed a new government, and pledging that Greece would be an active participant in the greater European community, Papandreou was reelected.

THE FIRST GREEKS IN AMERICA

According to official records, the Greek sailor Don Teodoro or Theodoros, who sailed to America with the Spanish explorer Panfilio de Narvaez in 1528, was the first Greek to land in America. The names of other Greek sailors who may have come to America during this period are John Griego and Petros the Cretan. There is some speculation that Juan De Fuca, who discovered the straits south of Vancouver Island, may have been a Greek named Ionnis Phocas.

One of the first Greek colonies was at New Smyrna near Saint Augustine, Florida. Andrew Turnbull and his wife Maria Rubini, daughter of a wealthy Greek merchant, persuaded approximately 450 colonists to journey to America and settle. With the promise of land, Greek colonists primarily from Mani in the south of Greece, as well as Italians, Minorcans, and Corsicans, began arriving in Florida on June 26, 1768. The colony was an overwhelming failure and was officially disbanded on July 17, 1777, but many of the colonists had already moved to neighboring Saint Augustine, where they were becoming successful as merchants and small businessmen. A small community of Greeks also built a chapel and school there.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first wave of Greek immigrants included about 40 orphans who had survived the Greek Revolution of 1821 and who were brought to the United States by American missionaries; survivors of the 1822 massacre of Chios by the Turks; and merchant sailors who settled in the Americas. Most of these Greeks were from islands such as Chios, and others came from Asia Minor, Epirus, and Macedonia. By 1860 about 328 Greeks were living in the United States, with the majority residing in California, Arkansas, New York, and Massachusetts.

The U.S. Greek population remained small until the 1880s, when poor economic conditions in Greece prompted many Greeks to immigrate to the

United States. During the 1880s most who came were from Laconia (notably, from the city of Sparta), a province of the Peloponnesus in southern Greece. Beginning in the 1890s, Greeks began arriving from other parts of Greece, principally from Arcadia, another province in the Peloponnesus. The largest numbers arrived during 1900-1910 (686) and 1911-1920 (385). Most were young single males who came to the United States to seek their fortunes and wished to return to Greece as soon as possible. About 30 percent of those who came before 1930 did return, some of whom went to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913.

The Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 reversed the open-door policy of immigration and established quotas. The Act of 1921 limited the number of Greek admittants to 3,063, while the Act of 1924 limited the number to 100. Legal petition increased the quota, and during 1925-1929 about 10,883 Greeks were admitted. Another 17,000 Greeks were admitted under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, and 1,504 were accepted as a result of further legislation in 1957.

The Immigration Act of 1965 abandoned the quota system and gave preference to immigrants with families already established in the United States. The new Greek arrivals usually were better educated than their predecessors and included men and women in equal numbers, as well as family groups.

From 1820 to 1982 a total of 673,360 Greeks immigrated to the United States. After 1982, the number of Greeks entering the United States is as follows: 1983 (3,020); 1984 (2,865); 1985 (2,579); 1986 (2,512); 1987 (2,653); 1988 (2,458); 1989 (2,157); 1990 (2,742); 1991 (1,760); 1992 (1,790). The 1990 Census reported the number of people claiming at least one ancestry as Greek at 1,110,373.

SETTLEMENT

During the 1890s Greeks began settling in major urban areas, including the industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest. The first immigrants settled in Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire. The city of Lowell, Massachusetts, attracted the majority of Greeks, and by 1920 it had the third largest Greek community in the United States. Greeks also settled in the New England towns of Haverhill, Lynn, Boston, Peabody, and Manchester. The largest Greek settlement in the twentieth century was in New York. Greeks also settled in western Pennsylvania, particularly Pittsburgh, and in the Midwestern cities of Detroit, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Chicago.

Small Greek communities existed in Galveston, Texas, and Atlanta, Georgia, but the largest concentration of Greeks in the South was at Tarpon Springs, Florida. In the first half of the twentieth century, this unique settlement of Greeks made its living by sponge diving.

Attracted to mining and railroad work, large numbers of Greeks settled in Salt Lake City, with smaller numbers inhabiting Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada. The heaviest early concentration on the Pacific Coast was in San Francisco. Today, Greeks live primarily in urban areas and are increasingly moving to the South and West. The 1990 Census reveals that New York State still has the largest population of Greeks, with the highest concentration in the Astoria section of the borough of Queens. The next largest populations are in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Florida.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Few negative Greek stereotypes persist. Greeks share the American work ethic and desire for success and are largely perceived as hardworking and family-oriented. They are also said to possess a “Zorba”-like spirit and love of life. However, many Greek Americans perceive the recent Greek immigrants as “foreign” and often as a source of embarrassment.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Greeks have an assortment of traditional customs, beliefs, and superstitions to ensure success and ward off evil and misfortune. Old beliefs persist in some communities in the United States. For example, belief in the “evil eye” is still strong and is supported by the Greek Orthodox church as a generalized concept of evil. Precautions against the evil eye (*not* endorsed by the church) include wearing garlic; making the sign of the cross behind the ear of a child with dirt or soot; placing an image of an eye over the lintel; wearing the *mati*, a blue amulet with an eye in the center; and recitation of a ritual prayer, the *ksematiasma*. Greeks may also respond to a compliment with the expression *ptou, ptou*, to keep the evil eye from harming the person receiving the compliment. Greeks also “knock wood” to guard against misfortune, and reading one’s fortunes in the patterns of coffee dregs remains popular.

PROVERBS

The Greeks “have a saying for it”: In wine there is truth; You make my liver swell (You make me sick);



This Greek
American girl
displays her pride
both in her
heritage and her
new country.

God ascends stairs and descends stairs (Everything is possible for God); An old hen makes the tastiest broth (Quality improves with age); He won’t give her any chestnuts (He wouldn’t cut her any slack); I tell it to my dog, and he tells it to his tail (To pass the buck); I went for wool, and I came out shorn (To lose the shirt off one’s back); Faith is the power of life.

CUISINE

Greek food is extremely popular in the United States, where Greek American restaurants flourish. In Greek restaurants and in the home, many of the traditional recipes have been adapted (and sometimes improved on) to suit American tastes. In Greece meals are great social occasions where friends and family come together and the quantity of food is often impressive. Olive oil is a key ingredient in Greek cooking and is used in quantity. Traditional herbs include parsley, mint, dill, oregano (especially the wild oregano *rigani*), and garlic. You will find on most Greek tables olives, sliced cheese (such as feta, *kaseri*, and *kefalotiri*), tomato, and lemon wedges, along with bread. Fish, chicken, lamb, beef, and vegetables are all found on the Greek menu and are prepared in a variety of ways. Soup, salad, and yogurt are served as side dishes. Sheets of dough called *phillo* are layered and filled with spinach, cheese, eggs, and nuts. Greeks create such masterpieces as *moussaka*, a layered dish of eggplant, meat, cheese, and bread crumbs sometimes served with a white sauce. Other popular Greek dishes in the United States include *sowlakia*, a shish kabob of lamb, vegetables, and onions; *keft-*

During the Epiphany Ceremonies at the Greek Orthodox church in Tarpon Springs in Florida, fifty boys from the ages of 13 to 18 dive into the water and try to retrieve a tossed cross, which is said to bring the winner a year of good luck.



edes, Greek meatballs; *saganaki*, a mixture of fried cheese, milk, egg, and flour; *dolmathes yalantzi*, grape leaves stuffed with rice, pine nuts, onions, and spices; and gyros, slices of beef, pork, and lamb prepared on a skewer, served with tomatoes, onions, and cucumber yogurt sauces on pita bread.

Soups include *psarosoupa me avgolemono*, a rich fish soup made with egg and lemon sauce; *spanaki soupa*, spinach soup; *mayeritsa*, an Easter soup made with tripe and/or lamb parts and rice; and *fasolatha*, a white bean Lenten soup made with tomatoes, garlic, and spices. Salads always accompany a meal. The traditional Greek salad (*salata a la greque*) is made with lettuce or spinach, feta cheese, tomatoes, onions, cucumbers, olives, oregano, and olive oil.

The national drink of Greece is *ouzo* (“oozoh”), an anise-flavored liquor that tastes like licorice and that remains popular with Greek Americans. Traditionally, it is served with appetizers (*mezethes*) such as olives, cheese, tomato, and lemon wedges. A popular Greek wine, *retsina*, is produced only in Greece and is imported to the United States.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Greek traditional costumes come in a variety of styles, some dating back to ancient times. Women’s clothing is heavy, with many layers and accessories, designed to cover the entire body. The undergarments include the floor-length *poukamiso* (shirt) made of linen or cotton and the *mesofori* (undershirt) and *vraka* (panties), usually of muslin. The outer garments consist of the *forema-palto*, a coat-

dress of embroidered linen; the *fousta* (skirt) of wool or silk; the *sigouni*, a sleeveless jacket of embroidered wool worn outside the *forema-palto*; the *kontogourni* or *zipouni*, a short vest worn over the *fousta*; the *podia*, an apron of embroidered wool or linen; and finally the *zonari*, a long belt wrapped many times around the waist. Buckles on these belts can be very ornate.

Traditionally, men’s costumes are less colorful than women’s costumes. Men’s urban and rural clothing styles vary by region. The *anteria* is a long dress coat with wide sleeves once worn in the city. In rural areas, men wore the *panovraki* (or its variation, the *vraka*), white or dark woolen pants, narrow at the bottom and wide at the waist, with the *poukamiso*, a short pleated dress. The *foustanela* is a variation on the old style and soon became the national costume of Greece. The *foustanela* is a short white skirt of cotton or muslin with many folds that is worn above the knee. It is worn with the *fermizi*, a jacket of velvet or serge with long sleeves that is thrown over the back; waist-high white stockings; and a shirt with wide sleeves made of cotton, muslin, or silk. The *foustanela* is a common sight on Greek Independence Day.

HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS

Greeks celebrate many Greek Orthodox holy days throughout the year, in addition to Christmas Day, Easter Day, and New Year’s Day. Greeks in the United States also celebrate Greek Independence Day on March 25, commemorating their independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821. In Chicago and New York, cities with a sizable Greek population, people dress in traditional costumes and sing the national anthem. The program of events also includes a parade, public address, folk dance, song, and poetry recitation.

DANCE AND SONGS

Greek music and dance are an expression of the national character and are appreciated by people of all ethnic backgrounds. As Marilyn Rouvelas stated in *A Guide to Greek Traditions and Customs in America*: “To the uninitiated, the music invites images of intriguing places, food and people. For the Greeks, the sounds and rhythms express their very essence: their dreams, sorrows and joys. Add dancing and nothing more need be said.”

Varieties of Greek popular music include *dimotika* (*thimotika*), *laika*, and *evropaika*. *Dimotika* are traditional rural folk songs often accompanied by a clarinet, lute, violin dulcimer, and drum. *Laika*

is an urban style of song, developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, which may feature the bouzouki, a long-necked stringed instrument. *Evropaika* is Eurostyle music set to Greek words that is popular with the older generation.

Traditional Greek dances may be danced in a circle, in a straight line, or between couples. The *kalamatianos* is an ancient dance with many variations in which both men and women participate. It has 12 basic steps and is danced in a semicircle to 7/8 time. All variations are performed by the leader who stands facing the semicircle. The *sirtos*, perhaps the most ancient dance, is similar to the *kalamatianos*, but it is more controlled, performed to 2/4 time. First danced in the mountainous region of Epirus in northwestern Greece, the *tsamiko*, traditionally danced by men, is today performed by both men and women. It was danced by the fighters and rebels in the Greek Revolution of 1821. The *hasapiko* is a popular folk dance for both men and women that is danced in a straight line, with one dancer holding the shoulder of the other. The *sirtaki*, a variation of the *hasapiko*, culminates with the “Zorba” dance popularized in the movie *Zorba the Greek*. Although the Zorba has no roots in Greek dance history, it does capture the mood and temperament of the Greek spirit. Originating in the Middle East, the *tsifteteli* is a seductive dance performed by one or two people. The *zeibekiko* is a personal dance traditionally danced only by men, either singly or as a couple. It is a serious, completely self-absorbed dance in which the dancer freely improvises the steps.

LANGUAGE

Greek is a conservative language that has retained much of its original integrity. Modern Greek is derived from the Attic Koine of the first century A.D. During Byzantine times, the language underwent modifications and has incorporated many French, Turkish, and Italian words. Modern Greek retained the ancient alphabet and orthography of the more ancient language, but many changes have taken place in the phonetic value of letters and in the spelling. Although about 75 percent of the old words remain from the ancient language, words often have taken on new meanings. Modern Greek also retains from the ancient language a system of three pitch accents (acute, circumflex, grave). In 1982, a monotonic accent (one-stress accent) was officially adopted by the Greek government.

Greeks are fiercely proud of the continuity and relative stability of their language and much confusion and debate persists about “correct Greek.” Two separate languages were once widely written and

spoken in Greece: demotic Greek (*Demotiki*), the more popular language of the people, and *Katharevousa*, the “pure” archaic language of administration, religion, education, and literature. In 1967 demotic Greek was recognized as the official spoken and written language of Greece and is the language adopted for liturgical services by the Greek Orthodox church in the United States.

Modern Greek contains 24 characters with seven vowels and five vowel sounds. It is traditionally written in Attic characters; the letters, their names, transliterations, and pronunciations are: “Α α”—alpha/a (“ah”); “Β β”—beta/v (“v”); “Γ γ”—gamma/g (“gh,” “y”); “Δ δ”—delta/d, dh (“th”); “Ε ε”—epsilon/e (“eh”); “Ζ ζ”—zeta/z (“z”); “Η η”—eta/e (“ee”); “Θ θ”—theta/th (“th”); “Ι ι”—iota/i (“ee”); “Κ κ”—kappa/k, c (“k”); “Λ λ”—lambda/l (“l”); “Μ μ”—mu/m (“m”); “Ν ν”—nee/n (“n”); “Ξ ξ”—kse/x (“ks”); “Ο ο”—omicron/o (“oh”); “Π π”—pi/p (“p”); “Ρ ρ”—rho/r (“r”); “Σ σ”—sigma/s (“s”); “Τ τ”—taf/t (“t”); “Υ υ”—ypsilon/y (“ee”); “Φ φ”—fee/ph (“f”); “Χ χ”—khee/h (“ch” [as in “ach”]); “Ψ ψ”—psee/ps (“ps” [as in “lapse”]); “Ω ω”—omega/o (“oh”).

Today Greek language schools continue to encourage the study of Greek, and new generations are discovering its rich rewards.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Some of the more common expressions in the Greek language include: Ωχι (“ohchi”)—No; Ναι (“neh”)—Yes; Ευχαριστο (Efcharisto)—Thank you; Καλημερα (“kahleemera”)—Good morning; Καλησπερα (“kahleespehrah”)—Good afternoon/evening; Γεια σουσασ (“yah soo”/“yah sahs”)—Hello/Good-bye (informal); Χαιρετε (“chehrehteh”)—Greetings/Hello (formal); Ωπα! (“ohpah”)—Hooray! Toasts may include Για χαρα (“yah chahrah”)—For joy; Καλη τυχη (“kahlee teechee”)—Good luck. Other popular expressions are Χρωνια πολλα (“chrohnyah pohllah”)—Many years/Happy birthday; Χαλη χρωνια (“kahlee chrohnyah”)—Good year; Καλη Σαρακωστη (“kahlee sahrakhohstee”)—Good Lent; Καλα Χριστουγεννα (“kahlah christooghehna”)—Merry Christmas. Expressions used at Easter are Καλω Πασχα (“kahloh pahschah”)—Happy Easter (used before Easter); Καλη Ανασταση (“kahlee ahnahstahsee”)—Good Resurrection (said after the Good Friday service); Χριστωσ ανεστη (“christohs ahnehstee”)—Christ has risen (said after the Good Friday service) and its response, Αληθωσ ανεστη (“ahleethohs ahnehstee”)—Truly he has risen.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

If there is one self-defining concept among Greeks, it is the concept of *philotimo*, which may be translated as “love of honor.” *Philotimo* is a highly developed sense of right and wrong involving personal pride and honor and obligation to family and community. It shapes and regulates an individual’s relationships as a member of both a family and the community. Because the acts of each individual affect the entire family and community, each person must work to maintain both personal and family honor. It is *philotimo* that “laid the foundation for Greek success in America,” wrote G. Kunkelman in *The Religion of Ethnicity*.

The idea of family and attachment to the Greek Orthodox church remains strong among Greek Americans. In many communities, the ideal family is still a patriarchy where the man, as husband and father, is a central authority figure and the woman a wife and mother. Children are highly valued, and frequently parents will sacrifice a great deal to see that their children accomplish their goals. Elderly parents may still move in with their children, but “Americanization,” with accompanying affluence, assimilation, and mobilization, has rendered this arrangement less practicable.

Another change from traditional Greek custom is the rising number of marriages between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Greeks. The 1994 *Yearbook* of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America reports that between 1976 and 1992, the number of marriages between Orthodox Greeks was 35,767, while the number between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Greeks was 53,790; the divorce rate is 6,629 and 5,552, respectively.

WEDDINGS

The wedding service conducted by a Greek Orthodox priest may be said in both Greek and in English, but the traditional elements of the Greek wedding remain unchanged. The hour-long ceremony is conducted around a small table on which two wedding crowns, the book of the Gospels, the wedding rings, a cup of wine, and two white candles are placed. The two-part Greek Orthodox wedding includes the betrothal and the wedding proper. During the betrothal the rings are blessed to signify that the couple is betrothed by the church. The priest first blesses the rings and then, with the rings, blesses the couple, touching their foreheads with the sign of the cross. The rings are placed on the bride’s and groom’s right hands, and the official wedding spon-

sors (*koumbari*) exchange the rings three times. During the wedding ceremony the bride and groom each hold a lighted white candle and join right hands while the priest prays over them. Crowns (*stephana*) joined with a ribbon are placed on their heads, and the *koumbaros* (male) or *koumbara* (female) is responsible for exchanging the wedding crowns three times above the heads of the couple during the service. Traditionally read are the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Ephesians and the second chapter of the Gospel of Saint John, which stress the mutual respect and love the couple now owe each other and the sanctity of the married state. After the couple shares a common cup of wine, they are led around the table by the priest in the Dance of Isaiah, which symbolizes the joy of the church in the new marriage. The *koumbaros* follows, holding the ribbon that joins the crowns. With the blessing of the priest, the couple is proclaimed married, and the crowns are removed.

The wedding reception reflects the influence of both Greek and American tradition and is notable for its abundance of food, dancing, and singing. The wedding cake is served along with an assortment of Greek sweets that may include baklava and *koufeta*—traditional wedding candy—is often distributed in candy dishes or in *bomboneries* (small favors given to guests after the wedding).

BAPTISMS AND CHRISMATIONS

The *koumbari* who act as wedding sponsors usually act as godparents for a couple’s first child. The baptism begins at the narthex of the church, where the godparents speak for the child, renouncing Satan, blowing three times in the air, and spitting three times on the floor. They then recite the Nicene Creed. The priest uses the child’s baptismal name for the first time and asks God to cleanse away sin. The priest, the godparents, and the child go to the baptismal font at the front of the church, where the priest consecrates the water, adding olive oil to it as a symbol of reconciliation. The child is undressed, and the priest makes the sign of the cross on various parts of the child’s body. The godparents rub olive oil over the child’s body, and the priest thrice immerses the child in the water of the baptismal font to symbolize the three days Christ spent in the tomb. The godparents then receive the child and wrap it in a new white sheet. During chrismation, immediately following baptism, the child is anointed with a special oil (*miron*), which has been blessed by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. The child is dressed in new clothing, and a cross is placed around its neck. After the baptismal candle is lighted, the priest and godparents hold the child,

and a few children walk around the font in a dance of joy. Finally, scriptures are read, and communion is given to the child.

FUNERALS

The funeral service in the Greek Orthodox church is called *kithia*. Traditionally, the *trisayion* (the three holies) is recited at the time of death or at any time during a 40-day mourning period. In the United States the *trisayion* is repeated at the funeral service. At the beginning of the service, the priest greets the mourners at the entrance of the church. An open casket is arranged so that the deceased faces the altar. During the service mourners recite scriptures, prayers, and hymns, and they are invited by the priest to pay their last respects to the deceased by filing past the casket and kissing the icon that has been placed within. The family gathers around the casket for a last farewell, and the priest sprinkles oil on the body in the form of the cross and says a concluding prayer. After the priest, friends, or family members deliver a brief eulogy, the body is taken immediately for burial (*endaphiasmos*). At the cemetery the priest recites the *trisayion* for the last time and sprinkles dirt on the casket while reciting a prayer. After the funeral guests and family share a funeral meal (*makaria*), which traditionally consists of brandy, coffee, and *paximathia* (hard, dry toast). A full meal may also be served, with fish as the main course.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

As stated in the introduction to *American Aphrodite*, “Greek-American women have been without a voice since the first Greek immigrants arrived here as wives, mothers, sisters and daughters, usually, but not always, some months behind the menfolk, making no sound, proclaiming no existence.” Traditionally, the lives of Greek women have centered on the home, the family, and the Greek Orthodox church. Since the earliest period of settlement in the United States, the burden of preserving Greek culture and tradition has been the responsibility of women. Women among the first and second generations of immigrants became the traditional keepers of songs, dances, and other folk customs and often cut themselves off from the *xeni*, the foreigners, who were essentially anyone outside the Greek community.

Today many Greek women are seriously challenged in their efforts to accommodate the values of two different worlds. The pressure to remain part of the community, obey parents’ rules, and be “good Greek girls” who marry “well” and bear children is

still strong. The conflict arises between family loyalty and self-realization, between duty to parents and community and the pursuit of the “American way of life.” Many Greek American girls are given less freedom than their male counterparts and tend to remain close to their mothers even after marriage. The pursuit of education and a career is secondary and may even be perceived as “un-Greek” or unwomanly.

Although Greeks tend to be a highly educated ethnic group, the pursuit of higher education remains the province of men. The 1990 Census reports that twice as many Greek men as women received university degrees, with a significantly higher proportion of men going on to receive advanced degrees.

“I felt grateful the Statue of Liberty was a woman. I felt she would understand a woman’s heart.”

Stella Petrakis in 1916, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

RELIGION

Theodore Salutos in *The Greeks in the United States* wrote: “Hellenism and Greek Orthodoxy—the one intertwined with the other—served as the cord that kept the immigrant attached to the mother country, nourished his patriotic appetites and helped him preserve the faith and language of his parents.” The Greek Orthodox church helped to meet the emotional and spiritual needs of the immigrant. The early churches grew out of the *kinotitos* (community) where a *symvoulion* (board of directors) raised the money to build the church. The first Greek Orthodox church in the United States was founded in New Orleans in 1864. As Greek communities grew, other churches were established in New York (1892); Chicago (1893); Lowell, Massachusetts (1903); and Boston (1903). By 1923, there were 140 Greek churches in the United States.

Today, the liturgy and spirit of the Greek Orthodox church help to keep alive Greek ethnic cultural traditions in the United States. According to Kunkelman, to a Greek American, “ethnicity is synonymous with the church. One is a Greek not because he is a Hellene by birth; indeed many of Greek parentage have abandoned their identities and disappeared into the American mainstream. Rather one is Greek because he elects to remain part of the Greek community and an individual is a member of the Greek community by virtue of his

Altar boys light
candles in
preparation for a
church service at
St. Irene, located in
Queens, New York.



attachment to the Greek Orthodox church, the framework on which the community rests.”

For many, the Greek Orthodox church is the center of community life. In the United States all dioceses, parishes, and churches are under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of North and South America, an autonomous self-governing church within the sphere of influence of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome. The Ecumenical Patriarch has the power to elect the archbishop and the bishops, directs all church matters outside the American church, and remains the guiding force in all matters of faith. Founded in 1922, the Archdiocese is located in New York City. It supports 62 parishes in the Archdiocesan District of New York, as well as the parishes in ten dioceses across the Americas.

“Orthodox” comes from the Greek *orthos* (correct) and *doxa* (teaching or worship). The Greek Orthodox share a common liturgy, worship, and tradition. In its fundamental beliefs, the church is conservative, resistant to change, and allows little flexibility. The Orthodox tradition is an Eastern tradition with the official center of Orthodoxy at

Constantinople. After the tenth century Eastern and Western traditions grew apart on matters of faith, dogma, customs, and politics. East and West finally divided on the issue of papal authority.

The basic beliefs of the Orthodox are summarized in the Nicene Creed dating back to the fourth century. The Orthodox believe that one can achieve complete identification with God (*theosis*). All activities and services in the church are to assist the individual in achieving that end. The most important service is the Divine Liturgy in which there are four distinct liturgies: St. John Chrysostom (the one most frequently followed), St. Basil (followed ten times a year), St. James (October 23), and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent and the first three days of Easter Holy Week). The church uses Greek Koine, the language of New Testament Greek, as its liturgical language. The seven sacraments in the church are Baptism, Chrismation, Confession, Communion, Marriage, Holy Unction (Anointing of the Sick), and Holy Orders. The Greek Orthodox calendar has many feast days, fast days, and name days. The most important feast day (“the feast of feasts”) is Holy Pascha (Easter Sunday). In addition to Easter, the “twelve

great feasts” are the Nativity of the Mother of God, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Presentation of the Mother of God in the Temple, Christmas, Epiphany, the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple, Palm Sunday, Ascension of Jesus Christ, Pentecost, the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ, and the Dormition (death) of the Mother of God.

The Greek Orthodox church also follows the Byzantine tradition in its architecture. The church is divided into the vestibule (the front of the church representing the world), the nave (the main area where people assemble), and the sanctuary. The sanctuary is separated from the nave by an iconostasis, a screenlike partition. Only the priests enter the sanctuary. Icons (images of saints) decorate the iconostasis in prescribed tiers. The service takes place in the sanctuary, which contains an altar table and an oblation (preparation) table. The Greek Orthodox church is filled with symbols, including crosses and icons, which create an aura of heaven on earth.

The church continues to face the process of Americanization. The American Orthodox church has many American elements: an American-trained clergy, the introduction of English into the service, modern music written for organ, modern architecture and architectural features (pews, choir lofts, separate social halls). The limited role of women in the church is being questioned. Until the second century, women fully participated in the church as teachers, preachers, and deacons. After that period, however, their roles were limited by official decree. Today women are taking more active leadership roles; however, the question of ordaining women to the priesthood has not been seriously considered.

Internal dissent has plagued the Greek Orthodox community in the United States in recent years. Dissenters have petitioned Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos of Constantinople for the removal of Archbishop Spyridon, appointed leader of the Greek Orthodox archdiocese in the United States in 1996. They claim that Spyridon ignored input from the lay community in church affairs, including the firing of three priests from the faculty of Hellenic College in Brookline, Massachusetts. A spokesperson for the archdiocese commented that this group does not speak for the entire Greek Orthodox community in America, but a *New York Times* article suggested that the movement against Spyridon reveals that the church is in “serious turmoil.”

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The first immigrants were for the most part young single men who had no intention of remaining per-

manently in the United States. They came to work in the large industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest as factory laborers, peddlers, busboys, and bootblacks. Those who went to the mill towns of New England worked in textile and shoe factories, while the Greeks who went West worked in mines and on the railroads. These Greeks often were subject to the *padrone* system, a form of exploitative indentured servitude employed in many of the larger industrial cities of the North and in the large mining corporations of the West.

Greeks in America have stressed individual efforts and talent and have had a long tradition of entrepreneurship in the United States, and many who were peddlers and street merchants in the United States became owners of small businesses. First-generation Greeks who were fruit and vegetable peddlers became owners of grocery stores; flower vendors opened florist shops. Greeks in Lowell, Massachusetts, became successful in numerous businesses. By 1912, according to a publication of the National Park Service, *Lowell: The Story of an Industrial City*, they owned “seven restaurants, twenty coffee houses, twelve barber shops, two drug stores, six fruit stores, eight shoeshine parlors, one dry-goods store, four ticket agencies, seven bakeries, four candy stores [and] twenty-two grocery stores.”

In the 1920s Greeks owned thousands of confectionery stores across the country and usually owned the candy-manufacturing businesses that supplied the stores. When the candy businesses collapsed, Greeks became restaurant owners. By the late 1920s several thousand Greek restaurants were scattered across the country. Many immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s went into the fast-food restaurant business.

The Greek professional class remained small until the 1940s. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, most Greek professionals were doctors. The next largest group comprised lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, and chemists. A few became professors of literature, philosophy, and the classics. Although the Greeks were slow to develop an academic tradition in this country in part because of low economic incentive, a new professional class began to emerge after World War I. Today Greek Americans engage in many professional academic endeavors. Instead of remaining in family-held businesses, third- and fourth-generation Greek Americans increasingly are pursuing professional careers.

Currently, Greeks are found in almost every occupation and enterprise and constitute one of the wealthier economic groups in the United States. The average per capita income of all persons with Greek ancestry according to the 1990 Census was \$18,361.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Numerous Greek American political and social organizations have existed since the 1880s. These organizations often were made up of Greeks who had come from the same region in Greece. They had a shared sense of Hellenism and a common religion and language and often aligned themselves with native Greek concerns. The *kinotitos* (community) was an organization similar to the village government in Greece. Although the *kinotitos* helped to preserve Greek traditions, it sometimes hindered assimilation.

In 1907 the Pan-Hellenic Union was founded to coordinate and incorporate local organizations; to provide a means of helping Greece obtain more territory from the Ottoman Empire; and to support the return of Constantinople to Greece and the consolidation of all Greek colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean under Greek authority. It also helped Greeks to adapt to their new home in the United States. Many Greek immigrants were slowly beginning to accept the fact that they would not be returning to Greece and that the United States was their permanent home. In 1922 the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) was founded. Although the AHEPA supported the assimilation of Greeks to the American way of life, it did not relinquish its strong attachments to Greece. During World War II, the AHEPA was a major contributor to the Greek War Relief Association.

The one issue that mobilized the Greek American community to political action was the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on July 15, 1974. The efforts of well-organized lobby groups to effect an arms embargo against Turkey were impressive. The AHEPA played a leading role in these activities, along with other lobby groups—the American Hellenic Institute and its public affairs committee, the influential United Hellenic American Congress, and the Hellenic Council of America. The Greek Orthodox church and local community organizations also assisted. Primarily because of the successful lobbying of these groups, the United States imposed an arms embargo on Turkey on February 5, 1975.

Greek American politicians were also instrumental in shaping U.S. policy toward the Republic of Macedonia, established after the breakup of the communist Yugoslav federation in the early 1990s. Greece strenuously objected to Macedonia's use of a name that also refers to a region in Greece, and announced a trade embargo against the new country. When, on February 9, 1994, President Clinton announced that the United States would officially recognize Macedonia, Greek American politicians

launched an intensive campaign to reverse this policy, gathering 30,000 signatures on a protest petition. Clinton succumbed to this pressure and announced that the United States would withhold diplomatic relations until an envoy could resolve Greece's objections.

Greek political figures are almost overwhelmingly Democratic. They include Michael Dukakis, Paul Tsongas, John Brademas, Paul Spyro Sarbanes, Michael Bilirakis, Andrew Manatos, and George Stephanopoulos. Although Greek Americans traditionally have voted Democratic, their increasing wealth and status have led to an even division within the Greek American community between Republicans and Democrats.

MILITARY

Greek Americans have participated in large numbers in all major wars fought by the United States. Greek American men with veteran status number 90,530; women number 2,635.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Greek Americans have made significant contributions in virtually all of the arts, sciences, and humanities, as well as in politics and business. Following is a sample of their achievements.

ACADEMIA

Aristides Phoutridis, a distinguished professor at Yale University, established Helikon, the first Greek student organization, in 1911 in Boston. George Mylonas (1898-1988) had a distinguished career in the fields of Classical and Bronze Age art and archaeology. His numerous books include *Mycenae, the Capital City of Agamemnon* (1956), *Aghios Kosmos* (1959), *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961), *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (1966), *Mycenae's Last Century of Greatness* (1968), *Grave Circle B of Mycenae* (1972), *The Cult Center of Mycenae* (1972), and *The West Cemetery of Eleusis* (1975). Theodore Salutos (1910-1980) was a professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, who is well known for his studies of the Greek immigration experience. His most important work, *Greeks in the United States* (1964), became a model for other works on this topic.

EDUCATION

John Celivergos Zachos (1820-1898), one of 40 orphans who came to the United States during

the Greek Revolution of 1821, was associate principal of the Cooper Female Seminary in Dayton, Ohio (1851-1854), principal and teacher of literature in the grammar school of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio (1854-1857), a surgeon during the Civil War, a teacher at Meadville Theological School (1866-1867), and a teacher and curator at Cooper Union in New York until 1898. Michael Anagnos (1837-1906) became the director of the famous Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston where he promoted vocational training and self-help.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Olympia Dukakis (1931-), a well-known film actress and the cousin of politician Michael Dukakis, has appeared in a number of roles since the 1960s. Selected films include *Lilith* (1964), *Twice a Man* (1964), *John and Mary* (1969), *Made for Each Other* (1971), and *The Idolmaker* (1980). Her most recent films are *Steel Magnolias* (1989) and *Moonstruck* (1987), for which she won an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress. John Cassavetes (1929-1989) was a well-known stage, screen, and television actor, director, playwright, and screenwriter. His many film appearances include *Fourteen* (1951), *Affair in Havana* (1957), *The Killers* (1964), *The Dirty Dozen* (1967), and *Rosemary's Baby* (1968). He directed and produced many films including *Too Late Blues* (1962), *A Child Is Waiting* (1963), *A Woman under the Influence* (1974), and *Big Trouble* (1986). George Tsakiris (1933-), a singer, dancer, and actor, has been in films since the 1940s. He starred in roles in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953); *White Christmas* (1954); *West Side Story* (1961), for which he won a Golden Globe Award and an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor; *Diamond Head* (1962); and *Is Paris Burning?* (1963). Elia Kazan (1909-) was born Elia Kazanjoglou in Constantinople. He is well known as a director, producer, actor, and writer. His best-known productions include *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *A Face in the Crowd* (1957), *Splendor in the Grass* (1961), *America, America* (1963), and *The Arrangement* (1969). He directed such films as *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (1945), *Gentlemen's Agreement* (1947), *On the Waterfront* (1953), and *East of Eden* (1954). His writings include *America, America* (1962), *The Arrangement* (1969), *The Assassins* (1972), *The Understudy* (1974), *Acts of Love* (1978), and *The Anatolian* (1982). Katina Paxinou (1900-1973), born Katina Constantopoulos, was a popular actress who starred in many films, including *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943), *Confidential Agent* (1945), *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1947), *The*

Inheritance (1947), and *Prince of Foxes* (1945). Telly Savalas (1923-1994), a popular film and television actor, is best known for his role as Theo Kojack in the National Broadcasting Corporation's television series "Kojack" (1973). Born in Garden City, New York, Savalas starred in several films including *The Young Savages* (1961), *Birdman of Alcatraz* (1962), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965), and *The Dirty Dozen* (1967).

FINE ARTS

Christos G. Bastis, born in Trikala, Greece, established the Sea Fare restaurant in New York City, and became a notable collector of ancient sculpture. He donated several works from his collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and was an honorary trustee of that institution and a member of the board of trustees of the Booklyn Museum.

JOURNALISM

Constantine Phasoularides published the first Greek American newspaper in New York in 1892, the *Neos Kosmos* (*New World*). Nicholas Gage (1939-), born in Lia, is a journalist and writer, associated with the *Worcester Telegram and Evening Gazette*, *Boston Herald Traveler*, *Associated Press*, *Wall Street Journal*, and the *New York Times*. He left the *New York Times* in 1980 to write *Eleni*, a work detailing the events surrounding the execution of his mother by Communist guerrillas in Greece in the 1940s.

LITERATURE

In 1906 Mary Vardoulakis wrote *Gold in the Streets*, the first Greek American novel. Olga Broumas (1949-), born in Syros, is a feminist poet who writes a poetry of the "body" with distinct lesbian-erotic motifs. Many of her poems capture the spirit of the Greek homeland. Her works include *Beginning with O* (1977), *Sole Savage* (1980), *Pastoral Jazz* (1983), and *Perpetua* (1985). Kostantinos Lardas (1927-) writes both poetry and fiction. His major works are *The Devil Child* (1961) and *And In Him Too; In Us*, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in 1964. Henry Mark Petrakis (1923-) is a major figure in Greek American fiction. His novels include *Lion of My Heart* (1959), *The Odyssey of Kostas Volakis* (1963), *The Dream of Kings* (1966), *In the Land of Morning* (1973), and *Hour of the Bell* (1976). Petrakis writes of the immigrant experience of the conflict between the old and new generations.

MILITARY

Captain George Partridge Colvocoresses (1816-1872) distinguished himself as commander of the *Saratoga* in the Civil War. His son Rear Admiral George P. Colvocoresses fought in the Spanish-American War and was appointed the commandant of midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy.

MUSIC

Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896-1960), a well-known composer-conductor, conducted the Minneapolis Symphony (1937-1949) and the New York Philharmonic. Maria Callas (1923-1977), born Mary Kalogeropoulou, was a noted operatic soprano. Callas made her film debut in *Tosca* (1941). She is remembered as a true artist for her original interpretations of Bellini, Donizetti, and Cherubini and in her roles as Norma, Medea, Violetta, and Lucia, as well as Tosca.

POLITICS

The first Greek American to be elected to the U.S. Congress was Lucas Miltiades Miller (1824-1902). Miller, a Democrat from Wisconsin, served in Congress from March 4, 1891, to March 3, 1893. Spiro Agnew (1918-), a Republican who served as governor of Maryland in 1966, became vice president of the United States under Richard Nixon on November 5, 1968, and was reelected as vice president on November 7, 1972. John Brademas (1927-), a Democrat from Indiana, served in Congress from 1959 to 1981. He became president of New York State University in 1981 until his retirement in 1992. Michael Dukakis (1933-) was governor of Massachusetts in 1975-1979 and 1983-1991 and was Democratic candidate for president in 1988. Paul Efthymios Tsongas (1941-), congressman from Massachusetts, served in the House of Representatives during 1974-1979 and in the U.S. Senate during 1979-1985. Paul Spyro Sarbanes (1933-) was a Democratic congressman from Maryland who was reelected to the Senate in 1982. Gus Yatron (1927-), Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania, served in the U.S. House of Representatives during 1969-1989. George Stephanopoulos (1961-) was director of communications for President Bill Clinton's administration during 1992-1993 before becoming senior advisor to the president for policy and strategy.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

George Papnicolaou (1883-1961) was professor emeritus of anatomy at Cornell Medical College.

His research led him to develop the "pap smear," a test designed to detect cervical cancer. Polyvios Koryllos was a professor of medicine at the University of Athens and Yale University. He is well known for his work in diagnosing tuberculosis. John Kotzias was a neurologist who discovered the drug L-dopa for the treatment of Parkinson's disease.

SPORTS

Alex Karras (1935-) was a well-known football player (a two-time All-American) for the Detroit Lions from 1958 to 1971. He hosted the National Football League's Monday Night Football and has made numerous television appearances. Alex Grammas (1926-) was a professional baseball player between 1954 and 1963 who played with the St. Louis Cardinals, Cincinnati Reds, and the Chicago Cubs. He was a baseball manager in 1969 and 1976-1977. Harry Agganis (1930-1955) distinguished himself in baseball, football, and basketball. Although he was drafted by the Cleveland Browns football team on graduation from Boston University in 1953, he signed with the Boston Red Sox. Jimmy Londos (c. 1895-1975), born Christopher Theophilus, won the world heavyweight wrestling championship on June 25, 1934.

MEDIA

PRINT

Historically, the Greek ethnic press in the United States has kept pace with the needs of Greek Americans, and its presence has contributed to a strong ethnic cohesion in the Greek community. The first Greek American newspaper in the country was *Neos Kosmos* (*New World*), first published in New York by Constantine Phasoularides in September 1897. It was followed by the *Thermopylae*, published by John Booras in 1900. The *Ethnikos Keryx* (*National Herald*), which began publication in New York on April 2, 1915, was one of the few newspapers to have a significant influence on the Greek reading public. Its serious competitors in New York are *Proini* (*Morning News*), which publishes only in Greek, and the *Greek American*, which publishes only in English. In Chicago the *Greek Star* (*Hellenikos Aster*) and the *Greek Press* (*Hellenikos Typos*), both published in Greek and English, still hold a sizable readership.

There are 27 Greek American newspapers in the United States; seven are published in either Greek or English, respectively, and 14 are published

in both languages. The majority focus on community events and church news, as well as on news from Greece and the lobbying activities of Greek American politicians.

Ethnikos Keryx (The National Herald).

Begun in 1915, the *Herald* is the oldest daily newspaper in the Greek language in the United States. Features international, national, and local news and items about Greece of interest to the community.

Contact: Anthony Diamataris, Editor.

Address: 41-17 Crescent Street, Long Island City, New York 11101.

Telephone: (718) 784-5255.

The Greek American.

Widely read English-language publication that focuses on the political events in Greece and in the United States. Publishes a national calendar of events that lists activities taking place in the larger Greek community.

Contact: Tina Maurikos, Editor.

Address: 25-50 Crescent Street, Astoria, New York 11102.

Telephone: (718) 626-7676.

Fax: (718) 956-8076.

Greek Press (Hellenikos Typos).

Founded in 1929 and published bi-weekly in English and Greek, *Greek Press* covers political, educational, and social events, as well as local and international news of interest to the Greek community.

Contact: Helen Angelopoulos, Editor.

Address: 808 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60607.

Telephone: (708) 766-2955.

Fax: (708) 766-3069.

Greek Star (Hellenikos-Aster).

Founded in 1904, *Greek Star* is the oldest continuously published Greek newspaper in the United States. A bi-weekly publication of the United Hellenic American Congregation, it appears in Greek and English and features local and international news of interest to the Greek community in Chicago. Covers news from Cyprus and Greece.

Contact: Nicholas Philippidis, Editor.

Address: 4715 North Lincoln, Chicago, Illinois 60625.

Telephone: (312) 878-7331.

The Hellenic Chronicle.

A weekly English-language publication dedicated to the promulgation of American, Hellenic, and Orthodox ideals. Features political, national, international, and local news of interest to the Greek community. Contains an Entertainment Arts and Social section.

Contact: Nancy Agris Savage, Editor.

Address: 5-6 Franklin Commons, Framingham, Massachusetts 01701-6637.

Telephone: (508) 820-9700.

Fax: (508) 820-0952.

Kampana—Campana.

Founded in 1917, *Campana* is published semi-monthly in Greek and English and features the news from Greece, with information about Greeks abroad. Covers local and community events.

Contact: Costas Athansasiades, Editor.

Address: 30-96 42nd Street, Long Island City (Astoria), New York 11103-3031.

Telephone: (718) 278-3014.

Fax: (718) 278-3023.

Proimi.

Competing with *The National Herald*, this daily publishes community news and news from Greece and Cyprus, sporting events, artistic and cultural events, and editorials.

Contact: Fanny Holliday Petallides, Publisher.

Address: 25-50 Crescent Street, Astoria, New York 11102.

Telephone: (718) 626-7676.

RADIO

WEDC-AM (1240).

“Hellenic American Radio Hour” airs every Saturday, 7:00p.m. to 8:00 p.m. One of the oldest Greek radio shows in the Chicago area (75 years). Features community events, discussion of family problems, religious issues, music, and news from Greece.

Contact: Carmen Castro.

Address: 5475 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60630-1229.

Telephone: (312) 631-0700.

WEFF-AM (1430).

“Greek Orthodox Hours of the Chicago Diocese” airs every Tuesday and Wednesday, 11:00 p.m. to 12:00 a.m. Discusses topics related to the Greek Orthodox church.

Contact: Paula Rekoumis and Sotirios Rekoumis.
Address: 210 Skokie Valley Road, Highland Park,
Illinois 60035.
Telephone: (708) 831-5440.

WNTN-AM (1550).

“Greek Cultural Radio Program of Boston,” a non-commercial, one-hour program that broadcasts twice a week. Features topics relating to Greek heritage, customs, and history. In Greek and English.

Contact: Athanasios Vulgaropoulos.
Address: 143 Rumford Avenue, Newton,
Massachusetts 02166.
Telephone: (617) 969-1550.

WUNR-AM (1600).

“The Other Program,” a talk show where people can call in with questions; “The Athenian Hour,” featuring cultural and news events; “Hellenic Voice of Massachusetts”; “Let Us Sing,” playing selections of Greek music.

Contact: Jane A. Clarke.
Address: 160 North Washington Street, Boston,
Massachusetts 02114-2142.
Telephone: (617) 367-9003.
Fax: (617) 367-2265.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA).

Founded in 1922. The AHEPA is dedicated to the preservation of the Greek national identity in the United States. The oldest Greek fraternal organization in the United States has a membership of more than 500,000 members, with many chapters across the county. It engages in numerous charitable, publishing, and educational activities. It includes the Daughters of Penelope, a women’s auxiliary; the Maids of Athens, a girls’ organization; and the Sons of Pericles, a boys’ organization. Publishes *AHEPAN*, a bimonthly.

Contact: Timothy Mauiatas, Executive Director.
Address: 1909 Q Street, N.W., Suite 500,
Washington, D.C. 20009.
Telephone: (202) 232-6300.
Fax: (202) 232-2140.

Greek Orthodox Ladies Philoptochos Society.

Founded in 1931. The Society promotes the values of the family and the Greek Orthodox faith and

engages in many charitable, educational, and religious activities on behalf of the church. Its membership of more than 400,000 includes women 18 years and older.

Contact: Eve C. Condakes, President.
Address: 345 East 74th Street, New York,
New York 10021-3701.
Telephone: (212) 744-4390.
Fax: (212) 861-1956.

Greek Orthodox Youth Adult League.

Conducts workshops on religious education for Greek youth. Assists the church both nationally and locally, with 6,000 to 10,000 members.

Contact: Tom Kanelos.
Address: 8 East 79th Street, New York,
New York 10021.
Telephone: (212) 570-3560.
Fax: (212) 861-2183.

United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC).

Founded in 1974. The UHAC was established to preserve the cultural traditions of Greece. It coordinates many of the cultural activities of the Greek community in the Chicago area. Every year the UHAC issues a Greek Heritage Calendar of Events and is active in promoting the Greek Independence Day parade. The UHAC was a prominent lobbyist in the Greek American protest against the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

Contact: Andrew Athens, National Chair.
Address: 75 East Wacker Drive, Suite 500,
Chicago, Illinois 60601.
Telephone: (312) 345-1000.
Fax: (312) 345-1025.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Greek-American Folklore Society.

Founded 1983. Society members conduct classes and workshops on traditional dances and songs from every region of Greece. The Society presents hundreds of performances throughout the year and offers exhibits of and lectures on traditional Greek costumes. It coordinates the *Panegyri*, an annual conference of Greek folklore societies, as well as the Hellenic Folk Music Festival. The Society has 50 to 60 members.

Contact: Paul Ginis.
Address: 29-04 Ditmars Boulevard, Astoria, New
York 11105.
Telephone: (718) 728-8048.

Hellenic Cultural Museum at Holy Trinity Cathedral.

Opened on May 3, 1992. The museum is considered to be the first Greek cultural museum in the United States. This "people's museum" contains important collections of scrapbooks, diaries, letters, artifacts, newspapers, and photographs documenting the lives of the Greeks who settled in Utah from 1905 to the present. The museum contains a unique display of mining operations.

Contact: Chris Metos.

Address: 279 South 300 West, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101.

Telephone: (801) 328-9681.

Hellenic Museum and Cultural Center.

Opened 1992. The center preserves original documents, artifacts, and other archival source materials relating to the Greek American immigrant experience. It also collects the artistic works (crafts, embroideries, furniture) of Greek Americans.

Contact: Elaine Kollintzas, Executive Director.

Address: 400 North Franklin Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

Telephone: (312) 467-4622.

Immigration History Research Center.

Located at the University of Minnesota, this center contains important primary source materials on many aspects of the life of Greek immigrants in the United States. The collection includes the papers of the immigrant historian Theodore Salutos.

Contact: Joel Whurl, Curator.

Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.

Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

Saint Photios Foundation.

Founded in 1981. A Greek fraternal organization dedicated to preserving a shrine in Saint Augustine, Florida, commemorating the Greeks of New Smyrna, the first Greeks immigrants to arrive in Ameri-

ca in 1768. The museum has a small library and cultural exhibit.

Contact: Father Dimitrios Couchell.

Address: 41 Saint George Street, Post Office Box 1960, Saint Augustine, Florida 32085.

Telephone: (904) 829-8205.

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Grenadians are known traditionally as a friendly people. A willingness to “lend-a-hand” is not uncommon. Most Grenadian Americans try to maintain an “up-beat” approach to many day-to-day concerns.

GRENADIAN AMERICANS

by
Charlie Jones

OVERVIEW

The country of Grenada is located 1,500 miles (2415 kilometers) south of Miami, Florida, and 200 miles (3220 kilometers) north of the South American continent, in the southeast waters of the Caribbean Sea. Grenada shares its west shoreline with the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean is located on its eastern shoreline. Existing as part of the southernmost Windward Islands of Great Britain, Grenada also comprises the islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique. The total landmass of Grenada encompasses about 133 square miles (345 square kilometers) of territory, making it twice as large as Washington, D.C.

The island itself is home to beautiful picturesque white, sandy beaches, rain forests, and breathtaking lofty mountaintop views. Its long coastline and tropical climate make it an ideal retreat for surfing, fishing, and other relaxing aquatic activities. Grenada’s natural wonders make the islands a much visited tourist destination. The tropical climate also lends itself well to the production of tropical crops such as bananas, cocoa, sugarcane, citrus and other fruits and vegetables. Spices such as cinnamon, nutmeg, and mace also grow well here, thus giving the island its internationally known nickname, “the isle of spice.”

As of July 1998, a population of approximately 96,217 inhabits the islands of Grenada. Most Grenadians speak English. The majority, more than 82 per-

cent, are of black African descent. The rest of the population is a mixture of European, East Indian, and Native Indian persons. Most Grenadians are of the Roman Catholic faith (53 percent), with Protestant sects comprising about 47 percent of the population. The Government is a parliamentary democracy consisting of three branches, executive, legislative and judicial. In 1999, the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom, served as head of state, with Dr. Keith Mitchell, the prime minister, acting as the head of the government.

HISTORY

The Ciboney Indians from South America settled the islands around 4000 B.C. Several centuries later the Arawak Indians settled the island. During the period 1000 to 1300 A.D. the Carib Indians arrived on the island, which they called "Camerhogne," and killed or enslaved the Arawaks. Christopher Columbus sighted the island in 1498 but did not land there. He called the island "Concepcion." It is not clear how the island received its current name, "Grenada" (pronounced "Gruh-NAY-duh"). Some scholars believe Columbus's sailors called the island Granada. Others believe the Spanish renamed the island for the city of Granada, Spain. Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century the name "Grenada" was in common use.

Due in part to the defensive capabilities of the Carib Indians, Grenada remained uncolonized by European countries for most of the sixteenth century and half of the seventeenth century. However, by 1650 a French company purchased the island from the British and established a settlement in the islands. The Carib Indians resisted the French settlers. The French consequently brought in military reinforcements and slaughtered the Carib population. The French controlled the island until British forces captured it in 1762. The British regained control Grenada through the Treaty of Paris in 1763, under which the French ceded the island to Great Britain. Although the French regained control of Grenada in 1779, the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 restored the island to Britain.

Grenada's climate made it ideal for growing sugar, nutmeg, cocoa and other spices, and in the eighteenth century slave labor was considered key to the production of these and other commercially valuable crops. Black Africans were therefore imported to Grenada in large numbers to work on plantations as slaves. Both the British and French made use of African slaves to support agricultural production on the Island of Grenada. In 1833, the British government outlawed slavery, ending its institution.

MODERN ERA

Between 1855 and 1958 the British governing body of the Windward Islands was headquartered on Grenada. In 1877 Grenada became an official British colony. From 1900 to 1945 West Indians throughout the Caribbean developed even stronger ties to labor movements. Labor strikes occurred among sugar harvesters in Saint Kitts, coal miners in Saint Lucia, and oil field workers fields in Trinidad. All struck for higher wages and better working conditions.

From 1958 to 1962 Grenada was a member of the West Indian Federation. By 1967 Grenada had become self-governing in association with the United Kingdom. Grenada gained its independence on February 7, 1974 under the leadership of Eric Gairy, a labor unionist turned politician.

The first prime minister of Grenada, Eric Gairy, governed in a somewhat heavy-handed manner. In March of 1979 a coup d'etat occurred, bringing to power Maurice Bishop. Under his People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), Bishop served as a popular leader. Many still consider him a national hero. The PRG began forming ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union. Some members of the PRG were not satisfied with the leadership of the PRG and the direction it was taking, and under General Hudson Austin and Bernard Coard an internal coup took place, which resulted in the execution of Maurice Bishop and other key government officials.

Using the pretext of government instability and protection of U.S. citizens, the U.S. government under President Ronald Reagan along with other nations of the Caribbean invaded the island of Grenada in 1983. Military power was used to force a change from the government's communist bent to a more prodemocratic form of government. Elections were held in 1984, and the peacekeeping nations of Jamaica and Barbados departed by 1985, along with the U.S. Marines.

The Grenadian elections of 1990 did not result in a clear mandate for any one political party. The 1995 elections saw Dr. Keith Mitchell's New National Party receiving the most votes, and Dr. Mitchell became the prime minister. Mitchell's administration has sought ties with Cuba and the United States, and Mitchell has been working to end drug trafficking by the creation of a Grenadian Coast Guard based on Petite Martinique.

THE FIRST GRENADIANS IN AMERICA

In comparison to other ethnic groups entering the United States from Europe, little formal informa-

tion regarding eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Grenadian immigration to the United States exists. Indeed, it is very difficult to find any substantiated information regarding Grenadian citizens entering the United States willingly before the mid-nineteenth century. Some information that seems to suggest that a few black African slaves may have been imported from Grenada to the United States in the early nineteenth century. Most of these Grenadians would have been settled in the southeastern portion of the United States, where slavery existed and there was a great need for labor in support of tobacco, rice and other crops. As U.S. importation of slaves from Africa continued, a dependency on Grenadian slaves would have ceased. Therefore, after the British slave trade ended in 1834, there is no record of Grenadians arriving in the United States for many decades.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Grenadians began immigrating to the United States after the turn of the twentieth century. They settled in urban areas of the northeastern United States, according to Paula Aymer's article in *American Immigrant Cultures*, by "apprenticing on [U.S.] boats that transported bananas from Central America via Barbados and jumping ship once they docked in New York or Boston." The number of Grenadians coming to the United States in this manner amounted only to a few hundred, perhaps around three hundred.

Records of the U.S. immigration from 1900 through the 1930s indicate only a few Grenadians entering the United States as immigrants. By comparison to European immigration figures, their numbers were extremely low. Immigration from Grenada to the United States increased after the war years of the 1940s. Again, the number of Grenadians allowed to enter the United States legally was very low. This increase nevertheless occurred through the immigration of Grenadian women to the United States in the late 1950s. Grenadian women worked as nurses and/or domestics in the oil-rich areas of Venezuela, Aruba, and Curaçao. During the mid-1950s, when the Grenadian oil refineries were mechanized and downsized operationally, a group of Grenadian oil workers were allowed entrance into the United States as immigrants. According to Paula Aymer, "these restless men and women were determined to find their way into the United States, and they used various means. Some had made important job connections while working in the oil enclave or on the naval base (at Chaguaramas, Trinidad) and had been given references by American employers. Others

had sent their children to [U.S.] schools, and once these children found jobs and sponsors to help them with the immigration requirements, they applied for permanent residence for their parents. Still others first found work on oil refineries in the United States Virgin Islands, or traveled first to England, and from there found their way, often via Canada, into the United States."

Canadian-sponsored live-in maid programs for people of the Caribbean also enabled a few hundred Grenadian women to enter the United States as immigrants. These women settled in parts of Washington, D.C., New York, and Boston after serving the mandatory two-year requirement of the Canadian program. During the 1960s the United States developed its own program that sponsored domestic workers from the Caribbean. Hundreds of Grenadian woman entered the United States as live-in domestics in the northeastern section of the country, particularly in the New York area.

A much larger number of Grenadians immigrated to the United States after the U.S. Congress passed the Hart-Celler Immigration Reform Act of 1965. This law shifted favoritism in immigration from Europe to Caribbean nations, as the U.S. government found this foreign policy more advantageous due to a revived interest in the Caribbean region.

According to statistics of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, in the period between 1960 and 1980 a total of 10,391 Grenadians entered the United States legally. Between 1971 and 1984 just over 12,000 Grenadian immigrants entered New York. Since 1984, according to *American Immigrant Cultures*, approximately 850 Grenadians have legally entered the United States each year. Again, the number of Grenadians allowed to enter the United States was very low, by comparison to European immigrants entering the United States, but greater than the number allowed earlier in the century.

Grenadians moved to the United States for a number of reasons, ranging from better economic conditions in the United States to a desire to live with relatives who immigrated to America earlier. While living in the United States, many Grenadians maintain contact with family members still residing on the island. A large number of Grenadian Americans visit relatives on the island constantly and islanders fly to the United States to visit relatives living on the continent. Some of these visitors from the island use their visit as a means of illegal entry into the United States. These persons find jobs in the United States or attend schools in the United States and do not return to Grenada.

As Grenadians moved to the United States, older immigrants continued to maintain many tra-

ditional Grenadian customs and values, while younger Grenadian Americans began taking on more traditional American customs and values, in particular those of African Americans.

Even though this change in values was occurring, contact with and support for Grenadians on the island remained high. Many organizations have been set up by Grenadian Americans in the United States whose main objective is to send monies for support back to the Island.

By the 1970s and 1980s many Grenadians who emigrated from Grenada to the United States were not leaving the island primarily for economic reasons. Instead, another reason for entering the United States was political; many disapproved of Grenada's shift away from prodemocratic values to political ideas associated with communism.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Grenadian Americans have many traditions, customs and beliefs, some dating as far back as their ancestral ties to Africa. Upon leaving Grenada for the United States, Grenadians did not quickly change their beliefs, traditions or customs too rapidly. Most Grenadian Americans are descendants of African slaves. Other Grenadians ethnic groups are mulattos (mixture of black and European), East Indians (who are descended from laborers who worked on plantations after the slaves were freed), and whites of European origin. Immigrating to the United States has in many cases meant moving into neighborhoods dominated by African American culture. Consequently, many Grenadian immigrants have shared and integrated their culture with that of African Americans.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Grenadians are known traditionally as a friendly people. A willingness to lend a hand is not uncommon. Most Grenadian Americans try to maintain an upbeat approach to many day-to-day concerns. Difficult circumstances involving other persons rarely lead to prolonged bitter feelings. Grenadian Americans like to work as a group to strengthen their neighborhood and community. The philosophy of community support and shared work in a spirit of cooperation is called a "maroon" by those Grenadian Americans who remember this lifestyle from their days of living on the island. This lifestyle has been brought to America by some Grenadians and is practiced in some Grenadian neighborhoods.

Grenadian Americans believe that dressing well while in public is very important. Pride is exhibited in choice of clothing for social events such as going to church. Bright colors are customary. Sloppy dress in public, especially among adult Grenadian Americans, is looked upon as inappropriate. While in private, a more casual dress style is considered acceptable. For example, walking barefoot is common.

Most Grenadians like to chat and socialize with friends. Visiting is very common and reinforces the friendly approach Grenadians have toward people in general and other Grenadians in particular. When on a visit to a friend or family member's home, it is customary to be offered some sort of refreshment to eat or drink. One should not be too quick to refuse such offers; Grenadian Americans sometimes feel that to refuse an offer of refreshment is impolite.

Traditionally, women socialize by spending many volunteer hours doing church activities with friends. Men on the other hand, socialize more at work and at sporting events. Funerals are considered social gatherings by Grenadian Americans, which traditionally require men to dress in suits, usually black, while women dress in black or white dresses and hats. Socialization at such events usually continues long after the formal funeral procession and graveside activities have concluded.

CUISINE

Being from "the isle of spice" has influenced Grenadian American cuisine, especially its heavily spiced flavor. Grenadian Americans will use hot pepper sauces, curries and other spices while cooking. Corn, rice, and peas are eaten with meats such as chicken, fish, pork, and beef. Seafood is very popular among Grenadian Americans. Iguana and *manicou*, (a type of opossum) are also enjoyed. Fruits are a favorite among Grenadians as well. Bananas, grapefruit, coconuts, and papaya are purchased by Grenadians living throughout the United States. Barbecues and roasted foods are also enjoyed among Grenadians.

DANCES AND SONGS

When Grenadian Americans came to the United States, they brought their music with them. One style, called *calypso*, is influenced by African music and consists of singing and dancing. The lyrics deal with issues including love, humor, politics, and controversial current events. The musical beat is somewhat African in sound. The origins of calypso have

been traced to West Indian slave singing. This form of music and its lyrics were apparently used as a form of slave communication. Primitive instruments such as the bamboo pipe, flute, and specially carved gourds are still used in performing calypso music today. Some of today's Grenadian American calypso bands also use electric guitars, maracas, and steel drums.

While listening to calypso music, many of those being entertained like to dance the limbo, a dance very popular among Grenadian Americans. This dance consists of bending backward in such a way as to allow for wiggling of the body while passing beneath an elongated pole. Success means clearing the pole without touching the floor or pole with any part of the body. The pole is continually lowered after each dancer successfully passes under it. A dancer is eliminated from the dance when he or she is unable to clear the lowered pole successfully. This dance, as with the music, seems to have originated from Africa.

The playing of steel drums is also popular among Grenadian American bands. Indeed, Grenadian steel drum bands exist in the United States and are often heard at U.S. Grenadian American festivals. This form of music seems to have originated in Trinidad, but it is quite popular on the Grenadian Island.

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Cricket and football (soccer) teams are abundant on the West Indian islands. Upon arriving in the United States, Grenadians brought their passion for football, which is called soccer in the United States, and the British game of cricket with them. Many Grenadian Americans who grew up in the islands learned to play cricket and/or football, and some played on professional teams. This explains why so many Grenadians enjoy these two forms of recreation in particular.

Other sports enjoyed by Grenadians include basketball and track and field. Grenadian Americans also practice aquatic activities such as fishing, diving, swimming, and sailing.

Many Grenadians learn to play guitar, violin, and drums, and private playing of these instruments for enjoyment is a wonderful and much enjoyed pastime for many Grenadian Americans.

HOLIDAYS

Grenadian Americans celebrate the traditional Christian religious holidays of Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter. The Eastern Orthodox holidays of Whitmonday and Corpus Christi are also celebrat-

ed. Many Grenadian Americans also celebrate the secular holidays of Grenada. These include Independence Day (celebrated February 7) and Emancipation Day (celebrated the first Monday in August). In addition, Grenadians enjoy carnivals, which may be held throughout the year. Carnivals are usually festive occasions commemorating special events in the history of Grenada. They usually involve street dancing, concerts, and parades.

Some Grenadians living in America also honor Grenadian thanksgiving. On the Grenadian islands, thanksgiving is observed in relationship to the 1983 United States invasion of the island, which was intended to restore order and democracy to Grenada. This observance is usually marked by official ceremonies.

LANGUAGE

Grenadian Americans speak English. However, some of their English expressions differ from American English expressions. For example, Grenadian Americans prefer "Happy Christmas" over the expression "Merry Christmas." A "bounce" in Grenadian English is a reference to a car accident, while "now for now" means "urgent" to the Grenadian American.

Informal Grenadian English is a combination of French, English, and African *patois*, which is sometimes referred to as "creole" or "broken English." Grenadian patois is different from that spoken on the other Windward Islands that make up Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique. The dialect does not have a past or future tense. To indicate tense, body gestures are used. Among those Grenadians entering America, patois is sometimes spoken until the language is infused with the English spoken in America. This, in some instances, means an infusion with the English spoken in African American urban neighborhoods or other ethnic neighborhoods where Grenadian Americans live and socialize. Most Grenadians do not like to hear outsiders speak patois. Children are therefore asked to use standard English when speaking publicly.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Grenadian Americans will speak to a friend when passing on the street. Not to do so is considered disrespectful. As is the American way, Grenadian Americans generally prefer to greet another person with a traditional handshake. It is also very common to end a conversation by saying "later." Gesturing with the hands is also a Grenadian American cus-

tom. The “thumbs up” usually means “good,” “great,” or “I agree.” Waving the hand back and forth at waist level, palm down, means “no” or “I disagree.”

The expressions of American teenagers are being incorporated into Grenadian American greetings. It is not uncommon to hear Grenadian Americans greet another by saying “W’s happ nen,” with the response being “cool,” meaning “everything is all right.” These expressions may derive from Grenadian immigrants associating with African Americans as neighbors. Many Grenadian American and African American traditions, customs, and values are merging in American cultural society.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Grenadian American families may consist of parents, children, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins living within the same home. While all Grenadian families are not necessarily large, the norm of the extended family is real among many Grenadian families living in the United States. Children often are raised by the female head of the family. Male duties usually include working outside the home to provide income for the family. Grenadian American women also desire to work outside the home and provide for the household as well. Many Grenadian children live at home well past the age of adulthood. Each family member has a job to do to maintain the family within the home.

EDUCATION

Grenadians take education seriously, viewing it as a means to advancement in America. Children are expected to attend schools daily, as American law requires. Most attend public schools, but a few attend private schools, mostly parochial. Many adults also are returning to school to receive either technical training or to receive a high school diploma. The literacy rate of Grenada is around 98 percent. College attendance among Grenadian Americans is growing. Many Grenadians are in America for the purpose of attending school and/or college. After graduation, many choose to remain in America, taking a spouse and raising a family. Some however, return to the island of Grenada to help others on the island.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Grenadian American families on average are generally somewhat smaller on average than the four to

five children per family found on the island of Grenada. This may be due in part to a desire of Grenadian American women to enter the American workforce, thereby giving up larger families. Also, some Grenadian women are single mothers, as many Grenadian children are born out of wedlock and sometimes fathers leave the home.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Grenadians usually meet in places of American social gatherings. These include restaurants, educational facilities, dance halls, entertainment venues and sporting venues. Grenadian Americans usually do not display affection publicly. Most couples generally like to live together before committing to marriage, and some couples prefer to live together instead of marrying.

When weddings do occur, they are very festive. After the church ceremony, the reception is enjoyed by all, with plenty of food, music and dancing. Gifts are also provided for the newlyweds. A honeymoon vacation sometimes follows the reception, when financially possible.

RELIGION

Most Grenadians, 53 percent, are Roman Catholic. Protestant sects are many and make up about 33 percent of the population. Islam is also practiced by some Grenadian Americans. A small number of Grenadians practice a faith known as Rastafarianism. Those who practice Rastas, generally believe that Haile Selassie, emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974, was a god. They also consider marijuana to be a sacred herb, and that all Afro-West Indians must move eventually to Ethiopia, which is viewed by Rastas believers as “the promised land.”

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Americans from Grenada maintain close ties with their former country. News concerning political and governmental activities comes to America from radio, newspapers, and television. Conversations by phone with friends and family also help Grenadian Americans know what the current state of affairs in Grenada. Most American Grenadians supported the 1983 invasion of Grenada by the United States, ostensibly to restore democracy.

Those living in the United States constantly express concern for helping islanders. According to a news release from the office of the Grenadian prime minister dated January 28, 1999, on January

27, 1999, nearly 300 Grenadian Americans met with Prime Minister Mitchell in Boston to ask how they could become involved in assisting with the development of Grenada. He responded by saying that they could help by “providing more training opportunities for young Grenadians in American learning institutions, as well as supplying computers and assisting with technology transfer to improve the working skills of Grenadians.” To meet this challenge, Bostonian Grenadian Americans plan to adopt a school in Grenada and donate equipment and supplies on an annual basis. Americans from Grenada have always demonstrated a willingness to aid their countrymen on the island.

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G U A M A N I A N A M E R I C A N S

by
Jane E. Spear

The music of the
Guamanian culture
is simple, rhythmic,
and tells the stories
and legends of the
island's history.

OVERVIEW

Guam, or *Guahan*, (translated as “we have”) as it was known in the ancient Chamorro language, is the southernmost and largest island of the Mariana Islands, in the west central Pacific. Located about 1,400 miles east of the Philippines, it is approximately 30 miles long, and varies in width from four miles to 12 miles. The island has a total landmass of 212 square miles, without calculating reef formations, and was formed when two volcanoes joined. In fact, Guam is the peak of a submerged mountain that rises 37,820 feet above the bottom of the Marianas Trench, the greatest ocean depth in the world. Guam has been a territory of the United States since 1898, and is the furthest west of all U.S. territories in the Pacific. Lying west of the International Dateline, it is one day ahead in time than the rest of the United States. (The International Dateline is the designated imaginary line drawn north and south through the Pacific Ocean, primarily along the 180th meridian, that by international agreement marks the calendar day for the world.) Guam’s official slogan, “Where America’s Day Begins,” highlights its geographical position.

According to the 1990 census, Guam’s population was 133,152, up from 105,979 in 1980. The population represents the Guamanians, who account for only half of Guam residents, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and North Americans. The majority of North Americans are either U.S. military personnel

or support staff. As residents of a U.S. territory, Guamanians on the island are U.S. citizens with a U.S. passport. They elect a representative to the Congress of the United States, but citizens do not vote in the Presidential election. The representative who sits in the House votes only in committees, but does not vote on general issues.

The island's population is centered in Agana, the island's capital since ancient times. The city has a population of 1,139 and the surrounding Agana Heights' population is 3,646. The city was re-built after World War II, following two years of occupation by Japanese forces. In addition to the government buildings, the centerpiece of the city is the *Dulce Nombre de Maria* (Sweet Name of Mary) Cathedral Basilica. The cathedral is located on the site of the island's first Catholic church, which was constructed in 1669 by the Spanish settlers, directed by Padre San Vitores. The original church was destroyed by bombing during the Allied American forces' retaking Guam in 1944. Today the cathedral is the church of most of the islanders, the majority of whom are Roman Catholic.

The Seventh Day Adventists are the other major religious denomination on the island, active in Guam since the American reoccupation in 1944. They represent approximately one-fifth of Guamanians on the island. Spanish explorers brought Roman Catholicism to the island. Early Spanish and Portuguese missionaries to the Americas sought to convert the natives to Catholicism. These missionaries taught native Guamanians the Spanish language and customs, as well.

Other settlements are located in Sinajana, Tamnunging, and Barrigada, at the center of the island. The Anderson (U.S.) Air Force Base, a major presence on the island, temporarily housed refugees from Vietnam in 1975, after the fall of Saigon to the northern Vietnamese Communists.

The official Guam flag represents the history of the island. The flag's blue field serves as a background for the Great Seal of Guam, representing Guam's unity with the sea and the sky. A red strip surrounding the Guam seal is a reminder of the blood shed by the Guamanian people. The seal itself has very distinctive meanings in each of the visual symbols pictured: the pointed, egg-like shape of the seal represents a Chamorro sling stone quarried from the island; the coconut tree depicted represents self-sustenance and the ability to grow and survive under adverse circumstances; the flying *proa*, a seagoing canoe built by the Chamorro people, which required skill to build and sail; the river symbolizes the willingness to share the bounty of the land with others; the land mass is a reminder of

the Chamorro's commitment to their environment—sea and land; and the name Guam, the home of the Chamorro people.

HISTORY

Guam was the earliest settlement of a Pacific island. Archaeological and historical evidence has indicated that the ancient Chamorros, the earliest known inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, lived there as early as 1755 B.C. These people were of Mayo-Indonesian descent and originated in southeast Asia. Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan reportedly landed at Umatac Bay on the southwestern coast of Guam on March 6, 1521, following a 98-day voyage from South America. One member of that expedition, by the last name of Pifigetta described the Chamorros at that time as being tall, big-boned, and robust with tawny brown skin and long black hair. The Chamorro population at the time of the first Spanish landing was estimated to be 65,000 to 85,000. Spain took formal control of Guam and the other Mariana Islands in 1565, but used the island only as a stopover point on the way from Mexico to the Philippines until the first missionaries arrived in 1688. By 1741, following periods of famine, Spanish conquest wars, and new diseases introduced by the explorers and settlers, the Chamorro population was reduced to 5,000.

Long before the Spanish arrived, the Chamorros maintained a simple and primitive civilization. They sustained themselves primarily through agriculture, hunting and fishing. In prehistoric times, the Chamorros dug up warriors' and leaders' (known as *maga lahis*) bones one year after their burial and used them to make spear points for hunting. They believed that ancestral spirits, or *taotaomonas*, assisted them in hunting, fishing and warfare against the Spaniards. The average age of adult death at that time was 43.5 years.

According to Gary Heathcote, of the University of Guam, Douglas Hanson, of the Forsyth Institute for Advance Research in Boston, and Bruce Anderson of the Army Central Identification Lab of Hickam Air Force Base in Hawaii, 14 to 21 percent of these ancient warriors "were unique with respect to all human populations, past and present by the presence of cranial outgrowths on the backs of Chamoru [Chamorro] skulls where the tendons of trapezius shoulder muscles attach." The information provided by Guam's official cultural page adds that the study indicated these characteristics were found only in indigenous (native) Mariana Islanders, and later on Tonga. The causes for such a body structure points to the following facts about the natives: 1) carrying

heavy loads at the sides; 2) power lifting heavy loads with neck forwardly flexed; 3) mining/limestone quarrying; 4) transporting heavy loads by use of a tumpline (a broad band passed across the forehead and over the shoulders to support a pack on the back); 5) long-distance canoeing and navigation; and, 6) underwater swimming/spear fishing.

The Latte Stone of Guam gave further insight into Guam's ancient past. They are stone pillars of ancient houses, constructed in two pieces. One was the supporting column, or *halagi*, topped with a capstone, or *tasa*. These have been only on the Mariana Islands. Latte Park is located in the capital city of Agana, the stones having been moved from their original location at Me'pu, on Guam's southern interior. The ancient natives buried the bones of their ancestors under these, as well as jewelry or canoes they might have owned. The social structure of the Chamorros was divided into three groups. These were the Matua, the nobility, who lived along the coast; the Mana'chang, the lower caste, who lived in the interior; and, the third, a caste of medicine, or spirit Manmakahnas. The warring struggles existed between the Matua and Mana'chang before the Spanish landed. The two castes, according to missionary accounts, settled the island in two separate immigration waves, explaining their conflicting co-existence. These were the ancestors of present-day Guamanians, who eventually mixed blood with various settlers, including Asians, Europeans, and peoples from the Americas.

The Spanish administered Guam as a part of the Philippines. Trade developed with the Philippines and with Mexico, but for native Guamanians, whose numbers were brutalized by the conquering country, survival occurred at subsistence levels throughout the Spanish rule. They were considered a colony of Spain, yet did not enjoy the economic progress that Spain cultivated in other colonies. The Jesuit missionaries, however, taught the Chamorros to cultivate maize (corn), raise cattle, and tan hides.

MODERN ERA

The Treaty of Paris, which designated the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, ceded Guam to the United States. After ruling Guam for more than 375 years, Spain relinquished their control. U.S. President William McKinley placed Guam under the administration of the Department of the Navy. The naval government brought improvements to the islanders through agriculture, public health and sanitation, education, management of land, taxes, and public works.

Immediately following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Japan occupied Guam. The island was renamed "Omiya Jima," or "Great Shrine Island." Throughout the occupation, Guamanians remained loyal to the United States. In a plea to include Guam's inclusion in the World War II Memorial planned as an addition to the other memorials in the nation's capital, Delegate Robert A. Underwood (D-Guam) noted that, "The years 1941 to 1944 were a time of great hardship and privation for the Chamorros of Guam. Despite the brutality of the Japanese occupying forces, the Chamorros, who were American nationals, remained steadfastly loyal to the United States. Consequently, their resistance and civil disobedience to conquest further contributed to the brutality of the occupation." Underwood went on to point out that hundreds of young Guamanian men have served in the U.S. armed forces. "Six of Guam's young men are entombed in the USS Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor," Underwood said. "During the defense of Wake Island, dozens of young men from Guam, who were working for Pan American and the U.S. Navy, gallantly participated alongside Marines in combat against the Japanese invaders." Liberation Day came on July 21, 1944; but the war continued for three more weeks and claimed thousands of lives before Guam was again quiet and restored to American rule. Until the end of the war on September 2, 1945, Guam was used as a command post for U.S. Western Pacific operations.

On May 30, 1946, the naval government was re-established and the United States began rebuilding Guam. The capital city of Agana was bombed heavily during the recapture of the island from the Japanese, and had to be completely rebuilt. U.S. military build-up also began. Mainland Americans, many of them connected to the military, surged into Guam. In 1949 President Harry S. Truman signed the Organic Act, which established Guam as an unincorporated territory, with limited self-rule. In 1950, Guamanians were given U.S. citizenship. In 1962 President John F. Kennedy lifted the Naval Clearing Act. Consequently, western and Asian cultural groups moved to Guam, and made it their permanent home. Filipinos, Americans, Europeans, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Indian, and other Pacific Islanders were included in that group. When Pan American Airways began air service from Japan in 1967, the tourism industry for the island also began.

THE FIRST GUAMANIAN ON THE AMERICAN MAINLAND

Since 1898 Guamanians have arrived on the United States mainland in small numbers, primarily set-

This Guamanian boy has enjoyed a day of playing outside.



tling in California. Guamanians who began migrating to the mainland United States following World War II, some of whom worked for the U.S. government or military, represented more significant numbers. By 1952 Guamanians living in the Washington, D.C. area established The Guam Territorial Society, later known as The Guam Society of America. The Chamorros had moved to Washington to work for the Department of Defense and military operations, and for the educational opportunities afforded them through citizenship. In 1999, family memberships in The Guam Society of America numbered 148. Guamanians in the United States have settled throughout Hawaii, California, and Washington State, in addition to Washington, D.C. Due to their citizenship status, once a Guamanian moves to one of the 50 states, and is considered a resident, full benefits of citizenship can be enjoyed, including the right to vote.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Guamanians do not represent a large number of people. Even with the 1997 estimate of 153,000 Guam residents, with 43 percent of them native Guamanians, immigration by any standards would be different from the vast numbers of immigrants from other cultural groups, past and present. Not until the 2000 census would Pacific Islanders as a whole be separated from Asians in the count. Until then, statistics of the number of Guamanians, especially those living in the United States itself, are difficult to determine.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Under Spanish rule, the native Chamorros were expected to adopt Spanish customs, and religion. For some of them, that proved deadly, as they succumbed to the European diseases the Spanish brought with them. They managed to maintain their identity, even as the population diminished throughout the years of struggle with their Spanish conquerors. The ancient customs, legends, and language remained alive among their descendants throughout Guam and the United States. Because the Chamorro culture was matrilineal, with descent traced through the mother's line, a fact unrecognized by the Spanish when they removed young male warriors through battle, or displaced from their island homes, the traditions did not die. The matriarchs, or *I Maga Hagas*, represented the strength of the Chamorros throughout the years of Spanish conquest and through modern times, when assimilation threatened the culture. Furthermore, the village churches have remained the center of village life since the seventeenth century.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Ancient Chamorro legends reveal the heart and soul of native Guamanian identity. The Guamanians believe they were born of the islands themselves. The name of the city of Agana, known as *Hagatna* in the Chamorro language, is from the tale of the formation of the islands. Agana was the capital and the seat of government of the island since recorded history there began. The ancient Chamorro legends tell the story of the island's beginnings. Fu'una used the parts of the body of her dying brother, Puntan, to create the world. His eyes were the sun and moon, his eyebrows were rainbows, his chest the sky and his back the earth. Then Fu'una turned herself into a rock, from which all humans originated. *Agana*, or *Hagatna*, means blood. It is the lifeblood of the larger body called Guahan, or Guam. *Hagatna* is the lifeblood of the government. In fact, most of the parts of the island refer to the human body; for example, *Urunao*, the head; *Tuyan*, the belly; and *Barrigada*, the flank.

According to the Guam Culture webpage, "The core culture, or *Kostumbren Chamoru*, was comprised of complex social protocol centered upon respect." These ancient customs included kissing the hands of elders; the passing of legends, chants, courtship rituals; canoe making; the making of the *Belembautuyan*, a stringed musical instrument; making slings and sling stones; burial rituals, prepara-

tion of herbal medicines by *suruhanas*, and a person requesting forgiveness from spiritual ancestors upon entering a jungle.

The chewing of betelnut, also known in Chamorro as *Pugua*, or *Mama'on*, is a tradition passed from grandparent to grandchild. The tree that produces the hard nuts is the *areca catechu*, and resembles a thin coconut palm tree. Guamanians and other Pacific Islanders chew betelnuts as Americans chew gum. Sometimes, betel leaves are also chewed along with the nuts. The leaves of the tree has a green pepper taste. Each island has its own species, and each species tastes different from each other. Guamanian islanders chew the hard red-colored nut variety called *ugam*, due to its fine, granular texture. When that is out of season, the coarse white *changnga* is chewed instead. This is an old tradition that Chamorros do not question, but include naturally as a part of any social event. Friends and strangers alike are invited to partake. Archaeological investigations of prehistoric skeletons show that ancient Chamorros also had betel-stained teeth. And as with their modern counterparts, the changes that occur in the enamel of the teeth, are what also prevents cavities. Chamorros usually chew Betelnut after a meal, often mixed with powdered lime and wrapped in the peppery leaves.

Another important tradition to Guamanians and other Pacific Islanders was canoe building, or carving. For the ancient Chamorros, navigation of rough waters was a spiritual undertaking as much as it initially served other purposes in hunting, fishing and travel. Modern day Pacific Islanders again embrace the tradition as another part of restoring their cultural history.

Inafa'maolek, or interdependence, was at the root of Chamorro culture, and was passed on even to modern generations who left the island. Guamanians working to help defend America from the Japanese during World War II demonstrated this spirit in their concern for not only their own welfare, but that of the United States. The following proverb sums up these various customs: "*I erensia, lina'la', espiiritu-ta*,"—"Our heritage gives life to our spirit."

CUISINE

Native island delicacies constituted the original simple diet of the Chamorros. The island provided fresh fish, *escabeche*, shrimp patties, red rice, coconut, *ahu*, bananas, *bonelos*, and other tropical fruits. A hot sauce native to Guam, *finadene*, remained a favorite spice alongside fish. The sauce is made with soy sauce, lemon juice or vinegar, hot peppers, and onions. As Asians settled on the

island, Chinese and Japanese food combined with other ethnic cuisine provided a variety of foods. Guamanian celebrations throughout the island and the United States usually include fish, or the dish *kelaguen*, made from chopped broiled chicken, lemon juice, grated coconut, and hot peppers. The Filipino noodle dish, *pancit*, along with barbecued ribs and chicken, have become popular among Guamanians during celebrations.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Native costumes were typical of many other Pacific islands. Natural fibers from the island were woven into short cloths for the men, and grass skirts and blouses for the women. In celebrations, Chamorro women also adorned their hair with flowers. The Spanish influence appears in the *mestiza*, a style of clothing village women still wear.

DANCES AND SONGS

The music of the Guamanian culture is simple, rhythmic, and tells the stories and legends of the island's history. The *Belembautuyan*, made from a hollow gourd and strung with taut wire, is a stringed musical instrument native to Guam. The nose flute, an instrument from ancient times, made a return at the end of the twentieth century. The Chamorros style of singing was born from their workday. The *Kantan* started with one person giving a four-line chant, often a teasing verse to another person in the group of workers. That person would pick up the song, and continue in the same fashion. The songs could continue this way for hours.

Other contemporary songs and dances also represented the many cultures that settled in Guam. The folk dances of the Chamorros portrayed the legends about the ancient spirits, doomed lovers leaping to their death off Two Lovers' Point (*Puntan Dos Amantes*) or about Sirena, the beautiful young girl who became a mermaid. The official Song of Guam, written by Dr. Ramon Sablan in English and translated into Chamoru, speaks of Guamanians' faith and perseverance:

*Stand ye Guamanians, for your country
And sing her praise from shore to shore
For her honor, for her glory
Exalt our Island forever more
May everlasting peace reign o'er us
May heaven's blessing to us come
Against all perils, do not forsake us
God protect our Isle of Guam
Against all perils, do not forsake us
God protect our Isle of Guam.*

HOLIDAYS

Guamanians are U.S. citizens, and therefore celebrate all of the major U.S. holidays, especially July 4th. Liberation Day, July 21, celebrates the day that American forces landed on Guam during World War II and marked an end to Japanese occupation. The first Monday in March is celebrated as Guam Discovery Day. On the island itself, due to the dominance of Roman Catholicism, the feast of saints and other Church holy days are observed. Each of the 19 villages has its own patron saint, and each holds a fiesta, or festival, in that saint's honor on the feast day. The entire village celebrates with Mass, a procession, dancing, and food.

HEALTH ISSUES

An issue of major concern to most native Guamanians and Guamanian Americans is Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis, or ALS, a disease also known as Lou Gehrig's disease, named after the famous New York Yankee ballplayer who lost his life to it. The incidence of ALS among Guamanians is disproportionately high when compared to other cultural groups—enough so to have one strain of the disease called “Guamanian.” Records from the Guam from 1947 to 1952 indicate that all of the patients admitted for ALS were Chamorro. According to Oliver Sacks in *The Island of the Colorblind*, even the Chamorros who had migrated to California showed the incidence of *lytico-bodig*, the native term for the disease that affects muscle control and is ultimately fatal. Sacks noted that the researcher John Steele, a neurologist who had devoted his career to practicing throughout Micronesia during the 1950s also noted that these Chamorros often did not contract the disease until 10 or 20 years after their migration. The non-Chamorros immigrants seemed to develop the disease 10 or 20 years after they moved to Guam. Neither the discovery of the disease's origins or a cure for it had been occurred by the end of the twentieth century. Although many causes have been hypothesized regarding why the incidence is high among Chamorros, a conclusion has yet to be made.

An American Association of Retired Persons study indicated that U.S. Pacific Islanders over age 65 show a higher incidence of cancer, hypertension, and tuberculosis; the study did separate the various cultures represented to indicate the validity of those figures specific to Guamanians. An explanation for the higher incidence of these diseases is that older Pacific Islanders—due to financial reasons and ancient customs and superstitions—are less likely to consult a physician at a time when these diseases might be controlled.

LANGUAGE

Chamoru, the ancient language of the Chamorros on Guam, and English are both official languages in Guam. Chamoru remains intact as younger generations continue to learn and speak it. The Guam Society of America is responsible for heightening awareness of the language in the United States. Chamorus' origins can be traced back 5,000 years and belongs to the western group of the Austronesian language family. The languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Palau, are all included in this group. Since Spanish and American influences merged on the island, the Chamoru language has evolved to include many Spanish and English words. Besides Spanish and English, other immigrants to Guam brought their own languages, including Filipino, Japanese, and many other Asian and Pacific Islander tongues. An important Chamoru expression is *Hafa Adai*, which is translated as “Welcome.” For the hospitable Guamanians, nothing is as important as welcoming friends and strangers to their country, and to their homes.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Guamanians in the United States and on the island view family as the center of cultural life, and extend that to the community surrounding them. As expressed, the notion of interdependence among everyone in a community is vital to the cooperation that runs a society. Chamorro culture is a matriarchy, meaning that the women are central to the culture's survival. In ancient times, men were traditionally warriors, leaving women to run the operation of daily life. In modern culture, especially in America, where education has offered the Guamanians greater opportunity to improve their economic status, women and men work together to support the family.

Due to the Catholicism practiced by most Guamanians, weddings, baptisms, and funerals are celebrated with solemn significance. The Chamorro customs have blended with the customs of other cultures settled there, and those of the mainland United States. The respect of elders remains a time-honored practice observed among Guamanians. Some ancient customs linger into modern day culture, including those related to courtship, burial, and honoring dead ancestors. Modern-day Guamanians are a blend of several different ethnic groups and cultures.

EDUCATION

Education is required among islanders between the ages of six and 16. Guamanians living in the 50 states, have fostered a strong appreciation for education among the younger generations as a means to improve their economic status. An increasing number of Guamanians have entered the professions of law and medicine. The University of Guam offers a four-year degree program. Many Guamanian Americans also enter colleges and universities from parochial Catholic schools with the intention of entering a profession, or the business sector.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Guamanians have become a vital part of the Asian-American community. The younger generation has become involved in organizations such as the Atlantic Coast Asian American Student Union (ACAASU). In January of 1999, the group met at the University of Florida for their ninth annual conference. They include all Asians and Pacific Islanders. The ability of such a diverse group of cultures to find common bonds proved challenging, but rewarding, according to students who participated in the conference. The ACAASU provides a forum where all Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders of college age can share their stories and their concerns.

The Pork Filled Players of Seattle, an Asian comedy troupe, formed to reflect Asian issues and topics. The ethnicities represented in that group include Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Taiwanese, Guamanian, Hawaiian, and Caucasian Americans. The purpose of the group is to present images different from the often negative stereotypes of Asian Americans, in addition to making people laugh at those aspects of the culture that are not stereotypical.

RELIGION

The majority of Guamanians are Roman Catholic, a religion that represents approximately four-fifths of the population on the island, as well as that of Guamanians living in the 50 states. Since the first Spanish missionaries settled the island in the seventeenth century, when the Chamorros converted at the encouragement and sometimes mandate of the Spanish, Catholicism continued to dominate. As with other primitive cultures converted to Catholicism, the rituals of the Roman Catholics were often found suitable in the environment of their own ancient native superstitions and rituals. Some ancient customs were not abandoned, only

enhanced by the new faith. Pope John Paul II visited Guam in February of 1981. It marked the first papal visit in the history of the island. The Pope concluded remarks upon his arrival with, “*Hu guiya todos hamyu,*” in Chamoru (“I love all of you,” in English) and was warmly received by natives and other residents. From his outdoor Mass to his visit to the infirm at the Naval Regional Medical Center, Pope John Paul II affirmed the continued devotion thousands of Guamanians maintain for the Catholic Church.

Congregationalists arrived on Guam in 1902, and established their own mission, but were forced to abandon it in 1910, due to the lack of financial support. The following year, Americans who were with the General Baptist Foreign Missionary Society moved into the abandoned Congregationalist mission. In 1921, the Baptists built Guam’s first modern Protestant church on a grander scale than the previous missions. A Baptist church built in 1925 in Inarajan was still in use in the mid-1960s. After World War II, the Seventh Day Adventists established missions in Guam, first by a Navy chief, Harry Metzker. The first congregation consisted entirely of military families, except for the family of a local woman of Dededo. The Seventh Day Adventists, who were well known for much of the twentieth century for their attention to health and well-being, also set up a clinic in Agana Heights. The Adventists operate hospitals throughout United States. They are considered at the front of treating various eating disorders, including anorexia nervosa and bulimia.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Half of the economy on the island of Guam emerged from American military establishment and related government services. A majority of Guamanians have been employed by the U.S. government and military, serving as cooks, office personnel, and other administrative positions, advancing to the upper-levels of the government salary tracks following years of service. The tourism industry is the second largest employer on the island. Other industries include agriculture (mostly for local consumption), commercial poultry farming, and small assembly plants for watches and machinery, brewery, and textiles.

According to Arthur Hu in *Order of Ethnic Diversity*, Guamanian income falls below the U.S. average. His figures indicated that the average household income of Guamanians was \$30,786 in 1990. The American Association for Retired Per-

sons offered that the income of Asian and Pacific Islander men over age 65 was \$7,906—in contrast to \$14,775 among white Americans men. Thirteen percent of Asian and Pacific Islander women over 65 live in poverty, in contrast to 10 percent of white American women over 65.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

At the end of the twentieth century, the issues of politics and government were complicated, both for those Guamanians living on the island, and for those living in the mainland, who felt loyalty to their native land. The Guam Commonwealth Act was first introduced in to Congress in 1988, following two plebiscites by the people of Guam. (A plebiscite refers to an expression of the people's will by a direct ballot, usually, as in this case, a vote that calls for independent statehood, or affiliation with another nation). In an article for the Associated Press, Michael Tighe quoted Rep. Underwood: "The core, American democratic creed is that the only legitimate form of government is by consent of the governed. How do you deal with the fact the people on Guam are not participants in the legislative process?" As U.S. citizens, they can enter the military, but are not able to vote for the President. The representative they elect to Congress can vote only in committees.

Underwood published the document, along with an explanation, on his official website. As the terms are officially listed, the Guam Commonwealth Act held five major portions: 1) Creation of Commonwealth and the Right of Self-Determination, under which a three-branch republican form of government would be established, and would allow the indigenous people of Guam (the Chamoros) to choose their preference for their final political status; 2) Immigration Control, which would allow the people of Guam to limit immigration to prevent further reduction of the indigenous population, and allow the people of Guam to enforce an immigration policy more appropriate for a developing economy in Asia; 3) Commercial, Economic, and Trade Matters, under which various specific negotiated authorities which allow consideration of Guam as an identifiably unique economy in Asia, and requiring certain approaches to managing such matters with full benefit both to Guam and to the United States, as well as maintaining status outside customs zone, with representation in regional economic organizations, recognition of local control of resources; 4) the Application of Federal Laws, which would provide a mechanism to allow for input from the people of Guam through its elected

leadership as regards the appropriateness of a U.S. law or regulation and as applied to Guam—Guam would prefer a "joint commission" appointed by the President with final authority in Congress; and, 5) Mutual Consent, meaning that neither party could make arbitrary decision that would alter the provisions of the Guam Commonwealth Act. By early 1999, commonwealth status had not yet been determined. Opposition from President Clinton, and other non-Chamoro Guam residents to the particular point of Chamoro self-determination of the island remained an obstacle.

MILITARY

Guamanians are well represented in the military as enlisted men, officers, and support personnel. They served the United States in World War II without any legal military status. The military is the primary employer of residents on Guam. Among those Guamanian Americans living in the Washington, D.C. area are employees of the Defense Department.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Cecilia, an indigenous poet from Guam, captures the Chamoru history, culture, and spirit in her compilation *Signs of Being—A Chamoru Spiritual Journey*. Her other works include, "Sky Cathedral," "Kafe Mulinu, "Steadfast Woman," "Strange Surroundings" and "Bare-Breasted Woman."

MEDIA

Guamanians can learn about their history and culture, and keep in touch with current topics through websites that focus on Guam and Chamoros. Some of the many sites include:

Guam's official website.

Online: <http://www.guam.net>.

The University of Guam.

Online: <http://www.uog2.uog.edu>.

A website devoted to Guam culture, history and tourism.

Online: <http://www.visitguam.org>.

Website featuring stories and news of Guamanians off and on the island, providing the source of news for the Guam Society of America, along with photos, armed forces news, poems, and short stories.

Online: <http://www.Offisland.com>.
The official Guam government site.

Online: <http://www.gadao.gov.gu/>.
Representative Robert A. Underwood's website featuring news from the U.S. Congress, current news stories, and other links to various Guam sites.

Online: <http://www.house.gov/Underwood>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Guam Society of America.

Chartered in 1976 as a non-profit, 501-C3 tax exempt, corporation in the District of Columbia. Founded in 1952 as the *Guam Territorial Society*. Changed name to Guam Society in 1985. Stated purposes are: 1) to foster and encourage educational, cultural, civic and social programs and activities among the members of the Society in the District of Columbia and its surrounding communities, and throughout the United States and its territories. 2) to foster and perpetuate the Chamorro language, culture and traditions. Any Chamorro (a native of Guam, Saipan, or any Marian Islands) or any person who has a bona fide interest in the purposes of the

Society is eligible for membership. The society sponsors events and activities throughout the year that include, Chamorro language classes in the D.C. metropolitan area, a Golf Classic, the Cherry Blossom Princess Ball and Chamorro Night.

Contact: Juan Salas or Juanit Naude.

E-mail: SALASVA@aol.com or
JMNaude@erols.com.

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Although Guatemalan Americans constitute a very small percentage of the American population and are one of the most recently established American ethnic groups, they have contributed significantly to American life through political and cultural organizations and as individuals.

G U A T E M A L A N A M E R I C A N S

by
Maria Hong

OVERVIEW

The most populous country in Central America, Guatemala is located in the northern part of the Central American region. Its land mass encompasses 42,042 square miles (108,889 square kilometers), bordered by Mexico to the north and west, El Salvador and Honduras to the south and east, the Pacific Ocean along its West Coast, and Belize and the Caribbean Sea to the north and east. The southern half of the Republic of Guatemala mainly consists of beautiful mountain highlands and plateaus, which are susceptible to devastating earthquakes. The northern region contains the department of the Petén, a sparsely populated lowland tropical jungle. There is also a narrow Pacific coastal plain and a small Caribbean lowland area. Most of Guatemala's population and its major cities, including the capital, Guatemala City, are located in the southern region.

Guatemala has a population of about ten million people and the largest indigenous population in Central America. Although estimates of the indigenous population vary greatly from as low as 40 percent of the total population to as high as 85 percent, most sources estimate it at over 50 percent. Most of the indigenous groups are Mayan, although small numbers of Pipil Aztecs live in the southern and eastern areas and Xincas in the east. More than a racial classification, the term *indigena* (indigenous) refers to cultural and linguistic groups.

The population of Spanish-speaking *ladinos* consists of the small Caucasian elite class; the substantial number of *mestizos* of mixed Spanish and indigenous race; minorities of African, Chinese, and Arab descent; and indigenous people who no longer consciously identify themselves as such. Guatemala's smallest ethnic group is the Garifuna, descendants of African and Carib people formerly from the island of St. Vincent who reside along the Caribbean coast.

Guatemala's official language is Spanish. However, the Maya speak over 20 distinct languages and numerous dialects, and many do not speak Spanish. The four main Mayan languages—Quiché, Mam, Cakchiquel, and Kekchi—are spoken by about 40 percent of the population. Other indigenous languages include Kanjobal, Chuj, Jacalteco, Ixil, Achi, Pocomchi, Central Pocomam, Eastern Pocomam, and Tzutuhil. These languages are spoken by distinct indigenous groups.

Although Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion, many Mayan Guatemalans have traditionally practiced a syncretist form of Catholicism, blending Catholic and Mayan rites and beliefs. Since the 1950s, Evangelical Pentecostal Protestantism has been on the rise in Guatemala, and it surged in popularity during the 1980s. Two modern presidents have been Evangelical Pentecostal Protestants and up to one-third of the population now practices this religion.

Guatemala's national symbol of independence and pride is the quetzal, a brilliantly colored tropical bird native to Central America. According to legend, the quetzal lost its voice after the Spanish Conquest in the sixteenth century.

HISTORY

Guatemala's roots lie in the great Mayan civilization, concentrated in separate city-states established throughout what is now southern Mexico and Central America. From 2000 B.C. through 900 A.D., Mayan civilization accomplished much in the areas of astronomy, written language, architecture, the arts, and religion. Some of these achievements remain for us to appreciate today, such as the immense stone temples and pyramids at Tikal in the Petén.

However, the Mayan city-states were also very militaristic, usually warring with each other and devoting much of their energies and resources to military efforts. This penchant for warfare may have contributed to the mysterious disappearance of Mayan civilization by 900 A.D. By the time the Spanish arrived, there were about one million

indigenous people whose violent feuding facilitated their conquest. By 1650, most of the indigenous people had been wiped out by disease, war, and exploitation, and their numbers had dwindled to about 200,000.

From 1523 to 1524, the Spanish, led by Pedro de Alvarado, colonized many Mayan city-states. De Alvarado became the first captain general of Guatemala, which then encompassed most of Central America. In 1821, Guatemala gained independence from Spain, and in 1824 it joined the Central American Federation. In 1838, the Federation disbanded, due mostly to a revolt against it led by an indigenous general, Rafael Carrera, who then seized control of the newly independent nation of Guatemala.

In 1871, a liberal *caudillo* or military dictator, Justo Rufino Barrios, took power and ruled as president from 1873 to 1885. Barrios enacted anti-clerical legislation, began to establish a national education system, and fostered the inception of Guatemala's coffee industry. Guatemala was ruled by a succession of military dictators until the last *caudillo*, Jorge Ubico, was overthrown in 1944. Shortly thereafter, Juan Jose Arevalo, a university professor exiled to Argentina, was called back and elected president. Arevalo instituted political democracy in Guatemala, encouraging organized labor, the formation of a social security system, and industrialization.

Arevalo's successor, Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, introduced a radical agrarian reform program that redistributed land from wealthy landowners and much of the holdings of the U.S.-based United Fruit Company. United Fruit had dominated the commercial banana industry and exploited peasant workers since the early twentieth century. Arbenz's challenge to United Fruit and his support of Guatemala's Communist party resulted in conflict with the company and U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration. In mid-1954, Arbenz was overthrown by a U.S.-supported, largely CIA-directed revolt, led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas.

During the next 30 years, most of the agrarian and labor reforms achieved under Arevalo and Arbenz were undone by a succession of mostly military rulers. Since the 1960s, leftist guerrillas have attempted to undermine these regimes, while right-wing paramilitary death squads have fought back against the guerrillas by brutally repressing the civilian population. According to Amnesty International, at least 20,000 civilians were killed by the death squads from 1966 to 1976.

During the late 1970s, a popular resistance

movement to the military governments began to operate through a collaboration among *ladinos*, *indigenas*, peasants, labor leaders, students, journalists, politicians, and Catholic priests. In response, the army and paramilitary counterinsurgency units stepped up their repression efforts. From 1980 to 1981, guerrilla forces encouraged and sometimes coerced large numbers of highland *indigenas* to join them in their armed revolutionary efforts. The army retaliated by massacring whole indigenous villages; kidnapping, torturing, and murdering people suspected of supporting the guerrillas; and scorching peasant crops and homes.

Although the army's terrorism techniques affected all sectors of the resistance movements, indigenous communities suffered the brunt of the violence of the 1980s. Most authorities have called the military efforts an ethnic genocide campaign, stemming from pervasive discrimination against *indigenas* in Guatemalan society. In addition to destroying indigenous villages, the government army forced more than one million *indigenas* into military-controlled "model villages" and "reeducation camps," and conscripted men into the army's civil defense patrols.

Violence in the villages peaked under Efraín Ríos Montt, a Pentecostal Protestant, who became president through a military coup in 1982. By the army's own count, the counterinsurgency movement destroyed 440 villages and damaged numerous others between 1980 and 1984. Widespread terrorism continued under Ríos Montt's successor Brigadier General Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores, who became president in 1983. In 1984, the Guatemalan Supreme Court reported that around 100,000 children had lost at least one parent in the massacres.

In 1985, Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, a Christian Democratic Party leader, won the presidential election, initiating a transition from military to civilian government. Cerezo tried unsuccessfully to carry out reforms, and political killings by the right-wing death squads continued. He was succeeded in 1991 by Jorge Serrano Elías, an Evangelical Protestant and former member of the Ríos Montt regime.

Although right-wing violence persisted, Serrano's government reached a tentative accord with the major guerrilla coalition, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) and police and military men were arrested for death-squad activity for the first time. In 1993, Serrano and military leaders attempted to dissolve Guatemala's Congress and suspend the constitution. After a short period of political turmoil, the Congress elect-

ed Ramiro de León Carpio, a former human rights ombudsman, as president.

De León Carpio resumed the peace talks between the government and the URNG, which had been going on intermittently since 1991, and he has made significant breakthroughs in the peace process. On March 29, 1994, the government and the URNG signed three peace agreements brokered by the United Nations. Among other provisions, the agreements call for human rights investigations and monitoring, guerrilla demobilization, and prosecution of human rights violators.

Despite the achievements of the peace accords, however, widespread violence, including abductions, torture, and executions by army and paramilitary men, continues in Guatemala. In the political arena, the Guatemalan Republican Front, the right-wing party of Ríos Montt, gained many seats in the Congress and Ríos Montt himself was elected to the Congress in August of 1994. Members of the Party of National Advancement, another conservative party that opposes de León Carpio, also won many Congressional seats. In December of 1996 the long civil war finally ended when rebels and the government announced a peace treaty.

Sixty-three percent of the population lives in extreme poverty. In this mostly rural, agrarian country, two percent of the population owns over 64 percent of the arable land. Peasants survive by farming sub-subsistence land or by doing seasonal migratory work on coastal coffee, sugar, and cotton plantations. Among Central American nations, Guatemala has the highest infant and child mortality rates, the lowest life expectancy, and most malnourished population, with rampant severe hunger.

The efforts of activists such as Guatemalan Nobel Peace Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Tum have focused international attention on the oppression of indigenous people in Guatemala. However, an apartheid-type of oligarchic system remains entrenched with the government and other power centers controlled by a small European-descended minority. The long armed conflict has resulted in the disappearance or murder of tens of thousands of people and the displacement of over a million more. Although several hundred thousand Guatemalans remain uprooted within Guatemala, hundreds of thousands have fled to the United States and Mexico to escape the violence since the late 1970s.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Until 1960, the United States did not keep separate statistics on the number of immigrants from Guatemala, and figures reflect migration from the

entire Central American region. However, it is fair to conclude that few Guatemalans immigrated to the United States before 1960, since the numbers for all Central American immigrants were small.

During the 1830s, only 44 arrivals of Central Americans were recorded. Between 1890 and 1900, 500 Central Americans immigrated to the United States according to records of legal migration. The numbers increased during the next two decades, with 8,000 arriving from 1900 to 1910 and 17,000 migrating between 1910 and 1920. Emigrants from Guatemala may have been seeking a better life following a devastating earthquake in 1917.

During the 1930s, the number of immigrants fell to less than 6,000 in the decade, due in part to quotas on immigration from Western Hemisphere nations enacted in the 1920s. However, since the mid-1950s the annual number of legally admitted Central Americans has steadily risen, with 45,000 arriving from 1951 to 1960.

Due to political upheavals and related economic crises throughout the region, large numbers of undocumented Guatemalans and other Central Americans have been coming to the United States since the late 1970s. During the early 1970s, several factors, including inflation, political turmoil and violence, unemployment, low wages, land scarcity due to inequitable land allocation, and the population explosion, especially among indigenous people, precipitated the mass internal and external displacement of Guatemalan *campesino* peasants, *indigenas*, and professionals. In February of 1976, an earthquake destroyed much of Guatemala City, causing some to emigrate. From 1967 to 1976, 19,683 Guatemalans immigrated to the United States, and the 1970 U.S. Census recorded a Guatemalan American population of 26,865 persons. The 1980 U.S. Census recorded 62,098 Guatemalan Americans, with 46 percent arriving from 1975 to 1980.

However, the vast majority of the Guatemalan American population has arrived since 1980. Official immigration statistics do not reflect the true number of immigrants from Guatemala since most arrivals are undocumented refugees. In 1984, there were an estimated one million Guatemalan refugees, with many displaced within Guatemala and hundreds of thousands fleeing to Mexico and the United States. Thousands also escaped to neighboring Belize, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras.

Since the 1920s or earlier, Mayan Guatemalans had traveled annually to southern Mexico to work on seasonal coffee harvests, attracted by the wages and low cost of living. Others possibly planned to sell contraband items upon their return home. By the late 1950s, ten to fifteen thousand men and

women were crossing the border into Mexico and back every year. In the 1960s and 1970s, the number increased to around 60,000 annually; some of these settled in the state of Chiapas in southern Mexico, where Mayan communities also reside. After the massacres of Mayan villages in Guatemala, *indigenas* from the departments of Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Huehuetenango, Itzabal, and the Petén fled to this region, and many seasonal workers remained in Mexico. Refugee camps were established in Chiapas and in Campeche and Quintana Roo. Due to the desperate economic and health conditions in these camps many Guatemalan refugees moved on to the United States, often enduring great hardships on the way. Migration spurred by these circumstances continues today.

Since they must cross the border illegally, the emigrants usually hire guides called *coyotes*, who facilitate the crossings for high fees costing up to \$1,500 per person. During the trips many experience graft, robbery, rape, or imprisonment by people who exploit their precarious status. Some are smuggled to the United States by religious workers who also give them sanctuary once they arrive. Due to the expense of the trip, those who migrate to the United States are not generally the poorest of the poor.

According to the 1970 U.S. Census, 90 percent of Guatemalans in the United States were white. During the 1950s and 1960s most Guatemalan immigrants were middle class. Before the 1980s, most Guatemalan political emigrants were *ladino* activists and politicians from urban centers. After 1980 large numbers of indigenous people and *campesinos* fled to the United States from counter-insurgency campaigns in the western highland areas. Significant numbers of schoolteachers, student activists, journalists, and other professionals accused of being guerrilla sympathizers also migrated for political reasons. More than 300,000 Guatemalans have entered the United States illegally since 1980.

The United States has not recognized Guatemalans as political refugees. Most recent immigrants from Guatemala are considered economic migrants, and only one to two percent of Guatemalan requests for political asylum are granted. Many sources state that immigration officials view Guatemalan asylum cases less favorably than those from applicants from other countries where human rights abuses are common, because U.S. refugee policy is politicized. They say that the United States has historically granted asylum to people fleeing Communist regimes rather than those from countries the United States is friendly with. Immigration officials deny bias in assessing asylum cases.

Illegal migrants who are caught by the Immigration and Naturalization Service are usually deported back to Guatemala, where they may face dangerous situations as repatriates. Some Guatemalan migrants travel to Canada, where they can receive refugee status. Despite the threat of deportation, the difficulty of the trip to the United States, and problems here as undocumented persons, Guatemalans have continued to arrive in the United States and are one of the fastest growing American immigrant groups.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there are 268,779 persons of Guatemalan origin in the United States. The 1990 Census also listed 225,739 foreign-born persons from Guatemala, reflecting the large portion of recent immigrants among Guatemalan Americans. However, the actual number of Guatemalan Americans is higher than the census figures, since many are migratory and/or undocumented and thus reluctant to have contact with officials. In reality, there are probably over half a million Guatemalan Americans, and they are the second largest group among Central Americans after Salvadorans.

Guatemalan Americans have settled primarily in cities with large existing Latino communities. The greatest number—probably over 100,000—are in Los Angeles, where the biggest concentration of Central Americans in the United States resides. There are also significant numbers of Guatemalan Americans in Houston, Chicago, New York City, Washington D.C., southern Florida, and San Francisco. Smaller enclaves are found in Miami, New Orleans, Phoenix/Tucson, and other cities in Texas and North Carolina.

During the early 1980s, Phoenix/Tucson became an important center for the Sanctuary Movement, a group of mostly Christian religious organizations that provided sanctuary to illegal migrants from Guatemala and El Salvador. These groups supported migrants in their efforts to gain legal status and helped them obtain work and housing. However, most Guatemalans moved on to other areas cities or towns outside of Arizona.

The communities in Chicago and New York expanded considerably during the mid- to late-1980s. In these cities, Guatemalan Americans tend to be inconspicuous, blending in with the more established Mexican or Cuban American populations, for fear of being detected by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In the San Francisco Bay area and Washington D.C., Central

Americans predominate among Latinos. A number of wealthy Guatemalan Americans live in Miami, the commerce gateway to Latin America.

Many of the Guatemalan Americans in Los Angeles live in or near the Central American-dominated Pico-Union district. Once primarily a Mexican American area, Pico-Union is now characterized by businesses that cater to Central Americans, including bakeries, restaurants, grocery stores, and social service organizations. A substantial portion of the Guatemalan Americans in Los Angeles and in southern Florida are Kanjobal Mayans. In Houston, there are over a thousand Mayans from the provinces of Totonicapan and Quiché. These indigenous communities represent the best-documented Guatemalan American populations.

Guatemalan Americans have met with both hostility and empathy from the general American public. Many of the negative reactions by “established” Americans have focused on immigration issues. During recent recessions and concurrent waves of anti-immigrant sentiment, Guatemalans and other Central Americans have been depicted as economically threatening migrants who overwhelm government social services and undermine American labor by taking low-paying jobs. However, others have described newly arrived Central Americans as resourceful contributors to the economy.

The U.S. government’s refusal to designate Guatemalan emigrants as political refugees and its persecution of Sanctuary Movement workers can also be interpreted as an unsympathetic stance toward Guatemalan Americans. On the other hand, grassroots supporters and many major city governments have defended recent Guatemalan immigrants. In the mid-1980s some members of Congress and at least a dozen cities, including Los Angeles, St. Paul, and Chicago criticized President Ronald Reagan and his administration’s federal policy concerning illegal Central Americans and limited city cooperation with INS officials.

Relations with other Latino groups near whom Guatemalan Americans often live have been similarly mixed. The more established Chicano communities have expressed both resentment and support for the newer residents. Sometimes there is rivalry among Central American and Mexican groups for jobs, and cultural differences can preclude social interaction among people of different national origin. A number of Native American groups have been very supportive of indigenous Guatemalan immigrants to United States and empathize with their struggle against genocide and cultural obliteration.

Although there are many Guatemalan Americans whose ancestors came to America generations

ago, the key issues facing the group in the near future are generally linked with immigration and their previous lives in Guatemala, since the majority of Guatemalan Americans have arrived since the mid-1980s. Most Guatemalan Americans face a host of challenges in the areas of work, health, and cultural preservation due to their undocumented status and the terrible economic and political conditions they left behind.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Guatemalan Americans comprise a very culturally diverse group of people. Within Guatemala there are about 23 distinct ethnic groups that speak different languages and maintain unique cultural traditions. The majority of these groups are Mayan; and *ladinos*, or Hispanic Guatemalans, constitute a separate population as persons of Spanish language and culture. Guatemalan Americans represent a broad cross-section of this multicultural society, and assimilation processes, traditional beliefs, and customs vary from group to group. Given the diversity of the Guatemalan American population, it is impossible to generalize about the group as a whole.

Immigrant Mayan American communities have maintained their traditional practices the most visibly. Hispanic Guatemalans have tended to blend in more with other Latino cultures and very little information about them or third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Guatemalan Americans exists. For instance, no studies have been conducted on how traditions are being passed on beyond the second generation. Further inquiry into these areas is needed and will probably occur as the recent wave of immigrants matures into second- and third-generation adults.

Certain practices like the celebration of *quinceñeros*, the formation of soccer leagues, and the organization of patronal fiestas have been maintained in most of the newer Guatemalan American neighborhoods. Specific Guatemalan American groups in Los Angeles, Houston, and southern Florida have received the most attention from sociologists and the media. The following sections on these three communities illustrate how some Guatemalan traditions are being preserved, transformed, and lost through the process of acculturation.

GUATEMALAN AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES

Until the late 1970s, Los Angeles's Pico-Union district was populated by Mexican immigrants, Chicanos, African Americans, and European Ameri-

cans. Some Central and South Americans began arriving in the mid-1950s, and after 1980 an influx of Central Americans settled the neighborhood. These Central American immigrants, including university students, teachers, clergy, and *campesinos*, came from all classes and political persuasions. New residents could shop at Latino-owned businesses such as grocery stores, botánicas selling religious articles and herbs, dance halls, informal vendors, and record companies specializing in Latino music.

Among the Guatemalan immigrants were Mayan Chujes, Quichés, and Kanjobals. The Kanjobals from the highlands of Huehuetenango near Mexico constitute the largest Mayan group in Los Angeles, with a population of about 4,000 in 1984. Many call themselves *Migueleros* after their hometown of San Miguel Acatán. The first Kanjobal immigrants to Los Angeles came during the late 1970s in search of work, and large numbers followed during the early 1980s, when Kanjobals were targeted as guerrilla sympathizers, and both guerrillas and the army pressured men and boys to fight on their sides.

Coming from an agrarian society, the Kanjobals have made many adjustments to living in urban Los Angeles. Many had not used electricity or cars before. Women who had washed their clothes by hand in rivers became accustomed to coin laundromats. Both men and women encountered unfamiliar appliances such as refrigerators and strange products like hot dogs and commercial cleaning agents in the supermarkets.

To avoid deportation to Guatemala, many have become inconspicuous by passing for Mexican American. For example, women generally do not wear traditional clothing such as the bright embroidered blouses called *huipils* outside the home. Rather than using colorful cloth *rebozos* to carry infants on their backs, they now use baby carriages.

Deeper forms of integration into American society may be more elusive. Jacqueline Maria Hagan, who researched Houston's Mayan community, noted that assimilation can be intimately tied to legalization. Legal status affords the opportunity to develop bonds with the established society in areas like higher education, sports, stable jobs, and access to banks and other institutions. As undocumented immigrants, many Guatemalan Americans cannot interact with mainstream society in these areas.

A few organizations in Los Angeles have formed to promote and preserve Guatemalan and Mayan American culture. A group called Integración de Indígenas Mayas (IXIM), sponsors a range of political and cultural activities to foster community solidarity among Mayans in southern California.

FROM TOTONICAPAN TO HOUSTON

There are approximately 30,000 Guatemalan Americans living in Houston. As in Los Angeles, most Guatemalans emigrated after 1980 to escape political violence and economic repression. Both Hispanics and *indigenas* migrated to Houston, including Mayans from Quiche and Totonicapan in the southwestern highlands.

The thousand or so Mayans have maintained many of their traditional social and cultural customs, and *indigenas* from Totonicapan can depend on a well-developed community for support upon arrival. Life-cycle events such as birthdays, baptisms, weddings, and funerals are celebrated with the involvement of the whole group.

One such event is *quinceñeros*, which is like an elaborate coming-out party for girls celebrating their fifteenth birthdays. *Quinceñeros* is observed by most Guatemalan American groups, although only wealthier families may be able to afford it. Sometimes *padrinos*, or godparents, of the celebrant from the same locale but of higher social standing participate in the event. *Padrinos* have traveled from Totonicapan to Houston to honor *quinceñeros* celebrants and to give away brides.

The marimba, an ancient Mayan instrument made of hormiga wood native to Guatemalan forests, is played by bands at Guatemalan American holiday fiestas and special events throughout the United States. Marimba bands play both popular songs and sacred music and may play all night during certain occasions. The music is often accompanied by festive folk dancing. Another instrument native to the highlands is the flutelike *chirimías*.

Sports and church activities also spur much communal interaction in Guatemalan American communities. Soccer is the most popular national sport, and Guatemalan American men have formed soccer leagues in Los Angeles, Houston, San Francisco, and other cities. In Houston, the Community Soccer Club has played against other immigrant soccer teams on a weekly basis and the sports events have served to raise funds for fiesta in San Cristobal Totonicapan. In Los Angeles, Mayan Americans also play basketball, and both men's and women's tournaments are organized.

Some traditions have been lost upon settlement in the United States. Totonicapan is known as the capital of artisan production in Guatemala, and most of the male immigrants to Houston were previously craft tailors, weavers, or bakers. Since those skills were not transferable to the Houston workplace they have had to make the transition from cottage industry production to wage labor. Women, however, still buy traditional garments from Totonicapan for special events.

Close relations between Guatemalan home villages and Mayan American communities also sustain cultural practices on both ends. Many Guatemalan Americans have close family members remaining in Guatemala. Often they communicate regularly with them by sending letters and cassette tapes back and forth. In the 1980s, couriers traveled monthly between Houston and San Cristobal Totonicapan to deliver news, money, and goods. As they have achieved temporary or permanent residency status, some Guatemalans in Houston have been able to make the trips themselves. Items typically transported include traditional clothing, Guatemalan foods and spices, and occasionally things like wedding bands or other special celebratory objects.

Some families have moved out of the Houston Totonicapan community after gaining legal status and saving enough money. Researcher Hagan saw this as part of a shift toward adopting American Texan culture, which included buying new types of cars and women modernizing their hairstyles and clothes.

KANJOBALS IN SOUTHERN FLORIDA

A small farming town 25 miles inland from the East Coast of Florida called Indiantown is home to several thousand Guatemalan refugees. Along with other migrant workers, the Guatemalan Americans here harvest sugar, oranges, cucumbers, and other crops during the winter growing season. Indiantown derived its name from the Seminole Native Americans who used to inhabit the area, and is the center of the Guatemalan American population of southern Florida, which extends to other small towns like Immokalee.

Most of the Guatemalans in Indiantown are Kanjobals, although there is a small non-Kanjobal speaking group from the mostly *ladino* town of Cuilco. The Kanjobals first arrived in late 1982, when a Mexican American crew boss brought some refugees from Arizona to Indiantown to pick crops. These workers subsequently led family and friends from Kanjobal communities in Los Angeles and Guatemala to the area, and the town became a refuge from both the civil war and urban environments.

As in other Mayan American communities, the tradition of going to the weekly market to exchange news and gossip and buy fresh fruit, meat, and vegetables has been supplanted by going to supermarkets. However, other customs remain intact and the Kanjobals maintain a visible ethnic presence.

Kanjobal marimba players from Indiantown played at the U.S. Folk Festival in 1985 and they

also received a grant to teach Kanjobal American teenagers traditional music. The local Catholic Church and Mayan American associations sponsor an annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint of San Miguel Acatán. Committees of men and women organize entertainment, sports, and the election of festival queens who give speeches in Kanjobal, Spanish, and English. Participants wear traditional clothing and teach children how to dance to marimba music. The dances traditionally involve costumed performances with masks made from paper maché, but in the first year of the masked dances, the masks were purchased from a local store. The patronal fiesta functions as an important gathering of Kanjobals who must work and live outside of Indiantown, and as an affirmation of identity.

Although many Mayan Americans have strived to preserve traditions such as these, others eschew former customs. Since acculturation is ultimately a personal choice, degrees of assimilation will vary from individual to individual. As in every other ethnic group, there are many like Mateo Andres, a first-generation Kanjobal American farmworker who told *New York Times* reporter Larry Rohter that he sees no need to pass on Mayan languages or practices and hopes that his newborn son grows up “100 percent American.”

STEREOTYPES AND MISCONCEPTIONS

Guatemalan Americans face the stereotypes that have historically plagued almost all immigrant groups in the United States. Like the Irish, Eastern European, Asian, and other groups that have preceded them, Guatemalan Americans have been scapegoated as new immigrants by nativists who depict them as docile, ignorant workers who do not mind being exploited, overwhelm American economic and social resources, and are of little value except as workers in undesirable jobs. During economic recessions, politicians have exploited this anti-immigrant bias to curry favor with constituents who want to blame their financial woes on vulnerable targets rather than coming to terms with the real sources of the problem.

Guatemalan Americans are also generally lumped together with other Central American and Latino groups as indistinguishable from one another. Although there is great diversity within and among the different Central American and Latino groups, the American populace tends to perceive them as one entity, and subjects Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Honduran, Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican Americans to the same stereotypes.

CUISINE

Savory sometimes spicy Guatemalan cuisine has its origins in pre-Hispanic foods. Mayan staples such as corn, beans, hot chile peppers, and tomatoes are still the staples of Guatemalan cooking. During the Spanish conquest rice and other European and Asian ingredients were introduced into the cuisine. Guatemalan cooking falls into three categories: the highland indigenous cuisine; the Spanish colonial style cultivated by *ladinos*; and the food of the Caribbean coast town Livingston. The last style of cooking developed with the culinary input of indentured laborers from India and Africa and it resembles the cuisine of Belize. Unlike the other two kinds of Guatemalan cooking, this type is tropical and uses a lot of seafood, coconut, and bananas in its recipes.

The indigenous and Spanish styles are much more prevalent and are somewhat intermixed. They make use of many of the vegetables and fruits native to the New World. Some of the most popular ingredients include *chayote* or *huisquil*, a pear-shaped vegetable with firm, deep to pale green skin, which can be boiled, fried, mashed, baked, or used in salads and deserts; *cilantro* or *culantro*, a green, leafy herb otherwise known as Chinese parsley or fresh coriander; and *cacao*, a chocolate made from local cacao beans sold in small cakes or tablets, which is used in cooking and to make hot chocolate.

Tortillas and black beans are among the most common foods in Guatemala. In indigenous villages, women often make the *tortillas* the traditional way by grinding corn with a rounded pestle on a flat lava stone called a *piedra* or *metate* and baking the flat corn disks on a dry, clay platter known as a *comal*. (This process is very time-consuming and generally cannot be sustained in the United States.) The black beans, which are difficult to find in the United States, are prepared whole, pureed, as soup, or paste and can be eaten at all meals. On the Caribbean coast and in cities the beans may be eaten with rice.

There are many varieties of *tamales*, which are essentially dough with meat and/or vegetables wrapped and steamed in a corn husk, leaf, or other wrapping. The dough can derive from cornmeal, flour, potatoes, or green bananas. In Guatemalan towns, women sell home-made *tamales* in markets. *Chuchitos* are a delicious type of cornmeal *tamale* made with chicken, pork, or turkey, tomatoes, and chiles.

Chilaquiles/as consist of *tortillas* stuffed with cheese or other ingredients dipped in a batter and then fried or baked. They can be served with a savory tomato sauce. In the chilly Guatemalan highlands, *caldos* or soups are frequently made and consumed.

These Guatemalan American children hitched a ride on top of a van to participate in the Central America Ethnic Pride Parade in Chicago.



Soup ingredients can include beef, chicken, lamb, potatoes, carrots, *chayotes*, onions, mint, eggs, tomatoes, beans, garlic, cilantro, and *epazote*, a mildly antiseptic herb, which also has medicinal purposes.

Turkey is native to the Americas and was raised, eaten, and sacrificed as a ceremonial bird in Mayan times. In Guatemala, turkey is still prepared and eaten during fiestas and national holidays. Another festive meat dish is *pepián*, which is eaten on Corpus Christi Day in June. *Pepián* consists of beef stewed with rice, spices, and vegetables such as tomatoes, green snap beans, chiles, and black peppercorns.

Plantains or *plátanos* are commonly eaten in the cities and in the more tropical areas. This very versatile fruit/vegetable, which looks like a banana, can be eaten ripe or green (but always cooked) and is alternately boiled, mashed, pan-fried, and deep-fried. Ripe plantains are sweet and can be prepared as a dessert with chocolate, cinnamon, or honey.

Sweets are quite popular in Guatemala and there is a wide variety of desserts and sweet breads like *pan dulce*, a sweet corn bread. *Hojuelas* are fried flour crisps drizzled with honey, which are sold in cities and in village markets. There are also prepared drinks like *boj*, a fermented sugar cane liquor drunk by Kekchi *indigenas* in Cobán. *Atol de maíz tierno* is a popular beverage made by boiling the paste of young corn, water, cinnamon, sugar, and salt.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Since the 1930s, most men have worn European-style clothing, but women of the highlands still

wear the brightly colored garments distinct to each Mayan village. The wearing of traditional clothing or *traje típico* has evolved into a way to preserve ethnic identity and pride in both Guatemala and in the United States. Mayan American women may wear *traje* at home and especially at cultural events like fiestas, church meetings, and weddings. The *huipil* is a multicolored, intricately embroidered blouse. The *corte* is an ankle-length brightly woven skirt that may also be embroidered. Traditionally, hair is kept long and worn in a braid or ponytail. On festive occasions women may also wear colorful beaded or silver necklaces and sparkly earrings. The cloth for *traje típico* is traditionally hand-woven on a loom, but today machine-produced cloth is widely available in Guatemala, although the hand-woven might be preferred for special occasions.

HOLIDAYS

Guatemalan Americans celebrate Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day, as well as Guatemalan holidays like *Semana Santa* and patronal festivals. Totonacapan immigrants in Houston sometimes travel to San Cristobal to celebrate their town's patron saint fiesta *La Fiesta de Santiago*, Christmas, and *Semana Santa*. *Semana Santa* is based on the Catholic Holy Week. The week-long festivities reflect the blending of Mayan and Catholic rites and include costumed allegorical dramas that depict the Spanish conquest. During the week, participants cover the streets with *alfombras*, literally carpets, made of colored sawdust arranged in intricate patterns. The celebration reaches its climax on the last day when the parish priest leads a procession of the townspeople across the *alfombras*.

Although they are not national holidays, preparations for fiestas that honor a town's patron saint are elaborate, and Guatemalan Americans dynamically maintain these traditions. Kanjobals in both Los Angeles and southern Florida celebrate the fiesta of the patron saint of San Miguel Acatán on September 29th every year.

In 1990, more than 900 people attended the patronal festival in Los Angeles, which involved the coronation of festival queens, serving traditional Guatemalan food, the awarding of trophies to athletes, and a Deer Dance. The ancestral Deer Dance is performed by people dressed as animals and different types of people. In Guatemala, 60 to 80 dancers participate in the dance. The costumes have religious meaning and prayers are said before the dance commences. Celebrants set off firecrackers and rockets and play music on the marimba and on a drum made of wood and deer skin during the dance.

HEALTH ISSUES

The theory of health and illness common in Mesoamerica is based on a humoral dichotomy of hot and cold, which should be in balance. The idea is derived from the Spanish importation of the Hippocratic quadratic that also considered the forces of wet and dry. In her study of the health practices of Mayan Americans in Florida, Maria Miralles observed that they sometimes attributed their illnesses to an imbalance in hot and cold or to the weather and heat.

Many of the indigenous and rural refugees are not accustomed to relying on modern American medicine to cure their health problems. In rural Guatemala and in some cities, *curanderos*, or traditional curers, use teas, herbs, and other natural remedies to heal the sick. *Curanderos* are also consulted as spiritual diviners and healers. Some *curanderos* are specialists trained in bone-setting or the treatment of tumors. In Los Angeles, the Kanjobals can go to local *curanderos* for problems like stress or depression. However, *curanderos* have been mostly supplanted by U.S. doctors, because they cannot get licenses to practice medicine here. *Promotores de salud* or health promoters trained by Catholic Action missionaries to know first-aid and preventative medicine also work in Guatemalan villages.

In many Mayan cultures, birth ceremonies are extremely important and the infant is received as a part of the community. Babies are traditionally delivered by midwives, and it is considered scandalous to go to a hospital to give birth. However, in the United States women may go to hospitals to deliver in order to obtain birth certificates for their newborns, despite their preferences.

Curative herbs can be consumed or used in medicinal steam baths. In Guatemala, the herbs can be bought from herb vendors; here they can be found at *botánicas*, although not all of them are available. Some of the herbs used are *manzanilla* or chamomile and *hierba buena*, a mixture from Mexico. These can be taken for stomach disorders or headaches. Medicines can also be purchased without a prescription at pharmacies in Guatemala. Guatemalan immigrants who relied on traditional curative practices may prefer them to those of the American medical establishment. However, many also go to clinics and hospitals to cure their ailments.

HEALTH PROBLEMS AMONG REFUGEES

The journey from Guatemala to the United States is usually traumatic for emigrants escaping persecution or extreme poverty. Traveling by foot for up to thousands of miles with little money and few pos-

sessions, many become dehydrated, malnourished, and exhausted. Most refugees travel through Mexico, where they may stay in overcrowded refugee camps that provide little food and shelter and have poor sanitary conditions. Under these circumstances, refugees are susceptible to serious diseases like malaria and tuberculosis as well as parasites, gastrointestinal disorders, severe malnutrition, cracked and damaged feet, and skin infections.

Many refugees are also surviving the shock of experiencing extreme violence and subsequently suffer from mental health problems. Physical and mental health problems from conditions in Guatemala and the journey are compounded by the precariousness of the refugees' positions once they settle here. Poor housing, underemployment, fear of deportation, and drastic changes can induce stress-related ailments such as ulcers and high blood pressure. Anxiety, depression, and alcohol abuse (among men) have also afflicted survivors.

Undocumented refugees usually do not receive insurance from employers, Medicaid, or other government health-care benefits, and often do not have access to affordable health care. However, in Los Angeles and Indiantown, health clinics have been established for Guatemalan and other immigrants without papers. In Indiantown, a county-sponsored health clinic known as *el corte* operates a Woman, Infant, and Child program for family planning and gives vaccinations to migrant workers' children. A privately run clinic known as *la clinica* provides screening, acute episode care, chronic disease management, and laboratory and x-ray services on a sliding fee basis. Kanjobal immigrants use both clinics, although they may also use traditional remedies at home.

In 1983, several social service and ecumenical religious groups created the Clinica Monsenor Oscar A. Romero as a free health care center for Central American refugees in Los Angeles. It was formed to address the special needs of refugees who cannot go to public medical facilities where they risk being deported and who contend with language and financial barriers that keep them from going to other clinics.

LANGUAGE

Spanish is the official language of Guatemala and is spoken by most first-generation Guatemalan Americans. However, some indigenous immigrants, especially women from the rural areas, speak exclusively Mayan languages and are unfamiliar with Spanish. Many first- and second-generation Mayan Ameri-

cans are trilingual, and can communicate in Spanish, English, and a Mayan dialect. The Mayan languages spoken by Guatemalans in the United States include Kanjobal, Quiché, Mam, Cakchiquel, Chuj, Jacalteco, and Acatec. In Los Angeles, several dialects of Kanjobal are spoken, according to what village the person originates from.

The Mayan Americans in Houston speak both Quiché and Spanish. However, Hagan noted that the use of Quiché is diminishing both in Houston and in Guatemala, due to the predominance of Spanish in both areas. Children in Latino communities in Houston and Los Angeles learn Spanish in school and in their neighborhoods. Since Spanish is the language of access in Guatemala and in Latino areas, parents may encourage children to learn Spanish so they can interpret for them in various situations.

Language issues can be intimately linked with assimilation, as children sometimes reject both their Mayan language and customs. In Los Angeles, some second-generation Kanjobal Americans attend a Spanish-language church rather than one that holds services in Kanjobal, espousing the larger Latino community.

Guatemalan American refugees sometimes learn to speak Mexican Spanish to disguise their national origin. By passing for Mexican, they may be able to evade detection by the immigration authorities. For example, they may use Mexican terms such as “*lana*” instead of the Guatemalan term “*pisto*” for money. In some cities, Guatemalan immigrants learn to speak Puerto Rican Spanish for the same reasons. As one Guatemalan refugee aid worker put it: these more established Latino groups have “provided us with the tools to get along in an environment that doesn’t accept us.”

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Popular Guatemalan greetings and expressions include: *Buenos días* (“bwe’nos de’âs”)—good morning, good day, hello; *buenas noches* (“bwe’nâs no’ches”)—good night; *gracias* (“grâ’syâ’s”)—thank you; *con mucho gusto* (“kon mü’cho gus’to”)—with much pleasure, often used as “You’re welcome,” and as “It’s a pleasure to meet you;” *sí pues* (“se pwes”)—It’s okay; or, Yeah, you’re right; *con permiso* (“kon per me’so”)—excuse me; *que rico, que riquísimo* (“ke rre’ko, ke rreke’semo”)—How rich, delicious, great!; *¡Salud!* (“sâ luth”)—To your health! Cheers!; and *¡Buen provecho!* (“bwen pro ve’cho”)—literally “Good digestion!” said before a meal as in *bon appetit* or Enjoy!

In Cakchiquel, common sayings include: *Raxnek, seker, xseker*—good morning; *xocok’a’, xok’a*—good night; *nuch’ ocob’a’*—I’m sorry;

matiox—thank you; *ja’e*—with pleasure (like *con gusto*); and *rutzil, ruwech*—hello.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The family is very important among Guatemalan Americans. In many cases, large extended kinship groups maintain close bonds of loyalty, obligation, and social support. The family group traditionally includes grandparents and fictive kin such as *comadres* or godmothers.

However, among immigrants, many family members are now separated, since it is generally impossible for everyone to immigrate at the same time. Many men were forced to flee without their families because they were in immediate danger of being killed or conscripted into the fighting. Undocumented migrants usually have traveled to the United States alone, because they cannot afford to pay the *coyotes* for everyone at once and because their chances of making the crossing and surviving in the new environment are better.

After establishing their lives here, immigrants generally try to bring the rest of their families over. Spouses, children, and siblings frequently reunite with the original migrant. However, elderly parents and grandparents often cannot make the difficult trip north, which can require withstanding physical dangers and hardships. Children are sometimes left with grandparents in Guatemala, because both parents must work long hours and cannot afford day care or similar services.

Separation and reunification after long periods of living apart can strain family relations. Housing conditions may also change family dynamics. In refugee enclaves like Indiantown, families live in very crowded, tenement apartments due to low wages and the lack of adequate housing. In these situations, a family may share a one-room apartment with other families. Because of the lack of privacy and pressures these conditions create, many families move out of the community if they can save enough money to do so.

Despite the difficulty of finding work and making a living as undocumented persons, most Guatemalan Americans do not receive public assistance. Illegal aliens are not eligible for public assistance and are usually wary of government institutions. Citizen children may be eligible for welfare and food stamps, but undocumented parents are often afraid to apply for it. There are no official statistics on the percentage of Guatemalan American families who receive public assistance.



These two girls are wearing traditionally handwoven Guatemalan dresses as they participate in the Central America Ethnic Pride Parade in Chicago.

As in all immigrant communities, younger family members adjust much more quickly to American life, and may become alienated from older members. In urban Latino neighborhoods, adolescents may conflict with their parents if they assume *cholo* identities. *Cholo* refers to an originally Chicano teenage subculture that involves the use of slang, a street-wise pose and walk, activities like low-riding, using marijuana, and a specific style of dress—pressed Chinos, plaid shirts, and oversized brimmed hats for boys, and lots of make-up for girls.

Attitudes toward marriage have also changed in several Guatemalan American communities. Divorce and couples living together without being married are more common in the United States than they are in Guatemala. The absence of older generations in some communities may lead to a decline in the observance of traditional customs. In general, there is little intermarriage with other ethnic groups among the first-generation. Immigrant men are more likely to date or marry non-Guatemalans than women, and second-generation girls may be encouraged more than boys to date only Guatemalan Americans.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Guatemalan American women occupy complex and important positions within their families and communities. Guatemalan society is patriarchal and patrilineal, with men controlling most of the major institutions. However, within the last two decades women have garnered more leadership roles in all areas of society and they have led and played crucial parts in many of the popular resistance movements. During the 1980s, organizations like CONAVIGUA, composed mostly of indigenous widows of murdered or disappeared men, formed and fought for women's and human rights.

In many cases, women take on a larger economic role in the family when they immigrate to the United States. In migrant worker communities, women as well as men do wage field work. In addition, women are often expected to do all the domestic labor—child-rearing, cooking, and cleaning. Given the large size of households in some neighborhoods, this can involve an enormous amount of work, cooking and cleaning for ten to 20 people.

Immigrant women tend to transmit and sustain traditional culture more than the men, especially in

Mayan Guatemalan groups. By maintaining religious practices and language, preparing foods, and wearing traditional clothes and hairstyles, women preserve the cultural fabric of their group. Women also frequently organize church-related or community-oriented events like fiestas.

EDUCATION

Education is a high priority for many Guatemalan American parents. In urban areas, like Los Angeles and Houston, the available public schools often have poor reputations, and parents prefer to send their children to private Catholic schools. In Guatemala, schoolchildren generally attend private or boarding schools, if their parents can afford it. Guatemalan American parents whose children remain in Guatemala will often pay for their education there through wages earned here.

Children who were previously educated in Guatemalan schools in which the curricula are rigorous generally adjust easily to American schools once they learn English. However, a good number of refugee children have not had prior access to much education, since many Guatemalan schools were closed during recent decades due to poverty or violence. In southern Florida, two schools have been set up to address the needs of the migrant workers' children, who may not yet speak English and must deal with other challenges. The Migrant Head Start Program and the Hope Rural School are attended by Guatemalan American and many other children from Indiantown's diverse community. No statistics on the number of Guatemalan Americans who go to four-year universities and graduate schools are available. Undocumented refugee students cannot apply for financial aid for college and therefore it is almost impossible for them to attend institutions of higher learning.

RELIGION

Organized religion has greatly influenced the lives of Guatemalans and Guatemalan Americans in various ways. Since the time of the Spanish conquest, Guatemalans have practiced Roman Catholicism, while maintaining Mayan religious customs and beliefs. The Roman Catholic church is still dominant in Guatemala and has been involved with all aspects of life there, including politics, community development, social services, and internal refugee relief.

During the early 1980s when two Evangelical Pentecostal Protestant presidents ruled, the Catholic clergy were associated with rebel forces and became

targets for violence. In some areas it was dangerous to identify with Catholicism. Protestant Evangelism grew dramatically during this time, as the U.S. churches sent missionaries to convert people. The rise in Pentecostal and other types of Protestant religions is evident in some Guatemalan American communities, where a large percentage are Protestants.

Norita Vlach, who interviewed Guatemalan refugee families in San Francisco, observed that many Catholic families switch to the Pentecostal church during their first years in that city. The churches offer women's groups, youth groups, and Spanish language classes. In Houston, La Iglesia de Dios, the Protestant Evangelical church, is similarly active among the Totonacapan community, holding Bible readings for women and multiple services during the week, and hosting cultural events like *quinceñeros* for church- and non-church-goers alike. The Evangelical Protestant church forbids dancing and drinking.

Other Protestant religions and Catholicism are practiced by the majority of Guatemalan Americans in Houston. In Indiantown and Los Angeles, the Kanjobal are Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, Catholic Charismatics and Protestants, and many do not practice any religion although they may be nominally Catholic. A few practice traditional Mayan rituals of *costumbre*. Some *cofradias* or indigenous village elders who interpreted Catholicism in villages, mixing Mayan and Catholic customs, have immigrated to the United States, but they often have a diminished role in their new environments. It is difficult to maintain all Mayan religious practices here since some depend on being in sacred places in Guatemala. *Catequistas* or followers of the Catholic Action Movement seek to remove indigenous practices from Catholicism.

The Catholic church has provided asylum and many social services for Guatemalan American refugees. In Indiantown, the Holy Cross Church funded a social service center that helped process asylum and immigration papers, and supplied emergency relief, health referrals, and organizational help. Services are in Spanish and Kanjobal, and the annual patron saint's festival is held there. The Presbyterian Church's Office of World Service and World Hunger has also supported the formation of local cultural groups.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although Guatemalan Americans with legal resident or citizen status work in any number of professional fields such as law, teaching, and medicine, the

large percentage of undocumented recent immigrants have little access to decently paying jobs. Since they have not been granted refugee status that would enable them to work here legally, these Guatemalan Americans have been forced to take low-paying jobs in the service sector, manufacturing, and agriculture. These are the same jobs that have historically been held by other new immigrant groups upon arrival in the United States. In rural areas throughout the United States Guatemalan immigrants work as migrant harvesters, picking fruit, flowers, vegetables, and commodities like tobacco in places like the San Joaquin Valley. The Kanjobal in Los Angeles and southern Florida frequently do migrant work when they first come to United States.

Field work of this type is often dangerous because of accidents and exposure to pesticides that can cause rashes and burns, and it demands long hours of physical exertion and a lifestyle of constant mobility. Exploitation of migrant workers is also common, as it is easy for agricultural contractors to pocket their Social Security payments or refuse to pay them altogether. If legal status is obtained, Guatemalan Americans usually move on to other types of work such as construction, or jobs where they can apply their professional skills in areas like education or social services. Many Guatemalan immigrants worked as trained professionals in Guatemala but cannot obtain the same type of work here because of their undocumented status.

The Mayan American men and women of southern Florida and Los Angeles sometimes work in garment factories during the off-season. In 1984, less than one percent of the undocumented garment workers in Los Angeles belonged to unions, although they legally have a right to unionize to demand better working conditions and wages. There have been a few successful efforts at unionizing illegal workers (including Guatemalan Americans) in agriculture and manufacturing, but most attempts have not gotten off the ground. The difficulty of organizing itinerant laborers, language differences, lack of experience with unions, and fear of being deported may all contribute to the lack of union activity.

Other Guatemalan Americans in Los Angeles and Florida work as gardeners in nurseries, landscapers on golf courses, and in restaurants and hotels. During the last few years, a textile cooperative was developed in Indiantown to create safe, year-round work in the Kanjobal neighborhood. The cooperative produces women's clothing that incorporates Mayan-style weaving.

Men may also do odd jobs as carpenters, roofers, or as informal vendors. Women often work

as domestics throughout the United States, cooking, cleaning, or looking after children for individual families with whom they live. Women may also earn money by baby-sitting, doing laundry by hand, or cooking for people within their community.

In an unusual situation, many of the Totonacapan American men in Houston work as maintenance or stock workers in one retail chain. The employers who hired the original migrants from Totonacapan think of the Mayans as hard-working, responsible, and loyal. As more Totonacapan immigrants arrived, they obtained jobs with the company, creating a steady labor supply for the chain. This situation and the legalization of community members has made the acculturation process relatively smooth for this group.

Most of the work available to immigrants without legal papers is sporadic, and underemployment is a problem for many. However, the same people who have limited access to nonexploitative work are also ineligible for unemployment benefits. (There are no statistics on the number of Guatemalan Americans who receive unemployment, since figures are not categorized by national origin/individual ethnic groups.) The need for reliable, fairly paid employment is the most pressing issue in many Guatemalan American communities.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since immigration in general and refugee status in particular are at the heart of the issues affecting many Guatemalan Americans, changes in federal immigration law have influenced the group. Since the 1980s, there have been several key pieces of federal legislation regarding immigration.

The 1980 Refugee Act mandates that immigration officials judge political asylum cases individually, rather than by national origin and that the rulings be independent of the government's relations with the country the applicant has come from. However, critics of asylum processes say that the INS still bases asylum decisions on national origin. This criticism is borne out by the fact that so few Guatemalan applicants receive asylum (fewer than two percent) when compared with applicants from countries the United States does not support like Nicaragua or the former Eastern Bloc countries. Although the act did not immediately change the way asylum decisions are made, it paved the path for later legislation and court decisions. The complex Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 enabled immigrants living in the United States continuously since January 1, 1982 and arriv-

ing before that date to apply for legalization status. This provision helped the small percentage of Guatemalan emigrants who arrived before 1982. Another provision of IRCA called for employer sanctions that penalize employers who hired unauthorized workers after November 6, 1986. Observers noted that this provision could reduce the demand for undocumented workers, force repatriation, and restrict immigration, but it is difficult to ascertain what the results of this part of IRCA have been. Some Guatemalan American migrant workers benefited from the farmworker amnesty portion of IRCA that provided resident alien status to farmworkers. Farmworkers who did agricultural labor for at least 90 days from 1985-1986 were eligible for this status under SAW or the Seasonal Agricultural Worker provision.

Several court cases have questioned the government's handling of political asylum proceedings for people from Central America and have prohibited discriminatory practices in these hearings. In February 1991, a Federal district judge in San Francisco approved a settlement that blocked deportation of up to 500,000 Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants and allowed them to reopen their asylum cases. Under the decision, the INS had to reconsider an estimated 150,000 cases of Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees whose asylum cases had been denied since 1980 but who had not yet been deported.

Refugee advocacy groups lobbied for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Guatemalan refugees in the United States under the Immigration Act of 1990. The act authorizes TPS where there is an ongoing armed conflict that would seriously threaten the safety of an individual upon return, or where conditions prevent nationals from returning safely. The end of the civil war in Guatemala terminated these efforts. The governments of the two countries are working on a solution to the status of the nearly 200,000 Guatemalans living in the United States who are not U.S. citizens.

INVOLVEMENT IN U.S. POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since Guatemalan Americans comprise a small and largely unestablished group, they have not yet been very involved with American politics. A number of grass-roots refugee advocacy groups, however, have lobbied for immigrant rights. There are no statistics on Guatemalan American voting patterns, the number of elected officials, or participation in the armed forces. The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials in Houston does

not categorize their listing of Latino politicians by national origin. However, there are at least two Guatemalan American city officials in California.

Veronica Cardenas-Jaffe helped to incorporate Mission Viejo into the City of Mission Viejo in 1988. She was subsequently elected to the charter city council in 1988 and has served as Mayor pro tem since 1990. Jim Gonzalez was appointed to City and County Supervisor on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1988. He has also worked as a special assistant to former San Francisco Mayor now Senator Dianne Feinstein from 1981 to 1986.

RELATIONS WITH GUATEMALA

Most Guatemalan Americans have family or close friends remaining in Guatemala, and the majority are very concerned about the state of affairs there. While many Guatemalan Americans do not have the resources or time to address the conditions they fled from, there are already several Guatemalan American organizations that actively strive for an end to violence and corruption in Guatemala. These groups include many refugee aid organizations, since political and economic turmoil in Guatemala continues to have a direct impact on the situation of refugees here.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Guatemalan Americans constitute a very small percentage of the American population and are one of the most recently established American ethnic groups, they have contributed significantly to American life through political and cultural organizations and as individuals. Personal contributions have been especially numerous in the arts and sciences. The following subsections list some notable Guatemalan Americans and their accomplishments.

BUSINESS

Marta Ortiz-Buonafina (1933–) is an associate professor of marketing at Florida International University. She has published many articles and books, including the second edition of *Profitable Export Marketing* in 1992. Luis Alfredo Vasquez-Ajmac (1961–) is president of MAYA, a marketing communications firm targeting Latinos in Washington, D.C., that he established in 1990. He has also served as an advisory member to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.



Guatemalan
American Julio
Recinos volunteers
to cover banana
boxes filled with
canned food for
victims of
hurricane Mitch

MEDICINE, SCIENCE, AND MATHEMATICS

In 1990, Hermann Mendez (1949–), associate professor of pediatrics at the State University of New York-Health Science Center at Brooklyn, received awards from the Department of Health and Human Services and the Assistant Secretary of Health for his outstanding contributions to the fight against AIDS. He was also named as one of the Best Doctors in New York by *New York Magazine* in 1991 and as one of the Best Doctors in America by Woodward/White Inc. in 1992.

John Joaquin Munoz (1918–) is a scientist emeritus at the National Institute of Health's Rocky Mountain Laboratories. He served as chairman of the immunology section of the American Society of Microbiology from (1980-1981), and received an NIH Director's Award in 1979. He has also published many papers and is the co-author of *Bordetella Pertussis: Immunological and Other Biological Activities* (1977).

Psychiatrist Julio Alfredo Molina (1948–) is the founder and director of the Anxiety Disorders Institute of Atlanta. Psychologist and government official Carmen Carrillo (1943–) is the director of

Adult Acute Services at San Francisco's Department of Public Health. She has earned many awards for her work in education, psychology, mental health, and Latino issues, including the City and Council of San Francisco Distinction and Merit Award in 1988, the National Women's Political Caucus Public Service Award in 1989, and the California School Boards Association Service Award in 1991.

Sergio Ramiro Aragón (1949–), a professor of chemistry at San Francisco State University, established a supercomputer center at California State University in 1989. Sergio Roberto López-Permouth (1957–), assistant professor of math at Ohio University, has published several articles and co-edited a book called *Non-Commutative Ring Theory* with S. K. Jain in 1990. Victor Perez-Mendez (1923–) has edited two books, written over 300 articles, and is a professor of physics and faculty senior scientist at the University of California at Berkeley. Statistician Jorge Huascar del Pinal (1945–) is the chief of the U.S. Bureau of the Census's Ethnic and Spanish Statistics Branch. He published *Microcomputer Programs for Demographic Analysis* in 1985.

MUSIC AND LITERATURE

Aida Doninelli (1898–), Guatemalan-born and raised daughter of Italian immigrants to Guatemala, made her American debut as an opera singer in Chicago in 1927. A dramatic soprano, she performed in the major concert stages of the United States and Latin America and sang with New York's prestigious Metropolitan Opera from 1928 to 1933. During her tenure at the Met, Doninelli performed in many operatic roles, including Micaela in *Carmen*, Mimi in *La Bohème*, and Cio-Cio San in *Madame Butterfly*. She also appeared in some of the earliest musical films like *La Traviata* and *Tosca*, and introduced Latin American music to a wide U.S. audience by singing in radio shows broadcast from New York.

Several contemporary Guatemalan American authors and academics have augmented the field of American literature. Donald Kenneth Gutierrez (1932–), a professor of English at Western New Mexico University, has published numerous essays and scholarly books, including *The Dark and Light Gods: Essays on the Self in Modern Literature* in 1987. David Unger (1950–), a writer, translator, and co-director of the Latin American Writers' Institute, edited *Antipoems, new and selected* (1985) by Nicanor Parra and co-translated *World Alone: Mundo a Solas* (1982). He has received awards for his translation work from the New York State Council on the Arts.

Author Arturo Arias (1950–) co-wrote (with Gregory Nava and Anna Thomas) the screenplay for *El Norte*, which won the Montreal Prize and was nominated for an Academy Award for best screenplay in 1982. The film portrays the experiences of a Kanjobal brother and sister who flee from persecution in Guatemala and make the arduous journey to Los Angeles. The realistic depiction of their struggles on the way and in the United States was well-received by the Kanjobal American community in Los Angeles, on which it is based. Arias has also written several novels, including *Jaguar en llamas* in 1989, and he is a professor of humanities at Stanford University and San Francisco State University.

Journalist and author Francisco Goldman's first novel *The Long Night of White Chickens* was published in 1992 and received much critical acclaim. The book evokes contemporary Guatemala and is narrated by a Guatemalan American character who travels to Guatemala in search of Guatemalan American friend who was murdered under mysterious circumstances.

MEDIA

PRINT

El Vocero de IXIM: Boletín Informativo de Integración de Indígenas Mayas (IXIM).

Trilingual newsletter in Acatec Mayan, Spanish, and English published by IXIM. Reports on cultural activities, news of interest to the Guatemalan American community, and sometimes features traditional folk tales. Frequency is roughly quarterly.

Contact: Pascual Francisco, President.

Address: 1432 West Olympic Boulevard, No. 2,
Los Angeles, California 90015.

Telephone: (213) 384-4134.

Guatemala Review.

Bilingual Spanish and English publication published by the Guatemalan Education Action Project. Features articles on the political situation in Guatemala and Chiapas.

Guatemala: The Bulletin of the Guatemala Human Rights Commission/USA.

Quarterly publication that provides information on the human rights situation in Guatemala.

Contact: Patricia Davis, Editor.

Guate-Noticias.

An English-language bi-monthly newsletter published by the Guatemala Support Network. In-depth articles on the peace process in Guatemala and announcements on conferences, events.

Contact: Benito Juarez, Director.

Address: Guatemala Support Network, 4223
Richmond Avenue, No. 112, Houston,
Texas 77027.

Telephone: (713) 850-0441.

La Opinión.

A Spanish-language daily newspaper popular among Central Americans in Pico-Union.

Contact: Monica Lozano, Editor.

Address: Lozano Enterprises, 411 West Fifth
Street, Los Angeles, California 90013.

Telephone: (213) 896-2020.

Fax: (213) 896-2144.

Report on Guatemala.

Published quarterly by the Guatemala News and Information Bureau. Focuses on news and analysis of events in Guatemala.

Contact: Todd Kolze, Coordinator.
Address: GNIB, P.O. Box 28594, Oakland,
California 94604.
Telephone: (510) 835-0810.

RADIO

WZOR-AM (1490).

Broadcasts programs for the Hispanic community in Immokalee, Florida, specifically for the large Guatemalan American population in the area.

Contact: Jose Quiatanilla, Station Manager.
Address: 2105 West Immokalee Drive,
Immokalee, Florida 33934.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Casa Guatemala.

A member of Atanasio Tzul-Guatemala Support Network, the umbrella organization for ten Guatemalan refugee services groups in the United States. Provides legal assistance for immigration cases, English as a second language classes, and organizes cultural activities.

Contact: Julio Revolorio, Executive Director.
Address: c/o Atanasio Tzul, 4554 North
Broadway, Suite 273, Chicago, Illinois 60640.
Telephone: (773) 465-2463.

La Comité Unidad Guatemalteca.

A mostly *ladino* cultural and political group organized by the Guatemalan American refugee community in San Francisco.

Contact: Mario Ordonez, Coordinator.
Address: 1200 Florida Street, San Francisco,
California 94110.
Telephone: (415) 550-9225.

Grupo Maya Qusamej Junan.

Promotes the culture of Guatemalan Mayans and indigenous people in the United States through the production of art exhibits, language classes, and traditional dances and ceremonies. It also supports projects in Guatemala.

Contact: Adrian Cuyuzh, Coordinator.
Address: P.O. Box 40892, San Francisco,
California 94140.
Telephone: (415) 824-2534.

Guatemala Education Action Project.

Formed in 1986 by Guatemalan refugees in the United States to build awareness, response, and respect for the people of Guatemala.

Address: 8124 West Third, Suite 105, Los
Angeles, California 90048-4328.
Telephone: (213) 782-0953.
Fax: (213) 782-0954.

Guatemala Human Rights Commission/USA.

Monitors and provides current information about human rights in Guatemala.

Contact: Alice Zachmann, Director.
Address: 3321 12th Street, N.E.,
Washington, D.C. 20017-4008.
Telephone: (202) 529-6599.
Fax: (202) 526-4611.
E-mail: ghrc@igc.apc.org.

International Mayan League.

Promotes Mayan thought in the areas of culture, science, technology, and art. It produces brochures and other media and participates in speaking engagements. Headquarters are in Costa Rica, with offices throughout the world, and it serves as the parent organization of Guatemala Watch of Vermont.

Contact: Felipe or Elena Ixzot, Coordinators.
Address: 11 Cider Mill Road, Weston, Vermont
05161.
Telephone: (802) 824-3529.
Fax: (802) 824-3529.
E-mail: ixcot@juno.com.
Online: [http://www.alternativemedia.org/
imlconnect.html](http://www.alternativemedia.org/imlconnect.html).

Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA).

Founded in 1981. NISGUA acts as an umbrella organization for groups that support human rights in Guatemala. Collects and disseminates information about the political, military, and economic situation there.

Contact: Lael Parish, Executive Director.
Address: 1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
No. 214, Washington, D.C. 20005.
Telephone: (202) 223-6474.
Fax: (202) 223-8221.
E-mail: nisgau@igc.apc.org.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Dallas Museum of Art.

The museum displays an extensive collection of pre-Columbian and eighteenth- to twentieth-century textiles, censers, and other art objects from Guatemala.

Contact: Karen Zelanka, Associate Registrar,
Permanent Collection.

Address: 1717 North Harwood, Dallas,
Texas 75201.

Telephone: (214) 922-1200.

Human Rights Documentation Exchange.

Formerly known as the Central America Resource Center, the Documentation Exchange maintains a library of information on human rights and social conditions in many countries, including Guatemala, as well as some information on Guatemalan Americans.

Contact: Faye Kolly, RLSS Coordinator.

Address: P.O. Box 2327, Austin, Texas 78768.

Telephone: (512) 476-9841.

Fax: (512) 476-0130.

Middle American Research Institute (MARI).

Part of Tulane University. Features a collection of pre-Hispanic, Mayan textiles and archeological artifacts from Guatemala.

Address: Middle American Research Institute,
Tulane University, New Orleans,
Louisiana 70118.

Telephone: (504) 865-5110.

Fax: (504) 862-8778.

E-mail: mari@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu.

Online: <http://www.tulane.edu/~mari>.

Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin.

This internationally renowned library of books and periodicals on Latin America, maintains one of the best collections on Guatemalan Americans and Guatemala.

Contact: Laura Gutiérrez-Witt, Head Librarian.

Address: Sid Richardson Hall 1.109, General
Libraries, University of Texas at Austin,
Austin, Texas 78713-7330.

Telephone: (512) 471-3818.

San Antonio Museum of Art.

The museum features a variety of textiles and sculpture from Guatemala.

Contact: Dr. Marion Oettinger, Jr., Curator, Latin
American Folk Art.

Address: 200 West Jones Avenue, San Antonio,
Texas 78215.

Telephone: (210) 978-8100.

Fax: (210) 978-8118.

Textile Museum.

The museum displays a collection of handmade historic and ethnographic textiles from Guatemala and other Latin American countries.

Contact: William J. Conklin, Research Associate,
Pre-Columbian textiles.

Address: 2320 South Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 667-0441.

Fax: (202) 483-0994.

The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio.

The multicultural museum and educational resource center maintains a library of books, files, and photographs of 90 ethnic groups in Texas, including Guatemalan Americans.

Contact: Diane Bruce, Librarian.

Address: 801 South Bowie, San Antonio,
Texas 78205.

Telephone: (210) 558-2298.

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GUYANESE AMERICANS

by
Jacqueline A. McLeod

Guyanese Americans represent a minuscule percent of America's total population, but they have made significant contributions to American popular culture, the arts, academia, and politics.

OVERVIEW

The Cooperative Republic of Guyana—formerly the colony of British Guiana—is a country the size of its former colonial master, Great Britain, and slightly bigger than the state of Kansas. As one of many Caribbean nations, Guyana is often assumed to be an island rather than a continental country. Larger than the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean put together, it sprawls across 83,000 square miles of the northeastern coast of South America, bounded on the west by Venezuela, on the southwest by Brazil, and on the east by Suriname. Its northern boundary consists of 250 miles of coastline on the Atlantic Ocean. Of the country's total area, 86 percent is forest, 10.5 percent is savannah grassland, and 3.5 percent is the coastal belt on which nearly all its people live.

Guyana has a population of about three-quarters of a million people; 50 percent are of East Indian descent and about 30 percent are of African ancestry. Amerindian, Chinese, Portuguese, and British peoples all have contributed to the cultural heritage of the land. (The name Amerindian is used to distinguish Guyana's native groups from the immigrant East Indian population.) Primarily because of ambitious missionary activities during the nineteenth century, the Afro-Guyanese are mostly Christian. In fact, more than half of Guyana's people—regardless of race or ethnicity—are classified as Christian: 18 percent of the popula-

tion is Roman Catholic, and 16 percent is Anglican. Of the non-Christian Guyanese, 35 percent Hindu, and 9 percent Muslim. The major religious holidays of each of the three faiths—Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam—are observed nationally.

Guyana's capital city is Georgetown. No other cities or towns rival it in importance. The official language of the country is English, but almost everyone speaks Creolese, a fusion of European and African dialects. Amerindian dialects and East Indian tongues are spoken as well, and three major Indian languages—Hindi, Tamil, and Telugu—are still in use among the Indo-Guyanese. Each of a dozen native groups speaks a different Carib, Arawak, or Warrau dialect. About 91 percent of the Guyanese population is literate—one of the highest rates among new nations of the world. Guyana's national flag consists of five colors: the green background symbolizes agriculture and forests, the golden arrowhead represents mineral wealth, the white border stands for water resources, and the red triangle edged in black signifies the energy and zeal of the Guyanese in building their nation.

HISTORY

Guyana is an Amerindian word that means “land of [many] waters.” The Europeans first used the name to refer to the triangle formed by the Orinoco, Amazon, and Negro rivers. The British used “Guiana”—an English spelling of the same Amerindian name—to refer to their New World colony. Before the arrival of the Europeans, Guyana was inhabited by several native groups. The largest group was the Caribs, who lived in the upper reaches of the Essequibo River, as well as near the Mazaruni, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, and Barima rivers. The Caribs roamed the heavily forested regions of the interior. Between the Corentyne and Waini rivers lived the Arawaks, a friendly, peace-loving native group whose people were the first to greet Christopher Columbus in other areas of the Caribbean. Another native group, the Warrau, inhabited the swampland near the mouth of the Orinoco in present-day Venezuela but eventually moved east into Guyanese territory.

Christopher Columbus was the first European known to have sailed along the coast of Guyana. But during his voyage to the New World in 1498, Columbus only viewed the land's low-lying tropical shore. It was not until 1499 that Alonso de Ojeda became the first Spaniard to actually set foot on the land that would later be known as Guyana. No settlement, however, resulted from this early exploration. Between 1595 and 1616, English explorer

Sir Walter Raleigh—who dreamed of “El Dorado” (the mythical land of gold)—led three expeditions to the Guyanese territory. Although Raleigh failed to locate any gold, his efforts resulted in the earliest mapping of the Guyanese coastline.

The Dutch were the first Europeans to gain a real foothold in Guyana. In 1616 Dutch colonists selected a site on an island peak overlooking the junction of the Mazaruni and Cuyuni rivers, about 40 miles upstream from the mouth of the Essequibo River. The settlement was named Kijk-over-al (“Overlooking All”). Early attempts at farming included the growth of coffee, tobacco, and cotton crops. Meanwhile in Europe, the Dutch States-General (governing the provinces of present-day Holland) granted a charter over the Guyana territory to the Dutch West India Company in 1621. The charter gave the company complete political and economic authority, the privilege to undertake pirate raids against Spanish shipping, and the right to carry slaves from West Africa to the New World. By 1770 more than 15,000 Africans were enslaved in Guyana.

With a slave labor force, which consisted of men and women forcibly removed from their native Africa, the farms began to grow in size and in yield. The success of the Dutch venture encouraged the development of sugar plantations in other inland regions of Guyana. Similar settlements sprang up along the Berbice, Demerara, and Pomeroon rivers. The Berbice district became a separate territory in 1732, and a Demerara district was established in 1741.

In 1781 war broke out between the Dutch and the British over ownership of the colony, resulting in a year of British control over Guyana. In 1782 the French seized power and governed for two years, during which time they created the new town of Longchamps at the mouth of the Demerara River. When the Dutch regained power in 1784, they moved their colonial capital to Longchamps and renamed it Stabroek; the city was later renamed again—this time “Georgetown” after the British king, George III.

The Dutch maintained control over the Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerara settlements until 1796, when a British fleet from the Caribbean island of Barbados conquered the country. The British governed until 1802, at which time Guyana was restored to the Dutch under a truce established by the Treaty of Amiens. The next year the British once again conquered the colony, which was finally ceded to them in 1814 under agreements contained in the Treaty of Paris and the Congress of Vienna. In 1831, three years before slavery ended in the region,

the British merged Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerara to form British Guiana. After slavery was abolished throughout the British colonies on August 1, 1834, former slaves were subjected to a four-year apprenticeship to facilitate their transition to a wage labor system. However, after emancipation, few former slaves chose to work—even for wages—for the plantation owners who had once enslaved them.

Faced with a critical shortage of workers, planters decided to import workers under a system of indentured servitude. Immigrants under this system included people from Portugal, China, the West Indies, and Africa, but by 1844 indentured servitude in Guyana was almost solely the domain of East Indian laborers. After a five-year indenture period, the East Indians were “free” to return to India at their own expense. This indenture system, which had satisfied the planter aristocracy’s demand for workers, was abolished in British Guiana in 1917. But no matter how much headway was achieved by the former slaves or by former indentured laborers, the reins of political power remained in the firm grasp of a European elite.

MODERN ERA

Guyana’s road to independence was a rocky one. In 1953, a new constitution granted universal adult voting rights and established a two-house legislature. But political turmoil followed the first general election. The British government feared the communist leanings of the winning People’s Progressive Party (PPP), which was led by Cheddi Berret Jagan (1918–). Consequently, the British suspended the new constitution and the elected government. (Guyana’s constitution did not go into effect until 1961.)

In addition to the PPP’s communist stance, the party also advocated independence from Great Britain. From 1954 until the time that new elections were held in 1957, an interim government ruled British Guiana. Meanwhile, Jagan, an East Indian, and his fellow PPP cofounder, Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham (1923-1985), an African, had a major disagreement that ended their collaboration. Burnham left the PPP in 1957 and formed the People’s National Congress (PNC), which eventually became an opposition party to the PPP. The split weakened the party’s majority, but the PPP still won the most legislative seats in 1957 and again in 1961.

As head of the PPP, Jagan was elected prime minister of the colonial Guyanese government in 1957 and remained in office until the heavily contested election of 1964. That year, the colonial gov-

ernor declared Burnham the victor by virtue of his ability to lead a coalition of the PNC and the United Force (UF), a third party led by Portuguese businessman Peter Stanislaus d’Aguiar. Under Burnham’s leadership, the nation’s long struggle for independence ended on May 26, 1966, when he assumed the office of prime minister of an independent Guyana.

In an attempt to put an end to foreign meddling in Guyanese affairs, Burnham steadfastly positioned Guyana among the world’s non-aligned nations in world affairs. With Burnham at the helm, Guyana declared itself a “Cooperative Republic” in 1970. The change meant that Guyana became a socialist nation—a country committed to achieving prosperity by pooling its material and human resources. The Guyanese government also nationalized its industries, including foreign-owned bauxite companies (bauxite is used in the production of aluminum), which produced much of the country’s wealth. By 1985, the end of Burnham’s 20-year tenure as chief executive and the year of his death, more than three-quarters of the country’s economy had been brought under government control.

Immediately following Burnham’s death, vice president Hugh Desmond Hoyt was sworn into office. Regularly scheduled elections, criticized as fraudulent, were held in December of 1985. Hoyt and the PNC won a solid but questionable victory. However, in national elections held in October of 1992—under the watchful eyes of the international community—the Jagan-led PPP won, bringing the tenure of the PNC as ruling party to a close after almost three decades.

THE FIRST GUYANESE IN AMERICA

The Guyanese people were part of the two major waves of British West Indian immigration to the United States. The earlier wave encompassed the first two decades of the twentieth century, showing a steady increase in immigration until the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. This act placed race and ethnicity restrictions on entry to the United States and included the English-speaking Caribbean in the quota allotted to Great Britain, with a visa limit of 800 per year and a preference system for skilled workers and relatives of United States citizens. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Guyanese immigrants primarily chose Britain as their destination. However, following the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which removed race and ethnicity as conditions of entry, the second wave of immigration to the United States began; the

Guyanese American migration pattern continued to accelerate in the ensuing decades.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Guyanese immigration to the United States increased sharply with the passage of Britain's 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, which overturned the British Nationality Act of 1948. The earlier act allowed citizens of Guyana to claim citizenship in the United Kingdom and granted all Commonwealth citizens the same legal rights accorded to British citizens. Many Guyanese took advantage of this opportunity to further their education and improve their economic status. However, the concentration of nonwhite manual workers and their families in British cities stimulated an outcry against unregulated immigration, culminating in the 1962 act, which restricted their entry. With the doors of their "mother country" virtually closed to them, many Guyanese, mostly of the professional and technical classes, began to turn to the United States as their new land of opportunity.

In 1965 the McCarran-Walter Act was amended to protect American workers while restricting immigration from the Western Hemisphere. But with the introduction in 1968 of an annual ceiling of 120,000 immigrant visas for the Western Hemisphere, the intent of the act of 1965 was negated. Skilled laborers from Western Hemisphere countries journeyed to the United States in record numbers. The response from Guyana was immediate and dramatic. The majority of Guyanese applicants fell into the categories of "professional," "technical," and "kindred" (or skilled) workers.

The outward flow from Guyana intensified as the country experienced drastic economic and political changes during the 1970s and 1980s. After declaring itself a "Cooperative Republic" in 1970, Guyana began taking steps toward the nationalization of resources. During this time the country was under progressively heavier stresses and strains, resulting in declining productivity, massive unemployment, and skyrocketing inflation. It was also during this period that the Burnham regime came under increasing fire for its repression of political opposition.

Between 1960 and 1970, more Guyanese entered the United States than ever before. Around this time, the United States experienced labor shortages—especially in the health industry and in private households, traditional areas of employment for women. Guyanese women, like other Caribbean women, met demands in the United States for workers in the health and domestic fields. The first

Guyanese to arrive in 1968, either as "private household workers" or as nurses' aides, were of African descent. East Indian Guyanese women were forbidden by custom to venture to the United States alone.

Guyanese immigrants no longer fit the traditional immigration pattern, in which the men settle in a new country first and send for their families later. Since the 1960s, female immigrants have assumed the status of "principal alien," the term given to an immigrant worker within a specific or delineated labor force capacity, whose status activates other provisions in the migration process of family members. According to Monica Gordon in *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*, more Guyanese women than men settled in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, making them primarily responsible for securing immigrant status for their families. These women, Gordon concluded, tended to see migration as a means to improve their economic and social status and the educational opportunities of their children. U.S. Census Bureau records indicate that of the 48,608 people of Guyanese ancestry living in the United States in 1980, 26,046 were female. By 1990 approximately 81,665 people of Guyanese ancestry had settled in the United States.

SETTLEMENT

Because the overwhelming majority of Guyanese were migrating from urban centers (90 percent of Guyana's population is clustered along the coastal plain), they tended to settle mostly in the northeastern cities of the United States. As of 1990, 80 percent of Guyanese Americans lived in the Northeast. The heaviest concentration of Guyanese Americans can be found in New York (56,462), New Jersey (6,697), and Maryland (3,106), although a significant portion of the population also settled in Florida, California, Texas, and Pennsylvania.

Guyanese American communities are not localized. There are no clearly demarcated spatial boundaries between them and other Caribbean groups. Rather, a multiplicity of Caribbean peoples tend to settle in the same regions. New York City's immigrant pool from 1982 to 1989 was drawn mostly from the Caribbean. Of the top five source countries, four were the Caribbean nations of the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Haiti, and Guyana. Seventy percent of all Guyanese immigrants move to New York. In fact, about eight percent of the total population of Guyana moved to New York City—particularly the East Flatbush, Flatbush, and Crown Heights sections of Brooklyn—in the 1980s,

according to a July 1, 1992, *New York Times* article entitled “A City of Immigrants Is Pictured in Report.” Of the 46,706 Guyanese immigrants in the United States from 1983 to 1989, a total of 8,912, or approximately 19 percent, settled in these sections of the city.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Many immigration studies on the Caribbean focus on the island nations of Jamaica, Haiti, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago because of their large populations abroad. Guyana’s immigrant population in the United States noticeably increased in the 1980s. Guyana first grabbed the international spotlight in November of 1978, after the shocking People’s Temple incident involving the mass suicide by poison of more than 900 Americans in the country’s interior. The People’s Temple, a cult that originated in California, consisted of U.S. citizens under the leadership of Reverend Jim Jones. Members of the Guyanese government found Jones’s credentials sound and granted him permission to construct a religious center in Guyana’s western region, near Port Kaituma. The enterprise, however, ended in tragedy when Jones—under scrutiny by the U.S. government for his questionable dealings—has his followers kill themselves. For years after, the country of Guyana was associated with the cult members’ deaths.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Guyanese folklore and traditions date back centuries. Many Guyanese superstitions or belief systems are maintained among Guyanese Americans, especially those who identify with some Caribbean enclave. The following are some examples of Guyanese beliefs: Good Friday is considered a very unlucky day to be involved in outdoor activities if they are not church-related. When entering a house late at night, a person should go in backwards in order to keep evil spirits out. To cure a fever, a sliced potato should be placed on the ill person’s forehead. To cure the effects of a stroke (like a twisted mouth), a whole nutmeg should be placed inside of the mouth on the affected side. A woman whose feet have been swept will not get married. A black cat crossing in front of a pedestrian will bring bad luck. A dog howling at a particular house is a sign that death will soon come to someone in that household. A pondfly in the house is a sign of news or correspondence. Stepping over someone’s leg will stunt their growth. All references to the dead must

be prefaced with the words: “God rest the dead in the living and the looking.”

PROVERBS

A wealth of proverbs from Guyanese culture have survived through the generations: “Hint at Quashiba mek Beneba tek notice” (Pay attention to the hints someone drops); “Wuh is fun fuh school boy is dead fuh crappo” (One man’s meat is another man’s poison); “Bush gat ears, goobie gat hole” (When you least expect it, people are eavesdropping); “Mouth open, story jump out” (Some people can’t keep a secret); “Show me yuh company, I’ll tell you who you be” (People judge you by the friends you keep); “Moon run til day ketch he” (Your deeds usually catch up with you); “Greedy man y’eye does yalla twice, fuh he own and he mattie own” (Some people are never satisfied); “Monkey mek he pickney til he spoil’um” (Similar to “Too many cooks spoil the broth”); “Wuh fall from head drop pun shoulder” (Sins of the parents fall on the children); “If yuh guh to crab dance, yuh mus get mud” (What you sow you reap); “Who lif yuh up doan put yuh dung” (Those who get you into trouble don’t get you out); “It’s a lazy horse that can’t carry its own oats” (Your burden is yours to carry); “Hand wash hand mek hand come clean” (More is accomplished through cooperation); “Mocking is ketching” (Don’t laugh at another’s situation, it might be yours); “Monkey know wuh limb to jump pun” (Bullies know exactly on whom to pick); “Donkey ears long, but he doan hear he own story” (Some people mind other people’s business); “Do suh nuh like suh” (Treat others as you would like to be treated); “If yuh nuh gat muhma suck granny” (Make do with what you have).

CUISINE

Guyanese cuisine is appetizing, spicy, and delicious. Spices and herbs are used in abundance, and one-dish meals occupy an important place in Guyanese cuisine. These dishes, sometimes called “poor man food,” are nourishing, inexpensive, and very easy to prepare. Guyanese men and women both enjoy cooking, each trying to outdo the other in excellence. *Pepperpot*, considered a national dish, is a combination of different meats (beef, pork), spices, a dash of sugar, lots of onions, and *cassareep* (a sauce made from fermented juice from the bitter cassava plant); it is eaten with rice or bread. *Cookup rice*, another national dish, is a blend of rice, split peas or black-eyed peas, spices, onions, coconut milk, and meats. Also central to the repertoire of Guyanese recipes is the array of Indian curried dishes, made

with curry powder, an East Indian spice with a distinctive flavor. *African Metemgee*, an inexpensive dish that is very filling, is made from coconut milk, meat or fish, onions, spices, plantains, and dumplings. *Souse* is a very spicy and tangy dish made from boiled pig ears and pig feet, flavored with cucumber, hot pepper, scallions, and lemon juice. Portuguese garlic pork is highly spiced pork pickled in garlic and vinegar. It is served fried, and eaten with bread. *Dahl* is a blend of boiled split peas, onions, garlic, curry powder, and cumin. This can be served over rice or eaten with *roti*, a pancake-like bread. Guyanese cuisine is not complete without Chinese noodles and chow mein, and black pudding, also called blood pudding, which is served with a tangy hot sauce.

Konkee is a sweet dish made from corn flour, sugar, spices, grated coconut, and raisins. The mixture is then wrapped in a banana leaf and boiled. *Foofoo*, one of several substitutes for rice, is simply boiled plantains pounded in a mortar with a pestle. This is usually served with some type of stew. *Cocoo*, another substitute for rice, is a corn meal mush blended with seasoned boiled okra. *Cutty Cutty soup*, a “poor man” dish, is made with okra, salt beef, pig tail, tripe (stomach tissue, usually of a cow), onions, green plantains, and dumplings. *Salt fish cakes*, also called codfish cakes, are made from shredded salted codfish mashed together with boiled potatoes, onions, and pepper, then placed in a batter and fried. Black cake is Guyanese fruit cake, usually made at Christmas or for weddings. It is a very dark and very rich fruit cake made with rum. Ginger beer is a non-alcoholic homemade drink made from grated ginger and sweetened water.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Many Indo-Guyanese women wear their traditional *sari* for special occasions such as weddings or East Indian holidays. *Saris* are garments made from long pieces of light cloth: one end is wrapped around the waist to form a skirt and the other is draped over the shoulder or the head. Some Afro-Guyanese wear the African *booboo* and *head wrap*. During the 1970s, when Guyana became a socialist republic, Prime Minister Burnham formally declared the official business attire for men to be *shirtjacks* and pants, instead of the European suit and tie.

DANCES AND SONGS

Guyana’s National Dance Company—a multiethnic troupe—performs East Indian and African dances during national holidays, including Inde-

pendence Day; *Deepavali*, the Hindu celebration of lights; *Phagwah*, the Hindu festival to welcome spring; and the Republic celebrations.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to Christmas Day, New Year’s Day, and Easter Sunday, Guyanese Americans celebrate Guyana’s Independence on May 26, and to a lesser degree “August Monday,” the first Monday in August, symbolizing Emancipation Day. At Independence Day celebrations, the national anthem, “Dear Land of Guyana,” is sung.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems or medical conditions that are specific to Guyanese Americans. Many families have health insurance coverage through their employers. Like most Americans, Guyanese American business owners and professionals in private practice are insured at their own expense.

LANGUAGE

Guyanese generally speak and understand Creole or Creolese, which is a linguistic fusion of African dialects and English. Standard English is used for formal communication, although it is spoken in a definite Guyanese vernacular. For the first generation of immigrants who settled (as most did) among other Caribbean enclaves, there was no real attempt to alter their speech pattern, since others in their community could understand them. For those immigrants who moved away from their Caribbean neighbors and integrated socially into the host society, their speech pattern gradually lost its distinctive Guyanese sound. Some immigrants, however, chose to hold onto their speech pattern as a way of maintaining their identity.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Guyanese words and expressions include: Howdy—How are you?; God spare life—an expression used after promising to do something; God rest the dead—expression used before speaking the name of the dead; *Beannie*—referring to a young female; *Banna*—referring to a young male; *Jert*—to eat; *Tassay*—to get lost; *Ahgee*—grandmother; *Bambuy*—leftovers; *Eye wata*—tears; *Mamoo*—uncle (Indo-Guyanese); *Pagaly*—silly; “Don’t mek yuh eyes pass me”—meaning don’t disrespect me.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The first wave of Guyanese immigrants in the early decades of the twentieth century were typically single males who had left their families and possibly a fiancée behind temporarily in the hopes of sending for them later; in the interim, they supplemented the income of the family back home. Many married men did not immigrate ahead of their families, since their jobs at home provided the only income the family had. In the case of the Indo-Guyanese, some husbands and wives came together, leaving children with grandparents or other relatives. Recently there has been an increase in the numbers of Indo-Guyanese women who have immigrated without their families, but these numbers are still minuscule in comparison to the Afro-Guyanese women, who began moving to the United States alone in the 1960s. Typically these newcomers first stayed for a short time with friends or relatives. After finding work, however, they usually rented rooms in crowded boarding houses (often occupied by other Guyanese and Caribbean immigrants).

Like typical first generation immigrants, the Guyanese worked hard and saved most of their earnings, doing without the simplest of pleasures. Their primary goal was to facilitate the passage of their family members to the United States. Many of the males worked around the clock and went to night classes to better themselves educationally; women typically performed “sleep in” work—living six days per week at their place of employment and returning to the boarding house for one day, usually beginning Saturday night and ending Sunday night. That one day off was spent in church and at stores shopping for things to “pack a barrel” for their kin back home.

After acquiring permanent resident status and securing their family’s passage to the United States, Guyanese immigrants then concentrated on improving their economic and educational status. Many women pursued nursing degrees part-time while holding multiple jobs.

The core of the social network of the Guyanese is the family. Other Guyanese are preferred as marriage partners, but many Guyanese marry persons from other Caribbean nations, or Americans of Caribbean parentage. The percentage of marriages between Guyanese and Americans—black or white—is low.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

From their first arrival, the Guyanese began to interact with other ethnic groups, particularly

Jamaicans, Trinidadians, Barbadians, Grenadians, and people from other English-speaking Caribbean nations. This nurturing of a Caribbeaness contributes to the resistance to marry outside of the Caribbean group. Guyanese American cultural traditions have been preserved by the religious observances of weddings, baptisms, and funerals.

WEDDINGS

The bridal shower is a social custom practiced in Guyana among many Christians and non-Christians. Many Guyanese Hindus, for example, have simultaneous Christian celebrations to include their Christian friends. For Christian weddings, bans are usually announced in the church for three consecutive Sundays so that impediments to the marriage—if any—can be brought to the attention of the priest. During this period the priest counsels the couple on the duties of marriage. As in the United States, the couple selects a best man, maid (or matron) of honor, bridesmaids, and attendants. In most cases the best man and maid/matron of honor serve as godparents to the couple’s first child. The godmother then becomes the couple’s *mac mae* (“mac may”), and the godfather the *com pae* (“com pay”).

On the night before the wedding, in a celebration of song and dance called a *kweh kweh*, the bride is feted by the older women of her family. The actual wedding ceremony mirrors the traditional American church wedding. Silver coins are also blessed by the priest and given to the bride and groom for good luck and prosperity. The priest wraps a robe around the bride and groom, symbolizing their union, and blesses them before concluding the ceremony.

Most Guyanese American weddings are held at a private home or at a Caribbean catering hall to ensure a Guyanese menu. Gifts are usually delivered before the day of the wedding. Toasting or paying respects to the newlyweds is the focal point of the reception. The best man gives his blessings and advice first, then directs the parents of the couple to speak, then any elders in the audience. The bridegroom then speaks, thanking everyone for attending. The reception is accompanied by Caribbean music and dancing. Two weeks after the wedding, the couple entertains family and friends at a gala called a “Second Sunday.”

BAPTISMS

The Guyanese American community is a dispersed one, but family members often travel hundreds of miles for celebrations such as baptisms. According

to Guyanese tradition, a female child will have two godmothers and one godfather, and a male child will have two godfathers and one godmother. The godparents are responsible for purchasing the baptismal gown for the child; however, if the mother still has her wedding dress, she may choose to make a baptismal dress from it for her first born. The godparents take the child to church; the priest then confers the grace of God on the baby by placing his hand on his or her head. The godparents promise to lead the child in the way of the Lord. Then, the priest blesses the child in the name of the Holy Trinity while rubbing incense on the forehead and chest; pours holy water over the child's forehead; and finally offers the child up to God.

After the baptism, it is customary to have a large gathering with lots of music, dancing, and food. Family members and friends shower the child with gifts, and money is pinned on the child for good luck and prosperity. Guyanese custom dictates that the child be given a piece of gold jewelry for good luck soon after birth. Girls usually are given a pair of gold bangles (bracelets) and a pair of gold earrings, and boys are given a gold ring and a gold bracelet.

FUNERALS

Among the Guyanese, a death in the family is announced by word of mouth. In Guyana, the body of the dead is usually washed and dressed by family members, but because of health regulations this tradition is not practiced in the United States. The deceased is remembered and mourned during a wake, which is followed by a gathering of loved ones and friends. Food and liquor abound, tall tales are told, and folksongs are sung.

After the funeral service at church, prayers are said by the priest at the cemetery, and family members are invited to place flowers on the coffin. Before the deceased is lowered into the grave, the priest sprinkles soil on top of the coffin and while saying: "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust." The congregation then returns to the home of the deceased where friends and relatives have gathered bearing food and beverages. Nine days after the death of a loved one, there is another wake—called "Nine Night"—held in memory of the deceased.

For many days before and after the burial, the family of the deceased is never left alone. Mirrors in the house are covered, for fear of seeing the deceased. Homes are not swept out for days after the burial, for fear of the dead taking more family members with him or her.

RELIGION

Guyanese Americans generally maintain an affiliation with the religious denomination of their homeland. The vast majority of Guyanese American churchgoers are Episcopalian. Priests from Guyana who immigrate to the United States often go on to lead Guyanese American churches. These churches also serve as network centers for newly arrived immigrants. Many Caribbean-led Episcopalian churches in the New York City area have established schools that cater to the educational demands of Caribbean parents and are staffed by former Caribbean schoolteachers. Guyanese parents view education as a combination of learning and discipline; many opt to pay for private schooling for their children, feeling assured that they will be taught in the "home way."

Beginning in the 1970s, a surge of non-denominational churches were established by the Guyanese in the New York and New Jersey areas. These "churches," which are more like teaching centers, have attracted many newly settled Guyanese Americans. So-called "Unity Centers" serve as community centers and teach positive thinking and ways to attain a closer relationship with God. The congregation reflects the many faces of the nations in the Caribbean, although Guyanese usually predominate in those Unity Centers run by Guyanese priests and priestesses.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Because the early Guyanese immigrants settled in the northeastern region of the United States, particularly New York, they found work in the health care, domestic labor, banking, clerical, and physical security fields. They were paid the lowest wages, and—like members of other immigrant groups—many worked several jobs at a time. After accumulating work experience and permanent resident status, many Guyanese advanced to better paying positions.

Some Guyanese established their own small, family-run businesses, such as bakeries and take-out restaurants catering to the tastes of a Caribbean community. Others who could not afford to rent business space in Caribbean neighborhoods sold Guyanese food out of their homes on weekends. As the Guyanese immigrants became more established, they opened real estate offices, guard services, small grocery stores (specializing in food products from home, like *cassareep*), neighborhood law offices (specializing in immigration and real estate law), beauty salons, and travel agencies.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Guyanese are active in the organizations of the larger Caribbean region. There are many Guyanese nurses' and police associations. Guyanese Americans have not yet made a collective impact on political activity nationally. Locally, however, they have organized through their churches with other ethnic groups to call attention to problems in their neighborhoods. They have also entered politics on a local level.

RELATIONS WITH GUYANA

Guyanese Americans maintain close ties to their homeland and its people and provide significant financial support to their native country. During the late 1970s and 1980s—when Guyana was experiencing a terrible economic crisis owing to the further devaluation of the Guyanese dollar, skyrocketing prices for consumer goods, and shortages of basic necessities—Guyanese organizations pooled their resources from fund-raising and made generous donations of money, food, clothing, and equipment to Guyanese hostels, orphans, almshouses, schools, and hospitals. High school alumni associations furnished their alma maters and other schools with chairs, desks, books, and office supplies. Nurses' organizations donated syringes, bed sheets, thermometers, penicillin, and other scarce supplies to hospitals.

There is a steady flow of scholarly exchanges between Guyana and the United States in the form of academic conferences. In almost every college or university with a sizable Caribbean student body, there are Caribbean associations that encourage the connections with home through guest lecturers, trips, and networking. In the United States, academic organizations such as the Association of Caribbean Historians, the Caribbean Studies Association, and the Caribbean Writers Association cater to scholars from the Caribbean.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Guyanese Americans represent a minuscule percent of America's total population, but they have made significant contributions to American popular culture, the arts, academia, and politics:

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Guyana has long provided a theme for literary expression. Popular Guyanese authors include Jan Carew (1925–), Wilson Harris (1921–), Denis

Williams (1923–), O. R. Dathorne (1934–), Christopher Nicole (1930–), Gordon Rohlehr, and E. R. Braithwaite (1920–). Braithwaite's memoir *To Sir With Love* details his experiences as a black high school teacher in a white London slum. The work was praised for its hopeful view of difficult race relations and was adapted for a 1967 film of the same name.

Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965) became well known outside of Guyana for such novels as *Corentyne Thunder*, *Shadows Move Among Them* (which won high critical acclaim in America and Britain), *Morning at the Office*, *The Life and Death of Sylvia*, *The Piling of Clouds*, and a three-part novel known as the *Kaywana Trilogy* (*Children of Kaywana*, *Kaywana Stock*, and *Kaywana Blood*). This trilogy follows the fortunes of a Dutch planter family, the Van Groenwegels, over three centuries of Guyanese history and attempts to capture the raw and violent spirit of those times.

Miramy, a full-length Guyanese comedy by Frank Pilgrim, is set on an imaginary island in the West Indies. It became the first locally written play to be performed outside of Guyana. The works of Jan Carew include *Black Midas*, a picaresque novel acclaimed for its vivid portrayal of raw and roguish types in the diamond fields of Guyana; *The Wild Coast*, a sensitive study of a young man's difficult passage from puberty to manhood; and *The Last Barbarian*, a study of West Indian and African life in Harlem. Works by Wilson Harris include a series of poems entitled *Eternity to Season* and the novel *The Palace of the Peacock*, about the journey of a river crew through the jungles of Guyana. Among his other works are *The Far Journey of Oudin*, *The Whole Armour*, and *The Secret Ladder*.

Gregory A. Henry, a Guyana-born artist, draws upon the endemic storytelling traditions of his culture for his paintings and sculpture. His work, which has been featured in several travelling exhibits and solo and group shows, has been praised by art critics who number him among a select group of artists projected to come to national prominence in the 1990s.

MUSIC

Alvin Chea is a member of Take 6, a Grammy Award-winning, all-male, *a cappella* gospel-pop group. Chea is first generation Guyanese American, born to a Guyanese mother.

POLITICS

Colin Moore is a Guyanese American who has made a name for himself in New York politics. An attorney

in private practice in Brooklyn, Moore is known for representing many Guyanese Americans and other Caribbean immigrants throughout the New York area. He sought election to the office of governor of New York in 1994, ran unsuccessfully in the past for New York City councilman and district attorney, and—with a group of politically active African Americans—helped found the Freedom Party.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Guyana Republican Party (GRP).

Address: P.O. Box 260185, Brooklyn, New York 11226-0185.

Telephone: (973) 484-3431; or (800) 577-7468.

Fax: (973) 484-1615.

E-Mail: 103203.652@compuserve.com.

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GYPSEY

by
Evan Heimlich

AMERICANS

Many Roma themselves do not admit to their true ethnic origins for economic and social reasons.

OVERVIEW

The term *Gypsy* derives from *Egyptian*, reflecting a mistaken assumption of the origins of the people who refer to themselves as the Roma. Ethnic Gypsies are the descendants of diverse groups of people who were assembled in northern India as a military force to resist the eastward movement of Islam. Over the centuries, they moved westward into Europe and northern Africa, adapting their language and culture in their migrations. Gypsy Americans represent family groups from England (Romnichals), Eastern Europe (the Rom, subdivided into Kalderash, Lovari, and Machvaya), Romania (Ludar), and Germany. They sometimes entered the United States after residing in other parts of the western hemisphere for a period of time. An accurate estimate of their numbers is difficult to achieve. If counted in a census at all, it is typically by their country of origin. Estimates of the total population of ethnic Gypsies in the United States range from fewer than 100,000 to one million.

HISTORY

The Rom linguist W. R. Rishi gives the etymology of *Rom* from the Sanskrit *Rama*, with meanings that include “one who roams about.” The number of Persian, Armenian, and Greek terms in the various Romani dialects reflect their migrations, just as those related to Sanskrit and Hindi point to their

common origin. Although a Persian story has been cited as proof they came from a single caste of entertainers, more recent evidence, including blood-type research, points to a gathering of diverse peoples in the Punjab region of India to form an army and its support groups to counter Muslim invaders. In the eleventh century some of this group moved north through Kashmir and west into Persia. After some generations they pushed on to Armenia, then fled Turkish invaders by entering the Byzantine Empire. By the thirteenth century they reached the Balkan Peninsula; Serbian and Romanian terms came into their language. Thereafter they split into smaller groups that dispersed throughout Europe, absorbed cultural and linguistic influences of their host countries, and developed differences that persist among Gypsy subgroups today.

The Roma had reached Western Europe from regions dominated by the feared Ottoman Empire. Their language and appearance set them apart from the resident populations; they repeatedly suffered harassment or worse at the hands of the local majority. Such treatment likely encouraged their traditionally nomadic way of life. Eventually Europeans used “Gypsies” or related words to name not only a particular ethnic group of people, but also other groups of people, unrelated by blood, whose traveling lifestyles made them resemble ethnic Gypsies. For the most part, Gypsies kept to themselves as a people; however, as Matt Salo suggests in his introduction to *Urban Gypsies*, “The existence of a number of Gypsy-like peripatetic groups, some of which (such as British Travellers) have intermarried with Gypsies ... complicate our attempts at classification” of who should not count and who should count as Gypsies. Although purists tend to define the group narrowly, loose classifications of ethnic Gypsies include all nomads who live and identify themselves as Gypsies.

The two groups of Gypsy Americans about whom scholars know the most are the Rom and the Romnichals. Many of the Rom came to the New World from Russia or Eastern or Central Europe; the Romnichals came from Great Britain. Although these two groups have much in common, they also are divided by the cultural differences and prejudices between Great Britain and Eastern Europe. The Romnichals came to the United States earlier than the Rom, and ran successful horse-trading operations in New England. The Rom arrived in the United States during the late nineteenth century. It is uncertain how many Gypsies are in the United States because many Gypsies’ entry was undocumented, and others were recorded by their country of origin and not as Gypsies. The Roma-sponsored Patrin website explains, “Many Roma themselves

do not admit to their true ethnic origins for economic and social reasons.” Most chillingly, the Nazis rounded up and killed one million Gypsies during World War II.

Almost all Gypsies in the United States originated from some part of Europe, although there are a few small groups from elsewhere, such as parts of Asia. Some “black Dutch,” from Germany, the Netherlands, and Pennsylvania, intermarried with Romnichals and are counted as Anglo-Americans. Besides the Eastern Europeans who make up the large group of Rom, there are in the United States two other large groups of Gypsies: the Baschalde (from Slovakia, Hungary, and Carpathia), who may number close to 100,000; and the Romungre (from Hungary and Transylvania) who may number as many as 60,000. There are also some Horchanay, who are historically Muslims from the South Balkans, and a small population of Sinti Gypsies, who came from Northern Europe—Germany, Netherlands, France, Austria, Hungary—where they, like other Gypsies, were targets of the Nazis. There are also Bosnian and Polish Gypsies present in the United States. Within the category of Rom Gypsies, there are several subgroups in the United States, such as the Kalderash and Machwaya. One of the most recent immigrations of a Gypsy group is that of the Lovara, which arrived in the 1990s. There are also a few small groups of Rumanian Ludar, who may be Gypsies, in addition to the population of Gypsy Americans who emigrated from the Gypsy stronghold within the nation of Romania.

IMMIGRATION WAVES TO THE UNITED STATES

Gypsies have come to the United States for reasons similar to those of other immigrants; however, since European powers have tended to oppose Gypsies, this hostility has hastened Gypsy emigrations. According to Sway, “Gypsy deportations from England, France, Portugal, and Spain created the genesis of Gypsy life in the New World.” Gypsies’ social marginality left them little institutional power in Europe. Sway adds that England deported some Gypsies to Barbados and Australia, and by the end of the seventeenth century, every European country with New World holdings followed the practice of deporting Gypsies to the Americas.

Suspicion between Gypsies and established institutions also spurred Gypsy emigration. Christian churches of Europe attacked Gypsy fortune-tellers, prompting deportations. Sending Gypsies home was not an option—no nation welcomed them since their origin in India was unknown to the Western world until the eighteenth century. Near

the end of the nineteenth century, Eastern European emigrants spread throughout Europe and the Western Hemisphere; within this mass movement came the biggest immigrant waves of Gypsies to the United States.

Although Europeans have historically treated Gypsies poorly, Gypsies tended to fare better in Western Europe than in Eastern Europe, where they suffered the extremes of racial prejudice, including enslavement. Still, the Roma hoped to escape social oppression in the New World. Of Gypsies deported to South American colonies, some migrated North. Some Gypsies were annexed into America with territory itself: for example, Napoleon transported hundreds of Gypsy men to Louisiana during the two-year period before selling the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803. More recently, toward the end of the twentieth century, the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe has enabled Gypsies to emigrate more freely, at times with renewed harassment as incentive, bringing new waves of Eastern European Gypsies to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The traditional stereotype of the Gypsy is the wanderer, and some modern Gypsy Americans continue to travel in pursuit of their livelihoods. Rather than wander, they tend to move purposefully from one destination to another. Historically, some families have reportedly traveled in regular circuits, often returning to the same places; others have ranged more widely, following no set route. Awareness of the best cities, small towns, or rural areas as markets for their services has guided all travel. A group might camp for weeks, sometimes months, at especially productive urban areas, returning to these spots year after year.

Gypsy Americans might maintain a sequence of home bases; they often live in mobile homes, settling indefinitely in a trailer park. They may tear down walls or and enlarge the doorways of their homes to combine rooms or make them larger to create a wide open space suitable for the large social gatherings that occur in Rom homes. In *Urban Gypsies*, Carol Silverman noted that Gypsies frequently pass along the houses, apartments, or trailers that they modify to a succession of Gypsy families. While some Gypsy Americans travel to make their living, others pursue settled careers in a variety of occupations according to their education and opportunities.

The Gypsy population has been participating in American migrations from countryside into cities. Yet estimates tend to support that the Gypsy Amer-

ican population at any given time is evenly divided between urban and rural areas. Generally, as noted by Silverman, the urbanization of the Rom began as early as the end of the eighteenth century when various groups began to spend the winter months camping in vacant lots on the outskirts of cities, and intensified when “a large number of Rom flocked to the cities during the 1920s and 1930s to take advantage of various relief programs, and remained there because of gas rationing and because of increasing business opportunities within the city.”

Because Gypsies tend to follow economic opportunities, the most populous cities, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, Seattle, and Portland, have the largest concentrations of Gypsies. Currently, there are Romnichal strongholds of very conservative Gypsies who reside in Texarkana, southern Arkansas, and other predominantly rural regions. Gypsies also have joined American movement westward. Many live in California.

CONTINUED HARASSMENT

Gypsy Americans who can do so often travel to other parts of the Western Hemisphere and to Europe. Many repeatedly visit certain places as part of a set route, including places where their kinfolk lived for generations. Gypsy Americans largely consider Eastern Europe their peoples' home. “In 1933 at the first International Conference on Gypsy Affairs held in Bucharest, Romania,” stated Sway, “the United Gypsies of Europe asked for a piece of land in Bucharest where Gypsies in trouble could settle. Later in 1937, Janus Kwiek, the ‘Gypsy King of Poland,’ asked Mussolini to grant the Gypsies a strip of land in Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia) so they might escape persecution in various host societies.”

Many Americans have romanticized Gypsies as exotic foreigners. Some Americans draw on the supposedly romantic appeals of Gypsy traditions—especially traditions of dancing and music-making, lives on the road, and maintaining a traveling culture. Often, established Americans maintain or adopt European prejudices against Gypsies and treat Gypsy immigrants poorly. Just as Europeans have often attributed the fortune-telling skills of Gypsies to “black magic,” Gypsy traders have been accused of fencing stolen goods, and of stealing their goods themselves. Laws attempting to deter, prevent, and punish fortune-tellers and thieves in America have singled out Gypsy Americans. According to Sway, until 1930, Virginia legally barred Gypsies from telling fortunes. And in New Jersey in the middle 1980s, special regulations and licensing require-

ments applied to Gypsies who told fortunes. Gypsy households have been labeled as “dens of thieves” so that charges brought against one resident may apply to any and all. In Mississippi in the middle 1980s, such application of liability “jointly-and-severally” is law. There have also been cases in the Pacific Northwest. As recently as the 1970s, New Hampshire expelled some Gypsies from that state on the grounds merely that they were Gypsies.

The fearsome shadow of attempted genocide of Gypsies in Europe still menaces Gypsies. Gypsy Americans are concerned about worsening oppression of fellow Gypsies, most severely in Eastern Europe. This concern is understandable in light of the first two genocidal massacres: during World War I Turks killed Gypsies and Armenians; and during the Holocaust, Nazis massacred Gypsies alongside Jews. Because too few people know about the Gypsy victims of the Nazis, Gypsies advocate public recognition of that loss. They attempt to draw attention, too, to the current plight of Eastern European Gypsies. Though the collapse of Communist regimes—especially that of Ceaușescu, which conducted sterilizations and other genocidal persecutions of Gypsies—has alleviated some of the worst oppression, “ethnic cleansing” in Eastern Europe is a cause for Gypsy concern.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Gypsies have repeatedly shown the ability to adapt without surrendering the essence of their culture. Traditional Gypsy Americans continue to resist the inroads of acculturation, assimilation, and absorption in the United States. Even groups such as the Gitanos or Romnichals, despite having lost most of their original language, still maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity and exclusiveness. A major issue facing Gypsy Americans since the 1980s is a worldwide Christian Fundamentalist revival that has swept up Gypsies around the world. As masses of Gypsies practice versions of Pentecostal Christianity, currents of Gypsy culture may be undergoing a sea-change.

Gypsies maintain a powerful group identity, though. Their traveling itself sets them apart from other cultures, as does their common rejection of international borders. Another area of difference from mainstream America is attitude toward formal, public schools. Until recently, many Gypsies sent their children to schools only until the age of ten to keep them from being exposed to alien practices and teachings.

Prejudice against Gypsies has strengthened their isolation. One might suppose that economic interactions would dispel the insularity of Gypsies, if insular social techniques did not pull Gypsies together. These opposing tensions give Gypsies a flexible identity. Gypsy people may seem split between their business life, which focuses outwardly on non-Gypsies, and on the other hand, their social life, which focuses inwardly on only Gypsies. Nevertheless, as Silverman noted, some Gypsy Americans may present themselves as Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, and as other local ethnics in order to obtain jobs, housing, and welfare.

Contemporary urban Rom usually live interspersed among the non-Gypsy population, establishing *ofisi* (fortune-telling parlors, one means of livelihood) in working areas or in their homes. Their businesses may make many Gypsies seem quite assimilated, and at other times the same Gypsies may seem very traditional. Gypsies have tended to maintain two distinct standards of public behavior, one among themselves, another among outsiders, and Sway pointed to a “form of body language and interactional style” that Gypsies often use when interacting with non-Gypsies. “A Gypsy’s very survival among non-Gypsies often depends on his [or her] ability to conceal as well as exaggerate his Gypsiness at appropriate times,” observed Silverman. For example, an appropriate time for a Gypsy to play to stereotype is while performing as a musician or fortune-teller for audiences who are known to value Gypsies’ exoticism. On the other hand, Silverman added that “a large part of behaving appropriately as a Gypsy involves knowing when to conceal one’s Gypsiness.” By passing as someone from a less stigmatized group, one can circumvent anti-Gypsy prejudice. For many, noted Silverman, “the process of boundary crossing [is] a performance strategically enacted for survival.”

Gypsies and non-Gypsy Americans have subjected each other to prejudices. To many Americans, Gypsy Americans seem to be sinister foreigners. To the Gypsies, Sway observed, “non-Gypsies seem cold, selfish, violent,” as well as defiled or polluted. However, because Gypsies depend economically on non-Gypsies as customers for their services, they cannot afford to isolate themselves physically from non-Gypsies. Instead, social techniques enable Gypsies to maintain their cultural separateness from the people near whom they live, and with whom they do business. Basically, these techniques consist of taboos. A Gypsy court system enforces the taboos, to effectively limit social interactions with non-Gypsies. Gypsy Americans may bend their taboos by eating in a restaurant with non-Gypsies,

and then attend to the taboos by remarking that some uncleanliness made them sick or unlucky.

IMAGES OF GYPSY AMERICANS

Stereotypes of Gypsies have focused on their nomadism, fortune-telling, and their trading. Non-Gypsies have stereotyped Gypsies, their cultures, and their skills as exotically different at best, but often much more offensively. As a result, English-speakers say that to defraud, swindle, or cheat someone is to “gyp” them. This sensational image of Gypsies as criminals does not find support from statistical analysis of court records, since conviction rates of Gypsy Americans seem to be lower than rates of other ethnic Americans for rape and murder; and the conviction rate of Gypsies for theft is no higher than the rate for other Americans. However, Hancock pointed out in his *The Pariah Syndrome* that the association of Gypsies with crime goes deep and is sometimes justified since Gypsies have resorted to theft as a means of survival; but “much of it is not justified, however, and is the result of exploitation of a stereotype by a popular press which is less interested in the honest Gypsies.”

Western stereotypes of Gypsies as criminals arose when Gypsies first entered Europe. Confusion reigned over Europe’s attempts to know who the Gypsies were. Matt Salo stated in his introductory essay to *Urban Gypsies* that “many early [European] accounts describe Gypsy bands as conglomerations of various segments of the underclass of society,” adding that Gypsies were widely thought to be “a motley assemblage of rogues and vagabonds.” European Christians, especially, tended to believe that dark-skinned people were evil. Sway suggested that because the Gypsies were dark, strangely dressed, and spoke a language believed to be “a kind of gibberish used to deceive others” lent credence to the fear that they were spies for the Turks and enemies of Christendom.

Many Europeans and Americans have romanticized Gypsies in literature, music, and folklore; part of the strength of the Gypsy-figure’s appeal was that s/he seemed free from the constraints of life in contemporary industrial society. This stereotypical figure’s popularity has captured audiences and helped to conceal ethnic Gypsies. In addition to their supposed criminality and freedom, the Gypsies have been portrayed as beautiful, loose, loose-bodied, flexible, and insolent—as in British novelist D. H. Lawrence’s portrayal of a Gypsy man in *The Virgin and the Gypsy*, first published in 1931. Desire for the other tends to represent itself culturally as the other’s desire; as Hancock notes, “Gypsy women



A gypsy wedding party poses for the camera in this 1941 photograph.

have long been represented as sexual temptresses, and Gypsy men as a sexual threat to non-Gypsy women, in both song and story.”

Conversely, the roles of non-Gypsies as customers for some Gypsy businesses have contributed to Gypsies’ negative stereotypes of non-Gypsies. To fortune-tellers non-Gypsies tend to seem depraved. “Many regular customers are lonely, mal-adjusted, or both,” wrote Sway. “They reveal aspects of *gaje* (non-Gypsy) life to the fortune-teller which sound deviant to her; in turn, she tells her family everything she has heard.”

Until relatively recently, when some Gypsy activists and scholars have begun to try to present their people in a better light, stereotypes faced little or no opposition. Gypsies had little basis of trust for attempts to reveal how they “really” are, and lacked the resources to publish denials of specific claims. However, many Gypsy Americans now are actively trying to debunk oppressive stereotypes of Gypsies and promote a new public image. The film, *King of the Gypsies*, which was “suggested by” the best-selling book by Peter Maas, focuses on the squalor of Gypsy life from the perspective of a Gypsy-born boy who reviles Gypsies. Gypsies have protested the inaccurate and garish portrayals in this film. At the other end of the film spectrum is *Latcho Drom*—a “musical journey from India to Iberia, a seamless anthology of Gypsy music as played by an assortment of professionals on a variety of stringed instruments—sitar, zithers, violins, guitars—against means of percussion that range from small drums to brass vases to paired spoons to castanets,” wrote J. Hoberman (*Village*

Voice, July 26, 1994, p. 47). “The vocals are as wailing and soulful as the rhythms are hypnotic and infectious.” Community scenes feature children in Istanbul; an old man sings of the fall of Ceaușescu; a woman sings a lament of Auschwitz. The film ends in Western Europe, with singers, players, and dancers performing in France and Spain.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Gypsies’ patterns of kinship structures, traveling, and economics characterize them as an ancient people who have adapted well to modern society. Much scholarship on U.S. Gypsies treats only the Rom; and although other groups differ in some ways, Silverman states that the folk belief or folk religion of all ethnic Gypsies consists mainly of “the taboo system, together with the set of beliefs related to the dead and the supernatural.”

Gypsy taboos separate Gypsies—each group of Gypsies—from non-Gypsies, and separate the contamination of the lower half of the adult Gypsy’s body (especially the genitals and feet) from the purity of its upper half (especially the head and mouth). The waist divides an adult’s body; in fact, the *Romani* word for waist, *maskar*, also means the spatial middle of anything. Since a Gypsy who becomes polluted can be expelled from the community, to avoid pollution, Gypsies try to avoid unpurified things that have touched a body’s lower half. Accordingly, a Gypsy who touches his or her lower body should then wash his or her hands to purify them. Similarly, an object that feet have touched, such as shoes and floors, are impure and, by extension, things that touch the floor when someone drops them are impure as well. Gypsies mark the bottom end of bedcovers with a button or ribbon, to avoid accidentally putting the feet-end on their face.

To Gypsies, it seems non-Gypsies constantly contaminate themselves. Non-Gypsies might neglect to wash their hands after urinating in public restrooms, they may wash underwear together with face towels and even tablecloths, or dry their faces and feet with the same towel. According to Silverman, when non-Gypsies move into a home, “they often replace the entire kitchen area, especially countertops and sinks, to avoid ritual contamination from previous non-Gypsy occupants.”

Taboos apply most fully to adult Gypsies who achieve that status when they marry. Childbearing potential fully activates taboos for men and especially for women. At birth, the infant is regarded as entirely contaminated or polluted, because s/he came from the lower center of the body. The mother, because of her intensive contact with the infant,

is also considered impure. As in other traditional cultures, mother and child are isolated for a period of time and other female members will assume the household duties of washing and cooking. Between infancy and marriage, taboos apply less strictly to children. For adults, taboos, especially those that separate males and females, relax as they become respected elders.

CUISINE

Hancock generalized that for mobile Gypsies, methods of preparing food have been “contingent on circumstance.” Such items as stew, unleavened bread, and fried foods are common, whereas leavened breads and broiled foods, are not. Cleanliness is paramount, though; and, “like Hindus and Muslims, Roma, in Europe more than in America, avoid using the left hand during meals, either to eat with or to pass things” (Ian Hancock, “Romani Foodways,” *The World and I*, June 1991, p. 671; cited hereafter as Foodways).

Traditionally, Gypsies eat two meals a day—one upon rising and the other late in the afternoon. Gypsies take time from their “making a living in the *gadji-kanó* or the non-Gypsy milieu,” in order to have a meal with other Gypsies and enjoy *khethanipé*—being together (Foodways, p. 672). Gypsies tend to cook and eat foods of the cultures among which they historically lived: so for many Gypsy Americans traditional foods are Eastern European foods. Those who have adopted Eastern Orthodox Catholicism celebrate holidays closely related to the *slava* feast of southeastern Europe, and eat *sarmaa* (cabbage rolls), *gushvada* (cheese strudel), and a ritually sacrificed animal (often a lamb). Gypsies consider these and other strong-tasting foods *baxtaló xabé*, or lucky.

For all Gypsies, eating is important. Gypsies commonly greet an intimate by asking whether or not s/he ate that day, and what. Any weight loss is usually considered unhealthy. If food is lacking, it is associated with bad living, bad luck, poverty, or disease. Conversely, for men especially, weight gain traditionally means good health. The measure of a male’s strength, power, or wealth is in his physical stature. Thus a *Rom baro* is a big man physically and politically. A growing awareness of the health risks of obesity tempers some Gypsies’ eating.

Eating makes Gypsy social occasions festive, and indicates that those who eat together trust one another. Taboos attempt to bar anybody sickly, unlucky, or otherwise disgraced from joining a meal. Because of these taboos, it is more than impolite for one Gypsy to refuse an offer of food from another.

Such refusal would suggest that the offerer is *marimé*, or polluted. Since Gypsies consider non-Gypsies unclean, in Gypsy homes they serve non-Gypsies from special dishes, utensils, and cups that are kept separate, or disposed of and replaced. Though some Gypsies will eat in certain restaurants, traditionally Gypsies cook for themselves.

CLOTHING

Gypsies have brightly colored traditional costumes, often in brilliant reds and yellows. Women then wear dresses with full skirts and men wear baggy pants and loose-fitting shirts. A scarf often adorns a woman's hair or is used as a cummerbund. Women wear much jewelry and the men wear boots and large belts. A married Gypsy woman customarily must cover her hair with a *diklo*, a scarf that is knotted at the nape of the neck. However, many Gypsy women may go bareheaded except when attending traditional communal gatherings.

HOLIDAYS AND FESTIVALS

In addition to religious holidays, Gypsy funerals are the biggest community holidays. Groups of Gypsies travel and gather to mark the passing of one of their own. Marriages are also important gatherings.

HEALTH ISSUES

Ideas about health and illness among the Rom are closely related to a world view (*romania*), which includes notions of good and bad luck, purity and impurity, inclusion and exclusion. Sutherland, in an essay entitled "Health and Illness Among the Rom of California," observes that "these basic concepts affect everyday life in many ways including cultural rules about washing, food, clothes, the house, fasting, conducting rituals such as baptism and the *slava*, and diagnosing illness and prescribing home remedies." In Gypsy custom, ritual purification is the road to health. Much attention goes to avoiding diseases and curing them.

The most powerful Gypsy cure is a substance called *coxai*, or ghost vomit. According to Gypsy legends, *Mamorio* or "little grandmother" is a dirty, sickness-bringing ghost who eats people, then vomits on garbage piles. There, Gypsies find and gather what scientists call slime mold, and bake it with flour into rocks. Gypsies also use *asafoetida*, also referred to as devil's dung, which has a long association with healing and spiritualism in India; according to Sutherland, it has also been used in Western medicine as an antispasmodic, expectorant, and laxative.

Sutherland also recounts several Gypsy cures for common ailments. A salve of pork fat may be used to relieve itching. The juice of chopped onions sprinkled with sugar for a cold or the flu; brown sugar heated in a pan is also good for a child's cold; boiling the combined juice of oranges, lemons, water, and sugar, or mashing a clove of garlic in whiskey and drinking will also relieve a cold. For a mild headache, one might wrap slices of cold cooked potato or tea leaves around the head with a scarf; or for a migraine, put vinegar, or vinegar, garlic, and the juice of an unblemished new potato onto the scarf. For stomach trouble, drink a tea of the common nettle or of spearmint. For arthritis pain, wear copper necklaces or bracelets. For anxiety, sew a piece of fern into your clothes. Sutherland notes that elder Gypsies tend to "fear, understandably, that their grandchildren, who are turning more and more to American medicine, will lose the knowledge they have of herbs and plants, illnesses, and cures."

When a Gypsy falls sick, though, some Gypsy families turn to doctors, either in private practices or at clinics. As Sutherland notes in her essay in *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*, "The Rom will often prefer to pay for private medical care with a collection rather than be cared for by a welfare doctor if they feel this care may be better." The Romnichals seem to have been historically prone to respiratory illnesses. In general, Gypsy culture seems to facilitate obesity, and thus heart trouble.

LANGUAGE

Most Gypsies are at least bilingual, speaking the language of the country in which they live as well as some branch of the Gypsy language, *Romani*. Sway observes that "since the Gypsy language has [almost] never been written, it has been easily influenced by the sounds of local languages." The Armenian language strongly influenced that of the Gypsies in their sojourns. Next, modern Greek contributed words to the vocabulary.

The language of the Gypsies was the key that unlocked the mystery of their supposed origin. Sway reports that the discovery that Gypsies originated in India was made by a scholar who noticed a close similarity between the language of the Hungarian Gypsies and the Sanskritized Malayalam of subcontinent Indians. This discovery, by a Hungarian theology student, Istvan Valyi, did not come until the middle of the eighteenth century. Matt Salo suggests that "from the realization that Gypsies indeed had their own language, the step to the recognition of their separate ethnicity followed automatically."

Matt Salo points to linguistic histories that help account for Gypsies who do not speak *Romani*: groups of Gypsies split when they left the Balkans, leaving behind others, including those who were enslaved. Fraser indicates that currently, some dialects of *Romani* are classified as Armenian, others as Asiatic (other than Armenian), and the rest as European. Groups from each of the language branches are now widespread. And, according to Fraser, the English word, “pal,” (first recorded in 1681) is one of the few *Romani* words to have entered the English lexicon.

When non-Gypsies ask Gypsies speaking *Romani* to identify the foreign language, explains Silverman, “Gypsies usually answer Romanian, Greek, or Yugoslavian,” to minimize curiosity and prejudice toward them. Among themselves, Gypsies are also said to use a sort of sign language, *patrin*—marks meaningful to themselves but unintelligible to others. They seemingly used these symbols to describe conditions of camps for future campers, as well as to provide information about people in the area that might be useful for those practicing fortune-telling. Furthermore, Gypsies usually use their Gypsy name only among other Gypsies, and adopt an Americanized name for general and official uses. Particularly because many Gypsies pick common names, they are hard to trace.

GREETINGS

P'aves Baxtalo/Baxtali! (“pah-vis bach-tah-low/bach-tah-lee”)—May you be lucky (to a male/female).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Traditionally Gypsies maintain large extended families. Clans of people numbering in the scores, hundreds, or even thousands gather for weddings, funerals, other feasts, or when an elder falls sick. Although Gypsy communities do not have kings as such, traditionally a group will represent a man as king to outsiders when it needs one to serve as a figurehead or representative. Often, too, a man and his family will tell hospital staffers that he is “King of the Gypsies” so that he will receive better treatment—the title can help provide an excuse for the hospital to allow the large family to make prolonged visits.

In units bigger than a family and smaller than a tribe, Gypsy families often cluster to travel and make money, forming *kumpanias*—multi-family businesses. During recent decades in the United

States, on the other hand, Gypsies have been acculturating more closely to the American model by consolidating nuclear families. Currently, after the birth of their first child, some Gypsy couples may be able to move from the husband’s parents’ home into their own. This change has given more independence to newly wedded women as daughters-in-law.

Gypsy families and communities divide along gender lines. Men wield public authority over members of their community through the *kris*—the Gypsy form of court. In its most extreme punishment, a *kris* expels and bars a Gypsy from the community. For most official, public duties with non-Gypsies, too, the men take control. Publicly, traditional Gypsy men treat women as subordinates.

The role of Gypsy women in this tradition is not limited to childbearing: she can influence and communicate with the supernatural world; she can pollute a Gypsy man so that a *kris* will expel him from the community; and in some cases she makes and manages most of a family’s money. Successful fortune-tellers, all of whom are female, may provide the main income for their families. Men of their families will usually aid the fortune-telling business by helping in some support capacities, as long as they are not part of the “women’s work” of talking to customers.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

Gypsies of marriageable age may travel with their parents to meet prospective spouses and arrange a marriage. In making a good match, money, and the ability to earn more of it, tend to be factors more important than romance. A Gypsy woman who marries a non-Gypsy can expect her community to expel her permanently. A Gypsy man, however, may eventually get permission to return to his people with his non-Gypsy wife. Once married, a new daughter-in-law must subject herself to the commands of her husband’s family, until her first pregnancy. With the birth of her first child, she fully enters womanhood.

Gypsy cultural practices attempt to prevent Gypsy children from learning non-Gypsy ways, and to facilitate raising them as Gypsies. Gypsy children, or at least post-adolescents, generally do not go to school, day-care centers, or babysitters who are not friends or relatives. Furthermore, Gypsy culture forbids them to play with non-Gypsies. Instead, they socialize with Gypsies of all ages. Formal schooling, as such, is minimal. Traditionally, Gypsies devalue education from outside their own culture. They educate their own children within extended families. An important reason Gypsies do

not like to send their children to school is that they will have to violate Gypsy taboos: they will have to use public restrooms, and the boys and girls will come into contact too closely in classrooms and on playgrounds. Many Gypsy Americans send their children to schools until the age of ten or 11, at which time the parents permanently remove them from school.

Children are expected to watch and act like their elders. Rather than bar children from adult life, Gypsies often include them in conversations and business. Children learn the family business, often at home. Many Gypsies marry and become partners in family businesses by their late teens. For example, daughters, but not sons, of a fortune-teller train early to become fortune-tellers. Boys may train to sell cars.

RELIGION

Gypsy spirituality, part of the core culture of Gypsies, derives from Hindu and Zoroastrian concepts of *kintala*—balance and harmony, as between good and evil. When that balance is upset, ancestors send signals to keep people on track. The mysticism of fortune-tellers and tarot readers—though such services to non-Gypsies are not the same as Gypsies' own spirituality—has bases in Gypsy spirituality. Many Gypsies are Christians, with denominational allegiances that reflect their countries of origin.

Historically, toward the beginning of the second millennium B.C., Gypsies invented a story of their origins in Egypt—hence the name, “Gypsies”—which gave many of them safe passage in a hostile Europe. The story claimed that they had been oppressed and forced into idol-worship in Egypt, and that the Pope had ordered them to roam, as penitence for their former lack of faith. This story also played on legends of a common heritage of Gypsies and Jews, which were partly based on actual overlap of these two ethnic cultures in marginal trades and ghettos. Sway indicated that the story of an Egyptian origin convinced Europeans until the early sixteenth century when the church became convinced these “penitents” were frauds. The church moved to isolate its followers from Gypsies: “As early as 1456 excommunication became the punishment for having one’s fortune told by a Gypsy.... More effective than the policy of excommunication was the assertion by the Catholic Church that the Gypsies were a cursed people partly responsible for the execution of Christ.”

Although European churches have a long history of condemning Gypsies, their magic, and their



This gypsy woman is participating in a traditional dance.

arranged marriages, most Rom Gypsy Americans are Eastern Orthodox. They celebrate the *pomona* feast for the dead, at which the feasters invite the dead to eat in heaven. Also, preparation for their *slava* feast requires thorough cleaning of the interior of the host’s house, its furniture, and its inhabitants, as the host transforms a section of the house into a church. The feast ceremony begins with coffee for the guests, prayer and a candle for the saints.

Today, around the world, Christian fundamentalist revival movements have been sweeping through Rom, Romnichal, and other groups of Gypsies. Since the mid-1980s, through Assemblies of God, various American groups have formed Gypsy churches. In Fort Worth, Texas, for example, a church integrates traditional Gypsy faith with Christian Pentecostal ritual.

Gypsies have tended to syncretize or blend their ethnic Gypsy folk religion with more established religions, such as Christianity. Gypsy religious beliefs are mostly unrelated to the business of fortune-telling. Silverman pointed out that while Gypsies may disbelieve Gypsy “magic,” and “often joke about how gullible non-Gypsies are,” in some ways, others act as believers; fortune-tellers generally treat their reading room as sacred and may “consult elder Gypsy women who are known to be experts in dream interpretation, card reading, and folk healing”. Gypsies use code-names to mention certain evil-spirits to other Gypsies; and Gypsies sometimes cast curses on other Gypsies (or ward them off). Also, stated Silverman, Gypsy fortune-tellers use diverse religious iconography to create

impressions out of a belief “that good luck and power can come from the symbols of any religion.”

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Gypsy Americans have found customers for their enterprises among other poorer members of U.S. society, usually other ethnic minorities, such as Hispanic Americans, African Americans, and immigrants to America from Eastern and Central Europe.

Mobility and adaptation characterize Gypsy trades. From their beginnings, their traditional occupations have catered to other groups, and at the same time maintained Gypsies' separation. In their essay in *Urban Gypsies*, Matt and Sheila Salo explain that “the main features of all occupations were that they were independent pursuits, required little overhead, had a ubiquitous clientele, and could be pursued while traveling” in urban and rural areas. Moreover, Gypsies have adapted to different locales and periods. Silverman discusses a change in occupations in twentieth century America that parallels the urbanization of the Rom. After their arrival in the 1880s, the Rom followed nomadic European trades such as coppersmithing, refining, and dealing in horses for the men, and begging or fortune-telling for the women. They would camp in the country and interact mostly with the rural population, venturing into the cities only to sell their services and purchase necessities. As the automobile supplanted horse travel, the Rom became used-car dealers and repairmen, occupations that they still pursue. When metalworking skills became less important, Gypsies learned new trades, including the selling of items such as watches and jewelry.

As Sutherland points out in *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*, “In the *kumpania* men and women cooperate with each other in exploiting the economic resources of their area.” Although jobs may be exploited by an individual, the Rom prefer to work in groups called *wortacha*, or partners. These groups always comprise members of the same sex, however, women often take along children of either sex. *Wortacha* may also include young unmarried Gypsies who learn the skills of the adults. Adults work as equals, dividing expenses and profits equally. As a token of respect for an elder, an extra amount may be given, but unmarried trainees receive only what others will give them. The Rom do not earn wages from another Rom. As a rule, Gypsies profit from non-Gypsies only. In the United States and other countries (including England and Wales), Gypsy Americans divide geographic

territories to minimize competition between Gypsy businesses.

Gypsies, supremely mobile and profit-making traders, became dealers of vehicles. Romnichals took an early American role as horse traders, and achieved particular success in Boston. According to Matt and Sheila Salo, “During World War I, Gypsies brought teams of their horses to the Great Plains to help harvest crops. For a while at least, the label ‘horse trader’ or ‘horse dealer’ seemed almost synonymous with ‘Gypsy.’ The colorful wagons used by Romnichals to advertise their presence to any community they entered further reinforced this identification by the professionally painted side panels depicting idealized horses and the horse trading life.” The pride of Romnichals in their ability to trade horses is reflected in the carved figures of horses on the tombstones of horse dealers, say Matt and Sheila Salo. Many of the Rom, who arrived in America after the horse trade's heyday, sell cars. Other mobile service contributions of the Gypsies have included driveway blacktopping, house painting, and tin-smithing. Gypsy tinkers, who were mostly Romanian-speaking Gypsies, were essential to various industries such as confectioneries, because they retinned large mixing bowls and other machinery on-site. They also worked in bakeries, laundries, and anywhere steam jackets operated.

By the 1930s the Rom group of Gypsy Americans virtually controlled the business of fortune-telling. Their advertisements and shop windows have their undeniable place on American boardwalks, roads, and streets. Gypsy mysticism, as represented in fortune-teller costumes and props such as the crystal ball and tarot deck, have impacted on American culture directly, and through their media representations and imitations, such as the likes of commercially produced Ouija boards. Gypsies have maintained a presence and influence in America's quasi-religious, commercially mystical functions.

MUSIC AND MINSTRELSY

Worldwide, Gypsies are most famous for their contributions as musicians. In the United States, Hungarian Slovak Gypsies, mostly violists, have played popular Hungarian music at immigrant weddings. Historically, Gypsies have contributed to music Americans play. Flamenco, which Gypsies are credited with creating in Spain, has its place in America, particularly in the Southwest. Django Rheinhardt, a well-known European Gypsy who contributed to American culture, is perhaps the all-time greatest jazz guitarist. Furthermore, Klezmer music of Jewish immigrants overlaps with music of

Eastern European Gypsies, especially in oriental, flatted-seventh chords played on a violin or clarinet.

There are intriguing parallels between Gypsies and African Americans in European and American cultural history. The rhythmic innovations that Gypsies brought to Europe were not only Asiatic and Middle Eastern, but also African, at least North African; similarly, African Americans brought innovations of African music to America. Some Gypsies owned slaves or employed African American laborers and stevedores (loaders/unloaders). According to legend, some of these men had eloped with Gypsy daughters. When African American ex-slave minstrels first attempted to taste the freedom of the road in post-Reconstruction America, some claimed to adopt the ethnicity, or at least the title, of Gypsies (Konrad Bercovici, "The American Gypsy," *Century Magazine*, 103, 1922, pp. 507-519). In popular American musical traditions of jazz, blues, and rock, the Gypsy has remained a powerful referent.

FORTUNE-TELLERS

In the United States, Rom Gypsies have dominated a niche for fortune-tellers, who are also known as palmists, readers, or advisers. "Fortune-telling actually includes elements of folk psychotherapy and folk healing," made into a business to serve non-Gypsies, wrote Silverman, who adds that one fortune-teller describes her relationship with her customers in this way: "All they need is confidence and strength and a friend and that's what I am." Some customers come only once, and others make themselves more valuable by returning. A reader will try to establish a steady relationship with the customer, whether in person, by telephone, or by mail. Readers will also try to use the customer's language, usually English or Spanish. Moreover, readers often adopt and advertise names for themselves that help them claim the ethnicity of their clientele; and/or, they choose an ethnicity renowned for mystical perception, such as an Asian, African, or Native American one. Fortune-tellers set up shop where they can make money. Often, they serve a working-class clientele composed of other ethnic minorities. They tend to choose visible locales where they can operate freely: New York supports a great many fortune-tellers, while Los Angeles (where more Gypsies sell real estate and cars) has relatively few because of strict laws governing fortune-telling. Daughters of successful fortune-tellers traditionally become fortune-tellers whether or not they are interested. Their family business is part of their household.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Special attention from American government authorities has seldom benefitted Gypsies. Some states and districts maintain policies and statutes that prohibit fortune-tellers, require them to pay hundreds of dollars for annual licenses, or otherwise control activities in which Gypsies engage. Despite the unconstitutionality of such measures, some rules apply specifically to Gypsies by name. One excuse for this discrimination is the confusion between ethnic Gypsies and vagrants. Gypsy parents skeptical of non-Gypsy schooling have run afoul of truant officers. After a long history of avoidance of local authorities, Gypsies in the United States and elsewhere are becoming more politically active in defense of their civil and human rights; an international organization of Roma people has been recognized by the United Nations.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

CULTURE

Brian Vessey-Fitzgerald, who authored *The Gypsies of England*; Jane Carlisle, Thomas's wife; Vita Sackville West; David Birkenhead Smith; and scholar Ian Hancock.

PERFORMING ARTS

Many Gypsy contributors to American culture have been performers. Among Romnichal (English Gypsies) who lived some in America, we can count Charlie Chaplin and Rita Hayworth. Ava Gardner, Michael Cain, and Sean Connery are reported to have Gypsy ancestry. Freddy Prinze (born Freddie Preutzel; 1954-1977), the late comedian and television star on *Chico and the Man*, was Hungarian Gypsy.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Baschalde.

Contact: Bill Duna.

Telephone: (612) 926-8281.

Gypsy Folk Ensemble.

Also performs for school assemblies.

Contact: Juli Nelson, Director.

Address: 3265 Motor Avenue, Los Angeles,
California 90034.
Telephone: (818) 966-4751.

Gypsy Lore Society.

Scholars, educators, and others interested in the study of the Roma and analogous itinerant or nomadic groups. Works to disseminate information aimed at increasing understanding of Romani culture in its diverse forms. Publishes the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.

Contact: Sheila Salo, Treasurer.
Address: 5607 Greenleaf Road, Cheverly,
Maryland 20785.
Telephone: (301) 341-1261.
Fax: (301) 341-1261.
E-mail: isalo@capaccess.org.
Online: <http://www.gypsy.net/gls>.

International Romani Union (IRU).

Works to foster unity among members; promotes human rights and obligations; advocates protection and preservation of Romani culture and language. Publishes the quarterly *Buhazi*, the bi-monthly *Lacio Drom*, the bi-weekly *Nevipens Romani*, the monthly *Romano Nevipen*, the monthly *Rrom po Drom*, and the quarterly newspaper *Scharotl*.

Contact: Dr. Ian F. Hancock, Executive Officer.
Address: P.O. Box 822, Manchaca,
Texas 78652-0822.
Telephone: (512) 295-4858.
Fax: (512) 295-4772.
E-mail: xulaj@mail.utexas.edu.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Texas Romani Archives, University of Texas at Austin.

Address: Calhoun Hall 501, University of Texas
8-5100, Austin, Texas 78712.

Victor Weybright Archives of Gypsy Studies.

Part of the Gypsy Lore Society (see above).

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HAITIAN AMERICANS

by
Felix Eme Unaeze and
Richard E. Perrin

Haitian Americans,
by nature, have a
strong belief in the
culture, traditions,
and mores of
their homeland.

OVERVIEW

Haiti, an independent republic since 1804, is the oldest black republic in the world. It is located in the West Indies on the western third of the Island of Hispaniola, which lies between Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean Sea. The eastern two-thirds of the island is the Dominican Republic. Haiti, which occupies a total area of 10,714 square miles (27,750 sq. km.), is slightly larger than the State of Maryland. Mostly rough and mountainous in terrain with Massif de la Selle and La Hotte among the main ranges, Haiti also contains a few plateaus and plains such as the Northern Plain, Artibonite, and Cul-de-Sac. Haiti has a tropical climate with temperatures that vary between 70 and 90 degrees all year, although December and January can be quite cool. There are two rainy seasons, one beginning in April and ending in May, and the other beginning in October and ending in November. Tropical thunderstorms are frequent during the summer.

In 1992, Haiti's population was estimated to be about 6.5 million inhabitants, with approximately 71 percent living in rural areas and about 29 percent in urban centers. Haiti records one of the highest population densities in the world, with about 600 persons per square mile. The birth rate is about 44.6 per 1000 people and the fertility rate is about six children per woman. The death rate is about 15.6 deaths per 1000 persons. Life expectancy at birth is 53 years for males and 55 years for females.

The people of Haiti are primarily of African descent, although a smaller percentage is mulatto, and therefore of European and African descent. Creole is the main language spoken with about ten percent of the population fluent in French. The literacy rate is 23 percent. About 80 percent of the population is Roman Catholic and ten percent is Protestant; Voodoo is practiced by a majority of the people. The capital city is Port-au-Prince, the country's largest city, which boasts a population of about 1,148,000 people. Other major cities are Cap-Haitien, Gonaives, Les Cayes, Jeremie, and Jacmel. The national flag is horizontally blue over red with the national arms on a centered white panel. The national anthem is *La Dessalinienne: Pour le pays, pour les ancêtres*, which translates as "for the country, for the ancestors," with lyrics by J. Lherisson and music by N. Geffrand (1903).

HISTORY

The island, which was first inhabited by Indian tribes—the Arawaks, the Tainos, and lastly the Caribes—called their country "Quisqueya" and later "Haiti," which means "the body of land." The island has had a turbulent and bitter history. When Christopher Columbus landed at the Mole St. Nicholas Bay on December 5, 1492, he claimed the island in the interest of the Spanish rulers who had financed the expedition—Ferdinand and Isabella—and called it "Hispaniola," which means "Little Spain."

Although the Indians welcomed the new settlers, the discovery of gold in the riverbeds sent the Spaniards into a frenzied search for the coveted nuggets. The Indians died by the thousands from diseases introduced by the Spaniards, who also enslaved the natives, treated them with extreme cruelty, and massacred them. The Indian population was reduced from about 300,000 to less than 500. In 1510, the Spaniards began to import their first African slaves from the West Coast of Africa to work in the gold mines. The French, who came in 1625 and changed the name of the island to Saint Domingue, fought the Spaniards to keep a hold on part of the territory. After Spain signed a treaty in 1697 in which it conceded the western part of the island to France, the colony developed rapidly under French rule. The 700,000 slaves who worked cotton, sugar cane, and coffee plantations generated great wealth for the plantation owners; Saint Domingue became a prosperous colony in the New World and was called "the Pearl of the Caribbean."

After the French Revolution in 1789, the slaves revolted against the colonists and the movement spread to the north and then to the west and

the south. Under the leadership of such famous generals as Toussaint L'Ouverture, the slaves made significant progress in their struggle. Self-educated, Toussaint served first in the Spanish army and then in the French army. He was one of the main instruments of Haiti's independence, defeating the English who had invaded Saint Domingue. He also administered and divided the country into districts without the approval of the mainland "Metropole." The French later grew angry with General Toussaint and placed him in a French prison where he died on April 7, 1803 from hunger and lack of medical care. Although disheartened, the indigenous army fought under Generals Dessalines and Petion, and beat the French army at every turn. French General Leclerc died of yellow fever on November 2, 1803; his successor, General Rochambeau, took refuge. Dessalines surrounded his officers and proclaimed the independence of Saint Domingue in Gonaives on January 1, 1804, and restored the former name of Haiti. Independence was won and the country became the second, after the United States, in the Western Hemisphere to become an independent republic.

MODERN ERA

Dessalines became Haiti's first head of state. Following the elaboration and ratification of a constitution, full powers were given to Dessalines on September 2, 1804. He proclaimed himself Emperor and took the name Jacques the First. He redistributed the country's wealth and converted most of the colonist plantations to state property. He made many political enemies who later resented his manner of governing. Ambushed on his way to Port-au-Prince, he was killed on October 17, 1806. After his death, a constituent assembly amended the Constitution and limited the powers of the president. General Henri Christophe, who had started a power struggle with General Alexandre Petion, withdrew to the northern part of the country and formed a new government; Petion was elected president in March of 1807, thus dividing the new nation. Petion governed the West and South while Christophe ruled the North. In March of 1811, Christophe proclaimed himself king and took the name of Henri the First. Because of his strict regulations, the Kingdom of the North became prosperous, and he erected monuments, which became symbols of power and authority. For example, the Citadel Laferriere, a monument to human endurance, was constructed by the labor of 20,000 men between 1805 and 1814 as a center of resistance against any attempt by foreigners to conquer the island. His ornate palace at Sans Souci near Cap

Haitien and his vast citadel, though in ruins, are likewise marvels of massive masonry. When Christophe died in an apparent suicide in 1820, the North and South were reunited with Jean-Pierre Boyer succeeding Petion.

Twenty different presidents headed the Haitian government from 1867 to 1915, and Haiti's unstable political and economic conditions made it vulnerable to outside intervention. Haiti's rising external debt caused European countries to threaten force to collect. At this time, World War I was at its peak in Europe and in July of 1915, the United States Marines landed on Haiti's coast and occupied the country. Under the Monroe Doctrine—a document stating U.S. opposition to European involvement in the Western Hemisphere—the U.S. Marines remained in Haiti for 19 years from 1915 until 1934. The Haitian people resented American occupation and wanted to restore their national sovereignty. Guerrilla resistance movements were in place but were crushed. In 1946, a popular movement brought forth a rising middle class whose members asked for the sharing of power and liberalization of governmental institutions. The movement was aborted, which contributed to the fall of then-President Elie Lescot (1941-1946), and Dumarsais Estime was elected president. From that period on, all Haitian presidents, with the exception of François “Papa Doc” Duvalier, have been deposed by military coup d'état.

In 1957, François Duvalier was elected president. He became a dictator, enforcing a reign of terror with his secret police, sometimes referred to as *tonton macoute*. Duvalier proclaimed himself President-for-Life in 1964 and his reign of terror continued. The Haitian economy began to deteriorate and the people were suffering seriously in the 1960s. He died in 1971 and his son, Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier, who was only 19 years old, succeeded his father. Both Duvaliers ruled for nearly 30 years. It was during this period that many Haitians fled Haiti. Jean-Claude followed in his father's footsteps, maintaining the same policies of hate and oppression. He was ousted by the Haitian people on February 7, 1986. From 1986 until 1990, four different provisional governments were put into power with the sole purpose of holding general elections, but popular discontent forced them out. Free elections were held on December 16, 1990; and, although the Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected by a majority of 67 percent, he was overthrown by the army on September 30, 1991, and took refuge in the United States. He was restored to his position through peaceful negotiation; he returned to Haiti under a United States military escort and was reinstated on October 15, 1994.

THE FIRST HAITIANS IN AMERICA

During the 1790s, Haiti was the most affluent of the French colonies. It was then that the black populace of the island revolted against slavery and there was a panicked exodus. Thousands of whites, free blacks, and slaves fled to American seaports, culminating in large French-speaking communities in New Orleans, Norfolk, Baltimore, New York City, and Boston. Immigrants from Haiti who arrived in the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were determined to survive in their new land. Jean-Baptiste Point du Sable, a trapper who settled on the shore of Lake Michigan was an early Haitian arrival; he settled and established a trading post on the river at a point that would later become the City of Chicago. Pierre Toussaint, a devout Catholic who came to New York as a slave of a French family in 1787, became a prominent hair dresser to wealthy New York patrons and also became a fund-raiser who helped the poor and destitute. France was a safe haven for many educated Haitians, and only a few middle-class Haitians chose to go to the United States. Many of them stayed to receive a university education. A renowned poet and playwright, Felix Morisseau-Leroy was one of the post-World War II immigrants.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

According to the United States Census of 1990, there were about 290,000 people who claimed Haitian ancestry; however, this figure does not include the tens of thousands who were in the United States illegally. Moreover, there are second- and third-generation Haitian Americans who simply identify themselves as black; also, some legal immigrants may find it difficult to admit to roots that go back to a Caribbean nation so often associated with superstition and poverty. However, anthropologists estimate that about 1.2 million people in the United States are of Haitian ancestry.

There are five major documented periods of Haitian immigration to the United States: the period of French colonization; the Haitian revolution (1791-1803); the United States occupation of Haiti (1915-1934); the period of the Duvaliers (1957-1986); and the overthrow of President Aristide (1991). For almost three decades, from 1957 to 1986, when François “Papa Doc” and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier were in power, political persecution caused Haitian professionals, the middle class, and students to leave the island in large numbers. Haitians emigrated in search of political asylum or permanent residence status in various countries such as the United States, Mexico, Puerto

Rico, Jamaica, France, Dominican Republic, French Guyana, and Africa.

In the 1980s, many Haitian immigrants arrived in the United States by boat on the shores of Florida and were known as the “boat people.” While President Carter gave such refugees a legal status similar to Cubans in 1980 with his Cuban-Haitian entrant program, 18 months later, President Reagan subscribed to a policy of interdiction and indefinite detention for Haitian boat people refugees. Six months later, in June 1982, a federal court ruled against such detention and several thousand refugees were released. In 1986, 40,000 Haitians who came to the United States seeking political asylum were given permanent resident status.

A similar pattern of events occurred in the 1990s. When Aristide was removed by military coup in 1991, there was another wave of Haitian boat people. Under Presidents Bush and Clinton, many were not allowed to reach the shores of the United States. Instead they were stopped at sea, and returned to Haiti. Others were put in detention camps; indefinite detention still occurred. Between 1995 and 1998, 50,000 Haitians were given asylum and temporary legal status, but not permanent like many of their Nicaraguan and Cuban counterparts. The National Coalition for Haitian Rights pushed for legislation to address this issue. In 1998, the Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act was adopted, and those immigrants were given the opportunity to apply for such status.

As with the National Coalition for Haitian Rights, Michel S. Laguerre has documented that volunteer lawyers and local activists have helped many refugees remain in their adopted country, through the generosity of various humanitarian organizations. However, Laguerre—in his book *American Odyssey: The Haitians in New York City*—has also recorded that some refugees attempted suicide while in detention. Despite the odds, the Haitian refugees had the energy and determination to survive in the United States. In her book, *Demele: “Making It”*, social anthropologist Rose-Marie Chierici, herself a Haitian American, has recounted how Haitian immigrants used the Creole word “demele” to manage life in the face of hardship.

Every wave of migration from Haiti has come during political turmoil there; however, economic malaise has always accompanied such turmoil so it has been difficult to distinguish political from economic migrants. Some of the Haitian refugees were thought to have left their homeland because of economic rather than political reasons. Early Haitian immigrants stayed in cities in the United States where they could work and maintain contact with

their homeland. The greatest concentration of immigrants are found in New York City, Miami, Chicago, New Orleans, Los Angeles and Boston. Until 1977, Brooklyn was the heart of Haitian America; however, between 1977 and 1981, 60,000 Haitian boat people landed in South Florida, and the center of the Haitian Diaspora moved south to a community of stucco cottages and mom-and-pop businesses anointed “Little Haiti.”

In the early 1980s, thousands of Haitian doctors, teachers, social workers and entrepreneurs moved from New York to Miami. Restaurants serving conch and goat meat and record shops blaring Haitian meringue music sprang up on 54th Street and Northeast Second Avenue. The Tap Tap Haitian Restaurant in Miami Beach also serves as a Haitian hangout.

Haitian immigrants are employed in all types of fields. Deborah Sontag reported in the *New York Times* on June 3, 1994, that among the early immigrants, Haitian workers include not only migrant workers in Homestead, Florida, but also wealthy doctors on Long Island, taxi drivers in Manhattan as well as college professors in Washington, D.C.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Like most immigrants in the United States, Haitians are busy in the pursuit of the American dream. Almost every Haitian American wishes to buy a home as a matter of status and security. This is implied in the saying, “Se vagabon ki loue kay,” which means, “Respectable people don’t rent.” However, behind the facade of pride and achievement, there is a litany of social problems—battered women, homeless families, and economic exploitation. The problems that face Haitian immigrants are enormous and complex. Moreover, the problem of undocumented immigrants who live in constant fear of being deported and thrown into Haitian jails has also led to stress-related emotional disorders, which frequently keep the immigrants from using such facilities as public hospitals. Instead, they rely on folk medicine to cure ordinary ailments or they seek a private clinic with Haitian medical personnel. Marc Abraham, a Haitian who has lived on Long Island for 37 years, “I think Americans see Haitians as desperate people instead of decent people who struggle.” Abraham continues: “I have to understand that hostility, I guess, to take it off my heart. I mean, this country has enough problems without ours too.”

According to Father Thomas Wenski, director of Pierre Toussaint Haitian Catholic Center in

Miami, Haitians have been specifically and harshly excluded because of “America’s endemic ‘negrophobia’ and inherent racism.” Haitians have been excluded because of their race and economic condition. “Thus,” says Wenski, “one must ask: will the Haitians be able to assimilate into American society as other immigrant groups of the past? Again, Haitians are black and can Haitians hope for a ‘piece of the American pie’ while native-born American blacks still fight for crumbs? Many would see an eventual amalgamation into the African American community but does such a view give too much importance to race as a determinant and underrate such values as religion and culture?” (Fr. Thomas Wenski, “Haitians in South Florida,” unpublished research done in Miami, Florida, July 1991.)

The tide seemed to be changing by 1998. In a box office, black-oriented hit movie that summer, *Stella Got Her Groove Back*, a remark is made about Haiti being full of carriers of the disease AIDS. The Haitian-American community, led by the National Coalition for Haitian Rights, organized a protest. The film’s distributor, Universal, apologized, and the line was removed from the video version of the film. This was seen by the Haitian American community as a victory in respect for Haitian Americans.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Haitian Americans, by nature, have a strong belief in the culture, traditions and mores of their homeland. Haitian Americans believe, for example, that several types of illness are of supernatural origin and caused by angry spirits. Most believe that a Voodoo family has a spirit protector whose role is to protect its members from the malevolent powers of other spirits.

The institution of the family has made possible their enclaves in the United States. It is here that a bond with the old country is maintained, consciously or unconsciously. Laguerre has noted: “The family provides a niche within which a cultural continuity can be adapted to the exigencies of the new environment. Through the medium of the family, which influences the behaviors of its members through the mechanism of socialization, immigrants were able to retain some of their cultural heritage and develop an awareness of their ethnic legacy.”

Haitian families spend their leisure time within their own family and friendship groups. Visits are made to friends and relatives especially on the weekends. It is important to be warm and hospitable to visitors by offering them food and drink. Visitors are usually parents, other relatives, in-laws, and friends. Haitian social circles commonly celebrate



Two Haitian Americans hold a photo of deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide while listening to Aristide speak in New York City in 1992. Aristide returned to Haiti as president in 1994.

birthdays, first communions, and baptisms among other special occasions and holidays. Larger numbers of people attend weddings and funerals.

PROVERBS

Haitians have a keen sense of humor which is reflected in many of their proverbs: Beyond the mountains there are more mountains; A dog has four paws, but it can go only one way; Little by little the bird makes its nest; Only the knife knows what is in the heart of the yam; The goat looks at the home owner’s eyes before entering his house; Every vein affects the heart; An empty sack cannot stand up; With patience you will see the belly button of an ant; All that you do not know is greater than you; The big water pot is not a spring; You can hurry as much as you like, but being in too big a hurry will not make the day dawn.

CUISINE

Haitian cooking is a unique blend of many cultural influences. It is a mixture of the traditions of Europeans, West African slaves, and indigenous people of the island. The most common ingredients used in Haitian cuisine are black-eyed peas, squash, pumpkins, cassava, rice, cornmeal, and plantain. The meat served tends to be spicy and high in salt and fat. In the United States, Sunday dinners often consist of spicy chicken and goat, rice and djondjon, a dried mushroom.

Pois et ris is a combination of kidney beans and rice and is considered the national dish of Haiti.

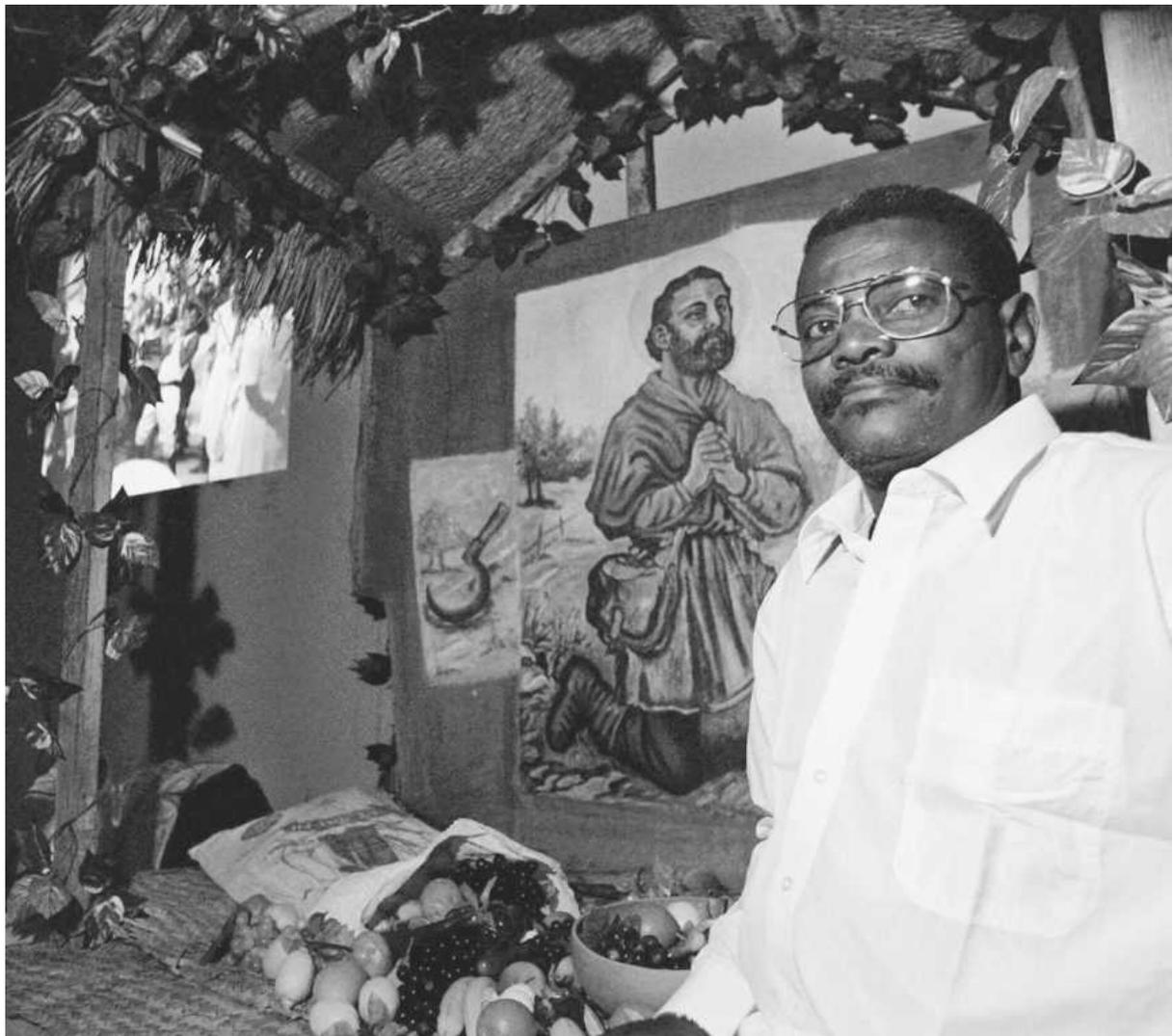
Voodoo priest

Saveur St. Cyr

poses at the alter

to Azaka, the god

of agriculture.



Kabrit boukannen ak bon piman is a traditional favorite both in Haiti and the United States. It is barbecued goat with hot pepper. *Soup joumou* is a pumpkin soup. *Kasav ak manba* is homemade peanut butter, made with or without spices and hot peppers; it is often eaten with cassava bread. *Griyo ak bannan* is deep-fried pork and fried plantain. *Pwason fri* is a fried fish often sold with fried plantain and fried sweet potatoes. *Accra* or *calas* are black-eyed pea patties and the tradition of eating them on New Year's Eve means luck for the coming year.

HOLIDAYS

Haitians celebrate Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Carnival or Mardi Gras, All Saints' Day, and All Souls' Day on the days that are traditionally celebrated in other parts of the world. Flag and University Day is the most celebrated national holiday and is held on May 18. Other important holidays are Independence Day (January 1), Ancestors Day (January 2), the Anniversary of Dessalines' Death (October 17), and Discovery of Haiti Day (December 5).

HEALTH ISSUES

Health care beliefs vary widely among Haitian Americans. Immigrants from rural areas usually do not seek help from a physician but rely instead on folk healers. Immigrants from the cities are more likely to go to a physician or other professional health care provider. Social class and education also influence the type of medical help sought. Those from a lower social class or those who have not attained legal status in the United States rely on health care that is readily available to them such as home remedies, family recommendations, folk healers, and Voodoo medicine. The mother or grandmother is usually responsible for diagnosing symptoms and keeping alive the traditions of the family in treating sickness. First-generation Haitian Americans initially try home remedies prepared by members of the older generation; if these are unsuccessful, the person is advised to seek help from a physician, folk healer, or Voodoo priest. The use of folk healers is often limited because the medicinal preparations and elements of traditional health care are not available locally. The size of the local Haitian group affects the number of traditional healers.

The Voodooist folk healer is a Voodoo priest who has studied the mythology of spirits and which plants have the properties necessary for home remedies. Treatment involves prayers and herbal remedies. Neighborhood licensed pharmacies specialize in herbal remedies and French medications. They have Haitian personnel and sell the type of products from home which are familiar to Haitian Americans. Haitians consider eating well, good personal hygiene, and keeping regular hours as important qualities for maintaining good health. Fat people are considered healthy and happy, whereas thin people are believed to be in poor health caused by psychological and emotional problems.

The following statements may be used by a Haitian American when he is ill: *Kom pa bon* (I do not feel well)—indicates a temporary situation and that the person will soon be well; *Dan tan zan tan moin malad* (I feel sick from time to time)—indicates how the person feels about his/her general health; *Moin an konvalesans* (I am convalescing)—indicates that the person was sick and is now getting better; *Moin malad* (I am sick)—indicates the person is ill but the illness will not lead to death; *Moin malad anpil* (I am very sick)—indicates that the person is in a critical condition; *Moin pap refe* (I will never get well again)—indicates that the person is going to die from the illness.

Haitians from rural areas believe that illness can be of supernatural origin or natural origins. Natural illnesses are called *maladi pei* (country diseases) or *maladi bon die* (diseases of the Lord). Natural illnesses last for only a short time. Supernatural illnesses appear suddenly and the person does not feel any previous signs of illness. Angry Voodoo spirits are believed to cause several types of illness. This occurs when a person offends the family's Voodoo spirit protector in some manner. A Voodoo priest is consulted to help in diagnosing the illness. The priest attempts to contact the spirit to find out the reason for the spirit's unhappiness, what the person must do to make the spirit happy, and what medications the ill person must take.

Another belief commonly held by Haitians of all classes is that of the effect of blood irregularities on causing dangerous illnesses. Terms such as *san cho* (hot blood) and *san fret* (cold blood) are used to describe various conditions. Blood is believed to control the hot or cold state of the body. Various "blood" terms are used to describe what condition or state of health a person is in during certain types of activity.

Gaz (gas), a common complaint, can cause pain and anemia. It can occur in the head, shoulder, back, legs, or appendix. It is believed to cause *kolik*

(stomach pain) and *van nan tet* (gas in the head), which causes headaches. A tea made of garlic, cloves, and mint or solid foods, such as corn, is used to treat these conditions. The milk of a nursing mother is believed to cause certain illnesses if it becomes "too thick" or "too thin." If a mother becomes frightened, the belief is that the milk moves to her head and causes a bad headache. It may also cause depression in the nursing mother and diarrhea in the baby.

Foods may be divided into hot, cold, or neutral categories and are believed to affect the health of an individual. Anything that creates an imbalance between "hot" and "cold" factors may cause illness or discomfort. Treatments which must be used to treat these illnesses are the opposite of the class of the disease. "Hot" medicines are used to treat "cold" conditions. Patent or herbal medicines are also used to treat these diseases. Cough medicines ("hot") are used to treat coughs and colds ("cold").

The following home remedies are used: *Asoroussi* is a tea boiled from leaves that will restore a person's appetite; *Fey korosol* is used to bathe a child's head to cure insomnia; a variety of leaves are used for gas or if a child's stomach is swollen; and warm oils are used in combination with massage to solve a number of problems from aching or sprained bones to displaced organs.

Haitian Americans often believe that only traditional healers have the knowledge and skills to treat particular illnesses so that it does not make sense to take these complaints to an American doctor. Haitian Americans often have problems with the behavior of American physicians during an office visit. The patient expects the physician to receive him or her with a few moments of conversation about the patient's life in general and then a straightforward, hands-on examination of the patient. The examination should not include a long list of questions by the doctor; it is the doctor, not the patient, who is supposed to determine what is wrong. Patients respect doctors who try to learn about their cultural beliefs and practices.

LANGUAGE

Two languages are spoken in Haiti: Creole and French. French is the official language and is spoken by the educated elite. The great majority of Haitians, however, speak only Creole.

The term Creole derives from the Portuguese word "*crioulo*" meaning an individual of European ancestry who was born and reared abroad. Haitian Creole developed when slaves who were taken to

the Caribbean island of Saint Domingue from various areas of the west coast of Africa interacted with each other and with Europeans. Although predominantly French, some Spanish and Amerindian (Carib and Arawak) words have entered the language. While Haitian Creole has a French word base, the two languages are distinct. The sentence structure of Creole is basically African, but it has its own grammar, morphology, and syntax.

Haitian immigrants to the United States, especially the more recent ones, communicate best in Creole. This causes problems in interaction with Americans who have little knowledge of Creole and believe that all Haitians speak French.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common Haitian greetings and other expressions include: *Allo* (“ah-low”)—Hi!; *Bonjou* (“boon-ZHEW”)—Good morning/day; *Bonswa* (“bon-SWA”)—Good afternoon/evening; *Ki jan ou rele?* (“kee jan oo ray lay”)—What is your name?; *M rele ...* (“m ray lay ...”)—My name is ...; *Kote ou rete?* (“ko TAY oo ray TAY”)—Where do you live?; *Ki numewo telefon ou?* (“kee new meh-wo tele FON OO”)—What is your telephone number?; *Suple* (“soo-PLAY”)—Please; *Chita!* (“SHEE-tah”)—Sit down!; *Kanpe!* (“kan PAY”)—Stand up!; *Mesi* (“MAY-see”)—Thank you; *Orevwa* (“oh-ray-VWAH”)—Goodbye.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The family is the nucleus of Haitian society; within it, individuals are dependent upon each other. The traditional Haitian family is composed of father, mother, children, and grandparents. The family is involved in all decision-making for its members. The patriarchal system is prevalent, but many women rear children without the consistent presence of the father. By tradition, the father is the breadwinner and authority figure. The mother is the household manager and disciplinarian.

Family honor is of utmost importance. Family reputation is so important that the actions of a member of the family are considered to bring either honor or shame to the entire family. A family's reputation in society is based on honesty and former family history. Offspring of the *grandes familles* are considered excellent prospects for marriage.

From birth, males are granted more freedom and educational opportunities than females. Transgressions in behavior are more readily overlooked in

males, and the male “macho” image is admired since men play the dominant role in society. Females in urban areas of Haiti lead a sheltered and protected life. The family and educational system prepares them for marriage and respectability. Social mobility outside the home is usually limited. Adolescent girls do not go out alone and their activities are closely controlled. They are expected to help with chores and care for siblings at home. Women in rural areas have always worked. They farm as well as perform household tasks. They are the backbone of the economic stability of the family. Traditionally, clear distinctions have existed between male and female roles. These are changing due to economic conditions. More urban women are working outside the home, enjoying some degree of freedom, and are less willing to play a subservient role to the male. This is especially true in the United States. Many women want a greater voice in the decision-making processes of their homes.

Haitian American parents are generally strict with their children, as is customary in Haiti. The children are monitored by the adults of the family. Adult rules are to be respected and obeyed without question. Children are expected to live at home until they are married. Haitian American children seem to accept these customs and values despite the freer attitudes and lifestyles they see in their American counterparts. Haitian parents have immigrated to seek a better standard of life for their children and they want to obtain a good formal education for them. They want their children to grow up to be obedient, responsible, and close to the family.

Treatment of the elderly in Haiti differs from that in the United States. Senior citizens are highly respected because they have wisdom that can only come from living a long life. Sending an aged parent to a nursing home is unthinkable for Haitians. Children vie with each other as to whom will be granted the privilege of caring for the parents.

Haitian families maintain regular contact with relatives in Haiti by visiting them during winter or summer vacations. Some also return during the carnival period and for relatives' funerals. Still others return for familial Voodoo gatherings. The Voodoo believers, who cannot return to the island because they do not have resident status, often help pay for such ceremonies. Haitian Americans keep in regular contact with family members in Haiti and even send money home for child care and other family matters. There is a common belief that once you take in a Haitian there will come other Haitians.

Haitian Americans also maintain contact with a network of friends and neighbors. This network enables them to know what is happening around

their communities and to help each other. Old friends in Haiti have a common background and maintain their relationships in the United States. The immigrants try to maintain survival contacts with neighbors in the same apartment buildings. The more interaction the family has with other Haitian immigrants, the more the community is able to maintain its cultural tradition, its folklore, the Creole language, and other aspects of social life.

WEDDINGS

The most common marital relationship among the rural and urban lower class was *plasaj*, an arrangement not recognized by the state. The man and woman often make an explicit agreement about their economic relationship at the beginning of the marriage. The husband is required to cultivate at least one plot of land for the wife and to provide her with a house. The wife is expected to perform most household tasks. The *plasaj* previously would take place with beautiful traditional ceremonies and secret ritualistic sacrifices to the ancestors. Because weddings were expensive, many couples waited several years before having them. Due to the expense, however, few of these ceremonies remain today. The upper class traditionally had civil and religious marriage ceremonies, which were arranged mainly for prestige rather than legality. The “best” families could trace legally married family members back to the nineteenth century.

FUNERALS

To Haitians, death goes far beyond the immediate family. It includes the various *loa* (lesser deities) and the many dead relatives and ancestors. Some Haitians believe that the dead live in close proximity to the *loa*, in a place called “Under the Water.” Others hold that the dead have no special place after death. Many believe that a dead person will become a *loa*. Sometimes the spirits of the dead do not go quietly but remain behind to annoy the living.

Burial ceremonies vary according to local tradition and the status of the person. Relatives and friends expend considerable effort to be present when death is near. The family does not express grief aloud until most of the deceased’s possessions have been removed from the home. Persons who are knowledgeable in the funeral customs wash, dress, and place the body in a coffin. Mourners wear white clothing which represents death. A priest may be summoned to conduct the burial service. The burial usually takes place within 24 hours.



Haitian American author Edwidge Danticat, 29, signs a copy of her third novel “The Farming of Bones” for a fan after a benefit reading in New York City.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC MINORITIES

Haitians face a identity dilemma in the United States. Although they are different in national origin, they are almost physically indistinguishable from other black Americans. They cannot easily merge with the rest of the black population because of their language and culture. Haitian Americans perceive differences between themselves and other blacks. Most seek a middle ground between being merged with the rest of the black population and complete isolation. Haitian language and culture are preserved at home, which makes it possible for Haitian immigrants to separate themselves from the Afro-American culture around them. Traditional Haitian values are carefully guarded. They adapt to the dominant American culture while retaining their distinctive lifestyle at home. By the late 1990s, a distinct Haitian American identity was slowly forming in the public eye.

RELIGION

Religion is a basic force in the lives of Haitians who have migrated to the United States and they continue the beliefs that they brought with them from Haiti. Religious groups and churches serve as a powerful unifying element in the lives of the immigrants.

The national religion of Haiti is Roman Catholicism. The first missionaries were Catholic, and the schools that they established are still highly regarded for their educational standards; it is common for even the non-Catholic children to attend Catholic schools. Protestant churches are

strong and vigorous in Haiti. Protestant missionaries have increased substantially and represent Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal as well as other evangelical denominations.

VOODOO

An important focus of Haitian religious life centers around Voodoo, which blends elements of Catholicism with those of diverse African beliefs resulting in Haitian Voodoo. It appears throughout the art, music and social customs of Haiti. Voodoo is a set of beliefs and practices that deals with the spiritual forces of the universe and attempts to keep the individual in harmonious relation with them as they affect his life.

A key to understanding the relationship and interplay between Catholicism and Voodooism is the fusion of the two belief systems. Children born into rural families are generally baptized twice, once into the Voodoo religion and once in the Catholic church. Voodoo means many things. It means an attitude toward life and death, a concept of ancestors and the afterworld, and a recognition of the forces which control individuals and their activities.

Those who practice Voodooism believe in a pantheon of gods who control and represent the laws and forces of the universe. In this pantheon, there is the Supreme Deity, the master of all gods, the loa who are a large group of lesser deities, and the twins known as marassas. Twins are believed to have special powers and once a year special services are held for them.

In Voodoo the major gods are classified into the four natural elements: water, air, fire and earth. There is also a god of love, of death, etc. These lesser gods (loas) are analogous to the saints of the Catholic Church and those of African gods. These gods are not only expected to protect people, but they are also expected to accord special favors through their representatives on earth which are the *hougans* (priests) and *mambos* (priestesses). In Voodoo, the soul continues to live on earth and may be used in magic or it may be incarnated in a member of the dead person's family. This belief is similar to Catholicism in that the soul is believed to be immortal. Elaborate burial customs have been established to keep the dead buried in the ground. It is believed that corpses that have been removed from their tombs may be turned into zombies, who then serve the will of their masters.

Voodoo worship centers in family groups and cult groups headed by a *hougan* or *mambo*. Ceremonies are performed annually for such events as Christmas and the harvest and also for specials occa-

sions such as initiations and memorial services. Believers have obligations for the worship of their loa and their ancestors. Expert help is called in to help with the ceremonies which consist of Roman Catholic prayers, drumming and dancing, and the preparation of feasts. Each group of worshipers is independent and there is no central organization, religious leader, or set of beliefs. Beliefs and ceremonies often vary, depending upon family traditions.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

When François Duvalier came to power in 1957, many dissident politicians, middle-class professionals, and tradespeople left Haiti and headed for New York City. The most recent wave of immigrants has included the poorer people of Haiti, who have entered the migrant workforce or the menial jobs in the New York City area. Haitian Americans are hard-working and use the lower-status jobs as springboards to better, more permanent positions. Many businesses dependent on trade with Haiti have been hurt by the international embargo against the country. This is especially true in Little Haiti in Miami where unemployment is running about 30 percent. From an analysis of the 1990 U.S. Census data, about six percent of the nation's Haitian households or about 5,300 individuals collect welfare benefits, compared to about five percent of households generally. Groups like the National Coalition for Haitian Rights was trying to change that in 1998. The Coalition was developing leadership training and education programs to empower the Haitian community.

Haitian Americans are accustomed to using rotating credit associations as an avenue of saving. Such associations are called in Creole "sangué," "min," or "assosie." They rotate money to members of the association from a lump-sum fund into which each member has contributed an amount of money. It is assumed that the Haitians adapted this system of contribution from their West African friends who call it "esusu." Haitian immigrants, especially undocumented ones who have no banking accounts, use the sangué to buy homes and finance various business ventures.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

New York City has traditionally been the center for Haitian opposition politics. More than 30 political groups opposed to the dictatorship of François Duvalier have been in existence there since 1957. Some

have had to operate secretly because of fear of reprisals against family members back home in Haiti. Political activities in New York have occurred during three periods. The first period was from 1956 to 1964 when former Haitian officials dominated and hoped to install a new president and to introduce reforms in the Haitian government system. Several attempted invasions of Haiti occurred during this period. The next period of activity occurred during the years from 1965 through 1970. The Haitian American Coalition (La Coalition Hatienne) was formed in 1964, composed of the groups Jeune Haiti, Les Forces Revolutionnaires Haitiennes, Le Mouvement Revolutionnaires du 12 Novembre, and followers of ex-President Paul-Eugene Magloire. The Coalition published a newspaper *Le Combattant Haitien* and broadcast messages to Haiti on Radio Vonvon. In 1970 the coalition was dissolved and La Resistance Haitienne was organized, which had more popular support. In 1971, the Comité de Mobilisation was formed to attempt to overthrow Jean-Claude Duvalier. This group was dissolved and in 1977, Le Regroupement de Forces Democratiques was formed to force Duvalier from power after he had completed his six-year term. Involvement in the American political process began in earnest in 1968 when Haitian Americans formed the Haitian American Political Organization. This organization was formed to lobby on behalf of the Haitian American community. Haitian Americans have worked in various elections to increase their presence as political force to obtain public services to be provided to the community.

On April 20, 1990, more than 50,000 Haitian Americans marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall to protest the action of the Centers for Disease Control and the American Red Cross. These organizations had ruled that no Haitian could donate blood because all Haitians were AIDS risks. This was one of the largest demonstrations of its type and encouraged local leaders to find a Haitian candidate for the city council from Brooklyn.

Currently, an increasing amount of political activity has involved attempts to help the "boat people" who have tried to escape oppressive conditions in Haiti. The Haitian Refugee Center in Miami and the National Coalition for Haitian Rights work to help those refugees trapped in the American legal system and facing possible deportation. The Coalition also worked to help Haitians in Haiti. The group reported in 1997 that the police force in Haiti, trained by the United States, engaged in abusive tactics. It also showed that the United States and the European Union were engaging in useless judicial reform efforts, prompting a policy change.

MILITARY

The American Revolution saw the participation of freedmen from Saint Domingue who fought under General Lafayette at Savannah in 1779. From 1814 to 1815, Joseph Savary headed the Second Battalion of Freeman of Color which fought under General Andrew Jackson. Savary was the first black to hold the rank of major in the U.S. Army.

Since the largest number of immigrants arrived in the United States after World War II, there was not a great involvement on their part in earlier wars. Many Haitian Americans, however, served in Vietnam. Haitian Americans currently serve in the U.S. armed forces; indeed, many of them were sent to Haiti to serve as Creole interpreters during the efforts to reinstate President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Michel S. Laguerre, an anthropologist in the Department of Afro-American Studies, University of California at Berkeley, has researched many aspects of Haitian American life and has published numerous books and articles. Tekle Mariam Woldemikael, a sociologist in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Whittier College in Whittier, California, has written several studies concerning Haitian Americans. Carole M. Berotte Joseph, who was born in Port-au-Prince and came to the U.S. in 1957, is the Assistant Dean and Director of the Office of Student Services at the City College School of Education in New York City where she is an authority on bilingual and foreign language teaching; she is a founder of the International Alliance for Haiti, Inc. Michaelle Vincent, the District Supervisor Bilingual and Foreign Language Skills of the Dade County (Florida) Public Schools, is a consultant on Haitian culture and the Creole language, developing and implementing seminars on Haitian culture; she also hosted a daily radio show in Haitian Creole on WLRN in Miami.

JOURNALISM AND BROADCASTING

Joel Dreyfuss, editor of *PC Magazine*, emigrated from Haiti in the 1950s; he has published extensively in computer magazines as well as the *New York Times*. Marcus Garcia is the editor and publisher of *Haiti En Marche*, a weekly newspaper published in Miami; most articles are published in French but there is a section in Creole for Creole language speakers. Ray-

mond Cajuste is a filmmaker and host of a program on Radio Tropicale. Ricot Dupuy is the station manager of Radio Soleil which was created after the 1991 coup in Haiti; he also helps new refugees with their needs upon arriving in New York.

MUSIC

The migration of Haitians to the United States has caused a boom in its music. Haitian music serves as an anchor connecting individuals with their country, one another, and themselves. Music functions as a sanctioned means of social protest. Wyclef Jean, one-third of the rap group, The Fugees, is a source of pride for Haitians and Haitian Americans. Not only does he incorporate his country's music in his rap songs but he also gives back to his fellow countrymen through benefit concerts. Theodore Beaubrun is the lead singer and composer of the Boukman Eksperyans whose songs assault Haiti's evildoers; the music is steeped in the symbolism of Voodoo and Haitian history. Dieudonne Larose, a composer who lives in Montreal, is transforming Haitian music and writes in the style of the old favorites of compas, Haiti's well-known dance music; he criticizes whites for racist attitudes toward black governments and warns Haitians to work hard and to respect the law.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

John James Audubon (1785-1851) was born in Cayes. His drawings of birds in America are an invaluable source of information for naturalists and anthropologists.

VISUAL ARTS

Marc Jean-Louis emigrated to the United States at a very young age. He lives in South Florida and has made many contributions to Haitian art.

MEDIA

PRINT

Haiti en Marche.

Published weekly in French. There is a section in Creole for Creole speakers.

Address: Miami, Florida.

Haiti Observateur.

Published weekly in French, Creole, and English.

Address: 50 Court Street, Brooklyn,
New York 11201.

Haiti Progress.

Published weekly in French.

Address: 1398 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn,
New York 11210.

RADIO

WKCR-FM (89.9).

"L'Heure Haitienne" is broadcast on Sunday mornings.

Address: Columbia University, 208 Ferris Booth
Hall, New York, New York 10027.

WLIB-AM (1190).

"Moment Creole" is broadcast every Sunday from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Contact: Claude Tait.

Address: 801 Second Avenue, New York,
New York 10017.

WNWK-FM (105.9).

"Eddy Publicité" is broadcast every Saturday from 8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. It features a mix of Haitian music, news and discussion of community issues.

Contact: Otto Miller.

Address: 449 Broadway, Second Floor, New York,
New York 10013.

WNYE-FM (91.5).

This station broadcasts various programs daily aimed at the Haitian American audience.

Address: 112 Tillary Street, Brooklyn,
New York 11201.

Radio Tropical and Radio Soleil d'Haiti are subcarrier stations that broadcast 24 hours a day over special radios sold to listeners. They broadcast talk, call-in shows, news, gossip, and social announcements.

TELEVISION

Several cable companies offer programs aimed at their local Haitian American communities. Programs air political debates and instructions on coping with life in the United States.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Caribbean Haitian Council (CAHACO).

Provides cultural normalization of and advocacy for Haitians and other Caribbean groups.

Address: 26 Ashland Avenue, East Orange,
New Jersey 07017.
Telephone: (201) 678-5059.

Friends of Haiti (FOH).

Founded in 1971, FOH attempts to generate support for the Haitian national liberation struggle. It distributes information on the Haitian social structure and the liberation process, with an emphasis on U.S. economic, political and military involvement. Friends of Haiti maintains a data center on Haiti and has a library of 3,000 volumes.

Contact: Mauge Leblanc, Coordinator.

Address: 1398 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn,
New York 11210.

Telephone: (718) 434-8100.

Fax: (718) 434-5551.

Haitian American Foundation, Inc. (HAFI).

Founded in 1990, HAFI works to help, educate and assist Haitian immigrants and other ethnic groups become self-sufficient. It sponsors programs that provide acculturation, vocational skills training, English classes, counseling, food distribution, and technical assistance to small business.

Contact: Ringo Cayard, President.

Address: 8340 Northeast Second Avenue,
Suite 103, Miami, Florida 33138.

Telephone: (305) 758-3338.

E-mail: meera@mcione.com.

Haitian Refugee Center (HRC).

Founded in 1974, the Center provides free legal support and educational services to indigent Haitian aliens in their political asylum proceedings. It works to impede deportations and to publicize the plight of refugees.

Contact: Philies Auguh, Executive Director.

Address: 119 Northeast 54th Street,
Miami, Florida 33137.

Telephone: (305) 757-8538.

Fax: (305) 758-2444.

Haitian Studies Association.

Encourages research and interest in Haiti, the Haitian people, and their culture.

Contact: Dr. Leslie G. Desmangles, President.

Address: Trinity College, McCook Hall, 300
Summit Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06106.

Telephone: (617) 287-7138.

E-mail: hsa@umbcc.edu.

National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR).

Founded in 1982, NCHR attempts to obtain humane treatment, due process of law, and legal status for Haitians seeking asylum in the United States. Its goals are to obtain fair treatment for Haitians in their quest for asylum; convince the public of the need for legal status for refugees; stop the U. S. Coast Guard interdiction of Haitian boats; and increase the awareness of the social, economic, and political causes of the Haitian flight from Haiti.

Contact: Jocelyn McCalla, Executive Director.

Address: 275 Seventh Avenue, 25th Floor, New
York, New York 10007.

Telephone: (212) 337-0005.

Fax: (212) 337-0028.

E-mail: jmccalla@nchr.org.

Online: <http://www.nchr.org>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Many museums of African American history contain Haitian collections or substantial exhibits of Haitian culture items, including: Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum in Philadelphia; Black Heritage Museum in Miami; Museum for African Art in New York City; Museum of African American Art in Los Angeles; and National Museum of African Art at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C.

Amistad Research Center.

The Center contains material relating to ethnic history and race relations in the United States, with concentration on blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Haitians.

Contact: Dr. Donald E. DeVore, Director..

Address: Tulane University, 6823 St. Charles
Avenue, Tilton Hall, New Orleans, Louisiana
70118.

Telephone: (504) 865-5535.

Fax: (504) 865-5580.

E-mail: amistad@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu.

Online: <http://www.arc.tulane.edu>.

**Schomburg Center for Research in Black
Culture (Harlem).**

This is a reference library devoted to material by and about Black people throughout the world, with major emphasis on Afro-America, Africa, and the Caribbean, especially Haiti. Among its Haitian holdings is the Kurt Fisher and Eugene Maximilien Collection of Haitian manuscripts.

Contact: Howard Dodson, Chief Librarian.
Address: 135 Malcolm X Boulevard, New York,
New York 10037-1801.
Telephone: (212) 491-2255.
Fax: (212) 491-6760.
Online: <http://www.nypl.org>.

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HAWAIIANS

by
Elaine Winters and
Mark Swartz

OVERVIEW

The Pacific Ocean surrounds the Hawaiian archipelago. There are eight major and 124 minor islands, volcanic in origin, with a total land mass of 6,425 square miles (16,641 square kilometers). The eight major islands are Niihau, Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai, and Hawaii. Honolulu, the capital, is located on Oahu, and is 6,200 kilometers southwest of San Francisco. The islands' topography includes such diverse features as active volcanos, grassy pastures, and endless stretches of beach.

According to U.S. Census Bureau figures (1990), the population of the entire state is 1,108,229, with 836,231 persons living within the incorporated city of Honolulu and its immediate environs. Seventy-three percent of the entire population of the state lives on Oahu. Statewide, 135,263 persons identify themselves as native Hawaiians, though it is not known how many of these people are of mixed race. There has been a widespread diaspora of native Hawaiians, largely to the west coast of the United States and also to other Pacific Island nations.

HISTORY

The islands in the triangle formed (roughly) by Tahiti, New Zealand, and Hawaii are inhabited by people who possess prominent genealogical traits in

While native Hawaiians almost invariably suffered as their homeland underwent its transformations, it is also true that the Hawaiian culture greatly affected the attitudes and perspectives of many immigrant groups.

common, speak related languages, and live similar lifestyles. They are descendants of Polynesians (Polynesia is Greek for “many islands”), who began settling in the South Pacific islands around 1100 B.C. They are believed to have reached the Hawaiian islands sometime between A.D. 300 and 500. They called the largest island *Hawaiki* after one of the major islands of their former home. Dogs, pigs, chickens, tuber (taro), coconuts, bananas, breadfruit, yams, and sugar cane comprised much of the traditional Polynesian diet. The mulberry plant called *wauke* was pounded and bleached to make *kapa* or bark-cloth. Ti, a lily, provided leaves for *hula* skirts and roots to weave into matting or brew into a liquor called *okolehao*.

The population of native Hawaiians has diminished considerably since Western contact, usually dated from the arrival of the English seaman Captain Cook in 1778. From an estimated 300,000 that year, the population fell to 71,019 in 1853. This dramatic decrease was largely due to the introduction of various diseases (including cholera, chicken pox, influenza, measles, mumps, and syphilis), for which the immune systems and medical expertise of the natives were completely unprepared. Furthermore, Cook and those who came after him introduced firearms to the archipelago, making tribal conflicts much deadlier.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

January 18, 1778 marked the arrival of Captain James Cook and the crews of his two ships, H.M.S. *Resolution* and H.M.S. *Discovery*, off the coast of the island Kauai. The British visitors recorded trading iron nails for fresh water, pigs, and sweet potatoes. Captain Cook named the archipelago the “Sandwich Islands,” after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich. Cook was killed by natives on the island of Hawaii one year after his arrival in a skirmish over a small boat that had been stolen from him.

Prior to European settlement, native Hawaiians viewed land as the common property of everyone. The economic interests of the common people, the king, and the chiefs were collaborative, mutually beneficial, and intertwined. The arrival of settlers and their Western ideas of title and ownership, however, terminated that approach to government.

In 1780, Kamehameha, the first and mightiest of four leaders with the name, began a campaign to unite the islands under a single chiefdom. Hawaiian chiefs had traditionally clashed over land and the resources of the sea, but many of their disputes were settled in ritualized combat, which resulted in relatively few casualties. Kamehameha, however, adapt-

ed the modern weapons and armaments of the British visitors to suit his own purposes and hired two of Cook’s seamen as war advisors. By 1795 he had obtained complete power over the eight main islands.

With the technological know-how introduced by foreigners, called *haoles*, (a term that later came to apply exclusively to white people), Kamehameha was able to take advantage of political and economic opportunities. He established a trade advantage and created a personal monopoly over foreign commerce. He used *Kapu*, the existing system of religious and social customs, to exclude both commoners and lesser chiefs from engaging in commerce with ships that passed by, and brought fresh provisions to these ships personally. As soon as he realized the value that foreigners placed on pearls, he reserved pearling in Pearl Harbor for himself and employed commoners to dive. Furthermore, he exacted tolls for the privilege of using Honolulu’s harbor. In these ways, Kamehameha accumulated enormous wealth and power over the Hawaiian people and lesser royalty.

Westerners ventured to the Sandwich Islands in large numbers. Missionaries from various Protestant sects, particularly Calvinism, were the first major group of *haoles*, followed by Norwegian whalers, Mormons, diplomatic representatives from various countries, plantation owners, and Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese workers.

Sandalwood became a trading commodity as soon as it became known that the Chinese held it in high regard and were willing to pay virtually any price. Kamehameha incorporated sandalwood into his tribute demands from commoners and left the collection process to lesser chiefs. The sandalwood trade, however, required substantial labor, thus drawing workers from food production. Moreover, demand for provisions by ships stopping in Hawaii drew on local food supplies, causing a famine in 1810 that significantly weakened the small nation. Hawaii’s position further degenerated when all the sandalwood was sold and trade ceased altogether.

In 1794 George Vancouver, a British navigator, drafted an agreement with island chiefs to transfer ownership of the islands to Great Britain. He believed the chiefs had formally granted the islands to Great Britain, while the chiefs thought they had a defense agreement. Although Britain did not ratify the agreement, the English Empire, which held sway over lands in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, established a dominant presence in Hawaii.

In 1819 *Kapu* was overthrown and abandoned when Kamehameha II violated one of its cardinal rules by accepting an invitation to dine alongside

women. In the ensuing chaos, many temples and works of sacred art were destroyed. As Christianity, fueled by the influx of missionaries, supplanted *Kapu*, such cultural hallmarks as *hula* dancing, surfing, and kite flying were forbidden along with other so-called pagan practices.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

U.S. President William McKinley, acting according to the national spirit of Manifest Destiny, supported a policy of amplified political, military, and economic activity in the Pacific. Citing such reasons as resolving racial unrest on the islands, arresting the influence of Japan, and boosting American shipping and commerce, the United States officially annexed Hawaii in 1893, a few months after an unofficial coup d'état (supported by white plantation owners and enforced by U.S. Marines) and the imprisonment of Queen Liliuokalani. For her refusal to go along with annexation and her support of an attempted uprising against American domination, Liliuokalani is remembered by politically liberal native Hawaiians as a freedom fighter, whereas Kamehameha is regarded as an opportunist and an accomplice in the decline of native Hawaiian culture.

U.S. involvement with Hawaii reached a new plateau after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The islands were placed under martial law for the duration of the war and were used extensively as bases, bombing practice sites, and rest and recreation spots for soldiers and sailors. The memorial at the site of the sunken battleship *Arizona* attracts many visitors each year, as does the national cemetery at Punchbowl (an extinct volcanic crater), with its spectacular view of Honolulu and the harbor. Hawaii joined the union in 1959, thus becoming the fiftieth state. The current flag of the State of Hawaii has eight horizontal stripes (red, white, and blue), to symbolize the eight major islands, and a Union Jack in the upper left corner, to symbolize the occupation of the islands by the British.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Writing in 1916, W. Somerset Maugham described Honolulu, in a story of the same name: "It is the meeting of East and West. The very new rubs shoulders with the immeasurably old." The ethnic variety of immigrants since the arrival of Captain Cook has created many opportunities for cultural exchange and hybridization. Of the 1,108,229 people living in

Hawaii, 23 percent describe themselves as white, 22 percent as Japanese, 20 percent as part Hawaiian, 11 percent as Filipino, four percent as Chinese, two percent as black, and about one percent each as Korean and pure Hawaiian. Such clear-cut terms blur when faced by another statistic, however; about half of all Hawaiian marriages now occur between men and women of different races.

While native Hawaiians almost invariably suffered as their homeland underwent its transformations, it is also true that the Hawaiian culture greatly affected the attitudes and perspectives of many immigrant groups. The most striking example of this is the spirit of *aloha*, which is found on all the islands and among all ethnic groups. Although many consider the term to have been corrupted by colonialist opportunism and the tourist industry, it remains an important aspect of the culture of the State of Hawaii. The word *aloha* means many things: hello, good-bye, peace, and, perhaps most importantly, a sense of welcome and identity within the larger community.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Storytelling is a great Hawaiian tradition. Before the Hawaiian language was written, the literature was spoken. The Hawaiian legend of the King of *Ku-ai-he-lani* is similar to the western tale of *Cinderella*; and *Au-ke-le* recalls Rip Van Winkle, or perhaps Odysseus. *Menehunes* are small people, rather like Irish leprechauns. Legends of their mischievous ways abound. For example, *menehunes* are held to be responsible when something is misplaced. In various locations, on all the islands, there are elaborate fish ponds that do not appear to have been formed naturally. Native Hawaiians believe *menehunes* built them, and there are strict rules about these ponds. Nothing must be removed or the *menehunes* will come at night and take it back. The implication is that the retrieval will be unpleasant.

Many of the old superstitions and traditions in Hawaii are still observed in modern form; ti leaves, for example, are still reputed to ward off evil spirits. Today, students in dormitories decorate entries and windows with ti leaves when they think there is an evil spirit afoot. Hawaiians bring ti leaves to football games and wave them like pom-poms to keep bad spirits away from a favorite team. Feasts, or *luaus*, are a native Hawaiian tradition still held on every important occasion. The traditional practice involves roasting a pig in a large oven (*imo*) dug into the ground. Weddings, childbirth, the completion of a canoe or a house, and a good catch or an abundant harvest are typical occasions for a native

Canoes have figured prominently in the marine culture of the native Hawaiians.



Hawaiian *luau*. Today, *luaus* are held everywhere in Hawaii. Churches frequently hold *luaus* as fundraising events, and the entire community joins in the festivities and the eating. Tourists expect to enjoy a *luau* before leaving the islands.

AGRICULTURE

The Hawaiian farmer of ancient times was a superior cultivator who systematically identified and named plants—both those cultivated as well as the wild species gathered for use when crops failed. Procedures for cultivation at every arable location on an island (approximately 15 percent of the land), for the variety of altitudes, exposures, and weather conditions were likewise developed by farmers. They practiced organic farming, meaning that the unused leaves of plants were combined with plants that grew during fallow periods in a “green” manure; that is, no animal excrement was used.

Elaborate systems of aqueducts and ditches brought water from dammed springs to planted terraces, demonstrating engineering and building skills as well as planning and organizing abilities. The rem-

nants of these systems can still be seen from the air. Plants cultivated for food included such staples as taro, breadfruit, and yam, as well as foods that offered variety and additional nutrients, including banana, sugarcane, coconut, candelnut, arrowroot, and ti.

About three hundred varieties of taro are known to have existed in Hawaii. Early natives used the entire taro plant. The leaves were steamed alone or used to wrap potatoes or fish for steaming. The root was steamed in an *imo* and then peeled and pounded into a stiff paste handy for traveling when wrapped in pandanus leaves. Adding water to this paste produces *poi*, a starchy thick paste sometimes allowed to ferment. The entire coconut was used as well. Unripe coconuts provided nourishing liquid for journeys when no fresh water was available. The flesh of the mature nut was grated and pressed to produce a cream. Pudding was made by mixing this cream with arrowroot. The husks were halved when the mature coconut was harvested and, when empty, were used as drinking or baking cups. The fibers on the outside of the husks were pounded and then woven into rope. The leaves of the plant were sometimes used for thatching houses.

In addition to attracting laborers from China, Japan, and elsewhere, sugar production has been a major source of employment for native Hawaiians. In 1873, for instance, more than half the native male population was engaged in cultivating sugar. Women were employed stripping, grinding, and boiling cane and were paid half the wages of male natives.

MARINE CULTURE

Fish has traditionally supplied most of the protein in the Hawaiian diet. It is also a crucial and highly developed trade. Early Hawaiian fishermen were often accompanied by an individual responsible for actually finding the fish—the fish watchman. This skill involved understanding the sea floor, both inside and outside of the reef; the shape of the reef, including where the fish liked to hide; and what kind of net, hook, and bait were appropriate for each fish. Various traps were also devised for catching fish and other marine animals that lived in streams. Not everyone was allowed to eat every species of fish; certain fishes were for special events and then only for royalty. Priests were consulted every step of the way when it came to consumption of various foods. Rarely did women consume fish; rather, they were permitted shrimp and other shellfish.

Nautical culture was an important aspect of early Hawaiian life. There were freshwater ponds and shore ponds. The shore ponds were enclosures built of stone that encompassed both shallow and deep water; some ponds were as large as 60 acres. The walls had sluice gates made of wood. Native Hawaiians have long believed in the conservation of fresh water. In early times, after growing fish, the water was used to irrigate crops. Waste from ponds, a rich source of calcium, provided for an excellent fertilizer. (Hawaiian soil is low in calcium.) Some of these early conservation traditions have been revived and are practiced by native Hawaiians today.

Canoes were built for either transportation or racing. Racing is believed to have been reserved for royalty, and the large double canoes are thought to have been used for major inter-island travel and trading. The elaborate process of building a canoe began with a priest selecting the appropriate lumber. Suitable animal sacrifices (pigs or chickens) were offered and incantations and ceremonies accompanied each step of the process. For example, ti leaves were wrapped around the tree at various stages of the carving and building to ward off evil spirits. Canoe racing remains an active sport in modern Hawaii. One organization devoted to perpetuating the tradition of building and racing canoes is the Hawaiian Canoe Racing Association in Honolulu.

CUISINE

Hawaii's patchwork past is most apparent in its varied cuisine. Japanese *manju* (sweet black bean pastry), Portuguese sweet bread, Chinese noodles or crispy duck, and spicy Korean *kim chee* are as easy to find as Hawaiian *poi*, which is served as the traditional island staple. Hawaiians eat about twice as much fish as residents of any other state, as well as more fresh fruit. Mangoes, papayas, bananas, pineapples, oranges, and avocados are grown locally. Different areas are famed for specialty crops: open-air markets on Oahu overflow with Kahuku watermelons, Maui onions, Waimanalo corn, Manoa lettuce, and Puna papayas. During a *luau*, a pig is roasted in a pit lined with wood, lava rocks, and banana stumps. The pig is stuffed with hot rocks, wrapped in leaves, and buried along with pieces of fish, taro, yams, and breadfruit. A festive banquet for friends and extended family, the *luau* has absorbed many non-Hawaiian elements. In the 1800s, missionaries brought cakes, Chinese brought chicken, and Norwegian whalers brought salmon marinated with onion and tomato (*lomi salmon*). All are now standard *luau* dishes.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Because of Hawaii's tropical climate, early natives usually wore no more than a strip or two of bark-cloth (*kapa*). Many Hawaiians also covered much of their bodies with tattoos. Warriors ornamented themselves with spectacular yellow and gold capes and helmets of woven feathers. Today, Hawaiians continue to dress casually. Some Hawaiian women wear the *muumuu*, a voluminous dress originally designed by modest missionaries for Hawaiian women. Today these dresses are printed in bright and colorful cotton or silk. More firmly grounded in Hawaiian culture is the *lei*, a colorful wreath of fresh flowers or other decorative objects worn around the neck. Originally an artful offering to the gods, *leis* have become an emblem of Hawaiian hospitality and warmth.

DANCES AND SONGS

Although it has long been associated with Hawaii, the ukulele originated in Portugal. "Aloha Oe," a song written by Queen Liliouokalani, is a perennial favorite on this small, four-stringed, guitar-like instrument. Hawaiian musicians have also developed the distinctive slack-key style (a type of open tuning) for guitar, an instrument introduced to the islands from Spain. Instruments native to Hawaii include beating sticks, bamboo pipes, and rattles

These Hawaiian dancers are performing in Washington D.C. to commemorate the loss of the Hawaiian Islands as an independent kingdom.



and drums of various kinds. According to historians, native Hawaiians also played a bamboo nose flute, a whistle made from a gourd, and an instrument having one string that was played with a bow. A variety of Jew's harp was also used.

Singing, drumming, and the *hula* dance are sacred forms of worship and remain integral to the daily life of some native Hawaiians. Certain superstitions continue to be observed with regard to modern *hula*; for example, while black can be used to ornament a costume, one never dresses totally in black for *hula*, since black is the traditional color of mourning. It is believed that ancient Hawaiians blackened their faces and limbs when in mourning.

HOLIDAYS

Ancient religious holidays are not known, owing to the determination on the part of missionaries to enforce the celebration of only the Christian holidays. In addition to federal holidays observed by the entire United States, Hawaii also celebrates Kuhio Day (Kuhio was a prince) on March 26, and Kamehameha Day on June 11. Hawaiians also observe

“Aloha Friday” each week. On Fridays Hawaiians wear especially bright clothing and women wear a flower tucked behind one ear and perhaps a *lei* around their neck. The occasion is marked by a celebratory attitude and a sense of good fun.

HEALTH ISSUES

Religion and medicine were closely related in traditional native Hawaiian life. People expected prayer to heal most things. There were several classes of *Kahuna lapa'au* (medical priest/healer) who treated physical and mental ailments according to a variety of traditions now mostly lost to history.

Drinking seawater followed by fresh water was considered a universal remedy. Various native plants were used as compresses for relieving pain or injury, and the leaves of plants were brewed in teas and used for healing purposes. *Piper methysticum* (the source of the intoxicating *awa* or *kava*) was used in many ways. Today, this species is a sedative given in mild form to infants during teething and is used in commercial diuretics. Seasonal changes and extremes of humidity and dryness produced many

respiratory problems among native Hawaiians. There were as many as 58 herbal remedies for asthma, many of which have been studied or adapted by modern medical science.

In addition to the diseases brought over by the first wave of immigrants to Hawaii, leprosy, whose origin is not known and for which there has never been a cure, had a profound effect on the public health of native Hawaiians. Because of the social stigma attached to the diseases (it was mistakenly thought to be a venereal disease) as well as its extreme contagiousness, lepers were isolated on the island of Molokai beginning in 1886. For 16 years, a Belgian priest named Demian Joseph de Veuster provided medical care for these patients, whom the medical community refused to treat, before succumbing to the illness himself in 1889.

Compared to Hawaiians of European and Asian ancestry, native Hawaiians have continued to bear the brunt of the archipelago's health problems. Whereas Hawaii as a whole boasts the longest average life span of any state (males live an average 75.37 years, females, 80.92 years), the death rates of native Hawaiians at all ages are above average. The infant mortality rate for native Hawaiians is 6.5 per 1,000 live births. In addition, native Hawaiians experience high rates of diabetes and hypertension. Health workers consider poor diet a major factor, and economic problems undoubtedly contribute to this situation.

LANGUAGE

Polynesian-based Hawaiian is dying out as a spoken language. Today, it survives mostly on the island of Niihau, in some religious services, and in words and phrases used by English-speakers (the predominant group of Hawaiians), rather than as a language of everyday use. Traditionally unwritten, Hawaiian had no alphabet until the arrival of the *haole*. The Hawaiian alphabet was Romanized and first written by early missionaries. It contains twelve letters: "a," "e," "i," "o," "u," "h," "k," "l," "m," "n," "p," and "w." In general, vowels are pronounced separately, except for diphthongs such as "ai" ("eye"), "au" ("ow"), and "ei" ("ay"). Thus, Kamehameha is pronounced "kah may hah MAY hah." Fewer than 2,500 people speak Hawaiian as their mother tongue, most of whom are older people. It is estimated that within 30 years, Hawaiian will survive only in isolated phrases and in place names throughout the islands. All the languages of Oceania, and particularly those of Polynesia, are linguistically related. New Zealand, Tahiti, Fiji, Samoa, and Hawaii share many words, with slight variations. Some representative words in Hawaiian are *ali'i* (chief or royalty); *kahuna* (priest

and/or expert healer); *kapu* (taboo or sacred); *mahalo* (thank you); *mana* (energy or spiritual power); and *ohana* (extended family).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Although for centuries women had to endure cultural and domestic oppression, the segregation of men and women under the *Kapu* system provided women with a good deal of autonomy. They led their own lives, cooked food for themselves, had their own deities, and had their own function in matters of royal inheritance and social stature. Women's status depended on social position and birth order. Older sisters were respected and generally wielded greater authority than junior siblings, including males. Older women continue to command respect in the community, relative to younger men and women.

Traditionally, the differences in raising native Hawaiian boys and girls center around their eventual roles as adults. Boys learn to plant, cultivate, cook, and fish; girls learn to cook and are taught how to prepare *tapa* for decoration or clothing. In the past, children were raised by the entire extended family, a practice called *hanai*. Grandparents usually had more to say in the upbringing of children than did parents. When the first child was a boy, it was taken by the father's parents and raised by them and the father's siblings—the child's aunts and uncles. If the first child was a girl, it was raised by the mother's parents and her extended family. Childless couples were unheard of in the social sense; there were always children who needed attention and instruction.

Among native Hawaiians today, the old ways, while fragmented, are still observed. For example, in neighborhoods that are predominantly Hawaiian, children move in and out of houses freely, and adults are clearly watching out for all the children in view. The concept of children belonging to and being the responsibility of the larger extended family remains vital.

WEDDINGS

Hawaiian chiefs created political alliances by marrying both commoners and other royalty. Most chiefs had many wives and provided for adopted as well as biological children. Engagements were arranged by the parents of the prospective bride and groom during their late childhood or early adolescence. When arrangements were settled by the par-

These Hawaiian children are gathered in celebration of Lei Day.



ents, the young people were consulted, and once agreement to the match was obtained from all parties, the engagement became binding. The extended community that constituted the couple's family gave the bride and groom away. Hawaiian weddings were traditionally, and continue to be, associated with flowers. Both the bride and groom wear elaborate *leis*—necklaces of flowers, nuts, seeds, and other plant material woven together. Traditional Hawaiian weddings are still performed with the addition of whatever civil or religious sanction is necessary for legal purposes.

There are also superstitions linked with weddings: The bride and groom are not wished good luck on their wedding day, as this can result in bad luck. The only way this unfortunate situation can be reversed is for the individual who was offered the wish to cross his or her fingers immediately after it is offered, thus counteracting the curse. In addition, pearls should not be worn on the wedding day, as they resemble tears and will cause the marriage to be filled with sorrow.

FUNERALS

When someone died, the *kahuna aumakau* (priest of the appropriate ancestral deity) of the dead person came and ritually sacrificed a pig or a chicken to ensure that the soul would live with its ancestors. There were several ways of disposing of the dead. Burial in the ground was the most common method; there are ancient graveyards found on all the major islands. In another disposal ritual, the corpse was

eviscerated, filled with salt, and burned. Sometimes, the flesh was scraped off the bones, and the skull, femur, and humerus were saved. The rest of the body was taken by boat far out to sea and dumped. Those in the boats were not permitted to look back once the remains were deposited into the sea, or the soul would follow them back to the land and thus not rest properly. Remnants of special, woven caskets have been found, and it is believed they were used to hold the bones of kings. Such caskets are considered extraordinary works of art and are unique to Hawaii.

The bones of the dead are revered among native Hawaiians. Water is sprinkled in the house of the deceased so the soul will not return. After attending a funeral, it is important to sprinkle one's body with water so that the soul will not follow a mourner home.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

Many bilingual programs exist to accommodate children for whom English is not a first language. Many classes are given in Hawaiian, which is the second official language of the State of Hawaii. For native Hawaiian children there are the well-endowed Kamehameha Schools, which were established in perpetuity by the estate of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last descendant of Kamehameha. The schools were intended to provide native Hawaiian children with a place where they could learn together, away from the influences of the children of various immigrant groups.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The University of Hawaii has two major campuses (Manoa and Hilo), and several smaller ones, which provide both education and employment to various strata of the native Hawaiian population. There are also several community colleges. The 1990 Census revealed that 22 percent of those between 18 and 24 years old who identify themselves as native Hawaiians are enrolled in school. There were 318 people under the age of 24 identifying themselves as native Hawaiians who had a bachelor's degree or higher. Of those native Hawaiians aged 25 or older, 1,549 are reported as having graduate or professional degrees.

RELIGION

The ancient religion of Hawaii incorporates hundreds of deities as well as magical and animist beliefs. Hawaiians worshipped both in their homes and in open-air temples called *heiau*. Ruins of these temples are still visible on all the islands. The largest were

heiau waikaua, or war temples, at which sacrifices occurred. Chief gods were *Ku* (god of war and male fertility), *Kane* (the creator and chief god), *Lono* (god of thunder and agriculture), and *Kanaloa* (god of the ocean and winds). With the arrival of other immigrant groups, particularly early explorers in the early 1800s, ancient Hawaiian religious practices disappeared completely. Today, many Hawaiians practice Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Before tourism and the establishment of the U.S. military on the islands, agriculture was the biggest industry in Hawaii. Sugar, coconut, and pineapple formed the core of the plantation system. When the large plantations were established in the 1820s and 1830s, native Hawaiian men were employed as farm workers while Hawaiian women worked in the houses of white immigrants as maids and washerwomen.

Wage labor first developed to meet foreign demand and was centered in Honolulu and Lahaina. Beginning around 1820, commoners were enticed to work for wages (although records show that such payment was usually practiced to avoid taxation). By the mid-1840s there existed a group of landless native Hawaiian laborers in Honolulu; these people were paid about a dollar a day in 1847, less than half of what *haoles* earned. Plantation owners, in fact, set wages at different levels for each of the different racial groups, in order to maintain distrust among them and thereby prevent workers from organizing.

A statement made by the plantation kingpin Sanford B. Dole (who also served for a time as president of the Hawaiian Republic) at a planter's convention in the 1880s captures the disregard in which the planters held their native Hawaiian employees: "I cannot help feeling that the chief end of this meeting is plantation profits, and the prosperity of the country, the demands of society ... the future of the Hawaiian race only comes secondarily if at all." Even to those commoners who were conscious of their exploitation, however, working for wages on plantations seemed a better way of life than working to pay tribute to chiefs. Plantation workers, for example, had taxes paid for them by plantation owners, and an early strike forced plantations to pay workers directly rather than through the chief.

Emigration of male native Hawaiians to the west coast of the United States occurred during the California Gold Rush. The growing absence of local labor resulting from this exodus, as well as from the dwin-

dling native Hawaiian population, encouraged the importation of Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese farm workers; a total of 400,000 came between 1850 and 1880. Smaller numbers of European workers came from Germany, Norway, and other countries.

From the time of the missionaries until the beginning of World War II, Hawaii was economically controlled by five powerful companies: Castle and Cooke, Alexander and Baldwin, Theodore Davies, C. Brewer, and American Factors (Amfac). About one-third of the Directors of these five companies were direct descendants of missionary families or immediately related to them by marriage. Collectively, these companies formed an alliance that, by 1930, controlled 96 percent of the islands' sugar industry and every business associated with that crop. They therefore manipulated virtually all the sizable businesses and institutions on the islands: banking, insurance, utilities, transportation, wholesale and retail sales, marketing, and inter-island and mainland shipping. In 1932, the Big Five gained control of the pineapple industry, Hawaii's second most important agricultural crop prior to World War II. After the war, in which many Japanese Americans served with great distinction, the Japanese vote broke the political power of the planter elite.

In the 1980s and the early 1990s, the economy of the State of Hawaii was based on tourism. Visitors to Hawaii spent almost \$10 billion in 1990. The second largest employer was the U.S. Department of Defense, which spent more than \$3 billion in 1990. Native Hawaiians often took jobs as domestic servants or serve in other, often menial, capacities to meet the needs of those who are staying on the islands for a short time. As agriculture diminished in magnitude and economic importance, opportunities became scarce for native Hawaiians who traditionally worked in the fields and canneries. At the same time, the economic boom through the 1980s and 1990s, when tourism peaked, began to decline. Unemployment in Hawaii was about 5.6 percent in 1998, above the national average of 4.5 percent, and the cost of living remains high, with average home prices around \$300,000. These economic factors have caused many native Hawaiians to leave the islands for better opportunities on the mainland.

Statistics gathered for the 1990 census indicate that 57,185 persons over the age of 16 who identify themselves as native Hawaiians are employed. Median income for a native Hawaiian family living in Honolulu was \$37,960. (No family size is given with this statistic.) That many native Hawaiian families may live on public assistance is surmised by the percentages who are reported as living below the pover-

ty line; 14 percent of the native Hawaiian population is given as living below the standard U.S. poverty line. Some impoverished families are taken care of by those who honor the tradition of supporting extended family; many are not so fortunate. Unemployment for the entire state was calculated at 15 percent by the census taken in 1990. No figures are available for native Hawaiians as a separate category.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Native Hawaiians have expressed a mix of determination and apprehension as they face the beleaguered state of their centuries-old culture. The Hawaiian language, considered a crucial aspect of cultural identity, has been the object of renewed attention. In 1978, Hawaiian won recognition as an official state language. For many, cultural survival is inextricably linked to having a political voice. More than a century after the overthrow of the last Hawaiian monarch, the issue of sovereignty has resurfaced. The organization *Ka Lahui Hawai'i* (The Nation of Hawaii), founded in 1987, is dedicated to mobilizing support for this objective, thus galvanizing anti-*haole* sentiment that dates back to the age of Captain Cook. Chief among their complaints is that native Hawaiians are the only indigenous people living within the borders of the United States not recognized as a separate nation by the federal government. Rather, they are regarded as “wards” of the State of Hawaii. Informed by the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and encouraged by sovereignty movements around the globe, *Ka Lahui Hawai'i* asks that native Hawaiians be treated as other Native Americans and be given their own lands (in addition to homestead lands), as well as rights of self-governance.

The sovereignty movement maintains that the independent and internationally recognized government of the Hawaiian islands was illegally overthrown by the government of the United States. It is further argued that acculturation—produced by intermarriage and lack of attention to native traditions, customs, and language—is a form of racial genocide. Because native Hawaiian religion, traditions, and values are closely associated with *‘aina* (the land) and respect for the environment, many native Hawaiians feel that American desecration of the environment, resulting from military and commercial exploitation, constitutes a grievous crime. The island of Kahoolawe, which was rendered uninhabitable after its use as target practice by the U.S. military, is cited as a prime example of these destructive policies—as are the crowds of tourists.

In 1993, sovereignty activists picketed President

Clinton while he attended fund-raising activities on Waikiki Beach. Four months later, Clinton issued a formal apology for the United States' overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and for “the deprivation of the rights of native Hawaiians to self-determination.” In 1994, activists delivered a Proclamation of Restoration of the Independence of the Sovereign Nation State of Hawaii, and began work on a new Constitution, which was signed and ratified on January 16, 1995. This document called for the restoration of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people and guaranteed equal rights to all citizens regardless of race. In 1999, a Native Hawaiian Convention convened in Honolulu to begin the process of forming a Native Hawaiian government.

The sovereignty movement, however, is far from unified. *Ka Lahui Hawaii* is but the largest of some 100 organizations working for native Hawaiian issues, and members disagree on what form sovereignty should take. For some, secession from the United States is the goal; others envision a status similar to that of American Indian reservations, or one that designates certain areas in Hawaii as zones for traditional lifestyles.

RACE RELATIONS

The circumstances surrounding the alleged rape of Thalia Massie in 1931 represent for many native Hawaiians the racial injustice of the present as well as the past. Massie testified that two Japanese, two Hawaiians, and a Chinese Hawaiian had attacked her near Waikiki, but the trial resulted in a hung jury. Massie's husband took matters into his own hands and killed one of the Hawaiians—a crime that brought him a sentence of only one hour. In a separate instance, a convicted murderer named Keanu was purposely infected with leprosy.

For a long time after annexation, Hawaii's politics were dominated by conservative men of European descent who served the interests of the plantations. In the wake of World War II and statehood, the labor unions, especially the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, exerted a strong political influence, creating a tradition of support for the Democratic party and a politically liberal climate. The presence of Hawaiians of Japanese descent in the political arena has created the impression of progressive attitudes regarding race. Nevertheless, native Hawaiians have not always benefited from liberal politics. “On the issue of the original Hawaiians,” wrote Francine Du Plessix Gray in her book, *Hawaii: The Sugar-Coated Fortress*, “the most far-sighted men would tend to maintain their paternalism.”

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Haunani-Kay Trask, a political theorist, is professor of Political Science at the University of Hawaii and author of *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (1993). Trask is also the author of a book of poetry, *Light in the Crevice Never Seen*, published in 1994.

ART AND ENTERTAINMENT

Keanu Reeves (1964–), whose film credits include *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (1989), *My Own Private Idaho* (1991), *Point Break* (1991), *Much Ado about Nothing* (1993), *Speed* (1994), *A Walk in the Clouds* (1996), *The Devil's Advocate* (1997), and *The Matrix* (1999), is part Hawaiian. The artist Polani Vaughan has produced a work of his photos and verse called *Na leo*. Don Ho (1930–), Hawaii's beloved singer, achieved fame for his recording "Tiny Bubbles" (1967). Keola (Keolamaikalani Breckenridge) Beamer, a descendant of Queen Ahiakumai Ki'eki'e and Kamahameha I, has played a central role in integrating traditional chants and instruments into contemporary music. He is also an expert in slack-key guitar. He tours widely, has recorded several slack-key albums, and has won numerous Hoku Awards.

LITERATURE

John Dominis Holt is a playwright and author of fiction and nonfiction. Dana Naone Hall is the author of *Malama: Hawaiian Land and Water* (1985).

POLITICS

In the political arena, Mililani Trask is *Kia'aina* (governor) of *Ka Lahui Hawai'i* (The Hawaiian Nation). Congressman Daniel Akaka (1924–) was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1990 and John Waihee (1926–) became Governor of the State of Hawaii in 1987.

MEDIA

RADIO

KCCN-AM (1420).

Plays ethnic-contemporary Hawaiian music on weekends.

Contact: Michael Kelly, Manager.

Address: Pioneer Plaza, Suite 400, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814.

Telephone: (808) 536-2728.

KPOA-FM (93.5).

Plays ethnic Hawaiian music.

Contact: Chuck Bergson, Manager.

Address: Lahaina Broadcasting Company, 505 Front Street, Suite 215, Lahaina, Hawaii 96761.

Telephone: (808) 667-9110.

Fax: (808) 661-8850.

Online: <http://www.mauigateway.com/~kpoa/>.

KUAI-AM (720).

Plays ethnic Hawaiian music.

Contact: William Dahle, Manager.

Address: P.O. Box 720, Elelee, Hawaii 96705.

Telephone: (808) 335-3171.

Fax: (808) 335-3834.

TELEVISION

Hawaiian Cable Vision Co.

Founded in 1969, this station serves Lahaina and West Maui with 31 channels, two community access channels, and 30 hours per week of community access programming.

Contact: Jim McBride, General Manager.

Address: Daniels Communications Partners, 910 Honoapiilani Highway, Suite 6, Lahaina, Hawaii 96761.

Telephone: (808) 661-4607.

Fax: (808) 661-8865.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Daughters of Hawaii.

An organization of native Hawaiian women working to perpetuate the memory and spirit of old Hawaii; preserves the nomenclature and pronunciations of the Hawaiian language. Offers classes in Hawaiian.

Contact: Kim Ku'ulei Birnieor.

Address: 2913 Pali Highway, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817.

Telephone: (808) 595-6291.

Halau Mohala Ilima.

A group of professional dancers offering instruction in *hula* and traditional Hawaiian culture.

Contact: Mapauna deSilva.
Address: 1110 'A'alapapa Drive, Kailua,
Hawaii 96734.
Telephone: (808) 261-0689.

Hana Cultural Center.
Community facility which mounts exhibits about Hana history.

Address: P.O. Box 27, Hana, Hawaii 96713.
Telephone: (808) 248-8620.
E-mail: hccm@aloha.net.
Online: <http://planet-hawaii.com/hana>.

Nation of Hawaii.
Organization working toward renewed Hawaiian sovereignty.

Telephone: (808) 259-3389; or (808) 259-3391.
Online: <http://hawaii-nation.org/index.html>.

State Council on Hawaiian Heritage.
State-funded agency which sponsors seminars in dance and presents the annual King Kamehameha *hula* Competition. Also sponsors conferences and seminars on traditional storytelling and ancient legends of Native Hawaiians.

Address: 355 North King Street, Honolulu,
Hawaii, 96817.
Telephone: (808) 536-6540.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
Founded by Charles Bishop in memory of his wife, Bernice (the last known surviving member of the Kamehameha family), it is one of the most significant scientific and cultural facilities in the Pacific Region. The collection of ancient Hawaiian artifacts is world famous. The Museum owns extensive collections and mounts frequent exhibits related to the cultural and natural history of Hawaii. There is also an Immigrant Preservation Center that houses collections and permits scholarly research of immigrant artifacts from all the major ethnic groups.

Contact: Siegfried Kagawa, President.
Address: 1525 Bernice Street, Honolulu, Hawaii
96817-0916.
Telephone: (808) 847-3511; or General
Information Recording (888) 777-7443.
Fax: (808) 841-8968.
E-mail: museum@bishopmuseum.org.
Online: <http://www.bishop.hawaii.org/>.

Hawaiian Historical Society.
Founded in 1892. Maintains historical documents from Hawaii and the Pacific Region. Publishes scholarly works on Hawaiian history. Offers free programs to the public.

Address: 560 Kawaiahao, Honolulu, Hawaii 96813.
Telephone: (808) 537-6271.

Lyman House Memorial Museum.
Historical residence containing both modern native Hawaiian history and Pre-Cook history. There is also information about native flora and fauna, geology, and local family genealogies.

Contact: Gloria Kobayashi, Curator.
Address: 276 Haili Street, Hilo, Hawaii 96720.
Telephone: (808) 935-5021.

Polynesian Cultural Center.
Presents, preserves, and perpetuates the arts, crafts, culture, and lore of Fijian, Hawaiian, Maori, Marquesan, Tahitian, Tongan, Samoan, and other Polynesian peoples.

Contact: Lester W. B. Moore, President.
Address: 55-370 Kamehameha Highway, Laie,
Hawaii 96762.
Telephone: (808) 293-3333.
Online: <http://www.polynesia.com/>.

Queen Emma Summer Palace.
Historical building which houses ancient Hawaiian, including tapa, quilts, furniture, and other artifacts belonging to Queen Emma and her family.

Contact: Mildred Nolan, Regent.
Address: 2913 Pali Highway, Honolulu,
Hawaii 96817.
Telephone: (808) 595-3167.

University of Hawaii at Manoa: School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies.
Umbrella center for ten research programs and centers on the main Manoa campus, including Hawaiian Studies. Their publication is *Journal of Contemporary Pacific*.

Contact: Professor Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa,
Director.
Address: Hawaiian Studies Building, Room 209A,
2645 Dole Street, University of Hawaii,
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.
Telephone: (808) 973-0989.
Fax: (808) 973-0988.
E-mail: chsuhm@hawaii.edu.
Online: <http://www2.hawaii.edu/shaps/enter/hawaiian.html>.

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Hmong Americans
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H MONG by Carl L. Bankston III

A M E R I C A N S

OVERVIEW

Social scientists estimate that there are between six and seven million Hmong in the world. Until recently, almost all Hmong lived in the mountains of southern China, Laos, Thailand, and northern Vietnam. Chinese oppression during the nineteenth century and the rise of communism in Vietnam following World War II pushed many Hmong into Laos, where about 300,000 Hmong lived peacefully during the 1960s. After the royal Laotian government was overthrown by Communist forces in 1975, about one-third of the Laotian Hmong were killed, another third fled to Thailand, and the remaining third stayed in Laos. Many of those who took refuge in Thailand found homes in France, Australia, or the United States. Overall, about 95,000 Hmong have settled in the United States. The Hmong are sometimes referred to as the *Meo* in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. In China, one of the official “nationalities” is *Miao*, a group that includes Hmong, ancient predecessors of the Hmong, and non-related peoples. Each of these terms means “savage,” a name that the Hmong understandably find insulting.

The Hmong can be grouped in many ways, including by the typical color or design of their clothing. According to Hmong legend, these divisions developed as a result of ancient Chinese conquerors who forced the Hmong to divide into different groups and to identify themselves by wearing distinctive clothing. White, Black, Flowery, Red,

Striped, and Cowery Shell are some of these divisions. Another method of identifying subgroups is by their dialect. Most Hmong Americans are speakers of either Hmoob Dawb (“White Hmong”) or Moob Leeg (no English translation). Though the Moob Leeg do not identify themselves as such, the White Hmong call them the Blue Hmong or the Green Hmong. This does not mean that most Hmong Americans are members of the White or Blue/Green color group, because the linguistic and color distinctions overlap and cut across groups. The kingroup is a more important identifier than language or color affiliation. In Laos, there are about 20 of these patri-clans, all identified by family names.

Though Hmong agriculture has undergone many changes since the establishment of the People’s Republic of Laos, the Hmong live in villages with economies based on raising livestock—mostly cattle and pigs—and growing crops. They grow rice, mostly of the dry land varieties, and vegetables in abundance. They practice *swidden* (slash and burn) agriculture, meaning that the Hmong clear fields by burning, thereby fertilizing the ground with ashes. Since this kind of agriculture exhausts soil rapidly, Hmong villages must constantly be on the move. Their principal crops are corn and opium poppies, which they use for medicines and spiritual ceremonies or sell to local traders.

HISTORY

Chinese historical sources indicate that the Hmong have lived in China since 2000 B.C. Many scholars believe that they may have lived in Siberia prior to this date because blond hair and blue eyes are occasionally found among the Hmong.

For centuries, the Hmong, who lived in the mountainous regions of southern China, struggled against the Chinese government to maintain their distinctive ethnic identity. In the 1700s Chinese generals convinced Sonom, the last Hmong king, to surrender, promising him that the Hmong would be treated well and that his surrender would bring an honorable peace to the mountains. Instead, Sonom was taken to Beijing where he, his officers, and his advisors were tortured to death in the presence of the Chinese Emperor.

After China was defeated by the British in the first Opium War (1842), the imperial Chinese government was forced to pay indemnities to the victors. To raise money, the government of China levied heavy taxes on its subjects, thus increasing tension between Chinese authorities and the Hmong minority. Between 1850 and 1880, the Hmong waged a series of wars against the Chinese. Unsuccessful in

their rebellion, the Hmong fled southward; the majority of these emigrants settled in Laos, although many Hmong also migrated to Vietnam and Thailand.

THE HMONG IN LAOS

In Laos, the Hmong met new oppressors—the French—who had claimed Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia as part of their vast Indochinese Empire. French taxation led to two major revolts against the French by the Hmong, one in 1896 and one in the 1920s. (The second revolt was initiated by Pa Chay, who called for the establishment of an independent Hmong kingdom and remains a hero to many Hmong today.)

In an effort to pacify the Hmong, the French established an autonomous Hmong district that was allowed to partake in self-government. This created competition, however, between the heads of two prominent families in the district, one headed by Fong and one by Bliayao. In 1922 a feud broke out between them over which group would rule the district. To defuse the perilous situation, the French organized a democratic election for chief of the district in 1938. Touby Lyfong, the son of Fong, won the election, defeating his cousin Faydag Lobliayao, the son of Bliayao. The subsequent rivalry between these two men and their followers led to the permanent political separation of the Hmong in Laos. Touby Lyfong made common cause with the French and later allied himself with the Americans in their fight against the North Vietnamese. Faydang Lobliayao, on the other hand, joined forces with the Lao nationalists, who favored total independence from France, and later became an important leader of the Lao Communist forces.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The United States became involved in Southeast Asia to preserve a non-Communist regime in South Vietnam. Because the *Pathet Lao*, the communist guerrillas of Laos, were allied with North Vietnam’s *Viet Minh* (later known as the *Viet Cong*), the United States provided economic and tactical support to the royal Lao government to fight the guerrillas as well as North Vietnamese troops. Many of the individuals recruited by the U.S. government were Hmong led by Vang Pao, an anti-Communist Hmong military leader who had earlier assisted the French. According to many sources, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials who organized the Hmong army promised the soldiers, who numbered 40,000 by 1969, that the United States would resettle the Hmong if they were defeated.

After American troops were withdrawn from Indochina in 1973, the Lao government was forced to negotiate with its enemies and to bring the pro-North Vietnamese leftists into a coalition government. Following the fall of South Vietnam in April 1975, the leftists in Laos consolidated their political power, the royal government crumbled, the king abdicated his throne, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed. Despite General Vang Pao's insistence that the United States resettle all of the Hmong soldiers, the U.S. government evacuated only about 1,000 Hmong in the first year.

The new Laotian government sent many Hmong to harsh reeducation camps. Others continued to fight against the new government. Still other Hmong made their way across the border into Thailand, where they stayed in refugee camps for months or, in some cases, years. It has been estimated that some 55,000 Hmong remain in such camps.

“Being an American is really espousing the founding principles of freedom, no matter whether you speak the language or not.... And I think the Hmong ... know in their hearts that these principles are what they have fought for, even in Laos—the basic principles of freedom.”

Mouachou Mouanoutoua in 1988, cited in *Hmong Means Free: Life in Laos and America*, edited by Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In December 1975 the United States agreed to begin resettling the Hmong in America and Congress admitted 3,466 individuals. In 1976, 10,200 refugees from Laos (who had fled across the border into Thailand) were admitted to the United States; some of these immigrants were Hmong, although there is no official record of them. The number of Laotian immigrants then dipped to only 400 in 1977, but climbed to 8,000 in 1978. By the early 1980s, about 50,000 Hmong were living in the United States. By the time of the 1990 U.S. Census the number of Hmong in the United States had doubled to almost 100,000 people. Of the foreign-born Hmong in the United States in 1990, 75 percent had arrived during the 1980s, the majority of whom had arrived in the first half of the decade.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In 1990 the majority of Hmong Americans lived in California (43,000), Minnesota (more than 17,000), and Wisconsin (16,000). By the summer of 1999, the

number of Hmong in Minnesota had reached an estimated 70,000. When the Hmong began arriving in the United States in the mid- to late-1970s, American refugee resettlement agencies dispersed the 12 traditional groups all over the country, placing small groups in 53 different cities and 25 different states, where voluntary agencies such as churches could be found to sponsor the refugees. Between 1981 and 1985, however, the Hmong reassembled through massive secondary migration, making their way across the country in small family groups. Drawn by the lure of reforming their kingroup-based society and by the moderate climate of the Pacific Coast, the majority congregated in farming towns and small cities in California, primarily Fresno (18,000), Merced (7,500), Sacramento (5,000), Stockton (5,000), and Chico, Modesto, and Visalia (6,000).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Hmong Americans generally have a very positive view of their new country and younger generations tend to understand both cultures quite well. However, there is a general ignorance of the Hmong on the part of most Americans. Many Americans find it difficult to distinguish them from the Vietnamese or other Asian groups. Insofar as stereotypes have arisen, the Hmong are often seen as hard-working, but also extremely foreign. Many Americans are also perplexed by the rituals of the Hmong and by the music that often accompanies them. Nonetheless, Hmong Americans tend to be friendly to members of other groups and welcome attempts on the part of outsiders to learn more about their culture. The Hmong themselves are rapidly becoming an American minority, rather than an alien group in American society. As of 1990, about one-third of the Hmong in the United States were born in this country. Since Hmong Americans tend to be very young, the proportion of Hmong who have personal memories of Laos is decreasing rapidly.

Many Hmong customs are not practiced in the United States, especially by those who have converted to Christianity. As might be expected in a group that has experienced such rapid social change, Hmong Americans are still trying to sort out which traditions may be retained in the new land, and which traditions must be left behind.

MYTHS, LEGENDS, AND FOLKTALES

In recent years, efforts have been made to record and preserve the Hmong's ancient stories as younger



The Hmong story cloth plays an important part in remembering one's ancestry and passing down stories from generation to generation.

members of the ethnic group are drawn into the mass media-based American culture. One of the most comprehensive collections is the large, bilingual volume *Myths, Legends, and Folktales from the Hmong of Laos* (1985), edited by Charles Johnson.

The stories told by the Hmong date back to before they became part of the Chinese Empire. Magic, supernatural events, and spirits occupy a prominent place in these stories and, as in the folktales of other nations, animals can often talk. People are occasionally transformed into animals, or animals into people. Reincarnation is common and characters may reappear after their deaths. Many Hmong stories convey moral lessons, relaying happy outcomes for honest, hard-working, and virtuous individuals, and unfortunate outcomes for the evil, lazy, or selfish.

Hmong literature in America is largely preserved by older Hmong. Young Hmong Americans, like young Americans of many ethnic groups, are frequently more familiar with the lore of pop culture than with the lore of their ancestors. The Hmong and those familiar with them, however, recognize the oral literature as a unique repository of spiritual values and hope that some of it may be saved.

HOLIDAYS

The New Year Festival (*noj peb caug*) is the most important Hmong American holiday. In Laos, this holiday begins with the crowing of the first rooster on the first day of the new moon in the twelfth month, or harvest time, and lasts four to seven days. The scheduling is somewhat more flexible in America and does not usually last as long, but it always takes place around the time of the new moon in December. The New Year festival is the only holiday shared by the entire Hmong community and is an important occasion for bringing different Hmong families together.

The purpose of the New Year ceremonies is to get rid of the evil influences of the old year and to invoke good fortune for the new. One of the central rituals of the New Year ceremonies is the "world renewal ritual." This involves a small tree traditionally brought in from the forest (although Hmong Americans may use a green stick, or other symbolic tree), which is placed in the ground at the celebration site. One end of a rope is tied to the top of the tree and the other end is held by one of the participants or tied to a rock. An elder stands near the tree

Hmong American
Moua Vang is
dressed up to
celebrate at the
New Years Festival
in Fresno,
California.



holding a live chicken. The elder chants while the people circle the tree three times clockwise and four times counter-clockwise. The chanting during the clockwise movement is intended to remove the accumulated bad fortune of the previous year and the chanting during the counter-clockwise movement is intended to call out good fortune. The evil fortune, in the traditional perspective, is believed to accumulate in the blood of the chicken. After the participants have finished circling the tree, the elder is supposed to take the chicken to a remote place in the forest and cut its throat to take away the evil influences, but this practice is frequently not carried out in the United States.

Other rituals associated with the New Year ceremonies involve calling home the ancestral spirits to enjoy the festivities with the living and offering sacrifices to the guardian spirits of each house. For American Hmong, the New Year serves as an opportunity to reaffirm their culture and to teach their children about their traditions. For this reason, New Year celebrations in the United States usually involve displays of traditional cultural practices, such as dances, intended to educate Hmong

children born in the United States. Aspects of western culture, such as performances by rock bands, have been integrated into the ceremonies. Many New Year exhibitions and practices show a merging of custom with newly acquired cultural practices, as when young Hmong women participate in beauty pageants wearing their elaborate traditional dresses.

Because the New Year holiday brings together people from different clans, it is considered an important occasion for young couples to meet one another. Ball games, in which long lines of young unmarried men and women toss a ball back and forth with their favorites, are a colorful tradition brought to America that may be seen at each New Year celebration.

HEALTH ISSUES

Traditional Hmong methods for healing are based on shamanism, which includes the use of herbal medicines and massage. Shamanistic health practices stem from the belief that illness is essentially spiritual in nature. For this reason, some western students of Hmong shamanism have characterized it as a form of psychotherapy.

The shamanistic view of the world considers reality as being composed of two parts: the visible and the invisible. The visible part of the world is the material reality that we see around us. The invisible part of the world is the realm of spirits, including the souls of the living, the spirits of the dead, care-taker spirits, malevolent spirits, and others. The shaman is capable of making contact with the spirit world and dealing with it on the behalf of others.

The Hmong recognize that illness can result from many causes, so the method of treatment depends on the source of disease. One of these causes is the loss of one's spirit or soul. It may become disconnected from the body and wander away, so that the body becomes alienated from the spiritual essence. Fear, loneliness, separation from loved ones, and other emotional stresses can rip the soul away from the body. This leads to a variety of physical symptoms, such as loss of weight and appetite, which usually lead to more serious diseases.

The "soul-caller" is one of the most important roles of traditional Hmong health care experts. There are many methods of calling a wandering soul back to its body. In less serious illnesses, parents or other family members may be able to perform the rituals needed. If a baby cries during the night, for example, an adult family member may go to the door and swing a burning stick back and forth to light the way for the baby's soul to return. In more serious illnesses, a shaman will be needed to perform rituals that typically include animal sacrifices.

Lost souls may also be found by someone who has a *neng*, a healing spirit in his own body. The *neng* and the healing skills that accompany it must be inherited from a clan member. A healer who has a *neng* can not only find lost souls, but he can also cure illnesses caused by evil spirits, frequently by engaging in battle with the evil spirit that has brought the sickness.

The Hmong have a great knowledge of curative herbs and most Hmong households in the United States have small herbal gardens. Women are almost always experts in herbal medicines. Herbs and massages are often combined to treat ailments such as stomach aches.

While the Hmong are, generally speaking, a healthy people, during the late 1970s and 1980s, Hmong Americans attracted nationwide attention as victims of Sudden Unexpected Nocturnal Death Syndrome. Similar to Sudden Infant Death Syndrome, the illness strikes during sleep. The mysterious fatalities occurred almost exclusively among men, most of whom showed no prior signs of illness. Physicians have connected the disease to breathing difficulties, but many Hmong ascribe it

to an evil spirit that sits on the chests of victims during slumber.

Western-style health care professionals often have difficulty winning the confidence of Hmong patients because their concepts of illness are so different. Those who have written on the subject feel that doctors, nurses, and other health-care providers who work with the Hmong must try to better understand the Hmong approach. Some have also pointed out that the Hmong, with their intimate knowledge of herbal medicines, have much to teach American doctors.

LANGUAGE

The primary dialect spoken by most Hmong in the United States is either *Hmoob Dawb* ("White Hmong") or *Moob Leeg* (no English translation). *Hmoob Dawb* speakers refer to *Moob Leeg* speakers as *Hmoob Ntsaub*, Blue/Green Hmong. Hmong is monosyllabic and tonal, meaning that it consists mainly of one-syllable words and that the tone of a word affects meaning. Hmong uses eight different tones, more than the average of other Asian tonal languages.

According to Hmong oral tradition, after joining the Chinese Empire, the Hmong lost their original writing system and any Hmong caught using the Hmong alphabet was punished with death. Women of the tribes tried to keep the alphabet alive by sewing the letters into the patterns of their traditional clothes. Portions of this alphabet can be found on Hmong clothing today, but few people are capable of reading these carefully preserved designs.

Prior to the mid-twentieth century, those Hmong who could write their language usually did so with Chinese characters. In the 1950s, American and French missionaries in Laos developed the Romanized Popular Alphabet (RPA), a means of writing Hmong with a version of the alphabet used by English and other western European languages. Because the Hmong language is substantially different from European languages, however, some characteristics of the RPA are not familiar to English speakers.

Each of the eight tones is indicated by a consonant written at the end of the word. When the letter "b," for example, is written at the end of a word, it is not pronounced. It serves merely to indicate that this word is spoken with a high tone. The letter "j" at the end of a word indicates a high-falling tone, a bit like the descending intonation or pitch of "day-o" in the popular Caribbean song. A word ending in "v" is to be spoken with a mid-rising tone, similar to the intonation at the end of a question in

English. Moreover, at the end of a word, “s” indicates a mid-low tone, “g” indicates a mid-low breathy tone, and “m” at the end of a word is spoken with a low, glottalized tone, a tensing of the throat. Words ending in “d” have a low-rising tone.

Most of the vowels and consonants that do not occur at the ends of words have pronunciations similar to those of western European languages, but there are some differences. The consonant “x” is pronounced like the English “s,” while “s” is pronounced like the English “sh.” Likewise, “z” in the RPA has the sound of the “s” in “leisure.” The Hmong “r” has no equivalent in English, but is closer to the English “t” or “d” than to the English sound “r.” The consonant “c” in this writing system has a sound similar to the sound that “t” and “y” would make if we pronounced the words “quit you” very rapidly. The consonant “q” is like the English “k” or “g” but is pronounced further back in the throat. Finally, “w” has a sound that linguists call the “schwa,” the vowel sound in the word “but,” and “aw” is a longer version of this sound, somewhat like the vowel sound in “mud.”

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

The White Hmong phrases given here are written in the Romanized Popular Alphabet described above. Therefore, in words that end in consonants, the final consonant is not pronounced. It indicates the tone with which the word should be spoken.

Common greetings include: *Koj tuaj los?*—“You’ve come?”; *Kuv tuaj*—“I’ve come”; and *Mus ho tuaj*—“Come again.” It is not usually regarded as polite to ask a stranger’s name but a Hmong may turn to someone else and ask *Tus no yog leej twg tub?*—“Whose son is this?”; *Tus no yog leej tus ntx-hais?*—“Whose daughter is this?”; *Tus no yog leej tus pojniam?*—“Whose wife is this?”; or *Tus no yog leej tus txiv?*—“Whose husband is this?” It is both polite and common to ask where someone lives: *Koj nyob qhov twg?*—“Where do you live?” If a visitor starts to leave, a Hmong host may say *Nyob. Wb tham mentsis tso maj*—“Stay, and we’ll chat a little first,” since it is considered polite to try to keep visitors from leaving. Two useful phrases for anyone wanting to learn a little Hmong are: *Qhov no yog dabtsi?*—“What’s this?” and *Lus Hmoob hais li cas (English concept)?*—“How is (English concept) said in Hmong?”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Adjusting to life in a highly industrialized society has not been easy for the Hmong. In 1990, almost two-

thirds of Hmong Americans (63.6 percent) lived below the poverty level, compared to seven percent of white Americans, and just over 23 percent of black Americans. Their median household income of \$14,276 was one of the lowest of any ethnic or national group in the United States. As a result, about three out of every four Hmong families (74.1 percent) were receiving public assistance in 1990.

Many of the difficulties faced by Hmong Americans result from inadequate educational preparation. Having lived in a society based on agriculture and hunting, formal education was simply not a part of the traditional Hmong upbringing. Most adults, therefore, have very few educational credentials. Nearly 55 percent of Hmong over the age of 25 in the United States have less than a fifth grade education, and nearly 70 percent are not high school graduates. Despite these handicaps, however, Hmong born or raised in the United States have shown surprisingly high rates of college attendance. Almost 32 percent of Hmong aged 18 to 24 were in college in 1990, a rate of college attendance that is slightly below that of white Americans (39.5 percent) and slightly above that of black Americans (28.1 percent).

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, the average Hmong family has 6.38 individuals, compared to 3.73 individuals for the average Asian American family, 3.06 for the average white American family, and 3.48 for the average African American family. Over 60 percent of Hmong Americans were below the age of 18 in 1990 and the median age of Hmong Americans was 12.7 years, compared to 30.4 years for other Asian Americans and 34.1 years for Americans in general. The size of Hmong families, therefore, contribute to the economic difficulties of the group, since adults must use their incomes to support more children than are found in most American households. However, while the extreme youth of Hmong Americans may complicate family economic situations at present, this youth, combined with the educational achievement of young Hmong people, is a source of great potential for future upward mobility.

Hmong families in America generally regard men as the head of the family and chief decision-maker. Nonetheless, women often wield a great deal of power in the family, since they usually have primary responsibility for the household. This is partially due to the fact that Hmong homes are viewed as “child-centered” places, where small children are regarded as treasures. As chief care-givers for children, Hmong-American women can be extremely influential in their communities.

The ways in which Hmong American parents try to keep track of their children reflects their situ-

ation as new immigrants. They do not want the enculturation of their children taken completely out of their hands. The language and ways of their ancestors remain important to the parents who wish to see such valuable social attributes live on. Though some might view this as exercising a high degree of control over their children's lives, it would be more accurate to say that they want to teach and guide their children just like other American parents. Young Hmong Americans, however, sometimes have difficulty in seeing the relevance of cultural values important to their parents. As a result of this generation gap, some social workers and people who work with agencies serving the Hmong say that teenaged runaways have become a major issue among Hmong Americans and other Southeast Asian refugee groups.

While the extended family is the basic unit of social organization for the Hmong in Asia, those in the United States often find difficulty in maintaining the tradition of the extended family. It is not possible for large numbers of people to live together under one roof in the new country due to landlord and government regulations on fire and housing codes. Hmong Americans, therefore, have had to break up into nuclear-style families. However, extended family members almost always live in close proximity to one another and assist newcomers with living expenses, child care, and adaptation to American society.

Although Hmong kinship groups are still recognized in the United States, they have become less important to Hmong Americans. Respected elders previously took their functions from the rituals they performed in traditional ceremonies. Since the conversion of some Hmong to Christianity, however, these traditional ceremonies have become less important and less common. Also, many of the ceremonies require the sacrifice of animals, which is often illegal and typically frowned upon by other Americans. Many elders are gradually being replaced by newer and younger leaders who are well-educated and fluent in English and are, therefore, better able to help their families and other Hmong with the nuances of American society. These elders, however, are still held in high regard and receive deference from the young. Newer leaders rely on the moral authority and blessings of the elders.

BIRTH

Mus Thawj thiab, "go become again" or more simply "reincarnation," is a traditional Hmong belief. Thus, every child born is seen as a reincarnated soul. Children officially join human society three days after they are born. If a child dies within three

days, no funeral ceremonies are held since the child did not have a soul yet. After three days of life, a shaman evokes a soul to be reincarnated in the baby's body. The family's ancestors are called upon to join the living family members in blessing the incarnation and in protecting the baby. The baby is then given a silver necklace that is supposed to keep the newly reincarnated soul from wandering.

MARRIAGE

Hmong marriage customs, as well as popular attitudes toward marriage, have undergone rapid change as a result of the move to America. In Laos, it is incestuous, and, therefore, forbidden for members of the same patriline who share the same family to marry. Men and women with different family names, however, may get married regardless of their blood relationship. Most often, young people in Laos met potential mates at the New Year's Festival, which brought together people from different villages. At the Festival, young women wore their most colorful skirts and showed off their sewing and embroidery skills, while young men displayed their horse-riding and other skills, and sometimes played musical instruments to serenade the young women. Men generally married at any age between 18 and 30, while women often married between 14 and 18.

Traditional Hmong marriages required the prospective groom to secure a go-between, most often a relative, who bargained with the young woman's family for a bridal price, usually paid in silver bars. Marriages were made public by a two-day feast, featuring a roasted pig. This feast symbolically joined the clans of the bride and groom as well as the bride and groom themselves.

When a suitor could not reach an agreement on bridal price with the woman's family, the couple sometimes eloped. This practice became especially common after World War II when the social disruptions of war loosened parental control. Following the elopement, outside arbitrators helped to find an acceptable bridal price to pay in settlement.

Though always regarded as a serious transgression by the Hmong, young men with poor marriage prospects might attempt to abduct a woman and force her into marriage. Families without a formidable kin group to back them could not always prevent this from happening to their daughters. Usually the abductor and his relatives would offer the unwilling bride's family some form of payment in hopes of mollifying them. The government in Laos did not intervene in such situations, but the U.S. government does. Naturally, the practice has become extremely rare here.

Although most Hmong men had one wife, polygyny, or marriage with several women, was an accepted practice. During the war, polygyny became common due to the custom that required Hmong men to marry the widows of their dead brothers in order to provide a means of support for the brothers' families. Wealthy men often had several wives as symbols of affluence. Moreover, leaders sometimes married several times to establish political alliances.

American culture and law has made it necessary for the Hmong to change many of their attitudes and practices with regard to family. On occasions, those who have failed to drop older practices have found themselves in conflict with the American legal system. There have been a few instances of young Hmong American men kidnapping and sexually assaulting young females. While they may have considered this a culturally acceptable way to enter into marriage, American law defines this kind of activity as illicit abduction and rape. Some of the young women who have been abducted have viewed the events from an American perspective and have pressed charges.

The use of negotiators to arrange a marriage remains fairly common among Hmong Americans. However, many young women wait until their late teens or early twenties to marry. Surveys of Hmong Americans indicate that the majority believe that it is best for women to delay marriage until they are at least 18 years of age. Polygyny is rarely found among Hmong Americans.

FUNERALS

Before the Hmong came to America, the death of a family member was announced by firing three shots into the air. This action was thought to frighten away evil spirits. Today, this tradition is rarely followed by Hmong in the United States because of laws regulating the use of guns in populated areas.

The deceased is washed, dressed in new clothes, and left to lie in state. Mourners bearing gifts visit the home of the deceased, where they are fed by the family of the departed. A shaman makes an offering of a cup of alcohol to the dead person and tells the soul that the body has died. Colorful bits of paper, representing money for use in the spirit world are burned and the shaman tells the soul the route it must follow to get to the ancestors and how to avoid dangers during the journey.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Hmong Americans interact most closely with ethnic Laotian Americans, with whom they work in a

number of Southeast Asian refugee assistance organizations. Most Hmong who grew up in Laos or had some schooling there speak Laotian, facilitating interaction. The Hmong also maintain friendly relations with members of most other groups, but intermarriage is still relatively rare because of the continued importance of kinship groups.

RELIGION

The cult of spirits, shamanism, and ancestor worship compose the three major parts of traditional Hmong religion. It is a pantheistic religion, teaching that there are spirits residing in all things. According to Hmong religious beliefs, the world consists of two worlds, the invisible world of *yeeb ceeb*, which holds the spirits, and the visible world of *yaj ceeb*, which holds human beings, material objects, and nature.

The shaman is important because he can make contact with the world of the spirits. Each shaman has a set of spirits that serve as his allies in intervening with the unseen world on behalf of others. Some spirits, particularly those of ancestors, also make themselves accessible to people who are not shamans. Some households, for example, feed the spirits of their ancestors at feasts by placing a spoonful of rice and a spoonful of pork in the center of the table and inviting the spirits to share in the feast. Because women are most often in charge of medicinal herbs, they are responsible for propitiating the spirits of medicine on special altars.

Some Hmong Americans adhere to the *Chao Fa* (in Lao, literally, "Lord of the Sky") religion. This religion is said to have begun in Laos in the 1960s when a Hmong prophet, Yang Chong Leu (sometimes written as Shang Lue Yang), announced that the Hmong would be sent a king who would lead them to salvation from their enemies provided the Hmong rejected lowland Laotian and western ways, and returned to the ways of their ancestors. Yang Chong Leu also taught an original system of writing known as *Pahawh Hmong*, which is still used by adherents to *Chao Fa*. The prophet was killed in 1971, but his followers continued to grow in numbers and were active in the fight against the new Laotian government after 1975.

Missionaries from a wide variety of Christian denominations converted many Hmong in Laos. Even more Hmong converted to Christianity after their arrival to the United States. Baptists, Catholics, Presbyterians, members of the Church of Christ, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses have all been energetic in seeking converts among the

Hmong in America. Since religion is regarded as the foundation of life among the Hmong, conversion has been among the most drastic social changes. In many cases, conversion to Christianity has split families, with some members taking up the new faith and some members adhering to traditional beliefs. Marriage practices, in particular, have been affected by religious conversion since many traditional Hmong practices, such as the bridal price, arranged marriage, and the marriage of girls, are strongly discouraged by Christian churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Since most Hmong in Asia practice agriculture, early arrivals had few transferable skills, considering America's vast industrial economy. Hence, of the 40,649 Hmong Americans who were over the age of 16 in 1990, only 11,923 had participated in the American labor force; 18.3 percent of this group were unemployed. Almost 80 percent of the Hmong Americans who are employed have blue-collar, or manual, occupations.

Employers who hire Hmong Americans generally hold high opinions of them. Most employers and managers who have experience with members of this group praise them for their hard work and honesty. Some supervisors have remarked that the Hmong have a more flexible concept of time than the American majority, and that this can sometimes lead to minor difficulties in the workplace. Most of the problems faced by Hmong Americans, though, appear to result from an inadequate command of the English language.

One of the most interesting aspects of Hmong adaptation to the American economy has been their discovery of a demand for traditional handicrafts in the American market. For centuries, Hmong women have practiced an elaborate needlecraft known as *paj ntaub* (also frequently spelled *pa ndau*). This art combines the techniques of embroidery and applique to produce colorful, abstract, geometric designs. The needlecraft is done entirely by hand, without the use of instruments for measurement.

During the 1980s, the cottage industry of *paj ntaub*—which had begun in the Thailand refugee camps—emerged in large Hmong communities, especially in California. Responding to the American marketplace, Hmong artisans have begun to produce bedspreads, pillow cases, wall hangings, and other items that appeal to buyers. This emerging industry confirms Hmong cultural value, while demonstrating the economic importance of women to their families and communities.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Adaptation to American society is a matter of overriding concern to Hmong organizations, most of which are geared toward helping Hmong Americans with housing, employment, language issues, and other immediate problems. The Hmong National Development is one of the largest organizations of this kind and, as such, functions as an advocate in obtaining funding for local Hmong organizations.

Hmong Americans are also passionately concerned with political events in their native land, where the Communist party that overthrew the Laotian government remains in power today. Although the government of Laos appears to have moderated its position toward political opponents in recent years, most Hmong remain strongly opposed to the regime. In fact, some American Hmong communities provide economic aid for small groups of Hmong in Laos who are still fighting the government. It has been suggested that Hmong Americans have been coerced into making contributions to anti-Communist forces in their homelands by groups operating in the United States, but this has not been definitely established.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Despite the fact that the Hmong have lived in the United States for only a short period of time, many members of the Hmong American community have made significant contributions to American society. The following list represents only a few such individuals.

MEDICINE

Dr. Bruce (Thow Pao) Bliatout is Director of the International Health Center in Portland, Oregon. Dr. Bliatout first came to the United States in 1966, as a young exchange student. He returned to Laos, where he worked for the Laotian government until 1975. He then returned to the United States and earned a Ph.D. in public health. Dr. Bliatout is an authority on Sudden Death Syndrome (SUDS), and has written widely on the subject.

Dr. Xoua Thao arrived in the United States in 1976 at the age of 14. Dr. Thao's mother is a traditional herbalist and his father is a shaman. As a result of this family background in healing, Dr. Thao developed an interest in medicine and attended medical school at Brown University, where he

received his medical degree in 1989. He is currently president of Hmong National Development and is studying for a law degree.

SOCIOLOGY

Dr. Dao Yang lives in St. Paul, Minnesota. Dr. Yang became the first Hmong to receive a Ph.D. when he received a doctorate in social economics in France. He was one of the co-founders of Hmong National Development and remains active in social issues, such as the prevention of teenage pregnancy.

Community leader Vang Pao lives in Santa Ana, California. He was leader of the Hmong army in Laos and is still widely respected, especially among older Hmong Americans.

Community activist Dia Cha (1962?-) worked as the Asian Community Outreach Coordinator at the Mental Health Center of Boulder County in Colorado where she provided support service to Asian students and served as an intermediary between parents and faculty in the Boulder Valley Public Schools. For the Southeast Asian Tribal Collections Project at the Denver Museum of Natural History, Cha organized collection materials, conducted research, and interviewed people to gather information. As a project director with the United Nations Development Fund for Women she assessed the needs of Lao and Hmong refugee women repatriates in Laos and in the refugee camps in Thailand. She authored the book *Dia's Story Cloth: The Hmong People's Journey of Freedom* (1996) and compiled *Folk Stories of the Hmong* (1991) with Norma Livo.

MEDIA

PRINT

California Hmong Times.

The chief Hmong publication in the United States, it publishes news and general interest articles, with a focus on the American Hmong community.

Address: 1945 North Fine Avenue #100, Fresno, California 93727-1528.

Telephone: (209) 268-8567.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Hmong American Partnership.

Provides support services to the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area.

Address: 1600 West University Avenue, Suite 12, St. Paul, Minnesota 55104 .

Telephone: (651) 642-9601.

Fax: (651) 603-8399.

E-mail: hapmail@hmong.org.

Online: <http://www.hmong.org/>.

Hmong Council.

A community organization serving America's largest Hmong population. Helps with housing problems, translations, health and social services, and conflict resolution.

Contact: Houa Yang, President.

Address: 4753 East Olive Avenue, Suite 102, Fresno, California 93702.

Telephone: (209) 456-1220.

Hmong National Development (HND).

A national, non-profit organization that promotes the interests of Hmong Americans throughout the United States. The HND helps to facilitate communication among local Hmong organizations and to advocate for increased resources to Hmong organizations and communities.

Contact: Lee Pao Xiong, President.

Address: 1326 18th Street NW, Suite 200A, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Telephone: (202) 463-2118.

Fax: (202) 463-2119.

Email: Hndlink@aol.com.

Online: <http://members.aol.com/Hndlink>.

Lao Family Community of Minnesota.

A nonprofit mutual assistance association founded in 1977 as the Hmong Association of Minnesota. Strives to help the Hmong community strike a balance between traditional Hmong culture and modern American life.

Address: 320 West University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota 55103.

Telephone: (651) 221-0069.

Fax: (651) 221-0276.

E-mail: admin@laofamily.org.

Online: <http://www.laofamily.org/>.

Lao Family Community, Inc.

Provides English training and vocational education, a variety of youth programs, and a gang prevention program to Hmong, Laotians, and other minorities from Southeast Asia.

Contact: Pheng Lo.

Address: 807 North Joaquin, #207, Stockton, California 95202.

Telephone: (209) 466-0721.

South-East Asia Center (SEAC).

Grassroots organization seeking to assist Lao, Hmong, Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Chinese refugees from Indochina.

Contact: Peter R. Porr, Executive Director.

Address: 1124-1128 West Ainslie, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

Telephone: (773) 989-6927.

Fax: (773) 989-4871.

Email: seac1@hotmail.com.

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While new arrivals
have traditionally
entered fields
involving basic labor,
established
Honduran American
immigrants have
shown impressive
success in moving
into more lucrative
professions.

HONDURAN AMERICANS

by
William Maxwell

OVERVIEW

Honduras is a Central American country bordered on the northwest by Guatemala, on the southwest by El Salvador, and on the southeast by Nicaragua. It has a population of 5.8 million and an area of 43,277 square miles, about the size of Virginia. The population is composed of 89 percent mestizo (people of mixed ancestry, often Indian and Spanish), seven percent pure Indian, two percent black, and one percent Caucasian.

HISTORY

It is not known when the geographical area that is now Honduras was originally settled by humans. However, archaeologists have recently found evidence of complex society that is at least 3,000 years old. Over the millennia, city-states gradually developed in the vast geographical area that includes large parts of present-day southern Mexico, Guatemala, and western El Salvador and Honduras. These city states had many common cultural characteristics, including a common spoken and written language. People of this region called themselves Maya.

One of the centers of Mayan civilization during its Classic period, between 250 and 900 A.D., was Copán, a metropolis on the Copán river in what is now western Honduras. Copán boasts the largest collection of mural hieroglyphics in the

Americas. In recent decades, anthropologists and archaeologists have been able to decipher large parts of the hieroglyphic code. What they formerly assumed to be a collection of astronomical and religious treatises has turned out to be a comprehensive history of Copán.

The Great Hieroglyphic Stairway, on one side of a pyramid in central Copán, is a collection of about 6,000 glyphs, where one glyph is equivalent to a word, idea, or sentence. They tell the story of the 16 god-kings of Copán's Classic period, of their births, ascensions, conquests, defeats, and deaths; and of the significant political, social, and astronomical events during their reign.

The Maya, through these writings, portrayed themselves as a warlike people, with a rigid class system and a very high level of civilization, involving complex religion, science, art, and architecture. For reasons not well understood, the major centers of Maya civilization, Copán, Teotihuacan in Mexico, Uatlan in Guatemala, and many others, lost their populations and became ghost towns in the twelfth century. Christopher Columbus, in 1502, found Honduras to be a land of peoples who lived mostly in small villages and hunted and farmed for their food.

THE COLONIAL ERA

In 1524, *Conquistador* (conqueror) of the Mexican Aztecs Hernan Cortés sent Cristóbal de Olid to conquer and rule Honduras in the name of the Spanish Crown. When Olid arrived in the region, he decided to rule it for himself and declared independence from Spain. Cortés sent an army to take it back, but Olid was assassinated by rivals before the army arrived. In the meantime, Cortés decided to go to Honduras himself, with another army. When he arrived, he consolidated Spanish power over Honduras and returned to Mexico. Shortly thereafter, Spain appointed Diego López de Salcedo as the first royal governor of Honduras.

The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries saw relatively little change in this land. In the eighteenth century, gold and other mineral deposits were found in the central mountains and near the Caribbean coast, and the Spanish colonists employed nearby Indians in the mines. As mining expanded, larger numbers of Indians had to be found to work in them, and forced labor, severe working conditions, and forced migration led to the deaths of large numbers of Indians. Indian revolts then led to massacres of many other Indians at the hands of the armies of the Spanish colonists. Mistreatment of and violence against the Indians remains to this day a problem in Honduras.

In the eighteenth century, most colonists settled in the highlands near the Pacific coast, in cities including Tegucigalpa and Comayagua. The Caribbean coast was and is inhabited by the Mosquito and black Carib Indians (and more recently by banana plantation workers, managers, and owners). An island chain off Honduras's Caribbean coast, the Bay Islands, was also settled by the black Caribs, who are part Indian and part descendants of African runaway or emancipated slaves.

THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS

In 1823, the Central American provinces of Mexico broke away to form the United Provinces of Central America. Then, after years of interstate tension, squabbling, rewriting of the constitution, and moving of the capital, the Central American states decided to form independent, sovereign nations. Honduras declared independence on October 26, 1838, and adopted a constitution as the Republic of Honduras in January of 1839. The constitution of 1839 provided a single legislative body, a president elected by a majority of the registered male population, and a supreme court whose justices are appointed by the president; thus, it was a constitution in part inspired by the U.S. model.

Wars, military skirmishes, coups, and political intrigues across regional borders have been common in Central America since initial settlement. The Conservative and Liberal parties had been active for some time even before the founding of the Republic. When the candidate of one party was winning a campaign in one country, the presidents of the Central American countries who were members of the other party frequently took political and sometimes military action to prevent his election.

Throughout its history as an independent republic, Honduras has had to cope with an understandably hostile Indian population, a colonist population that was frequently at odds with other cultures within Honduras, meddling neighbors, and a massive U.S. economic, political, and military influence over the country. These are some of the reasons Honduras has one of the world's smallest annual per capita gross domestic products (\$1,090 U.S. dollars in 1995), which is the value of what the average Honduran worker produces in a year.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In 1899, the Vaccaro brothers of New Orleans, Louisiana, founded the Standard Fruit and Steamship Company to ship bananas and other fruit on the Caribbean coast of Honduras to the United

States. After a few years, when the company wanted to begin to cultivate its own fruit in Honduras, the Honduran government leased land to the company at a very favorable rate, and the company employed Mosquito Indians to work on the plantations they created. Other fruit companies followed, and Honduras's Caribbean coast has become a vast network of giant plantations owned by U.S. companies. La Ceiba and Trujillo became huge ports where the fruit was and is still today loaded onto ships bound for the United States and countries around the world. To this day, Honduras charges American companies very low taxes for the export of fruit and charges no taxes at all on profits from sales.

Over the last 95 years, the fruit companies have built schools, hospitals, and housing for their workers and connected cities in the region to a railroad network. It has been the region with the country's best infrastructure and standard of living, even for the peasants.

In 1956, the problems with political instability that Honduras had had since its foundation came to a head. The 1954 presidential election was inconclusive; no candidate won a majority of votes. As had happened in 1923 in a similar situation, the Honduran Congress, the arbiter of such dilemmas, was not able to reach a decision on any of the candidates. Lozano Díaz, the vice president in power after the president had had a heart attack and had been flown to Miami, unconstitutionally proclaimed himself president and arrested the leaders of principal parties, labor unions, and farmers' unions. As the political situation became more and more repressive in Honduras under Díaz, the military seized power in a bloodless coup and replaced him with a *junta*, a governing council of military officers. The next 40 years would see a revolving door leadership between the military- and civilian-elected governments.

The situation in Honduras continues to be a product of its past. Political instability is still one of the country's major problems. Throughout the 1980s, for example, the war on Nicaragua's revolutionary Sandinista government by the United States, using Nicaraguan *Contra* rebels stationed and trained in Honduras near the Nicaraguan border, threatened to embroil Honduras itself in a war with Nicaragua.

Today, the democratically elected civilian President Carlos Roberto Reina is attempting reforms in business, education, and in labor policy. However, he is, as others in his place have been, under tight reins from the military.

In 1998, Hurricane Mitch devastated Honduras, in addition to other Central American coun-

tries. La Alianza Pro Ninez Hondurena, Inc., a non-profit organization established in September 1993 by a group of Honduran American educators and Honduran Americans in New York city, provided aid to elementary schools in Honduras. Hurricane Mitch killed some 6,000 persons and left about 6,000 more missing. More than one million persons had their homes destroyed by the hurricane, which also destroyed the majority of the country's agricultural crops.

IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first Hondurans came to this country in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries during the turmoil of independence from Spain and the founding of the republic of Honduras. Since then, every major period of conflict has seen a minor immigration wave, never exceeding a few thousand people. The turbulence surrounding the 1956 succession dilemma saw another spurt in immigration. The 1980s have seen a steady rise in immigration rates, as the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act raised the hopes of potential illegal immigrants that they would eventually gain legal status. Another factor impacting immigration rates has been the hardships created by Central American unrest, including civil wars raging in all of Honduras's neighboring countries throughout the decade, often partially fought or launched from Honduran soil. It is too early to tell what will be the impact of California's Proposition 187, passed in 1994 to bar all government services except emergency medical aid from undocumented immigrants.

Many Honduran Americans are migrant farm laborers, and their number is difficult to measure since many of them are undocumented residents. The 1990 Census records 1,272 working-age people in farming, forestry, and fishing operations, but by all accounts, the actual number is much higher. Of those who have settled into a particular area, the largest numbers are found in New York City (33,000), Los Angeles (24,000), and Miami (18,000). Hondurans have followed the immigration patterns of previous groups; they first settled in the largest cities, in which they found support networks in the large Honduran American communities already present. Cities provide the most accessible market for jobs requiring the kind of basic labor skills most Hondurans possess upon arrival.

IMMIGRATION ISSUES

The families of the vast majority of Honduran Americans have entered the United States in the

last 40 years to seek better economic opportunities and to escape political turmoil or oppression in Honduras. Many have had to leave their families in Honduras and regularly send a large part of their income home to support them. As a new immigrant group, Hondurans are experiencing the same prejudices and suspicions that arrivals have always felt from the longer-established population. Some Americans are under the impression that Hondurans have come here to live off the welfare state and simply take advantage of social services. Proposition 187 can be seen as a legal result of this attitude. It declares that every immigrant without visa and working papers shall be barred from all government services except emergency medical care. Apparently, those who voted for it believe that illegal immigrants take more social services than they pay for through taxes and consumer spending. However, there is substantial evidence that illegal immigrants pay for more social services than they use. This is due to the fact that many immigrants first come alone and attempt to secure working papers before bringing their families over. They need very few government services. Those who do bring their children often do not send them to school because they need the revenue from their work.

If Proposition 187 represents the locking of the door to Honduran undocumented immigrants, the federal Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 represents the legal welcome mat. It stipulates that those illegal immigrants who can prove they were in the country before January 1, 1982, may apply for legalization and may legally work until their cases are decided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Furthermore, if they have been granted working papers and legal status, they may apply for citizenship after five years.

Honduran Americans are a very diverse group. They include those of Spanish, mixed, Mayan, black Carib, African, Palestinian and Chinese ancestry, among many others. They have made important improvements in their own standards of living, major educational and professional achievements, and important cultural contributions to American society. In the future, they must face the challenges of prejudice from some Americans and overcome a history of poverty.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

There is no particular stereotype of the Honduran American in this country. However, this lack of specific prejudice is part of the prejudice. More

established non-Hispanic Americans, when they exhibit prejudice, like to lump all Hispanic Americans together, contributing to the racist notion that all Hispanics are alike. Some will refer to Latin American immigrants derogatorily as “wetbacks,” as economic refugees who “all just swam the Rio Grande to fall into the arms of Sweet Mother United States.” So, the fact that Honduran Americans are rarely if ever singled out as an undesirable group does not mean Hondurans are free from prejudice; instead, that fact may only suggest ignorance of Latin American people and differences between their countries.

One notable observation about established American prejudice toward Latin American immigrants is that it is not limited to white Americans. Ladera Heights, California, is a wealthy suburban community primarily comprised of African Americans. Its citizens have attempted to pass an ordinance making it illegal for day laborers to solicit work in public places. They describe the day laborers, who are almost exclusively Hispanic American immigrants, as dirty, loud, disruptive, dangerous, and potentially criminal. While the sheriff’s office had no criminal complaints against the day laborers when this case was reported in the *Los Angeles Times* by Robert J. Lopez on March 6, 1994, residents assumed that the Latin American immigrant workers were up to no good. “I do not want welfare. I want work,” commented one Latin American day laborer criticizing the proposed ordinance. The issues raised in Ladera Heights reflect broader concerns about illegal immigration, concerns that have led to the passage of California’s Proposition 187. Responding to this bill in an August 29, 1994, in a *Los Angeles Times* article by Lorenza Muñoz, one undocumented immigrant named Amanda expressed the often-ignored immigrant perspective: “We do pay taxes—we consume goods and services. This issue of illegal immigration needs to be looked at in a more creative way such as understanding the factors of immigration, and how much immigrants contribute to this country, economically and culturally. It cannot be looked at only in a negative light.”

CUISINE

The staple of the mestizo Honduran diet is rice and beans. Other mainstays include *atól*, corn soup; *mondongo*, tripe soup in a tomato base with corn; and *tamale*, a corn pie stuffed with chicken, olives, and capers, among other ingredients. The diet of the Garifuna is based largely on cassava, a starchy root that is similar in texture, consistency, and taste to the potato. The Garifuna create combinations of cassava, coconuts, plantains, avocado, pineapples,

and pigs' feet and tails, sometimes all in the same stew. A favorite is *Machuca*, a stew of fried fish and mashed plantains in a coconut base.

MUSIC

As a group, Hondurans have made their mark in American music. One important contribution is Garifuna music. Geoffrey Himes described this music in the *Washington Post* (April 2, 1993): "Legend has it that the Garifuna culture sprang from the survivors of a shipwrecked slave vessel who swam ashore on St. Vincent Island in the sixteenth century. There they intermarried with the local Carib and Arawak Indians and created a music that blended West African drumming and Caribbean Indian group singing. The culture then spread to Belize and Honduras." Garifuna is described as an astonishingly melodic and intricate music. The beat is usually carried by two to four large tuba (or hollow log) drums. The *tercera* drum provides the booming bass notes that establish the foundation rhythm. The *primera* drum supplies the melodic lead pattern, and the *segunda* drum shadows the *primera* with a counter rhythm. These three main patterns are amplified by turtle shells, claves, timbales, bongos, congas, maracas and tambourines. Himes noted: "Because each drum has its own pitch and timbre and because the vocals are woven inextricably into the drumming, the music has a richness you'd never expect from just percussion and voice."

Musical styles popular among Honduran American mestizos include salsa and meringue, both big-band styles of music, with many brass instruments, a driving, steady beat, and a high melody sung over the instruments.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are problems related to medical care that affect Honduran Americans more than other groups. The mass of Honduran American migrant farm workers suffer from a lack of organized medical care. This class of Honduran American workers is severely damaged by a lack of financial resources to obtain crucial medical care. Officially, New Jersey grants medical care to immigrants, legal or illegal, who demonstrate need and the lack of money for medical care and medicine. However, many illegal aliens from Honduras are wary of going through a government process like applying for Medicaid. They see the danger of being turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service as too great. Compounding this problem is the lack of adequate education for migrant farm workers. The

average farm worker, especially the male, has only a few years of formal schooling, if any. There is a general lack of health, nutrition, and medical knowledge, especially as it pertains to the safe-keeping of foodstuffs.

The attitude of Honduran Americans in general to the American medical establishment is suspicious. Most Honduran Americans came to the United States as undocumented immigrants or legally working laborers, and in both categories, the level of medical care has been low, marked by neglect and indifference, especially on the part of government officials.

Psychiatry presents another area in which Honduran Americans, particularly new arrivals, have felt alienated. This is due less to neglect than to different cultural attitudes to psychiatry in Latin American and in the United States: "I thought that if you went to a psychologist, you were crazy," said Maximina Machado of the Bronx, originally from Honduras, as reported by Elaine River in *New York Newsday*, August 24, 1994. Older, traditional therapy in Honduras for psychological problems has included *Santeria*, a Caribbean-based faith that combines elements of African ritual with Catholicism, and *espiritualismo* (spiritualism). Both therapies see the psychological problem as a spiritual problem, an imbalance of supernatural forces. Therapy can then take the form of an attempt to reach a transcendent consciousness by using meditation, concentrating on specific personal objects, or consulting a medium. It can also take the form of an exorcism, where the treatment is meant to drive out an evil spirit or devil from the victim.

Psychiatrists and clinical psychologists in some urban medical centers around the country are seeking to break down cultural barriers to clinical therapy and begin addressing the psychological traumas that particularly affect Latin American immigrants. Dr. Arnold Ruiz's Latin American Immigrant Services program, founded in June 1993 in the Fordham-Tremont Mental Health Center in the Bronx, New York, is one such clinic. Here, Dr. Ruiz and his colleagues treat immigrants for adjustment disorders that arise from culture shock—a sense of confusion due to coming into a culture in which the immigrant does not know the language or the cultural mores. They also treat anxiety disorders and depression due to immigrants' feelings of isolation. Especially acute is post-traumatic stress, caused by witnessing horrors in the immigrants' home countries. Hondurans have had to endure the Horcones Massacre, in which the army slaughtered ten unarmed peasants, two students, and two foreign priests; terrorist groups such as the *Mancha Brava*, a covert

group that struck terror into the hearts of all opposition activists from 1963 to 1978; and the 1969 war with El Salvador and part of the Nicaraguan war with the Contra rebels. Fordham-Tremont employees have been successful in breaking down some of the suspicions Honduran American immigrants typically have had toward clinical psychologists and psychiatrists. Most clinic employees are bilingual, and they have a respectful attitude toward the patients, taking their religious beliefs into account during therapy.

The American Psychiatric Association's manual of mental disorders lists some disorders specifically afflicting Latin Americans. They include *Ataque de nervios* (attack of nerves), which is characterized by uncontrollable shouting, trembling, fainting, seizures, and verbal and physical aggression; and *mal de ojo* (evil eye), which afflicts children and some adults and causes fitful sleep, diarrhea, vomiting, and crying spells.

A further example illustrates the confusion that arises from cultural differences in psychological and sexual mores between Hondurans and Americans. Attorney General Janet Reno, a Nevada prosecutor in the early 1990s, prosecuted a Honduran immigrant, Ileana Fuster, for child sexual abuse. Ms. Fuster ran a small day-care center from her home, where she kissed the babies all over their bodies in a non-sexual way when caressing them. Anthropologists commented that this practice is common in rural Latin American communities like the one in which Ms. Fuster grew up. Ms. Reno, with the help of two psychologists, extracted a confession after Ms. Fuster had initially asserted no wrongdoing and after several days of hours-long interrogations. Ms. Fuster's Honduran child-rearing practices had come head-to-head with a different set of cultural practices in suburban Nevada.

Another difference between Hondurans and Americans involves a congenital condition among certain Hondurans that affords them a specific medical immunity. The Garifuna, whose ancestors include black Africans and Caribbean Indians, have an African-component sickle-cell genetic adaptation to malaria. This means that, due to their genes, they are immune to malaria.

LANGUAGE

The almost universally spoken language of Honduran Americans, besides English, is Spanish. Most Honduran Indians speak it also. In addition, most Maya speak their own language, and the black Caribs speak Garifuna. Far from being a dead or

obscure language, Garifuna is a living, vibrant, and growing language in the United States. Some estimates put the number of Garifuna around 10,000 for New York City, the Garifuna nexus in this country. The following are some Garifuna expressions: *Jim!* ("hing")—Hey, you!; *Buiti binafi illawuritei* ("booitey binaffy illawoorittay")—"Good morning, Uncle." *Abau isilledu eiguini, fulesei* ("ab-bow eeseelaydoo aiguiny, foolasay")—A plate of food, please.

Spanish expressions include *Buenos días* ("buaynos deeass")—Good day; *Feliz navidad* ("feleece navidad")—Merry Christmas; and *¿Dónde están mis zapatos?* ("DONday isTAHN meese saBATtose")—Where are my shoes?

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Since many Hondurans initially come to the United States alone, without their spouse or families, life in the United States can represent a strain on the family. Nonetheless, a sizeable percentage of adult Honduran Americans are married. The 1990 Census shows 20,529 of 44,132, or 46.5 percent, of Honduran American men 15 years and older as being married or having been married and 25,722 of 55,933 Honduran American women, or 46 percent, as being married at least once. These figures paint a picture of the typical Honduran American family as similar to that of the typical American family. The percentage of Honduran Americans married is similar to the percentage of other Americans who are married. The average number of children in Honduran American families is also similar to the average number of children in American families in general. The average married Honduran American woman aged 25 to 34 years old has 1.8 children, while the married Honduran American women 35 to 44 years old will have an average of 2.6 children.

The family experience of black Caribs, or Garifuna, presents a different, unique picture. They first came to Honduras's Bay Islands and Caribbean Coast from St. Vincent in 1797, crossing in ocean-going giant canoes, rowing thousands of sea miles from all over the Western Hemisphere. In ensuing years, young men had to migrate to find work and support their families. This became an accepted and permanent part of the Garifuna family structure. Soon after a young Garifuna couple married, the husband began his travels to find work to support his wife and young children. She would rely on brothers or other male family members to help her with what she herself could not do around the house. And often, she would take another lover to fill the void

left by her absent husband. So, the Garifuna immigrant wave to the United States, which peaked in 1975, did not represent a big change for Garifuna society. Nancie González has advanced the thesis that Garifuna immigration to the United States allows the black Caribs in Honduras to retain ancient customs and their traditional family and cultural structure. American dollars earned by Garifuna in the United States are, according to her, helping to preserve the Garifuna way of life in Honduras (Nancie González, "Garifuna Settlement in New York: A New Frontier," *International Migration Review*, 1976). Of the 33,426 Honduran American households, 3,794, or 11.3 percent, are on public assistance.

EDUCATION

It has been easier for Honduran American girls to stay in school than for Honduran American boys. Especially in working-class families, there is tremendous pressure for boys, once they turn 12 or 14, to start working full time. This pressure is not as strong on the girls. As a result, statistics show Honduran American women to have more years of school than Honduran American men, with 10.9 percent of Honduran American women 25 years and older having a bachelor's degree, while the number drops to 6.4 percent for both women and men in the same age category. In terms of high school education, 22.4 percent of the women 25 and older have a diploma, while the figure is 20.9 percent for the general Honduran American population according to the 1990 Census. The numbers even out, however, when it comes to advanced degrees. Of the 43,482 women 25 years and older, 602 have a master's degree, 411 have a professional degree, and 60 have a doctoral degree. For the total Honduran American population in the age category, the figures are 1,091 for a master's degree, 862 for a professional degree, and 151 for a doctoral degree.

Due to economic circumstances, it is easier for girls to stay in school through college. The fact that young men are more encouraged than women to seek advanced degrees, however, means that men who go to college are more likely to stay in school. Women, however, when they reach 22 or 23, experience strong pressure to marry, settle down, have a family, and focus their ambitions on their children.

Honduran American women are more likely to pursue professional careers than to complete advanced degrees. As a matter of fact, 11.3 percent of employed females 16 years and over, according to the 1990 Census, work in managerial and professional specialty occupations, versus 10.4 percent for the population as a whole.

Honduran American women have also become active in the community, fighting for their rights and the rights of their families. Mugama: Garifuna Women on the March, for example, is an organization dedicated to working with young Garifuna in New York City, giving them counseling and support and guiding them on their educational and professional paths. The organization also fights for the rights of Garifuna women, organizing rallies and creating banners for Hispanic parades.

RELIGION

An overwhelming majority of Hondurans are Catholic. The church exerts less influence than in the past. Honduran Americans are active in their church communities, and women take major responsibility for church affairs, such as attending Sunday church suppers and helping to organize parish charity drives. Yet, the move to the United States has brought with it a new phenomenon for the Honduran community. More and more Honduran Americans are exploring Protestant religions, with a sizeable number converting. Particularly popular are the storefront churches opening across the country. These storefront churches allow virtually anybody to take an active role in religion, even to become a minister. In particular the evangelical and Pentecostal churches stress energetic recruitment and a very close, equal relationship between minister and flock.

Storefront churches are a common sight in Latin neighborhoods across the Northeast. In New York, they can be found in Jackson Heights, Queens, and in the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The service, especially in Pentecostal churches, is typically very high-energy, with the reverend building to a shouting rant and the congregation responding in turn with a unified "amen." Sometimes, a parishioner will collapse in a type of "seeing" trance and experience a religious epiphany or rebirth. Such worship links Pentecostals closely to southern evangelical Baptists.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

While new arrivals have traditionally entered fields involving basic labor, established Honduran American immigrants have shown impressive success in moving into more lucrative professions. Of the 34,220 Honduran Americans who came to this country between 1980 and 1990, according to the U.S. Census, 33.7 percent described themselves as

being in service occupations, which include waitering, other restaurant work, janitorial work, and work in laundries and retail stores. Only 24.2 percent of the immigrants who arrived before 1980 are in that industry. Of those who came during the 1980s, 27.3 percent were operators, fabricators, and laborers; for those who came before, only 18.7 percent fit in that category. Those who came before 1980 are more heavily represented in managerial and professional specialty occupations, 14.6 percent as opposed to 5.6 percent for the newer arrivals. The contrast in public administration is similar, with a ratio of three percent for established Honduran Americans to one percent for newer arrivals; the same is true of educational services, the ratio being 4.9 percent to 2.4 percent. These figures demonstrate the trend towards self-improvement as Honduran Americans establish themselves in the United States.

The largest trading partner of Honduras is the United States. In 1995, the two nations traded 1.27 billion dollars in goods and services. The amount of business exported from the United States to Honduras in 1995 totaled 680 million dollars. Approximately 100 American companies operate in Honduras, many of them based in agriculture, petroleum products, bond assembly plants (*maquilas*), electric power generation, banking, and insurance.

American aid to Honduras, military and otherwise, declined in the 1990s. To compensate for this lost income, Honduras redoubled its efforts to export its agricultural products, such as coffee, fruits and vegetables, seafood, and beef. The United States, for its part, is encouraging investment in Honduras. The most successful markets are in fruit, petroleum refining and marketing, and mining.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Being a relatively new immigrant group from a country that has seen its share of political turmoil, Honduran Americans have not been very conspicuous in American politics or unions, nor has there been much overt action on the part of Honduran Americans to influence politics in the mother country. For the most part, the overriding political issue for Honduran Americans has been the right to participate in the political process. As reported by Jorge Zarazua and Marty Gra of *The Houston Post* on July 10, 1994, a recently naturalized citizen represents a case in point: "Mario Casildo no longer wants to be one of the thousands of voiceless immigrants in America ... as soon as he takes the oath of citizenship, the 60-year-old Honduran immigrant intends to register to vote."

To address problems of the undocumented alien community, a group of Honduran American and other Central American undocumented aliens formed the Aliens for Better Immigration Laws in February 1994. At that time the group filed a class-action law suit in federal court to allow undocumented aliens to work while they are on a decade-long waiting list for green cards. This grassroots lobbying organization has fought to bring the issues of undocumented immigrants to the forefront, not only in the courts, but also in the consciousness of the American public.

MILITARY SERVICE

Honduran Americans have taken an active role in defending the United States. Of all the native (U.S.) Honduran American males 16 years old and over, 13.7 percent are military veterans. Even 769 Honduran American male non-citizens are veterans. The percentage of naturalized Honduran American male civilians 16 years old and over who have served in the armed forces is 13.2 percent. For those who came to the United States before 1980, this number jumps to 18.4 percent, almost one-fifth.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART

Julian Albert Touceda is a New Orleans artist and supporter of Latin art who was born and lived the first years of his life in Honduras. Born in the early 1940s, Touceda has been instrumental in preserving Latin American culture and exposing the local community to Latin artists. Touceda's main influences are the Spanish painters Francisco Goya and Diego Balasca, Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, and painter Rufino Tamayo. Since 1976, Touceda has had 23 exhibits in Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and New York. Among more than 50 prominent artists, he was the only Hispanic artist selected to exhibit his works at the Louisiana World Exposition in 1984.

MUSIC

Chatuye is a ten-man Garifuna band of Belizean and Honduran immigrants in Los Angeles.

PUBLISHING

One Honduran American who has contributed significantly to the United States is Julio Melara, a second-generation Honduran American who grew

up in Kenner, Louisiana, before establishing himself in New Orleans. As a freshman in college, Melara worked as a courier at a local business newspaper. A graduate of the University of New Orleans, Melara was only 28 years old when he became the top sales executive at WWL radio in New Orleans and the only million-dollar producer in the radio industry in Louisiana. Determined and committed to excellence, Melara became the publisher of *New Orleans Magazine*. He joined the New Orleans Publishing Group in 1993 as vice president for sales and training. He also owns Action Inc., a sports marketing firm, and is writing a book called *Do You Have Time for Success?* In addition, he publishes *Arriba*, a magazine in Spanish for tourists coming to New Orleans from Latin America and Spain.

MEDIA

PRINT

Honduras This Week.

International weekly newspaper in English. Covers news in Honduras as well as items of interest to Hondurans abroad.

Address: P.O. Box 1312, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, C.A.

E-mail: hontweek@hondutel.hn.

Online: <http://www.marrder.com/htw/>.

TELEVISION

“Abriendo brechas” (Opening Gaps).

This three-hour weekly program on Cable Channel 69 is also known as BronxNet, a New York City public access cable channel.

Contact: Murphy Valentine, Producer.

Address: 1465 Fulton Avenue, Apartment 5B, Bronx, New York 10456.

Telephone: (718) 538-2244.

“Conversando con Antonieta Máximo” (Conversing with Antonieta Máximo).

Airs on Manhattan Neighborhood Network Channel 16 for three hours each week. The program features prominent Honduran and other Latin American community and cultural leaders discussing current issues.

Contact: Antonieta Máximo.

Address: 484 West 43rd Street, Apartment 9-M, New York, New York 10036.

Telephone: (212) 947-5712.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Federation of Honduran Organizations in New York (FEDHONY).

Founded by Myriam DeMéndez and others as a response to the 1990 Happy Land Social Club fire in the Bronx that killed 87 people, most of whom were Honduran American. The Federation is a valuable resource for contacts of every kind for Honduran American communities.

Contact: Antonia Máximo, President.

Address: 100 East 175th Street, First Floor (NYNEX Building), Bronx, New York 10453.

Telephone: (718) 716-4882.

Fax: (718) 716-4964.

Honduran American Cultural Association.

A nexus for news of the local Honduran American communities and sponsor of concerts and other cultural events.

Contact: Jorge Cotto, President.

Address: 41-42 42nd Street, Sunnyside, New York 11104.

Telephone: (718) 784-7517.

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HOPIS

by

Ellen French and
Richard C. Hanes

OVERVIEW

The westernmost of the Pueblo Indian tribes, the independent Hopi (HO-pee) Nation is the only Pueblo tribe that speaks a Shoshonean language of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family. "Hopi" is a shortened form of the original term *Hopituh-Shi-nu-mu*, for which the most common meaning given is "peaceful people." The Hopis have also been referred to as the Moqui, based on what the Spanish called them. The Hopi reservation, almost 2.5 million acres in size and located in northeastern Arizona near the Four Corners area just east of the Grand Canyon, is surrounded completely by the Navajo reservation. The Hopis inhabit 14 villages, most of which are situated atop three rocky mesas (called First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa) that rise 600 feet from the desert floor. Estimated at 2,800 in 1680, the Hopi Nation had 7,360 members in 1990, about 1,000 of whom lived off the reservation. The Hopies are ancient, having lived continuously in the same place for a thousand years. They are also a deeply religious people, whose customs and yearlong calendar of ritual ceremonialism guide virtually every aspect of their lives. Although some concessions to modern convenience have been made, the Hopis have zealously guarded their cultural traditions. This degree of cultural preservation is a remarkable achievement, facilitated by isolation, secrecy, and a community that remains essentially closed to outsiders.

Traditional ceremonies
are performed as
instructed in sacred
stories and relate to
most aspects of daily
Hopi life. Such
occasions include
important times in an
individual's life,
important times
of the year, healing,
spiritual renewal,
bringing rain,
initiation of people
into positions, and
for thanksgiving.

HISTORY

According to Suzanne and Jake Page's book *Hopi*, the Hopis are called "the oldest of the people" by other Native Americans. Frank Waters wrote in *The Book of the Hopi* that the Hopis "regard themselves as the first inhabitants of America. Their village of Oraibi is indisputably the oldest continuously occupied settlement in the United States." While Hopi oral history traces their origin to a Creation and Emergence from previous worlds, scientists place them in their present location for the last thousand years, perhaps longer. In her book *The Wind Won't Know Me*, Emily Benedek wrote that "anthropologists have shown that the cultural remains present a clear, uninterrupted, logical development culminating in the life, general technology, architecture, and agriculture and ceremonial practices to be seen on the three Hopi mesas today." Archaeologists definitively place the Hopis on the Black Mesa of the Colorado Plateau by 1350.

The period from 1350 to 1540 is considered the Hopi ancestral period, marked primarily by the rise of village chieftains. A need for greater social organization arose from increased village size and the first ritual use of *kivas*, the underground ceremonial chambers found in every village. Additionally, coal was mined from mesa outcroppings, requiring unprecedented coordination. The Hopis were among the world's first people to use coal for firing pottery.

The complex Hopi culture, much as it exists today, was firmly in place by the 1500s, including the ceremonial cycle, the clan and chieftain social system, and agricultural methods that utilized every possible source of moisture in an extremely arid environment. The Hopis' "historical period" began in 1540, when first contact with Europeans occurred. In that year a group of Spanish soldiers led by the explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado arrived, looking for the legendary Seven Cities of Gold. After a brief, confrontational search produced no gold, the Spanish destroyed part of a village and left.

The Hopis were not molested further until 1629, when the first Spanish missionaries arrived, building missions in the villages of Awatovi, Oraibi, and Shungopavi. Historians speculate the Hopis pretended to adopt the new religion while practicing their own in secret. Hopi oral history confirms this interpretation. Rebellious finally against the Spanish yoke of religious oppression, the Hopis joined the rest of the Pueblo people in a unified revolt in 1680. During this uprising, known as the Pueblo Revolt, the Indians took the lives of Franciscan priests and Spanish soldiers and then besieged Santa Fe for several days. When the Hopis finally returned to their villages, they killed all the missionaries.

The Hopis then moved three of their villages to the mesa tops as a defensive measure against possible retaliation. The Spanish returned to reconquer the Rio Grande area in 1692. Many Rio Grande Pueblo Indians fled west to Hopi, where they were welcomed. Over the next few years, many living in Awatovi invited the Spanish priests back, a situation that caused a serious rift between those who wanted to preserve the old ways and those who embraced Christianity. Finally, in 1700 Hopi traditionalists killed all the Christian men in Awatovi and then destroyed the village. The destruction of Awatovi signaled the end of Spanish interference in Hopi life, although contact between the groups continued.

MODERN ERA

In response to the growing problem of Navajo encroachment on traditional Hopi land, President Chester A. Arthur established the Hopi reservation in 1882, setting aside 2,472,254 acres in northeastern Arizona for "Moqui and other such Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon." The Hopi reservation was centered within a larger area (considered by the Hopis also to be their ancestral land) that was designated the Navajo reservation. As populations increased, the Navajo expanded their settlements well beyond their own borders, encroaching even more on the Hopi reservation. Despite the executive order, this situation continued for many decades. The Hopis complained, but the government failed to act, and the Navajo continued to overrun Hopi lands until they had taken over 1,800,000 acres of the original Hopi designation. The Hopis were left with only about 600,000 acres. Recognizing the problem, Congress finally passed the Navajo-Hopi Settlement Act in 1974, which returned 900,000 acres to the Hopis. The dispute over resettlement and the remaining 900,000 original acres continues, however, as a number of Navajo families have refused to leave due to ancestral ties to the land. A 1975 film titled *Dineh: The People*, produced by Jonathan Reinis and Stephen Hornick, examined the relocation of Navajo from the joint-use area around the Hopi reservation, looking at the many sociocultural issues it raised. A more recent film, *In the Heart of Big Mountain* (1988), produced by Sandra Sunrising Osawa, looks at the background and history of the land dispute and the sacredness of the Big Mountain area to affected Navajo. Thomas Banyacya Sr. (b.1910), born in New Oraibi, became an outspoken traditionalist Hopi elder in opposition to Navajo relocation.

Another ongoing issue facing the Hopi concerns the preservation of the Hopi Way. Two 1980s films examine the Hopi Way. A 1983 film directed by Pat Ferrero takes an in-depth look at the Hopi



The Hopi women's dance is performed at coming-of-age celebrations.

Way, the ideal way of life from the point of view of many Hopi community members. Titled *Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World*, the film shows Hopi people in everyday life and contrasts Hopi society and worldview with other societies. The 1984 film *Itam Hakim, Hopit*, produced, directed, and filmed by noted Hopi filmmaker Victor Masayesva Jr., examines the life of a member of a Hopi storytelling clan and various periods of Hopi history.

These modern-day concerns have split the tribe into two factions, the Traditionalists and the Progressives. Traditionalists fear the erosion of Hopi culture by white cultural influences. Progressives feel that adoption of some aspects of modern American culture is necessary if the tribe is to survive and grow economically.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

By the end of the twentieth century, the Hopi tribe was considered one of the more traditional Indian

societies in the continental United States. As far back as they can be reliably traced by archeologists (to the period called Pueblo II, between 900 and 1100), the Hopis have been sedentary, living in masonry buildings. Their villages consisted of houses built of native stone, arranged around a central plaza containing one or more kivas. Hopi villages are arranged in much the same way today. During the Pueblo III Period (1100 to 1300), populations in the villages grew as the climate became more arid, making farming more difficult. The village buildings grew in size as well, some containing hundreds of rooms. During the Pueblo IV Period, the Hopi ancestral period from 1350 to 1540, the houses, made “of stone cemented with adobe and then plastered inside were virtually indistinguishable from the older houses of present-day Hopi, except that they were often multistoried,” according to Page and Page. They added that the houses of that period contained rooms with specific functions, such as storage or grinding corn, and that kiva design was “nearly identical” to that of today. The houses and kivas of this period were heated with coal, which was also used for firing pottery. Today the Hopis occupy the older masonry houses as well as modern ones. The

kiva remains largely as it was in ancient times: a rectangular room built of native stone, mostly below ground. "Sometimes," wrote Waters, "the kiva is widened at one end, forming the same shape as the T-shaped doorways found in all ancient Hopi ruins." This design is intended to echo the hairstyle of Hopi men, which generally forms a "T" shape. The kiva contains an altar and central fire pit below the roof opening. A ladder extends above the edge of the roof. When not in use for ceremonies, kivas are also used as meeting rooms.

The number four has great significance in the Hopi religion, so many ritual customs often call for repetitions of four. In accordance with Hopi tradition, both boys and girls were initiated into the *kachina* cult between the ages of eight and ten. Leitch wrote that the rite included "fasting, praying, and being whipped with a yucca whip. Each child had a ceremonial mother (girls) or father (boys) who saw them through the ordeal." She also noted, "All boys were initiated into one of the four men's societies Kwan, Ahl, Tao, or Wuwutcimi, usually joining the society of their ceremonial father. These rites commonly occurred in conjunction with the Powama ceremony, a four-day tribal initiation rite for young men, usually held at planting time." A tradition no longer observed is the prepuberty ceremony for ten-year-old girls, which involved grinding corn for an entire day at the girl's paternal grandmother's house. "At the onset of menses," Parsons wrote in 1950, "girls of the more conservative families go through a puberty ceremony marked by a four-day grinding ordeal." The girl would also receive a new name and would then occasionally assume the squash blossom hairstyle, the sign of marriageability.

TRADITIONAL STORIES

A tradition of oral literature has been crucial to the survival of the Hopi Way because the language has remained unwritten until recent years. The oral tradition has made it possible to foster Hopi pride during modern times and to continue the custom, ritual, and ceremony that sustain the religious beliefs that are the essence of the Hopi Way. The body of Hopi oral literature is huge.

CUISINE

The Hopis have long been sedentary agriculturalists, with the men handling the work of cultivating and harvesting the crops. A great drought occurred from 1279 to 1299, requiring the Hopis to adopt inventive farming methods still in use today. Every

possible source of moisture is utilized. The wind blows sand up against the sides of the mesas, forming dunes that trap moisture. Crops are then planted in these dunes. The Hopis also plant in the dry washes that occasionally flood, as well as in the mouths of arroyos. In other areas they irrigate crops by hand.

In the ancestral period, wild game was more plentiful, and Hopi men hunted deer, antelope, and elk. They also hunted rabbit with a boomerang. Page and Page listed corn, squash, beans, and some wild and semi-cultivated plants such as Indian millet, wild potato, piñon, and dropseed as staples of this period. They also noted that salt was obtained, although not without difficulty, by making long excursions to the Grand Canyon area. Barbara Leitch wrote in *A Concise Dictionary of Indian Tribes of North America* that the women gathered "pinenuts, prickly pear, yucca, berries, currants, nuts, and various seeds." Hopi women also made fine pottery, a craft that still flourishes today. The Hopis raised cotton in addition to the edible crops, and the men, Leitch wrote, "spun and wove cotton cloth into ceremonial costumes, clothing, and textiles for trade." In the sixteenth century the Spanish introduced wheat, onions, peaches and other fruits, chiles, and mutton to the Hopi diet.

The Hopis continue to depend on the land. Wild game had dwindled significantly in the region by 1950, leaving only rabbit as well as a few quail and deer. Modern Hopi farmers still use the old methods, raising mainly corn, melons, gourds, and many varieties of beans. Corn is the main crop, and the six traditional Hopi varieties are raised: yellow, blue, red, white, purple, and sweet. All have symbolic meaning stemming from the Creation story. A corn roast is an annual ritual, and corn is ground for use in ceremonies as well as to make *piki*, a traditional bread baked in layers on hot stones. A 1983 film *Corn Is Life*, documents the importance of corn to Hopi culture and its religious significance. The film shows traditional activities in planting, cultivating, harvesting, and preparing corn, including the baking of *piki* bread on hot, polished stone.

TRADITIONAL APPAREL

In earlier times Hopi men wore fur or buckskin loincloths. Some loincloths were painted and decorated with tassels, which symbolized falling rain. The men also raised cotton and wove it into cloth, robes, blankets, and textiles. These hand-woven cotton blankets were also worn regularly. The Hopis were reported in 1861 as being wrapped in blankets with broad white and dark stripes. At that time, women

also commonly wore a loose black gown with a gold stripe around the waist and at the hem. Men wore shirts and loose cotton pants, covered with a blanket wrap. During the ritual ceremonies and dances, Hopi men wear elaborate costumes that include special headdresses, masks, and body paints. These costumes vary according to clan and ceremony.

Women had long hair, but marriageable girls wore their hair twisted up into large whorls on either side of their heads. These whorls represented the squash blossom, which was a symbol of fertility. This hairstyle is still worn by unmarried Hopi girls but due to the amount of time required to create it, the style is reserved for ceremonial occasions. The hairstyle for married women was either loose or in braids. The traditional hairstyle for Hopi men, after which kiva design was sometimes patterned, was worn with straight bangs over the forehead and a knot of hair in the back with the sides hanging straight and covering the ears. This style of bangs is still seen among traditional Hopi men.

Hopi women and girls today wear a traditional dress, which is black and embroidered with bright red and green trim. A bride, as in early days, wears a white robe woven of white cotton by her uncles. This bridal costume actually consists of two white robes. The bride wears a large robe with tassels that symbolize falling rain. A second, smaller robe, also with tassels, is carried rolled up in a reed scroll called a "suitcase" in English. When the woman dies, she will be wrapped in the suitcase robe.

DANCES AND SONGS

Benedek wrote that "in spirit and in ceremony, the Hopis maintain a connection with the center of the earth, for they believe that they are the earth's caretakers, and with the successful performance of their ceremonial cycle, the world will remain in balance, the gods will be appeased, and rain will come." Central to the ceremonies are the kiva, the *paho*, and the Corn Mother. The kiva is the underground ceremonial chamber. Rectangular in shape (the very ancient kivas were circular), the kiva is a symbol of the Emergence to this world, with a small hole in the floor leading to the underworld and a ladder extending above the roof opening, which represents the way to the upper world. Kivas are found in various numbers in Hopi villages, always on an east-west axis, sunk into the central plaza of a village. Following the secret ceremonies held inside the kiva, ceremonial dances are performed in the plaza. The *paho*, a prayer feather, usually that of an eagle, is used to send prayers to the Creator. *Pahos* are prepared for all kiva ceremonies. Corn has sus-

tained the Hopis for centuries, and it plays a large role in Hopi ceremonies, such as in the sprinkling of cornmeal to welcome the kachinas to the Corn Mother. Waters described the Corn Mother as "a perfect ear of corn whose tip ends in four full kernels." It is saved for rituals.

The kachinas are spirits with the power to pass on prayers for rain and are mostly benevolent. Humans dressed and masked as these spirits perform the kachina dances, which are tied to the growing season, beginning in March and lasting into July. Kachina dolls, representing these gods, are carved and sold as crafts today, although they were originally toys for Hopi children. One of the most important ceremonials is held at the winter solstice. This ceremony, *Soyal*, as the first ceremony of the year and the first kachina dance, represents the second phase of Creation. The *Niman* ceremony, or the Home Dance, is held at the Summer Solstice, in late July. At that point the last of the crops have been planted and the first corn has been harvested. The Home Dance is the last kachina dance of the year. Although other ceremonial dances are also religious, they are less so than the kachina rituals. These other dances include the Buffalo Dance, held in January to commemorate the days when the buffalo were plentiful and Hopi men went out to the eastern plains to hunt them; the Bean Dance, held in February to petition the kachinas for the next planting; and the Navajo Dance, celebrating the Navajo tribe. While the well-known Snake Dance is preceded by eight days of secret preparation, the dance itself is relatively short, lasting only about an hour. During this rite the priests handle and even put in their mouths unresistant snakes gathered from the desert. Non-Hopi experts have tried to discover how the priests can handle snakes without being bitten, but the secret has not been revealed. At the conclusion of the dance the snakes are released back into the desert, bearing messages for rain. The Snake and Flute Dances are held alternately every other year. The Flute Dance glorifies the spirits of those who have passed away during the preceding two years. In addition, the Basket Dance and other women's dances are held near the end of the year. The Hopi ceremonial cycle continues all year. The ritual ceremonies are conducted within the kivas in secrecy. The plaza dances that follow are rhythmic, mystical, and full of pageantry. Outsiders are sometimes allowed to watch the dances.

HOLIDAYS

Traditional ceremonies are performed as instructed in sacred stories and relate to most aspects of daily Hopi life. Such occasions include important times

in an individual's life, important times of the year, healing, spiritual renewal, bringing rain, initiation of people into positions, and for thanksgiving. Hopi ceremonies included the Flute ceremony, New Fire ceremony, Niman Kachina ceremony, Pachavu ceremony, Powamu ceremony, Snake-Antelope ceremony, Soyay, and Wuwuchim ceremony.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

Page and Page stated that much of Hopi healing is psychic but that the Hopis also utilize many herbal remedies. The Hopis are quite knowledgeable about the various medicinal properties of certain plants and herbs. Ritual curing, however, is done by several societies, including the kachina society. Parsons wrote, "The Kachina cult is generally conceived as a rain-making, crop-bringing cult; but it has also curing or health-bringing functions." She added that "On First Mesa kachina dances (including the Horned water serpent and the Buffalo Dance) may be planned for afflicted persons." In addition to holding dances expressly for sick people, for some illnesses the cure is administered by a specific society. For example, snakebite is treated by the Snake society on First Mesa, according to Parsons, and rheumatism is treated by the Powamu society, which then inducts the afflicted into the society. Other cures are less logical to an outsider. "On First Mesa," Parsons wrote, "lightning-shocked persons and persons whose fields have been lightning-struck join the Flute society. A lightning-shocked man is called in to cure earache in babies." Other rituals include the practice of "sucking out" the disease, usually when dealing with sick infants and children. Cornmeal is actually held in the mouth during this procedure, and then the curer "spits away" the disease. The Hopis also utilize modern medical science, doctors, and hospitals. A government hospital was established in 1913. Now, the Office of Native Healing Services is located in nearby Window Rock, Arizona. In the late 1990s a new health care center was planned for First Mesa.

LANGUAGE

The Hopis speak several dialects of a single language, Hopi, with the exception of the village of Hano, where the members speak Tewa, which is derived from the Azteco-Tanoan linguistic family. Waters noted in 1963 that "Hopi is not yet a commonly written language, perhaps because of the extreme difficulty in translation, as pointed out by Benjamin Lee Whorf, who has made a profound analysis of the language." Despite being unwritten

and untranslated, the strong Hopi oral tradition has preserved and passed down the language. Most Hopis today, including the younger generations, speak both Hopi and English. Both Arizona state universities began developing a Hopi writing system with a dictionary containing over 30,000 words.

COMMON WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

Some Hopi words and phrases include: *tiva*—dance; *tuwaki*—shrine in the kiva; *kahopi*—not Hopi; *kachada*—white man; *Hotomkam*—Three Stars in Line (Orion's Belt); *kachinki*—kachina house; *Hakomi?*—Who are you?; and, *Haliksa'I*—Listen, this is how it is.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Hopi children gain their education through available formal school systems and through traditional educational activities in such places as kivas. Education is provided through local public schools, federal government schools, local village schools, private schools, and kivas. Between 1894 and 1912, schools were established near Hopi villages. But until the late twentieth century, children had to leave home to attend government-sponsored or private off-reservation boarding high schools. In 1985, new Hopi middle and high schools were opened for all tribal students. The on-reservation schools have facilitated traditional education by having students live at home, attending year-round village rituals and ceremonies. The traditional education begins in earnest around age of eight, with a series of initiation rites. The young are taught the Hopi Way, composed of traditional principles and ethics and the value of kinship systems.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The social organization of traditional Hopi society is based on kinship clans determined through the woman's side of the family. The clans determine various kinds of social relations of individuals throughout their lives, including possible marriage partners and their place of residence. Women own the farming and garden plots, though men are responsible for the farming as well as the grazing of sheep and livestock. Women are also centrally involved in Hopi arts and crafts. By tradition the women's products are specialized and determined by their residence. Women make ceramics on First

Mesa, coiled basketry on Second Mesa, and wicker basketry on Third Mesa. Hopi men do the weaving.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Many marriage customs are still observed, but others have fallen into disuse. Fifty years ago, for example, courtship was an elaborate procedure involving a rabbit hunt, corn grinding, and family approval of the marriage. The bride was married in traditional white robes woven for the occasion by her uncles. The couple lived with the bride's mother for the first year. Today the courtship is much less formal. The couple often marry in a church or town and then return to the reservation. Since not all men know how to weave anymore, Page and Page pointed out that it may take years for the uncles to produce the traditional robes. They also described several marriage customs still in practice, however. These include a four-day stay by the bride with her intended in-laws. During this time she grinds corn all day and prepares all the family's meals to demonstrate her culinary competence. Prior to the wedding, the aunts of both the bride and groom engage in a sort of good-natured free-for-all that involves throwing mud and trading insults, each side suggesting the other's relative is no good. The groom's parents wash the couple's hair with a shampoo of yucca in a ritual that occurs in other ceremonies as well. A huge feast follows at the bride's mother's house. Once married, the bride wears her hair loose or in braids.

Clan membership plays a role in partner selection. The rule against marrying another member of the same clan has prevented interbreeding, keeping genetic lines strong. Although marriage into an associated clan was forbidden as well, Page and Page suggest that this tradition is breaking down. Marriage to non-tribal members is extremely rare, a fact that has helped preserve Hopi culture. The clan system is matrilineal, meaning that clan membership is passed down through the mother. One cannot be Hopi without a clan of birth, so if the mother is not Hopi, neither will her children be. Adoption into the tribe is also extremely rare.

FUNERALS

Old age among the Hopis is considered desirable, because it indicates that the journey of life is almost complete. The Hopis have a strong respect for the rituals of death, however, and it is customary to bury the dead as quickly as possible because the religion holds that the soul's journey to the land of the dead begins on the fourth day after death. Any delay in burial can thus interfere with the soul's ability to reach the underworld. The ritual called for the hair

of the deceased to be washed with the yucca shampoo by a paternal aunt. Leitch added that the hair was then decorated with prayer feathers and the face covered with a mask of raw cotton, symbolizing clouds. The body was then wrapped—a man in a deerskin robe, a woman in her wedding robe—and buried by the oldest son, preferably on the day or night of death. Leitch wrote that “the body was buried in a sitting position along with food and water. Cornmeal and prayersticks were later placed in the grave.” A stick is inserted into the soil of a grave as an exit for the soul. If rain follows, it signifies the soul's successful journey.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

The Hopis have maintained historical relations with the Zuñi as well as the Hano and Tewa groups in the Rio Grande River valley to the east. During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Pueblo groups united to drive Spanish influence out of the region. Moreover, extensive trading networks existed among the groups prior to the revolt. The complex land issues with the Navajo have led to complex relations. The Hopi elective government have fought for defense of their original reservation, while traditionalists support the Navajo families' efforts to remain on the disputed lands.

NAMING CEREMONY

Page and Page explained the special rituals observed when naming a new baby. A newborn is kept from direct view of the sun for its first 19 days. A few days prior to the naming, the traditional Hopi stew is prepared at the home of the maternal grandmother, who figures prominently in the custom. The baby belongs to her of his mother's clan but is named for the father's. In the naming ritual, the grandmother kneels and washes the mother's hair, then bathes the baby. The baby is wrapped snugly in a blanket, with only its head visible. With the baby's Corn Mother, the grandmother rubs a mixture of water and cornmeal on the baby's hair, applying it four times. Each of the baby's paternal aunts then repeats this application, and each gives a gift and suggests a name. The grandmother chooses one of these names and then introduces the baby to the sun god just as the sun comes up. A feast follows.

RELIGION

The Hopi religion is a complex, highly developed belief system incorporating many gods and spirits, such as Earth Mother, Sky Father, the Sun, the

Moon, and the many kachinas, or invisible spirits of life. Waters described this religion as “a mytho-religious system of year-long ceremonies, rituals, dances, songs, recitations, and prayers as complex, abstract, and esoteric as any in the world.” The Hopi identity centers on this belief system. Waters explained their devotion, writing, “The Hopis . . . have never faltered in the belief that their secular pattern of existence must be predicated upon the religious, the universal plan of Creation. They are still faithful to their own premise.” The Pages stated in 1982 that 95 percent of the Hopi people continue to adhere to these beliefs.

According to oral tradition, the Hopis originated in the First of four worlds, not as people but as fractious, insect-like creatures. Displeased with these creatures’ grasp of the meaning of life, the Creator, the Sun spirit Tawa, sent Spider Woman, another spirit, to guide them on an evolutionary migration. By the time they reached the Third

“She knew it was the duty of the youngest member of a Hopi family to feed the family gods and she was the youngest present, but she was in a hurry to be off and would have neglected the duty had not her grandmother reminded her.”

Polingaysi Qoyawayma, *No Turning Back: A True Account of a Hopi Girl's Struggle*, (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1964).

World, they had become people. They reached the Fourth, or Upper, World by climbing up from the underworld through a hollow reed. Upon reaching this world, they were given four stone tablets by Masaw, the world’s guardian spirit. Masaw described the migrations they were to take to the ends of the land in each of the four directions and how they would identify the place where they were intended to finally settle. And so the migrations began, some of the clans starting out in each direction. Their routes would eventually form a cross, the center of which was the Center of the Universe, their intended permanent home. This story of the Hopi Creation holds that their completed journeys finally led them to the plateau that lies between the Colorado and Rio Grande Rivers, in the Four Corners region. As Waters explained, “the Hopi . . . know that they were led here so that they would have to depend upon the scanty rainfall which they must evoke with their power and prayer,” preserving their faith in the Creator who brought them to this place. The Hopis are thus connected to their land with its agricultural cycles and the constant quest for rainfall in a deeply religious way.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

For more than 3,000 years the Hopis have been farmers in an arid desert climate, dry farming in washes as well as constructing irrigated terraces on the mesas, and supplementing their subsistence economy with small game hunting. Farm and garden plots have traditionally belonged to the women of each clan.

The federal government attempted to subdivide the Hopi reservation in 1910, assigning small parcels to individual Hopi. But the effort failed, and the reservation remained intact. Congress passed the Navajo-Hopi Long Range Rehabilitation Act in 1951, allocating approximately \$90 million to improve reservation roads, schools, utilities, and health facilities. In 1966 the Hopi tribal council signed a lease with Peabody Coal Company to strip mine a 25,000 acre area in the Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area. Traditionalists attempted to block the mining through the federal courts but failed; the case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1998, the Hopis won a \$6 million judgment that ordered the Navajo to share with the Hopi taxes collected from the Peabody coal mining operation in the Joint Use Area. That same year the Hopis signed an agreement with the federal government for almost \$3 million of water and wastewater construction for the villages of First Mesa.

By the 1970s, farming income was declining and wage labor was gaining importance in the Hopi economy. An undergarment factory was established in Winslow, Arizona, in partnership with the Hopis in 1971 but failed in only a few years. By the late twentieth century, the Hopis had a diverse economy of small-scale farming and livestock grazing, various small businesses, mineral development royalty payments, government subsidies for community improvements, and wage-labor incomes. Many traditional Hopi objects were transformed from utilitarian and sacred items to works of art. Commercial art includes the making of kachina dolls, silver jewelry, woven baskets, and pottery. Cooperative marketing organizations and various enterprises for Hopi craftspeople, including Hopicrafts and Artist Hopid, are available on-reservation and off. In addition to arts and crafts shops, small businesses on-reservation include two motels, a museum, and several dining facilities and gas stations.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Hopis have always been organized according to a matrilineal clan system, which in the late 1990s



This Hopi dancer
is performing
at El Tovar,
Grand Canyon.

was made up of some 30 clans. An elected Tribal Council has existed since 1934 to interact with the federal government, but its function is representative; it does not govern the tribe. The individual villages are each governed independently by a *kikmongwi*, or village chief. Susanne and Jake Page, in their book, *Hopi*, described this system as “a loose confederation of politically independent villages, rather like the city-states of ancient Greece, knit together by basically similar views of their history, [and] by similar religious beliefs and ceremonial practices.” They noted also that the clan system is “one of the main forms of social glue that has historically held the separate Hopi villages together.” Clan membership provides the singular Hopi identity.

The Hopis, protecting their sovereignty, never signed a treaty with the U.S. government. The Hopi Tribal Council and government was established in 1935 with a written constitution but disbanded in 1943. The government was reestablished in 1950, and the nation received federal recognition again in 1955, making available a range of social services and funding opportunities. With coal, natural gas, oil and uranium minerals resources, the

Hopis are members of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes. Founded in 1975, the council speaks with a unified Native American voice to the federal government on mineral exploration and development policies and provides technical information to the member tribes.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Don C. Talayesva (b.1890) was born on the Hopi reservation in Oraibi and was raised in the traditional Hopi Way for the early part of his life. After attending the Sherman School for Indians in Riverside, California, Talayesva returned to the reservation to resume the traditional Hopi way of life. He became the subject of study by anthropologist Leo Simmons in 1938, which led to the noted 1942 publication *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, which has remained a popular account of Hopi life.

Elizabeth Q. White (c.1892–1990), also known as Polingaysi Qoyawayma, was born at the

traditional village of Old Oraibi. She graduated from Bethel College in Newton, Kansas, after studying to become a Mennonite missionary at the Hopi reservation. She became a teacher in the Indian Service on the reservation, where she became a noted educator, eventually earning the U.S. Department of Interior's Distinguished Service Award. White wrote several books on Hopi traditional life and founded the Hopi Student Scholarship Fund at Northern Arizona University.

ART

Traditional Hopi anonymity changed in the twentieth century as many individuals began to be recognized for their work. Nampeyo (1859–1942), born in Hano on First Mesa, helped revive Hopi arts by reintroducing ancient forms and designs she had noted in archaeological remains into her pottery. Her work became uniquely artistic. Nampeyo was used in promotional photographs by the Santa Fe Railway and others, and her pots were added to the collection of the National Museum in Washington, D.C. Nampeyo's daughters and granddaughter, Hooee Daisy Nampeyo (b.1910) carried on her artistry in ceramics. Her granddaughter Hooee also grew up in Hano, learning ceramics from her grandmother. She furthered Hopi and Zuni art in the Southwest, working in ceramics and silver.

Born at the traditional village of Shongopavi at Second Mesa, Fred Kabotie (1900-1986) attended the Santa Fe Indian School as a teenager, where his talent for painting was recognized. Kabotie became noted especially for his depictions of kachinas, which vividly portrayed supernatural powers. In 1922, Kabotie won the first annual Rose Dugan art prize of the Museum of New Mexico, and by 1930 his paintings were on permanent exhibit in the museum. Kabotie went on to become internationally recognized and his work was exhibited at such major museums as the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, and the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. His work toured internationally in Europe and Asia. He received a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship in 1945, and he was elected to the French Academy of Arts in 1954. In the 1940s, Kabotie founded the Hopi Silvercraft Cooperative Guild, teaching unemployed World War II veterans the art of silverworking. Charles Loloma was a noted student. From 1937 to 1959, he taught art back home in Oraibi, Arizona furthering a tribal artistic tradition. In 1958, Kabotie was awarded the U.S. Indian Arts and Crafts Board's Certificate of Merit. His son, Michael, co-founded Artist Hopid to promote Hopi artists.

Charles Loloma's (1921–1991) jewelry is among the most distinctive in the world. The originality of his designs stems from the combination of nontraditional materials, such as gold and diamonds, with typical Indian materials such as turquoise. He also received great recognition as a potter, silversmith, and designer. Loloma was born in Hotevilla on the Hopi reservation and attended the Hopi High School in Oraibi and the Phoenix Indian High School in Phoenix, Arizona. In 1939 Loloma painted the murals for the Federal Building on Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay, as part of the Golden Gate International Exposition. The following year, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board commissioned him to paint the murals for the Museum of Modern Art in New York. In 1940, Loloma was drafted into the army, where he spent four years working as a camouflage expert in the Aleutian Islands off the Alaskan coast. After his discharge, he attended the School for American Craftsmen at Alfred University in New York, a well-known center for ceramic arts. This choice was unprecedented on Loloma's part, since ceramics was traditionally a woman's art among the Hopis. After receiving a 1949 Whitney Foundation Fellowship to study the clays of the Hopi area, he and his wife, Otellie, worked out of the newly opened Kiva Craft Center in Scottsdale, Arizona. From 1954 to 1958 he taught at Arizona State University, and in 1962 he became head of the Plastic Arts and Sales Departments at the newly established Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In 1963 Loloma's work was exhibited in Paris. After 1965, Loloma spent the rest of his years on the Hopi reservation, where he continued working and teaching his art to several apprentices. By the mid-1970s, his jewelry had been exhibited throughout the country and in Europe, and his pieces had won numerous first prizes in arts competitions. Loloma was one of the first prominent Indian craftsmen who had a widely recognized unique personal style.

Otellie Loloma (1922–1992), born at Shipaulovi on Second Mesa, received a three-year scholarship to the School of the American Craftsmen at Alfred University in New York, where she specialized in ceramics. At Alfred she met and later married Charles Loloma, an internationally famous Hopi artist. Otellie herself received world acclaim for her ceramics and was considered the most influential Indian woman in ceramics. Loloma taught at Arizona State University, at the Southwest Indian Art Project at the University of Arizona, and at the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA). She also performed traditional dance, performing at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico and at a White House special program. Her work has been internationally shown

and is exhibited at a number of museums, including the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the Heard Museum, and Blair House in Washington, D.C. One of her last awards was an Outstanding Achievement in the Visual Arts award from the 1991 National Women's Caucus for Art.

EDUCATION

Eugene Sekaquaptewa (1925–) was born on the Hopi reservation at Hotevilla. He earned an M.A. from Arizona State University before joining the U.S. Marines in 1941. He survived the U.S. invasion of Iwo Jima and other intense battles. Sekaquaptewa returned to Arizona State University to teach education courses and participate in the university's Indian Community Action Project, in addition to teaching at the Indian boarding school in Riverside, California, the Sherman Institute. He has published a number of professional papers on Hopi education.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Actor Anthony Nukema was of Hopi and California Karok ancestry, and appeared in *Pony Soldier* (1952) and *Westward Ho the Wagons!* (1957). As independent filmmakers documenting experiences of the native peoples of the Southwest, Maggi Banner produced *Coyote Goes Underground* (1989) and *Tiwa Tales* (1991). The prolific Victor Masayesva Jr. produced *Hopiit* (1982), *Itam Hakim Hopiit* (1984), *Siskiyavi: A Place of Chasms* (1991), and *Imagining Indians* (1992) among others.

JOURNALISM

An influential periodical publisher and editor, Rose Robinson (1932–) was born in Winslow, Arizona and earned degrees from the Haskell Institute and the American University in Washington, D.C. in journalism studies. Robinson was a founding board member of the American Indian Press Association (later renamed Native American Journalist Association) before becoming its executive director. She also served as a member of the U.S. Department of the Interior's Indian Arts and Crafts Board, as information officer for the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Office of Public Instruction, as vice president and director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's American Indian Program, and in various leadership roles with the North American Indian Women's Association. Robinson guides publication of periodicals for the Native American-Philanthropic News Service, including *The Exchange* and *The Roundup*. In 1980 she received the Indian Media Woman of the Year award.

LITERATURE

Poet Wendy Rose (1948–) was born Bronwen Elizabeth Edwards in Oakland, California and grew up in the San Francisco area. She studied at Contra Costa College and earned an M.A. in anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley. Some early work was published under the name Chiron Khanshendel. Her work, which focuses on modern urban Indian issues, has been included in numerous anthologies, in feminist collections such as *In Her Own Image* (1980) and more general collections, including *Women Poets of the World* (1983), in addition to her own published collections, *Hopi Roadrunner Dancing* (1973), *Lost Copper* (1980), *What Happened When the Hopi Hit New York* (1982), *The Halfbreed Chronicles and Other Poems* (1985), *Now Poof She Is Gone* (1994), and *Bone Dance: New and Selected Poems, 1965–1993* (1994). Rose has also served as editor for the scholarly journal *American Indian Quarterly* and has taught at Fresno City College, where she was director of the American Indian Studies Program.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Al Qoyawayma (c.1938–) became a prominent Hopi engineer as well as a noted ceramic artist. Born in Los Angeles, he earned an M.S. in mechanical engineering from the University of California at Berkeley in 1966. Working for Litton Systems, Inc., Qoyawayma developed high-tech airborne guidance systems. He moved to Arizona, becoming manager for environmental services for the Salt River Project. As an understudy of his aunt, Polingaysi Qoyawayma (Elizabeth White), he has also become an accomplished ceramicist, with his works displayed at the Smithsonian Institute and the Kennedy Art Center in Washington, D.C.

A geneticist and the first Hopi to receive a doctorate in sciences, Frank C. Duckapoo (1943–) founded the National Native American Honor Society in 1982. Duckapoo, born on the Mohave Indian reservation in Arizona, has specialized in investigating factors contributing to birth defects in Indians, among other research topics. He is also an accomplished saxophone player. Duckapoo earned his Ph.D. from Arizona State University and has taught at Arizona State, San Diego State University, Palomar Junior College, and Northern State University. Besides holding an executive position with the National Science Foundation from 1976 to 1979, he was also director of Indian Education at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona, and executive secretary for the National Cancer Institute.

SPORTS

Louis Tewanima (1879–1969) was not only the teammate of the famous American Indian athlete Jim Thorpe, but a world-class athlete in his own right. Born at Shongopovi, Second Mesa, on the Hopi Indian reservation, Tewanima chased jackrabbits as a boy. He was on the track team of the famous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania under legendary coach Glenn “Pop” Warner. Tewanima established world records in long-distance running. At one track meet, Tewanima, Jim Thorpe, and Frank Mount Pleasant of Carlisle beat 20 athletes from Lafayette College. The U.S. Olympic Team selected Tewanima and Thorpe without requiring them to undergo trials—a rare honor. In 1912 they sailed to Stockholm, where they became U.S. heroes. Thorpe was proclaimed “the greatest athlete in the world” by the king of Sweden, and Tewanima won a silver medal in the 10,000 meter race. His performance set a U.S. record that lasted more than 50 years, until Billy Mills, a Sioux distance runner, surpassed it in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Tewanima returned home to Second Mesa, where he tended sheep and raised crops. Just for fun, to watch the trains go by, he would run to Winslow, Arizona, 80 miles away. In 1954, he was named to the All-Time United States Olympic Track and Field Team and in 1957 was the first person inducted, to a standing ovation, into the Arizona Sports Hall of Fame at a dinner given in his honor. The Tewanima Foot Race is run every September at Kykotsmovi. The tribe established a 2002 Winter Olympic Committee to mark a return of the Hopis to the Olympics and showcase Hopi arts and crafts.

VISUAL ARTS

Weaver Ramona Sakiestewa (1949–) was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, to a Hopi father. She attended New York’s School of Visual Arts and specialized in the treadle loom. Sakiestewa combines ancient design elements with contemporary weaving techniques, establishing a unique tradition in Native American arts. She co-founded ATLATL, a national Native American arts organization. Her tapestries have been shown at various shows and galleries including the Heard Museum of Phoenix and the Wheelwright Museum of American Indian in Santa Fe.

Award-winning artist and teacher Linda Lomahaftewa (1947–) was born in Phoenix, Arizona. She attended the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe and earned an M.A. in fine arts in 1971 from the San Francisco Art Institute. Lomahaftewa’s drawings and paintings reflecting Hopi spirituality and storytelling have been exhibited through-

out the United States. She has received numerous awards and has taught at various colleges and universities, including University of California at Berkeley and back at the Institute.

MEDIA

The surrounding Navajo reservation established Navajo Communications, which provides various telecommunications services. However, the Hopis have no comparable utility and remained unconnected to the Navajo system.

Tutu-Veh-Ni.

A biweekly newsletter published by the Hopi Office of Public Relations.

Address: P.O. Box 123, Kykotsmovi, Arizona 86039.

Telephone: (602) 734-2441.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Hopi Cultural Center.

Opened in 1970, the on-reservation facility houses various collections of Hopi arts and crafts and the Hononi Crafts shop.

Address: P.O. Box 67, Second Mesa, Arizona 86043.

Telephone: (602) 734-2401.

The Hopi Foundation.

The nongovernmental Foundation is based on Third Mesa, promoting cultural preservation led by Hopi professionals and laypersons.

Address: P.O. Box 705, Hotevilla, Arizona 86030.

Silvercraft Cooperative Guild.

Supports and sponsors Hopi artists.

Address: Box 37, Second Mesa, Arizona 86043.

Telephone: (602) 734-2463.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

Established in 1989 to implement a 1987 tribal historic preservation plan protecting important Hopi sacred and cultural sites, including traditional subsistence gathering areas.

Contact: Leigh Kuwanwisiwma.

Address: 123 Kykotsmovi, Arizona 86039.

Telephone: (520) 734-2244.

Hopi Tribal Museum.

Address: P.O. Box 7, Second Mesa, Arizona 86035.

Telephone: (602) 234-6650.

Museum of Northern Arizona.

Hosts the Hopi and Navajo Arts and Crafts Show annually in June and July.

Address: Route 4, Box 720, Flagstaff, Arizona 86001.

Telephone: (602) 774-5211.

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By the 1920s, most immigrants had resolved to stay permanently in the United States. They established families, had American-born children, and became intimately involved in the social lives of their churches, fraternal societies, and cultural institutions that in the past served as their extended families.

HUNGARIAN AMERICANS

by
Steven Béla Várdy and
Thomas Szendrey

OVERVIEW

Hungary is a small landlocked country in the Carpathian Basin of Central Europe. It is about the size of Indiana (35,919 square miles, or 93,030 square kilometers) with twice the latter's population. It is bounded by Slovakia in the north, Ukraine in the northeast, Romania in the east, the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia) in the south, and Austria in the west.

Hungary is inhabited almost exclusively by Hungarians (Magyars), who constitute 96.1 percent of its population. The remaining 3.9 percent is made up of Germans, Slovaks, South Slavs, Gypsies, and Romanians. Since the dismemberment of Greater Hungary after World War II—complemented by several waves of overseas emigration—about one-third of all Hungarians live abroad. The majority of them live in parts of former Greater Hungary in such newly created or enlarged neighboring states as Romania (more than two million), Slovakia (700,000), the former Yugoslavia (500,000), Ukraine (200,000), and Austria (50,000). Another two million reside in Western Europe, the Americas, and Australia—the majority of them in the United States.

According to statistics compiled in 1992, 67.8 percent of Hungarians are Catholic, 20.9 percent Calvinist (Reformed), and 4.2 percent Lutheran (Evangelical). The three religious groups together make up 92.9 percent of the population. Of the

remaining portion, 2.3 percent belong to several minor denominations (Greek or Byzantine Catholic, Orthodox Christian, Baptist, Adventist), while 4.8 percent claim no religious affiliation. Jews, who in 1941 constituted 4.3 percent of Hungary's population, do not show up in these statistics. This is in part because the Holocaust or subsequent emigration to Israel decimated their ranks and in part because of the reluctance of some to identify themselves as Jews. Learned estimates, however, put their numbers close to 100,000 (about one percent of the country's population), which still makes them the largest Jewish community in East Central Europe. As the result of half a century of communist rule, relatively few people practice their religion in Hungary. The religious revival following the collapse of communism, however—which includes the return of organized religious education—is in the process of changing this lack of attention to religion.

HISTORY

Medieval Hungarian traditions count even the fifth-century Huns among the Magyars' ancestors, but their immediate forebears arrived in the Carpathian Basin as late as the seventh century. Known as the "late Avars," they established the center of their empire in the region that is part of modern Hungary. The last of several Magyar migratory waves took place in the late ninth century, when under the leadership of Prince Árpád, they conquered this region, gradually extending their rule over the entire Carpathian Basin.

In A.D. 1000, one of Árpád's successors, Stephen I (king of Hungary 997-1038; canonized 1083) Christianized his people and made Hungary part of the Western Christian world. During the next four centuries, the Hungarians continued to expand beyond the Carpathian Basin, especially into the northern Balkans. At the end of the eleventh century they conquered and annexed Croatia as an autonomous kingdom, while in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they extended their influence over Bosnia, Dalmatia, and northern Serbia—largely at the expense of the declining Byzantine Empire. Moreover, in the fourteenth century, under the Angevin rulers Charles Robert (who ruled from 1308 until 1342) and Louis the Great (who ruled from 1342 to 1382), they expanded their control over the newly formed Vlach (Romanian) principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and for a brief period (1370-1382) even over Poland. With the expansion of the Ottoman Turkish Empire into the Balkans in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Hungarian influence over

the northern Balkans declined and was replaced by that of the Turks. Even so, Hungary still experienced moments of greatness, particularly under Regent John Hunyadi (who ruled from 1444 to 1456) and his son King Matthias Corvinus (who ruled from 1458 to 1490). Matthias even conquered Moravia and eastern Austria (including Vienna) and also established a brilliant Renaissance royal court at Buda (now part of Budapest).

Medieval Hungary's greatness ended with its defeat at the hands of the Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Mohács in 1526. Turkish conquest was followed by the country's trisection, which lasted for nearly two centuries. Western and northwestern Hungary ("Royal Hungary") became part of the Habsburg Empire ruled from Vienna; central Hungary was integrated into the Ottoman Turkish Empire; and eastern Hungary evolved into the autonomous principality of Transylvania, whose semi-independence under Turkish suzerainty ended with the country's reconquest and reunification by the Habsburgs of Vienna in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Although dominated by Vienna throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Hungary retained considerable autonomy within the Habsburg Empire. In the mid-nineteenth century the Habsburgs and the Hungarians clashed in the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence (1848-1849), and two decades later they united in the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. This compromise—engineered by Francis Deák (1803-1876) and Emperor Franz Joseph (who ruled from 1848 to 1916)—resulted in the dual state of Austria-Hungary, which played a significant role in European power-politics until nationality problems and involvement in World War I on the German side resulted in its dissolution in 1918-1919.

The demise of Austria-Hungary was accompanied by the dismemberment of historic Hungary, codified in the Peace Treaty of Trianon in 1920. This treaty turned Hungary into a small truncated country, with only 28.5 percent of its former territory (35,900 square miles versus 125,600 square miles) and 36.5 percent of its former population (7.6 million versus 20.9 million). Trianon Hungary became "a kingdom without a king" under the regency of Admiral Nicholas Horthy (who ruled from 1920 to 1944), who devoted most of the country's energies to the effort to regain at least some of Hungary's territorial losses. These efforts did result in temporary territorial gains in 1938-1941, but as these gains were achieved with German and Italian help, they landed Hungary in the unfortunate German alliance during World War II.

After the war Hungary again was reduced in size and became one of the communist-dominated Soviet satellite states under the leadership of the Stalinist dictator, Mátyás Rákosi (who ruled from 1945 to 1956). Communist excesses and the relaxation that followed Stalin's death in 1953 led to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the most significant anti-Soviet uprising of the postwar period. Put down by Soviet military intervention, it was followed by a brief period of retribution and then by a new communist regime under János Kádár (who ruled from 1956 to 1988), who initiated a policy of political liberalization (1962) and economic reform (known as the New Economic Mechanism of 1968). By the 1970s these reforms—supported by generous Western loans—made Hungary and its system of “goulash communism” the envy of the

“When we were getting off of Ellis Island, we had all sorts of tags on us. Now that I think of it, we must have looked like marked-down merchandise in Gimbel’s basement store or something.”

Anna Vida in 1921, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

communist world. In the 1980s, however, the system began to flounder, and economic problems resurfaced. These problems, together with Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, undermined the Kádár regime. Kádár was ousted in 1988, and in 1989 Hungary came under the control of reform communists, who, unable to control the situation, relinquished power in 1990. They were replaced by a new multiparty government under the leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), headed by József Antall (who ruled from 1990 to 1993). The HDF regime immediately began to transform Hungary from a communist to a democratic state, but the economic and social problems it encountered—rapid social polarization, the collapse of the protective social welfare system, and pauperization of a large segment of the society—proved to be too much. The HDF government was also plagued by amateurism in leadership. Voted out of office in May 1994, it was replaced in July of the same year by a coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Federation of Free Democrats. The new prime minister is the ex-Communist Gyula Horn (1932–), who had served as Hungary's foreign minister during the peaceful transition from communism to democracy in 1989-1990.

THE FIRST HUNGARIANS IN AMERICA

According to Hungarian tradition, the first Hungarian to reach the shores of America was a certain Tyrker who had arrived with the Viking chief Eric the Red around A.D. 1000. This is alleged to have happened concurrently with Stephen I's transformation of Hungary into a Christian kingdom. If the Tyrker story is discounted, the first documented Hungarian to land in America was the learned scholar Stephen Parmenius of Buda (c. 1555-1583), who participated in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition in 1583 and later drowned off the coast of Newfoundland.

The next two and one-half centuries belonged to the explorers, missionaries, and adventurers who came to North America in increasing numbers during the colonial and early national periods. The most noted among the latter was Colonel Michael de Kováts (1724-1779), a member of the Pulaski Legion during the Revolutionary War, who is generally credited with being one of the founders of the American cavalry. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also saw the arrival of the first sporadic settlers, most of whom came from the middle and upper classes, were motivated by personal reasons to immigrate, and usually settled in such coastal cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans. In the 1830s and 1840s came a number of learned travelers, including Sándor Bölöni-Farkas (1795-1842) and Ágoston Haraszthy (1812-1869), both of whom wrote influential books about their experiences in the New World under the identical title *Journey to North America* (published in 1834 and 1844, respectively). In 1844 Haraszthy returned permanently with his family and became the founder of California viticulture. The two decades prior to the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 also saw the initial scholarly contacts between the Hungarian Academy of Science and the American Philosophical Society.

The long period of individual migration was replaced in 1849-1850 by the first Hungarian group immigration to America. These were the so-called “Forty-niners,” who emigrated to escape retribution by Austrian authorities after the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. Several thousand strong, the numbers included only educated men, many of them from the gentry class (middle nobility), who found it difficult to adjust to America's frontier society. A large number of them joined the Union armies during the Civil War, and a few of them returned to Hungary during the 1860s and 1870s, but most of them became a part of American society. Many of the latter rose to important positions, usually in fields other than their original calling.

A Hungarian
refugee reunites
with his family in a
New Jersey airport
in 1957.



The next wave was the turn-of-the-century “Great Economic Immigration” that landed about 1.7 million Hungarian citizens, among them 650,000-700,000 real Hungarians (Magyars), on American shores. These immigrants came almost solely for economic reasons, and they represented the lowest and poorest segment of the population.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 halted mass migration, while the exclusionary U.S. immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 pushed the Hungarian quota down to under 1,000 per year. This situation did not change until the new Immigration Law, the Hart-Celler Act of 1952, ended the quota system. Yet, during the intervening four decades, there were a number of nonquota admissions, which brought completely different types of Hungarian immigrants to American shores. These included the refugee intellectuals (2,000 to 3,000) of the 1930s, who were fleeing the spread of Nazism; the post-World War II political immigrants or the so-called displaced persons or DPs (17,000), who came under the Displaced Persons Acts of 1948 and 1950; and the “Fifty-sixers” or Freedom Fighters (38,000), who left Hungary after the failed Revolution of 1956. Although the com-

bined numbers of these last three groups (60,000) were less than 10 percent of that of the turn-of-the-century economic immigrants, their impact on American society was much more significant.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Although the turn-of-the-century economic immigrants were from rural areas, almost all of them settled in the industrial cities and mining regions of the northeastern United States. According to one set of statistics, of all the Hungarians (Magyars) in the United States in 1920, fewer than 0.2 percent were engaged in agriculture. Virtually all of them worked in mining and industry—most of them in the unskilled or semiskilled category. This was primarily because the majority of them came to America not as immigrants but as migrant workers who intended to repatriate to Hungary. Their goal was to return with enough accumulated capital to be able to buy land and thus become prosperous farmers. To do this, however, they had to work in industry, where work was readily available, because during the Gilded Age the rapidly expanding American

industrial establishment was in grave need of cheap immigrant labor.

Most of the immigrants were never able to fulfill their original goal of repatriation, although perhaps as many as 25 percent did return permanently. Factors contributing to this included their inability to accumulate the capital to buy enough land; the difficulties they encountered in readjusting to Hungary's class-conscious society; the influence of their American-born children who viewed Hungary as an alien land; and most important, Hungary's post-World War I dismemberment, which transferred the immediate homelands of most of the immigrants to such newly created states as Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia or to the much-enlarged Romania. They did not wish to join the ranks of Hungarians who had been forcibly transferred to these states, two of which had gone out of existence twice since their creation (Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) and one of which had become the home base of postwar Europe's most oppressive and chauvinistic communist regime (Romania).

According to the 1920 U.S. Census, 945,801 persons in the United States either had been born in Hungary or had Hungarian-born parents, slightly over half of whom (495,845 or 52.9 percent) were Magyars. In 1922 the Hungarian-born Magyars numbered 474,000, of whom 427,500 (90 percent) were concentrated in 10 northeastern states: New York (95,400), Ohio (88,000), Pennsylvania (86,000), New Jersey (47,300), Illinois (40,000), Michigan (26,200), Connecticut (14,800), Wisconsin (11,600), Indiana (10,900), and West Virginia (7,300). They congregated in this region because of the coal mines of Pennsylvania, northern West Virginia, and southeastern Ohio, as well as because of the steel mills, textile mills, and machine factories of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Youngstown, Chicago, Philadelphia, and the Greater New York area.

This settlement pattern remained unchanged until the 1960s when—partially because of the coming of the more mobile political immigrants, and partially because of the general population shift in previous decades—many Hungarians began to move to the West and to the South. The younger and more daring souls flooded to California and Texas, while the retirees favored Florida. Thus, by 1980 the Hungarian population of these states rose, respectively, to 165,000, 28,000, and 90,000.

INTERACTIONS WITH ANGLO-AMERICAN SOCIETY

The relationship of the Hungarians to Anglo-American society varied with the diverse waves of immigrants. The Forty-niners, also known as the

“Kossuth immigrants” (after the leader of the revolution, Lajos Kossuth), had been received with awe and respect. Because of their gentry-based background and education, they established the image of the Hungarians as a “nation of nobles.” This image was undermined by the turn-of-the-century economic immigrants, the majority of whom were poor and uneducated. They were the ones who unwittingly created the negative “Hunky” image of Hungarians, which then was transferred to all of the East and Southeast European immigrants. This image survived well into the post-World War II period, even though by that time the intellectual immigrants of the 1930s and the political immigrants of the 1950s began to diversify the immigrants' social composition. Although far fewer in number, these newer immigrants were the ones who gave birth to the revised Hungarian image that Laura Fermi, the author of the highly praised study *Illustrious Immigrants* (1968), defined as the “mystery of the Hungarian talent.” This was a natural by-product of the fact that many of these intellectual and political immigrants made impressive achievements that had a measurable impact on American society.

KEY ISSUES

Cultural survival and relationship to Hungary are prominent issues for some Hungarian Americans. The third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation descendants of the economic immigrants have already melted into American society. Most of them have lost their ability to speak Hungarian and no longer have a true identity of themselves as Hungarians. Most have only a minimal acquaintance with modern Hungary and know very little about Hungarian traditions. This is somewhat true of the post-World War II immigrants as well, even though a sizable percentage of their American-born offspring does speak Hungarian and has some knowledge of Hungarian culture. Moreover, in light of the collapse of communism in 1989-1990, a significant number of them have found their way back to the land of their ancestors. This was and is being done largely in the form of employment with some of the major American or Western European corporations that have established branches in Hungary. This temporary return does create a set of new ties, but because of the radical transformation of Hungarian society during the four decades of communist rule, the experience is not always positive.

Despite renewed contacts with the homeland, Hungarian Americans are losing their struggle to survive as a separate ethnic group in America. This is evident both in their declining numbers, as well as in the decreasing number of their ethnic institu-

tions, churches, cultural organizations, and fraternal organizations. This phenomenon is best seen when comparing the census statistics of 1980 with those of 1990. The number of those who claimed to be fully or primarily Hungarian during those two census years has declined by nearly 11 percent (from 1,776,902 to 1,582,302), while the number of those who speak primarily Hungarian in their families has dropped by almost 18 percent (from 180,000 to 147,902). During the same period Greater Pittsburgh alone lost about half a dozen Hungarian churches; the remaining ones are struggling for survival. The same fate befell Hungarian cultural and social organizations of western Pennsylvania, few of which are active today. This trend appears to be equally true for the entire Northeast, embracing the above-mentioned 10 states. It should be noted here, however, that this decline is not as evident in California and Florida, which experienced a rapid growth of Hungarians from the 1960s through the 1990s. More recently, however, even California experienced a 3.5 percent decline in its Hungarian population (from 164,903 to 159,121), and Florida gained 11.4 percent only because of its extreme popularity with retirees (from 89,587 to 99,822).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Notwithstanding earlier immigrations, the Hungarian presence in the United States was established by the large mass of rural immigrants in the three decades before World War I. These immigrants fostered their Hungarian identity and a sense of community because of their social, cultural, and psychological needs and also because of Anglo-American society's unwillingness to accept them. The same cannot be said of their American-born children, who tended to assimilate at a rapid pace. They were driven by the socioeconomic drawing power of American society, as well as by their own conscious desire to separate themselves from the world of their simple immigrant parents. Most of them managed to move up a notch or two in social status, but perhaps for this very reason many of them also left the ethnic communities founded by their parents. Their efforts to assimilate, however, were not fully successful, for although native born, they were still viewed as outsiders by the Anglo-American majority.

The situation changed significantly with the second native-born generation, whose rise to adulthood coincided with the birth of the "ethnic revolution" of the 1960s. Their embracing of this revolution led to the rediscovery of their ethnic roots. It was impeded, however, by their inability to speak

Hungarian and by the gradual disintegration of viable Hungarian ethnic communities, a disintegration that began precisely at the start of this ethnic revolution. At present, most self-contained Hungarian American communities are in the process of final dissolution. A few of their cultural and religious institutions still exist, but they serve only the needs of the older generation, and very briefly those of some of the new arrivals. This dying-out process is best demonstrated in the institutional life of the oldest and largest Hungarian Catholic church and parish in the United States, St. Elizabeth of Cleveland (founded in 1892), where the ratio of burials to baptisms is nearly 20 to one.

The early twentieth century immigrants and their descendants provided the foundations of Hungarian American life, but their role and influence were much more limited than those of the later waves, who brought with them a high level of learning and a strong sense of historical and national consciousness. The latter were less prone to buckle under assimilative social pressures. Moreover, if they assimilated, they did so consciously. Most of them, however, retained a large degree of dual identity, which they also passed on to their second- and third-generation descendants. The latter usually moved rapidly into American professional and business circles and—with the exception of those in the vicinity of greater New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles—were forced to live outside the influence of their ethnic communities. Thus, they experienced their Hungarian identity in isolation. This sense of isolation has permeated the lives of most upward-moving professionals, especially since the 1960s. Consequently, their success or lack thereof in passing their traditions on to their offspring depended and still largely depends on their dedication to the idea of dual identity. But because relatively few had the time to deal with this issue, the next generation is rapidly losing its facility to speak Hungarian and along with it its true Hungarian identity.

American-born offspring of the various immigrant waves still practice some of their folk traditions, partially during social events held at their churches and social clubs, but mostly during major folk festivals and "Hungarian Days" that are still celebrated in such large centers of Hungarian life as New Brunswick, New Jersey; Pittsburgh; and Cleveland. Although declining in numbers, the quality of these major performances has actually improved in recent years because of closer contact with Hungary and Hungarian professionals.

Misconceptions about Hungary and the Hungarians abound in the United States, although this

is much less true today than in the early part of the century when they were often misidentified as Mongols or Gypsies. This was due in part to American society's minimum knowledge about Central and Eastern Europe and in part to conscious distortions by politically motivated propagandists. Today, the situation has improved significantly because of the impact of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and because of the enhanced number and quality of publications about Hungary, produced mostly by the American-educated offspring of the political immigrants. This improvement, however, is more noticeable among the educated classes than among the general public.

HOLIDAYS

Hungarian Americans generally celebrate three major national holidays: March 15 (Revolution of 1848), August 20 (Saint Stephen's Day), and October 23 (Revolution of 1956). These celebrations may combine patriotic and religious elements. There is no such thing as a specifically Hungarian American holiday, perhaps because the attention of most unassimilated Hungarian Americans is focused on the mother country.

HEALTH ISSUES

Hungary has the highest suicide rate in the world (45-48 per 100,000). The factors connected with this suicide rate, however, appear to be limited to Hungarian society, and Hungarian Americans are no more prone to mental health problems than are other ethnic groups in the United States.

The Hungarian medical profession is of high quality, even though it does not have access to much of the modern equipment available in the United States. This does not prevent Hungarian physicians from being among the best educated, as is demonstrated by, among other things, the virtually nonexistent failure rate of Hungarian medical students on American medical examinations. This holds true both for Hungarians who have emigrated after their medical training in Hungary and Hungarian Americans who attend Hungarian medical schools and then return to take their examinations in the United States.

LANGUAGE

Hungarian is classified as a Finno-Ugric language and is part of the larger Ural-Altai linguistic family. The most distinctive characteristic of these lan-

guages is that they are agglutinative—that is, words are extended into complex expressions through the use of prefixes and suffixes. One example will conveniently serve to illustrate. The meaning of a single word, *szent* (saint), can be changed by adding numerous prefixes and suffixes as follows (hyphens indicate the additions): *szent-ség* (sanctity), *szent-ség-ed* (your sanctity), *szent-ség-ed-del* (with your sanctity), *szent-ség-eid-del* (with your sanctities), *meg-szent-ségel-és-ed* (your sanctification), *meg-szent-ség-telenít-hetetlen-ség-ed-del* (with your ability to withstand desanctification).

The closest linguistic relatives of the Hungarians are the Finns and the Estonians, but the Hungarians are also distantly related to the Turkic peoples. This is due both to their common roots and to the renewal of contacts through the mixing of Finno-Ugric and Turkic tribes during the first nine centuries of the Christian Era.

Before the conquest of Hungary, the Hungarians had their own runic script. After their conversion to Christianity, they borrowed the Latin liturgical language and alphabet and adapted this alphabet to the phonetic properties of the Hungarian language. This was done by doubling up letters to represent a single sound: “cs” (“ch”), “gy” (“dy”), “ly” (“y”), “ny” (soft “n”), “sz” (“s”), “ty” (soft “t”), “zs” (“zh”), “dzs” (“dzh”); or by adding diacritical marks (“á,” “é,” “í,” “ö,” “ő,” “ü,” “ú”). In many instances the accent marks not only signify the pronunciation but also alter the meaning of the word—for example: *sor* (row), *sör* (beer); *bor* (wine), *bőr* (skin); *sas* (eagle), *sás* (sedge); *szar* (excrement), *szár* (stem). The meaning of a single word can be changed several times simply by adding or subtracting a diacritical mark—for example: *kerek* (round), *kerék* (wheel), *kérek* (I am requesting), *kérék* (I have requested).

The English language has had an impact on how Hungarian Americans speak Hungarian. This was particularly true for the less educated immigrants, who readily mixed their simple Hungarian with working-class English. Thus, they rapidly developed a language of their own known as “Hunglish” (Hungarian English), which introduced English words into the Hungarian, but transformed them to fit Hungarian pronunciation and orthography: *trén* (train), *plész* (place), *szalon* (saloon), *bedróm* (bedroom), *atrec* (address), *tájm* (time), *szendsztón* (sandstone), *gud báj* (good-bye), *foriner* (foreigner), *fandri* (foundry), *fanesz* (furnace), *bakszi* (box), *burdos* (boarder), *burdosház* (boarding house), *görl* (girl), *groszeri* (grocery).

There was also a reverse version of Hunglish that may be called “Engarian” (English Hungarian), which adjusted the primitive English to the ears of



These Hungarian refugees were part of the U.S. Navy's "sea lift," which helped Hungarians fleeing their homeland after the 1956 Soviet military crackdown.

the immigrants. The result was two hodgepodge languages that were barely comprehensible to Hungarians or Americans who did not speak both languages—for example: *Szé, miszter, gimi order, maj hen trók brók!* (Say, Mister, give me the order. My hand truck broke.). Such usage is no longer common, largely because the Americanized offspring of the turn-of-the-century immigrants have switched to English but also because the more educated post-World War II immigrants never really acquired it.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common greetings are as follows (all words are pronounced with the accent on the first syllable): *Jó reggelt* ("yo reggelt")—Good morning; *Jó napot* ("yo nahpote")—Good day; *Jó estét* ("yo eshtayt")—Good evening; *Jó éjszakát* ("yo aysahkaht")—Good night; *Keziticsókolom* ("kezeet choakhohm")—I kiss your hand; *Szervusz* or *Szerbusz* ("servoos, serboos")—Hello, Hi; *Szia* ("seeyah")—Hi, Hello; *Viszontlátásra* ("veesoant-lahtahshrah")—Good-bye, See you again; *Isten áldjon meg* ("eeshten ahldyoan meg")—God bless you. Other popular expressions

include: *Boldog újévet* ("bohldogh ooy-ayveth")—Happy New Year; *Kellemes húsvétot* ("kellehmesh hooshvaytoth")—Happy Easter; *Kellemes karácsonyi ünnepeket* ("kellehmesh karahchoanyi ünnepeketh")—Merry Christmas; *Boldog ünnepeket* ("bohldogh ünnepeketh")—Happy Holidays; *Egészségedre* ("eggayshaygedreh")—To your health (spoken when toasting).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

After the early and predominantly male phases of economic immigration abated, Hungarian American immigrant communities assumed a traditional and stable family structure. By the 1920s, most immigrants had resolved to stay permanently in the United States. They established families, had American-born children, and became intimately involved in the social lives of their churches, fraternal societies, and cultural institutions that in the past served as their extended families. The structure survived almost intact into the 1960s, although

with only limited participation by the political immigrants of the interwar and postwar periods. Unable to agree on a common platform with the earlier economic immigrants, the latter usually founded their own organizations and pursued their familial and social activities within these more politically oriented groups.

With the exception of the relatively few immigrants who came during the 1960s through the 1980s—many of them from the Hungarian-inhabited regions surrounding Hungary—very few Hungarians have ever received public assistance. Traditionally, accepting handouts has been perceived in Hungarian society as an admission of failure. This view was much less prevalent among the more recent immigrants, who had become accustomed to state assistance under the communist social system.

Immigrant life and ethnic experience in America transformed basic traditional patterns of family life, resulting in a hybrid set of customs. In terms of everyday existence, Hungarian family life conforms to American patterns, but with a greater emphasis on education. The role of women has been enhanced compared with the still male-dominated Hungarian model. Adjustment to American custom is also evident in the area of dating, marriage, and divorce. Until a generation ago, dating practices were very strict and circumscribed. More recently, they have loosened, as has the commitment to a lasting marriage. Thus, whereas a generation ago divorce among Hungarian immigrants was rare, today it is almost as common as it is for American society as a whole.

Philanthropic activities among Hungarian Americans tend to be aimed at specific groups of Hungarians. During the past three decades, these were oriented almost exclusively toward the Hungarian minorities in the areas surrounding Hungary. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule, but these exceptions are usually connected with the philanthropic activities of the few super-rich, the best-known of whom is the billionaire investor George Soros.

RELIGION

Hungary has been a Roman Catholic country since its conversion to Christianity in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. This religious uniformity was shattered only in the sixteenth century, when Protestantism entered the country and spread, especially in its Calvinist form. After a century of intense struggle, Catholicism remained strong in the country's western and central regions, while

Calvinism came to dominate its eastern regions. This Catholic-Calvinist rivalry was complicated somewhat by the presence of a significant minority of Lutherans (Evangelicals), Jews, Greek/Byzantine Catholics, and Unitarians, as well as by a few other small Christian sects. Yet, in spite of its losses to rival faiths, Roman Catholicism retained its dominant position as Hungary's only official "state religion" until the communist takeover in 1948.

The religious divisions in Hungary also came to be reflected in Hungarian American society. The Calvinists were the first to establish their pioneer congregations in 1891 in Cleveland and in Pittsburgh, to be followed in 1892 by the Roman Catholics (St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church, Cleveland) and in 1907 by the Lutherans (Cleveland). These early congregations soon sprouted scores of other Hungarian churches throughout the Northeast. As a result, by the 1930s Hungarian Americans had nearly 140 Calvinist, more than 60 Roman Catholic, and about ten Lutheran churches, as well as perhaps two dozen other prayer houses. Although the Calvinists had the greatest number of churches, their congregations were small, and as such they represented only one-third as many faithful as did the Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans together constituted slightly over 90 percent of all religious affiliations of Hungarian Americans. The other eight to ten percent was made up of smaller denominations including the Byzantine Catholics, Jews, Baptists, and Adventists. Because of their small numbers, however, none of the latter had more than a limited and passing influence on Hungarian American life.

The religious practices of Hungarian Roman Catholics and Protestants in the United States are basically identical to those of their coreligionists in Hungary and are also similar to the practices of their American counterparts. Although religious practices did not change after emigration, the social significance of the congregations and the position and the role of the parish priests and pastors underwent significant changes. In Hungary the religious congregations and their priests or ministers were supported by their respective mother churches through an obligatory religious tax. As a result these congregations were centrally controlled, with little or no input from the members of the congregations. This was particularly true of the Roman Catholic Church, which had retained its monarchical structure from the Middle Ages. Although Calvinist and Lutheran congregations did elect their pastors even in Hungary, the powers of the presbytery (church council) were much more limited than in the Unit-

ed States. This was true not only because of the somewhat authoritarian nature of traditional Hungarian society but also because the pastors did not depend on the financial support of their parishioners. In Hungary, therefore, it was the priests and the ministers who controlled the congregation, and not vice versa.

After emigration, this relationship changed significantly. Much of the control over church affairs slipped into the hands of the members of the church council. This change in the power relationship was due both to the lack of state support for religion and to the fact that now the members of the congregations were paying for the upkeep of their churches and their pastors.

Just as the role of the church leaders had changed, the function of the church had also changed. Traditionally, American churches have always combined religious and social functions—a phenomenon that was largely unknown in Europe. This American tradition was accepted by the immigrant churches, which consequently ceased to function solely as houses of prayer. They now also assumed the role of social clubs, where members of the congregation combined their search for spiritual salvation with an ongoing attempt to fulfill their earthly social needs. As such, immigrant churches lost some of the sanctity of their Old World counterparts.

The climax of Hungarian religious life in America was reached in the period between the 1920s and 1960s. By the 1970s, however, a process of slow decay had set in, which during the 1980s had accelerated to the point where several Hungarian ethnic churches were closing their doors every year.

During the past 100 years of Hungarian religious life in the United States, all denominations have been plagued by dissension, but none more so than the Hungarian Calvinist (Reformed) Church. Within the first quarter century after having taken root in America, this dissension has led to the establishment of several competing Calvinist denominations—a process that resulted in a new subdenomination as late as 1982. While some of these conflicts and fragmentations were of an ideological and administrative nature (e.g., their relationship to the mother church in Hungary), most of them were really the result of personal animosity among the clergy. American social practices make it easy for anyone to establish a new church, while personality conflicts and group squabbles often result in institutional divorces. At the moment Hungarian Calvinists are still divided into a half dozen rival and competing churches that are held together only by the awareness of their common

roots and by their membership in the Hungarian Reformed Federation (HRF). Founded in 1898 as a fraternal association, the HRF also serves as a force of unity among Hungarian Calvinists.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Hungarian immigrants have been involved in all facets of American economic life, with the level of their employment depending for the most part on their social background. Those who came before the mid-nineteenth century were individual adventurers who were well prepared for all eventualities in the New World. Although few in numbers, most of those who stayed proved to be successful. Some of them became well-known merchants in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans, while others became well-respected professors at American universities. Whatever they did, they did it well, for they could rely on a good education and on the self-assurance common to well-born individuals.

To a large degree this was also true for the 3,000 to 4,000 Forty-niners who immigrated after the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. Belonging mostly to the gentry, they had no intention of becoming dirt farmers or laborers in America. They spread Hungary's image as the land of a valiant "noble nation," but only a minority were able to adjust to America's pioneer society. This was true even though a few of them also became involved in the establishment of Hungarian colonies in the West, such as László Újházy (1795-1870), a high-ranking official of the revolutionary government, who founded New Buda in Iowa in 1852. After trying their hands at many things, a thousand of the Forty-niners joined the Union armies in the Civil War, after which a good number of them went into diplomatic service or into various major business ventures in the West.

The next wave of immigrants came during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the intention of repatriating after four or five years with enough capital to make themselves into prosperous farmers. Few of them achieved this goal, and virtually all of them became unskilled or semiskilled workers in America's bustling industries. They were the peons of America's Gilded Age, who contributed their brawn to American coal mines and steel smelters, and who produced the mythical Hungarian American hero, Joe Magarac, who could bend steel bars with his bare hands.

Each of the next four immigration waves contributed to the abatement of this stereotype. These

waves comprised the interwar “intellectual immigrants”; the post-World War II “political immigrants”; the Fifty-sixers; and finally the political-economic immigrants of the past four decades. Given their achievements in Europe, the intellectual immigrants moved immediately into the highest American intellectual and scientific circles and almost overnight created the myth of the uniqueness of Hungarian talent.

The political immigrants, or DPs, represented the military-legal-administrative leadership of interwar Hungary and had few transferable skills; thus, many of them were forced to engage in physical labor. Yet, their learning, cultural background, and personal bearing immediately revealed to their fellow American workers that they were of a different caliber. Many of them eventually did manage to transfer to white-collar work, although it was largely their American-educated children who moved up rapidly into the professions.

The Fifty-sixers differed from the DPs in their relative youth, orientation toward transferable technical and practical skills, and diminished cultural background—the product of a decade of communist restructuring of Hungarian society. Yet they and the American-educated children of the DPs produced a class of professionals that penetrated all aspects of American scientific, scholarly, artistic, literary, and business life.

The final immigration wave began during the 1960s and is still going on today. It is characterized by a slow but gradual influx of professionals and professionally oriented individuals. During the 1960s through the 1980s, political persecution was the ostensible motive for their immigration. Since the collapse of communism, they have come as needed professionals.

According to a recent survey by the *New York Times*, Hungarians are not among the most highly regarded ethnic groups in America, but they are certainly among the most successful. They have also managed to eradicate the Hunky stereotype that was unwittingly transmitted by their less fortunate predecessors.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The political activism of the Hungarians in America reaches back to the mid-nineteenth century, when Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894) visited the United States (1851-1852) and in a highly celebrated tour of the country urged Americans to intervene on behalf of defeated Hungary by supporting Hungary's struggle against Austria. Although the Hun-

garian statesman's presence created a veritable “Kossuth craze” in America, the results were disappointing. Despite its outward expression of sympathy, the U.S. government was unwilling to budge from its policy of isolationism. Although unsuccessful in its political aims, Kossuth's presence did create a positive image of Hungary, as well as stir up pro-Hungarian sentiment among the American public. The image and sentiment survived until the turn of the century. The final blow to the Kossuth-inspired image came during World War I, when Austria-Hungary sided with imperial Germany.

Although the Austro-Hungarian Empire disappeared and historic Hungary was dismembered after the war, anti-Hungarian sentiment resurfaced after Hungary's forced alliance with Italy and Germany during World War II. Following the war, Hungary came to be regarded as a Soviet satellite. The daring anti-Soviet uprising of 1956 once again stirred pro-Hungarian sentiment. The American image of Hungary has been improving ever since, both because Hungary was among the first of the Soviet-dominated nations to liberalize economically and politically during the 1960s and because of the increasingly sophisticated political activism of Hungarian American lobby groups.

Hungarians established several mutual aid societies in the second half of the nineteenth century, but not until 1906 did they create the first successful political organization, the American-Hungarian Federation (AHF), which is still in existence. The twin goals of the AHF were to protect the interests of the Hungarian immigrants and to promote the cause of Hungary in the United States. During the first decade of its existence, the AHF worked toward these goals in close cooperation with Hungary. During World War I, particularly after the United States entered the war on the opposite side, this task became impossible. Following the war the AHF proved unsuccessful in its efforts to influence American foreign policy on postwar treaties. Yet, during the interwar period—in conjunction with the largest Hungarian fraternal organizations (i.e., Verhovay, Rákóczi, Bridgeport, the Reformed Federation)—it conducted a steady propaganda campaign to revise the unfair terms of the Treaty of Trianon (1920). This task became increasingly difficult during the late 1930s, when Hungary began to regain some of its former territory with the help of Germany and Italy.

The darkest and most difficult period in Hungarian political activism came during World War II, when the AHF and the major fraternal organizations were forced to defend Hungary's territorial gains while maintaining their support for the

American war effort. To prove their loyalty to the United States, more than 50,000 Hungarians served in the U.S. armed forces, and all Hungarian American organizations bought U.S. defense bonds and made repeated declarations of allegiance. Toward the end of the war, they organized the American-Hungarian Relief Committee, whose members undertook a major effort to send aid to their devastated homeland, as well as to hundreds of thousands of Hungarians who had been trapped in German and Austrian refugee camps. Moreover, in 1948 and 1950, the AHF and the major Hungarian fraternal societies supported the passage of the two Displaced Persons Acts that brought almost 18,000 Hungarian political refugees to the United States.

The appearance of the post-World War II political immigrants—the DPs during the early 1950s and the Fifty-sixers after the Revolution of 1956—created a completely new situation. Much better educated and more involved politically than most of their predecessors, the newcomers created their own organizations. Some of the most vocal and active of these associations included the American branch of the Fraternal Association of Hungarian Veterans (1947), the Cleveland-based Committee for Liberation (1951), and the Hungarian National Committee (1948)—the last of which was viewed by the U.S. government as a virtual government in exile.

The appearance of the Fifty-sixers added a new color to this political spectrum. Although a number of them joined existing DP organizations, many of them also founded their own associations. The most important of these was the Hungarian Freedom Fighter's Federation (1957), although very soon it was joined by others with nearly identical names. During the 1970s several minority-oriented organizations were created specifically to help the cause of the increasingly oppressed Hungarian minorities in the neighboring states. These included the Committee for Human Rights in Romania, the Transylvania World Federation, the Transylvanian Committee, and the Hungarian Human Rights Committee, all of which were especially concerned with the plight of the Hungarian minorities under the oppressive rule of the communist Ceau^oescu regime in Romania.

From the late 1950s through the early 1980s, most of the nonminority-oriented organizations were concerned primarily with the liberation of Hungary and then with soliciting U.S. government help to undermine the communist regime. Throughout this period the politically active new immigrants had little concern for American domes-

tic politics; their attention was turned to Hungary. Thus, after becoming citizens, they usually voted with the Republican Party, which they perceived to be tougher on communism. As opposed to them, the turn-of-the-century economic immigrants and their American-born descendants paid only lip service to Hungary. They were much more concerned with domestic politics, and with bread-and-butter issues, than with the problems of communism. Thus, they voted mostly Democratic.

The rise of a new generation among the political immigrants during the 1970s and 1980s also produced some changes. On the one hand, the American-born or American-educated members of the younger generations became involved in U.S. domestic politics in both political parties. On the other hand, they began to assume a much more realistic approach toward Hungary and its “goulash communism.” Some of them assumed the leadership of the AHF and carried their pragmatism into its politics. While understandable, this act split the AHF and brought about the foundation of the National Federation of Hungarian Americans (NFHA) in 1984, and subsequently several rival organizations, including the very active and influential Hungarian American Coalition (HAC) in 1992.

The collapse of communism and the rise of a nationalist government under the Hungarian Democratic Forum (1989-90) produced a general euphoria among Hungarian Americans, and also an upsurge in their desire to help their homeland. The euphoria coincided with Hungary's unheard of popularity in the world for its role in undermining communism. This euphoria and popularity, however, did not last. The country's social and economic problems produced a general disillusionment that was also felt by Hungarian Americans, many of whose hopes also remained unrealized.

At present, most Hungarian Americans have become American citizens and are heavily involved in the political life of both U.S. political parties. At the same time they still display considerable interest in Hungary. Even though somewhat disillusioned with the way things are going in Hungary, they continue to pursue pro-Hungarian lobbying efforts through several umbrella organizations (AHF, NFHA, HAC), as well as through their presence in the U.S. Congress. The most visible and active among the Hungarian congressional representatives is the Fifty-sixer Tom Lantos (1928–) from California (1980–), who in recent years has become increasingly involved in Hungarian-related political activities.

MILITARY

Relative to their size as an ethnic group, more Hungarian Americans served in the Civil War than any other nationality. Of the approximately 4,000 Hungarians in the United States (including women and children) at the outbreak of the war in 1861, more than 800—at least three-fourths of the adult male population—served in the Union armies. Among them were two major generals, five brigadier generals, 15 colonels and lieutenant colonels, 13 majors, 12 captains, about four dozen first and second lieutenants, and scores of noncommissioned officers.

The most prominent of the officers was Major General Julius H. Stahel (1825-1912)—known in Hungary before his emigration as Gyula Számvald. General Stahel became a close confidant of President Lincoln and the first Hungarian recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor. Among the nearly 1,000 Hungarians in the Union army was the young Joseph Pulitzer (1817-1911), who subsequently became the king of American journalism and the founder of the famous literary prize that bears his name.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Following Hungary's dismemberment after World War I, many educated Hungarians—engineers, physicians, sociologists, educators, and lawyers—came to the United States to pursue their livelihood. In the 1930s their numbers were increased by those fleeing the spread of fascism in Central Europe. In this category were numerous internationally known scientists, social scientists, musicologists, artists, filmmakers, and other persons of unusual talent.

ECONOMICS

From the late nineteenth century, Hungarians have made important contributions to U.S. industry and finance. Two of the earliest entrepreneurs were the Black (Schwartz) and Kundtz families. The Black family founded a series of garment factories and department stores, while Tivador Kundtz (1852-1937) established the White Machine factory. These two families employed and aided thousands of fellow immigrant Hungarians.

Modern entrepreneurs include the billionaire financier George Soros (1930–), who has played a significant role in the transformation of the former Soviet world through philanthropic efforts such as the establishment of the Budapest- and Prague-

based Central European University; and Andrew Grove (born András Gróf; 1936–), who as the founder and president of Intel Corporation created the world's largest manufacturer of computer chips.

FILM AND ENTERTAINMENT

Two Hungarians were influential in the development of the Hollywood film industry: Adolph Zukor (1873-1976), the founder of Paramount Pictures; and William Fox (1879-1952), the founder of Twentieth Century-Fox. Zukor and Fox transformed the stylish Biedermeier culture of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into the glamorous society portrayed in Hollywood film.

Other pioneers in the film industry included directors/producers Michael Curtiz (born Kertész; 1888-1962), Sir Alexander Korda (1893-1956), George Cukor (1899-1983), and Joseph Pasternak (1901–), as well as film stars Leslie Howard (born Árpád Steiner; 1893-1943), Bela Lugosi (1883-1956) of Dracula fame, Tony Curtis (born Bernard Schwartz; 1925–), and the Gabor sisters, Zsa-Zsa, Eva, and Magda. In this category also belong the magician Harry Houdini (born Erich Weisz; 1874-1926) and comedian/television actor Freddie Prinze (born Freddie Preutzel; 1954-1977).

MUSIC

By the time the internationally known composers Béla Bartók (1881-1945) and Ernő Dohnányi (1877-1960) emigrated in the 1940s, the American cultural scene was already peopled by such Hungarian composers as Fritz Reiner (1888-1963), George Szell (1897-1970), Eugene Ormandy (1899-1985), Antal Dorati (1906-1988), and Sir Georg Solti (1912–). Hungarians were also present on Broadway in popular American musicals. The best-loved of them was Sigmund Romberg (1887-1951), who was perhaps the most successful transplanter of the Viennese and the Budapest operetta. Also significant was the contribution of Miklós Rózsa (1907–), who worked with Sir Alexander Korda and wrote the music to some of the great American films.

SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS

Three Hungarians assisted Enrico Fermi with the breakthroughs in atomic fission that resulted in the development of the atomic bomb: Leo Szilard (1898-1964), Eugene Wigner (1902-1995), and Edward Teller (1908–). Other major contributors are Theodore von Kármán (1881-1963), father of the heat and quantum theory; mathematician and

father of the computer Johann von Neumann (1903-1957); and Zoltán Bay (1900-1992), the pioneer in radar astronomy.

George Pólya (1887-1985) and Gábor Szegő (1895-1985) were responsible for making Stanford University one of the world's premier centers of mathematics. A much younger exponent of finite mathematics and its application, John George Kemény (1926–) later became the president of Dartmouth College.

Other leading Hungarian scientists included the Nobel laureates Georg Karl Hevesy (1855-1966), Albert Szent-Györgyi (1893-1986), Georg von Békésy (1899-1972), and Dennis Gabor (1900-1979). The list also includes several members of the Polányi family: the social philosopher Karl Polányi (1886-1964), the physicist-philosopher Michael Polányi (1891-1976), as well as the latter's son, John Charles Polányi (1926–), who won the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1986.

MEDIA

PRINT

Amerikai-Kanadai Magyar Élet ***(American-Canadian Hungarian Life).***

Founded in 1959 as *Amerikai Magyar Élet*, this weekly has been under the control of Bishop Tibor Dömötör of the Free Hungarian Reformed Church since 1986.

Contact: Elizabeth Schmidt, Managing Editor.
Address: 2637 Copley Road, Akron, Ohio 44321.
Telephone: (216) 666-2637.
Fax: (216) 666-4746.

Amerikai Magyar Szó (American Hungarian Word).

Founded in 1952 as a successor to several earlier socialist newspapers, this is a leftist Hungarian weekly.

Contact: N. Petervary, Editor
Address: 130 East 16th Street, New York,
New York 10003.
Telephone: (212) 254-0397.
Fax: (212) 254-1584

Californiai Magyarság (California Hungarians).

Founded in 1924 as a middle-of-the-road regional newspaper, it is now a national paper that has retained its moderate stance.

Contact: Mária Fényes, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 207 South Western Avenue, Suite 201,
Los Angeles, California 90004.

Telephone: (213) 463-3473.

Fax: (213) 384-7642.

Hungarian Insights.

A quarterly publication that provides news and information on Hungarian culture, history, and business.

Contact: Lel Somogyi, Editor.

Address: 6020 Pearl Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44130.

Telephone: (216) 842-4651.

Hungarian Studies Newsletter.

Quarterly publication of the American Hungarian Foundation; publishes news of the Foundation as well as information for English-speaking scholars concerned with Hungarian studies.

Contact: August J. Molnar, Editor.

Address: American Hungarian Foundation, P.O.

Box 1084, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903.

Telephone: (201) 846-5777.

Magyar Elet (Hungarian Life).

An independent weekly newspaper published in Hungarian and circulated throughout Canada and the United States.

Contact: Laszlo Schnee, Editor.

Address: 21 Vaughan Road, Suite 201, Toronto,
Ontario, Canada M6G 2N2.

Telephone: (416) 652-6370.

Fax: (416) 652-6370.

Magyarok Vasárnapja (Hungarians' Sunday).

Founded in Cleveland in 1894, for its first hundred years this paper was called *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja (Catholic Hungarians' Sunday)*. Since the change in ownership in 1993, it has lost its religious character and has become the voice of populist nationalism.

Contact: Loránt Szász, Editor and Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 4442, Thousand Oaks,
California 91359.

Telephone: (818) 707-1548.

Fax: (818) 597-9867.

Szabadság (Liberty).

Published for the East Coast readership under the title *Amerikai Magyar Népszava (American Hungarian People's Voice)*, the two papers, which were founded in 1891 and 1899 respectively, were once rivals, but after the owner-editor of *Szabadság*

bought its rival in 1949, they were gradually merged into a single paper under two different titles.

Contact: Eva Nadai, Editor; or, Judith Fliegler, English Editor.

Address: 8140 Mayfield Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44026-2441.

Telephone: (216) 729-7200.

Fax: (216) 729-7250.

Új Világ (New World).

Founded in 1971, this paper was a neutral middle-of-the-road weekly until the early 1990s, when it became the voice of the right wing.

Contact: Viktor K. Molnár, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 15005 South Vermont Avenue, Gardena, California 90247.

Telephone: (310) 719-1078.

Fax: (310) 719-8918.

William Penn Life.

Founded in 1965 to replace an earlier Hungarian-language version, *Vehovayak Lapj* (*Verhovay News*), it is a small English-language monthly geared toward the William Penn Association, the largest Hungarian fraternal organization in America. Its influence is limited to its membership, which is made up largely of third- and fourth-generation descendants of the turn-of-the-century economic immigrants.

Contact: Elmer E. Vargo, Editor.

Address: William Penn Association, 709 Brighton Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15233-1821.

Telephone: (412) 231-2979.

Fax: (412) 231-8535.

TELEVISION

The Nationality Broadcasting Network

Located in Cleveland, this network broadcasts Hungarian programs everyday via satellite throughout North America.

Contact: Miklós Kossányi, President.

Address: 11906 Madison Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Telephone: (216) 221-0330.

Fax: (216) 221-3638.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Hungarian Federation (AHF) (Amerikai Magyar Szövetség [AMSZ]).

Founded in Cleveland in 1906, the AHF is the oldest umbrella organization of Hungarian Americans.

After being based in Washington, D.C. from the 1940s to the 1970s, in the early 1980s it transferred its office to Akron. Following an internal controversy that resulted in the formation of the rival National Federation of American Hungarians in 1984, the AHF is now the second-largest Hungarian American umbrella organization, with about 55 member organizations. Like its rival organizations, it conducts lobbying activities on behalf of Hungarian causes.

Contact: Rev. Tibor Dömötör, President.

Address: 2631 Copley Road, Akron, Ohio 44321.

Telephone: (330) 666-1313.

Fax: (330) 666-2637.

American Hungarian Folklore Centrum (AHFC).

Supports and promotes Hungarian studies and folk culture within the scholarly and public life of America.

Contact: Kalman Magyar, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 262, Bogota, New Jersey 07603.

Telephone: (201) 836-4869.

Fax: (201) 836-1590.

E-mail: magyar@magyar.org.

Online: <http://www.magyar.org>.

American Hungarian Reformed Federation (AHRF) (Amerikai Magyar Református Egyesület [AMRE]).

Founded in 1898, the AHRF is the second-largest and only religiously based Hungarian fraternal association in existence. It has about 20,000 members, and although it is now primarily an insurance company, it continues to support Hungarian cultural activities and also engages in some lobbying efforts on behalf of Hungarian causes.

Contact: George Dózsa, President.

Address: 2001 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036-1011.

Telephone: (202) 328-2630.

Fax: (202) 228-7984.

Hungarian American Coalition (HAC) (Magyar-Amerikai Koalíció [MAK]).

Founded in 1992, the HAC is the most recent of the Hungarian umbrella organizations. Politically, it has a moderate-centrist, pragmatic orientation. It attempts to carry out an effective lobbying effort on behalf of Hungarian causes in Washington, D.C.

Contact: Edith Lauer, President.

Address: Suite 850, 818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

Hungarian Association of Cleveland (Clevelandi Magyar Társaság).

Founded in 1958 in Austria and transferred to Cleveland in 1952, the Hungarian Association has been the most influential organization of the post-World War II immigrants, or DPs. Since 1961 it has organized annual congresses (the proceedings of which are published in its yearbook *Krónika*). In 1965 it sponsored the foundation of the Árpád Academy (*Árpád Akadémia*) to recognize the scholarly, scientific, and artistic achievements of Hungarians throughout the world. In 1990 it was responsible for the establishment of one of the rival umbrella organizations of the American Hungarian Federation, the National Federation of Hungarian Americans (NFHA) (*Magyar Amerikaiak Országos Szövetsége* [MAOSZ]). The Hungarian Association of Cleveland and its member organizations are ideologically conservative, representing essentially the views of interwar Hungary. The HAC functions and publishes primarily in Hungarian.

Contact: Gyula Nádas, President.

Address: 1450 Grace Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44107.

Telephone: (216) 226-4089.

Hungarian Cultural Foundation (HCF).

Interested in preserving Hungarian cultural heritage in the United States and elsewhere in the English-speaking world.

Contact: Joseph Ertavy-Barath, President.

Address: P.O. Box 364, Stone Mountain, Georgia 30086.

Telephone: (404) 377-2600.

Hungarian Scout Association in Exile (HSAE) (Külföldi Magyar Cserkészszövetség).

Founded in 1947 in Germany and transferred to the United States in 1951, the HSAE is a worldwide organization, with well over a hundred scout troops, whose goal is to uphold the traditions of Hungarian scouting in the Hungarian language.

Contact: Gábor Bodnár, President.

Address: Post Office Box 68, Garfield, New Jersey 07026.

Telephone: (973) 772-8810.

Fax: (973) 772-5145.

National Federation of Hungarian Americans (NFAH) (Amerikai Magyarok Országos Szövetség).

Founded in 1984, as a splinter group of the much older American-Hungarian Federation, the NFAH has since grown into the largest umbrella organiza-

tion of Hungarian Americans, with more than one hundred institutional members. Its primary function is to serve as a lobby group for Hungarian and Hungarian American causes in Washington, D.C., and to aid Hungary's transformation toward democracy.

Contact: László Pásztor, National President.

Address: 717 Second Street, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002.

Telephone: (202) 546-3003.

Fax: (202) 543-8425; or, (202) 547-0392.

William Penn Association (WPA).

Founded in 1886, as the Verhovay Aid Association, the WPA is the largest Hungarian fraternal association in North America. It assumed its present name in 1955, when it absorbed its largest rival, the Rákóczi Federation of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Although primarily an insurance company, the WPA still sponsors certain Hungarian cultural functions. Recently, the WPA has transferred much of its archives and library to the Hungarian Heritage Center of New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Contact: Elmer E. Vargo, National President.

Address: 709 Brighton Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15233-1821.

Telephone: (412) 231-2979.

Fax: (412) 231-8538.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American-Hungarian Foundation (AHF), Hungarian Heritage Center.

Founded in 1955, the AHF has grown into a major Hungarian cultural foundation that operates the Hungarian Heritage Center in New Brunswick, New Jersey. In addition to its museum and visitors' center, the Hungarian Heritage Center possesses one of the largest collections of archival materials relating to Hungarian Americans, as well as one of the largest Hungarica libraries in the United States (40,000 volumes). The library is by far the best source of material on the Hungarian American past.

Contact: August J. Molnar, President.

Address: 300 Somerset Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903-1084.

Telephone: (908) 846-5777.

Fax: (908) 249-7033.

Hungarian Chair, Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, Indiana University.

Founded in 1979 within the confines of an internationally known Department of Uralic and Alta-

ic Studies that developed during the 1950s, the Hungarian Chair is in charge of the only Ph.D.-oriented Hungarian Studies program in North America. It draws heavily on the expertise of the other members of the department, as well as on Indiana University's multidisciplinary Russian and East European Institute and its strong library collection in Hungarian (25,000 volumes) and Russian and East European (200,000 volumes) material. It is in charge of organizing several conferences every year, as well as publishing books and periodicals in the field of Hungarian studies. The only other Hungarian chair in North America is at the University of Toronto and publishes the *Hungarian Studies Review*.

Contact: Hungarian Chair Professor.

Address: Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies,
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
47405-2401.

Telephone: (812) 855-2223.

Fax: (812) 855-7500.

Hungarian Institute, Rutgers University.

Founded in 1992 with the financial support of the Hungarian government, the Hungarian Institute is in an early stage of development and at the moment is involved only in undergraduate education. It draws heavily on the intellectual and library resources of Rutgers University (Hungarica, 2,000 volumes), as well as on the library of the nearby American-Hungarian Foundation (Hungarica, 40,000 volumes).

Address: Rutgers University, New Brunswick,
New Jersey 08903-5049.

Telephone: (908) 932-1367.

Fax: (908) 932-6723.

Institute of Hungarian Studies.

Integral unit of Indiana University Bloomington. Hungarian society and civilization, including contemporary economic and cultural affairs.

Address: Goodbody 233, Bloomington,
Indiana 47405.

Contact: Gustav Bayerle, Director.

Telephone: (812) 855-2233.

Online: <http://www.indiana.edu/~rugs/ctrdir/ihs.html>.

Hungarian Reformed Federation Library and Archives, Bethlen Home.

The Bethlen Home is the center of American Hungarian Calvinism. Located about 50 miles east of Pittsburgh, it houses an Old Age Home and the Archives of the Hungarian Reformed Church,

including the papers of all dissolved congregations. The Bethlen Home also has a significant library of Hungarian American materials. The annual meetings of the Hungarian Reformed Federation (founded in 1898 and based in Washington, D.C.) also take place there, with the representatives of all Reformed congregations, irrespective of their current affiliations, in attendance.

Contact: The Reverend Paul Kovács, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 657, Ligonier,
Pennsylvania 15658.

Telephone: (412) 238-6711.

Fax: (412) 238-3175.

Several North American libraries have strong Hungarica collections, the most noteworthy of which are: the Library of Congress (60,000 volumes); Columbia University (50,000 volumes); Indiana University (25,000 volumes); University of Chicago (25,000 volumes, including the newly acquired Szathmáry Library and Archives); Harvard University (20,000 volumes); Stanford University and the Hoover Institution (20,000 volumes); New York Public Library (20,000 volumes); University of Illinois (15,000 volumes); University of Toronto (10,000 volumes); Yale University (10,000 volumes); and at least another half dozen libraries with collections of between 5,000 and 10,000 volumes (Berkeley, Cornell, Duke, Notre Dame, UCLA, University of Washington).

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Iceland's language,
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ICELANDIC AMERICANS

by
Lolly Ockerstrom

OVERVIEW

Iceland is the most westerly nation of Europe, the least populated, and was the last to be settled. A volcanic island, it touches the Arctic circle with its northernmost edge. Located between Greenland and Norway, the Gulf Stream brings mild temperatures to Iceland's otherwise inhospitable climate. Of its 103,000 square kilometers, only 1,000 are cultivated, with glaciers and lava taking up 23,000 square kilometers. It is often referred to as "the Land of Fire and Ice" because of its glaciers and volcanoes. In 1993, 264,000 persons lived in Iceland, residing mainly in towns located on its 5,000 kilometer coastline. The capitol city is Reykjavik, where almost half of the total population lives.

Iceland's fishing industry provides more than 70 percent of Icelandic exports. Aluminum accounts for about 11 percent. Ninety-three percent of Icelanders belong to the Lutheran Church of Iceland. The national language is Icelandic, a northern Germanic language with some resemblance to Middle English. It has changed very little since it was brought to Iceland by the first Icelandic settlers in the twelfth century. Iceland's *Althingi*, or parliament, was established in the year 930 A.D. It is believed to be the oldest national assembly in the world. Iceland has one of the highest standards of living in Europe, with an especially high quality of housing. Education, including university, is provided free for all of its citizens, as are health care and retirement pensions. Its

rich literary heritage dates to the thirteenth century Icelandic Sagas of Snorri Sturluson, which are among the world's classics. Iceland's monetary unit is the Icelandic crown, or *kroner* (ISK).

HISTORY

The earliest account of settlers on Iceland was written in the year 825 A.D. by the Irish monk Dicuil. He recorded first-hand accounts of Irish people who lived on the island of Thule, which became known as Iceland. Sometime between 850 and 875, a Swede named Gardar Svavarsson is thought to have arrived on the island, and his arrival was followed by an influx of pagan Norse during the period of 874-930. The first man to settle in Iceland was Ingolfur Arnarson. According to the *Landnamabok*, or Book of Settlements, written in the twelfth century, Arnarson was a chieftain from Norway. Bringing his family and dependents to Iceland, he built a farm in what eventually became the capitol city of Reykjavik. Like many of the first settlers to Iceland, Arnarson had fled Norway to avoid oppression under the tyrannical ruler, Harald the Fairheaded. Harald was attempting to unify the country by conquering all other lords and kings of Norway. Many of the early settlers of this period were seafarers, including Erik the Red (Eirikur Rauthi), who discovered Greenland. In the year 1000 A.D., his son, Leif Eriksson became the first person to travel to North America, predating Columbus by 500 years.

In the year 930 A.D., Iceland's central parliament, the *Althingi* was established, along with a constitutional law code. It is considered to be the oldest parliament in the world. In the tenth century, small numbers of Irish and Scots settled on Iceland, bringing Christianity with them. Christianity was adopted by the parliament in the year 1,000, about 100 years after it made its way to mainland Scandinavia. Bishoprics, or dioceses, were quickly established in the towns of Skalholt in 1056 and Holar in 1106. Both places became centers of learning, typical of medieval universities throughout Europe which were established for training clerics.

Feuds and civil war came to Iceland between 1262 and 1264, and by 1397, Iceland was under the dominion of Denmark. Danish kings took control over the church, forcing Icelanders to abandon Catholicism for Danish Lutheranism. The Danes also established a trade monopoly, devastating the Icelandic economy. By 1662, Denmark had taken total control of Iceland. In 1800 the *Althingi* was dissolved completely.

Famines, natural disasters, and disease decimated the population during the eighteenth centu-

ry. The first census in 1703 revealed a population of 50,000. It plunged to a low of 35,000 following a smallpox epidemic between 1707 and 1709. Iceland was further plagued with a series of famines and natural disasters until the end of the century, keeping the population below 40,000. By 1800, the population measured half of what it had been in the year 1100.

MODERN ERA

Iceland began to move toward a national identity during the nineteenth century. The National Library of Iceland was established in 1818, followed by the Icelandic National Museum in 1863 and the National Archives in 1882. In 1843, the *Althingi* was reestablished as a consultative assembly. Statesman and Scholar Jon Sigurdsson began to lead the political struggle for national independence, which continued after his death in 1879. By 1904, Iceland acquired home rule, and Hannes Hafstein was appointed as the first Icelandic government minister. In 1918, Iceland gained complete control of almost all its domestic affairs, although the Danish king remained the head of state. In 1940, Iceland was occupied by British forces, and a year later, the United States took over the defense of the North Atlantic island. On June 17, 1944, following a national referendum, the modern Republic of Iceland was established with a 97 per cent voter approval.

Following its independence, the newly formed republic quickly joined four important international organizations, beginning with the United Nations in 1946. In 1947, it became a founding member of what became known as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, or the OECD. It also became a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in 1949. In 1950, it joined the Council of Europe. In the same year, Iceland turned its attentions homeward and established a National Theatre and Symphony Orchestra.

Iceland's strategic location in the North Atlantic made the country attractive to western allies. In 1951 a defense agreement was established between Iceland and the United States. This was the beginning of the Iceland Defense Force, based at Keflavik. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, Iceland continued to strengthen its position in Europe, joining the Nordic Council in 1952.

In 1973, the Heimaey volcano erupted on the only inhabited island in the Westmann Islands. A year after this disaster, Iceland marked the 1,100th

Many Icelandic Americans work on farms or in rural communities. This woman is picking cranberries.



anniversary of the settlement of Iceland at Thingvellir. In 1986, Reykjavik celebrated its bicentennial and hosted the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit.

During the 1950s, Iceland concentrated on strengthening its fishing industry. Fishery limits were extended to four miles in 1952, and expanded in 1954 to 12 miles. Fishing limits were extended further in 1972 to 50 miles, reaching 200 miles by 1974. Denmark returned ancient Icelandic manuscripts to Iceland in 1971, a final gesture of restoration to Icelandic culture. In 1994 Icelanders celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the modern Icelandic Republic.

THE FIRST IN AMERICA

The first Icelandic settlers in North America arrived in Utah in 1855 seeking religious freedom to follow Mormonism. Eleven Mormon converts left Iceland for North America between 1854 and 1857. A few years later nine Icelanders settled in the town of Spanish Fork, Utah, along with other Scandinavians. For the next 20 years, small groups of Icelanders joined the settlement from time to time. Thorarinn Hafliðason Thorason and Gudmund Gudmundsson, Icelandic apprentices who had converted to Mormonism in Denmark and travelled to America in the 1850s, were typical of Icelandic emigrants coming to Utah. Skilled artisans, tradespersons, or farmers, the Icelandic emigrants brought with them useful skills for the frontier, although it was some time before they could use those skills in gainful employment.

The United States suffered an economic depression in the mid-1870s, and jobs were scarce. For newly arrived Icelanders who knew little, if any English, jobs were even more scarce. The secondary education most Icelanders had received in their homeland did little to help them find jobs in their new country. Many Icelandic men took laboring jobs as unskilled factory workers and woodcutters, or as dockworkers in Milwaukee when they first arrived. Working to build capital and to learn farming techniques suitable for their new land so that they could start farms of their own, early Icelandic immigrant communities were largely agricultural. Drawing from their backgrounds in farming, the new immigrants maintained their ties to their Icelandic heritage.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The last three decades of the nineteenth century saw the largest wave of Icelandic immigration. Between 1870 and 1900, about 15,000 of Iceland's population of 75,000 resettled in North America. The majority of these emigrants settled in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, in a colony called New Iceland. Those coming to the United States settled primarily in the upper Midwest, especially Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakota Territories. A sizable Icelandic immigrant community was established in Utah. William Wickmann, a Danish emigrant who had worked for a time in Eyrarbakki on the southern coast of Iceland before coming to Milwaukee in 1856, wrote letters to Iceland describing his new home. His descriptions of the plentiful life in Wisconsin were circulated among his Icelandic friends.

In particular, Wickmann's accounts of the abundance of coffee, of which Icelanders were especially fond, proved irresistible to his friends. In 1870 four Icelanders left for Milwaukee, eventually settling on Washington Island in Lake Michigan, just off the Green Bay peninsula. Others settled in Minnesota.

In 1874 a group of Icelandic immigrants proposed a settlement in Alaska, which they felt would provide a climate and terrain similar to that of Iceland. They managed to interest the United States government enough to assist them in visiting the proposed Alaskan site. Although the Icelanders wanted to follow through with the plan, the United States apparently lost interest in the project, and plans for a new colony were abandoned.

By 1878, over a hundred Icelanders from the Canadian colony, New Iceland, were forced to relocate because of severe weather conditions, outbreaks of smallpox, and religious disputes. Moving south to the United States, they joined more recent Icelandic immigrants in the northeastern section of the Dakota Territory. With the help of more established Norwegian and German immigrant groups, they formed what later became the largest Icelandic community in America. Mostly farmers and laborers, second and third generation Icelanders were drawn into journalism. Many entered politics.

By 1900, new immigration from Iceland had almost completely ceased. It is estimated that about 5,000 Icelanders had taken up residency in the United States by 1910. The exact number is difficult to determine, since until 1930, the United States census, unlike the Canadian census, did not differentiate between Icelanders and Danes. In 1910, however, the census reported that 5,105 U.S. residents had grown up in a home where Icelandic was spoken. Not until after the end of the World War II did Icelanders again immigrate to the United States in any substantial numbers. This post-World War II immigration wave was made up almost entirely of war brides of American servicemen stationed in Iceland.

By the late twentieth century, Americans of Icelandic descent showed great interest in tracing their ancestors. Early Icelandic settlements in Winnipeg, Canada, and Utah attracted the greatest amount of interest among amateur genealogists of Icelandic heritage. In the late twentieth century several web sites appeared offering help with tracing Icelandic ancestors.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Settlement patterns during the second half of the nineteenth century placed Icelanders mainly in the upper Midwestern states of Minnesota and Wisconsin,

and in the Dakota Territory. However, by the end of the twentieth century, settlement patterns had shifted from rural to urban communities. Early twentieth century industrialization transformed the United States from an agrarian culture into an urban one, affecting traditionally agrarian-based Icelandic communities. By 1970 over half of the second and third generations of Icelandic immigrants had taken up residence in urban areas.

The 1990 Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce revealed a total count of Icelandic-Americans and Icelandic nationals living in the United States as 40,529. Two-thirds of those lived in the West and the Midwest, with 19,891 in the West and 10,904 in the Midwest. Almost 6,000 lived in the South, while 4,140 resided in the Northeast. California, Washington state, and Minnesota were the most heavily populated with Icelanders and Icelandic-Americans. North Dakota was home to the fourth-largest number of persons with Icelandic backgrounds.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Iceland's language, customs, and historical background link it ethnically to Scandinavia, although Icelanders have always perceived themselves as having a distinct culture. These distinctions have seldom been clear to non-Icelanders, who have collapsed Icelandic culture into Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian cultures. Icelanders were not even accounted for as a separate category by the U.S. census until 1930. Few studies in English have concentrated on Icelanders, and many reference books have omitted them altogether from general accounts of ethnic distinctions such as holidays, customs, and dress. Nonetheless, strong in their self-identity, Icelanders have from the beginning eagerly adopted new customs in the United States, learning English, holding public office, and integrating into the general culture. At the same time, they have retained a strong sense of ethnic pride, as evidenced in the large number of Icelandic-American organizations in existence throughout the United States since the founding of the Icelandic National League in 1919. Toward the end of the twentieth century, widespread attention to multiculturalism kindled interest in understanding ethnic differences, spurring many Icelanders to reclaim their heritage.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Icelandic Americans continued to celebrate Icelandic holidays well after they and their families set-

tled into Americanized routines. Early immigrants celebrated August 2, 1874, a date significant on two counts: it marked the millennium of Iceland's first settlement, and the date on which the Danish king granted autonomy to Iceland. By the middle part of the twentieth century, Icelandic Independence Day, June 17, 1944, became the major holiday celebrated by immigrant Icelanders.

As with other Scandinavian countries, Icelanders take great delight in stories of trolls, elves, and fairies. Fairies and elves are thought to exist everywhere, beneath rocks and mushrooms. Although most Icelanders never report actually seeing the fairies and trolls, the presence of such creatures is not denied. Often good luck is attributed to the work of elves. In contrast, prior to the twentieth century, trolls were always associated with danger. For centuries, the myth of Gryla, a troll who was thought to live in the mountains and to appear in

“[A]round here we're all Icelanders or Norwegians. It's like a little Scandinavian town. I didn't even have to talk English the first few years I was here. Not till I started working in the lumber camps.

Gunner Johanson, cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*, Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky (E.P. Dutton, New York, 1980).

the lowlands at Christmas, was a staple of holiday lore. Icelandic immigrants handed down the story to younger generations, and the myth continued to play an important role in Christmas festivities in their new land. Although the actual character of the main troll, Gryla, changed over the centuries since her first appearance in Icelandic literature in the ninth century, she lives on in Icelandic folklore. Hjørleifur Rafn Jonsson argues in an article in *Nord Nytt* that the myth changed from period to period according to social and economic developments in Icelandic culture. Like the immigrants themselves, who brought the myth with them to North America, the character of Gryla changed through the generations but remained rooted in Icelandic culture.

PROVERBS

Proverbs are common among Icelanders; they are fond of saying that “sometimes we speak only in proverbs.” One typical Icelandic saying is “Even though you are small, you can be clever,” which speaks to the Icelandic sense of the value of the individual. Another saying, “It is difficult to teach a dog

to sit,” is a typical response to a request to change, similar to the English saying, “You can't teach an old dog new tricks.” Used in promoting an Icelandic festival in North Dakota was the slogan, “What is as joyful as a gathering of friends?” written in Icelandic as “Hvad er svo glatt sem godra vina fundur?”

CUISINE

Typical Icelandic fare includes fish, lamb, and dark breads. The many variations of basic recipes suggest regional, as well as individual, differences. Each family treasures its own recipes, and each claims that its mother and grandmother produced the finest version. Women, rather than men, traditionally have done the cooking. Icelandic Americans bring many of these traditional foods to summer festivals and Christmas feasts. Among these foods are *vinarterta*, a layered cake made with cardamom, cinnamon and ground, boiled prunes and served with whipped cream. Icelandic brown bread, made with molasses and wheat germ differs from Icelandic black bread, which contains rye. Both are staples in the Icelandic diet. Iceland pancakes, or *ponnukokur*, are similar to the flat, crepe-like Swedish pancakes. They are unsweetened and served with meat fillings. A *flatbroud*, or rye pancake, is another traditional food.

Dried fish, or *hardfiskur*; blood pudding, or *slatur*; and smoked lamb, or *hangikjot*, are all traditional foods associated with the autumn slaughtering season and the limited methods for preserving meat in earlier times. Pastries include *kleinur*, or Icelandic donuts, made of sour cream, buttermilk, vanilla and nutmeg. *Astarbollur*, or raisin donut balls, are rolled in granulated sugar and cinnamon. Icelandic fruit cake is served at Christmas, and eating it is perceived as a special holiday ritual.

Popular in Iceland during the latter part of the twentieth century were *pylsa*, Icelandic hot dogs. Similar to American hot dogs, although longer and skinnier, they are eaten in Iceland with ketchup, onions, and mustard. In addition, Icelanders insist on a topping called *remoladi*. *Brennivín* is the Icelandic national drink. It is a schnapps, without flavor, with the consistency of syrup. Often drunk with herring or shark, it is consumed in small quantities in much the same way as the Danish drink, *Aquavit*.

MUSIC

Choral singing is among the most popular arts of Iceland. It was cultivated on the American frontier in all areas of life—religious, social, and domestic. Particularly at Christmas, Icelanders participated in choirs and bands. Iceland's most prominent musical



These Icelandic American women are teaching others how to use the Icelandic spindle.

genre is the *rimur*, an epic song form. The form dates from the thirteenth century. Because the Icelandic language has changed little since that time, some of the oldest songs are still performed and enjoyed by Icelanders in their original form. Iceland's National Hymn, written by Matthias Jochumsson (1835-1920), is sung at the opening of state and national events.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Icelandic women's costumes include several distinct garments, usually of fine material which has been embroidered. A sweater suit, or *pey-sufot*, was used for everyday wear well into the twentieth century, particularly in the countryside. More formal wear included a headdress, or *fald-buningur*, which was used from the late eighteenth century until about 1860. The name comes from the Icelandic word for headdress, *faldur*. The *faldur* is a white scarf-like head piece which covered the hair. It was fastened with a scarf or scarves wrapped around the head. Other elements of the headdress included a *skotthufa*, or tail cap. The tail was made

of numerous small strands of material. Just below the top of the tail was a sleeve, richly ornamented in gold or silver threads.

An ornamental vest was worn on special days. Called the *upphlutur*, or upper part, the vest was abundantly embroidered with gold thread. It was worn with a skirt and apron, both of which were sewn of very good material. While some dresses were worn only for certain festivities, other costumes were worn on Sundays and for travelling.

Special dresses and headgear were worn for confirmation in the Lutheran Church. Children were confirmed at the age of 14. The headdress worn by young girls was called *skautbuningur*, a small white cap with a veil trailing down the back. A golden coronet was positioned at the forehead. Like the cap, the dress of the young girl to be confirmed was also white. Its traditional style was called *Kyrtil*. Older women wore a black skirt with a bodice embroidered in silver thread. The skirt was appliqued with velvet. Both younger and older women wore a special belt. The belt for the older woman was embroidered with a buckle of filigree; the belt of the young girl was completely handmade of filigree. Confirmation

marked one's transition into adulthood, which included wearing adult attire. In writing of her confirmation day, Holmfrídur Arnadóttir exclaimed in her autobiography, "How grand, that from that day I should be dressed as the grown-up women!"

DANCES AND SONGS

Icelanders are fond of music and poetry. Iceland's National Hymn, written by Matthías Jochumsson, expresses a national sentiment of submission to God. The song celebrates "Our Country's God" and "Iceland's thousand years." The final lines defer to a deity that can offer guidance: "O, prosper our people, diminish our tears/And guide, in Thy wisdom, through life!" Jochumsson, a clergyman, was also a journalist, dramatist, and Iceland's national poet. Included among his other work are translations into Icelandic of Shakespearean tragedies.

Christmas and New Year's holidays are marked by much singing and dancing around bonfires. Some celebrants dress up as elves. As Holmfrídur Arnadóttir described Twelfth Night dances in her autobiography, *When I Was a Girl in Iceland*, white and black fairies "with all kinds of head-dresses" come down from high cliffs carrying torches. A procession of celebrants parades to a bonfire, where the fairies sing and dance in a circle and also recite poetry. When the bonfire has burned out, all move to a dance hall, where they continue dancing.

HOLIDAYS

Iceland's holidays are typical of those celebrated in other western, Christian nations, though with a whimsical twist. The Christmas season lasts several days and is traditionally celebrated with bonfires, dancing, and stories of elves and trolls. On New Year's Eve, it was the custom to invite the elves into one's home. Lights, or candles, would be lit throughout the house in order to drive out the shadows. The mistress of the house would walk around the outside of the house three times, chanting an invitation to the elves to come, stay, or go. At least one light would remain burning throughout the night.

Also on New Year's Eve, the pantry window would be left open to receive the hoarfrost, the frozen dew that forms a white coating on surfaces. It does not accumulate, and it fades quickly. A pot would be placed on the pantry floor in an attempt to capture it, and the house mistress would remain in the pantry all night. In the morning a cross-tree would be placed over the pot to keep the hoarfrost in. Known as the "pantry drift," capturing it in this way was thought to bring prosperity to the household.

Twelfth Night, celebrated 12 days after Christmas on January 5, is often called the "Great Night of Dreams" in Iceland. This refers to the night when the Kings of the Orient are thought to have dreamed of the birth of Jesus. In some parts of Iceland, Twelfth Night was referred to as "The Old Christmas," or "The Old Christmas Eve." Twelfth Day is celebrated on January 6 with bonfires and dancing.

Lent is traditionally the six-week period before Easter Sunday in the Christian calendar, and it is observed in Iceland with festive games during the first three days of the holiday. Lenten, or Shrove, Monday is known in Icelandic as *Bolludagur*, or *Flengingardagur*, and means, respectively, the day of muffins or the day of whipping. It is also known as "Bun Day." This holiday is believed to have been transported to Iceland by Danish and Norwegian bakers who immigrated to Iceland in the late nineteenth century. The day begins with early risers "beating" those who are still in bed with small whips or wands made of colored paper by the children of the household. Those who are whipped provide the children with a bun or muffin. The whipping is done mainly by the children, and is done good naturedly. *Bolludagur* is usually a school holiday that allows for visiting friends and neighbors, and it is a day when muffins are served with coffee wherever one goes.

In earlier times, Tuesday was a day of meat-eating, a custom handed down from Iceland's Catholic days. A game called *ad sitja i fastunni*, or to sit in the fast, was played. It consisted of word play in which common terms for meat, drippings, or gravy were substituted with other words. Not all Icelanders played this game; sometimes only household servants did. Children tried to see if they could get through the entire day without being tricked into using the usual language for meats, even as they were trying to get others to slip into using the forbidden words.

Ash Wednesday, or *Oskudagur*, was celebrated by playing a game of ash bag teasing. It was directly related to the tradition of repentance. On the days prior to Ash Wednesday, women and girls made small bags into which ashes or small stones or pebbles were placed. Constructed with drawstrings, the bags were fastened to someone's back with pins. Bags containing ashes were intended for men and boys; bags with stones were intended for women and girls. It is thought that stones were selected because of the old punishment of tying bags of stones around the necks of adulterous women in order to drown them. The person was made to carry a bag on his or her back a certain distance, sometimes three steps or across three thresholds. In Reykjavik, children

began to attach ash bags to the backs of adults, who often did not appreciate the joke. At times, as many as thirty bags might be attached to back of a person's clothing. A more recent variation of this game was to sew some symbol of love on the bag and leave it empty. The recipient then had to guess who had sent it. This was particularly popular around the early part of the twentieth century.

As in other Nordic countries, Icelanders view the First Day of Summer as the most significant holiday of the year with the exception of Christmas. As early as 1545, gifts were exchanged among family members on this holiday, and food played a prominent role in the festivities. Although food was scarce after the long winter, Icelanders saved all they could so they could serve their best food and drink during First Day of Summer festivals. Often the amount of food saved indicated the degree of wealth one had. In the western fjords, many Icelanders stored food in a special barrel during the autumn; this was not to be opened until the following summer.

Special summer-day cakes made of rye were served to each person. The large cakes measured one foot in diameter and were three-quarters of an inch thick. Each cake was topped with one day's portion of food, which included *hangiket*, or butter; *lundabaggar*, or flanks; hard fish, halibut fins, and the like. First Day of Summer celebrations included a domestic service in which special hymns were sung and a sermon was given. Later, children played such games as blindman's bluff. After a hard winter, Icelanders kept themselves out of doors for most of the day celebrating the coming of long days filled with sunlight. Prior to 1900, the First Day of Summer was a day to socialize among family and friends, eat, and mark the end of winter. Public performances gradually became more integrated into the holiday. Young people in particular began to give speeches and poetry readings. Sports, singing, and dancing became important activities, as well as plays and theatrical productions.

Two holidays are unique to Iceland: *Krossmessa*, or *Crossmas*; and St. Thorlak's Day. Although celebrated more in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than in the late twentieth century, *Krossmessa* was observed on May 14. It was the day when domestic servants moved. Servants were usually hired for a one-year period; many stayed with their employers for several years before moving on. St. Thorlak's Day is celebrated on December 23 to honor Thorlak Thorhalli, who became the Bishop of Skalholt in 1177. On this day, the Christmas *hangiket*, or smoked mutton is cooked, clothes are washed, and the house is cleaned. Throughout the western fjords, a hash of skate is cooked. With a

smell similar to ammonia, the skate hash symbolized that the house had been cleaned and Christmas had arrived.

The 1960s brought the revival of another holiday specific to Iceland, an ancient pagan festival called the *Thorrablót*. It was originally observed in mid-winter, when sacrifices to the Norse god, Thorri, were made. The holiday predated Christian Iceland but died out when Christianity was adopted. It first regained popularity when revived in 1873 by some Icelandic students in Copenhagen, and again in 1881 by a group of archaeologists in Reykjavik, who toasted each other using Viking horns.

HEALTH ISSUES

The average life expectancy in Iceland is 80.9 years for women and 75.7 years for men. Icelanders are known to be in generally good physical health. There do not appear to be medical conditions specific to Icelandic Americans.

LANGUAGE

Icelandic is the national language of Iceland, although both English and Danish are understood and spoken by many Icelanders as well. There are no indigenous linguistic minorities in Iceland. Icelandic is a Germanic language and it is a member of the Scandinavian language family. It is thought to have changed very little in the 1,000 years since the first Nordic settlers arrived on Iceland. Many songs and epic poetry dating from the twelfth century are still read and appreciated in their original forms today by Icelandic speakers. The relative purity of the language is largely the result of Iceland's isolation as an island nation. Two letters of the Icelandic alphabet resemble Old English, the "þ," pronounced like the "th" in "thing," and "ð," pronounced like the "th" in "them." Icelandic pride in its language has resulted in legislation regulating the adoption of foreign names for public establishments. In 1959, a bill was passed in the *Althingi* barring the adoption of names not Icelandic in origin. Only one vote was cast in opposition to the bill.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Typical Icelandic greetings and expressions, and their approximate pronunciations are *Góðan dag* (gothan dag)—good day; *gott kvöld* (goht kwvold)—good evening; *Komið þér sælie* (komith pearr sauleuh)—How do you do; *Hallo, hvaðer um að vera?* (Hallo, kwath aer uem ath verra)-Hi, what's

going on?; *Hvað heitir þú?* (kwath hayterr peu)—What is your name?; *Ég heiti* (ag haete)—My name is...; *Sjáumst* (syoymst)-bye; *góða nótt* (gotha noht)—good night; *Gleður mig að kynnst þér* (glathur may ad kednast pear)—glad to meet you; *Já eða nei?* (Yaah aytha nay)—Yes or no?; *Ég skil ekki* (Ag skeel ahhki)—I don't understand; *Gleðileg jól* (glathelay yawl)—Merry Christmas; and *Gleðileg nýár* (glathelay nyarr)—Happy New Year.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The 1992 Icelandic census showed that families in Iceland generally consisted of three persons per family, presumably two parents and a child. This trend toward smaller family units mirrors those in other western nations. The sizes of Icelandic American families, like families of many other immigrant groups, reflect national and even international trends. Icelanders show strong familial and ethnic identification. Although perceived by non-Icelanders as serious and quiet, the people of Iceland and Icelandic Americans often show a sense of humor that includes joking at their own expense. They are the first to laugh at themselves.

EDUCATION

Education in Iceland was provided for all its citizens, and literacy among Icelanders has been universal since the end of the eighteenth century. Immigrant Icelanders in the Dakota Territory set up their first school district in 1881, and more districts soon followed. The value Icelanders placed on education on the American frontier had been instilled in them in their native land. School attendance in Iceland was made obligatory in 1907 for all children between the ages of ten and 14 years. Children younger than ten years of age were usually taught at home. In 1946, the age for compulsory attendance was extended, and by the 1990s, the age of compulsory attendance covered all children between the ages of 7 and 17 years.

A theological seminary, the first institution of higher learning in Iceland, was founded in 1847. A medical school followed in 1876 and a school of law in 1908. In 1911, all three merged and became the University of Iceland. Later a fourth division was added, the Faculty of Philosophy, which offered study in philology, history, and literature.

Among the household goods brought with them to America, Icelandic emigrants brought books. Many had books sent to them from Iceland

once they were settled in their new homes. With an unbroken literary history dating from the thirteenth century, the new immigrants continued to cherish literary activity. New immigrant communities organized reading circles, and newspapers were quickly established in Icelandic communities. Until the middle part of the twentieth century Icelandic books continued to be published in the new land. Three presses publishing books in the Icelandic language were located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in Canada, and one in Minnesota.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Iceland is largely egalitarian, with an economy more evenly distributed by gender when compared to many countries. Nonetheless, as in other industrialized countries, women earn significantly less money than their male counterparts, even when performing similar tasks. Well represented in the labor force, women are underrepresented on the faculty of the University of Iceland, and in leadership and management positions. Women often occupy the less prestigious and lower-paid positions in such industries as fish processing plants. Women in Iceland tend to remain employed outside the home following marriage.

The institution of marriage does not carry the same importance for Icelanders as it does for inhabitants of other cultures. One result is that motherhood outside of marriage has never carried a stigma for Icelandic women. Women in Iceland, moreover, do not change their names after marriage. The rate of births by unmarried mothers has varied from 13 percent in the nineteenth century to 36 percent in 1977. One result of single parenthood is that many women work fewer hours outside of the home than men. Coupled with the already lower pay scales for women, the fewer number of hours worked further limits single mothers' income levels.

During the 1980s, a national political party known as the Women's List succeeded in winning some parliamentary elections. In 1987, the Women's Party claimed six seats in the *Althingi*, or Parliament, and 10.1 percent of the total vote. In 1991, the Women's Party won five parliamentary seats with 8.3 percent of the vote.

BAPTISMS

Babies are christened according to the principles set down by the Lutheran Church of Iceland. The parents of the child choose godparents, and the baby is brought to the christening font, usually at the age of two or three months. A celebration follows. Chris-

tening gowns are treasured items, often handed down to other generations. Icelandic-Americans who remain in the Lutheran Church continue the practice as a form of a spiritual, as well as a community, expression of welcome to the new baby.

WEDDINGS

Icelandic weddings generally follow the forms set down by the Icelandic Lutheran Church, although Icelandic tradition of handing down family names is unique. Icelandic family names generally follow the ancient patriarchal tradition of taking the last name from the first name of the father. In other words, if a man's name is Leifur Eirikur, his last name, Eiriksson, indicates that he is the son of Eirik. The last name of Leifur's son would be Leifursson, or son of Leifur. Maria, the daughter of Hermann Jakobsson, would be called Maria Hermannsdottir. Following her marriage to Haraldur Jonsson, her name would not change, although her daughter Margret would be known as Margret Haraldurdottir. Family members living in the same household, therefore, do not share a common family name. Directories in Iceland are organized alphabetically by first names.

Legislation dating to 1925 regulates Icelandic names and preserves the Icelandic naming tradition. Members of the clergy are vested with veto power over names of infants. The Faculty of Arts at the University of Iceland serves as the court of appeal. A 1958 case brought before the Faculty by a German immigrant upheld the Icelandic tradition. When he became a citizen of Iceland, the man changed his name from the German Lorenz to the Icelandic Larus. When his son was born, he wanted his son to be known as Lorenz. When the pastor of his church refused to conduct the christening, the case went to the Faculty of Arts, which supported the minister.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Because of the relatively small numbers of Icelanders in America, Icelandic immigrants interacted with those of other ethnic backgrounds. As a matter of survival, early immigrants were eager to learn from the experiences of other immigrants, particularly the Norwegians, with whom they felt a kinship. In areas inhabited by few other persons of Icelandic descent, Icelanders gladly worked with Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Finns to develop their communities. Although many Icelandic-American societies exist throughout the United States and Canada, many Icelanders join Scandinavian Clubs, which are broader in scope and include those with heritage from all the Scandinavian countries.

RELIGION

According to the Icelandic 1992 census report, 92.2 percent of Icelanders belonged to the Church of Iceland, the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Early Icelandic immigrants did not remain dogmatically Lutheran when they came to North America. They were happy to be relieved of the heavy tax burden imposed by the Icelandic Lutheran Church. However, churches continued to fill important social, spiritual, and community functions for Icelanders as they established settlements in their new land. Two early immigrants, Pall Thorlaksson and Jon Bjarnason, were leaders among Icelandic Lutherans in North America. Both trained in the ministry, but they represented different philosophies, and this led to a temporary split in the Icelandic-American Lutheran Church. In the 1880s, the Unitarian movement drew a number of Icelanders, but the competition only strengthened Lutheran commitment. The Icelandic Lutheran Synod was established in 1885. Some of the early Icelandic immigrants settling in Utah rejected Lutheranism altogether, instead seeking freedom to follow Mormonism.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Icelandic immigrants to North America brought with them skills and trades learned in Iceland, including agriculture and building. They were also skilled artisans. Fishing has always played a major role in sustaining the Icelandic economy. As an island economy with a short growing season, Iceland has always depended heavily on trade. Livestock production was among the most important industries, particularly during the period of Danish colonial rule of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Fishing and hunting provided major additional support. Icelanders practiced cod-fishing for centuries, and it is believed that cod has been traded commercially since medieval times. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as Danish rule weakened, fishing communities developed along the coasts as local economies based on foreign trade grew into place.

The economic base of modern Iceland lies in the fishing industry. Fish and fish products account for more than 70 percent of Iceland's exports. Icelandic fishing techniques, using the most up-to-date computer and other technologies, are among most innovative and advanced in the world. The waters around Iceland are rich fishing grounds. The Gulf Stream and cold nutrient currents of the Arctic meet at the continental shelf that surrounds Ice-

land. These conditions are favorable for many kinds of marine life. While Iceland exports fish and fish products, it imports almost all of its consumer items. Sheep and dairy cattle are the main livestock in Iceland; agricultural land is used mostly for growing grass to feed the livestock. Other exports include aluminum, which accounts for about 11 percent of the country's exports. Given Iceland's heritage in fishing, farming, and engineering, it is not surprising that many Icelandic Americans have often continued in such pursuits.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Iceland is an independent, democratic republic. It has a multi-party system with an elected president. The parliament, or *Althingi*, is a legislative body with 63 members who are elected by popular vote. They serve for terms of four years, as does the president. There is no term limit. Any eligible voter can run for a seat in the *Althingi*, except the President and the judges of the Supreme Court. The President chooses a cabinet following the election of a new parliament. Leaders of the political parties are called for discussions, and a cabinet is formed. Cabinet ministers remain in power until the next general election. All cabinet members are members of parliament.

The three largest political parties are the Independence Party, the Progressive Party, and the Social Democrats. Together, these parties represented 73 percent of the vote in the 1991 elections. The remaining 27 percent of the vote was taken by the People's Alliance and the Women's Party, as well as the Citizens/Liberal Party and others.

As developed in the twentieth century, Iceland's political structure resembles the governments of western Europe, Great Britain, and the United States. Icelandic Americans adapted easily to the system of democracy as it is practiced in the United States. A number of Icelandic Americans have entered local and state politics. In North Dakota alone, three state attorneys general have been of Icelandic heritage, as well as three state supreme court judges and 12 state legislators.

MILITARY

Iceland entered into a defense agreement with the United States in 1951, and it does not maintain its own army or navy. The Icelandic Defense Force, located at the Keflavik base, is maintained by members from all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces, as well as military personnel from the

Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark. Icelandic civilians also work at the base. By the late 1990s, twenty-five different commands of various sizes were attached to the Icelandic Defense Force. The base published an online newsletter in the late 1990s called *The White Falconline* and also maintained a webpage.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRY

Icelandic Americans take pride in their heritage, as Kate Bearson Carter illustrated when she sponsored the building of a lighthouse monument in honor of the first Icelandic settlers in Spanish Fork, Utah. As the daughter of Icelanders, Carter wanted to commemorate her ethnic heritage and honor her parents. A three-day festival in Spanish Fork was observed in 1955 to mark the centennial of Icelandic immigration. The two original Icelandic newspapers in North America, the *Logberg* and the *Heimskingla* merged in 1959 to become the *Logberg-Heimskringla*. The paper continues to be published in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, more than 100 years after the founding of its parent publications. News from Iceland and Icelandic communities across North America are carried in the paper. Each issue of the weekly publication includes articles in both Icelandic and English.

Several important scholarly collections of Icelandic work attest to an active pride in Icelandic culture. The Willard Fiske collection is located at Cornell University in New York and is the largest. Important collections are also found at Brigham Young University in Utah, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of North Dakota.

In the 1990s, the New Iceland Heritage Museum was founded in Gimli, Manitoba, Canada with the mandate "to foster the preservation, understanding and appreciation of the Icelandic culture in North America." It was scheduled to open in the summer of the year 2000, to coincide with the 125th anniversary of the arrival of Icelandic immigrants in Manitoba.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although comprising far less than ten percent of the population, Icelanders continue to contribute individually and collectively to American culture. There are a number of important Icelandic American artists, journalists, and literary figures. The Icelandic culture has also contributed to scientific and social service sectors in America.

ART

The abstract painter Nina Tryggvadottir came to New York from Iceland in 1942 to study with the premier painters of the period, Hans Hoffman and Fernand Leger. She had two major shows in New York, one in 1945 and one in 1948. Her work was reviewed favorably by critic Elaine de Kooning in the influential publication *Art News*. Tryggvadottir also designed scenery and costumes for a production of Stravinsky's *Soldier's Tale*, conducted in New York by Dmitri Mitropolous. Again her work received very favorable reviews. She developed friendships with two major artists of the time, Wilhelm de Kooning and Alexander Calder, and with critic Meyer Schapiro. By 1949, her painting style had matured and her future looked very promising. Her work had broad appeal to both Icelandic and American critics.

Tryggvadottir married the American art critic A.L. Copley, who also moved in New York art circles, and had intended to remain in the United States. However, she became blacklisted during the McCarthy era and was accused of being a Communist sympathizer. She was not allowed to return to the United States following a 1949 visit to her family in Iceland. It was not until December 1959 that she finally returned to New York. By then, the New York art world had lost touch with her work, which she had continued to develop while living in Paris and London. Despite her considerable artistic accomplishments, she never reclaimed her position as an abstractionist in the New York art world. Only one of her paintings, donated in 1961, is in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. She nonetheless made a name for herself as an Icelandic artist in America. She is best known for the nature abstractions she produced between 1957 and 1967.

Another successful Icelandic-American in the art world was Harvard Arnason, an art historian associated with the Guggenheim Museum during the 1940s. Charles Thorson also worked with Disney and Warner Brothers animation.

JOURNALISM

Jon Olafsson served as founding editor of the first Icelandic newspaper in North America, *Heimskringla*. The name comes from the work of medieval Icelandic writer, Snorri Sturluson. The word *heimer* in Icelandic means the world, and *kringla* means a globe. Started in September 1886 in Winnipeg, the paper was published completely in Icelandic except for some advertisements written wholly or partially in English. Other Icelandic-Americans known for their work in journalism include Stephan G. Stephanson, Kristjan Niels Julius, and Richard Beck.

LITERATURE

The ancient sagas of Snorri Sturluson are well-known among medieval literary scholars. Less well known is work written by immigrant Icelandic women. A Canadian scholar at the Department of Icelandic Studies at the University of Manitoba, Kirsten Wolf, was among the first to edit and translate writing by immigrant Icelanders. Referring to Icelandic communities of North America as "Western Iceland," Wolf edited a collection entitled *Writings by Western Icelandic Women* in 1997. The anthology revived long-forgotten pieces of writing by early Icelandic immigrant women, including Undina, a poet, and Laura Goodman Salverson, winner of the Governor General Award. The book covers 75 years of writing, from the first significant wave of Icelandic immigration in the 1870s to the 1950s. The collection includes short stories and poems, many of which were translated for the first time from the original Icelandic. Offering insight into the experiences of pioneer Icelandic writers, the text brings forth women's voices of the Icelandic immigrant experience, about which very little is known. Other literary figures of Icelandic descent are the Canadian poets Stephan Geir Stephansson and Guttormur Guttormsson.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Icelandic immigrants Vilhjalmur Stefansson, 1879-1962, became known for his Arctic explorations. Chester Hjortur Thordarson, 1867-1945, made a name as an inventor and entrepreneur in the electrical field.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Although little known, Icelandic immigrant Emily Long was one of the first qualified nurses on the Canadian prairies. She helped to found several Saskatchewan hospitals. Having trained as nurse in Iceland, she immigrated to Canada prior to 1910 to join relatives when her family in Iceland died of tuberculosis. In Neepawa, Manitoba, Long repeated her nurses' training. When World War I began in 1914, she went to England for the Canadian Red Cross. Before departing from England in 1919, she received honors for her wartime service from Queen Alexandra, the Queen Mother. Back in Canada, Long took a series of nursing positions before retiring to Gimli, Manitoba, in 1953. Before her death, she received honors from the Crown and the Canadian Legion for her service in the Red Cross during the First World War. Tireless and spirited, according to a brief memoir by Darrell Gudmundson, Emily

Long represents one of the many ways in which early Icelandic immigrants contributed to social welfare in her new land.

MEDIA

Islandica.

Annual publication begun in 1908. Irregular. Furnishes bibliographical information.

Address: Cornell University, Kroch Library,
Willard J. Fiske Icelandic Collection, Ithaca,
New York 14853.

Telephone: (607) 255-3530.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Embassy of the Republic of Iceland.

Contact: Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, Ambassador.

Address: 1156 15th Street, N.W., Suite 1200,
Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 265-6653.

Fax: (202) 265-6656.

Icelandic American Chamber of Commerce (IALL).

Founded in 1986, the Icelandic American Chamber of Commerce has eighty members. The Board of Directors meets three or four times a year at a triennial conference. Individual dues are \$60.00 a year; corporate annual dues are \$200.00. It is a multinational organization and publishes a monthly newsletter.

Contact: Magnus Bjarnason, Executive Director.

Address: c/o Consulate General of Iceland 800
Third Avenue, 36th Floor, New York,
New York 10022-7604.

Telephone: (212) 593-2700.

Fax: (212) 593-6269.

Icelandic-American Veterans.

Founded 1950.

Contact: Dave Zinkoff.

Address: 2101 Walnut Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19103.

Telephone: (215) 568-1234.

Icelandic National League of the United States, Inc.

Formed in 1919 for the purposes of promoting Icelandic culture, customs, and traditions.

Contact: Mr. Jon Sig. Gudmundsson, Sr.

Address: P.O. Box 265, LaGrange, KY 40031.

Telephone: (502) 222-1441.

Fax: (502) 222-1445.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Fiske Icelandic Collection.

A division of the Rare Manuscript Collections in the Kroch Library at Cornell University. Holdings include books, journals, and other serial literature on Islandica with emphasis on Icelandic language, literature, and history.

Contact: Patrick Stevens.

Address: Ithaca, New York 14853.

Telephone: (607) 255-3530.

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INDONESIAN AMERICANS

by
Eveline Yang

OVERVIEW

The Republic of Indonesia is located in Southeast Asia, on an archipelago of more than 17,508 islands near the equator. The total land area is 782,665 square miles, and the sea area covers 1,222,466 square miles; altogether, the nation is approximately the size of Mexico. The name Indonesia is coined from Greek: *indos*, India and *nesos*, islands.

Indonesia consists of an array of island stepping-stones scattered in the sea between the Malay Peninsula and Australia, astride the equator and spanning about an eighth of the world's circumference. By comparison, the continental United States stretches across about a sixth of the world's circumference. The islands and island groups consist of a Pacific set and an Indian Ocean set. The Indian Ocean islands are Sumatra, Java, Bali, and the Lesser Sundas, or, in Indonesian, *Sumatera*, *Djawa*, *Bali*, and *Nusa Tenggara*. The Pacific Ocean Islands are Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas, or *Kalimantan*, *Sulawesi*, and *Malukus*.

Indonesia's climate may be described as tropical, though land temperatures and rainfall vary considerably according to altitude and relative exposure to winds sweeping in from the ocean. On the whole, temperatures vary little at any one place, and rainfall is generally heavy.

An ethnic group noted for their diverse cultural and religious backgrounds and geographical origins, Indonesians who live in the United States split their affection and loyalty between their new-found country and whatever part of their homeland they or their ancestors once inhabited.

HISTORY

By the fifteenth century, when the Renaissance was just pulling Europe from the Middle Ages, the islands of Java and Sumatra already had a thousand-year heritage of advanced civilization, spanning two major empires. From the seventh to the fourteenth century, the Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya flourished on Sumatra. At its peak, the Srivijaya Empire reached as far as west Java and the Malay Peninsula. By the fourteenth century, the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit had risen in eastern Java. Gadjah Mada, the chief minister who ruled the empire from 1331 to 1364, succeeded in gaining allegiance from most of what is now known as modern Indonesia and much of the Malay archipelago as well.

Islam arrived in Indonesia in the twelfth century and had almost wholly supplanted Hinduism as the dominant religion in Java and Sumatra by the end of the sixteenth century. The island of Bali, however, has retained its Hindu heritage to this day. In the eastern archipelago, both Christian and Islamic proselytizing took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; currently, there are large communities of both religions on these islands.

Beginning in the early seventeenth century, Indonesia's many kingdoms had become fragmented and the Dutch gradually established themselves on almost all of the islands of present-day Indonesia, controlling the islands' social, political, and economic institutions. The eastern half of the island of Timor was likewise occupied by the Portuguese until 1975. During the 300-year Dutch rule, the region then known as Netherlands East Indies became one of the world's richest colonial territories.

MODERN ERA

Much of Indonesia's history in the modern era revolves around Sukarno (born Kusnasoso; 1901-1979). The Indonesian independence movement began during the first decade of the twentieth century and continued throughout both World Wars. The Japanese occupied Indonesia for three years during World War II. On August 17, 1945, after Japan had agreed to surrender to the Allied Powers, Sukarno and other nationalists declared national independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. Despite several attempts, the Dutch failed to recapture the territory lost to Japan. The victory over the Dutch strengthened Indonesia's sense of national identity and its citizens' belief in nationalism. In 1950 Indonesia became a member of the United Nations.

During the following decade, Sukarno revised the 1945 Constitution and became the President for

Life. The Sukarno government badly mismanaged Indonesia's economy; the government seized foreign-owned plantations but did not train people to operate them, and consequently, economic conditions worsened.

The Communist Party began to grow during the early 1960s, with Sukarno's encouragement. In 1965 a group of Indonesian army officers seized power by killing six generals and other officers. This event precipitated more bloodshed as the Indonesian army and civilian mobs later killed between 200,000 and 300,000 people throughout Indonesia. Some of those killed were not Communists, but foreigners who had once controlled a great portion of the Indonesian economy. Shortly thereafter, Lieutenant General Suharto rose to power, outlawed the Communist Party, and reorganized the government. In 1968 Suharto was elected president and has been the head of the state ever since.

The population of the Republic of Indonesia, according to the 1990 census, is 180 million, which makes it the fourth most populous country in the world. The national motto is *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means "Unity in Diversity," a phrase that captures the people's strong national allegiance despite the variety of ethnicities and cultures.

The physical, cultural, and linguistic diversity of the Indonesian people reflects their country's past history and prehistory. At first, groups of people from the Asian mainland moved southeastward to the islands. Later groups, culturally more advanced than their predecessors, arrived to absorb the earlier immigrants or displace them, pushing them to remoter islands or less favorable habitats. By the early 1990s, Indonesia's society was divided into more than 300 ethnic groups, the largest of which was the Javanese, at 45 percent of the total population. Other groups include the Sundanese (14 percent), followed by the Madurese (7.5 percent), and the coastal Malays (7.5 percent).

Most of those who choose to leave their country for other countries, including the United States, are from larger urban cities on Java. An ethnic group noted for their diverse cultural and religious backgrounds and geographical origins, Indonesians who live in the United States split their affection and loyalty between their newfound country and whatever part of their homeland they or their ancestors once inhabited.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Few Indonesians immigrated to the United States prior to the 1950s. In the mid-1950s many Indonesian students came to the United States to study at



These Indonesian
Americans are
talented Balinese
dancers.

American universities and colleges. In 1953 the ICA (now USAID) started providing scholarships for medical faculty members of the University of Indonesia to study at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1956 the ICA likewise provided scholarships for the teaching staff of the Bandung Insti-

tute of Technology to study at the University of Kentucky.

In the 1960s, when a number of political and ethnic skirmishes arose in Indonesia, several thousand Indonesians, the majority of whom were Chinese Indonesian, came to the United States. This

This is a collection
of traditional
Indonesian wajang
golek puppets.



immigration wave was short lived, however, due to the rapid reestablishment of peace in Indonesia and the limitations imposed by U.S. immigration quotas. More recent Indonesian immigrants have come to the United States for economic and educational reasons.

Overall, the number of Indonesians entering the United States is relatively low when compared to Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigration figures. According to the 1990 census, of the 6,876,394 Asians residing in the United States, only 30,085 (0.4 percent) are Indonesian Americans or Indonesians residing in the United States. The majority of Indonesian Americans reside in such large cities as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, New York, and Chicago. This is partly due to the improved employment opportunities of these areas and to the fact that these cities have established Asian American communities.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Unlike other immigrant groups, there are no established Indonesian American ethnic enclaves. This may be attributed to the fact that Indonesia has one of the most ethnically diverse populations in the world; their diversity in social classes, language, religion, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and geographic location has lessened the possibility of forming a community of common traditions. However, there are numerous organizations, clubs, and

religious groups in cities where there is a relatively large concentration of Indonesians, including Dharma Wanita, Ikatan Keluarga Indonesia di AS, and Washington Court Gamelan Ensemble Association.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Assimilation for Indonesian American immigrants has been difficult, often causing them to become more attached to the traditions of their homeland. The Indonesians' sense of art is closely related to their mystic sense of identity with nature and with God. Humanity, nature, and art constitute an unbroken continuity. Artistic expression in Indonesian art is particularly evident in their dress. Much of their traditional dress consists of *batik* cloth. *Batik* is a design and art form that can be achieved by two techniques. The older method is called *tjanting* because a crucible of that name is used to draw the design directly on the cotton, by means of hot wax. When cooled, the wax resists the dye into which the cloth is immersed, so that all of the cloth except the area bearing the design accepts the dye. The wax is then removed, and the dyeing process is repeated. The second technique is regarded by some as inferior because the batik it produces is perceived to be machine-made. Actually, the design is made by a *tjap*, a printing stamp that is applied by hand to the cloth.

Other distinctive arts of the Indonesian people are the dance dramas of Bali and the Mataram court tradition. Both are essentially religious in character, though some Balinese dance is frivolous, flirtatious,

or playful. Puppet dramas, or *wajang*, have been popular for a long time. The most popular puppets are flat and made of leather, but wooden puppets are also used. The puppeteer sits in back of a white screen and moves the puppets to act out stories. A palm-oil lamp throws the shadows of the puppets onto the screen. The plots usually involve a virtuous hero who triumphs over evil by means of supernatural powers and his own self-conquest.

Many Indonesians practice Western arts, from oil painting to metal sculpture, the subjects of which are often inspired by Indonesian life and traditions. The literary arts are also popular. Early Indonesian literature consisted largely of local folk tales and traditional religious stories. The works of classical Indonesian authors, such as Prapantja, are still read today, though modern literature in the Indonesian language began in the 1920s.

CUISINE

Rice is a central ingredient to the Indonesian diet. Indonesians boil or fry rice in various ways and serve it with a great variety of other foods. Foods are usually cooked in coconut milk and oil and sometimes wrapped in banana or coconut leaves. Fish, chicken, and beef are cooked with spices and served with rice. Indonesians eat little pork, since most of them are Muslims. Tea and coffee are favorite beverages.

At ceremonial occasions, including modern weddings, funerals, or state functions, foods such as *sate* (small pieces of meat roasted on a skewer), *krupuk* (fried shrimp or fish-flavored chips made with rice flour), and highly spiced curries of chicken and goat are commonly served. These foods are often served buffet style and at room temperature. Food is eaten with fingertips or with a spoon and fork. Water is served after the meal. These dietary customs are usually observed by Indonesian Americans during holidays and special events in the United States. For everyday meals, some Indonesians adapt readily to American food, while others prefer Indonesian or Chinese cuisine.

CULTURAL EVENTS AND HOLIDAYS

Despite their ethnic diversity, there are three major holidays that virtually all Indonesian Americans observe. *Idul Fitri* (in Arabic), which is also known as *Hari Raja* or *Lebaran* (in Indonesian), marks the end to the Muslims' obligatory fast during the 30-day fast of Ramadan. Many Indonesians celebrate with a traditional Muslim feast. The date of this holiday is determined by the lunar calendar; therefore, the

date varies from year to year. Christmas and Easter are also national holidays in Indonesia. Independence Day is August 17. On this day, according to officials in the Indonesian Embassy and Consulate Generals, Indonesians in the United States are invited to celebrate along with Indonesian officials in a flag-raising ceremony and reception.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Both Indonesian American men and women wear sarongs, traditional Indonesian garments with *batik* designs. Indonesian men generally wear sarongs only in the home or during informal occasions. Women wear sarongs on formal occasions, along with the *kebaya*, a tight, low-cut, long-sleeved blouse. Women often tie their hair into a bun or attach a hairpiece. Men may also don *batik* shirts that are worn outside their trousers and a black felt cap, called a *peci*, an item once associated with Muslims or Malays that has acquired a more secular, national meaning in the post-independence period.

DANCES AND SONGS

The most popular forms of dance in Indonesia are the Balinese dance and the *wajang kulit*. Though the origins of *wajang kulit* are lost in antiquity, many scholars believe that it is indigenous to Indonesia and that other shadow-drama arts around the world derive from it. This shadow drama is so popular that those who grew up in Indonesia can recognize all the stylized puppets and the episodes of the dramatized epics.

INDONESIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

In recent years, many Indonesians have immigrated to the United States to attend American colleges or graduate schools. Afterward, many choose to apply for permanent residency or for citizenship. Presently, about 26 percent of the Indonesians residing in the United States are between the ages of 25 and 34. The same percentage of Indonesians have bachelor's degrees.

The attitudes of Indonesian graduate students at selected universities in the United States were reported in Dr. Rustam Amir Effendi's doctoral dissertation of 1983. Students attending the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, the University of Minnesota, Ohio University, the Ohio State University, and the University of Wisconsin were polled about their success with academic adjustment and their overall satisfaction with American education. The study disclosed that approximately 80 per-

cent of Indonesian students were male and that 50 percent of them were between the ages of 31 and 35. Slightly more than 50 percent of them had worked as professionals for several years after they acquired their undergraduate degrees in Indonesia and before they came to America. Most of them became university faculty or government officials. Most studied engineering and the social sciences.

The number of Indonesian students in the United States has grown steadily since 1983. The successful personal adjustments and academic achievements of these students are decided by mainly two factors: language efficiency and the ability to adjust to American society. While some of them return to Indonesia, many choose to remain in the United States to continue their professional pursuits.

LANGUAGE

With over 300 regional languages and dialects, there is a considerable diversity in the languages used in Indonesia. The major family of Indonesian language is the Austronesian. Bahasa Indonesian, a modified form of Malay, was named by Indonesian nationalists in 1928 as the official language. The majority of educated Indonesians in urban areas speak at least two languages.

Spoken Indonesian varies depending on the rank or status of the speaking partner. Respected elders are usually addressed in a kinship term—*bapak* (father or elder) or *ibu* (mother). Indirect references are usually preferred in conversation.

Most Indonesian names have two parts, although some Indonesians, including President Suharto, use only one name. In most cases it is appropriate to use the last part of the name before the indicator as a second reference. If no such filial indicator appears, the last part of the name is used as a second reference. Names including “Abu” or “Abdul” should use that word plus the word immediately following as a second reference. Some Muslim names include a place name. The part of the name preceding the place name should be used on second reference, for example, Abdullah Udjong Buloh, or Mr. Abdullah.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Intermarriage is not uncommon between Indonesians and Americans, especially for the younger generation, though the elder-generation Indonesians prefer that their offspring marry others of

Indonesian heritage. According to the *1990 Census of Population: Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States*, more than 50 percent of adult Indonesians are members of families with two parents.

RELIGION

The religions in Indonesia are as numerous as the languages. Nearly 90 percent of Indonesians observe Islam, with significantly smaller populations observing Protestantism (six percent), Catholicism (three percent), Hinduism (two percent), and Buddhism (one percent). Many Chinese Indonesians follow Buddhist teachings. All five play significant roles in Indonesian communities in and outside the United States

The high percentage of Muslims makes Indonesia the largest Islamic country in the world. Introduced to Indonesia by traders from India between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, Islam, or *sharia* (in Indonesian), is a strictly monotheistic religion in which God, Allah, is a pervasive, if somewhat distant, figure. The prophet Muhammad is not deified but is regarded as a human who was selected by God to spread the word to others through the Koran, Islam’s holiest book. There are significant variations in the practice and interpretation of Islam in various parts of Indonesia. Overall, a less strict interpretation of Islam is practiced than in the Middle East. There has been constant interaction between the Muslims and the Hindu-Buddhist population in Java Island ever since the initial introduction of Islam, and over time they have blended to form a loosely organized belief system called Javanism, or *agama Jawa*, which was officially recognized in the 1945 constitution.

The most rapidly growing religions in Indonesia are the Christian faiths, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The number of Christians in Indonesia is very small compared with the number of Muslims, but Christianity has a long history in Indonesia. It was introduced by Portuguese Jesuits and Dominicans in the sixteenth century. When the Dutch defeated Portugal in 1605, the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church expelled Catholic missionaries and became the only Christian influence in the islands for 300 years. Because Calvinism was a strict, austere, and intellectually uncompromising variety of Christianity that demanded a thorough understanding of scripture, Christianity gained few converts in Indonesia until the nineteenth century, when German Lutherans introduced evangelical freedom and Jesuits established successful missions, schools, and hospitals on some of the islands, including Timor and Flores.



This Indonesian American is dressed as a masked Balinese dancer.

Membership in Christian churches surged after the 1965 coup attempt, when all nonreligious persons were labeled atheists and were suspected to be Communists. By the 1990s, the majority of Christians in Indonesia were Protestants of one affiliation or another. Catholic congregations grew less rapidly, due to the Church's heavy reliance on Europeans in positions of leadership.

Hinduism is perceived to enforce a rigid caste structure, dividing people into classes: priests, ruler-warriors, and commoners-servants. However, the caste system has never been rigidly applied in Indonesia. The majority of the Hindus are in Bali, and they express their beliefs through art and ritual instead of scripture and law. Ceremonies at puberty, marriage, and, most notably, death are closely associated with the Balinese version of Hinduism.

Chinese Indonesians brought Buddhism to Indonesia, along with Taoism and Confucianism. This unique version of Buddhism was introduced by the founder of Perbuddhi, Bhikku Ashin Jinarakkhita. He claimed that there is a single supreme deity, Sang Hyand Adi Buddha. In the wake of the failed coup in 1965, many Indonesians registered as Buddhists—some simply to avoid being suspected as Communist sympathizers and others sincere enough to construct monasteries.

Although there are various schools of thoughts and practices among Indonesian Buddhists, they each acknowledge the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. The Four Noble Truths concern the suffering of all living beings, resulting from the craving for worldly belongings. The Eightfold Path leads

to enlightenment, teaching purified views, speech, conduct, and mind. In Indonesia, Buddhism is highly individualistic, with each person held accountable for his or her own self. Anyone can meditate alone, anywhere. Temples and pagodas exist only to inspire the proper frame of mind for believers' devotion and self-awareness.

In Dr. Fredy Lowell Macarewa's doctoral dissertation (1988), the author chronicled the efforts by the Seventh-Day Adventists, who practice an evangelical Christian faith, to reach Indonesian Americans. These efforts have not been entirely successful, however, because of the failure to comprehend the belief system unique to Indonesians, which grew out of the long transition from Dutch Indonesian rule to Indonesian independence. Macarewa also recognized that evangelizing Muslims is a difficult task, because of prejudice and antagonism between the followers of Christianity and Islamic Indonesia during the past 14 centuries.

Besides Seventh-Day Adventism, there are other religious establishments for the Indonesian residing in the United States, as there are for Korean Americans and other Asian Americans. These churches or religious groups serve not only as sites for worship but also as centers for social and cultural activities.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

According to the 1990 census, one-third of employed Indonesian adults in the United States are managers;

one-third are professionals; and one-third are in technical, sales, and administrative-support occupations. There is a growing number of Indonesians who make their living in the importing and exporting business. Trade between Indonesia and United States has been robust. In the early 1990s, U.S. imports from Indonesia, consisting mostly of oil, rubber, coffee, tin, spices, tea, plywood, and textiles, amounted to nearly \$4 billion. Exports to Indonesia totaled \$2.5 billion and included agricultural products, resins, aircraft and parts, and earth-moving equipment. To facilitate trade there are commercial trade organizations such as the American-ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Trade Council, the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, the Central Indonesian Trading Company, the Indonesian Investment Promotion Office, and the Indonesian Trade Promotion Center, all located in New York City. However, recently there have been organization branches established in other cities, including Los Angeles and Houston.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The immigration bill passed by the Indonesian parliament on March 4, 1993 is greatly impacting the influx of Indonesians to the United States or other countries. The bill bars certain individuals from leaving or re-entering Indonesia if doing so could disrupt development, cause disunity among the Indonesian population, or threaten the individual's life or that of his or her family. Furthermore, a time limit of between six months and two-and-a-half years was set on travel in and out of Indonesia, for those affected. There are no public records showing how many Indonesians are barred from leaving the country.

In November 1994, U.S. President Bill Clinton attended the Asian Pacific Economic Summit meeting in Jakarta. Trade relations between the two countries improved after the meeting. However, Indonesia was embroiled in political chaos in 1998-1999 during its election cycle which has made the nations political future and emigration patterns uncertain.

MEDIA

PRINT

Indonesian Journal.

Indonesian communities in the United States are linked by this publication—the first such commercial magazine in the United States. Published since 1988, it is a monthly journal distributed, free of charge, to the larger Indonesian communities in the country: New York, Chicago, Houston, San Francisco, and Los

Angeles. Free copies are also distributed at Indonesian restaurants, churches, and other social organizations throughout the United States. Advertising revenues are its sole means of support. With the exception of some of the advertisements, the text of the publication is in Bahasa Indonesian. With reports on cultural, social, and even political events in the United States as well as in Indonesia, this publication serves as an important vehicle of communication for Indonesians who reside in the United States.

Contact: Mr. Mailangkay, Editor and Publisher.

Address: Desktop Designs, P.O. Box 4009,
West Covina, California, 91791.

The Indonesia Letter.

This monthly publication enjoys the largest distribution among its kind. It provides commentary and analysis on the subject of Indonesia and news of its economic, political, and social development.

Address: Asia Letter, Ltd., Los Angeles,
California.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American-ASEAN Trade Council.

The Council membership consists of members of the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, the Philippine American Chamber of Commerce, and other ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

Address: 40 East 49th Street, New York,
New York 10017.

American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce (AICC).

This unofficial and nonpolitical organization was incorporated in the United States in 1949, before Indonesia received full independence, a fact that signified the willingness of U.S. firms to trade directly with emerging Republic of Indonesia. Since then, its mission has been to foster and promote trade and investment between the United States and Indonesia. Currently, the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce has over 150 members, including banks; energy companies; shipping lines; engineering firms; exporters; manufacturers; legal, public relations, and financial-service firms; and consulting and trading companies. The Chamber works closely with both Indonesians and Americans who are interested in doing export and import business from the United States or from Indonesia.

Contact: Wayne Forrest, Executive Director.
Address: 711 Third Avenue, 17th floor, New York, New York 10017.
Telephone: (212) 687-4505.
Fax: (212) 867-9882.

Asian American Arts Centre (AAAC).

Supports exhibition of traditional and contemporary Asian American, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Indian, Korean, and Filipino arts, including dance, music, performance art, and poetry.

Contact: Robert Lee, Director.
Address: 26 Bowery Street, New York, New York 10013.
Telephone: (212) 233-2154.

East Timor Project.

This organization seeks to draw public attention to the situations of political prisoners in Indonesia, and to conditions in East Timor. It was formerly named the Emergency Committee for Human Rights in Indonesia and Self-Determination on East Timor.

Contact: Arnold S. Kohen, Coordinator.
Address: P.O. Box 2197, Washington, D.C. 20013.

Indonesian American Society.

Address: c/o Major Hal Maynard, 8725 Piccadilly, Springfield, Virginia 22151.
Telephone: (703) 425-5080.

Indonesian Community Association.

This association serves as the central point of networking among Indonesians residing in the United States. The Chair serves as leader and coordinator for Indonesian American community. Considered the official representation of Indonesia in the United States, the association was formed to support such activities as family-oriented events, lectures, sports, and religious holidays. The association publication, *Warta IKI*, is published quarterly and distributed among Indonesian organizations in the United States.

Contact: Mr. Muchamad Sukarna, Chair.
Address: c/o Embassy of Indonesia, 2020 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
Telephone: (202) 775-5200.

Indonesian Students Association.

Founded to serve the needs of Indonesian students at colleges and universities in the United States. Branches of the organization are also in San Francisco, Los Angeles and other major cities.

Address: c/o Embassy of Indonesia, 2121 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Telephone: (202) 293-1745.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.

The Center for International Studies at Cornell University conducts research activities in the United States on Indonesia's social and political development. The research efforts have resulted in the publication of monographs, bibliographies, and biographies of Indonesian historical figures. The research scope also includes cultural, military, and foreign affairs of Indonesia.

Contact: Professor Benedict Anderson, Director.
Address: Cornell University, 640 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14853.
Telephone: (607) 255-4359.
Fax: (607) 277-1904.
E-mail: seap-pubs@cornell.edu.
Online: <http://www.einaudi.cornell.edu/SoutheastAsia/Seapubs.html>.

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Slowly the Inuit of
northern Alaska are
trying to reclaim
their heritage in the
modern world.

INUIT

by
J. Sydney Jones

OVERVIEW

Once known as Eskimos, the Inuit inhabit the Arctic region, one of the most forbidding territories on earth. Occupying lands that stretch 12,000 miles from parts of Siberia, along the Alaskan coast, across Canada, and on to Greenland, the Inuit are one of the most widely dispersed people in the world, but number only about 60,000 in population. Between 25,000 and 35,000 reside in Alaska, with other smaller groups in Canada, Greenland, and Siberia. The name *Eskimo* was given to these people by neighboring Abnaki Indians and means “eaters of raw flesh.” The name they call themselves is *Inuit*, or “the people.” Culturally and linguistically distinct from Native Americans of the lower 48 states, as well as from the Athabaskan people of Alaska, the Inuit are closely related to the Mongoloid peoples of eastern Asia. It is estimated that the Inuit arrived some 4,000 years ago on the North American continent, thus coming much later than other indigenous peoples. The major language family for Arctic peoples is Eskaleut. While Aleut is considered a separate language, Eskimo branches into Inuit and Yup’ik. Yup’ik includes several languages, while Inuit is a separate tongue with several local dialects, including Inupiaq (Alaska), Inuktitut (Eastern Canada), and Kalaallisut (Greenland). Throughout their long history and vast migrations, the Inuit have not been greatly influenced by other Indian cultures. Their use and

array of tools, their spoken language, and their physical type have changed little over large periods of time and space.

Alaskan Inuit inhabit the west, southwest, and the far north and northwest of Alaska, comprising the Alutiiq, Yup'ik (or Yupiat), and Inupiat tribes. As the first two tribes are dealt with separately, this essay will focus on that group regionally known as Inupiat, and formerly known as Bering Strait or Kotzebue Sound Eskimos, and even sometimes West Alaskan and North Alaskan Eskimos. Residing in some three dozen villages and towns—including Kotzebue, Point Hope, Wainwright, Barrow, and Prudhoe Bay—between the Bering Strait and the McKenzie Delta to the east, and occupying some 40,000 square miles above the Arctic Circle, this group has been divided differently by various anthropologists. Some classify the Inuit into two main groups, the inland people or Nuunamiut, and the coastal people, the Tagiugmiut. Ernest S. Burch, Jr., however, in his book *The Inupiaq Eskimo Nations of Northwestern Alaska*, divides the heartland, or original southerly Inupiat, who settled around Kotzebue Sound and the Chukchi Sea, into 12 distinct tribes or nations. This early “homeland” of the Inupiat, around Kotzebue Sound, was extended as the tribes eventually moved farther north. Over 40 percent of Alaskan Inuit now reside in urban areas, with Anchorage having the highest population, and Nome on the south of the Seward Peninsula also having a large group of Inupiat as well as Yup'ik. Within Inupiat territory, the main population centers are Barrow and Kotzebue.

HISTORY

Among the last Native groups to come into North America, the Inuit crossed the Bering land bridge sometime between 6000 B.C. and 2000 B.C., according to various sources. Anthropologists have discerned several different cultural epochs that began around the Bering Sea. The *Denbigh*, also known as the Small Tool culture, began some 5000 years ago, and over the course of the next millennia it spread westward though Arctic Alaska and Canada. Oriented to the sea and to living with snow, the Denbigh most likely originated the snow house. Characterized by the use of flint blades, skin-covered boats, and bows and arrows, the Denbigh was transformed further east into the *Dorset Tradition* by about 1000 B.C.

Signs of both the Denbigh and Dorset cultures have been unearthed at the well-known *Ipiutak* site, located near the Inuit settlement of Point Hope, approximately 125 miles north of the Arctic Circle.

Point Hope, still a small Inuit village at the mouth of the Kukpuk River, appears to have been continuously inhabited for 2,000 years, making it the oldest known Inuit settlement. The population of the historical Ipiutak was probably larger than that of the modern village of Point Hope, with a population of about 2,000 people. Houses at Ipiutak were small, about 12 by 15 feet square, with sod-covered walls and roof. Benches against the walls were used for sleeping, while the fire was kept in a small central depression of the main room. Artifacts from the site indicate that the Ipiutak hunted sea and land mammals, as do modern Inuit. Seals, walruses, and caribou provided the basis of their diet. Though the tools of whale hunting, including harpoons, floats, and sleds, were missing from this site, bone and ivory carvings of a rare delicacy—reminiscent of some ancient Siberian art—were found.

Other Inuit settled in part-time villages during the same epoch. The continuous development of these peoples is demonstrated by the similarities in both ancient and modern Inuit cultures. Called by some the *Old Bering Sea Cultures*, these early inhabitants traveled by kayak and *umiak* skin boats in the warmer months, and by sled in the winter. Living near the coast, they hunted sea and land mammals, lived in tiny semi-subterranean dwellings, and developed a degree of artistic skill.

The Dorset culture was later superseded by the *Norton* culture, which was in turn followed by the *Thule*. The Thule already had characteristics of culture common to Inuit culture: the use of dogs, sleds, kayaks, and whale hunting with harpoons. They spread westward through Canada and ultimately on to Greenland. However, it appears that some of the Thule backtracked, returning to set up permanent villages in both Alaska and Siberia.

Anthropologically classified as central-based wanderers, the Inuit spent part of the year on the move, searching for food, and then part of the year at a central, more permanent camp. Anywhere from a dozen to fifty people traveled in a hunting group. The year was divided into three hunting seasons, revolving around one animal. The hunting seasons were seal, caribou, and whale. The yearly cycle began with the spring seal hunting, continued with caribou hunting in the summer, and fishing in the autumn. A caribou hunt was also mounted in the fall. In the far north, whales were hunted in the early spring. It was a relentless cycle, broken up with occasional feasts after the seal and caribou hunts, and with summer trade fairs to which groups from miles around attended.

Though most Arctic peoples were not organized into tribes, those of present-day Alaska are to

Inuit men in Nome, Alaska play drums and sing as another man dances.



a certain extent. One reason for such organization is the whaling occupation of the northwestern Alaska natives. These people settled north of the Brooks Range and along the coast from Kotzebue in the southwest, up to Point Hope and north and east to Barrow, the mouth of the Colville River, and on to the present-day Canadian border at Demarcation Point. These areas provided rich feeding grounds for bowhead whale. Strong leaders were needed for whaling expeditions; thus, older men with experience who knew how to handle an umiak, the large wooden-framed boat, used to hunt whales.

For thousands of years the Inuit lived lives unrecorded by history. This changed with their first contact with Europeans. The Vikings under Eric the Red encountered Inuit in Greenland in 984. Almost six hundred years later, the British explorer Martin Frobisher made contact with the Central Inuit of northern Canada. In 1741, the Russian explorer, Vitus Bering, met the Inuit of Alaska. It is estimated that there were about 40,000 Inuit living in Alaska at the time, with half of them living in the north, both in the interior and in the far northwest. The Inuit, Aleut, and Native Americans living below the Arctic Circle were the most heavily affected by this early contact, occasioned by Russian fur traders. However, northern Inuit were not greatly affected until the second round of European incursions in the area, brought on by an expanded whale trade.

Russian expeditions in the south led to the near destruction of Aleutian culture. This was the result of both the spread of disease by whites as well as out-

right murder. The first white explorers to reach Arctic Alaska were the Englishmen Sir John Franklin and Captain F. W. Beechey. Both noted the extensive trade carried on between Inuit and Indian groups. Other early explorers, including Alexander Kasharov, noted this intricate trading system as well, in which goods were moved from Siberia to Barrow and back again through a network of regularly held trade fairs. All of this changed, however, with the arrival of European whalers by the mid-nineteenth century. Formerly hunters of Pacific sperm whale, these whaling fleets came to Arctic regions following the bowhead whale migration to the Beaufort Sea for summer feeding. Unlike the Inuit, who used all parts of the whale for their subsistence, the whaling fleets from New England and California were interested primarily in *baleen*, the long and flexible strips of keratin that served as a filtering system for the bowhead whale. This material was used for the manufacture of both buttons and corset hooks, and fetched high prices. One bowhead could yield many pounds and was valued at \$8000, a substantial amount of money for that time.

In 1867, the United States purchased Alaska, and whaling operations increased. The advent of steam-powered vessels further increased the number of ships in the region. Soon, whaling ships from the south were a regular feature in Arctic waters. Their immediate effect was the destruction of the intricate trading network built up over centuries. With the whalers to pick up and deliver goods, Inuit traders were no longer needed. A second effect, due to contact between the whalers and the Inuit, was the introduction of new diseases and alcohol. This,

in conjunction with an obvious consequence of the whaling industry, the reduction of the whale population, made life difficult for the Inuit. Dependence on wage drew the Inuit out of their millennia-long hunting and trading existence as they signed on as deckhands or guides. Village life became demoralized because of the trade in whiskey. Small settlements disappeared entirely; others were greatly impacted by diseases brought by the whalers. Point Hope lost 12 percent of its population in one year. In 1900, 200 Inuit died in Point Barrow from a flu epidemic brought by a whaler, and in 1902, 100 more were lost to measles.

Although relatively unaffected by the whaling operations, the Inuit of the inland areas, known as *Nuunamiut*, also saw a sharp decline in their population from the mid-nineteenth century. Their independence had not protected them from the declining caribou herds nor from increasing epidemics. As a result, these people almost totally disappeared from their inland settlements, moving instead to coastal areas.

MODERN ERA

A number of actions were undertaken in attempts to improve the conditions of the Inuit at the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. The U.S. government intervened, ostensibly, to ameliorate the situation with improved education. However, the motivations behind this strategy by the U.S. government are the subject of much debate by many Natives and scholars of Inuit culture and history. Schools were established at Barrow and Point Hope in the 1890s, and new communities were only recognized once they established schools. The government also tried to make up for depleted resources, as the whaling trade had died out in the early years of the twentieth century, due to depleted resources as well as the discovery of substitutes for baleen. The U.S. Bureau of Education, the office given responsibility for the Inuit at the time, imported reindeer from Siberia. They planned to turn the Inuit, traditionally semi-sedentary hunters, into nomadic herders. However, after an early peak in the reindeer population in 1932, their numbers dwindled, and the reindeer experiment ultimately proved a failure. Game was no longer plentiful, and the Inuit themselves changed, seeking more than a subsistence way of life. For a time, beginning in the 1920s, fox fur trading served as a supplement to subsistence. Yet, trapping led to an increased breakdown of traditional cooperative ways of life. Fox fur trading lasted only a decade, and by the 1930s, the U.S. government was pouring more money into the area, setting up

post offices, and aid relief agencies. Christian missions were also establishing school in the region. Concurrent with these problems was an increase in mortality rates from tuberculosis.

The search for petroleum also greatly affected the region. Since the end of World War II, with the discovery of North Slope oil in 1968, the culture as well as the ecology of the region changed in ways never imagined by nineteenth-century Inuit. Other wage-economies developed in the region. The Cold War brought jobs to the far north, and native art work became an increasing form of income, especially for carvers. In the 1950s, the construction of a chain of radar sites such as the Distant Early Warning system (DEW) employed Inuit laborers, and many more were later employed to maintain the facilities. In 1959, Alaska became the forty-ninth state, thus extending U.S. citizenship rights and privileges to all of state's population. At the end of the twentieth century, a number of issues face the Inuit: the use of technology, urban flight by the young, and thus, the viability of their traditional culture. Caught between two worlds, the Inuit now use snowmobiles and the Internet in place of the umiak and the sled. Nonetheless, they have designed legislative and traditional ways to maintain and protect their subsistence lifestyle. Since 1978, this lifestyle has been given priority, and it is legally protected.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

As with the rest of Native Americans, the Inuit acculturation and assimilation patterns were more the result of coercion than choice. A main tool of assimilation was education. Schools, set up by the state or by missions, discouraged the learning of native languages; English became the primary language for students who were often transported hundreds of miles from their homes. Students who spoke their native Inupiaq language were punished and made to stand with their faces to the corner or by having their mouths washed out with soap. Returning to their home villages after being sent away for four years to the Bureau of Indian Affairs high schools, these Inuit no longer had a connection to their language or culture. They were ill-equipped to pass traditions on to their own children.

By the 1970s, however, this trend was reversed, as the Inuit began organizing, demanding, and winning more local autonomy. More local schools opened that honored the ancient ways of the Inuit. For many this was too little, too late. Though old

dances and festivals have returned, and the language is studied by the young, it is yet to be seen if the old cultural heritage can be re-instituted after a century and more of assimilation.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Inuit social organization was largely based on bilateral kinship relations. There was little formal tribal control, which led to blood feuds between clans. However, hunting or trading provided opportunities for cooperative endeavors, in which different kinship groups teamed up for mutual benefit.

Wintertime was a period for the village to come together; men gathered in the common houses called *kashims* or *karigi*, also used for dancing. Games, song contests, wrestling, and storytelling brought the people of small villages together after hunts and during the long, dark winter months. Much of Inuit life was adapted to the extremes of summer and winter night lengths. Inupiat formerly lived in semi-excavated winter dwellings, made of driftwood and sod built into a dome. Moss functioned as insulation in these crude shelters. A separate kitchen had a smoke hole, and there were storage areas and a meat cellar. These dwellings could house 8 to 12 people. Temporary snow houses were also used, though the legendary igloo was a structure used more by Canadian Inuit.

CUISINE

Subsistence food for the Inuit of Alaska included whale meat, caribou, moose, walrus, seal, fish, fowl, mountain sheep, bear, hares, squirrels, and foxes. Plant food included wild herbs and roots, as well as berries. Meat is dried or kept frozen in ice cellars dug into the tundra.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

Traditionally, Inuit women tanned seal and caribou skins to make clothing, much of it with fur trim. Two suits of such fur clothing were worn in the colder months, the inner one with the fur turned inward. Waterproof jackets were also made from the intestines of various sea mammals, while shoes were constructed from seal and caribou hide that had been toughened by chewing. Such clothing, however, has been replaced by manufactured clothing. Down parkas have replaced the caribou-skins, and rubber, insulated boots have replaced chewed seal skin. However, such clothing has become a major source of income for some individuals and groups. Traditional clothing, from mukluks to fur parkas, has become valued as art and artifact outside the Inuit.

DANCES AND SONGS

An oral culture, Inuit danced at traditional feast times in ritual dance houses called *karigi*. These dances were accompanied by drums and the recitation of verse stories. Some of these dances represented the caribou hunt; others might portray a flight of birds or a battle with the weather. Both poetry and dance were important to the Inuit; storytelling was vital for peoples who spent the long winter months indoors and in darkness. The word for poetry in Inupiaq is the same as the word to breathe, and both derive from *anerca*, the soul. Such poems were sung and often accompanied by dancers who moved in imitation of the forces of nature. Many of the traditional singers were also shamans and had the power to cast spells with their words. Thus, dance took on both a secular and religious significance to the Inuit. The Inuit created songs for dancing, for hunting, for entertaining children, for weather, for healing, for sarcasm, and for derision. Some dance and song festivals would last for days with the entire community participating, their voices accompanied by huge hoop drums. These dance traditions have been resurrected among Inuit communities. For example, the Northern Lights Dancers have pioneered this venture.

HOLIDAYS

Major feasts for the Inupiat took place in the winter and in spring. In December came the Messenger Feast held inside the community building. This *potlatch* feast demonstrated social status and wealth. A messenger would be sent to a neighboring community to invite it to be guests at a feast. Invitations were usually the result of a wish for continued or improved trading relations with the community in question. Gifts were exchanged at such feasts. Some southern groups also held Messenger Feasts in the fall.

The spring whaling festival, or *nalukataq*, was held after the whale hunt as a thanksgiving for success and to ask for continued good fortune with next year's hunt. It was held also to appease the spirit of the killed whales. Similar to other Bladder Dances or Festivals of non-Alaskan Inuit groups, these ceremonies intended to set free the spirits of sea mammals killed during the year. At the *nalukataq*, a blanket toss would take place, in which members of the community were bounced high from a walrus-skin "trampoline." Another spring festival marked the coming of the sun. Dressed in costumes that were a mixture of male and female symbols to denote creation, the Inuit danced to welcome the sun's return.

Trading fairs took place throughout the year. The summer *Kotzebue* fair was one of the largest. In 1991, it was revived, held just after the Fourth of July. For the first time in a century, Russian Inuit came to celebrate the fair with their Alaskan relatives. The Messenger Feast has also been re-instituted, held in January in Barrow.

HEALTH ISSUES

In traditional Inuit society the healing of the sick was the responsibility of the shaman or *angakok*, who contacted spirits by singing, dancing, and drum beating. He would take on the evil spirit of the sick. Shamans, however, proved helpless against the diseases brought by the Europeans and Americans. Tuberculosis was an early scourge of the Inuit, wiping out entire villages. Alcohol proved equally as lethal, and though it was outlawed, traders were able to bring it in as contraband to trade for furs. Alcohol dependency continues to be a major problem among Inuit villages and has resulted in a high occurrence of fetal alcohol syndrome. Thus, ten villages in the Northwest Arctic Borough have banned the importation and sale of alcohol, while *Kotzebue* has made the sale of liquor illegal but allows the importation of it for individual consumption. Nonetheless, alcohol continues to be a source of major problems despite the implementation of “dry” towns and boroughs. Rates of accident, homicide and suicide among the Inuit are far higher than among the general Alaskan population. Moreover, there is a high rate of infant mortality and sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) and infant spinal disorders.

Another health issue, particularly for the Inuit of the Cape Thompson region, is cancer, brought on by the dumping of 15,000 pounds of nuclear waste by the Atomic Energy Commission. Also, radiation experiments on flora and fauna of the region as well as Russian nuclear waste dumping offshore have contaminated many areas of northwestern Alaska, putting the native population at risk.

LANGUAGE

The Inuit communities of northern Alaska speak Inupiaq, part of the Eskaleut family of languages. All Inuit bands speak very closely related dialects of this language family. Its roots are in the Ural-Altaic languages of Finland, Hungary, and Turkey. Alaskan Eskaleut languages include Aleut, Yup'ik and Inupiaq.

Many Inuit words have become common in English and other languages of the world. Words

such as kayak, husky, igloo, and parka all have come from the Inuit. The worldview of the Inuit is summed up in a popular and fatalistic expression, *Ajurnamat*, “it cannot be helped.”

The future of Inuit-speaking Alaska is optimistic. Language instruction in school, as noted, was for many years solely in English, with native languages discouraged. Literacy projects have been started at Barrow schools to encourage the preservation of the language. However, English is the primary language of the region.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Local groups were formed by nuclear and small extended families led by an *umialik*, or family head, usually an older man. The *umialik* might lead hunting expeditions, and he and his wife would be responsible for the distribution of food. Beyond that, however, there was little control exerted on proper behavior in traditional Inuit society. Villages throughout northern Alaska have replaced hunting bands, thus preserving to some extent the fluid network of their traditional society.

EDUCATION

Education for the Inuit is still problematic. Each village has its own school, funded by the state with extra funds from the federal government. Yet the dropout rate is still high among their youth. There was a 30 percent dropout rate in grade school in 1965, a rate that climbed to 50 to 80 percent in high school. And for those few who reached college at that same time, some 97 percent dropped out. Ten years later, in 1975, the rates had gone down considerably, in part due to a revival of teaching in Inupiaq, as opposed to English-only instruction. Most Inuit under 15 are minimally literate in English. However, in older generations the same is not true.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Birth and pregnancy were traditionally surrounded by many taboos. For example, it was thought that if a pregnant woman walked out of a house backwards, she would have a breech delivery, or if a pregnant mother slept at irregular times during the day this would result in a lazy baby. Also, there were special birthing houses or *aanigutyaks*, where the woman went through labor in a kneeling (or squatting) position. These postures have been recognized by Western culture as often preferable to the hospital bed.

This Inuit wedding party poses outside of Saint Michael's Church in Alaska.



Most children are baptized within a month of birth and given an English name along with an Inuit one. Chosen by their parents, these names are normally of a recently departed relative or of some respected person. Siblings help care for children after the first few months, and the baby soon becomes accustomed to being carried about in packs or under parkas. There is no preference shown for either male or female babies; both are seen as a gift from nature. While moss and soft caribou skin have been replaced with cotton and disposable diapers, the Inuit's attitude toward their young has not changed. They are loved and given much latitude by both parents, and fathers participate actively in raising their children.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

There is still a recognized division of labor by gender, but it is a fluid one. In traditional societies, the men hunted, while the women tanned skins and made clothing and generally took care of domestic activities, and this occurred under the aegis of the extended family. In the modern era much of this has changed, but in general, outside employment is still the obligation of the male as well as any ancillary

hunting activities necessary to help make ends meet. Women are, for the most part, confined to household tasks.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

In the past, marriages were often arranged by parents; however, today dating openly occurs between teens. Group activities take precedence over individual dating. In traditional times, the most successful hunter could take more than one wife, though this was uncommon. Also in the past, temporary marriages served to bond non-kin allegiances formed for hunting and or warfare. Married couples traditionally set up their home with the man's parents for a time. Plumpness in a wife was a virtue, a sign of health and wealth. While divorce was, and is practiced in both traditional and modern Inuit societies, its incidence is not as high as in mainstream American society.

RELIGION

A central tenet of Inupiat religion was that the forces of nature were essentially malevolent. Inhab-

iting a ruthless climatological zone, the Inupiat believed that the spirits of the weather and of the animals must be placated to avoid harm. As a result, there was strict observance of various taboos as well as dances and ceremonies in honor of such spirits. These spirit entities found in nature included game animals in particular. Inupiat hunters would, for example, always open the skull of a freshly killed animal to release its spirit. Personal spirit songs were essential among whale hunters. Much of this religious tradition was directed and passed on by shamans, both male and female. These shamans could call upon a *tuunsaq*, or helping spirit, in times of trouble or crisis. This spirit often took the shape of a land animal, into whose shape the shaman would change him or herself. Traditional Native religious practices, as well as the power of the shamans, decreased with the Inuit's increased contact with Europeans.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Traditionally, the Inuit economy revolved around the changing seasons and the animals that could be successfully hunted during these periods. The Inuit world was so closely linked to its subsistence economy that many of the calendar months were named after game prey. For example, March was the moon for hanging up seal and caribou skins to bleach them; April was the moon for the onset of whaling; and October was the moon of rutting caribou. Whaling season began in the spring with the first break up of the ice. At this time bowhead whales, some weighing as much as 60 tons, passed by northern Alaska to feeding grounds offshore, which were rich in plankton. Harpooners would strike deep into the huge mammal, and heavy sealskin floats would help keep the animal immobilized as lances were sunk into it. Hauling the whale ashore, a section of blubber would be immediately cut off and boiled as a thanksgiving. Meat, blubber, bone, and baleen were all taken from the animal by parties of hunters under the head of an *umialik*, or boss. Such meat would help support families for months.

Caribou, another highly prized food source, was hunted in the summer and fall. In addition to the meat, the Inuit used the caribou's skin and antlers. Even the sinew was saved and used for thread. Baleen nets were also used for fishing at the mouths of rivers and streams. Walrus and seal were other staples of the traditional Inuit subsistence economy.

These practices changed with the arrival of the Europeans. As noted earlier, many attempts were

made to replace diminished natural resources, including the importation of reindeer and the trapping of foxes for fur. These were unsuccessful, and modern Inuit blend a wage economy with hunting and fishing. A major employer is the state and federal government. The Red Dog Mine, as well as the oil industry on the North Slope, also provide employment opportunities. Smaller urban centers such as Barrow and Kotzebue offer a wider variety of employment opportunities, as does the Chukchi Sea Trading Company, a Point Hope arts and crafts cooperative that sells native arts online. Others must rely on assistance programs, and for most there continues to be a dependence on both wage and subsistence economies. In order to facilitate subsistence economy, fishing and hunting rights were restored to the Inuit in 1980.

In general, living costs are greater in the rural areas of the north than in the rest of Alaska. For example, as David Maas pointed out in *Native North American Almanac*, a family living in Kotzebue could pay 62 percent more per week for food than a family in Anchorage, and 165 percent more for electricity. The incidence of poverty is also higher among Alaskan Natives than for others in the state, with some 3,000 families receiving food stamps and 18,000 families relying on low-income energy subsidies. Over 25 percent of the Native population of the state live below the poverty line, while in some areas of Alaska, Native unemployment rates top 50 percent.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Traditional Inuit maintained a large degree of individual freedom, surprising in a society that depended greatly on cooperative behavior for survival. Partnerships and non-kin alliances became crucial during hunting seasons and during wars and feuds, but it was mostly based on the nuclear or extended family unit. When bands came together, they were more geographical than political in nature, and while leaders or *umialik* were important in hunting, their power was not absolute. The social fabric of Inuit society changed forever in the twentieth century, though the people have avoided the reservation system. Natives themselves, such as the Inupiat of Barrow and Shungnak voted against establishing the reservations that formed all over America in the 1930s.

During the mid-twentieth century, there was a great deal of competition for once-native lands, both from the private and public sector. In 1932 a petroleum reserve in the north was set aside, and then developed by the Navy and later by private

This is an example of an Inuit dance orchestra, used in many more modern celebrations.



companies. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) also wanted Inuit land. In 1958, the AEC requested some 1600 square miles of land near Point Hope to create a deep-water port using an atomic explosion many times more powerful than that at Hiroshima. Some of the first political action taken by the Inuit was in opposition to this experiment. As a result, the plan, Project Chariot, was called off.

After their success against Project Chariot, Natives began to organize in a concerted way to protect their lands. In 1961, various village leaders formed the Inupiat Paitot (The People's Heritage Movement) to protect Inupiat lands. In 1963 the Northwest Alaska Native Association was formed under the leadership of Willie Hensley, later a state senator. The Arctic Slope Association was formed in 1966. Both associations mirrored the activities of the statewide Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) which lobbied for Native rights and claims. Local villages and organizations throughout the state were filing claims for land not yet ceded to the government. In 1968, with Congress beginning to review the situation, oil was dis-

covered on the North Slope. Oil companies wanted to pipe the oil out via the port of Valdez, and negotiations were soon underway to settle Inuit and other Native claims.

The result was the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), which created 12 regional for-profit corporations throughout the state. These corporations had title to surface and mineral rights of some 44 million acres. Additionally, Natives would receive \$962.5 million in compensation for the 335 million acres of the state which they no longer claimed. Thus, the way was paved for the construction of the Alaska pipeline.

As a result of ANCSA, all Alaskans with at least one-quarter Native blood would receive settlement money that would be managed by regional and village corporations. Alaskan Inuit villages then organized into several corporations in hopes of taking advantage of the opportunities of this legislation. Amendments in 1980 to the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act restoring Native rights to subsistence hunting and fishing, and in 1988, ensuring Native control of corporations, helped equalize ANCSA legislation. As of

the 1990s, however, few of these corporations have managed to reach financial stability, and at least four have reported losses since 1971.

Inuit groups organized in the 1970s to see that high schools were built in their villages. In the Barrow region, local schools broke away from the Bureau of Indian Affairs administration and formed local boards of education more amenable to the teaching of Inupiaq language, history, and customs. The North Slope Borough, formed in 1972, took over school administration in 1975, and the Northwest Arctic Borough, formed in 1986, did the same. These regional political structures are further sub-divided into villages with elected mayors and city councils. Slowly the Inuit of northern Alaska are trying to reclaim their heritage in the modern world.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Academia and Education

Martha Aiken (1926-) is an educator born in Barrow, Alaska, of Inupiat descent. Aiken has authored 17 bilingual books for the North Slope Borough School District, has translated 80 hymns for the Presbyterian Church, and has been a major contributor to an Inupiaq dictionary. She has also served on the board of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. Sadie Brower Neakok (1916-) is an educator, community activist and magistrate, from Barrow. A full-time teacher for the BIA, Neakok was appointed by the State of Alaska to be a magistrate, and was instrumental in introducing the American legal system to the Inupiat.

ART

Melvin Olanna (1941-) is an Inupiat sculptor and jewelry designer. Educated in Oregon and at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Olanna has had numerous individual and group exhibitions of his work, and has also won a number of Alaskan awards for the arts. A practitioner of the ancient carving traditions of the Inuit, Olanna brings this older design form together with modern forms. He learned carving techniques from masters such as George Ahgupuk and Wilber Walluk, and by age 14 he was already supporting himself with his carving. Olanna's work typically shows broad planes, simple surfaces, and flowing curves similar to the work of Henry Moore. He works in wood, ivory, whalebone, and bronze, and after a year in Europe he brought several tons of Carrara marble home with him to

Suquamish. He and his wife helped found the Melvin Olanna Carving Center, dedicated to training young Inuit in their ancient traditions. Joseph Senungetuk (1940-) is a printmaker and carver of Inupiat descent. An activist as artist, writer, and teacher, Senungetuk has devoted his life to Native issues and the revitalization of Alaskan arts. He grew up in Nome where an uncle first taught him to carve, then attended the University of Alaska in Fairbanks. Senungetuk also wrote an autobiographical and historical book, *Give or Take a Century: An Eskimo Chronicle*, the first book published by his publishing house. He spent many years in San Francisco where he concentrated on printmaking. Returning to Alaska he wrote a regular column for an Anchorage newspaper and also worked on sculpting. Susie Bevins (1941-) is an Inupiat carver and mask maker. Born in remote Prudhoe Bay to an English trader and his Norwegian-Eskimo wife, Bevins moved to Barrow as an infant after her father died. At age 11 her family once again moved, this time to Anchorage. She studied art in Atlanta, Georgia, and Italy, and she is one of the best known Inuit artists of the day. Her masks often speak of the split personality of Natives growing up in two cultures. Larry Ahvakana (1946-) is an Inupiat sculptor and mixed media artist who trained at the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe and at the Cooper Union School of Arts in New York. Ahvakana uses modern sculptural techniques blended with his Native heritage to create lasting pieces in stone and wood. His interpretations of Alaskan myth often appear in his art.

JOURNALISM

Howard Rock (1911-1976) was born in Point Hope, where in the 1960s he joined Inupiat Paitot to stop the government from using the locale as a nuclear test site. Rock became the editor of a newsletter formed to educate other Inuit about the dangers. In 1962 this newsletter became the *Tundra Times*, with Rock serving as its editor until his death in 1976. In 1965, he helped organize the first Alaska Federated Natives meeting in Anchorage. Rock, who began life as a jewelry maker, was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize the year before he died.

POLITICS

William L. Hensley (1941-), also known as Iggiagruk or "Big Hill," is an Inuit leader, co-founder of the Alaskan Federation of Natives, and state senator. Born in Kotzebue to a family of hunters and fishermen, Hensley left home for his education, attending a boarding school in Tennessee. He

earned a bachelor's degree from George Washington University in Washington, D.C., where he first became politicized about the conditions of his people in Alaska. Returning to Alaska, he studied constitutional law at the University of Alaska. In 1966, Hensley became one of the founders of the AFN, which was instrumental in lobbying Washington for Native claims. Since that time he has played an active role in Alaskan politics and has been an untiring spokesperson for the rights of the Inuit. He founded the Northwest Alaska Native Association and was instrumental in the development of the Red Dog Lead and Zinc Mine in northwest Alaska, the second largest zinc mine in the world. Both a state senator and a representative, Hensley was honored with the National Public Service Award from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1980, the Governor's Award for Alaskan of the Year, 1981, and an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Alaska in Anchorage, 1981.

MEDIA

PRINT

The Arctic Sounder.

Community newspaper serving Kotzebue, Barrow, and Nome.

Contact: John Woodbury, Editor,

Address: 336 East Fifth Avenue, Anchorage,
Alaska 99501.

Telephone: (800) 770-9830.

E-mail: mail@organsociety.org.

Tundra Times.

Bi-weekly newspaper, founded in 1962, devoted to the issues of Native Alaskans.

Contact: Jeff Richardson, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 92247, Anchorage, Alaska
99509-2247.

Telephone: (800) 764-2512.

E-mail: tundratimes@tribalnet.org.

RADIO

KBRW-AM (680) and KBRW-FM (91.9).

Contact: Steve Hamlin, Program Director.

Address: 1695 Okpik Street, P.O. Box 109,
Barrow, Alaska 99723.

Telephone: (907) 852-6811.

E-mail: kbrw@barrow.com.

KOTZ-AM (720).

Contact: Pierre Lonewolf, Program Director.

Address: P.O. Box 78, Kotzebue, Alaska, 99752.

Telephone: (907) 442-3434.

E-mail: kotzam@eagle.ptialaska.net.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN).

Serves as an advocate for Alaskan Inuit, Native Americans, and Aleut at the state and federal level. Founded in 1966. Publishes the AFN Newsletter.

Address: 411 West Fourth Avenue, Suite 301,
Anchorage, Alaska 99501.

Telephone: (907) 274-3611.

Mauneluk Association.

Contact: Marie Green, President.

Address: P.O. Box 256, Kotzebue, Alaska 99752.

Telephone: (907) 442-3311.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Alaska State Museum.

Address: 395 Whittier Street, Juneau,
Alaska 99801-1718.

Telephone: (907) 465-2976.

Fax: (907) 465-2976.

Anchorage Museum of History and Art.

Address: 121 West Seventh Avenue, Anchorage,
Alaska 99501.

Telephone: (907) 343-4326.

Institute of Alaska Native Art, Inc.

Address: P.O. Box 70769, Fairbanks,
Alaska 99707.

Telephone: (907) 456-7406.

Fax: (907) 451-7268.

Kotzebue Museum, Inc.

Collection contains Inuit artifacts, arts and crafts.

Address: P.O. Box 46, Kotzebue,
Alaska 99752.

Telephone: (907) 442-3401.

Fax: (907) 442-3742.

Simon Paneak Memorial Museum.

Contains a collection of Nuunamiut Inuit history and traditions.

Address: P.O. Box 21085, Anaktuvuk Pass,
Alaska 99721.

Telephone: (907) 661-3413.

Fax: (907) 661-3429.

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Burch, Ernest S., Jr. *The Inupiaq Eskimo Nations of Northwest Alaska*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1998.

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IRANIAN AMERICANS

by
Mary Gillis

OVERVIEW

The Islamic Republic of Iran occupies 635,932 square miles (1,648,000 square kilometers) on the Asian continent. The country is bounded on the north by the Transcaucasian and Turkistan territories of the former Soviet Union (along with the Caspian Sea), on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan, on the west by Iraq and Turkey, and on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Most of Iran is a geographic plateau located about 4,000 feet above sea level; the plateau is spotted with mountains where the annual snowfall provides much of the water needed for irrigation during the hot spring and summer months.

Although most of the country is arid and desert-like, the majority of the population is located in the area around the Caspian Sea, which has a hot and humid climate. As of the early 1980s, approximately one third of the population was occupied in agriculture, one third in the service sector, and another third in manufacturing, mining, construction, and utilities. Unemployment grew throughout the 1980s, however, reaching an estimated 28.5 percent in 1986 due to the nation's faltering economy in the face of the ongoing border war with neighboring Iraq and the drop in worldwide oil prices.

Iran is the nineteenth most populous nation in the world, approaching 50 million people in the late 1980s. Nearly half the Iranian population is

ethnically non-Arab, being considered direct descendants of Aryan invaders of the second century B.C. Other significant ethnic groups descend from ancient Arabic and Turkish conquerors; there are also smaller populations of nomadic tribes, including Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiari, Qashqa'i, Mamasani, Khamseh, Shahsevans, Baluchi, and Turkomans.

The majority of Iran's population converted to the Islamic religion in the seventh century A.D. after invasion by Arab tribes, and the Shi'i sect of Islam has predominated since the sixteenth century. Most of the population (98 percent) is Muslim, and fully 93 percent are members of the Shi'i sect. The remaining Muslims are members of the Sunni sect of Islam. There are minority Christian (about 300,000), and Jewish (about 25,000 in 1984) populations, as well as Zoroastrians (about 30,000) and Baha'i (about 350,000). The latter two religions originated in Iran, but practitioners of both have been subjected to persecution by officials of the regime that came to power with the revolution in 1979. In 1987, there were 270,000 Bahais in Iran and 7,000 in the United States, of which 1,000 were identified as Iranian immigrants.

In discussing possible reasons for the paucity of material available on the Iranian immigrant community in the United States, Diane M. Hoffman summarized its basic characteristics: "The relative recency of the large-scale influx of Iranians (many of whom arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s), their relatively affluent socioeconomic background, their great religious, political, and ethnic heterogeneity, and their lack of well-defined geographic communities and internal cohesiveness are characteristics that make their status as a minority community somewhat problematic."

This attitude parallels the traditional self-image of the Shi'ism as a minority that must fight off a hostile majority, a paradigm taken from the martyrdom of Husain, commemorated annually during the month of Muharram. Among Shi'i leadership, this attitude evolved into "a quietist stance," according to David Pinault, which entailed "silent opposition to worldly powers, coupled with spiritual authority among a persecuted and excluded minority." Pinault noted that when the Shi'i leadership took political power in 1979, it was able to tap into the traditional Shi'i stance by "portraying the Iranian nation as a righteous minority menaced by powerful external enemies who seek to deprive it of its proper place in the world." A similarity may be found in Hoffman's description of the attitude of the Iranian high school students in Los Angeles in particular.

HISTORY

Iran's strategic location, bridging the Middle East and India, has determined its history as one of invasion by foreign armies. Aryan invaders of the second century B.C. established Zoroastrianism as the dominant religion in the area, lending the people their distinctive ethnic heritage as well as their name. Alexander the Great swept through the area in the fourth century on his way to India, followed by Arab invaders in the seventh, who spread the teachings of Muhammad. By the eleventh century, the religion of Islam dominated the plateau and the advanced Persian sciences, literature, and learning had seduced the leaders of more than one invading army, including Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century and Tamerlane in the fourteenth. Various native rulers controlled the region over the next centuries. The Safavids ruled from the early sixteenth century until 1736. Their founder and first ruler, Shah Ismail, tried to unify the conglomeration of loosely united tribes scattered through the land by their conversion to Shi'ism as the state religion. During this era theologians laid the basis of Shi'ite theology as it is currently practiced in Iran; also, since then, Shi'ism has been a badge of Persian identity in the Islamic world. By the end of the eighteenth century, a Turkish tribe called the Qajars ruled the area now known as Iran.

MODERN ERA

The Qajars governed Iran until the 1920s when Reza Shah (1878-1944) took over the government and established the Pahlavi monarchy. Reza Shah, whose sympathies leaned toward the Nazis at the start of World War II, was forced to abdicate to his son, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980), in 1941 by Britain and the Soviet Union, which had established a presence in the country in order to block Nazi influence in the region. Some see the first episode of the Cold War in the Soviets' refusal to remove their troops from Iran until forced to do so by the United States and the newly formed United Nations in 1946. Iran became an even more significant player on the political scene worldwide as oil began to dominate the postwar world market—Iran possesses as much as ten percent of the world's oil reserves. It was through its oil contacts that Iran gradually became Westernized, a process consciously accelerated during the "white revolution" of 1962-1963, when various reforms were enacted (including giving women the right to vote and to hold public office) and opposition—increasingly centered in the religious community—was suppressed.

Prior to 1979, Iran was ruled by a constitutional monarchy; however, it was in name only, not in practice. Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi changed the country's name from Persia to Iran in 1935 under a directive of Iran's representative abroad who believed that the province under which Persia was named (Pars) was only a single part of the entire country, while the birthplace of the *Aryan* race was Iran. After 1962, Iran became less a constitutional monarchy and more a one-man dictatorship. After the revolution, which toppled the Western-backed government of the Shah, who had led the country for nearly four decades, Iran officially became an Islamic republic governed by the laws of the Koran and the traditions of the Shi'i religion as interpreted by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1900-1989). Khomeini was the nation's official spiritual guide (*faqhi*) until his death a decade after the revolution; he was replaced by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in 1989. Iran has experienced severe economic, social, and cultural turmoil throughout the twentieth century, particularly in the years leading up to the 1979 revolution. Since that time, the country has struggled to work out the details of its dedication to the teachings of the prophet Muhammad in everyday life and in specific government policies while fighting an expensive border war with Iraq and seeing several million of its wealthiest and most highly educated citizenry emigrate to the West.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

It is difficult to trace immigration to the United States from the region designated by the modern world as the Middle East because of the way in which immigration officials on both sides have kept records. Prior to 1900, the destination of all those leaving the Ottoman Empire was officially Egypt, as the West was considered off-limits; upon arrival in the United States, these immigrants were indiscriminately labeled "Arabs." After 1900, when the popular term became "Syrians," and as late as 1930, all Middle Eastern immigrants were both officially and unofficially designated as Syrians. It appears that more than half of those who immigrated to the United States before 1950 were Lebanese, and 90 percent of the total were Christian, despite the overwhelming predominance of Islam in the Middle East.

The first wave of immigration from Iran to the United States, corresponding to the period 1950-1977, was relatively insignificant in terms of numbers of immigrants. Annually, about 1,500 Iranians entered the United States as immigrants during this period, along with about 17,000 non-immigrants, including students and visitors. The vast majority of

Iran's emigrants left their homeland just prior to or as a result of the 1979 revolution, and are often considered de facto political refugees, though they lack that official designation. For the period 1978-1980, the average number of Iranians entering the United States as non-immigrants annually increased to more than 100,000; it is believed that the difference between the figures for the two waves of immigration is explained by the presence of exiles and refugees from the Islamic fundamentalist regime that overthrew the Shah.

Although non-Muslims form a tiny minority of the Iranian population in Iran, non-Muslim religious minorities appear to be overrepresented among Iranians in Los Angeles, where the largest Iranian population outside Iran is concentrated. The reason for the large number of religious minorities among Iranian immigrants compared to their proportion in the feeder population appears to be fear of or actual religious persecution under the fundamentalist Islamic government. For example, at its height, the Iranian Jewish population numbered 90,000 and enjoyed greater freedom and power than in any other Muslim country. But despite Ayatollah Khomeini's assurances of their safety under his government, several Jewish leaders were killed during the regime's early years, and 2,000 Jews leaving temple after Friday night services in 1983 were rounded up and imprisoned. By 1987, an estimated 55,000 Iranian Jews had received permission to emigrate. In 1992, 35,000 of those potential immigrants had settled in Los Angeles, New York City, and in Europe; however, the stream of Iranian Jewish immigrants had slowed considerably by the early 1990s and a few had even returned to Iran to reclaim their former lives and property as living conditions there eased.

Several sources have noted that an estimated two to three million Iranians have fled their homeland since the 1979 revolution; of the more than one million Iranians scattered across the United States, approximately 600,000—as of 1998—are located in southern California. According to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services figures through 1991, estimates on Iranian immigrants are much lower, totaling 200,000 Iranian immigrants entering the United States since 1978. The difference in these figures may be the result of counting only those who entered the country as immigrants, leaving out the large numbers of those entering officially as non-immigrants, including students and visitors. This group is often characterized as the former "elite" of Iran, highly educated and skilled professionals of various religions and ethnic backgrounds, many of whom have been financially successful in the United States.

There is some evidence to support the statement, however, that most Iranians who came to the United States did not intend to stay permanently. Only ten percent of those born in Iran and residing in Los Angeles at the time of the 1980 census had become naturalized citizens, and only 18 percent of those admitted into the country that year were relatives of resident aliens. In 1992, more than 100,000 Iranians had returned to their homeland since 1989, due as much to the economic recession in the United States as a state-sponsored campaign that urged reconciliation with the “secular experts.” One Iranian questioned pointed to the reversal in the government’s attitude toward secular experts as a recognition that the Iranian economy will never recover under the direction of religious experts alone.

INTERACTIONS WITH SETTLED AMERICANS

The relationship between the Iranian American population and the surrounding population since the 1979 revolution appears to be one characterized by fear and prejudice on the one side, and by anger and sadness on the other. Those belonging to the Muslim religion in particular are often subjected to a kind of nationwide backlash that identifies all members of their religion as violent fanatics or terrorists. In 1985 a proposed religious and cultural center for Muslims to be built in central Oklahoma was abandoned due to the protests of local citizens who feared the project would establish a site for a terrorist network in their midst. In addition, the U.S. government has often reinforced the stereotype that all Iranians are potential terrorists. According to an article in *Maclean’s* magazine in 1984, some in the American State Department feared any attempt by the United States to protect its interests in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s would inspire “‘sleeping’ terrorist cells in the ranks of Iranian exiles and students” living in the United States (“Iran’s ‘Sleeping’ Threat,” *Maclean’s* [June 4, 1984]). And in 1987, the *Nation* reported that Iranian visa and green-card holders constituted one of the groups targeted by the American Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for a proposed “contingency plan” intended to identify “potential alien terrorists and undesirables” and remove them from the country (“The Untouchables,” *Nation* [March 21, 1987], p. 348).

In response, many Iranian Americans feel a “deep sense of helplessness and alienation” in a culture that appears to understand them little and care less for their fate, according to Homayoon Moossavi. “We are, for the most part, only the subject of ridicule by political cartoonists and second-rate comics. We are treated as a faceless mob. This dri-

ves us mad, makes us angry and bitter,” Moossavi concluded. Prior to the 1979 revolution, many Iranians would try to conceal their identity by identifying themselves as Persians or by speaking in English. Although some believe that this was to avoid American discrimination, the primary reason was a fear of Iran’s State Organization for Intelligence and Security (SAVAK). This organization operated freely abroad, especially in the United States, to punish so-called dissidents or anti-Shah groups.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Although there is little data pertaining specifically to Iranian Americans and their struggle with assimilation into the surrounding culture, most Iranians in the United States are Muslims. Azim A. Nanji has identified several areas of conflict between the traditional Muslim and the secular American cultures. The most significant difference between living in a predominantly Islamic society and living in the United States is the lack of social support for the shariah, the Muslim code of conduct which has evolved over the centuries and which governs every aspect of one’s life, from the most private to the most public.

In addition, the place of the extended family network at the center of Muslim life, which traditionally provides one’s social identity as well as the all-important comforts of the private domain, is often not possible for immigrants, who may have left most or all of their family behind. Furthermore, Nanji noted, women may experience the greatest changes in the new environment due to the more frequent necessity of working outside the home. “This has meant that the essentially separate worlds of Muslim men and women in the public spheres have now become fused,” Nanji remarked, adding that Muslim women in America tend to participate more actively in the mosque, though traditionally women pray primarily in the home.

Finally, Nanji identified Muslim youth in the United States as an area for deep concern among Muslim families. Peer pressure to experiment with drinking, dating, and other aspects of the lives of secular American adolescents which are forbidden by Islam, as well as pressure from the school system to practice individualistic values such as self-reliance and independent thinking—values that contradict the family-centered Muslim tradition—are sources of anxiety to Muslim parents. In response to these concerns, Nanji noted, some Muslims have attempted to recreate a totally Islamic

This young Iranian American boy is celebrating the Persian New Year.



atmosphere in the North American context by building schools, mosques, and communes.

Hoffman suggested that unlike other immigrant groups, degree of language acquisition and length of residence in the United States indicate only the most superficial identification with the surrounding culture for Iranian Americans. Indeed, most Iranian immigrants speak English with some degree of fluency upon arrival in the United States. The prestige accorded those fluent in a second language—especially French or English—in Iran meant that conversations held in public or on social occasions were rarely conducted in Farsi; this attitude was carried over to the American context, reflecting the longstanding Iranian fascination with Western culture prior to the 1979 revolution. Indeed, despite a statistical downturn in education level of Iranian immigrants pre- and post-revolution, Iranian immigrants as a group display an extremely high incidence of English proficiency, particularly compared to other recent immigrant groups, according to Georges Sabagh and Mehdi Bozorgmehr in their study of the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Iranian immigrant community in Los Angeles.

Hoffman noted that since the 1979 revolution, however, and thus for the majority of Iranian immigrants in the United States, the attitude toward use of Farsi has reversed itself. This has resulted in a resurgence of interest among immigrants in traditional Persian culture and literature, and a new insistence on using Farsi in public and in private unless compelled to use English by an authority fig-

ure (for example, a teacher), or by the exigencies of the situation itself (for example, if one or more people present do not speak Farsi).

Hoffman argued that the resistance to speaking English among Iranians living in the United States indicates a renewed pride in their own cultural heritage as “a response to the twin threat to cultural identity posed by the revolutionary changes in Iran itself and the stresses of living in the United States.” Just as the native population was able to maintain its distinctive culture despite centuries of invading armies, so in the United States, Iranians seem to cling to their ethnic heritage in the face of pressures to assimilate. Hoffman found that Iranian immigrants were often less interested in acquiring knowledge about American culture than they were in learning more about their own cultural heritage. Among Iranian American high school students in Los Angeles, Hoffman found both an acknowledgment of the necessity to acquire proficiency in English in order to achieve scholastically and a resistance of the typical association of language acquisition with value acquisition. Among the Los Angeles students and businessmen studied by Hoffman, “American work culture, and perhaps the notion of work as applied to self, such as in the philosophy of self-help or self-development, were the only domains in which Iranians enthusiastically espoused American values.”

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

Due to the oil shortage experienced in the United States in the 1970s the romantic or exotic image of

the Middle East, based on such fairy tales as “Aladdin and His Magic Lamp” and “Ali Babba and the Forty Thieves,” became a negative stereotype of “greedy Arab oilmen” and of terrorists crazed by Islamic fundamentalism, as noted in “Media Blitz” (*Scholastic Update*, October 22, 1993). Iranian Americans in particular have been subjected to the latter stereotype because of the political radicals who held 52 Americans hostage for more than a year in 1979 in the American Embassy in Teheran, Iran’s capital city. And when four Muslim immigrants were arrested for the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in 1993, one Middle Eastern immigrant remarked in “Media Blitz” that “this trial is not about the guilt or innocence of a few men. All Islam is on trial.”

Some Muslims blame the American media and popular culture for propagating negative stereotypes about their culture and religion. For example, Disney’s popular film *Aladdin* features a Middle Eastern character who sings about cutting off ears as legal punishment and calls his home “barbaric.” Middle Eastern critics of American popular culture point to the recent predominance of Arabs or Muslims in the role of villain in movies and television shows. Furthermore, these critics contend in “Media Blitz” that through the media’s reliance on such terms as “Islamic terrorists” and “Islamic fundamentalists,” Americans are encouraged to confuse the few Islamic radicals who espouse violence with the majority of the adherents of the Islamic religion who reject violence.

HOLIDAYS

The most significant Iranian holiday is Muharram, which focuses on the seventh-century martyrdom of Husain, the grandson of the prophet Muhammad, who is considered the rightful heir to the caliphate (leadership of the religion) by Shi’i Muslims. Muharram is a period of mourning and penitence as all Shi’ites grieve the murder of Husain, his family, and followers at Karbala. The first eight days represent the period they were besieged in the desert; the eighth and ninth days of Muharram are thus the most intense days of this holiday. The tenth day, *Ashura*, is the height of Muharram festival.

Muharram festivities include processions during which banners or commemorative tombs are displayed, narrative readings are performed, and most important, *ta’ziyeh khani* (mourning songs)—traditional plays in honor of the martyrs of Karbala—are enacted in every village. Despite the essentially religious subject matter of the *ta’ziyeh* plays—which traditionally depict the death of

Husain and his family or related events, such as the awful fate that awaits their assassins in the afterworld—“they are political as well as religious ceremonies during which a community reaffirms its commitment to the shared set of social values inherent in communally-held religious beliefs,” according to Milla C. Riggio. Food is often shared throughout the performance of the play, reinforcing the communal feeling among the audience, and the audience interacts with the players onstage by singing along, crying, and beating their breasts in sorrow or penitence.

In her study of a *ta’ziyeh* performed in the United States, Riggio emphasized the ways in which Mohammed Ghaffari, the play’s Iranian American director, altered the original play because of the differences in the American versus the Iranian audience. Because his American audience could not—or would not, given the constraints of Western theatergoing—verbally respond to the spectacle onstage, the play’s traditional “call for vengeance against the cultural as well as religious enemies of Shi’ism” was not available to Ghaffari. Instead, the community-affirming message of the play was transformed into a personal expression of the director’s feelings about his own exile. This was achieved in part by altering the traditional costuming, action, and theme of the play, “which abstracted and universalized the idea of cruelty rather than localizing it in Shi’i martyrdom,” argued Riggio. “Replacing the call to martyrdom with a mystical dance which affirms the beauty of his life while recognizing human cruelty, Ghaffari displaced the communal values of the *ta’ziyeh* tradition in favor of the existential experience of the isolated individual,” Riggio concluded.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

Hejab, modest garb appropriate for women, is a controversial aspect of Islamic culture, and public conformity to its dictates is often considered a signal of fluctuations in the political atmosphere. During the reign of the Westernized Pahlavi monarchy, women were discouraged from wearing the *chador*, the enveloping robe that ensures women’s hair and skin are hidden from view, and among the upper and middle classes the garment came to be associated with oppression. After the revolution, although the *chador* itself was not mandated, it was required that all women appearing in public obey the dictates of modesty in covering themselves completely except for the skin of the hands and face. Although no data was found on the degree of conformity to *hejab* among Iranian women in the United States, given what is known about the high socioeconomic status of most Iranian Americans before immigration, it is

unlikely that wearing the *chador* would be widespread among this group.

LANGUAGE

The official language of Iran is Farsi, known in the West as Persian, which combines the ancient Persian language with many Arabic words and is written with Arabic characters and script. Turkish and Turkic dialects are also spoken in several areas in the country. The nomadic tribes that migrate vertically every spring and fall from the Zagros mountain range to the surrounding lowland plains speak a variety of other languages and dialects. Iranian immigrants to the United States are more highly educated than most immigrant groups; this fact, along with the prestige associated with the use of such foreign languages as French or English in Iran, has meant that the majority of Iranian Americans report a high level of proficiency in English. Sabagh and Bozorgmehr concluded that “Iranian migrants as a whole probably have a better command of English ... than most other immigrants in Los Angeles.”

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Farsi greetings and other expressions include: *Salam!*—Greetings!; or, more informally, *Cheh khabar?*—What’s new?; and *Cheh khabareh?*—What’s happening?; *Khoda Hafez*—Good-bye; *Lof-tan*—Please; *Mamnoon am*—Thank you; *Khabeli nadereh*—You’re welcome. *Inshallah*—If God be willing; *Maashallah*—May God preserve, is often used with expressions of admiration, or by itself to express admiration of someone. Other expressions of admiration include *Cheghadr ghashangeh!*—How beautiful!; *Kheili jaleheh*—Very interesting; and *Aliyeh!*—Great!

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Although half the Iranian population claims a non-Arab ethnicity, all Muslim Iranians—the vast majority of the population—share a common tradition with other Muslims of the Middle East, Arab or non-Arab. Muslim society in general, according to Nanji, is centered on extended family networks headed by the father. Traditionally, business and political life as well as social life has been determined by the family network. According to *Iran: A Country Study*, “Historically, an influential family was one that had its members strategically distributed throughout the most vital sectors of society,

each prepared to support the others in order to ensure family prestige and family status.” Thus the family is at the center of the individual’s economic and political as well as social and emotional life. The extended family is enlarged through marriage with other Muslims and continues through a strong tradition of family inheritance. “On the whole, this heritage of social grouping and family values characterized the value system of immigrant Muslims.” The family has undergone change, however, as Iranian Americans, especially the women, become assimilated in the United States.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

The father, as head of the family, is considered responsible for the family’s social, material, and spiritual welfare, and in return expects respect and obedience. Marriage, often within the extended family network, is encouraged at a young age both officially and unofficially, and though multiple marriages (as many as four) are allowed for men by Islamic law, it has often been discouraged both by the government and by the family. In addition, the Shi’i religion, the predominant sect of Islam in Iran, allows the practice of temporary marriage, or *muta*. Muslim women are forbidden to marry non-Muslims, as it is feared the woman and her children will most certainly be lost to Islam, but Muslim men may marry non-Muslims if they are Jewish or Christian. These religions are traditionally considered kin to the Muslims, but intermarriage is nevertheless allowed on the assumption that the woman will convert to Islam and raise the children according to Islamic law.

Changes in the characteristic Middle Eastern family structure in the North American context have resulted in part from the loss of power that had been accorded to elders as purveyors of important cultural knowledge and to the father as head of the family. The knowledge elders possess may not be considered relevant in the context of immigration. Power relations are sometimes reversed when the second generation finds it necessary to instruct the first on various aspects of the new culture or to represent the family to the outside world due to its greater knowledge of English. Furthermore, influenced by the culture around them, members of the second generation often desire greater freedom to determine their own lives while their elders struggle to maintain control over the family. One area that has not changed is adherence to the Islamic law to take care of the elderly when they cannot take care of themselves. Other changes among immigrant families include a decrease in the likelihood that marriages will be arranged.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women of the middle and upper classes—many of whom had adopted secular, Westernized values—were among those most affected when the conservative Islamic government came to power with the revolution in 1979. Strict enforcement of the traditional dress code might extend to flogging for violations such as wearing make-up or nail polish, even if covered by sunglasses and gloves. Throughout the 1980s, the official attitude toward women as indicated by police enforcement of the dress code through patrols and roadblocks varied somewhat by region (women are more severely restricted in rural areas than in Teheran, the capital city) and with fluctuations in the political realm. Still, a woman may be censured or fined for wearing perfume, letting some hair escape from her *chador*, or for speaking to a man in public in an animated fashion. Although Iranian women believe they are allowed more independence than women in Saudi Arabia, this is still far less than was accorded them before the revolution, and the inconsistency with which the laws have been applied is nerve-wracking.

Nevertheless, the sphere of women's power primarily remains the home, extending only to the initiation of social activities there and in the mosque. Nanji refuted the "stereotype of Muslim women as either concubines or oppressed baby-making machines," stressing that despite the interpretation given the laws of the Koran governing women by the most conservative adherents of Islam, "in the overall context of Muslim history and society, the status and role of women accorded with the larger view of the integrity and vitality of the family as the cornerstone of all social relationships." That is, though the home has traditionally been the seat of women's power in Islamic cultures, and is frequently perceived to be the only sphere where it is appropriate for women to assert themselves, the role that home life plays in Islamic cultures is central to all other aspects of the social structure.

It has been suggested that, among Iranians in Los Angeles at least, the authority of women within the family actually decreases after immigration. Parvin Abyaneh noted that 66 Iranian families in Los Angeles were surveyed on the following four points: amount of time women spent doing household work; amount of help women received while performing household chores; degree of control women had over family income; and, amount of control women had over major family decisions ("Immigrants and Patriarchy," *Women's Studies* 17, 1989). Survey results showed that Iranian American women spend more time doing household chores, receive less help with these chores from their hus-

bands (or others), and have less ability to control the way family income is spent in the United States than when they resided in Iran. Although Iranian women exert little influence outside the home before immigration, that sphere of influence appears to deteriorate after migration to the United States.

Not all Iranian American women led such circumscribed lives. About 48 percent of Iranian American women living in Los Angeles worked outside the home in 1990. By 1997, many women led more western-style lives: they had pursued college educations and jobs. Iranian American women worked as professors, in business, and in hospitals as doctors or other specialists. Sometimes these women were shunned by traditionalists. Still, Iranian American girls, especially of the second generation, saw the possibilities of life in the United States and wanted to take advantage of them. Some protested family rules that decreed more freedom for their brothers. For example, many Iranian American families prevented their daughters from attending college outside of their home city or state. The family pressure had the potential of being psychologically damaging. Yet some families embraced western ways for their daughters, arguing that her potential lifetime earnings could take the place of a dowry.

Groups have sprung up to help first generation Iranian American women with the transition to American life, especially those in a problematic marriage. Organizations such as the Coalition of Women from Asia and the Middle East helped by providing shelters, counseling, and legal assistance to victims of domestic violence and others. Few Iranian American women expressed a desire to return to Iran.

RELIGION

Although Shi'ism predominates, there are several minority religious groups in Iran. Less than ten percent of the Iranian population practices the Sunni version of Islam, a sect that differs from Shi'ism in its attitude toward the imamate, the spiritual descendants of Muhammad. Bahaiism is the second largest religious minority in Iran. Formed in the nineteenth century as an offshoot of Shi'ism, the Baha'i religion believes in pacifism and equality of the sexes, and maintains that all people are brothers. Shi'i leadership officially regards the Baha'i as heretics and, except during the reign of the Pahlavi dynasty, Bahais have been persecuted in Iran. The country's Christian population includes Catholics, Anglicans, and Protestants of mainly Armenian and Assyrian descent. Although this primarily urban population has not suffered official persecution by the government of the Islamic Republic, it

has been subjected to many Islamic-oriented laws and to government oversight in its schools, both of which often impinge on the traditional practice of the Christian religion. The small population of Iranian Jews has an ancient history, and was officially recognized in the constitution set down by the revolution of 1979. Nevertheless, the Iranian government's unfriendly relations with Israel have influenced the treatment of its native Jewish population, and many have emigrated to the United States and Israel. The small population of remaining Zoroastrians are also officially recognized by the Iranian constitution and have not been officially persecuted by the government.

The Islamic Republic of Iran tolerates some religious variation, as long as it does not act against the government or the sanctity of Islamic values. The vast majority of Iranians practice the Islamic faith, which originated with Muhammad (572-632 A.D.), who came to believe he was the prophet of Allah, the one true God. Islam, which means "submission to God," requires the belief in God and His Prophet, the recitation of prescribed prayers, the giving of alms, the observance of the feast of Ramadan, and the making of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Muslim religion is divided into two main sects, the Sunni, which predominates worldwide, and the Shi'i, which is the minority sect except in Iran, Iraq, and in parts of India. The Shi'i sect of Islam was established in the first years after Muhammad's death when a dispute arose over leadership of the religion. The Sunnis restrict accession to the caliphate to members of the tribe of Muhammad; the Shi'ites restrict right of accession to members of Muhammad's family. The origin of the name Shi'i is thus *Shi'at Ali* (supporters of Ali), Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Of Iranian immigrants residing in Los Angeles, nearly 30 percent identified themselves as students in the 1980 census. According to Sabagh and Bozorgmehr, because students are younger than the average Iranian immigrant, generally have greater facility with the English language, tend to work fewer hours than non-students, are less likely to be self-employed, and have a lower occupational profile and consequent lower level of income, their inclusion in a statistical profile of Iranians residing in the United States is believed to distort the group profile. Significantly, this study revealed a higher incidence of self-employment among Iranian immigrants than among Korean

Americans, an immigrant group reputed to have one of the highest rates of entrepreneurship in Los Angeles. Fully one-third of the Iranian immigrants in Los Angeles, regardless of when they entered the country, reported that they were self-employed. Furthermore, later immigrants—those who fled Iran due to the revolution—tended to bring a great deal of money into the United States with them, and reported a significant income from interest and rental properties. Fluctuations in the American economy have affected this group to the extent that the downswing in the economy in the late 1980s, along with the relaxation of conditions in Iran, had encouraged as many as 100,000 Iranians to return to their homeland. Iranian American women living in Los Angeles in 1990 had an employment rate of 48 percent, compared with a 27 percent rate in 1980.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Shi'ism has traditionally shown a disdain for both secular authority and direct involvement in political life. Iranian leaders of Twelver Shi'ism (*Ithna 'Ashariyah*), the dominant form of Shi'ism, have followed the ancient tradition of remaining separate from the world's political concerns, avoiding the ministering of justice, and seeking a spiritual victory in defeat. There is also a tradition of revolt against injustice within Shi'ism, however, and an inability to suffer the corruption of political figures except when to protest would put one's life in danger. This stance is known as *taqiyyah* ("necessary dissimulation") and is traced back to Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, who quietly accepted the promotion of three others to the caliphate before him in order to avoid civil war. Pinault identified *taqiyyah* as a "guiding principle for any Shiite living under a tyrannous government too powerful to be safely resisted; one may give an external show of acquiescence while preserving resistance in one's interior, in one's heart."

The U.S. government was concerned with the political sympathies of Iranians residing in the United States throughout the 1980s but no material was found implicating Iranians in terrorist acts in this country.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Vartan Gregorian (1935–) is a former university professor and president of the New York Public Library who has been president of Brown University since 1989.

FASHION

Bijan (1940–) is a fashion designer of exclusive men's apparel and perfumes.

LITERATURE

Sadeq-i Chubak (1916–), considered one of the foremost modern Iranian writers, is the author of short stories, novels, and dramatic works.

THEATER

Lotfi Mansouri (1929–) is a Canadian theatrical director who directed the Canadian Opera Company from 1976 to 1988, and has directed the San Francisco Opera since 1988.

MEDIA

PRINT

Asre Emrooz Daily Newspaper.

Address: 16661 Ventura Blvd., #212,
Encino, California 91436.

Telephone: (818) 783-0000.

Fax: (818) 783-3679.

Iran Nameh: A Persian Journal of Iranian Studies.

A quarterly academic publication published by the Foundation for Iranian Studies.

Contact: Hormoz Hekmat, Managing Editor.

Address: 4343 Montgomery Avenue, Suite 200,
Bethesda, Maryland 20814.

Telephone: (301) 657-1990.

Fax: (301) 657-4381.

Email: gafkhami@fisiran.org.

Online: <http://www.fisiran.org/iraname.htm>.

Iran Times International.

A weekly newspaper in English and Farsi.

Contact: Javad Khakbaz, Editor.

Address: 2727 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20007.

Telephone: (202) 659-9868.

Fax: (202) 337-7449.

Iranian.

Magazine focusing on art, science, philosophy, history, and cultural issues.

Contact: Korosh Bozorg, Editor-in-Chief.

Address: 2220 Avenue of Stars #2301,

Los Angeles, California 90067 .

Telephone: (310) 553-8150.

Iranian Studies.

Contact: R. D. McChesney, Editor.

Address: New York University, Department of
Middle Eastern Studies, 50 Washington
Square South, New York, New York 10003.

Telephone: (212) 998-8902.

Fax: (212) 995-4689.

E-mail: iranian.studies@nyu.edu.

Online: <http://www.iranianstudies.org/isfr.html>.

Par Monthly Journal.

A monthly publication of the Par Cultural Society.

Address: P.O. Box 703, Falls Church,
Virginia 22040.

Telephone: (703) 533-1727.

Persian Heritage.

Quarterly magazine published by Persian Heritage, Inc. with a circulation of 15,000.

Contact: Shahrokh Ahkami, Editor in-Chief.

Address: 1110 Passaic Avenue, Passaic,
New Jersey 07055.

Telephone: (973) 471-4283.

RADIO

KPFT-FM.

Contact: Mary Helen Merzbacher, General
Manager.

Address: 419 Lovett Boulevard, Houston,
Texas 77006.

Telephone: (713) 526-4000.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Institute of Iranian Studies.

This organization of educational institutions seeks to improve Iranian studies programs and facilitate the research efforts of Iranian and North American scholars of Iranian studies.

Contact: Dr. Marilyn R. Waldman, President.

Address: c/o Ohio State University, History
Department, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th
Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210-1311.

Telephone: (614) 292-1265.

Fax: (614) 292-2282.

Iran Freedom Foundation.

This organization opposes the Islamic Republic of Iran, and attempts to protect human and civil rights in Iran and help establish a secular, constitutional government there by disseminating information to the media, universities, and political institutions, and at demonstrations and gatherings.

Contact: M. R. Tabatabai, President.

Address: P.O. Box 422, Bethesda,
Maryland 20817.

Telephone: (301) 608-3333.

Fax: (301) 608-3333.

Iranian B'Nei Torah Movement.

This is an organization for rabbinical students seeking to aid Iranian Jews in the United States and Israel in their religious, charitable, and educational requirements.

Contact: David Zargart, President.

Address: P.O. Box 351476, Los Angeles,
California 90035.

Telephone: (310) 652-2115.

Fax: (310) 652-6979.

National Council of Resistance of Iran.

This is a coalition of organizations opposed to the rule of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his successors in Iran and favoring their replacement with a democratic government. Organizes opposition worldwide through diplomatic efforts and demonstrations and strikes in Iran.

Contact: Dr. Masoud Banisadr.

Address: c/o Representative Office in the U.S.,
3421 M Street, N.W., Suite 1032,
Washington, D.C. 20007.

Telephone: (202) 783-5200.

Society for Iranian Studies.

This is an organization of students and scholars of Iranian studies intended to promote scholarship in the field.

Contact: Hamid Dabashi, Executive Secretary.

Address: c/o Middle East Institute, Columbia
University, SIA Building, Room 1113,
420 West 118th Street, New York,
New York 10027.

Telephone: (212) 854-5284.

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Irangenes: Iranians in Los Angeles, edited by Ron Kelley. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

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Milani, Farzaneh. *Veils and Words: The Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992.

Moossavi, Homayoon. "Teheran Calling," *Progressive*, August 1988.

Nanji, Azim A. "The Muslim Family in North America," in *Family Ethnicity*. Newberry Park, California: SAGE Publications, 1993.

Pinault, David. *The Shiites: Ritual and Popular Piety in a Muslim Community*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Riggio, Milla C. "Ta'ziyeh in Exile," *Comparative Drama*, spring 1994.

Sabah, Georges, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. "Are the Characteristics of Exiles Different from Immigrants?" *Sociology and Social Research*, January 1987.

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IRAQI AMERICANS

by
Paul S. Kobel

OVERVIEW

Iraq lies the furthest east of all the Arab nations. It has a total area of 167,975 square miles (435,055 square kilometers), which is comparable to the size of California. It is bordered by Iran to the east, Syria and Jordan to the west, Turkey to the north, and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to the south. A small portion of Iraq's coast in the north meets the Persian Gulf. The capital of Iraq is Baghdad. Iraq is a level region in a dry climate fed by the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Rain is sufficient for agriculture only in the northeast.

The population of Iraq is roughly 16,476,000. The Iraqi population is fairly evenly divided between the Shiite and Sunnite Muslim sects (53 percent and 42 percent respectively). The Kurds are the largest minority group in Iraq, making up about 15 percent of the population. Oil production, which began in 1928, is the engine behind Iraq's economy. Less than half of the Iraqi workforce is employed in agriculture. Iraq's national flag has three horizontal stripes colored red, white, and black from top to bottom, with three green stars in the middle of the white stripe.

HISTORY

The word *iraq* is a geographic term used in early Arabic writings to refer to the southern portion of the contemporary parameters of Iraq. Originally,

For Iraqi, as well as Iraqi-American, women the burden of reproducing Muslim values is placed on their shoulders. Unlike other ethnic minorities that migrate to the United States, the Arab female generally benefits less from the liberal environment of American society.

the area now called Iraq was known as Mesopotamia and was one of the first culturally developed areas of the world. The Semites were the first to inhabit the region in 3500 B.C. The Semites that settled in the north were called Assyrians, and those that settled in the south were called Babylonians. The northern portion of Iraq was originally known as Al-Jazirah, which means “the island,” because the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers surrounded it. In 600 A.D. Iraq was ruled by the Persian Sasanian Empire, which employed the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers for irrigation. Southern Iraq was inhabited by Arabian tribesmen, some of whom recognized the Sasanian monarchy. From early on, Iraq enjoyed a rich cultural diversity. Some of the ethnic minorities that migrated to the region included Persians, Aramaic-speaking peasants, Bedouin tribal groups, Kurds, and Greeks.

In 627 A.D. the Byzantines invaded Iraq, although efforts to seize control of the region failed. A period of civil strife followed, which left the region open to Muslim raiders. Iraq subsequently became a province of the Muslim *caliphate* (A caliphate is the highest office within the structure of Islamic religion). Early caliphs were the successors of Mohammed, the founder of Islam. In 632 the Muslims of Medina elected Abu Bakr as the first caliph. The Omayyad dynasty of caliphs ruled from Damascus until 750, when Shiite Muslims, who descended from the caliph Ali, massacred the Omayyad family. The Shiite Muslims subsequently established the Abbasid as the caliph. The revolution that brought the Abbasid family to power prompted a period of medieval prosperity for Iraq, whose center was Baghdad (known as the “city of peace”). The peak of prosperity came with the reign of Harun ar-Rashid (786–809), during which time Iraq was the pillar of the Muslim world. Shortly after the ninth century, however, the caliphate began to disintegrate.

Mongols led by Hulegu, the grandson of Genghis Khan, captured Baghdad in 1258. This resulted in a long period of decline. Baghdad was crushed during the invasion, and nearly one million people perished. After a period of internal chaos, Iraq was drawn into the Ottoman Empire. Although rule under the Turks was despotic, Iraq profited from Ottoman rule, as economic conditions as well as overall quality of life improved for most inhabitants. Ottoman rule resulted in Muslim Sunnite dominance in the north, although the Shiites in the south were generally free to practice Islam as they chose. The weakening of the Ottoman Empire led to local control of Iraqi provinces, which was often tyrannical. Centralized control was restored to the region with the rise of the Mamluk

regime in the eighteenth century. The Mamluks were Christian slaves who converted to Islam. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, Iraq was dominated by the Georgian Mamluk regime, which succeeded in restoring political and economic order to the region and included the rule of Suleiman II (1780-1803). In 1831, the reign of Daud, the last Mamluk leader, ended. Iraq once again fell under Ottoman rule, during which time the governorship of Midhat Pasha exerted its modernizing influence. Midhat restructured the city of Baghdad by tearing down a large section of the city. Midhat then established a transportation system, new schools and hospitals, textile mills, banks, and paved streets. Also at this time, the first bridge across the Tigris River was constructed.

After World War I Great Britain occupied Iraq and helped the nation achieve gradual independence through a mandate issued by the League of Nations. However, Great Britain’s influence in the region was undermined by a growing sense of nationalism in Iraq. In 1921 a monarchy was established, and shortly thereafter Iraq entered a treaty alliance with Great Britain and drafted a constitution. Complete independence would not be achieved until 1932. The new monarchy under the rule of King Faisal had difficulty controlling minority unrest. Assyrians rebelled in 1933 and were brutally put down. In 1936 another coup toppled the monarchy. Despite the political instability that characterized the new government until World War II, Iraq made significant improvements in its infrastructure.

During World War II economic progress stagnated, and communism was growing in popularity. In 1945 the Kurds, an ethnic minority group, attempted to establish an autonomous republic but failed in 1945. Iraq was occupied by Western forces and used as a conduit for supplying Russia during the war. After the war foreign troops left the region, and Iraq enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity under the monarchy of Nuri al-Said. Iraq helped establish the League of Arab States in 1948. Prosperity continued under King Faisal II, during which time new irrigation, communication, and oil production facilities were put in place.

In large part because the monarchy neglected the masses, a military coup took place in 1958 in which the king and his family were murdered. General Abdul Karim Kassem formed a military dictatorship and abolished the frail democratic institutions that had been in place. Kassem was assassinated in another coup, and a revolution in 1968 brought the Ba’th party to power under General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr.

MODERN ERA

By 1973 the Iraqi Communist Party had full control of governmental affairs. In 1974 the Ba'th Party placated the Kurds, who made another push for independence, by offering them an autonomous region. Bakr resigned from office in 1979 and was succeeded by Saddam Hussein, who was next in command. One of his first acts as head of state was the invasion of Iran in 1980 when Iran failed to honor a 1975 treaty, according to which land bordering the two countries was to be returned to Iraq. Although the campaign was initially successful, it ultimately plunged the country into an eight-year battle with Iran from which neither side profited in the end. Iraq lost more than one million of its men during the war. Throughout the war Iraq was supported by several Western nations, including the United States, which furnished Iraq with military information about Iran's strategic movements in the Persian Gulf and attacked Iranian ships and oil platforms.

After the war with Iran, Saddam Hussein made efforts to implement democratic reforms, including the drafting of a new constitution that would introduce a multiparty system and provide for freedom of the press. Before the plans could be implemented, however, Iraq invaded Kuwait in August of 1990. One of the reasons behind the invasion was that Iraq had accumulated more than \$80 billion in war debt during the war with Iran, a substantial portion of which was owed to Kuwait. When Hussein's effort to seize control of border territories diplomatically (claiming a historical right to them) failed, he resorted to force. On the same day as the invasion the United Nations passed Resolutions 660 and 661, which ordered Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and imposed economic sanctions, respectively. Hussein ignored the resolutions and declared Kuwait a province of Iraq in late August of 1990. A UN effort that included the support of several Arab nations issued air strikes and sent ground troops into the region in early 1991. The United States participated heavily in the conflict, in large part to protect Saudi Arabia, as well as to maintain the balance of power in the Middle East. By April of 1991 Iraq capitulated and withdrew from Kuwait.

The Persian Gulf War nearly destroyed Iraq's military forces and devastated the infrastructure of its major cities. In addition, damage to oil refineries and economic sanctions left Iraq in economic disarray. Internal political conflict followed the war as Kurds and Shiites rebelled. Hussein crushed the insurrections, however, driving thousands of Kurds to Turkey seeking refuge. Iraq later entered into negotiations with the Kurds in an effort to establish autonomy for the ethnic minority and legalized opposition parties to the central government.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Although there are roughly two million Arabic-speaking immigrants in the United States, a very small portion of that group (approximately 26,000) came from Iraq. There were two general immigration waves that ushered Middle Eastern groups to the United States: the World War II wave, and the post-World War II wave. Immigration to the United States from the Arab community between 1924 and 1965 was extremely limited. During this period a quota of no more than 100 Arabs were admitted, in accordance with the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924. Early immigration reports suggest that immigrants from the Arab community did not come to the United States in response to persecution or political repression. Most Muslims came seeking economic wealth that they ultimately planned to transport back to their native countries.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

A large portion of current Iraqi refugees migrated to the United States after the Gulf War. Roughly 10,000 Iraqi refugees were admitted to the U.S. after the 1991 war. The two main groups admitted were the Kurds, a minority group in Iraq who were the target of Iraqi persecution, and Muslim Shi'a, from southern Iraq, who demonstrated animosity toward Saddam Hussein in 1991 by orchestrating an uprising against the regime.

The Muslim immigrants that came to the United States from Iraq in the 1990s were unlike previous groups from the Middle East. Other Muslim immigrants, such as the well-educated Lebanese and Iranians who came to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, had sufficient exposure to Western culture to adapt easily to American society. The Muslims from Iraq, however, were much more conservative, believing in such traditional customs as arranged marriages and raising children with a firmness that could easily be construed as child abuse in the United States. Belief in traditional Muslim values made for a difficult transition for some Iraqi families. In one instance an Iraqi family that migrated to Lincoln, Nebraska, was the subject of national attention. The father of the household arranged marriages for his 13- and 14-year-old daughters to two Iraqi American men ages 28 and 34, when he suspected they intended to engage in premarital sex. Although the legal marrying age in Iraq is 18, fathers customarily marry their daughters at an earlier age in order to preclude the temptation to have sexual contact before marriage. The incident brought to light the distance between Muslim custom and law and American custom and law.

Some observers believe that not enough is being done to acculturate Middle Eastern refugees. Although Christian organizations such as Catholic Social Services (which contracts with the federal government to assimilate various refugee groups) make a concerted effort to orient Muslims and other incoming refugees to American laws and customs, it sometimes is not enough to bridge the gap between cultures. The arranged marriage in Nebraska to the two minor girls, although clearly a transgression of American law, is somewhat common among Iraqi immigrants in the United States. In fact there are often public advertisements put out by Iraqi fathers seeking single Iraqi men to wed their daughters.

Historically, immigrant groups profit from the experience of their predecessors. In the case of Iraqi immigrants, however, many of who are first-generation refugees, assimilation is something accomplished in large part on their own. Some scholars have noted that in the past, a sort of “assimilation contract” existed, by which immigrants would be able to retain their cultural diversity in the United States in exchange for committing to learning and accepting American law and custom. However, the “contract” is now being undermined by court decisions that have begun to recognize cultural and legal ignorance as a valid defense against violations of American law.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

As one might expect, life for Iraqi Americans has not been as harmonious as other immigrant groups, given the history of relations between the United States and Iraq. Many Iraqis living in the United States are torn between their loyalty to their former country and their allegiance to their new home. However, the majority, if not all, of the Iraqi people living in the United States agree that Saddam Hussein is at the root of the domestic unrest in their homeland. Moreover, most believe that Iraq will not reach a point of domestic tranquility and earn the respect of the international community unless and until Saddam Hussein’s regime falls. Nonetheless, out of concern for their friends and family at home, Iraqi Americans tend not to endorse trade sanctions and air strikes against Iraq.

CUISINE

One of the main Arab dishes is called *hummus*, which is ground chickpeas and garlic with spices served with flat pita bread. Some of the staples of

the Muslim diet include rice, garlic, lemon, and olive oil. Pork is forbidden for religious reasons. Most dishes are eaten with one’s hands. Traditionally, the right hand is used because it is considered the cleaner of the two. A common expression extended to the chef out of appreciation is *tislam eedaek*, which means “bless your hand.”

Other common Arab dishes include shish kebab and *falafel*, which are deep fried balls of chickpeas served with *tahini* (sesame sauce). Some of the less common dishes include *bistilla*, meat and rice served inside a pastry shell, and *musakhem*, roasted chicken with onions and olive oil. The traditional Arab dessert is *baklava*, which is an exquisite pastry with layers of *phyllo* dough covered with nuts and honey.

HEALTH ISSUES

Health care is free in Iraq, and the vast majority of medical facilities have been nationalized. In rural areas there is a shortage of adequate health care facilities and personnel. Despite the advances Iraq has made in health care since the 1970s, outbreaks of infectious diseases such as malaria and typhoid are somewhat common in Iraq. In recent years, genetic defects and children born with permanent disabilities have been on the rise in Iraq because of the chemicals used during warfare over the past two decades. These problems translate into poor health statistics among Iraqi immigrants in the United States, since many come here seeking the health care that was unavailable or require an extensive waiting period in their native country.

LANGUAGE

The official language of Iraq is Arabic, though there are many different dialects spoken throughout the nation. The largest minority group is the Kurds, who speak Kurdish. Roughly 80 percent of the population speak some derivation of Arabic.

Although there are nearly as many different Arabic dialects spoken in Iraq as there are towns and villages, the variation between the towns and villages are not as pronounced as they are in other Arabic-speaking nations such as Syria and Lebanon. Arabic derives from the ancient Semitic languages. There are 28 letters in the Arabic language, none of which are vowels, which makes it extraordinarily complex. Vowels are expressed by positioning points or by inserting the consonants *alif*, *waw*, or, *ya* in places where they are not usual-

ly used. Arabic is written from right to left. Modern-day Arabic is slightly different from the classical literary Arabic that was used to write the Koran, though it follows the same stylistic format. Devout Muslims see the Koran as God's word in both style and substance and view any colloquial deviation from pure Arabic as an assault on the integrity of the language. However, the majority of Muslims have adapted the language to meet their needs. In Iraq as well as most Arabic-speaking nations, the majority of the educated population are essentially bilingual, having a command of both classical literary Arabic and their local variation. In public forums, schools, media, and in parliament pure classical Arabic is used.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Since the revolution of 1958 there has been an increased emphasis on education within the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Iraq. Iraq leads the Arab world in the numbers of qualified scientists, administrators, and technicians it produces. Education is free and is compulsory to the age of 12, and there is easy access to education to the age of 18. The government guarantees jobs to students affiliated with the Ba'th party after they graduate. Many Iraqi students come to the United States for their postgraduate education. Although women have generally suffered limited access to education, their enrollment has been consistently rising. In higher education institutions in Iraq, female enrollment is around 50 percent. The number of Iraqi American women attending institutions of higher learning has increased as well, with some women immigrating to the United States, alone or with their families, solely for this opportunity.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Iraq, like many Arab nations, is a patriarchal society. Women historically have had less access to education beyond primary school and have been discouraged from entering the workforce. This trend, however, has been changing in the 1990s, as more and more women have been attending Iraqi universities and contributing to the workforce, in large part out of economic necessity. In general, female refugees tend to come to the United States with their families, as wives and daughters, which facilitates the transfer of traditional patriarchal values to their host country.

Iraqi women, as well as Iraqi American women, bear the burden of reproducing Muslim values. Unlike other ethnic minorities that migrate to the United States, the Arab female generally benefits less from the liberal environment of American society. Because women are expected to propagate cultural values, their role is often limited to family affairs, which leaves little opportunity to expand their existence beyond child rearing. In addition, there is some pressure among individual Arab immigrant groups to convince other groups to conform to traditional Islamic values, one of which is the belief that women should be submissive and subservient to men. Though this is not the experience of all Arab females that migrate to the United States, it seems to be common for many.

WEDDINGS

Traditional Iraqi American weddings are elaborate affairs. The bride and groom sit in miniature thrones while guests join hands and dance in a circle before them. For those who can afford it, a ballroom is rented, an orchestra is hired, and elaborate feasts are prepared. It is customary for the groom to demonstrate financial security before he is accepted as an adequate husband by the bride's parents. The divorce rate in Iraq, which has historically been low in Arab nations, has been on the rise because of the hardships brought on by a lack of economic opportunity. This has not been the case with the divorce rate among Iraqi Americans, which remains quite low.

RELIGION

Islam came to Iraq in roughly 632 A.D. and has been the dominant religion ever since. Islam has been divided into two major sects: the Sunni and Shiite. The Sunnite sect is the more prevalent of the two throughout the Arab world, but in Iraq the division is nearly equal. For the most part religious tensions between the two denominations has given way to economic and political tensions. Islam is the state religion of Iraq, though minorities of Christians, Jews, Yezidis, and Mandaens are tolerated.

Islam, which means "submission," dominates cultural and political life in most Arab nations, and Iraq is no exception. Mecca is the holy city of Islam because it is where the prophet Mohammed first preached his teachings from God. The beginning of the Muslim calendar corresponds with Mohammed's pilgrimage. The Kaaba, in Mecca, is the holy shrine of Islam.

The teachings of Mohammed, which are considered by Muslims to be the word of God, were

transcribed to the holy book of Islam called the Koran. Mohammed illustrated a code of conduct for life. Islamic tradition holds that religion, law, commerce, and social life are one entity. The central law of Islamic religion is called the *shahada*, or testimony, which holds that: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet." One need only recite the *shahada* with unquestioning conviction in order to convert to Islam, and devout Muslims must declare the *shahada* aloud and with full conviction once in their life. Other tenets of Islam include the belief in resurrection, the final judgment of man, and the predetermination of man's every act. Islam holds that God sends a prophet to earth to lead mankind back to God's path. There have been thousands of prophets sent by God, including Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed.

There are five central teachings of Islam, which are called the Five Pillars: declare the oneness of God; pray often; fast; give alms; and make a pilgrimage to the holy city. The Five Pillars play a central role in the lives of Muslims, who are required to pray five times each day, first standing and then kneeling. Practitioners of Islam are expected to fast from sunrise to sunset during Ramadan, which is the ninth month of the Muslim calendar. During fasting periods Muslims, with the exception of the sick and wounded, must refrain from food, drink, and all other worldly pleasures. Muslims are instructed by the Koran to give to the poor in money or in kind on a regular basis. Lastly, Muslims are required to make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in their lifetime. The pilgrimage, called the *hajj*, is considered the culmination of Islamic practice.

Another component of Islamic teaching is the *jihād*, which literally means "exertion." Muslims are asked to spread the word of God to all the peoples of the world. Many Westerners mistakenly refer to *jihād* as "holy war," or an endorsement by the Koran to wage war on those who do not follow the Islamic faith. In fact, the Koran emphasizes that conversions are not to be executed by force. Some Arab nations have employed the term, however, to mobilize and inspire their forces during times of war.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

RELATIONS WITH IRAQ

Many Iraqi Americans have mixed emotions about their former homeland. On the one hand, they love their country and want to see it flourish, but on the other they despise Saddam Hussein and the inter-

national disrepute and social and economic devastation he has brought to the country. Some Iraqi Americans have the same ambivalence about UN and U.S. air strikes against Iraq. Although they support deposing the tyrannical Iraqi leader, they fear for the lives of their friends and family back home.

Some Iraqi Americans who participated in an uprising against Iraqi president Saddam Hussein after the war are critical of U.S. attacks designed to punish the Iraqi leader for failing to comply with UN resolutions. Although they stand in decisive opposition to Saddam Hussein, they are critical of U.S. attacks (recently carried out in December of 1998) because, they contend, they have not accomplished their stated objective of removing Saddam Hussein from power. For instance, one Iraqi refugee, Muhammad Eshaiker, a California resident, summed up his feelings in a news article by Vik Jolly in the *Orange County Register*: "I am torn apart between my love for America and my love for Iraq. I reconcile that with the hope that one day Saddam [will be gone] and the relations between the U.S. and Iraq will improve."

Iraq was declared a republic under a provisional constitution adopted in 1970. In theory, an elected body heads the legislative branch, a president and a council of ministers leads the executive branch, and the judiciary is independent. In practice, however, the constitution has little bearing on political affairs. Opposition to the central government has been consistently repressed throughout Iraq's history. All of the influential governing duties are carried out by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), a veritable extension of the ruling Arab Socialist Ba'th party, which came to power in 1968 and has remained the ruling party.

MEDIA

The Arab News Network (ANN).

The ANN has a website that provides access to a variety of newspapers published in Arabic.

Contact: Eyhab Al-Masri.

E-mail: ealmas01@fiu.edu.

Online: <http://www.fiu.edu/~ealmas01/ann-online.html>.

Iraq Opposition Daily News.

Affiliated with ABC News; provides up-to-date information on Iraqi-United States political affairs.

Online: http://www.abcnews.go.com/sections/world/dailynews/iraq0220_opposition.html.

RADIO

Free Iraq Service.

Provides weekly broadcasts in Arabic on current political and social developments in Iraq. The Free Iraq Service also publishes a weekly magazine (*Free Iraq*) that updates political events associated with post-Gulf War developments in Iraq.

Online: <http://www.rferl.org/bd/iq/magazine/index.html>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Iraq Foundation.

The Iraq Foundation is a nonprofit nongovernmental organization striving for political democracy in Iraq and the protection of human rights for Iraqi citizens. Their website provides news and updates on political and social events related to Iraq.

Address: The Iraq Foundation, 1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Suite 850 Washington, D.C. 20006.

Telephone: (202) 778-2124 or (202) 778-2126.

Fax: (202) 466-2198.

E-mail: Iraq@iraqfoundation.org.

Online: <http://www.iraqfoundation.org>.

Iraqi National Congress (INC).

The INC was founded in Vienna in June of 1992

and has a National Assembly of decision makers consisting of 234 members. The objective of the INC is to establish an operating base in Iraq from which to provide humanitarian relief to victims of Saddam Hussein's repressive regime. The INC is also soliciting the support of the international community to enforce UN Security Council resolutions.

Address: Iraqi National Congress 9 Pall Mall
Deposit 124-128 Barlby Road, London W10 6BL.

Telephone: (0181) 964-8993.

Fax: (0181) 960-4001.

Online: <http://www.inc.org.uk/>.

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The Irish have been present in the United States for hundreds of years and, accordingly, have had more opportunity than many other ethnic groups to assimilate to the wider society. Each successive generation has become more integrated with the dominant culture.

IRISH AMERICANS

by
Brendan A. Rapple

OVERVIEW

The island of Ireland lies west of Great Britain across the Irish Sea and St. George's Channel. It is divided into two separate political entities: the independent Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland, a constituent of the United Kingdom. Dublin is the capital of the former, Belfast of the latter. The country is divided into four provinces: Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. All of the first three and part of the fourth are situated within the Republic of Ireland. Ulster is made up of nine counties; the northeastern six constitute Northern Ireland. The area of the Republic of Ireland is 27,137 square miles, that of Northern Ireland is 5,458 square miles. The entire island, with a total area of 32,595 square miles, is a little larger than the state of Maine. The population of the Republic of Ireland in 1991 was approximately 3,523,401, that of Northern Ireland 1,569,971. About 95 percent of the Republic's population is Roman Catholic; most of the rest are Protestant. Over 25 percent of Northern Ireland's population is Roman Catholic; about 23 percent is Presbyterian; about 18 percent belong to the Church of Ireland; the rest are members of other churches or of no stated denomination.

HISTORY

Ireland was occupied by Celtic peoples, who came to be known as Gaels, sometime between 600 and

400 B.C. The Romans never invaded Ireland so the Gaels remained isolated and were able to develop a distinct culture. In the fifth century A.D. St. Patrick came to Ireland and introduced the Gaels to Christianity. Thus began a great religious and cultural period for the country. While the rest of Europe was swiftly declining into the Dark Ages, Irish monasteries—preserving the Greek and Latin of the ancient world—not only became great centers of learning, but also sent many famous missionaries to the Continent. Toward the end of the eighth century Vikings invaded Ireland and for over two centuries battled with the Irish. Finally in 1014 the Irish under King Brian Boru soundly defeated the Viking forces at the Battle of Clontarf. An important legacy of the Viking invasion was the establishment of such cities as Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Wexford. In the second half of the twelfth century King Henry II began the English Lordship of Ireland and the challenge of the Anglo-Norman Conquest commenced. By the close of the medieval period many of the Anglo-Norman invaders had been absorbed into the Gaelic population.

English kings traveled to Ireland on several occasions to effect order and increase allegiance to the Crown. The English were generally too occupied with the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) and with the War of the Roses (1455-1485) to deal adequately with the Irish, however. By the sixteenth century English control over Ireland was limited to a small area of land surrounding Dublin. Consequently, Henry VIII and his successors endeavored to force the Irish to submit through military incursions and by “planting” large areas of Ireland with settlers loyal to England. A forceful resistance to the English reconquest of Ireland was led by the Northern chieftain Hugh O’Neill at the end of the sixteenth century. Following O’Neill’s defeat in 1603 and his subsequent flight to the Continent, the Crown commenced the large-scale plantation of Ulster with English; Scottish Presbyterians soon followed. During the seventeenth century Ireland, continuing its steady decline, came increasingly under England’s rule. In 1641 the Irish allied themselves to the Stuart cause; however, after the defeat and execution of King Charles I in 1649 Cromwell and his Puritans devastated much of Ireland, massacred thousands, and parceled out vast tracts of land to their soldiers and followers. Hoping to regain some of their property, the Catholic Irish sided with the Catholic James II of England but their fortunes further declined when James was defeated by William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. To keep the Irish subservient and powerless the English enacted a series of brutal penal laws, which succeeded so well that eigh-

teenth century Catholic Ireland was economically and socially wasted.

In 1800, two years after the defeat of the rebellion of Protestant and Catholic United Irishmen led by Wolfe Tone, the Act of Union was passed, combining Great Britain and Ireland into one United Kingdom. The Catholic Emancipation Act followed in 1829 chiefly due to the activities of the Irish politician Daniel O’Connell. During the 1830s and 1840s a new nationalist movement, Young Ireland, arose. A rebellion that it launched in 1848, however, was easily defeated. The second half of the 1840s was one of the grimmest periods in Irish history. Due to the great famine caused by the crop failure of Ireland’s staple food—the potato—millions died or emigrated. The second half of the nineteenth century saw increased nationalistic demands for self-government and land reform, most notably in the activities of the Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. Though home rule was finally passed in 1914, it was deferred because of the onset of World War I. On Easter Monday in 1916 a small force of Irish nationalists rebelled in Dublin against British rule. The rising was a military failure and had little support among the public. However, the harsh response of the British government and particularly its execution of the rising’s leaders won many over to the cause. After the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in 1921, the Irish Free State, whose constitutional status was tied to the British Commonwealth and required allegiance to the Crown, was established. The Free State was composed of 26 of Ireland’s 32 counties; the other six remained part of Britain. In 1949 the 26 counties became the Republic of Ireland, an independent nation. Although the Republic has consistently maintained its claim over the six counties of the U.K.’s Northern Ireland and declared its wish to reunite the whole island into a sovereign nation, in recent decades it has placed more emphasis on economic and social rather than nationalistic issues. Nevertheless, the status of the six counties of Northern Ireland remains a highly critical concern for politicians in Dublin, Belfast, and London.

IRISH EMIGRATION

The Irish like to boast that St. Brendan sailed to America almost a millennium before Christopher Columbus; but even if St. Brendan did not make it to the New World, Galway-born William Ayers was one of Columbus’s crew in 1492. During the seventeenth century the majority of the Irish immigrants to America were Catholics. Most were poor, many coming as indentured servants, others under agree-

This 1929 photograph shows an Irish family after their arrival in New York City.



ments to reimburse their fare sometime after arrival, a minority somehow managing to pay their own way. A small number were more prosperous and came seeking adventure. Still others were among the thousands who were exiled to the West Indies by Cromwell during the 1640s and later made their way to America. There was an increase in Irish immigration during the eighteenth century, though the numbers were still relatively small. Most of the century's arrivals were Presbyterians from the northern province of Ulster who had originally been sent there from Scotland as colonists by the British crown. Many of these, dissenters from the established Protestant church, came to America fleeing religious discrimination. In later years, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was common to assign the term Scotch-Irish to these Ulster Protestant immigrants, although they thought of themselves as strictly Irish. There were also numerous Irish Quaker immigrants, as well as some Protestants from the south. A significant minority of eighteenth century immigrants were southern Catholics. Most of these were escaping the appalling social and economic conditions as well as

the draconian penal laws enacted by the British to annihilate the Celtic heritage and the religion of the Catholic majority. Some of these Catholic arrivals in America in time converted to Protestantism after encountering severe anti-papist discrimination as well as an absence of Catholic churches and priests. The preferred destinations of most of the eighteenth century Irish immigrants were New England, Maryland, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Virginia.

IMMIGRATION UNTIL THE FAMINE YEARS

In the early years of the nineteenth century Protestants, many of whom were skilled tradesmen, continued to account for the majority of Irish immigrants. There were also numerous political refugees especially after the abortive United Irishmen uprising of 1798. However, by the 1820s and 1830s the overwhelming majority of those fleeing the country were unskilled, Catholic, peasant laborers. By this time Ireland was becoming Europe's most densely populated country, the population having increased from about three million in 1725 to over eight mil-

lion by 1841. The land could not support such a number. One of the main problems was the absence of the practice of primogeniture among the Irish. Family farms or plots were divided again and again until individual allotments were often so small—perhaps only one or two acres in size—that they were of little use in raising a family. Conditions worsened when, in the wake of a post-Napoleonic Wars agricultural depression, many Irish were evicted from the land they had leased as tenants because the landlords wanted it used for grazing. The concurrent great rise in population left thousands of discontented, landless Irish eager to seek new horizons. Moreover, the increase in industrialization had all but ended the modest amount of domestic weaving and spinning that had helped to supplement the income of some families. In addition, famine was never distant—a number of severe potato failures occurred during the 1820s and 1830s before the major famine of the 1840s.

As the passage from Britain to the Canadian Maritimes was substantially cheaper than that to the United States, many Irish immigrants came first to Canada, landing at Quebec, Montreal, or Halifax, and then sailed or even walked down into America. After about 1840, however, most immigrants sailed from Ireland to an American port. Whereas most of the Irish Catholic immigrants during the eighteenth century became engaged in some sort of farming occupation, those in the subsequent century tended to remain in such urban centers as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia or in the textile towns where their unskilled labor could be readily utilized. The immigrants were impoverished but usually not as destitute as those who came during the famine. Many readily found jobs building roads or canals such as the Erie. Still, times were tough for most of them, especially the Catholics who frequently found themselves a minority and targets of discrimination in an overwhelmingly Protestant nation.

FROM FAMINE YEARS TO THE PRESENT

It was the cataclysmic Potato Famine of 1845-1851, one of the most severe disasters in Irish history, that initiated the greatest departure of Irish immigrants to the United States. The potato constituted the main dietary staple for most Irish and when the blight struck a number of successive harvests social and economic disintegration ensued. As many as 1.5 million individuals perished of starvation and the diverse epidemics that accompanied the famine. A great number of the survivors emigrated, many of them to the United States. From the beginning of the famine in the mid-1840s until 1860 about 1.7 million Irish immigrated to the United States, main-

ly from the provinces of Connaught and Munster. In the latter part of the century, though the numbers fell from the highs of the famine years, the influx from Ireland continued to be large. While families predominated during the Famine exodus, single people now accounted for a far higher proportion of the immigrants. By 1880 more single women than single men were immigrants. It has been estimated that from 1820 to 1900 about four million Irish immigrated to the United States.

Though the majority of Irish immigrants continued to inhabit urban centers, principally in the northeast but also in such cities as Chicago, New Orleans, and San Francisco, a significant minority went further afield. Only a small number went west to engage in farming, however. Most Irish immigrants were indeed peasants, but few had the money to purchase land or had sufficient skill and experi-

“The first time I saw the Statue of Liberty all the people were rushing to the side of the boat. ‘Look at her, look at her,’ and in all kinds of tongues. ‘There she is, there she is,’ like it was somebody who was greeting them.”

Elizabeth Phillips in 1920, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

ence to make a success of large-scale agriculture. Still, despite the great exploitation, oppression, and hardships suffered by many nineteenth-century Irish immigrants, the majority endured and their occupational mobility began to improve slowly. Their prowess and patriotic fervor in the Civil War helped to diminish anti-Irish bigotry and discrimination. As the years went by, the occupational caliber of Irish immigrants gradually improved in line with the slow amelioration of conditions in Ireland. By the end of the century a high proportion were skilled or semi-skilled laborers or had trades. Moreover, these immigrants were greatly aided by the Irish American infrastructure that awaited them. While life was still harsh for most immigrants, the parochial schools, charitable societies, workers’ organizations, and social clubs aided their entry into a society that still frequently discriminated against Irish Catholics. Furthermore, the influx of even poorer southern and eastern European immigrants helped the Irish attain increased status.

In the twentieth century immigration from Ireland has ebbed and flowed. After World War I Irish

immigration to the United States was high. After Congress passed legislation limiting immigration during the 1920s, however, the numbers declined. Numbers for the 1930s were particularly low. After World War II numbers again increased; but the 1960s saw emigration from Ireland falling dramatically as a result of new quota laws restricting northern Europeans. Accordingly, the number of Irish-born legal residents now in the United States is far lower than it was in the mid-twentieth century. From the 1980s onward, however, there has been an unprecedented influx of undocumented Irish immigrants, especially to such traditionally Irish centers as New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. These have been mainly young, well-educated individuals who have left an economically troubled country with one of the highest rates of unemployment in the European Community (EC). They prefer to work illegally in the United States, frequently in Irish-owned businesses, as bartenders, construction workers, nannies, and food servers, exposed to the dangers of exploitation and apprehension by the law, rather than remain on the dole at home. Their number is unknown, though the figure is estimated to be between 100,000 and 150,000.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Irish have been present in the United States for hundreds of years and, accordingly, have had more opportunity than many other ethnic groups to assimilate into the wider society. Each successive generation has become more integrated with the dominant culture. In the eighteenth century the Protestant Irish relatively easily became acculturated and socially accepted. However, it was far more difficult for the vast numbers of Catholic Irish who flooded into the United States in the post-famine decades to coalesce with the mainstream. Negative stereotypes imported from England characterizing the Irish as pugnacious, drunken, semi-savages were common and endured for at least the rest of the nineteenth century. Multitudes of cartoons depicting the Irish as small, ugly, simian creatures armed with liquor and a shillelagh pervaded the press; and such terms as “paddy-wagons,” “shenanigans,” and “shanty Irish” gained popularity. Despite the effects of these offensive images, compounded by poverty and ignorance, the Irish Catholic immigrants possessed important advantages. They arrived in great numbers, most were able to speak English, and their Western European culture was similar to American culture. These factors clearly allowed the Irish Catholics to blend in far more easily than some

other ethnic groups. Even their Catholicism, once disdained by so many, came to be accepted in time. Though some prejudices still linger, Catholicism is now an important part of American culture.

Today it is no longer easy to define precisely what is meant by an Irish American ethnic identity. This is especially so for later generations. Inter-marriage has played a major role in this blurring of ethnic lines. The process of assimilating has also been facilitated by the great migration in recent decades of the Irish from their ethnic enclaves in the cities to the suburbs and rural regions. Greater participation in the multicultural public school system with a corresponding decline in parochial school attendance has played a significant role as well; another major factor has been the great decrease of immigrants from Ireland due to immigration laws disfavoring Europeans. Today, with 38,760,000 Americans claiming Irish ancestry (according to the 1990 census), American society as a whole associates few connotations—positive or negative—with this group. Among these immigrants and their ancestors, however, there is still great pride and a certain prestige in being Irish.

Still, there exists in some circles the belief that the Irish are less cultured, less advanced intellectually, and more politically reactionary and even bigoted than some other ethnic groups. The results of numerous polls show, however, that Catholic Irish Americans are among the best educated and most liberal in the United States. Moreover, they are well represented in law, medicine, academia, and other prestigious professions, and they continue to be upwardly socially mobile. Traditionally prominent in the Democratic ranks of city and local politics, many, especially since the Kennedy presidency, have now attained high positions in the federal government. Countless more have become top civil servants. Irish acceptability has also grown in line with the greater respect afforded by many Americans to the advances made by the Republic of Ireland in the twentieth century.

DANCES AND SONGS

Ireland's cultural heritage, with its diverse customs, traditions, folklore, mythology, music, and dance, is one of the richest and most distinctive in Europe. Rapid modernization and the extensive homogenization of western societies, however, has rendered much of this heritage obsolete or, at best, only vaguely perceived in contemporary Ireland. With their extensive assimilation into American culture there has been a decline in continuity and appreciation of the domestic cultural heritage among Irish Ameri-



Irish step dancers
prance along the
parade route during
a south Boston St.
Patrick's Day
Parade in 1997.

cans as well. Nevertheless, there exist many elements in the Irish American culture that are truly unique and lend this group a distinct cultural character.

Irish music and song brought to America by generations of immigrants have played a seminal role in the development of America's folk and country music. Elements of traditional Irish ballads introduced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are easily discernible in many American folk songs. Irish fiddle music of this period is an important root of American country music. This earlier music became part of a rural tradition. Much of what was carried to America by the great waves of Irish immigration during the nineteenth century, on the other hand, became an important facet of America's urban folk scene. With the folk music revival of the 1960s came a heightened appreciation of Irish music in both its American and indigenous forms. Today Irish music is extremely popular not only among Irish Americans but among many Americans in general. Many learn to play such Irish instruments as the pipes, tin whistle, flute, fiddle, concertina, harp, and the *bodhrán*. Many also attend Irish *céilithe* and dance traditional reels and jigs to hornpipes.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY

March 17 is the feast of St. Patrick, the most important holiday of the year for Irish Americans. St. Patrick, about whose life and chronology little definite is known, is the patron saint of Ireland. A Romano-Briton missionary, perhaps from Wales, St. Patrick is honored for spreading Christianity

throughout Ireland in the fifth century. Though Irish Americans of all creeds are particularly prominent on St. Patrick's Day, the holiday is now so ubiquitous that individuals of many other ethnic groups participate in the festivities. Many cities and towns hold St. Patrick's Day celebrations, parties, and, above all, parades. One of the oldest observances in the United States took place in Boston in 1737 under the auspices of the Charitable Irish Society. It was organized by Protestant Irish. Boston, especially in the districts of South Boston, still holds great celebrations each year, though the holiday is now more closely identified with Catholic Irish. The largest and most famous parade is held in New York City, with the first parade in that city dating back to 1762. In the early years this parade was organized by the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick; in 1838 the Ancient Order of Hibernians became sponsor and still holds the sponsorship today. New York's main cathedral is dedicated to St. Patrick. Most people celebrating St. Patrick's Day strive to wear something green, Ireland's national color. Green dye is often put in food and drink. The mayor of Chicago regularly has the Chicago River dyed green for the day. If people cannot find a shamrock to wear they carry representations of that plant. According to legend the shamrock, with its three leaves on the single stalk, was used by St. Patrick to explain the mystery of the Christian Trinity to the pagan Irish. In Ireland St. Patrick's Day, though still celebrated with enthusiasm, tends to be somewhat more subdued than in the United States due to a greater appreciation of the religious significance of the feast.

Irish Americans
celebrate in New
York City's annual
St. Patrick's Day
parade.



TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Hardly any true folk costume is still worn in Ireland. The *brat*, a black hooded woolen cloak, is sometimes seen on old women in County Cork. During the nineteenth century the shawl was found by many women to be a cheaper substitute for the cloak and even today older rural women might be shawled. The heavy white *báinín* pullovers, traditionally worn in the west and northwest of Ireland by fishermen whose sweaters each bore a unique and identifiable cable pattern, is now frequently seen throughout the nation. Traditional homespun tweed trousers are still sometimes worn by Aran Islander men. In America the Irish rarely wear any traditional costume. The main exception is the kilt which is sometimes worn by members of *céilí* bands and traditional Irish dancers. This plaid skirt is actually Scottish, however, and was adopted in the early twentieth century during the Gaelic Revival.

CUISINE

For the most part Irish Americans eat generic American food as well as the cuisine of other ethnic groups. Many Irish Americans do cook some of the dishes that make up the distinctive Irish cuisine, which is frequently served in Irish restaurants and pubs throughout America. There is a good market for the many shops in America that sell such Irish favorites as rashers (bacon), bangers (sausages), black and white pudding, and soda bread. Potatoes have traditionally constituted the staple of the Irish diet. The Irish also consume such dairy products as butter, milk, and cheese in large quantities. Many eat oatmeal stirabout or porridge for breakfast. Irish stew is a

favorite dish. Smoked Irish salmon, imported from Ireland, is a popular delicacy. Other traditional foods include: soda bread, made with flour, soda, buttermilk, and salt (sometimes with raisins); coddle, a dish originating in Dublin that is prepared with bacon, sausages, onions, and potatoes; and *drisheens*, made from sheep's blood, milk, bread crumbs, and chopped mutton suet. Corned beef and cabbage, sometimes served with juniper berries, was a traditional meal in many parts of Ireland on Easter Sunday and is still consumed by many Irish Americans on this and other days. Boxty bread, a potato bread marked with a cross, is still eaten by some on Halloween or the eve of All Saint's Day. Also on the table at Halloween are colcannon, a mixture of cabbage or kale and mashed potatoes with a lucky coin placed inside, and barmbrack, an unleavened cake made with raisins, sultanas, and currants. A ring is always placed inside the barmbrack. It is said that whoever receives the slice containing the ring will be married within the year. Tea, served at all times of the day or night, is probably the most popular Irish beverage. Irish coffee, made from whiskey and coffee, is truly an Irish American invention and is not drunk much in Ireland. Though Scotch and whiskey are synonymous to many in other countries, the Irish believe that their whiskey, *uisce beatha* (the water of life), is a finer drink. Irish stout, particularly the Guinness variety, is well-known throughout the world.

PROVERBS

Scéitheann fíon fírinne (Wine reveals the truth); *Níl aon tinteán mar do thinteán féin* (There's no fireside

like your own fireside); *Más maith leat tú a cháineadh, pós* (Marry, if you wish to be criticized); *Mol an óige agus tiocfaidh sí* (Give praise to the young and they will flourish); *An té a bhíos fial roinneann Dia leis* (God shares with the generous); *Is maith an scáthán súil charad* (The eye of a friend is a good mirror); *Is fada an bóthar nach mbíonn casadh ann* (It's a long road that has no turn); *Giorraíonn beirt bóthar* (Two people shorten the road).

HEALTH ISSUES

The health of Irish Americans is influenced by the same factors affecting other ethnic groups in the western world: old age, pollution, stress, excessive use of tobacco and alcohol, overly rich diet, employment and other economic problems, discord in marriage and personal relationships, and so on. The chief cause of death is heart-related diseases, exacerbated by the Irish fondness for a rich diet traditionally high in fat and caloric content. Alcohol plays a strong role in Irish American social life, and alcohol-related illnesses are common—the rate of alcoholism is high. Irish Americans also have an above-average rate of mental health diseases, with organic psychosis and schizophrenia being particularly prevalent.

In the earlier days of emigration the Irish, like numerous other groups, brought their folk medical remedies to America. Most of these, especially those associated with herbs, are unknown to the majority of contemporary Irish Americans; however, a number of traditional medical beliefs survive. In order to maintain good health and prevent illness many Irish recommend wearing holy medals and scapulars, blessing the throat, never going to bed with wet hair, never sitting in a draft, taking laxatives regularly, wearing camphor about the neck in influenza season, taking tonics and extra vitamins, enjoying bountiful exercise and fresh air, and avoiding physicians except when quite ill. Some traditional treatments are still used, such as painting a sore throat with iodine or soothing it with lemon and honey, putting a poultice of sugar and bread or soap on a boil, drinking hot whiskeys with cloves and honey for coughs or colds, and rubbing Vicks on the chest or breathing in hot Balsam vapors, also for coughs and colds.

Just as other groups in America, the Irish worry about the ever rising cost of medical care. Many would like improved medical insurance plans, whether national or private. The thousands of undocumented Irish throughout the United States who are not medically insured are particularly apprehensive of the frequently high expense of medical treatment.



Bernie Hurley uses roller blades to skate along the route for the 36th Annual Denver St. Patrick's Day Parade in Colorado.

LANGUAGE

Irish is a Celtic language of Indo-European origin, related to the ancient language of the Gauls. Linguistic scholars usually consider at least four distinct stages in the development of Irish: Old Irish (c. 600-900); Middle Irish (c. 900-1400); Early Modern Irish (c.1400-1600); and Modern Irish (c.1600-present). There are three fairly distinct dialects, those of Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. Beginning in the nineteenth century, Irish—until then widely spoken throughout Ireland—began a rapid decline mainly due to the Anglicization policies of the British government. Since the founding of the Irish Free State in 1921, however, the authorities have made great efforts to promote the widespread usage of Irish. Under the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland, Irish is decreed as the official language, though special recognition is given to English. Irish is still extensively taught in most schools. The result is that competence in Irish—as well as general interest in the language—is higher today than at any time in the Republic's history. Nevertheless, despite all efforts to render Irish a living national language, it is clear that it remains the daily language of communication for only about four percent of the population, most of whom live in small *Gaeltacht* (southwest, west, and northwest) areas. Only a tiny number of Northern Ireland's population speak Irish.

The decline in the usage of Irish and the triumph of English as the first language for most Irish throughout the nineteenth century, though undoubtedly a great loss for nationalistic and cul-

tural reasons, proved to be a boon to Irish immigrants to the United States. Almost alone among new immigrants, apart from those from the British Isles, most spoke the language of their adopted country. Today, there is a resurgence of interest in the Irish language among many Irish Americans. In cities such as New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco, classes in learning Irish are extremely popular. A growing number of American colleges and universities now offer courses in Irish language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Dia dhuit (“dee-ah guit”)—Hello; *Conas atá tú?* (“kunas ah-thaw thoo”)—How are you; *Fáilte romhat!* (“fawilteh rowth”)—Welcome; *Cad as duit?* (“kawd oss dit”)—Where are you from; *Gabh mo leithscéal* (“gauw muh leshgale”)—Excuse me; *Le do thoil* (“leh duh hull”)—Please; *Tá dhá thaobh ar an scéa* (“thaw gaw hayv air un shgale”)—There’s something to be said on both sides; *Más toil le Dia* (“maws tule leh dee-ah”)—God willing; *Tá sé ceart to leor* (“thaw shay k-yarth guh lore”) It’s all right; *Beidh lá eile ag an bPaorach!* (“beg law eleh egg un fairoch”)—Better luck next time; *Buíochas le Dia* (“bu-ee-kus leh dee-ah”)—Thank God; *Is fusa a rá ná a dhéanamh* (“iss fusa ah raw naw ah yeanav”)—Easier said than done; *Go raibh míle maith agat* (“guh row meela moh ugut”)—Thank you very much; *Slán agat go fóill* (“slawn ugut guh fowil”)—Good-bye for the present.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

It is difficult to discuss the Irish American family in isolation from the broader society. Irish assimilation into the American culture has been occurring for a long time and has been quite comprehensive.

MARRIAGE

Traditionally the average age of marriage for the Irish was older than for numerous other groups. Many delayed getting married, wishing first to attain a sufficient economic level. Large numbers did not marry at all, deciding to remain celibate, some for religious reasons, others, it has been suggested, due to a certain embarrassment about sex. Today delayed marriages are less common and there is probably less sexual dysfunction both within and outside marriage. Furthermore, those Irish whose families have long been established in America tend to have a more accepting attitude towards

divorce than do the more recently arrived Irish. Many young Irish Americans are more inclined than their elders to look favorably on divorce. The negative attitude of the Catholic church toward divorce still affects perceptions, however. Many Irish Americans, even those who obtain a civil divorce, seek to procure a church annulment of their marriages so that they may remarry within Catholicism. Though Irish Americans frequently intermarry with other groups there remains a strong leaning toward marrying within one’s own religion.

WAKES

In remote times in Ireland the Irish generally treated death in a boisterous and playful manner. It is possible that the storytelling, music playing, singing, dancing, feasting, and playing of wake diversions during the two or three days the dead person was laid out prior to burial owed something to pre-Christian funeral games. Such activity may also have stemmed in part from a welcoming of death by an exploited and destitute people. Today, however, wakes among Irish Americans are much more sedate and respectable and generally last only one night. The main purpose of a wake is for relatives, neighbors, and friends to visit in order to pay their respects to the dead person and to offer condolences to the family. Though food and drink are still invariably offered to visitors, the traditional over-indulgence of eating and drinking rarely occurs. In years past the dead body was laid out on a bed in the person’s own house. Today the wake often takes place in a funeral home with the body lying in a casket. Catholic dead often have rosary beads entwined in their crossed hands, and some are dressed in the brown habit or shroud of the Franciscan Third Order. Flowers and candles are usually placed about the casket. The laid-out corpse always has somebody standing beside it. This is mainly out of respect for the dead person. Many years ago, however, there was a practical reason for watching the body, namely to guard it from the predations of body-snatchers who would sell it to medical schools. The *caoine* or keening of women over the corpse is no longer heard in America. This custom has also, except for rare occasions, died out in Ireland. It is common for visitors to a wake to say a short silent prayer for the soul of the dead person.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The traditional Irish American mother remained at home to take care of the household. Female dominance of domestic life was common and the mother generally played a disproportionate role in raising

the children. Not all Irish women were tied to the house, however. Many were also active in community oriented projects, such as charity activities, parochial work, and caring for the old and sick. In addition, many others displayed great independence and resolve last century when, fleeing the famine and terrible conditions in Ireland, they emigrated alone to the United States, a bold act for women of the period. This will and determination remains one of the most dominant character traits of contemporary Irish American females. Modern Irish American women are as likely, if not more so, to be as successful as their peers from other groups. Few today are content to devote their lives to traditional housework, with the great majority working in either part-time or full-time jobs. Great numbers have thrived in such professional spheres as academia, law, business, politics, and a variety of other occupations.

CHILDREN

Irish American families have traditionally been large. Today many families still tend to produce an above-average number of children. This may be due in part to the continued adherence of many Irish to the teachings of the Catholic church on contraception. How Irish Americans rear their children depends to a great extent on the socio-economic background of the family. Generally, however, children are treated firmly but kindly. They are taught to be polite, obey their parents, and defer to authority. The mother often plays the dominant role in raising children and imparting values; the father is frequently a distant figure. In many families negative reinforcement, such as shaming, belittling, ridiculing, and embarrassing children, is as common as positive reinforcement. There has always been a tendency to imbue children with a strong sense of public respectability. It even has been argued that this desire to be thought respectable has deterred many Irish from taking chances and has impeded their success. Overt affection displayed by parents toward their children is not as prevalent as in some other ethnic groups.

EDUCATION

In earlier generations, often more attention was paid to the education of sons than to that of daughters. It was generally thought that girls would become homemakers and that even if some did have a job such work would be considered secondary to their household duties. Today, however, though some Irish parents, particularly mothers, still “spoil” or indulge their sons, the education of daughters is a major concern.

Irish American families encourage achievement in school. In this they follow the traditional respect of the Irish for education. This dates back to when Irish monks helped preserve Latin and Greek learning in Europe, as well as the English language itself, by copying manuscripts during the fifth through eighth centuries when Ireland attained the name of “Island of Saints and Scholars.” In addition, Irish Americans well understand that academic success facilitates achievement in wider social and economic spheres. The result is that Irish Catholics are among the top groups in the United States for educational attainment. They are more likely than any other white gentile ethnic group to go to college and are also more likely than most other ethnic groups to pursue graduate academic and professional degrees. While many Irish attend public schools, colleges, and universities, numerous others go to Catholic educational institutions. During the nineteenth century, however, many Irish parochial schools placed a greater emphasis on preventing Irish children from seduction by what many felt to be the Protestant ethos of the public schools. There is strong evidence that attendance at today’s Catholic educational institutions, many of which have high standards, facilitates high levels of educational achievement and upward social mobility. Contrary to some beliefs, they are not deterrents to either academic or economic success. Among the most renowned Catholic universities attended by Irish Americans are Boston College and the University of Notre Dame.

RELIGION

Some early Catholic Irish immigrants converted to the pervasive Protestantism in America. However, the vast majority of subsequent Catholic immigrants, many holding their religion to be an intrinsic part of their Irish heritage as well as a safeguard against America’s Anglo establishment, held steadfastly to their faith and, in so doing, helped Roman Catholicism grow into one of America’s most powerful institutions. Since the late eighteenth century many aspects of American Catholicism have possessed a distinctly Irish character. A disproportionate number of Irish names may be found among America’s past and present Catholic clergy. Scores of Irish laymen have been at the forefront of American Catholic affairs. The Irish have been particularly energetic supporters of the more concrete manifestations of their church and have established throughout America great numbers of Catholic schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, community centers, and orphanages, as well as churches, cathedrals, convents, and seminaries.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Until the mid-twentieth century, the life of Catholic Irish Americans revolved around their parish. Many children went to parochial schools, and the clergy organized such activities as sports, dances, and community services. There was little local politics without the participation of the priests. The clergy knew all the families in the community and there was great pressure to conform to the norms of the tightly knit parish. The parish priest, generally the best-educated individual of the congregation, was usually the dominant community leader. At a time when there were far fewer social workers, guidance counselors, and psychologists, parishioners flocked to their priest in times of trouble. Today the typical parish is less closed mainly due to the falling off in religious practice over the last decades of the twentieth century and the increased mainstreaming of parishioners. Nevertheless, there still remains a strong identification of many Catholic Irish with their parish.

The American Catholic church has undergone great changes since the 1960s, due largely to the innovations introduced by the Second Vatican Council. Some Catholic Irish Americans, wishing to preserve their inherited church practices, have been dismayed by the transformation. Some, alienated by the modernization of the liturgy, have been offended by what they consider a diminution of the mystery and venerability of church ritual with respect to the introduction of the vernacular, new hymns, and guitar playing at services. Some have attempted to preserve the traditional liturgy by joining conservative breakaway sects, and others have adopted different branches of Christianity.

Most Irish Americans have embraced the recent developments, however. The traditional Irish obedience to ecclesiastical authority is no longer certain as Rome asserts an uncompromising stance on many issues. Many Irish Catholics are now far more inclined to question doctrines and take issue with teachings on such subjects as abortion, contraception, divorce, priestly celibacy, and female priests. Certain members of the clergy have shown discontent; priests, nuns, and brothers have been leaving their orders in large numbers and there has been a concurrent decline in Irish vocations to the religious life. The numbers of Irish receiving the sacraments and attending mass and other church services have substantially declined; and many have abandoned puritan attitudes toward lifestyle issues, especially sex. Nevertheless, most Irish American Catholics are still faithful to many teachings of their church, and continue to identify as Catholics despite some disagreements with Vatican teachings.

The great majority of Catholic Irish immigrants in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century languished at the bottom of America's economic ladder as unskilled laborers. Though some were farm workers, many more worked in such areas as mining, quarrying, bridge and canal building, and railway construction. So many Irish were killed working on the railroad that it was commonly speculated that "there was an Irishman buried under every tie." Others were dockworkers, ironworkers, factory-hands, bartenders, carters, street cleaners, hod-carriers, and waiters. Irish women generally worked in menial occupations. Multitudes were employed as domestic servants in Anglo-Protestant households, while others worked as unskilled laborers in New England textile mills. Some Irish became quite successful but their numbers were few. The handful who attained white-collar status were frequently shopkeepers and small businessmen. There was an exceedingly meager number of Irish professionals. Those Irish who made the long trip to the western states tended to have somewhat more prestigious jobs than their compatriots in the East and North. This is due in part to the large numbers of Chinese in the West who did much of the manual laboring work. Many Irish participated in the California Gold Rush.

In the years after the Civil War the occupational lot of the Irish began to improve as more entered skilled trades. Many moved into managerial positions in the railroad, iron, construction, and other industries. Some went into business for themselves, especially in the building and contracting sectors. Numerous others became police officers, firefighters, streetcar conductors, clerks, and post-office workers. The Irish held many leadership positions in the trade union movement. Entertainment and athletics were other fields in which they began to attain greater recognition. It was more difficult for Irish women to move into higher prestige jobs, as there were far fewer opportunities for women in general at this time. Still, many attained upward occupational mobility by becoming teachers, nurses, and secretaries. Many Irish American nuns held positions of responsibility in hospitals, schools, and other Catholic social institutions.

By the beginning of the twentieth century Catholic Irish Americans were clearly ascending the occupational ladder. Though most remained members of the working class, large numbers moved into the ranks of the lower middle classes. Throughout the century this improvement in socioeconomic

ic status has continued. Today the Irish are well represented in academia, medicine, law, government service, politics, finance, banking, insurance, journalism, the entertainment industry, the Catholic clergy, and most other professions.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The vast majority of Irish Catholic immigrants to the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries arrived as Democrats, a political stance imbued by years of oppression at the hands of the British. Not surprisingly, most favored the democratic policies of Thomas Jefferson and their vote greatly assisted his election to the presidency in 1801. Their political inclinations were again manifest in 1829 in their support for the populist politics of Democrat Andrew Jackson, America's seventh president and the nation's first of Irish (Protestant) background. Understanding that they were clearly unable to match the Anglo-Protestant establishment in the world of business and economics, Irish Catholics, many of whom entered the United States with fundamental political experience gained through mass agitation movements at home, realized that politics would provide them with a potent vehicle for attaining influence and power. In the years after the Civil War the Irish metier for political activity became increasingly evident. To many today the Irish control of New York's Tammany Hall, the center of the city's Democratic Party, is a resolute symbol of their powerful and sometimes dubious involvement in American urban politics. Though graft, cronyism, and corruption were once an integral part of many of their political "machines" in New York and other cities, Irish politicians were frequently more successful than their Anglo-Protestant counterparts in reaching the people, feeding the poor, helping the more unfortunate obtain jobs, and organizing other practical social welfare activities. The Irish political "machine" generally had a strong democratic, reformist, and pragmatic agenda, which frequently extended to Jews, Italians, Germans, Poles, and other nationalities.

The phenomenon of Irish domination of the political life of numerous cities continued well into the twentieth century. Two extremely influential and powerful figures of the old "machine" style were James Michael Curley (1874-1958), mayor of Boston for four terms, and Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago from 1954 to 1976. Irish involvement in both state and national politics also gained prominence in the twentieth century. Alfred Emanuel Smith (1873-1944), the grandson of Irish immi-

grants, was the first Irish Catholic to receive the nomination of a major party (Democratic) in a presidential election; he was defeated by Herbert Hoover. An Irish Catholic reached the White House in 1960 with the election of the Democrat John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who was assassinated in 1963. His brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, another prominent Democratic politician who served as attorney general in the Kennedy administration, was assassinated in 1968. A third brother, Edward, has been one of the most liberal and effective champions of social reform in the history of the Senate. Two other twentieth century Presidents, Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan (both Republicans) were of Irish Protestant background. Numerous other Irish American politicians have gained state and national attention in recent decades. Both Mike Mansfield and George J. Mitchell were Senate majority leaders. Thomas O'Neill and Thomas S. Foley both served as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Another influential politician and 1976 presidential candidate was Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota.

Despite the notable presence this century of such influential reactionaries as the demagogue Father Charles Coughlin and the communist-baiter Senator Joseph McCarthy, Catholic Irish Americans are among the most likely to advocate the right of free speech. They also tend to be more supportive of liberal issues than many other white ethnic groups. For example, they have traditionally promoted such causes as racial equality, welfare programs, environmental issues, and gun control. Irish Americans have been and still are among the most stalwart supporters of the Democratic Party. Beginning in the late twentieth century, however, there has been a movement by some toward the Republican Party.

ARMED FORCES

The Irish, either as regulars or as volunteers, have served in all of America's wars. They fought with distinction in the Revolutionary War, most siding with Washington. It is estimated that as many as 38 percent of Washington's army was composed of Irish Americans, even though they made up only 10 percent of the population. Of the generals, 26 were Irish, 15 of whom were born in Ireland. In the Civil War most Irish sided with the Union and great numbers fought in the Yankee armies. "The Fighting 69th" was probably the most famous Irish regimental unit, though 38 other Union regiments had "Irish" in their names. The contribution of the Irish to the Confederate cause was also significant. As many as 40,000 Confederate soldiers were born in

Ireland and numerous others were of Irish ancestry. Irish Americans continued to fight in America's armies in subsequent wars and were particularly prominent, with many gaining decorations, in the two World Wars, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Their ready and distinguished participation in America's military conflicts has helped the Irish to gain respectability in the eyes of generations of other Americans and to assimilate into mainstream American life.

LABOR MOVEMENT

The Irish have contributed greatly to the labor movement in America. Their struggle for American workers' rights began as an outgrowth of their fight against oppression in Ireland. American capitalist injustice in industry was not too different in principle from persecution by English landlords at home. Even in the antebellum years the Irish were active in workers' organizations, many of which were clandestine, but it was during the second half of the nineteenth century that their involvement in labor activities became especially prominent. Particularly well known are the activities of the Molly Maguires, anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania who in the 1860s and 1870s violently resisted the mostly English, Scottish, and Welsh mine bosses. Found guilty of nine murders, ten Mollies were hanged in 1876. This did not deter Irish involvement in American labor activities, however. Terrence V. Powderly (1849-1924), the son of an Irish immigrant, was for years leader of the Knights of Labor, the first national labor organization, which was founded in 1869. He later became commissioner general of immigration. Peter James McGuire (1852-1906), a carpenter, was another leading union activist. A founder of the American Federation of Labor, he was its secretary and first vice-president. He is perhaps best known today as the "Father of Labor Day." Irish women have also been prominent in America's labor movement. The Cork-born Mary Harris ("Mother") Jones (1830-1930), after losing all her possessions in the Chicago fire of 1871 began a 50-year involvement in organizing labor unions and in striving to improve workers' conditions and wages throughout the United States. Today, a nationally circulated magazine devoted to liberal issues bears her name. Another famous Irish female in the labor movement was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964) who co-founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 and later became head of the United States Communist party. Kerry-born Michael Joseph Quill (1905-1966) founded the Transport Workers Union of America in 1934 and was its first president. In 1937 Joe Curran became the National

Maritime Union's first president. George Meany (1894-1979), grandson of an Irish immigrant, was president of the combined American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) from 1955 to 1979. Irish American participation in America's unions and labor movement has been and continues to be of vital importance and benefit to the well-being of American society.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The attention of many Irish Americans of different generations has been sharply focused on the political affairs of Ireland ever since the Catholic civil rights movement began in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. This movement was a response to decades of institutionalized and private discrimination against Catholics in this region since the creation of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom in 1921. This discrimination by the Protestant majority was pervasive in such spheres as voting, housing, and employment. For the past three decades Northern Ireland has been convulsed by political upheaval, the frequently controversial tactics of an occupying force of British soldiers, Protestant and Catholic paramilitary activity, riots, killings, bombings, hunger strikes, internment without trial, and patent violations of human rights. The reactions of numerous Irish Americans have been forceful. In 1970 the Northern Ireland Aid Committee (NORAIID) was formed to provide material help to Catholics in Northern Ireland. The Irish National Caucus, a Washington-based lobbying group, has been vociferous in its call for a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and for a reunification of the whole nation. Many Irish American politicians have campaigned intensely to find a settlement to Northern Ireland's problems. Among the most prominent have been Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan of New York, former Speaker of the House of Representatives Tip O'Neill, and former Governor of New York Hugh Carey. These and other Irish American politicians and lobbying groups have consistently exerted pressure on successive administrations to use their influence with London, Belfast, and Dublin to help amend human rights abuses in Northern Ireland and to aid in the provision of social and economic justice in that region. After the Anglo-Irish Agreement was reached in England in November 1985 Congress, responding in part to pressure from Irish Americans, passed a multi-billion-dollar aid bill for Northern Ireland. The future of this region is by no means clear, despite the recent cease-fire by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), but it is expected that

Irish Americans will continue influence the policy of the major players in this conflict.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

It would constitute a thoroughly invidious task to provide a comprehensive record of the vast number of Irish Americans who have attained prominence over the past few centuries. The following list is necessarily selective, and countless other individuals might also have been named.

ART

There have been numerous Irish Americans who have achieved prominence in the arts. In the fine arts, for example, the following three achieved particular fame: Mathew Brady (1823-1896), Civil War photographer; James E. Kelly (1855-1933), sculptor; Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986), painter. Others include: Mathew Carey (1760-1839), author, book publisher, and political economist; Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), one of the greatest figures in American literature; Ring Lardner (1885-1933), short story writer and sports journalist; Mary O'Hara Alsop (1885-1980), popular novelist who focused on animal life; Eugene O'Neill (1888-1953), one of America's most eminent playwrights; F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940), popular novelist and short story writer; James T. Farrell (1904-1979), author whose work, notably his Studs Lonigan trilogy, centered on working-class Irish American families on Chicago's South Side; John O'Hara (1905-1970), novelist and short story writer; Mary McCarthy (1912-1989), novelist and critic; Mary Flannery O'Connor (1925-1964), novelist and short story writer of the American South; and William F. Buckley (1925–), editor, critic, commentator, novelist.

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

Numerous Irish Americans have made their mark in the world of business and finance: William Russell (1812-1872), founder of the Pony Express; William Russell Grace (1832-1904), entrepreneur and first Roman Catholic mayor of New York; John Philip Holland (1840-1914), Clare-born father of the modern submarine; Anthony Nicholas Brady (1843-1913), wealthy industrialist whose interests extended from railroads to electric companies; Andrew Mellon (1855-1937), banker, art collector, and philanthropist; Samuel S. McClure (1857-

1949), leading journalist and newspaper publisher; Henry Ford (1863-1947), auto manufacturer; James A. Farrell (1863-1943), head of United States Steel Corporation; and Howard Hughes (1905-1976), wealthy and eccentric industrialist, aerospace manufacturer, and movie maker.

EDUCATION

John R. Gregg (1867-1948), inventor of the Gregg system of shorthand; and William Heard Kilpatrick (1871-1965), philosopher and leader in the Progressive Education movement, are among prominent Irish American educators.

ENTERTAINMENT

A great number of Irish Americans have attained distinction in the entertainment industry: Victor Herbert (1859-1924), Dublin-born conductor and popular composer of operettas; Will Rogers (1879-1935), humorist and actor; John McCormack (1884-1945), popular Westmeath-born tenor; Buster Keaton (1895-1966), famous silent film comedian; Emmett Kelly (1898-1979), well-known circus clown; James Cagney (1899-1986), movie actor; film director John Ford (born Sean Aloysius O'Feeny; 1895-1973); Spencer Tracy (1900-1967), movie actor; Ed Sullivan (1901-1974), newspaper columnist and television personality; Bing Crosby (1901-1977), singer and movie and radio actor; Pat O'Brien (1900-1983), movie, radio, and television actor; John Huston (1906-1987), film director; John Wayne (1907-1979), movie actor; Errol Flynn (1909-1959), movie actor; Maureen O'Sullivan (1911–), movie actor; Gene Kelly (1912–), dancer, actor, singer; Tyrone Power (1913-1958), movie actor; Mickey Rooney (1920–), movie actor; Maureen O'Hara (1920–), movie actor; Carroll O'Connor (1924–), television actor; Grace Kelly (1929-1982), movie actor and later Princess of Monaco; Jack Nicholson (1937–), movie actor; and Mia Farrow (1945–), movie actor.

LABOR

Activists in the labor movement not mentioned already include: Leonora Barry (1849-1923), feminist and activist for women's suffrage; Mary Kenney O'Sullivan (1864-1943), active labor organizer; and Daniel Tobin (1875-1955), president of the Teamsters Union and a leader of the American Federation of Labor.

MILITARY

Several Irish Americans who have won renown in the military field have been mentioned. Others include: Lydia Barrington Darragh (1729-1789), Dublin-born heroine of the Revolutionary War and spy for George Washington; John Barry (1745-1803), Wexford-born "Father of the American Navy"; Margaret Corbin (1751-1800), heroine of the Revolutionary War; General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), leader of the Allied forces in the Pacific during World War II; William J. Donovan (1883-1959), World War I hero and later founder of the Office of Strategic Services; and Audie Murphy (1924-1971), the United States's most decorated soldier of World War II who later became a movie actor.

POLITICS AND LAW

The fields of politics and law have had more than their share of eminent Irish Americans; the following few may be added to those named earlier: Sir Thomas Dongan (1634-1715), Irish-born governor of New York in 1682; Sir William Johnson (1715-1774), army officer and superintendent of Indian Affairs; Pierce Butler (1744-1822), Carlow-born American political leader who signed the U.S. Constitution; Nellie Tayloe Ross (1876-1977), first female governor (of Wyoming 1925-1927) and first female director of the Mint (1933-1953); Sandra Day O'Connor (1930-), the first female Supreme Court Justice; William G. Brennan (1906-), Supreme Court Justice.

RELIGION

Famous Irish American religious leaders include: Archbishop John Joseph Hughes (1797-1864), first Roman Catholic archbishop of New York; John McCloskey (1810-1885), first American cardinal of the Roman Catholic church; James Gibbons (1834-1921), Francis Joseph Spellman (1889-1967), Richard J. Cushing (1895-1970), and Terence Cooke (1921-1983), all Roman Catholic cardinals; Archbishop Fulton John Sheen (1895-1979), charismatic Roman Catholic church leader; Father Andrew Greeley (1928-), priest, sociologist, and novelist. Two famous humanitarians are Father Edward Joseph Flanagan (1886-1948), Roman Catholic priest who worked with homeless boys and who founded Boys Town in Nebraska; and Thomas A. Dooley (1927-1961), medical doctor who performed great humanitarian work in southeast Asia.

SPORTS

Irish Americans have been eminent in sports as well, including: John L. Sullivan (1858-1918), James John "Gentleman Jim" Corbett (1866-1933), Jack Dempsey (1895-1983), and Gene Tunney (1898-1978), all heavyweight boxing champions; Babe Ruth (1895-1948), baseball player; Ben Hogan (1912-), golfer; Maureen "Little Mo" Connolly (1934-1969), tennis star who won the U.S. women's singles championship three times; and Jimmy Connors (1952-), another famous tennis player.

MEDIA

PRINT

Gryfons Publishers and Distributors.

Publisher specializing in new and reprinted works on Irish history and culture, particularly focusing on Gaelic royalism and heritage.

Contact: David Wooten.

Address: P.O. Box 1899, Little Rock, Arkansas 72203-1899.

Telephone: (501) 834-4038.

Fax: (501) 834-4038.

E-mail: ballywoodn@aol.com.

Online: <http://gryfons.hypermart.net>.

Irish America Magazine.

Established in 1984, the magazine publishes information about Ireland and Irish Americans, including book, play, and film reviews.

Address: Irish America, Inc., 432 Park Avenue South, No. 1000, New York, New York 10016-8013.

Irish Echo.

Established in 1928, this publication contains articles of interest to the Irish community.

Contact: Jane M. Duffin, Editor.

Address: 803 East Willow Grove Avenue, Wyndmoor, Pennsylvania 19038.

Telephone: (215) 836-4900.

Fax: (215) 836-1929.

Irish Herald.

Established in 1962, this newspaper covers Irish American interests.

Contact: John Whooley, Editor.

Address: Irish Enterprises, 2123 Market Street, San Francisco, California 94114.

Stars and Harp.

Carries profiles of Irish Americans and their contributions to the formation of the United States.

Contact: Joseph F. O'Connor, Editor.

Address: American Irish Bicentennial Committee,
3917 Moss Drive, Annandale, Virginia 22003.

Telephone: (703) 354-4721.

The World of Hibernia.

Upscale lifestyle magazine devoted to Irish American culture and notable Irish Americans.

Contact: Thomas P. Farley, Editor.

Address: 217 First St., Ho-Ho-Kus,
New Jersey 07423.

E-mail: hibernia@interport.net.

Online: <http://www.twoh.com>.

RADIO

WFUV-FM (90.7).

"Míle Fáilte" presented by Séamus Blake, Saturdays 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m.; "A Thousand Welcomes" presented by Kathleen Biggins, Saturdays 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.; "Ceol na nGael" presented by Eileen Fitzsimons and Marianna McGillicuddy, Sundays 12:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Contact: Chuck Singleton, Program Director.

Address: Fordham University, Bronx,
New York 10458.

Telephone: (718) 817-4550.

Fax: (718) 365-9815.

WGBH-FM (89.7).

Celtic program presented by Brian O'Donovan, Sundays 12:00 to 2:00 p.m.

Contact: Martin Miller, Programming Director.

Address: 125 Western Avenue, Boston,
Massachusetts 02134.

Telephone: (617) 492-2777.

Fax: (617) 787-0714.

WNTN-AM (1550).

"The Sound of Erin," Saturdays 10:30 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.

Contact: John Curran or Bernie McCarthy.

Address: P.O. Box 12, Belmont,
Massachusetts 02178.

Telephone: (617) 484-2275 (John Curran); (617) 326-4159 (Bernie McCarthy).

WPNA-AM (1490).

Irish programming each Saturday 8:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., 6:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

Contact: Bud Sullivan, the Hagerty Family, Mike O'Connor, Mike Shevlin, or Joe Brett.

Address: Alliance Communications, Inc., Radio Station WPNA, 408 South Oak Park Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois 60302.

Telephone: (708) 974-0108 (Bud Sullivan); (708) 834-8110 (the Hagerty Family); (708) 771-2228 (Mike O'Connor); (708) 282-7035 (Mike Shevlin); (312) 746-4561 (Joe Brett).

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Irish Historical Society (AIHS).

The goal of the AIHS is to promote awareness among Americans of Irish descent of their history, culture, and heritage. To attain that end the AIHS presents lectures, readings, musical events, and art exhibitions. Each year the Society awards its gold medal to an individual who best reflects the Society's ideals. The Society's journal, *The Recorder*, is published semi-annually in the winter and summer, and contains articles on a wide range of Irish American and Irish topics with a primary focus on the contribution of the Irish in American history.

Contact: Thomas Michael Horan,
Executive Director.

Address: 991 5th Ave., New York,
New York 10028.

Telephone: (212) 288-2263.

Fax: (212) 628-7927.

E-mail: amerish@earthlink.net.

Online: <http://www.aihs.org>.

Ancient Order of Hibernians in America (AOH).

Founded in Ireland in the early sixteenth century the AOH established its first American branch in New York City in 1836. Today the AOH, its membership almost 200,000, is the largest Irish American organization with divisions throughout the country. Originally founded to protect the Catholic faith of its members, the AOH still has this as one of its chief aims. It also seeks to promote an awareness throughout America of all aspects of Irish life and culture. The AOH publishes a bimonthly newspaper, *The National Hibernian Digest*.

Contact: Thomas D. McNabb, Secretary.

Address: 31 Logan Street, Auburn,
New York 13021.

Telephone: (315) 252-3895.

Irish American Cultural Association (IACA).

Promotes the study and appreciation of Irish culture.

Contact: Thomas R. McCarthy, President.
Address: 10415 South Western, Chicago,
Illinois 60643.
Telephone: (773) 238-7150.

Irish American Cultural Institute (IACI).

Founded in 1962 this non-profit foundation, whose purposes are non-political and non-religious, fosters the exploration of the Irish experience in Ireland and America. Among its programs are: Irish Perceptions, which facilitates tours and presentations in America of leading Irish actors, lecturers, musicians, and artists; Irish Way, which takes American high school students on a summer educational tour of Ireland; Art and Literary Awards, which provides grants aimed at stimulating the arts in Ireland; and the Irish Research Fund, which supports scholarly work by citizens of any country that illuminates the Irish American experience. IACI also awards a visiting fellowship in Irish Studies at University College, Galway, and scholarships for American undergraduate students to the University of Limerick. IACI publishes *Éire-Ireland*, a quarterly scholarly journal of Irish studies, and *Dúcas*, a bimonthly newsletter. The Institute has 15 chapters throughout the United States.

Contact: James S. Rogers, Director of Operations.
Address: University of St. Thomas, 2115 Summit
Avenue, Mail No. 5026, St. Paul, Minnesota
55105-1096.
Telephone: (612) 962-6040.
Fax: (612) 962-6043.

Irish American Partnership.

Individuals and organizations promoting stronger cultural ties between the United States and the Republic of Ireland. Encourages participation in the unique cultural practices and appreciation of the histories of both countries.

Contact: Joe Leary, President.
Address: 33 Broad Street, 9th Floor, Boston,
Massachusetts 02109.
Telephone: (617) 723-2707.
Fax: (617) 723-5478.
E-mail: iap@irishap.org.

Irish Genealogical Society (IGS).

Promotes and encourages the study of Irish genealogy and other types of Irish studies.

Contact: Joseph M. Glynn, Jr., Director.
Address: 21 Hanson Avenue, Somerville,
Massachusetts 02143.
Telephone: (617) 666-0877.

Irish Heritage Foundation (IHF).

Promotes Irish heritage and cultural awareness in the United States.

Contact: John Whooley, President.
Address: 2123 Market Street, San Francisco,
California 94114.
Telephone: (415) 621-2200.

Irish National Caucus.

Founded in 1974, the Irish National Caucus, with a membership of about 200,000 Irish Americans, is a powerful lobbying group that seeks to publicize the violations of human rights in Ireland. Though it does not support any specific solution to the Irish problem, its ultimate objective is to achieve, by political, legal, and non-violent means, a peaceful Ireland free of British rule.

Contact: Fr. Sean McManus, President.
Address: 413 East Capitol Street, S.E.,
Washington, D.C. 20003.
Telephone: (202) 544-0568.
Fax: (202) 543-2491.

Irish Institute (II).

Founded in 1950. Formerly known as Irish Feis Institute. Provides financial support for cultural projects in Ireland and the United States for U.S. citizens of Irish birth or extraction.

Contact: Kevin Morrissey, President.
Address: c/o Kevin Morrissey, P.O. Box 173,
Woodside, New York 11377.
Telephone: (718) 721-3363.
Fax: (718) 721-3805.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Conference for Irish Studies.

Founded in 1962.

Contact: Dr. Lucy McDiarmid, President.
Address: 1931 Panama Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19103.
Telephone: (215) 545-3015.
Fax: (215) 545-3015.
E-mail: mcdiarmid@acis.vill.edu.

American Irish Historical Society.

The library of the AIHS contains more than 30,000 volumes together with major manuscript and archival collections. It is probably the premier repos-

itory of library materials on the Irish in America. The library is open to the public by appointment.

Contact: Alec Ormsby.

Address: 991 Fifth Avenue, New York,
New York 10028.

Telephone: (212) 288-2263.

Fax: (212) 628-7927.

E-mail: amerirish@earthlink.net.

Online: <http://www.aihs.org>.

An Claidheamh Soluis—The Irish Arts Center.

Aims to develop an understanding of Irish culture and arts among the Irish, Americans, and others. It offers a variety of courses in such subjects as Irish language, history, literature, dance, and traditional music. It has an excellent resident theater company. It also sponsors Irish dances, poetry-readings, lectures, and concerts. In addition, the Center publishes the monthly newsletter *Irish Arts—Ealaíona Éireannacha*.

Contact: Nye Heron, Executive Director.

Address: 553 West 51st Street, New York,
New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 757-3318.

Fax: (212) 247-0930.

Boston Public Library.

With more than 6,000,000 volumes, this library is one of the nation's major research libraries. It has particularly strong holdings, including numerous important manuscript and archival collections, relating to many aspects of the national and local history of the Irish in America. Irish American literature and music are also well represented.

Contact: Gunars Rutkovskis, Assistant Director,
Resources and Research Library Services.

Address: Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts
02117-0286.

Telephone: (617) 536-5400.

Georgetown University, Joseph Mark Lauinger Library, Special Collections.

Contact: George M. Barringer, Head of Special
Collections Division; or Nicholas B. Scheetz,
Manuscript Librarian.

Address: 3700 O Street N.W., D.C. 20057-1006.

Telephone: (202) 687-7444.

Fax: (202) 687-7501.

Irish American Heritage Museum.

The exhibits, artifacts, and archives of this museum's collection cover many aspects of the Irish American experience from the earliest immigrants

up to the present. There are plans to move the museum's research library of Irish American material from its present location at The College of St. Rose in Albany, New York, to the museum itself.

Contact: Monique Desormeau.

Address: Route 145, East Durham,
New York 12423.

Telephone: (518) 634-7494.

John J. Burns Library, Boston College, Special Collections and Archives.

The Irish collection at Boston College's Burns Library is widely regarded as one of the most comprehensive collections of its kind outside of Ireland. Burns is also recognized for its extensive and important holdings in materials relating to Irish America. Included in the collection are papers of former Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill, the archives of the Charitable Irish Society (1889-present), the Eire Society of Boston (founded 1937), and the George D. Cahill (some 600 letters and ephemera, 1857-1900) and Patrick A. Collins (some 100 letters, 1880-1882) collections. Numerous other books and periodicals and several more manuscript collections relate to the history of the Irish, particularly in Boston.

Contact: Robert K. O'Neill, Burns Librarian.

Address: Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167.

Telephone: (617) 552-3282.

Fax: (617) 552-2465.

St. John's University, Special Collections.

Contact: Szilvia E. Szmuk, Special
Collections Librarian.

Address: Grand Central and Utopia Pkwy,
Jamaica, New York 11439.

Telephone: (718) 990-6737.

Fax: (718) 380-0353.

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IROQUOIS

by
Loretta Hall

CONFEDERACY

The Iroquois have
been willing to
adapt to a changing
world, but they
have resisted
efforts to substitute
a European
culture for their
own heritage.

OVERVIEW

The Iroquois Confederacy, an association of six linguistically related tribes in the northeastern woodlands, was a sophisticated society of some 5,500 people when the first white explorers encountered it at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The 1990 Census counted 49,038 Iroquois living in the United States, making them the country's eighth most populous Native American group. Although Iroquoian tribes own seven reservations in New York state and one in Wisconsin, the majority of the people live off the reservations. An additional 5,000 Iroquois reside in Canada, where there are two Iroquoian reservations. The people are not averse to adopting new technology when it is beneficial, but they want to maintain their own traditional identity.

HISTORY

The "Five Tribes" that first joined to form the Iroquois Confederacy, or League, were the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (listed in order from east to west according to where they lived in an area that roughly corresponds to central New York state). They called themselves Haudenosaunee (pronounced "hoo-dee-noh-SHAW-nee"), or people of the longhouse, referring to the construction of their homes, in which extended families of up to 50 people lived together in bark-covered, wooden-framed houses that were 50 to 150

feet long. They also envisioned their extended community as occupying a symbolic longhouse some 300 miles long, with the Mohawk guarding the eastern door and the Seneca the western.

The origin of the name Iroquois is uncertain, although it seems to have involved French adaptations of Indian words. Among the possibilities that have been suggested are a blending of *hiro* (an Iroquois word used to conclude a speech) and *koué* (an exclamation); *ierokwa* (“they who smoke”); *iakwai* (“bear”); or the Algonquian words *irin* (“real”) and *ako* (“snake”) with the French *-ois* termination. One likely interpretation of the origin of the name is the theory that it comes from the Algonquian word “Iri-nakhoiw,” which the French spelled with the *-ois* suffix. The French spelling roughly translates into “real adders” and would be consistent with the tendency of European cultures to take and use derogatory terms from enemy nations to identify various Native groups.

The Mohawk called themselves Ganiengehaka, or “people of the flint country.” Their warriors, armed with flint arrows, were known to be overpowering; their enemies called them *Mowak*, meaning “man eaters.” The name Oneida means “people of the standing stone,” referring to a large rock that, according to legend, appeared wherever the people moved, to give them directions. The Onondaga (“people of the hills”), the Cayuga (“where they land the boats”), and the Seneca (“the people of the big hill”) named themselves by describing their homelands.

Because the Algonquian people living on both sides of the Iroquois corridor are of a different culture and linguistic stock, it appears likely that the Iroquois migrated into this area at some time. No evidence has been found to indicate where they came from, however. The Cherokee people, whose historic homeland was in the southeastern United States, belong to the same linguistic group and share some other links with the Iroquois. Where and when they may have lived near each other is unknown.

Despite their common culture and language, relations among the Five Tribes deteriorated to a state of near-constant warfare in ancient times. The infighting, in turn, made them vulnerable to attacks from the surrounding Algonquian tribes. This period, known in the Iroquois oral tradition as the “darktimes,” reached a nadir during the reign of a psychotic Onondaga chief named Todadaho. Legend has it that he was a cannibal who ate from bowls made from the skulls of his victims, that he knew and saw everything, that his hair contained a tangle of snakes, and that he could kill with only a Medusa-like look.

Into this terrible era, however, entered two heroic figures. Deganawidah came from his Huron homeland in the north, travelling unchallenged among the hostile Iroquois. Finally, he encountered a violent, cannibalistic Onondagan. According to legend, Deganawidah watched through a hole in the roof while the man prepared to cook his latest victim. Seeing the stranger’s face reflected in the cooking pot, the barbarian assumed it to be his own image. He was struck by the thought that the beauty of the face was incompatible with the horrendous practice of cannibalism and immediately forsook the practice. He went outside to dispose of the corpse, and when he returned to his lodge he met Deganawidah. The foreigner’s words of peace and righteousness were so powerful that the man became a loyal disciple and helped spread the message.

Deganawidah named his disciple Hiawatha, meaning “he who combs,” and sent him to confront Todadaho and remove the snakes from the chief’s hair. After enduring terrible hardships at his adversary’s hands, and after convincing the other Iroquoian chiefs to accept the Good Message, Hiawatha finally convinced Todadaho as well. On the banks of Onondaga Lake, sometime between 1350 and 1600, Deganawidah established the Iroquois Confederacy, a league of nations that shared a positive code of values and lived in mutual harmony. Out of respect, the Iroquois refer to him as the Peacemaker.

When the first white explorers arrived in the early seventeenth century, they found the settled, agricultural society of the Iroquois a contrast to the nomadic culture of the neighboring Algonquians.

RELATIONS WITH NON-NATIVE AMERICANS

The French had established a presence in Canada for over 50 years before they met the Iroquois. During that period, the Iroquois began to acquire European trade goods through raids on other Indian tribes. They found the metal axes, knives, hoes, and kettles far superior to their implements of stone, bone, shell, and wood. Woven cloth began to replace the animal skins usually used for clothing materials.

The recurring raids prompted the French to help their Indian allies attack the Iroquois in 1609, opening a new technological era for the people of the Confederacy. French body armor was made of metal, whereas that of the Iroquois was made of slatted wood. Furthermore, the French fought with firearms, while traditional Iroquois weapons were bows and arrows, stone tomahawks, and wooden warclubs.

In response to European influence, the Iroquois gradually changed their military tactics to incorporate stealth, surprise, and ambush. Their motives for

fighting also changed. In the past, they had fought for prestige or revenge, or to obtain goods or captives; now they fought for economic advantage, seeking control over bountiful beaver hunting grounds or perhaps a stash of beaver skins to trade for European goods.

Although it provided the Indians with better tools, European incursion into the territory was disastrous for the indigenous people. In the 1690s alone, the Iroquois lost between 1,600 and 2,000 people in fighting with other Indian tribes. In addition, European diseases such as smallpox, measles, influenza, lung infections, and even the common cold took a heavy toll on them since they had developed no immunity and knew no cures.

These seventeenth century population devastations prompted the Iroquois people to turn increasingly to their traditional practice of adopting outsiders into their tribes to replace members who had died from violence or illness. While some captives were tortured unmercifully to death, others were adopted into Iroquois families (the leading clanswomen decided prisoners' fates, sometimes basing their decision on the manner in which a relative of theirs had been killed). The adopted person, who was sometimes the opposite gender or of a significantly different age than the deceased Indian he replaced, was treated with the same affection, given the same rights, and expected to fulfill the same duties as his predecessor.

Most, if not all, of the Indians who were educated by the English returned to their native cultures at the first opportunity. Many colonists, on the other hand, chose to become Indians, either by joining Indian society voluntarily, by not trying to escape from captivity, or by staying with their Indian captors in the wake of peace treaties that gave them the freedom to return home.

Early in the eighteenth century the Tuscarora, another Iroquoian-speaking tribe living in North Carolina, moved into the territory occupied by the Confederacy. They had rebelled against the encroachment of colonial settlers, against continual fraudulent treatment by traders, and against repeated raids that took their people for the slave trade. They suffered a terrible defeat, with hundreds of their people killed and hundreds more enslaved. Those who escaped such fates made their way north and became the sixth nation of the Iroquois League.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a period of rebuilding. The Iroquois made peace with the French and established themselves in a neutral position between the French and the English. This strategy lasted until the French and Indian War erupted in 1754; though the Confederacy was offi-

cially neutral, the Mohawk sided with the English, and the Seneca with the French.

Before long, another conflict arose among the European colonists, and the Iroquois were faced with the American Revolutionary War. Again, the various tribes failed to agree on which side to support. Without unanimous agreement on a common position, each nation in the Confederacy was free to pursue its own course. The Oneida fought on the side of the colonists, eventually earning official commendation from George Washington for their assistance. A major faction of the Mohawk sided with the British and recruited other Iroquois warriors to their cause. The League as a political entity was severely damaged by the conflict, and the war itself brought death and devastation to the member tribes. After the war, American retaliatory raids destroyed Iroquois towns and crops, and drove the people from their homelands.

The Six Nations remained fragmented in political, social, and religious ways throughout the nineteenth century. The development of the New Religion, beginning in 1799, helped revitalize the traditional culture and facilitated the transition to reservation life. Finally, beginning in the 1950s, the Mohawk, Seneca, and Tuscarora became involved in major land disputes over power-production and flood-control projects proposed by the New York State Power Authority and the United States Army Corps of Engineers. Paired with the social climate favoring ethnic assertion in the mid-twentieth century, these land disputes helped foster a resurgence in Iroquois solidarity.

KEY ISSUES

The Iroquois see themselves as a sovereign nation, not as merely another ethnic group within the United States population, and gaining further recognition of that status is a major objective. They have asserted their position in interesting ways. For example, when the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, the Iroquois Confederacy issued its own independent declaration and claimed status as an allied nation in the war effort. In 1949 a Haudenosaunee delegation attended groundbreaking ceremonies for the United Nations building in New York City. Iroquois statesmen and athletes use Haudenosaunee passports as they travel around the world.

Protecting the land is another priority. Since the 1940s, the Haudenosaunee have been involved in land issues involving projects as varied as the Kenzua Dam project, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and the Niagara Power Plant. After New York state attempted to condemn a portion of the Seneca's land for use in building a highway, a federal court ruled in the 1970s

At the beginning of the century, many Iroquois were leaving the reservations for various job opportunities, such as these steel workers in 1925 New York City.



that the state would have to negotiate with the Iroquois as equal sovereigns. In another land issue, the St. Regis (Akwasasne) Mohawk reservation has been affected by off-reservation pollution sources, including a neighboring toxic-waste dump and nearby air-polluting industrial plants. In the 1990s, struggles over land rights and protection of the land have also included the extension of leases on property and towns in western New York, as well as ongoing conflicts over pollution and the environment.

Resolving the question of gambling on the reservations is also an important issue. In 1990 the controversy erupted into a gun battle that left two Mohawk dead. The Onondaga Council of Chiefs issued a “Memorandum on Tribal Sovereignty” that said: “These businesses have corrupted our people and we are appalled at the Longhouse people who have become part of these activities. They have thrown aside the values of our ancient confederacy for personal gain” (*The Onondaga Council of Chiefs Memorandum on Tribal Sovereignty*). On the other hand, the Oneida tribe saw a dramatic decrease in unemployment after building a bingo hall in 1985; first year profits of over \$5 million were used by the tribe to acquire additional land adjacent to the reservation.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Even before the Europeans came to America, the Iroquois were an agricultural society. The men set

out on hunting expeditions in dugout or bark canoes to provide meat and hides, while the women tended to the farming. They were a relaxed society with a minimum of rules.

The longhouses in which they lived were constructed with a vestibule at each end that was available for use by all residents. Within the body of the house, a central corridor eight feet wide separated two banks of compartments. Each compartment, measuring about 13 feet by six feet, was occupied by a nuclear family. A wooden platform about a foot above the ground served as a bed by night and chair by day; some compartments included small bunks for children. An overhead shelf held personal belongings. Every 20 feet along the central corridor, a fire pit served the two families living on its opposite sides. Bark or hide doors at the ends of the buildings were attached at the top; these openings and the smoke holes in the roof 15 to 20 feet above each hearth provided the only ventilation.

Villages of 300 to 600 people were protected by a triple-walled stockade of wooden stakes 15 to 20 feet tall. About every 15 years the nearby supplies of wild game and firewood would become depleted, and the farmed soil would become exhausted. During a period of two years or so, the men would find and clear an alternate site for the village, which would then be completely rebuilt.

The primary crops, revered as gifts from the Creator, were called the “Three Sisters”: Corn provided stalks for climbing bean vines, while squash plants controlled weeds by covering the soil. The complimentary nutrient needs and soil-replenishing

characteristics of the three crops extended the useful life of each set of fields. In addition to providing food, the corn plants were used to make a variety of other goods. From the stalks were made medicine-storing tubes, corn syrup, toy warclubs and spears, and straws for teaching children to count. Corn husks were fashioned into lamps, kindling, mattresses, clotheslines, baskets, shoes, and dolls. Animal skins were smoked over corn cob fires.

Although bows and arrows tipped with flint or bone were the primary hunting weapons, blow guns were used for smaller prey. Made from the hollowed stem of swamp alder, blow guns were about six feet long and one inch thick, with a half-inch bore; the arrows were two and a half feet long.

Elm bark was put to many useful purposes, including constructing houses, building canoes, and fashioning containers. Baskets were woven of various materials, including black ash splints. Pottery vessels were decorated with angular combinations of parallel lines.

Wampum (cylindrical beads about one-fourth inch long and one-eighth inch in diameter) was very important in the Iroquois culture. The beads were made of quahog, or large, hardshell clam shells and could only be obtained through trading or as tribute payments from coastal tribes. White and purple beads were made from the different sections of the shells. Although the beads were used as ornamentation on clothing, wampum had several more important uses. Strings of the beads were used in mourning rituals or to identify a messenger as an official representative of his nation. Wampum belts served as symbols of authority or of contract. Patterns or figures woven into wampum belts recorded the terms of treaties; duplicate belts were given to each of the contracting parties. Because of its important uses, wampum became a valuable commodity and was sometimes used as a form of currency in trading.

Traditional Iroquois games ranged from lively field contests like lacrosse to more sedentary activities involving the bouncing of dried fruit-pit “dice” from a wooden bowl. The games were played both as entertainment and as elements of periodic ceremonies. A favorite winter game called “snowsnake” involved throwing a long wooden rod and seeing how far it would slide down an icy track smoothed out on a snowy field.

The Iroquois had no stringed musical instruments. The only wind instrument, the wooden “courting flute,” had six finger stops and was blown from the end. Single-tone rhythm instruments provided the only musical accompaniment for ceremonial dancing and singing. Rattles were made by

placing dried corn kernels inside various materials including turtle shells, gourds, bison horns, or folded, dried bark. The traditional drum was about six inches in diameter, made like a wooden pail, and covered with stretched animal skin; just the right amount of water was sealed inside to produce the desired tone when the drum was tapped with a stick.

TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURE

The Iroquois have been willing to adapt to a changing world, but they have resisted efforts to substitute a European culture for their own heritage. For example, in 1745 the Reverend David Brainerd proposed to live among them for two years to help them build a Christian church and become accustomed to the weekly worship cycle. They were direct in declining his offer: “We are Indians and don’t wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are” (James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1981] p. 78).

Yet changes were inevitable. In 1798 a Quaker delegation worked among the Seneca, teaching them to read and write. They also instructed them in modern farming methods and encouraged men to work on the farms, which represented a major cultural shift. A respected Seneca warrior named Gaiantwaka, known as The Cornplanter, helped bring about this change, as did his half brother, Ganiodayo (Handsome Lake).

More Iroquois began to accept the concept of private ownership of land; historically, tribal lands were held in common, although individuals might have the right to farm certain parcels during their lifetime. During the nineteenth century, the Iroquois sold large amounts of land in exchange for useful trade goods. Leading chiefs were sometimes induced to support such sales by the offer of lifetime pensions. Shrinking land holdings made hunting increasingly difficult and left the men with little to do, which contributed to the Quakers’ success in turning them to agricultural work. Families were encouraged to leave the longhouses and live separately on small farms so the men could work in their fields without being embarrassed by being seen doing women’s work. Today, longhouses are used only for religious and ceremonial purposes.

In the mid-1800s a rather abrupt change occurred in the style of artwork used to decorate clothing with beads, quills, and embroidery. Rather than the traditional patterns of curving lines and scrolls, designs became representational images of

plants and flowers, influenced by the floral style prominent among the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French.

Eventually, the Onondaga discovered that non-Indians would be willing to pay to see their ceremonial dances, and they experimented with public performances. In 1893 the annual Green Corn Festival was delayed several weeks for the convenience of the audience, and the council house was filled three times with spectators who paid 15 cents admission. The contemporary historian William M. Beauchamp wrote, "Of course, this deprived the feast of all religious force, and made it a mere show; nor did it quite satisfy those who saw it" ("Notes on Onondaga Dances," *An Iroquois Source Book, Volume 2*, edited by Elisabeth Tooker. [New York: Garland Publishing, 1985] p. 183).

As was the case with other Native Americans, much of the friction between the Iroquois and non-Indians has involved different attitudes toward land. During the 1950s and 1960s the long-standing disparity was brought into sharp focus during the planning and construction of the Kinzua Dam, which flooded over 9,000 acres of Seneca Land. The Indians fought the dam, claiming it violated the treaty between the Six Nations and the United States. The government reimbursed the tribe financially, but the reservation was disrupted. The grave of the revered Cornplanter had to be moved to accommodate the dam; his descendant Harriett Pierce commented, "The White man views land for its money value. We Indians have a spiritual tie with the earth, a reverence for it that Whites don't share and can hardly understand" (Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *Now That the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indians* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982] p. 129).

Traditional values are sustained on the various Iroquois reservations. The ancient languages are spoken and taught, traditional ceremonies are observed, and baskets are woven. Material wealth is not characteristic of reservation Indians, but Tonawanda Seneca Chief Corbett Sundown, keeper of the Iroquois "spiritual fire," disputes the assessment that the people are poor. He told a *National Geographic* writer: "We're rich people without any money, that's all. You say we ought to set up industries and factories. Well, we just don't want them. How're you going to grow potatoes and sweet corn on concrete? You call that progress? To me "progress" is a dirty word" (Arden Harvey, "The Fire that Never Dies," *National Geographic* [September 1987] p. 398).

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

"Hiawatha" is one of the most widely recognized Indian names among non-Indian Americans, thanks to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Unfortunately, his character is a classic case of mistaken identity. The real subject of the poem, an Ojibwe hero named Nanabozho, was confused with the Iroquoian Hiawatha in a mid-nineteenth century work by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft that inspired Longfellow.

The Longfellow poem, at least, presented a sympathetic image of an Iroquois-named character. In his eloquent history of the Tuscarora Indians, Chief Elias Johnson wrote in 1881: "Almost any portrait that we see of an Indian, he is represented with tomahawk and scalping knife in hand, as if they possess no other but a barbarous nature. Christian nations might with equal justice be always represented with cannon and balls, swords and pistols, as the emblems of their employment and their prevailing tastes" (Elias Johnson, *Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and History of the Tuscarora Indians* [New York: AMS Press, 1978 (reprint of 1881 edition)] p. 13).

CUISINE

Corn is the traditional staple of the Haudenosaunee diet. It was baked or boiled and eaten on or off the cob; the kernels were mashed and either fried, baked in a kettle, or spread on corn leaves that were folded and boiled as tamales. Some varieties of corn were processed into hominy by boiling the kernels in a weak lye solution of hardwood ashes and water. Bread, pudding, dumplings, and cooked cereal were made from cornmeal. Parched corn coffee was brewed by mixing roasted corn with boiling water.

Besides corn, and the beans and squash they raised with it, the Iroquois people ate a wide variety of other plant foods. Wild fruits, nuts, and roots were gathered to supplement the cultivated crops. Berries were dried for year-round use. Maple sap was used for sweetening, but salt was not commonly used.

The traditional diet featured over 30 types of meat, including deer, bear, beaver, rabbit, and squirrel. Fresh meat was enjoyed during the hunting season, and some was smoked or dried and used to embellish corn dishes during the rest of the year. The Iroquois used the region's waterways extensively for transportation, but fish was relatively unimportant as food.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

The fundamental item of men's clothing was a breechcloth made of a strip of deerskin or fabric.

Passing between the legs, it was secured by a waist belt, and decorated flaps of the breechcloth hung in the front and back. The belt, or sash, was a favorite article; sometimes worn only around the waist, and sometimes also over the left shoulder, it was woven on a loom or on the fingers, and might be decorated with beadwork.

The basic item of women's clothing was a short petticoat. Other items that were worn by both sexes included a fringed, sleeveless tunic, separate sleeves (connected to each other by thongs, but not connected to the tunic), leggings, moccasins, and a robe or blanket. Clothing was adorned with moosehair embroidery featuring curved line figures with coiled ends. Decorated pouches for carrying personal items completed the costumes. Women used burden straps, worn across the forehead, to support litters carried on their backs.

By the end of the eighteenth century, trade cloth replaced deerskin as the basic clothing material. Imported glass beads replaced porcupine quills as decorative elements.

FESTIVALS

The annual cycle consists of six regular festivals, which are still observed among the Iroquois. In addition, ceremonies are held as needed for wakes, memorial feasts, burials, adoptions, or sealing of friendships.

The new year began with the Mid-Winter Festival, which was held in late January or early February when the men returned from the fall hunt. It lasted five days, followed by another two or three days of game playing. This was a time of spiritual cleansing and renewal, and included a ritual cleaning of homes. Public confessions were made, and penitents touched a wampum belt as a pledge of reform. Playing a traditional dice game commemorated the struggle between the Creator and his evil twin brother for control over the earth. Thanks were offered to the Creator for protection during the past year. Dreams were always considered to be supernatural messages, and everyone was obliged to help the dreamer by fulfilling the needs or desires expressed in the dream; particular attention was devoted to dream guessing during the Mid-Winter Festival. On a pre-festival day, names were conferred on babies, young adults, and adoptees so they could participate in the upcoming ceremonies.

In the spring, when the sap rose, it was time for the Thanks-to-the-Maple Festival. This one-day celebration included social dances and the ceremonial burning of tobacco at the base of a maple tree.

In May or June, corn seeds saved from the previous year were blessed at the Corn Planting Ceremony. This was a half-day observance in which the Creator was thanked and spirit forces were implored for sufficient rain and moderate sun.

Ripening strawberries in June signaled time for the Strawberry Festival. Dancers mimicked the motions of berry pickers. This one-day celebration was a time for giving thanks.

In August or early September, the corn was ready to eat. This event was marked by the Green Corn Festival, which involved ceremonies on four successive mornings. The first day included general thanksgiving, a Feather Dance honoring those who worked to put on the festival, and the naming of children. The second day saw more dances and the bestowing of names on young adults and adoptees. The third day was dedicated to personal commitment and sacrifice, and included a communal burning of tobacco. Speeches and dancing were followed by a feast. On the fourth day the ceremonial dice game was played as it was at the Mid-Winter Festival. Finally, the women who worked the fields sang thanksgiving for the crops.

When all the crops had been harvested and stored away, and before the men left for the fall hunt, the Harvest Festival was held. This one-day celebration took place in October.

The use of masks, or "false faces," is a major component of Iroquois rituals. They symbolized spirit forces that were represented by the person wearing the mask at festivals or healing ceremonies. One group of spirits was depicted by masks carved from living trees, while another group was represented by masks made from braided corn husks. Miniature corn husk masks, three inches across or less, were kept as personal charms; in ancient times the miniatures were also made of clay or stone.

DEATH AND BURIAL

When a person died, everyone who had similar names gave them up until a period of mourning was completed. Later, if another person was adopted into the clan, he was often given the name of the deceased person whose place he took.

A wake was held the night following a death. After a midnight meal, the best orators of the village spoke about the deceased, and about life and death in general. The body was placed on a scaffold for several days on the chance that the person only appeared dead and might revive, which happened occasionally. After decomposition began, the remains might be buried, or the cleaned bones

This group of Iroquois are unearthing the bones of their ancestors for proper reburial.



might be housed in or near the family lodge. When the village relocated, all of the unburied skeletons were interred in a common grave. By the end of the nineteenth century, burials were conducted according to European customs.

Upon death both the soul and the ghost left the body. Using food and tools offered by the survivors, the soul journeyed to the land of the dead. The ghost, on the other hand, became a spiritual inhabitant of the village. At a yearly Feast of the Dead, tobacco and songs were offered to the resident ghosts.

HEALTH ISSUES

Traditional Iroquois rituals addressed both physical and mental health issues. Medicine men (or women) used herbs and natural ointments to treat maladies including fevers, coughs, and snake bites. Wounds were cleaned, broken bones were set, and medicinal emetics were administered.

Another type of healer, known as a conjurer, sang incantations to combat maladies caused through witchcraft. They might remove an afflic-

tion from the patient's body by blowing or sucking. Twice a year groups of False Faces visited each house in the village, waving pine boughs and dispelling illness. Shamans were empowered to combat disorders caused by evil spirits.

In the realm of mental health, modern psychologists see the value in the Iroquois practice of dream guessing. Everyone in the community had a responsibility to resolve conflicts and unmet needs made evident through any person's dreams.

LANGUAGE

The six Iroquoian dialects are similar enough to allow easy conversation. The Mohawk and Oneida are quite similar, as are the Cayuga and Seneca; the Onondaga and Tuscarora are each different from the five others. One common characteristic is the lack of labial sounds formed by bringing the lips together.

The language is rich in words for tangible things, but lacking in abstract expressions. A 1901 treatise noted, "for the varieties, sexes, and ages of a

single animal they would have a multitude of terms, but no general word for animal. Or they would have words for good man, good woman, good dog, but no word for goodness” (Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* [New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1954] p. 243).

Historically, the Iroquois language was oral. In the mid-1800s a Congregational missionary named Asher Wright devised a written version using the English alphabet and edited a Seneca newspaper. During the latter half of the 1900s, written dictionaries and grammar texts have been developed for teaching the languages on the reservations. However, Barbara Graymont noted at the 1965 Conference on Iroquois Research that no written material existed in Tuscarora, other than an “unreadable” nineteenth century hymnal (Barbara Graymont, “Problems of Tuscarora Language Survival,” *Iroquois Culture, History, and Prehistory* [Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1967] pp. 27-8).

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some of the basic Mohawk expressions are: *shé:kon* (“SHAY kohn”) or *kwé kwé* (“KWAY KWAY”)—hello; *hén* (“hun”)—yes; *iáh* (“yah”)—no; *niá:wen* (“nee AH wun”)—thank you.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

CLAN AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

The Iroquois tribes were organized into eight clans, which were grouped in two moieties: Wolf, Bear, Beaver, and Turtle; and Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk. In ancient times, intermarriage was not allowed within each four-clan group, but eventually intermarriage was only forbidden within each clan. Tribal affiliation did not affect clan membership; for example, all Wolf clan members were considered to be blood relatives, regardless of whether they were members of the Mohawk, Seneca, or other Iroquois tribes. At birth, each person became a member of the clan of his or her mother.

Within a tribe, each clan was led by the clan mother, who was usually the oldest woman in the group. In consultation with the other women, the clan mother chose one or more men to serve as clan chiefs. Each chief was appointed for life but the clan mother and her advisors could remove him from office for poor behavior or dereliction of duty.

MARRIAGE

Traditionally, a man and woman wishing to marry would tell their parents, who would arrange a joint meeting of relatives to discuss the suitability of the two people for marriage to each other. If no objections arose during the discussion, a day was chosen for the marriage feast. On the appointed day the woman’s relatives would bring her to the groom’s home for the festivities. Following the meal, elders from the groom’s family spoke to the bride about wifely duties, and elders from the bride’s family told the groom about husbandly responsibilities. Then the two began their new life together.

In ancient times adultery was rare. When it was discovered, the woman was punished by whipping, but the man was not punished. If a couple decided to separate, both of their families would be called to a council. The parties would state their reasons for wanting a divorce, and the elders would try to work out a reconciliation. If those efforts failed, the marriage ended. In ancient times, fathers kept their sons and mothers kept their daughters when a divorce occurred; by the early eighteenth century, however, mothers typically kept all of the children.

CHILDREARING

Children were valued among the Iroquois; because of the matrilineal society, daughters were somewhat more prized than sons. The birth of a couple’s first child was welcomed with a feast at the mother’s family home. The couple stayed there a few days, and then returned to their own home to prepare another feast.

Birthing took place in a hut located outside the village. As her time drew near, the mother and a few other women withdrew to the hut and remained there until a few days after the birth. Until he was able to walk, an Iroquois baby spent his days secured to a cradleboard, which his mother would hang from a tree branch while she worked in the fields.

Babies were named at birth; when the child reached puberty, an adult name was given. Names referred to natural phenomena (such as the moon or thunder), landscape features, occupations, and social or ceremonial roles; animal names were very rare. Some examples of the meanings of names are: In the Center of the Sky, Hanging Flower, He Carries News, and Mighty Speaker. A person was never addressed by his name during conversation; when speaking about a person, especially to a relative, the name was only used if he could not otherwise be clearly identified by terms of relation or the context of the discussion.

Mothers had primary responsibility for raising their children and teaching them good behavior. In keeping with the easy-going nature of Haudenosaunee society, children learned informally from their family and clan elders. Children were not spanked, but they might be punished by splashing water in their faces. Difficult children might be frightened into better behavior by a visit from someone wearing the mask of Longnose, the cannibal clown.

Puberty marked the time of acceptance into adult membership in the society. On the occasion of her first menses, a girl would retire to an isolated hut for the duration of her period. She was required to perform difficult tasks, such as chopping hardwood with a dull axe, and was prohibited from eating certain foods. The period of initiation for a young man was more lengthy; when his voice began to change, he went to live in a secluded cabin in the forest for up to a year. An old man or woman took responsibility for overseeing his well-being. He ate sparsely, and his time was spent in physically demanding activities such as running, swimming, bathing in icy water, and scraping his shins with a stone. His quest was completed when he was visited by his spirit, which would remain with him during his adult life.

EDUCATION

A speaker at the 1963 American Anthropological Association convention described the Iroquois as “virtually 100% literate today” (Cara E. Richards, “Women Use the Law, Men Suffer From It: Differential Acculturation Among the Onondaga Indians in the 1950’s & 60’s,” *Iroquois Women: An Anthology* [Ohsweken, Ontario: Iroqrafts Ltd, 1990] p. 167). The 1980 Census found that 60 percent of the Iroquois over the age of 25 were high school graduates, and nine percent were college graduates.

Iroquois children attending reservation schools learn not only the subjects typically taught at non-Indian schools, but also study their tribal culture and history. The stated goals of the Akwesasne Freedom School, for example, are “to facilitate learning so that the students will have a good self-concept as Indians, promote self-reliance, promote respect for the skills of living in harmony with others and the environment and master the academic and/or vocational skills necessary in a dualistic society” (*The Native North American Almanac*, edited by David Champagne [Detroit: Gale Research, 1994] p. 886).

RELIGION

From ancient times the Haudenosaunee believed that a powerful spirit called Orenda permeated the universe. He created everything that is good and useful. The Evil Spirit made things that are poisonous, but the Great Spirit gained control of the world.

During the seventeenth century, French Jesuit missionaries converted many of the Iroquois to Catholicism. Kateri Tekakwitha, who was baptized in 1635, became the first Native American nun. She was extraordinarily devout; since her death many visions and miraculous cures have been attributed to her intervention. She was beatified by the Catholic Church in 1980 and is a candidate for canonization to sainthood. The “Blessed Kateri” is revered at the feasts and celebrations of many Native American nations, particularly those who have incorporated Catholicism into their spiritual belief systems.

In 1710 three Mohawk chiefs, along with another from the Mahicans, visited Queen Anne in England to ask for military assistance against the French and for Anglican missionaries to teach their people. As the years passed, Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and an interdenominational Protestant group called the New York Missionary Society joined the effort of proselytizing the Iroquois. An intense rivalry developed between the pagan and Christian factions. In fact, in 1823 a group of Oneidas led by Eleazar Williams, a Mohawk from Canada who had become an Episcopalian minister, left their New York homeland and moved to Wisconsin, where they established a reservation.

In 1799, amidst the Christian missionary efforts, a revival of the ancient Longhouse religion developed. A Seneca known as Handsome Lake had spent much of his life in dissolute living and fell gravely ill when he was about 65 years old. He expected to die, but instead, he experienced a profound vision and recovered. Inspired, he began to spread the Good Word among his fellow Iroquois. The New Religion was essentially a revitalization of the ancient pagan beliefs, although some Quaker influence can be detected.

Major tenets of the New Religion included shunning of alcoholic beverages, abandonment of beliefs in witchcraft and love potions, and denunciation of abortion. The fact that Handsome Lake’s message had come in a dream gave it a profound impact among the Haudenosaunee. The religion was instrumental in showing many Iroquois how to retain their own culture while adapting to a world dominated by non-Indians.

The Longhouse religion continues to be a major spiritual focus among the Iroquois people. Some

adhere solely to its practice, while others maintain a parallel membership in a Christian church.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although the Haudenosaunee's bond to the land remains, most no longer live as farmers. Census data from 1980 show that two-thirds of the Iroquois people lived in urban areas. About half of those living outside urban settings actually lived on reservations. Ties to the homeland and the tribal culture are strong, however, and those who live off the reservation return from time to time to visit relatives and to spiritually renew themselves.

In a modern rendition of their ancient sojourns away from the village to hunt, Iroquois men today may support their families by living and working in a city but returning home periodically. In particular, there is a cohesive group of Indians, including many Mohawk, living in Brooklyn during the week but returning to their families on weekends.

Iroquois men, especially Mohawk, are famous as ironworkers in construction. They walk steel girders high in the air unhampered by any fear of heights. Consequently, they are in demand around the country for skyscraper and bridge building projects, which have included such landmarks as the World Trade Center and the Golden Gate Bridge. Fathers pass their ironworking tools on to their sons (or sometimes daughters) in an atmosphere reminiscent of ancient rituals.

The 1980 census indicated that about nine percent of the employed Iroquois were engaged in construction, although over half of the men of the St. Regis Mohawk Reservation are members of the ironworker union. Factory work was actually the largest occupation, accounting for one-fourth of the jobs held by Iroquois people. Nineteen percent of the employed Iroquois worked in "professional and related services," including health and education. Another 13 percent were engaged in retail trade.

Cara E. Richards of Cornell University conducted an acculturation study focusing on the Onondaga tribe during the 1950s and early 1960s (Richards, pp. 164-67). At that time 70 percent of the tribal women who held jobs worked as domestics in off-reservation homes. This put them in the position of interacting with upper- and middle-class families in home environments that exposed them to radio and television programs, non-Indian lifestyles, modern home appliances, and even different types of foods. Onondaga men, on the other hand, worked primarily in factories or on construc-

tion sites. Although they interacted with non-Indian men, there was little exchange of cultural information. Differential patterns of acculturation resulted, in which the women were more comfortable and successful in relating to non-Indian agencies, including law enforcement.

Economic activity varies markedly among the various Iroquois reservations. For example, the Onondaga reservation does not offer services for tourists, but the Mohawk welcome tourists to their museum and marinas.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Great Peace forged by Deganawidah and Hiawatha produced an unwritten but clearly defined framework for the Iroquois Confederacy (a written constitution was developed about 1850). Three principles, each with dual meanings, formed the foundation of the League government. The Good Word signified righteousness in action as well as in thought and speech; it also required justice through the balancing of rights and obligations. The principle of Health referred to maintaining a sound mind in a sound body; it also involved peace among individuals and between groups. Thirdly, Power meant physical, military, or civil authority; it also denoted spiritual power. The founders envisioned the resulting peace spreading beyond the original League members, so that eventually all people would live in cooperation. Law and order remained the internal concern of each tribe, but the League legally prohibited cannibalism.

Under the structure of the Confederacy, the 50 clan chiefs (called sachems) from all the tribes came together to confer about questions of common concern. The successor of the Onondaga chief Todadah served as a chairman who oversaw the discussion, which continued until a unanimous decision was reached. If no consensus could be achieved, each tribe was free to follow an independent course on that matter.

The League functioned well for generations, fostering peace among the Six Nations. Even when the tribes failed to agree regarding an external dispute, such as one between the French and the Dutch, they would find a way to fight their respective enemies without confronting another League tribe. However, they were unable to do this during the American Revolution. The Confederacy nearly collapsed in the wake of that war, and traditionalists are still trying to rebuild it. During the latter half of the twentieth century, it has strengthened significantly.

In 1802 the Mohawk living within the United States officially discarded their traditional clan-based structure and established an elective tribal government. In 1848 a faction of Seneca instituted a similar change, establishing the Seneca Nation. Voting rights were denied to Seneca women, who had historically chosen the tribal leaders; women's suffrage was not reinstated until 1964. Other tribes eventually followed suit, either abandoning their ancestral governments or modifying them to incorporate elections. Traditionalists clung to the ancient structure, however, and today two competing sets of governments exist on several reservations. Violence occasionally erupts between the opposing factions.

The United States government has tried in various ways to relocate, assimilate, or disband Indian tribes. A core group of the Iroquois people has steadfastly resisted these efforts. In 1831 some Seneca and Cayuga moved to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) as part of the federal removal effort; other Iroquois factions held their ground until the policy was overturned in 1842 and ownership of some of the Seneca land was restored. In 1924 Congress passed legislation conferring U.S. citizenship to all American Indians; the Haudenosaunee rejected such status.

The Iroquois have actively worked to reclaim sacred artifacts and ancestral remains from museums. In 1972 a moratorium was enacted prohibiting archaeologists from excavating native burial sites in New York state; tribal members would be notified to arrange proper reburials for remains unearthed accidentally. Wampum belts held by the New York State Museum in Albany were removed from public display in deference to the Indians' belief that they should not be treated as curiosities, and were finally returned to the Onondagas (as Keeper of the Central Fire for the Iroquois League) in 1989. Years of effort were rewarded in the early 1990s when the Smithsonian Institution and its National Museum of the American Indian committed to returning human remains, burial artifacts, sacred objects, and other articles of cultural patrimony to Indian tribes.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although disputed by some, there is significant evidence that the Iroquois Confederacy served as a model or inspiration for the U.S. Constitution. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine were well acquainted with the League. John Rutledge, chairman of the committee that wrote the first draft of

the Constitution, began the process by quoting some passages from the Haudenosaunee Great Law. The Iroquois form of government was based on democracy and personal freedom, and included elements equivalent to the modern political tools of initiative, referendum, and recall. In 1987 Senator Daniel Inouye sponsored a resolution that would commemorate the Iroquois' contributions to the formation of the federal government.

Many Iroquois people have made notable contributions to society and culture that transcend political boundaries. A dramatic example is Oren Lyons (1930–), an Onondaga chief who has led political delegations to numerous countries in support of the rights of indigenous people. Twice named an All-American lacrosse goal-keeper, he led his 1957 team at Syracuse University to an undefeated season and was eventually enrolled in the sport's Hall of Fame. He was a successful amateur boxer in both the U.S. Army and in the Golden Gloves competition. He worked as a commercial artist for several years before returning to the reservation to assume his position as faithkeeper. An author and illustrator, he has served as Chairman of American Studies at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo and as publisher of *Daybreak*, a national quarterly newspaper of Native American views. In 1992 he became the first indigenous leader to have addressed the United Nations General Assembly.

ACADEMIA AND SCHOLARSHIP

Arthur C. Parker (Seneca, 1881-1955) was a leading authority on Iroquois culture as well as museum administration. He joined the New York State Museum at Albany as an archeologist in 1906 and became director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences in 1925. He wrote 14 major books and hundreds of articles.

Dr. John Mohawk (Seneca) teaches Native American law and history at SUNY in Buffalo. He has written extensively on the Iroquois philosophy and approach to government. He founded *Akwesasne Notes*, a quarterly activist magazine, and the Indigenous Press Network, a computerized news service focusing on Indian affairs.

The poetry of Roberta Hill Whiteman (Oneida) has been published in anthologies and magazines including *American Poetry Review*. She has been involved with Poets-in-the-Schools programs in at least seven states and has taught at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire.

GOVERNMENT

Robert L. Bennett (Oneida) and Louis R. Bruce Jr. (Mohawk) served in the 1960s and early 1970s as commissioners of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. Ely Parker (Seneca, 1828-1895), the first Native American to hold that post, had been appointed by Ulysses S. Grant in 1869.

Katsi Cook (Mohawk), a midwife and lecturer on women's health, is active in the Akwesasne Environment Project. Her health-related writings have appeared in national magazines as well as in medical books.

Amber Coverdale Sumrall (Mohawk), a writer and poet, has been active in the Sanctuary Movement. She also lectures and teaches workshops on the topic of disabilities.

Tahnahga (Mohawk) has a degree in Rehabilitation Counseling; she incorporates traditional Native American healing methods into her work with chemical dependency. She also uses her talent as a poet and storyteller to show Indian youth how to use visions and dreaming to enhance their lives.

VISUAL ARTS AND LITERATURE

Richard Hill (1950–) followed in his father's footsteps and became an ironworker in construction before enrolling in the Art Institute of Chicago. His watercolor paintings include a series on Iroquois culture, and he has also documented the culture through photography. Since the early 1970s, he has curated numerous art shows, prepared museum exhibits for such clients as the Smithsonian Institution, and written many articles about history and art. A past Director of the North American Indian Museums Association, he has also taught at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Maurice Kenny (Mohawk), a poet nominated for the Pulitzer prize, received the American Book Award in 1984 for *The Mama Poems*. His work has been widely anthologized, and he has been Writer-in-Residence at North County Community College in Saranac Lake, New York. He is described as having "a distinctive voice, one shaped by the rhythms of Mohawk life and speech, yet one which defines and moves beyond cultural boundaries" (Joseph Bruchac, *New Voices from the Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing* [Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Press, 1989] p. 161). He has also received the National Public Radio Award for Broadcasting.

Daniel Thompson (Mohawk, 1953–) has been a photographer, graphic artist, and editor of several publications including the *Northeast Indian Quarter-*

ly published by Cornell University. He writes poetry in both English and Mohawk and is working to devise an improved written form for the Mohawk language. He has also served as news director for the Mohawk radio station.

Using the knowledge she acquired when earning bachelor's and master's degrees in zoology, Carol Snow (Seneca) has written and illustrated a dozen reports on endangered and rare species for the Bureau of Land Management. As an artist, in 1980 she created a technique incorporating ink and acrylic paint, which she employed in her renderings of Native American and wildlife themes.

Tuscarora sculptor Duffy Wilson works in both wood and stone. Tom Huff, another stone sculptor, is also a writer and poet; he served as editor of the Institute of American Indian Arts' literary journal in 1979. Alex Jacobs (Mohawk), whose sculptures, paintings, and prints can be found in New York galleries, has had his written works included in several Native American poetry and literature anthologies.

FILM TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Jay Silverheels (Mohawk, 1918-1980) was born on the Six Nations Indian Reservation in Ontario. Silverheels was an actor perhaps best known for his portrayal of Tonto, the loyal Indian sidekick to the Lone Ranger series, which ran from 1949 to 1957. His noted performances include his depiction of the Apache Indian chief, Geronimo, in *Broken Arrow* (1950), a film acclaimed by many as the first picture to portray Native Americans in a sympathetic light, as well as three "Lone Ranger" films. Silverheels was the first Native American to be given a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame.

Gary Dale Farmer (Cayuga, 1953-), born on the Six Nations Indian Reservation, is an actor, film producer and activist. Farmer appeared in the movies *Friday the Thirteenth* and *Police Academy*. He also appeared on the television series *Miami Vice* and *China Beach*. After 1989, Farmer began lecturing on Native American culture and issues on many campuses in the United States and Canada, focusing on media, environmental, and social topics relevant to Native communities. In 1998, Farmer had a role in the well-received film *Smoke Signals*.

Graham Greene (Oneida, 1952-) is a film actor who has found success in both Canada and the United States. Greene is one of the most visible Native American actors working on the stage and in film today. He is best known for his roles in *Dances with Wolves* (1990), for which he was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor, and *Thunderheart* (1992). Greene also

appeared in the films *Maverick* (1994) and *Die Hard: With a Vengeance*, as well as on the television series *Northern Exposure*.

MEDIA

PRINT

Akwesasne Notes.

This quarterly magazine is published by the Mohawk tribe.

Contact: Mark Narsisian, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 196, Rooseveltown, New York 13683-0196.

Telephone: (518) 358-9535.

Ka Ri Wen Ha Wi.

This monthly newsletter contains reservation news and items about the Akwesasne Library/Cultural Center.

Contact: Janice Brown, Editor.

Address: Akwesasne Library, Rural Route 1, Box 14 C, Hogansburg, New York 13655.

Telephone: (518) 358-2240.

Fax: (518) 358-2649.

The Seneca Nation of Indians Official Newsletter.

Quarterly publication that prints news and special interest pieces about the Seneca Nation.

Contact: Debbie Hoag, Editor.

Address: G.R. Plummer Building, P.O. Box 321, Salamanca, New York 14779-0321.

Telephone: (716) 945-1790.

RADIO

CKON-FM (97.3).

Radio station owned and operated by the Mohawk tribe on the St. Regis Reservation in New York. It broadcasts music 24 hours a day, including country, adult contemporary, rock, and blues segments. In addition, it airs hourly local news summaries, community announcements (sometimes in Mohawk or French) three times a day, and live coverage of local lacrosse games.

Contact: Kallen Martin, General Manager.

Address: P.O. Box 140, Rooseveltown, New York 13683-0140.

Telephone: (518) 358-3426.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Onondaga Nation.

Contact: Chief Irving Powless, Jr.

Address: Box 319B, Onondaga Reservation, Nedrow, New York 13120.

Telephone: (315) 492-4210.

Fax: (315) 469-1725.

St. Regis Mohawk Tribe.

Contact: Edward Smoke, CEO.

Address: St. Regis Reservation, Rural Route #1, Box 8A, Hogansburg, New York 13655.

Telephone: (518) 358-2272.

Fax: (518) 358-3203.

The Seneca Nation, Allegany Reservation.

Contact: Dennis Bowen Sr., President.

Address: G.R. Plummer Building, P.O. Box 321, Salamanca, New York 14779-0321.

Telephone: (716) 945-1790.

E-mail: sni@localnet.com.

Online: <http://www.sni.org/>.

The Seneca Nation of Indians, Cattaraugus Reservation.

Contact: Adrian Stevens, Treasurer.

Address: William Seneca Building, 1490 Route 438, Irving, New York 14081.

Telephone: (716) 532-4900.

E-mail: sni@localnet.com.

Online: <http://www.sni.org/>.

Tonawanda Band of Senecas.

Contact: Chief Emerson Webster.

Address: 7027 Meadville Road, Basom, New York 14013.

Telephone: (716) 542-4244.

Fax: (716) 542-4244.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Akwesasne Cultural Center/Akwesasne Museum.

Displays traditional Mohawk artifacts and basketry, contemporary Iroquois artifacts, and ethnological exhibitions.

Contact: Carol White, Director.

Address: Rural Route 1, Box 14 C, Hogansburg, New York 13655.

Telephone: (518) 358-2240; or 358-2461.
Fax: (518) 358-2649.

The Iroquois Indian Museum.

Features the history of the Iroquois and displays contemporary arts and crafts. A library is available for research.

Contact: James Schafer, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 7, Caverns Road, Howes Cave, New York 12092.

Telephone: (518) 296-8949.

Fax: (518) 296-8955.

E-mail: info@iroquoismuseum.org.

Online: <http://www.iroquoismuseum.org/>.

The National Shrine of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha and Native American Exhibit.

Displays artifacts and maintains the only completely excavated and staked-out Iroquois village in the United States.

Contact: Fr. Jim Plavcan.

Address: P.O. Box 627, Fonda, New York 12068.

Telephone: (518) 853-3646.

The Oneida Nation Museum.

Preserves the culture of the Wisconsin tribe and serves as a point of contact for the Oneida Reservation.

Contact: Denise Vigue, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 365, Oneida, Wisconsin 54155-0365.

Telephone: (414) 869-2768.

The Rochester Museum and Science Center.

Offers changing exhibits as well as a permanent display, "At the Western Door," that focuses on relations between the Seneca Indians and European colonists. Also on display are a furnished 1790s Seneca cabin, six life-size figure tableaus, and over 2,000 artifacts.

Contact: Richard C. Shultz, Director.

Address: 657 East Avenue, P.O. Box 1480, Rochester, New York 14603-1480.

Telephone: (716) 271-1880.

Online: <http://www.rmhc.org/>.

The Seneca-Iroquois National Museum.

Located on the Allegany Reservation, this museum houses 300,000 articles portraying the life and culture of the Seneca and other Iroquois Indians, including wampum belts, costumes, games, and modern art.

Contact: Midge Deanstock, Director.

Address: 794 Broad Street, Salamanca, New York 14779.

Telephone: (716) 945-1738.

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As the Jewish persecution in Europe continued unabated, the idea of an all-Jewish state was offered as a potential solution. The idea was given further credence in 1896 when Theodore Herzl published *The Jewish State*, a book which called for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.



ISRAELI

by
Laura C. Rudolph

AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

Located in the Middle East and slightly larger than the state of Massachusetts, Israel measures 7,992 miles (20,700 square kilometers). It is bordered to the north by Lebanon, Syria and Jordan to the east, Egypt to the southwest, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. The capital is Jerusalem, the largest city in Israel.

Israel has a population of slightly over five million people from various ethnic backgrounds. Approximately 80 percent are Jews who have emigrated from nearly every corner of the world. The rest are largely Arabs, the majority of whom are Muslim (14 percent), with smaller numbers of Christians, Druze, Circassians, and Samaritans. Israel's official languages are Hebrew and Arabic. The national flag displays the Star of David between two horizontal bands of blue.

HISTORY

The complex history of Israel can be traced as far back as 2000 B.C., to the events described in the first five books of the Old Testament that comprise the Hebrew Bible, or Torah. At that time, a Biblical figure, Abraham, was commanded by God to lead a group of nomads from Mesopotamia into Canaan, the "Promised Land." Known as Hebrews, they called themselves the "chosen people of God" because of their faith in the covenant made

between Abraham and God. The covenant included God's promise that the Hebrews would prosper and multiply in Canaan so long as they were faithful to Him. Abraham's grandson, Jacob, fathered 12 sons who established the twelve tribes of Canaan (Israel). After a series of famines, Abraham's descendants traveled to Egypt, where they initially prospered. Eventually, however, the Hebrews were enslaved by Ramses II, and suffered under appalling conditions. In approximately 1250 B.C. Moses, at God's command, delivered the Hebrews from Egypt to lead them back to the Promised Land. The liberated Hebrews passed through the Sinai Desert, where they spent 40 years before reaching Canaan.

A series of judges presided over the Canaanites before the kingship of Saul (c.1023-1004 B.C.). Saul's adopted son, David (1000-965 B.C.), is credited with capturing Jerusalem and establishing the capital of Canaan and the Ark of the Covenant containing the Ten Commandments. After the rule of King Solomon (968-928 B.C.), political factions forced the dissolution of the twelve tribes of Israel. Ten of the tribes formed the northern kingdom of Israel, while the other two tribes became the southern kingdom of Judah. An uneasy peace existed between Israel and Judah until about 700 B.C., when the Assyrians conquered both kingdoms. The ten tribes of Israel were destroyed and exiled, and were henceforth known as the "Ten Lost Tribes." Judah was allowed to exist until 586 B.C., when the Assyrians themselves were defeated by the Babylonians. Under the command of King Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonians conquered Israel and Judah, destroying Jerusalem and the temple containing the Ark of the Covenant. Those who remained fled to Babylon in exile until they returned in 538 B.C., after the Persians defeated the Babylonians. Jerusalem was rebuilt and a Second Temple erected. Israel was then ruled by a series of kings under whom the Hebrews were allowed to remain.

Co-existence proved impossible under the Roman occupation, which began about 63 B.C. In 66 A.D., the Hebrews revolted against their oppressors, but were unsuccessful. The Second Temple was destroyed and the Hebrews were either exiled or annihilated. A second revolt in 132 A.D. proved equally unsuccessful. The Romans renamed Jerusalem "Palestine" and decreed the city permanently off-limits to Hebrews. In what is known as the *Diaspora*, exiled Jews dispersed widely throughout other lands such as Rome and Egypt; eventually many settled in Eastern Europe. Jews continued to keep the covenant, practicing their faith and remaining steadfast in their commitment to the Promised Land.

During this period, the spread of other religions fueled new claims to Palestine. In 326 A.D., Empress Helena (mother of the Christian emperor, Constantine of Byzantium), established the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Other Christian churches were also founded. Following the defeat of the Byzantines by Caliph Omar, the Muslims ruled Palestine. In 638 A.D., Jerusalem became an Islamic holy city, in accordance with the belief that the prophet Mohammed had ascended to heaven from within the city. Islamic claims to Jerusalem generated centuries of conflict with the Christians. Around 1100 A.D., the Christians began a series of crusades to wrest the Holy Land from the Muslims. The Crusades proved disastrous for Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike, and ended with Palestine in the hands of the Egyptian Mameluks. By the sixteenth century, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire. The Jews, many of whom were suffering at the hands of Christians, quietly began returning to Palestine.

Jewish settlements in Palestine grew slowly during the next three centuries. However, during the 1870s and 1880s, Jews fleeing pogroms (a term for the massacre of helpless people) in Eastern Europe began flooding into Palestine in what is known as the First Aliyah, the mass waves of Jews "ascending to the land." As the persecution of the Jews in Europe continued, Theodore Herzl in *The Jewish State* (1896) proposed the idea of an all-Jewish state in Palestine. Herzl's book led to the formation of a movement termed Zionism. Proponents of Zionism lobbied for an independent Jewish nation, a nation free from religious persecution. In 1897, the first Zionist Congress introduced the formation of the World Zionist Organization (WZO). The WZO established the Jewish National Fund in 1901, and Jews all over the world were urged to contribute to the Zionist cause. Jews, particularly American Jews, responded favorably and donated large amounts of money to the cause. The WZO soon began purchasing land in Palestine.

In 1904, Jews fleeing pogroms in Russia arrived in Palestine, thus creating the Second Aliyah. The city of Tel Aviv was founded in 1909. That same year the Kibbutz Degania, a collective-living experiment, was founded near the Sea of Galilee. As more Jewish immigrants arrived, tensions increased between Jews and Palestinian Arabs. At this time, Palestine was a protectorate of Great Britain. In 1917 the British issued the Balfour Declaration, which advocated the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The Nazi persecution of the Jews during World War II resulted in a flood of immigrants from Europe to Palestine.

Following the end of World War II, Palestine was handed over to the United Nations. In Novem-

ber of 1947, the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states, and Jerusalem was proclaimed an international territory. On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister, declared the state of Israel an independent nation.

MODERN ERA

The declaration of Israel's independence precipitated immediate internal and external crises for the new nation. Although some countries (including the United States and the Soviet Union) were quick to recognize Israel, neighboring Arab states refused to do so. In 1948, Israel was invaded by Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. The Israelis were able to repel the invaders and, in the process, actually expanded its boundaries. Although the United Nations arranged a cease-fire agreement between the five neighboring Arab countries and Israel, more obstacles loomed ahead. In particular, tensions dramatically increased between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs, many of whom had been displaced from their land.

In 1950, Israel enacted the Law of Return, which guaranteed citizenship to all Jews. The number of immigrants continued to grow, and Israel's economy and military slowly gained strength. In 1967, the armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria again invaded Israel. The Israelis routed the invaders and captured large amounts of territory from their Arab neighbors. By the end of war, Israel had gained control of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula. They also annexed Jerusalem. Dismayed by the growth of Israeli power in the region, the Palestinian Arabs formed the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO often used terrorism as a means of retaliating against Israel. In 1973, the Egyptians and Syrians launched an attack against Israel during the Jewish holy season of Yom Kippur. The Israelis were initially caught off guard and were nearly defeated. They recovered quickly, however, and were able to successfully defend their land. Eventually, the United Nations negotiated a peace deal that ended the fighting. In 1979, Egypt and Israel signed the Camp David peace accords. Egypt officially recognized Israel as an independent nation while Israel returned control of the Sinai Peninsula, which had been captured in the 1967 war, to Egypt.

Although a peace agreement had been reached between Egypt and Israel, the Palestinians continued to resent Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. During the late 1980s, the Palestinians and Israelis mutually agreed to seek peace.

Several attempts to broker a peace agreement between the two peoples were unsuccessful. In 1993, after a series of intense negotiations, the Palestinians and Israelis signed the Oslo peace accords. The Palestinians were given control of the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank and offered the opportunity to hold democratic elections in those areas under their control. In return, the Palestinians agreed to halt terrorist attacks against Israel. Many Palestinians and Israelis were critical of the agreement, however, and tension between the two peoples remains high.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Israelis began immigrating to the United States soon after Israel's independence in 1948. During the 1950s and early 1960s, over 300,000 Israelis immigrated to the United States. Another wave of immigration began in the mid-1970s and has continued ever since. Although estimates vary greatly, anywhere from 100,000 to 500,000 immigrants arrived in America during this period. The actual number of Israeli immigrants to the United States has been a subject of intense debate since the 1980s. Many Israeli citizens are emigrants from other countries, and when these Israelis immigrated to the United States, their native-born country was often listed on census records. This may explain in part the low number of Israeli immigrants (90,000) recorded on the 1990 U.S. Census, a figure incongruent with the significant number of Israeli communities in larger cities.

Several key factors contributed to increased Israeli immigration into the United States during the last two decades of the twentieth century. Many Israeli immigrants cited the political unrest in the Middle East and the relative insecurity of the region as their primary reason for emigrating. Shortly after the Yom Kippur War in 1973, an event that left many Israelis shaken and disillusioned, the number of immigrants rose dramatically. It is important to note that many Israelis are exposed to American culture by virtue of the close relationship between Israel and the United States. American fashions, fads, and forms of entertainment are commonplace in Israel. In many cases, the "Americanization" of Israel added to the immigrants' desire to take advantage of the economic and educational opportunities in the United States. During the 1980s and 1990s, Israel produced more qualified and educated workers than there were skilled positions, a situation that resulted in fierce competition within the Israeli job market. Heavy taxation and a lack of available housing also dismayed many Israelis. Israelis looked to the United States as a place to fulfill financial and

educational goals in a manner not possible in Israel. As one Israeli immigrant stated in the book *Migrants from the Promised Land*, "It is not for nothing that they [the United States] are referred to as the land of endless opportunities. There are opportunities in every area of life, everywhere. I don't say that here things are blocked, they're not blocked . . . just smaller, more compact."

However, financial or educational fulfillment was not the only incentives for Israeli immigrants. During the 1990s, many Israelis immigrated as a result of their ideological dissatisfaction with Israel. For some, the ideal of an egalitarian community free from religious persecution had paradoxically resulted in an excessive amount of intervention from a highly stratified government that favored Ashkenazic Jews (Jews of European origin). Sephardic Jews (those of North African and Middle Eastern ancestry) have long been the victims of ethnic discrimination by Ashkenazic Jews, who represent the overwhelming majority of Israelis. The socioeconomic discrepancies that arose from discrimination in Israel led many Sephardic Jews to seek economic opportunities elsewhere.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The main areas of Israeli settlement in the United States include New York, California, Michigan, Florida, and Illinois. However, pockets of Israeli settlement can be found throughout the country. Israeli immigrants are fairly mobile and tend to migrate to several locations in the United States before permanently settling down. Chain migrations are often a determining factor in the immigrants' choice of residence. The heaviest concentrations of Israeli Americans are located in New York and Los Angeles, which contain nearly half of those living in the United States. Not surprisingly, Israeli Jews gravitate toward other Jews and a sizable number live in older, established Jewish neighborhoods such as Queens and Brooklyn in New York City, and West Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles. Similarly, Israeli Arabs tended to settle near other Arabs, particularly in the industrial cities of the Midwest, such as Chicago and Detroit.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

On average, Israeli Americans have enjoyed a smoother transition to American life than other groups of immigrants. A good number of Israeli immigrants are well-educated and possess special-

ized job skills that have allowed them to bypass the often frustrating experiences of less trained immigrants. In addition, a number of Israeli immigrants have relatives living in the United States, which further eases the adjustment. Within a short period of time, many Israeli Americans attain a relative degree of financial security. However, even though Israelis are attracted by the vast economic opportunities available in the United States, many often feel at odds with many of American society's materialistic values. Many Israeli Americans are accustomed to the closely-knit community and shared ideological experience of Israel. In order to compensate for this loss, Israeli Americans have formed extensive and vibrant communities within the larger American culture, particularly in the Los Angeles and New York areas. This network of organizations ensures that many Israeli Americans remain connected to Israeli culture and the Hebrew language. The extensive Israeli network includes Hebrew newspapers and radio and television broadcasts, as well as organizations such as the Israeli Flying Clubs, the Israeli Musicians Organization, and the Israeli Organization in Los Angeles (ILA).

The Israeli American network has provided a valuable service to immigrants, many of whom initially intended to remain in the United States only long enough to finish their educational or financial goals before returning to Israel. An overwhelming majority of Israeli immigrants believe they will eventually return to Israel and are thus reluctant to fully assimilate into American culture. Also, their status as "temporary sojourners" serves as a buffer against the open hostility they have suffered from both the Israeli government and American Jews. Although American Jews have traditionally welcomed Jewish immigrants, the Israeli immigrants represent a failure of the Zionist cause that Americans Jews have generously supported. Israeli Americans are given the derogatory label of *yordim*, which signifies that they have descended from Israel to the diaspora, as opposed to *olim*, those who have ascended from the diaspora to Israel. The negative connotations and sense of betrayal associated with immigration prevent many Israelis from openly declaring themselves permanent citizens of the United States.

A sizable number of Israeli immigrants eventually become permanent citizens, particularly through marriage. It is estimated that over a third of Israelis marry U.S. citizens. Likewise, a number of Israeli immigrants have established businesses in the United States, which further strengthens their ties to America. However, even those immigrants who eventually become naturalized continue to remain active in Israeli organizations long after the initial

Children hold up an Israeli flag during the annual "Salute to Israel" parade along New York City's Fifth Avenue.



settling process. A strong identification with Israel, coupled with the stigma attached to immigration, helps explain why the majority of immigrants continue to refer to themselves as "Israelis" as opposed to "Americans" or even "Israeli Americans."

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Israelis have a variety of traditions, the majority of which are connected to the Jewish faith. The Torah outlines the strict observance of certain rules called the 613 Holy Obligations, as well as certain holidays and the weekly Sabbath. Other traditions associated with these celebrations have evolved over the centuries. Special foods, objects, and songs are all equally important to Jewish celebrations and the observance of the Sabbath, although they are not explicitly referred to in the Torah. During Rosh Hashanah, it is customary to send cards to friends and family bearing the words "*L'shana tovah*," which means "to a good and healthy year." Other traditions reflect geographical differences. For example, the Eastern European Jews began the tradition of eating gefilte fish to break the Yom Kippur fast. The custom of eating *cholent*, a stew prepared the night before the Sabbath, also emerged because cooking on the Sabbath is strictly forbidden.

Other customs are only loosely based on the Jewish religion and originate from earlier superstitions, such as the belief in the "evil eye." For example, it is customary to hold a baby shower after the baby is born. A baby's name is revealed only at the naming ceremony, and a red ribbon is tied to the baby's crib. These folk customs originated as pre-

cautions designed to fend off the evil forces accompanying the good fortune of a baby's birth. Although the traditions related to the practice of Judaism are still diligently observed, many of the superstitions have gradually been forgotten.

CUISINE

Israeli cuisine is savory and flavorful, and reflects the influence of its diverse cultural inheritance as well as the strict dietary laws practiced by Jews. Israeli Jews observe the *kashrut*, which is a set of food restrictions outlined in the book of Leviticus. The acceptable foods to eat (termed *kosher*) include meat from animals with cloven hoofs, breads, fish with scales and fins, fruits and vegetables, poultry, and kosher dairy products. Foods that are not acceptable (termed *trefa*) include pork, fish that do not have scales and fins (like lobster or shrimp), and meals that combine meat and dairy products. In addition, meat is butchered in a special manner in order to observe the rule that forbids the drinking of blood. Both the Oriental and the Eastern European Jews have contributed to Israel's unique cuisine: the former introduced *shashlik* (cubed meat such as lamb or chicken) and *kebabs* (minced meats), and the latter contributed *schnitzels*, *goulashes*, and *blintzes*.

There is a strong Middle Eastern influence in Israeli cooking. Some favorite dishes include *hummus* (chickpeas, onions, and spices); *falafel* (fried hummus); *fuul* (fava beans); and *mashi* (stuffed pita breads). Israelis enjoy sweet desserts including *baklava* (a dessert of wheat, honey, and nuts) and



katayef (cheese, wheat, sugar, and honey). Although kosher food is readily available in the United States, many Israeli Americans have opened restaurants that serve the Middle Eastern dishes prominent in Israeli cuisine.

DANCES AND SONGS

Israeli folk dancing is admired around the world and there are thousands of different dances that are performed. Traditional dances include circle, line, or partner dances and they are intricately choreographed. Some of the more popular dances include: “Al Kanfe Hakesef;” “Lechu Neranena;” “Ahavat Itamar;” “Al Tiruni;” “Bakramim;” and “Bat Teiman.” Since Israeli folk dancing has long been admired by American Jews, several Jewish organizations have established community folk dancing classes. Klezmer music, the traditional music of the Eastern European Jews, is also popular in Israel and became increasingly popular in the United States during the late 1990s. Traditional klezmer songs include: “Az Der Rebbe Elimeylekh,” “A Heymisher Bulgar,” and “A Nakht in Gan Edent.”

HOLIDAYS

Israeli Americans celebrate Jewish holidays, which are public holidays in Israel. The holidays are based on the Hebrew lunar calendar, which contains twelve 28-day cycles, for a total of 336 days a year, with an extra month added periodically. The holidays do not, therefore, fall on the same day every year, although they remain seasonal. The Jewish New Year begins in the fall with the celebration of *Rosh Hashanah*, which means “The Head of the Year” and is celebrated in September or October. As the sun sets on the first day of the first month, Jewish families gather together to say a blessing over wine and bread and to reflect on the significance of the holiday and renewal of the world. It is customary to bake *challah* bread in the form of a circle as a symbol of the cyclical year. *Yom Kippur*, the holiest day of the Jewish calendar, occurs on the tenth day of the New Year. The ten days between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur are known as the “days of awe” and are meant to provide a quiet, reflective time in which Jews can cleanse their souls and focus on their relationship with God. There is a strict fast on the night before

Yom Kippur and the day and nighttime are usually spent in the synagogue. Special prayers are recited, including the *Kol Nidre*, *Musaf*, *Minchah*, *Neilah*, and ending with the symbolic intonation of “*L’shana ha-ba-ah b’Yerysgakatun*,” which means “next year in Jerusalem.”

The *sukkot*, or “festival of the booths,” is celebrated immediately after the end of Yom Kippur and commemorates the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. At this time, it is customary to construct huts in order to observe the rule that Jews “live in nature” during the duration of the festival. *Hannukah*, the “festival of the light,” lasts for eight days in November or December. Hannukah celebrates the victory of the Maccabees over the Syrians in 165 B.C. After the defeat, the oil for the Temple miraculously lasted for eight days until it could be renewed. During Hannukah, candles in a *menorrah* are lit for each one of the eight days. Traditional foods associated with this holiday include those cooked in oil and dairy foods. *Purim*, “the feast of lots,” is a joyous celebration that takes place in late winter and celebrates the victory of the Jewish community in Persia by Queen Esther. It is customary to fast the day before Purim, called the “Fast of Esther.” *Passover*, “the festival of freedom,” takes place in March or April, and celebrates the time when the Jews put a sign on their doors that enabled God to “pass over” his chosen people when he delivered ten plagues upon their Egyptian captors. The Passover Seder celebrates not only the end of winter, but also the release of oppressed Jews throughout the world. *Shavuot*, the “festival of weeks,” occurs seven weeks after Passover and commemorates the anniversary of the receiving of the Ten Commandments by Moses on Mount Sinai. Shavuot is also considered an agricultural celebration, as it celebrates the festival of the first fruits when wheat is harvested. A custom practiced during Shavuot is the ritual of staying up all night and reading the Torah.

Other festivals or holidays are the *Yom Ha-ah*, which takes place in the spring and commemorates those who died in the Holocaust. *Yom Hazikaron* is the Israeli Memorial Day and is a day of remembrance for those who died in battle for Israel. *Yom Ha-Atzma’ut* takes place in May the day after Yom Hazikaron and celebrates the day Israel declared its independence.

Israeli Americans often express disappointment concerning the way that Jewish holidays are celebrated in the United States. Although American Jews celebrate Jewish holidays, Israeli Americans are accustomed to a national celebration, and find it difficult to adjust to the fact that Jewish hol-

idays are ordinary days to the majority of Americans. Israeli Americans usually prefer to celebrate Israeli holidays with each other, particularly those that American Jews are not comfortable observing.

HEALTH ISSUES

Israeli Americans have not been prone to any specific medical conditions and tend to be in generally good health. Most Israelis have health insurance that is covered by their employers and those that are self-employed provide coverage for themselves and their employees. There are several nationwide organizations of Israeli health professionals.

LANGUAGE

The official languages of Israel are Hebrew and Arabic, but the vast majority of Israelis speak Hebrew, which dates back to 2,000 B.C. and serves as an important bond for Jews throughout the world. Israeli Americans generally learn the English language faster than other immigrant groups, and only five percent of Israeli immigrants are not proficient in English. However, immigrants continue to place an importance on Hebrew as a link to both their Jewish faith and their Israeli background. Eighty percent of first-generation Israeli Americans speak Hebrew at home, although the percentages decrease as the immigrants become more entrenched in American culture. In addition, the Ashkenazic Jews speak *Yiddish*, which is a peculiarly Eastern European mixture of German and Hebrew, while the Sephardic Jews speak *Ladino*. Both languages are increasingly less heard, although Yiddish-speaking Israeli Americans are more likely to be found among those who have settled in New York.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Hebrew greetings and other expressions include: *shalom*—hello; *shalom*—goodbye; *bokertov*—good morning; *erev tov*—good evening; *todah*—thank you; *bevakasha*—please; *ken*—yes; *loh*—no; *sleekha*—excuse me; *mazel tov*—good luck; *hag same’ah*—a happy holiday; *shanah tovah*—a good year.

Common Arabic greetings and other expressions include: *a-halan*—hello; *salaam aleicham*—goodbye; *sabah-l-kheir*—good morning; *min fadlach*—please; *shoo-khran*—thank you; *afwan*—you are welcome; *ay-wah*—yes; *la*—no.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The constant pressure of living in an insecure and dangerous environment has fostered the importance of the family and community among Israelis. Moreover, Judaism encourages strong family relationships, and many observances of the faith, such as the weekly Sabbath, serve to draw the family together. Most immigrants are married and place a strong emphasis on raising children. Because Israeli American parents are accustomed to relying on a national community of resources that aid in the socialization of their children, they often express disappointment with the lack of support systems available in the United States.

One of the greatest concerns of Israeli Americans is the preservation of their identity and their values within the alien culture of the United States. Israeli Americans are opposed to American values, such as competitiveness, materialism, and low motivation, which they perceive as antithetical to their own. However, they are often unable to foster an Israeli identity in their more “Americanized” children. One Israeli American mother described the dilemma in the article “Israeli Immigrants in the United States,” “There is a big gap between Israelis and their kids that were born here. This is a special problem for the Israelis because we are raising a generation that are Americans, beautiful American children. Highly educated, high achievers, but still, American children. You cannot raise Israeli children in [the] United States, for heaven’s sake.”

In order to expose their children to Israeli culture, Israeli Americans and the Israeli government have created various programs and workshops to help strengthen bonds with Israel. Toward the end of the twentieth century, the American Jewish community began to establish similar programs through such groups as the New York Board of Jewish Education, which sponsors folk-dance groups, parent workshops, summer camps, and religious training. *Tzabar*, the American branch of Tzofim (Israeli Scouts), enrolls groups of children between the ages of ten and nineteen. Each summer, over 200 Israeli Americans spend a summer in Israel as part of *Hetz Vakeshet*, a program similar to Outward Bound.

EDUCATION

Israeli Americans value education highly and often immigrate in order to take advantage of the excellent university programs available throughout the United States. According to the 1990 U.S. census, 56% of Israeli American men and 52% of women in

New York, and 56% of Israeli American men and 62% of women in Los Angeles had attended college, and only 20% did not finish high school. On the whole, over one-third of all Israeli American immigrants have college degrees.

Although Israeli immigrants appreciate the large number of educational institutions available in the United States, they are cautious about placing their children in public schools. Some Israeli Americans are fearful that negative values such as low achievement, a lack of respect toward parents, and American individuality are being taught to their children. Similarly, Israeli American parents are disturbed by the availability of drugs and sexual permissiveness in some American schools. Israeli immigrants generally prefer to place their children in private schools that emphasize values that are more similar to those taught in the Israeli educational system. Israeli Americans have also relied on a number of instructional courses and after-school programs for their children such as the AMI, which is an Israeli Hebrew course.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The Jewish faith is inherently patriarchal and, over the centuries, women have played a nominal role in Jewish communities worldwide. Traditionally, wives and daughters were restricted to running the household and caring for children. Education was not considered necessary for women and, in many instances, was forbidden. During the last few generations, however, Jewish women across the world have made tremendous strides in gaining access to educational and career opportunities. Female Israeli American immigrants tend to be as educated as their male counterparts and are often able to secure high-status jobs within the United States. However, nearly one-half of all married Israeli American women choose to stay at home in order to raise their children.

WEDDINGS, BAPTISMS, AND FUNERALS

Israeli Americans observe weddings, baptisms, and funerals in the tradition of their Jewish faith. The circumcision ceremony (*berit milah*) occurs on the eighth day after the birth of a baby boy. The Covenant of Circumcision celebrates the covenant between God and Abraham and is traditionally performed by a *mohel*, a person who is specially trained in circumcision. The celebration is an important family ritual and the duties of those who take part in the ceremony are strictly designated: those who carry the baby are the baby’s chosen godfather (*kvatter*) and godmother (*kvatterin*). Although there is

generally not a special naming ceremony for Jewish girls, a special prayer is said at synagogue, at which time the daughter receives her Hebrew name.

Jewish weddings are lavish and festive occasions that are filled with many traditions. The ceremony takes place under a *chupah* (marriage canopy, which symbolizes the bridal chamber and the home that the couple is creating together). The wedding begins with a procession in which the groom (*chatan*) and the bride (*kalah*) are led to the *chupah* by their parents, where seven blessings (*sheva berachot*) are chanted before the bride and groom drink a glass of wine as a symbol of the sharing of their lives. After the couple exchange rings, they sign the marriage contract, or *ketubah*. The couple is then pronounced man and wife, and the groom steps on a glass as everyone shouts *mazel tov*. Following the ceremony, a large reception takes place, at which there is much singing and dancing.

Following a death in a Jewish family, the funeral is usually held within 24 hours after death. During this time, a *shomer* (person who stays in the same room) guards the body, which is never to be left alone before the burial. In accordance with custom, the casket remains closed and there is no embalming or cosmetology performed. The casket is made of wood so that nature may follow its course quickly. All mirrors in the house are covered, so that vanity may not be allowed to interfere with the mourning and grief owed to the dead. At the graveside service, there is a ceremonial tearing of the mourner's skirt, ribbon, or shirt, which is called *keriah*. The mourners recite a prayer (*kaddish*) over the dead. During the next seven days, the family of the deceased sits *shivah*, and friends and family come to mourn and pay their respects. After a period of eleven months, the grieving process is considered over.

RELIGION

Judaism represents the foundation of the state of Israel. Israeli Judaism is both national and secular, and does not necessarily include the observance of the faith. Expression of a person's Jewish heritage is not restricted simply to the synagogue or to certain days of the year, but encompasses all daily activities, whether in the workplace, government, or during recreation. The observance of the Jewish holidays, the Hebrew language, and Jewish traditions are all performed on a national level. This has led to a greater secularization of Judaism within Israel. Israelis do not regard the practice of their faith as the defining factor of Judaism.

Israeli immigrants to the United States are often unprepared for the highly organized religion practiced by American Jews, who comprise over one-third of the world's Jewish population. American Jews have maintained their faith through a well-established system of synagogues, organizations, and branches of Judaism. Differing attitudes toward Judaism have created tension and conflict between Israeli Americans and American Jews. Unaccustomed to being in the minority, the Israelis are critical of what they perceive as an excessive amount of religious practice by American Jews. Furthermore, Israeli immigrants often accuse American Jews of succumbing to materialistic American values. American Jews, in turn, are often appalled with the cavalier attitude that some Israeli Americans have toward Judaism, and by their indifference to the sacrifices made by American Jews for the Zionist cause.

Israeli Americans are ultimately forced to choose between American Judaism and the more secular Judaism that is practiced in Israel. Immigrants, particularly those with children, often feel torn between the two choices. Even if they are not entirely comfortable with American Judaism, Israeli Americans are fearful that their children will lose their Jewish identity altogether and embrace only American values. The majority of Israeli Americans reluctantly choose to place their children in American Jewish schools and day care centers. However, these children then become accustomed to American Jewish practices and demand the same excessive religiosity in their home. This generates conflict and tension between Israeli American parents and their children.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, American Jews sought to improve relations with Israeli Americans. During the 1980s, the American Jewish community began to encourage Israeli Americans to become more involved in Jewish community centers, organizations, and federations. Israeli Americans responded to these overtures favorably and began to forge bonds with American Jews. Not surprisingly, many Israeli Americans discovered that their practice of the Jewish religion increased considerably after they immigrated to the United States. As they did in Israel, Israeli Americans continued to worship with those of similar ethnic background. The traditional discrimination between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews remains strong in the United States. Generally, the Sephardic Jews tend to have a higher rate of synagogue membership and observance of kosher food laws.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The importance that Israeli Americans place on education has allowed them to find well-paying, highly skilled jobs within the American workforce. Even during the initial adjustment period to life in the United States, Israeli Americans are much less likely to use welfare than other immigrant groups, and tend to have a high employment rate overall. Almost half of all male Israeli Americans in New York and Los Angeles are managers, administrators, professionals, or technical specialists, and another quarter are employed in sales. Israeli American professionals include doctors, architects, entertainers, small businessmen, and teachers. A fairly large number of Israeli American women teach Hebrew.

As is typical of other Jewish immigrants, Israeli Americans are extremely entrepreneurial and have the second highest rate of self-employment among all immigrant groups in the United States. The 1990 census found that one-third of Israeli men in both New York and Los Angeles were self-employed, particularly in the garment and retail industries. Other immigrants opened businesses such as restaurants, nightclubs, and retail shops within the Israeli communities to serve the growing needs of Israeli immigrants. Many newly arrived immigrants view their work in Israeli American businesses as a type of apprenticeship before opening their own business. Although Israeli employers feel a sense of obligation toward other Israelis, they are aware that the employees will eventually become competitors, a situation that sometimes creates conflicts.

The average income for Israeli immigrants is high compared to the rest of the country. The 1990 census reported that Israeli American men in New York and Los Angeles earned an annual income of \$35,000 and \$49,000, respectively. Israeli American women in New York and Los Angeles made \$25,000 and \$22,000, respectively.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Many Israeli Americans expect to return to Israel and are more inclined to follow Israeli, rather than American, politics. Sometimes referred to as “transnationals,” over 85 percent of Israeli Americans read Israeli newspapers and 58 percent listen to Hebrew broadcasts. Many Israeli Americans retain ownership of their homes in Israel and make frequent trips between Israel and the United States. Those Israeli Americans who do become naturalized

citizens of the United States continue to follow events in Israel and tend to vote for American political candidates that support Israeli interests. For instance, 54 percent of Israeli Americans voted for President Richard Nixon in the 1972 presidential election because of his strong commitment to Israel.

American Jews generously support the state of Israel, and have enough political clout to ensure that Israel remains a focal point of American interests. There has been so much financial, military, and cultural exchange between the two countries that some Israelis refer to Israel as the “51st” state of the United States. Historically, the Israeli government has discouraged immigration to the United States. However, during the late 1990s, the Israeli government began to encourage the formation of services and organizations specifically designed to assist Israeli American immigrants.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Nadav Safran has received national recognition for his expertise on the Middle East. During his tenure at Harvard University, he published the following books, all of which were well-received: *Egypt in Search of Political Community; An Analysis of the Intellectual and Political Evolution of Egypt, 1804-1952* (1961); *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967* (1969); *Israel, the Embattled Ally* (1978); and *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security* (1985). Amos Twersky is considered one of the leading authorities on mathematical models in psychology and has been a Professor of Psychology at Stanford University. He co-authored the following publications: *Mathematical Psychology: An Elementary Introduction* (1970); and *Decision Making: Descriptive, Normative, and Prescriptive Interaction* (1988).

BUSINESS

The Nakash brothers (Joe, Ralph, and Aviv), established Jordache Enterprises, Inc. in 1969. Their trademark Jordache jeans enjoyed immediate success and were soon distributed worldwide. By the late 1990s, they had amassed a fortune of over \$600 million.

MUSIC

Yitzhak Perlman (1945-), a world-renowned violinist, has appeared with the New York Philharmonic,

the Cleveland Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra, and other orchestras throughout the United States. He received the Leventritt Prize in 1964, 15 Grammy awards between the years 1977-1987 and the Medal of Liberty in 1986. Pinchas Zuckerman (1948-), is also a world-renowned violinist and the recipient of the Leventritt Prize. He was selected as the music director of the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra in Minnesota, where he served from 1980-1987. From 1990 to 1992, he was the guest conductor of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra. Since 1993, Zuckerman has taught at the Manhattan School of Music in New York.

POLITICS

Amitai Etzioni (1929-) served as an advisor to President Carter from 1979-1980. In addition, he has served on the faculty of Columbia University (1958-1980) and George Washington University (1980-). He has also held positions at the Center for Policy Research (1968-), the Brookings Institution (1978-1979), and the Institute for War and Peace Studies (1967-1978).

FILM AND THEATER

Theodore Bikel (1924-) is an award-winning actor and singer. He has appeared in staged productions of *The Sound of Music* (1959-1961) and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1968-1996). He has also appeared in *The African Queen* (1951); *The Defiant Ones* (1958), for which he received an Academy award nomination; *My Fair Lady* (1964); *Sands of the Kalahari* (1965) and *Crime and Punishment* (1993). He also hosted a weekly radio program entitled "At Home with Theodore Bikel" (1958-1963), and recorded various folk songs. He has been the recipient of the Emmy Award (1988) and the Lifetime Achievement Award for the National Foundation for Jewish Culture (1997).

MEDIA

PRINT

Ha'aretz.

An Israeli, Hebrew-language daily, which is distributed across the country

Contact: Benjamin Landau, Los Angeles correspondent.

Address: 356 South LaPeer Drive, Beverly Hills, CA 90211.

Telephone: (310) 854-3797.

Hadoar (The Post).

A Hebrew-language biweekly publication that deals with broad issues of concern to the Jewish person.

Address: 426 W. 58th St., New York, NY 10019-1102.

Telephone: (212) 929-1678.

Young Israel Viewpoint.

Established in 1920, the quarterly publication contains news of interest to the Israeli-Jewish communities.

Address: 3 W. 16th St., New York, NY 10011.

Telephone: (212) 929-1525.

RADIO

WELW-FM.

Address: P.O. Box 1330, Willoughby, OH 44096.

Telephone: (440) 946-1330.

WRSU-FM.

Address: 126 College Avenue, New Brunswick, NJ 08901.

Telephone: (732) 932-7800.

WUNR-FM.

Address: 160 N. Washington St., Boston, MA 02114.

Telephone: (617) 738-1870.

TELEVISION

Israel Broadcasting Authority.

Address: 1101 30th Street, Washington, DC 20007.

Telephone: (202) 338-6091.

Israel Broadcasting Authority Radio and Television.

Address: 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, NY 10020.

Telephone: (212) 265-6330.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

America-Israel Cultural Foundation.

Encourages, promotes, and sustains cultural excellence in Israel. Provides scholarships in music, the visual and design arts, filmmaking, dance, and theater to gifted students; advanced-study fellowships

to teachers and young professionals; and grants to institutions and special projects in Israel. Allocates approximately \$2.3 million for underwriting over 600 scholarships, projects, and institutions. Sponsors Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Jerusalem Film and Television School, Batsheva Dance Company, and the Beit Zvi School of Drama.

Contact: Kathleen Mellon, Executive Director.
Address: 51 East 42nd Street, Suite 400,
New York, New York 10017.
Telephone: (212)557-1600.
Fax: (212)557-1611.
Online: <http://www.aicf.webnet.org>.

America Israel Friendship League.

Seeks to maintain and strengthen the mutually supportive relationship between people of the United States and Israel. Seeks to promote the friendship between the two democracies.

Contact: Ms. Ilana Artman, Executive
Vice President.
Address: 134 East 39th Street, New York,
New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 213-8630.
Fax: (212) 683-3475.
Online: <http://www.usa50israel.org>.

Chabad West Coast Headquarters.

Nationwide organization that addresses Jewish issues; lends aid and sponsors events for Jewish immigrants, including newly-arrived Israelis.

Contact: Shlomo Cunih.
Address: 741 Gayley Avenue, Los Angeles,
CA 90024.
Telephone: (310) 208-7511.

Israeli Students' Organization in the U.S.A. and Canada.

Israeli citizens who are in the United States or Canada for study and/or training purposes. Gives aid and advice to members in solving their problems during their study or training and upon their return to Israel; sponsors cultural, social, and informative activities in the Israeli spirit and tradition; represents the Israeli student body before Israeli, American, and Canadian authorities and maintains contact with these author-

ities. Promotes friendship between Israeli students, American Jewish students, other foreign students, American Jewry, and the American public. Maintains a loan fund; provides medical insurance program and discount airfare to Israel.

Contact: Menahem Rosenberg, Executive Officer.
Address: 17 East 45th Street, Suite 907, New
York, New York 10017
Telephone: (212) 681-9810.
Fax: (212) 681-9815.
E-mail: mailbox@isoa.org.
Online: <http://www.isoa.org>.

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The family (*la famiglia*)
rested at the heart of
Italian society. Family
solidarity was the
major bulwark from
which the rural
population confronted
a harsh society, and
the family unit
(including blood
relatives and
relatives by marriage)
became the center
of allegiances.



TALIAN

by
George Pozzetta

AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

Moored by Alpine mountains in the north, the boot-shaped Italian peninsula juts into the central Mediterranean Sea. Along its European frontier, Italy shares borders with France, Switzerland, Austria, and Slovenia. The nation's land mass, which includes the two major islands of Sicily and Sardinia and numerous smaller ones, measures 116,324 square miles (301,200 square kilometers)—almost exactly double the size of the state of Florida. Italy's population in 1991 stood at 57.6 million. With the exception of the broad north Italian Plain at the foot of the Alps, the peninsula is crosscut through much of its length by the Apennine mountain chain. The obstacles created by the highlands, valleys, and gorges found in the mountain regions fostered strong cultural and linguistic differences.

HISTORY

Italy's modern state traces its mythological roots to the founding of the city of Rome in 753 B.C. More historically verified is the fact that the Romans engaged in territorial expansion and conquest of neighboring lands, devising effective colonization policies that ultimately sustained a widespread realm. By 172 B.C., Rome controlled all of the Italian peninsula and began moving outward into the Mediterranean basin. At its peak, the Roman empire extended from the British Isles to the



Italian American immigrant laborers pose with the “first train” over the Trolley Road during the construction of the New Troy, Rensselaer & Pittsfield Electric Railway, through Lebanon Valley, New York.

Euphrates River. The *Pax Romana* began to crumble, however, by the end of the first century A.D. The sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 A.D. presaged the more complete disintegration of the empire in the later fifth and sixth centuries. With its political integration shattered, the country remained fragmented until the late nineteenth century. Italy was, in the view of many Europeans, a “mere geographic expression.”

Italy is a relatively young nation state, achieving full unification only during the *Risorgimento* of 1860-1870. Prior to this, the peninsula consisted of often mutually antagonistic kingdoms, duchies, city-states, and principalities. Some of these regions had a history of autonomous rule, while others came under the periodic control of foreign powers as a result of recurrent wars and shifting political alliances. Over the centuries, therefore, powerful regional loyalties emerged, and persisted well after unification. Although local cultural variations remained notable, the most significant internal distinctions have been those stemming from the contrast between a relatively prosperous, cosmopolitan, urban North and a socially backward, economically depressed, agricultural South.

Southern Italy (*Mezzogiorno*), the source of more than 75 percent of immigration to the United States, was an impoverished region possessing a highly stratified, virtually feudal society. The bulk of the population consisted of artisans (*artigiani*), petty landowners or sharecroppers (*contadini*), and farm laborers (*giornalieri*), all of whom eked out meager existences. For reasons of security and

health, residents typically clustered in hill towns situated away from farm land. Each day required long walks to family plots, adding to the toil that framed daily lives. Families typically worked as collective units to ensure survival. Angelo Pellegrini, who became a successful immigrant, remembered his sharecropping family: “The central, dominating fact of our existence was continuous, inadequately rewarded labor.... Education beyond the third grade was out of the question.... At eight or nine years of age, if not sooner, the peasant child is old enough to bend his neck to the yoke and fix his eyes upon the soil in which he must grub for bread. I did not know it then, but I know it now, that is a cruel, man-made destiny from which there is yet no immediate hope of escape.” (Angelo Pellegrini, *Immigrant’s Return*. New York: Macmillan, 1952; pp. 11, 21.)

The impact of unification on the South was disastrous. The new constitution heavily favored the North, especially in its tax policies, industrial subsidies, and land programs. The hard-pressed peasantry shouldered an increased share of national expenses, while attempting to compete in markets dominated more and more by outside capitalist intrusions. These burdens only exacerbated existing problems of poor soil, absentee landlords, inadequate investment, disease, and high rates of illiteracy. With cruel irony, as livelihoods became increasingly precarious, population totals soared. Italy jumped from 25 million residents in 1861 to 33 million in 1901 to more than 35 million in 1911, despite the massive migration already underway.

An Italian
immigrant family
arrives at Ellis
Island, New York.



EARLY IMMIGRATION

An exodus of southerners from the peninsula began in the 1880s. Commencing in the regions of Calabria, Campania, Apulia, and Basilicata, and spreading after 1900 to Sicily, Italian emigration became a torrent of humanity. From 1876-1924, more than 4.5 million Italians arrived in the United States, and over two million came in the years 1901-1910 alone. Despite these massive numbers, it should be noted that roughly two-thirds of Italian migration went elsewhere, especially to Europe and South America. Immigration to the United States before and after this period accounted for approximately one million additional arrivals—a considerable movement in its own right—but the era of mass migration remains central to the Italian immigrant experience.

Yet, there were important precursors. Italian explorers and sailors venturing outward in the employ of other nations touched America in its earliest beginnings. The most famous was, of course, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese mariner sailing for Spain. Other seafarers such as John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto), Giovanni da Verrazzano, and

Amerigo Vespucci, and important missionaries such as Eusebio Chino and Fra Marco da Nizza, also played roles in early exploration and settlement.

After the American Revolution, a small flow of largely northern-Italian skilled artisans, painters, sculptors, musicians, and dancers came to the new nation, filling economic niches. With the failure of the early nineteenth-century liberal revolutions, these immigrants were joined by a trickle of political refugees, the most famous of whom was Giuseppe Garibaldi. By the second half of the century, American cities also typically included Italian street entertainers, tradesmen, statuette makers, and stone workers, who often established the first beachheads of settlement for the migrations to come. Many of these pioneers were merely extending generations-old migratory patterns that had earlier brought them through Europe. An old Italian proverb instructed: *Chi esce riesce* (He who leaves succeeds).

This initial Italian movement dispersed widely throughout America, but its numbers were too small to constitute a significant presence. By 1850, the heaviest concentration was in Louisiana (only 915 people), the result of Sicilian migration to New

Orleans and its environs. Within a decade, California contained the highest total of any state—a mere 2,805—and New York, soon to become home to millions of Italian immigrants, counted 1,862.

Everything changed with mass migration, the first phase of which consisted primarily of temporary migrants—“sojourners”—who desired immediate employment, maximum savings, and quick repatriation. The movement was predominately composed of young, single men of prime working age (15-35) who clustered in America’s urban centers. Multiple trips were commonplace and ties to American society, such as learning English, securing citizenship, and acquiring property, were minimal. With eyes focused on the old-world *paese* (village), a total of at least half of the sojourners returned to Italy, although in some years rates were much higher. Such mobility earned Italians the sobriquet “birds of passage,” a label that persisted until women and families began to migrate and settlement became increasingly permanent in the years following 1910.

Migrants brought with them their family-centered peasant cultures and their fiercely local identifications, or *campanilismo*. They typically viewed themselves as residents of particular villages or regions, not as “Italians.” The organizational and residential life of early communities reflected these facts, as people limited their associations largely to kin and *paesani* fellow villagers. The proliferation of narrowly based mutual aid societies and *festas* (*feste*, or feast days) honoring local patron saints were manifestations of these tendencies. Gradually, as immigrants acclimated to the American milieu, in which others regarded them simply as Italians, and as they increasingly interacted with fellow immigrants, *campanilismo* gave way to a more national identity. Group-wide organization and identity, nonetheless, have always been difficult to achieve.

THE EMERGENCE OF “LITTLE ITALIES”

In terms of settlement, immigrants were (and are) highly concentrated. Using kin and village-based chain migration networks to form “Little Italies,” they clustered heavily in cities in the Northeast region (the Mid-Atlantic and New England states) and the Midwest, with outposts in California and Louisiana. More than 90 percent settled in only 11 states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, and Louisiana—and approximately 90 percent congregated in urban areas. These patterns largely hold true today, although immigrants have branched out to locations such as Arizona and Florida. In every settlement area, there

has been, over time, a slow but steady shift from central cities to suburbs.

Immigrants often sought out Little Italies as a result of the hostility they encountered in American society. As a despised minority rooted in the working class and seemingly resistant to assimilation, Italians suffered widespread discrimination in housing and employment. American responses to the immigrants occasionally took uglier forms as Italians became the victims of intimidation and violence, the most notorious incident being the 1890 lynching of 11 Italians in New Orleans. Italian mass migration coincided with the growth of a nativism that identified southern and eastern Europeans as undesirable elements. Inspired by the pseudo-scientific findings of eugenics and social Darwinism, turn-of-the-century nativists often branded southern Italians as especially inferior. Powerful stereotypes centering on poverty, clannishness, illiteracy, high disease rates, and an alleged proclivity toward criminal activities underscored the view that southern Italians were a degenerate “race” that should be denied entry to America. Criticism of Italians became integral to the successful legislative drives to enact the nativist Literacy Test in 1917 and National Origins Acts in 1921 and 1924.

Within Little Italies, immigrants created New World societies. A network of Italian language institutions—newspapers, theaters, churches, mutual aid societies, recreational clubs, and debating societies—helped fuel an emerging Italian-American ethnic culture. Aspects of the folk, popular, and high culture intermixed in this milieu yielding an array of entertainment options. Saloons or club buildings in larger urban centers often featured traditional puppet and marionette shows while immigrant men sipped wines and played card games of *mora*, *briscola*, and *tresette*. By the early 1900s, a lively Italian language theater brought entertainment to thousands and sustained the careers of professional acting troupes and noted performers such as the comedic genius Eduardo Migliacco, known as “Farfariello.” On a more informal level, Italian coffee houses often presented light comedies, heroic tragedies, and dialect plays sponsored by drama clubs. Italian opera was a staple in most American urban centers, and working-class Italian music halls attracted customers by offering renditions of Neapolitan or Sicilian songs and dances. Band performances and choral recitals were regularly staged on the streets of Italian settlements. Although illiteracy rates among immigrants often ran well above 50 percent, newcomers in larger cities had access to Italian language bookstores stocked with poetry, short stories, novels, and nonfiction. In 1906 one New York bookseller published a catalogue of 176 pages to advertise his merchandise.

The cultural patterns of Little Italies were constantly evolving, providing for a dynamic interplay between older forms brought from Italy and new inventions forged in the United States. Many immigrants attempted to recreate old-world celebrations and rituals upon arrival in the United States, but those that directly competed with American forms soon fell away. The celebration of Epiphany (January 6), for example, was the principal Christmas time festivity in Italy, featuring the visit of *La Befana*, a kindly old witch who brought presents for children. In the United States the more popular Christmas Eve and Santa Claus displaced this tradition.

Even those cultural forms more sheltered from American society were contested. Immigrant settlements were not homogenous entities. Various members of the community fought for the right to define the group, and the ongoing struggle for dominance invariably employed cultural symbols and events.

“My first impression when I got there, I tell you the God’s truth, you’re in a dream. It’s like in heaven. You don’t know what it is. You’re so happy there in America.”

Felice Taldone in 1924, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

The commercial and political elites (*prominenti*)—usually aided by the Italian Catholic clergy—sought to promote Italian nationalism as a means of self-advancement. These forces invested great energy in celebrations of Italian national holidays (such as *venti di settembre*, which commemorated Italian unification), and in the erection of statues of such Italian heroes as Columbus, the poet Dante, and military leader Giuseppe Garibaldi.

These activities were challenged by a variety of leftist radicals (*soversivi*), who sought very different cultural and political goals. Anarchists, socialists, and syndicalists such as Carlo Tresca and Arturo Giovannitti considered Italian Americans as part of the world proletariat and celebrated holidays (*Primo Maggio*—May Day) and heroes (Gaetano Bresci, the assassin of Italian King Umberto) reflecting this image. These symbols also played roles in mass strikes and worker demonstrations led by the radicals. Meanwhile, the majority of Italian Americans continued to draw much of their identity from the peasant cultures of the old-world *paese*. Columbus Day, the preeminent Italian American ethnic cele-

bration, typically blended elements of all these components, with multiple parades and competing banquets, balls, and public presentations.

World War I proved an ambiguous interlude for Italian immigrants. Italy’s alliance with the United States and the service of many immigrants in the U.S. military precipitated some level of American acceptance. The war also produced, however, countervailing pressures that generated more intense nationalism among Italians and powerful drives toward assimilation—“100 percent Americanism”—in the wider society. Immigration restrictions after 1924 halted Italian immigration, although the foreign-born presence remained strong (the 1930 census recorded 1,623,000 Italian-born residents—the group’s historic high). As new arrivals slowed and the second generation matured during the 1920s and 1930s, the group changed.

Several critical developments shaped the character of Italian America during the interwar years. National prohibition provided lucrative illegal markets, which some Italian Americans successfully exploited through bootlegging operations. During the 1920s, the “gangster” image of Italians (exemplified by Al Capone) was perpetuated through films and popular literature. The celebrated case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti further molded the group’s national image, underwriting the conception of Italians as dangerous radicals.

The Great Depression overshadowed earlier economic gains, often forcing Italian Americans back into their family-centered ethnic communities. Here, the emerging second generation found itself in frequent conflict with the first. Heavily influenced by the traditional *contadino* culture passed on from their parents, the second generation uneasily straddled two worlds. Traditional notions of proper behavior, stressing collective responsibilities toward the family, strict chastity and domestic roles for females, rigid chaperonage and courting codes, and male dominance, clashed with the more individualist, consumer-driven American values children learned in schools, stores, and on the streets. Problems of marginality, lack of self-esteem, rebellion, and delinquency were the outcomes.

Partly because of these dynamics, the community structures of Little Italies began to change. The more Americanized second generation began to turn away from older, Italian-language institutions founded by immigrants, many of which collapsed during the depression. Italian theaters and music halls, for example, largely gave way to vaudeville, nickelodeons, organized sports, and radio programming. During the 1920s and 1930s, these transformations were also influenced by Benito Mussolini’s

fascist regime, which sponsored propaganda campaigns designed to attract the support of Italian Americans. The *prominenti* generally supported these initiatives, often inserting fascist symbols (the black shirt), songs (“Giovinezza”—the fascist anthem), and holidays (the anniversary of the March on Rome) into the iconography and pageantry of America’s Little Italies. A small, but vocal, anti-fascist element existed in opposition, and it substituted counter values and emblems. Memorials to Giacomo Matteotti, a socialist deputy murdered by fascists, and renditions of *Bandiera Rossa* and *Inno di Garibaldi* became fixtures of anti-fascist festivities. Thus, the cultural world of Italian America remained divided.

Any questions concerning loyalties to the United States were firmly answered when Italy declared war on the United States in 1941, and Italian Americans rushed to aid the American struggle against the Axis powers. More than 500,000 Italian Americans joined the U.S. military, serving in all theaters, including the Italian campaign. The war effort and ensuing anti-communist crusade stressed conformity, loyalty, and patriotism, and in the 1940s and 1950s it appeared that Italian Americans had comfortably settled into the melting pot. The second generation especially benefited from its war service and the postwar economic expansion as it yielded new levels of acceptance and integration. In the 1950s, they experienced substantial social mobility and embraced mass consumerism and middle-class values.

Since the end of World War II, more than 600,000 Italian immigrants have arrived in the United States. A large percentage came shortly after passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, at which time yearly totals of Italian immigrants averaged about 23,000. Beginning in 1974, the numbers steadily declined as a result of improved economic conditions in Italy and changing policies in other immigrant-receiving nations. In 1990 only 3,300 Italian immigrants were admitted to the United States, but 831,922 Italian-born residents remained in the country, guaranteeing that Italian language and culture are still part of the American cultural mosaic.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Assimilation takes place at many different levels, but for the individual, it is likely that few captured the essence of the experience better than Rosa Cavalleri. Cavalleri came from the Italian town of Cuggiono in 1884 as a frightened young woman, joining

her husband in a mining camp in remote Missouri. After undergoing numerous tribulations, Cavalleri settled in Chicago, where she cleaned floors and bathrooms, while remarrying and successfully raising a family. As Cavalleri neared death in 1943, she mused: “Only one wish more I have: I’d love to go in *Italia* again before I die. Now I speak English good like an American I could go anywhere—where millionaires go and high people. I would look the high people in the face and ask them questions I’d like to know. I wouldn’t be afraid now—not of anybody. I’d be proud I come from America and speak English. I would go to Bugiaro [Cuggiono] and see the people and talk to the bosses in the silk factory.... I could talk to the *Superiora* now. I’d tell her, ‘Why you were so mean—you threw me out that poor girl whose heart was so kind toward you? You think you’ll go to heaven like that?’ I’d scold them like that now. I wouldn’t be afraid. They wouldn’t hurt me now I come from America. Me, that’s why I love America. That’s what I learned in America: not to be afraid.” (Marie Hall Ets, *Rosa: The Life of an Italian Immigrant*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970; p. 254.)

The integration of Italians like Cavalleri into American life was a result of changes in both the group and the larger society. Italians were beginning to make a commitment to permanent settlement. This process was substantially underway by 1910, cresting in the 1920s when new immigration fell off. After this, perpetuation of the old-world public culture became increasingly difficult, although the family-based value structure was more resilient. During the 1920s and 1930s, the second generation continued to display many of its hallmarks: children of immigrants still held largely blue-collar occupations and were underrepresented in schools, tied to Little Italy residences, and attracted to in-group marriages—choices that demonstrated the continuing power of parental mores.

Changing contexts, however, diminished the “social distance” separating Italians from other Americans. In the 1930s, second-generation Italian Americans joined forces with others in labor unions and lobbied for benefits. They also began to make political gains as part of the Democratic Party’s New Deal coalition. Also for the first time, the national popular culture began to include Italian Americans among its heroes. In music, sports, politics, and cinema the careers of Frank Sinatra, Joe DiMaggio, Fiorello LaGuardia, Frank Capra, and Don Ameche suggested that national attitudes toward Italians were in transition.

World War II was a critical benchmark in the acceptance of Italian Americans. Their wholeheart-

ed support of America's cause and their disproportionately high ratio of service in the military legitimized them in American eyes. The war also transformed many Little Italies, as men and women left for military service or to work in war industries. Upon their return, many newly affluent Italian Americans left for suburban locations and fresh opportunities, further eroding the institutions and *contadino* culture that once thrived in ethnic settlements.

The Cold War pushed the group further into the mainstream as Italian Americans joined in the anti-communist fervor gripping the nation. Simultaneously, structural changes in the economy vastly expanded the availability of white collar, managerial positions, and Italian Americans jumped to take advantage. Beginning in the 1950s, they pursued higher education in greater numbers than ever before, many receiving aid as a result of the G.I. Bill. Such developments put them into more immediate and positive contact with other Americans, who exhibited greater acceptance in the postwar years.

Ironically, a resurgent Italian American ethnicity emerged at the same time, as the group experienced increasing integration into the larger society. Italian Americans were active participants in the ethnic revival of the 1960s and 1970s. As American core values came under assault in the midst of Vietnam, Watergate, and the rising counterculture, and the nation's urban centers became torn by riots and civil protest, Italian Americans felt especially vulnerable and besieged. Unlike other ethnic groups, they had remained in urban enclaves, manifesting high rates of home ownership, where they now found themselves in contact and conflict with African Americans. Many interpreted the ensuing clashes in cultural terms, seeing themselves as an embattled minority defending traditional values in the face of new compensatory government programs. In response, ethnic traditions surrounding family, neighborhood, and homes gained heightened visibility and strength. New Italian American organizations and publications fostering ethnic identity came into being, and many old rituals experienced a resurgence, most notably the celebration of the *feste*.

Intermarriage rates increased after the 1950s, especially among the third and fourth generations who were now coming of age. By 1991, the group's overall in-marriage rate was just under 33 percent, above the average of 26 percent for other ethnic groups. But among those born after 1940—by now a majority—the rate was only 20 percent, and these marriages crossed both ethnic and religious lines. Once a marginalized, despised minority, Italian Americans are now among the most highly accept-

ed groups according to national surveys measuring "social distance" indicators (Italians ranked fourteenth in 1926, but fifth in 1977). All of the statistical data point to a high level of structural assimilation in American society, although Italian American ethnicity has not disappeared.

That Italian American identity has lost much of its former negative weight is suggested further by recent census figures for ancestry group claiming. The 1980 census recorded 12.1 million individuals who claimed Italian ancestry (5.4 percent of national population). By 1990 this figure had risen to 14.7 million (5.9 percent), indicating that ethnicity remains an important and acceptable component of self-identification for substantial numbers of Italian Americans.

Despite strong evidence of integration, Italian Americans retain distinguishing characteristics. They are still geographically concentrated in the old settlement areas, and they display a pronounced attachment to the values of domesticity and family loyalty. Italian Americans still rely heavily on personal and kin networks in residential choices, visiting patterns, and general social interaction. Perhaps most distinctive, the group continues to suffer from stereotypes associating it with criminal behavior, especially in the form of organized crime and the mafia. These images have persisted despite research documenting that Italian Americans possess crime rates no higher than other segments of American society and that organized crime is a multi-ethnic enterprise. Television and film images of Italian Americans continue to emphasize criminals, "lovable or laughable dimwits" who engage in dead-end jobs, and heavy-accented, obese "Mamas" with their pasta pots.

These representations have influenced the movement of Italian Americans into the highest levels of corporate and political life. The innuendos of criminal ties advanced during Geraldine Ferraro's candidacy for vice-president in 1984 and during Mario Cuomo's aborted presidential bids illustrate the political repercussions of these stereotypes, and many Italian Americans believe that bias has kept them underrepresented in the top echelons of the business world. Since the 1970s, such organizations as the Americans of Italian Descent, the Sons of Italy in America, and the National Italian American Foundation have mounted broad-based anti-defamation campaigns protesting such negative imagery.

HOLIDAYS

The major national holidays of Italy—*Festa della Repubblica* (June 5), *Festa dell'Unità Nazionale* (November 6), and *Festa del Lavoro* (May 1)—are

no longer occasions of public celebration among Italian Americans. Some religious holidays, such as *Epifania di Gesù* (January 6), receive only passing notice. Most Italian Americans celebrate Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and Easter Day, but usually without any particular ethnic character. The principal occasions of public celebration typically revolve around Columbus Day, the quintessential Italian American national holiday, and the *feste* honoring patron saints. In both cases, these events have, in general, become multi-day celebrations virtually devoid of any religious or Italian national connotation, involving numerous non-Italians.

In New Orleans, Louisiana, St. Joseph's Day (March 19) is celebrated by some members of the Italian-American community. The tradition began in Sicily, the origin of much of New Orleans' Italian-American population. The day was commemorated by the building of temporary three-tiered alters, loaded with food offerings for the saint. The alters were found in private homes, churches, some restaurants, and public places associated with Italians, with the general public invited. Visitors to the alters are often given *lagniatpe* (a sack of cookies and fava beans, a good luck charm) to take home.

Preparations for St. Joseph's Day began several weeks in advance with baking of cookies, breads and cakes. Cookies, such as twice-baked biscotti and sesame-seed varieties, could be shaped into forms with religious significance. Bread, cannoli, seafood and vegetable dishes are also found on the alter. Such dishes include *forschias* and pasta Milanese covered with *mudriga*. *Mudriga* was also called St. Joseph's sawdust, made of bread crumbs and sugar. No meat was found because the holiday almost always falls during Lent. In addition to food, the alter often had an image of St. Joseph, home grown flowers, candles and palm branches.

Italian immigrants utilized traditional costumes, folk songs, folklore, and dances for special events, but like many aspects of Italian life, they were so regionally specific that they defy easy characterization. Perhaps the most commonly recognized folk dance, the *tarantella*, for example, is Neapolitan, with little diffusion elsewhere in the peninsula.

CUISINE

The difficult conditions of daily life in Italy dictated frugal eating habits. Most peasants consumed simple meals based on whatever vegetables or grains (lentils, peas, fava beans, corn, tomatoes, onions, and wild greens) were prevalent in each region. A staple for most common folk was coarse black bread.

Pasta was a luxury, and peasants typically ate meat only two or three times a year on special holidays. Italian cuisine was—and still is—regionally distinctive, and even festive meals varied widely. The traditional Christmas dish in Piedmont was *agnolotti* (ravioli), while *anguille* (eels) were served in Campania, *sopa friulana* (celery soup) in Friuli, and *bovoloni* (fat snails) in Vicenza.

In the United States, many immigrants planted small backyard garden plots to supplement the table and continued to raise cows, chickens, and goats whenever possible. Outdoor brick ovens were commonplace, serving as clear ethnic markers of Italian residences. With improved economic conditions, pastas, meats, sugar, and coffee were consumed more frequently. One New York City immigrant remembered asking, "Who could afford to eat spaghetti more than once a week [in Italy]? In America no one starved, though a family earned no more than five or six dollars a week.... Don't you remember how our *paesani* here in America ate to their hearts delight till they were belching like pigs, and how they dumped mountains of uneaten food out the window? We were not poor in America; we just had a little less than others." (Leonard Covello, *The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972; p. 295.)

"Italian cooking" in the United States has come to mean southern-Italian, especially Neapolitan, cuisine, which is rich in tomato sauces, heavily spiced, and pasta-based. Spaghetti and meatballs (not generally known in Italy) and pizza are perhaps the quintessential Italian dishes in the United States. More recently, northern Italian cooking—characterized by rice (*risotto*) and corn (*polenta*) dishes and butter-based recipes—has become increasingly common in homes and restaurants. Garlic (*aglio*), olive oil (*olio d'oliva*), mushrooms (*funghi*), and nuts (*nochi*) of various types are common ingredients found in Italian cooking. Wine (*vino*), consumed in moderate amounts, is a staple. Overall, Italian dishes have become so popular that they have been accepted into the nation's dietary repertoire, but not in strictly old-world forms. Americanized dishes are generally milder in their spicing and more standardized than old-world fare.

HEALTH ISSUES

A number of Italian American organizations have supported the Cooley's Anemia Foundation to fund research into Thalassemia, once thought to be a sickle cell anemia confined to persons of Mediterranean ancestry. Recent research has demonstrated

the fallacy of this belief, however, and contributions have largely ceased.

LANGUAGE

Italian is a Romance language derived directly from Latin; it utilizes the Latin alphabet, but the letters “j,” “k,” “w,” “x,” and “y” are found only in words of foreign origin. “Standard” Italian—based on the Tuscan dialect—is a relatively recent invention, and was not used universally until well into the twentieth century. Numerous dialects were the dominant linguistic feature during the years of mass immigration.

Italian dialects did not simply possess different tonalities or inflections. Some were languages in their own right, with separate vocabularies and, for a few, fully developed literatures (e.g., Venetian, Piedmontese, and Sicilian). Italy’s mountainous terrain produced conditions in which proximate areas often possessed mutually unintelligible languages. For example, the word for “today” in standard Italian is *oggi*, but *ancheuj* in Piedmontese, *uncuó* in Venetian, *ste iorne* in Sicilian, and *oji* in Calabrian. Similarly, “children” in Italian is *bambini*, but it becomes *cit* in Piedmontese, *fruz* in Friulian, *guagliuni* in Neapolitan, *zitedi* in Calabrian, and *picciriddi* in Sicilian. Thus, language facilitated *campanilismo*, further fragmenting the emerging Italian American world.

Very soon after the Italians’ arrival, all dialects became infused with Americanisms, quickly creating a new form of communication often intelligible only to immigrants. The new patois was neither Italian nor English, and it included such words as *giobba* for job, *grossiera* for grocery, *bosso* for boss, *marachetta* for market, *baccausa* for outhouse, *ticchetto* for ticket, *bisiness* for business, *trocco* for truck, *sciabola* for shovel, *loffare* for the verb to loaf, and *carpetto* for carpet. Angelo Massari, who immigrated to Tampa, Florida, in 1902, described preparations in his Sicilian village prior to leaving it: “I used to interview people who had returned from America. I asked them thousands of questions, how America was, what they did in Tampa, what kind of work was to be had.... One of them told me the language was English, and I asked him how to say one word or another in that language. I got these wonderful samples of a Sicilian-American English from him: *tu sei un boia*, *gud morni*, *obraitì*, *giachese*, *misti*, *sciusi*, *bred*, *iessi*, *bud* [you are a boy, good morning, alright, jacket, mister, excuse me, bread, yes, but]. He told me also that in order to ask for work, one had to say, ‘Se misti gari giobbi fo mi?’ [Say, mister got a job for me?].” (Angelo Massari, *The Wonderful Life of Angelo Massari*, translated by Arthur Massolo. New York: Exposition Press, 1965; pp. 46-47.)

Italian proverbs tend to reflect the conditions of peasant and immigrant lives: Work hard, work always, and you will never know hunger; He who leaves the old way for the new knows what he loses but knows not what he will find; Buy oxen and marry women from your village only; The wolf changes his skin but not his vice; The village is all the world; Do not miss the Saint’s day, he helps you and provides at all times; Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you what you are; He who respects others will be respected.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The family (*la famiglia*) rested at the heart of Italian society. Family solidarity was the major bulwark from which the rural population confronted a harsh society, and the family unit (including blood relatives and relatives by marriage) became the center of allegiances. Economically and socially, the family functioned as a collective enterprise, an “all-inclusive social world” in which the individual was subordinated to the larger entity. Parents expected children to assist them at an early age by providing gainful labor, and family values stressed respect for the elderly, obedience to parents, hard work, and deference to authority.

The traditional Italian family was “father-headed, but mother-centered.” In public, the father was the uncontested authority figure and wives were expected to defer to their husbands. At home, however, females exercised considerable authority as wives and mothers, and played central roles in sustaining familial networks. Still, male children occupied a favored position of superiority over females, and strong family mores governed female behavior. Women’s activities were largely confined to the home, and strict rules limited their public behavior, including access to education and outside employment. Formal rituals of courting, chaperonage, and arranged marriages strictly governed relations between the sexes. Above all, protection of female chastity was critical to maintaining family honor.

Family and kin networks also guided migration patterns, directing precise village flows to specific destinations. During sojourner migrations, the work of women in home villages sustained the family well-being in Italy and allowed male workers to actively compete in the world labor market. In America, the extended family became an important network for relatives to seek and receive assistance. Thus, migration and settlement operated within a context of family considerations.

Attempts to transfer traditional family customs to America engendered considerable tension between generations. More educated and Americanized children ventured to bridge two worlds in which the individualist notions of American society often clashed with their parents' family-centered ethos. Still, strong patterns of in-marriage characterized the second generation, and many of their parents' cultural values were successfully inculcated. These carryovers resulted in a strong attachment to neighborhoods and families, consistent deference to authority, and blue-collar work choices. The second generation, however, began to adopt American practices in terms of family life (seen, for example, in smaller family size and English language usage), and the collective nature of the unit began to break down as the generations advanced.

EDUCATION

The peasant culture placed little value on formal instruction, seeking instead to have children contribute as soon as possible to family earnings. From the peasant perspective, education consisted primarily of passing along moral and social values through parental instruction (the term *buon educato* means "well-raised or behaved"). In southern Italy, formal education was seldom a means of upward mobility since public schools were not institutions of the people. They were poorly organized and supported, administered by a distrusted northern bureaucracy, and perceived as alien to the goals of family solidarity. Proverbs such as "Do not let your children become better than you" spoke to these perceptions, and high rates of illiteracy testified to their power.

These attitudes remained strong among immigrants in America, many of whom planned a quick repatriation and saw little reason to lose children's wages. Parents also worried about the individualist values taught in American public schools. The saying "America took from us our children" was a common lament. Thus, truancy rates among Italians were high, especially among girls, for whom education had always been regarded as unnecessary since tradition dictated a path of marriage, motherhood, and homemaking.

Antagonism toward schools was derived not only from culture, but also from economic need and realistic judgments about mobility possibilities. Given the constricted employment options open to immigrants (largely confined to manual, unskilled labor), and the need for family members to contribute economically, extended schooling offered few rewards. From the parental viewpoint, anything

threatening the family's collective strength was dangerous. Generations frequently clashed over demands to terminate formal education and find work, turn over earnings, and otherwise assist the family financially in other ways. Prior to World War I, less than one percent of Italian children were enrolled in high school.

As the second generation came of age in the 1920s and 1930s and America moved toward a service economy, however, education received greater acceptance. Although the children of immigrants generally remained entrenched in the working class (though frequently as skilled workers), they extended their education, often attending vocational schools, and could be found among the nation's clerks, bookkeepers, managers, and sales personnel. The economic downturn occasioned by the depression resulted in increased educational opportunities for some immigrants since job prospects were limited.

Italian Americans were well situated in post-World War II America to take advantage of the national expansion of secondary and higher education. They hastened to enroll in G.I. Bill programs and in the 1950s and 1960s began to send sons and daughters to colleges. By the 1970s, Italian Americans averaged about 12 years of formal education; in 1991 the group slightly surpassed the national mean of 12.7 years.

RELIGION

Although Italian immigrants were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, their faith was a personal, folk religion of feast days and peasant traditions that often had little to do with formal dogma or rituals. As such, its practices differed greatly from those encountered in America's Irish-dominated Catholic Church. Unlike Irish Americans, most Italians possessed no great reverence for priests (who had sometimes been among the oppressors in Italy) or the institutions of the official Church, and they disliked what they regarded as the impersonal, puritanical, and overly doctrinal Irish approach to religion. As in Italy, men continued to manifest anticlerical traditions and to attend church only on selected occasions, such as weddings and funerals.

For their part, the Irish clergy generally regarded Italians as indifferent Catholics—even pagans—and often relegated them to basement services. The Irish American hierarchy agonized over the "Italian Problem," and suspicion and mistrust initially characterized relations between the groups, leading to defections among the immigrant generation and demands for separate parishes. A disproportionately

Italian Americans honor St. Amato in this Queens, New York, parade.



low presence of Italian Americans in the church leadership today is at least partially a legacy of this strained relationship. Protestant missionaries were not unaware of these developments. Many attempted to win converts, but met with very little success. With the establishment of “national parishes,” however, the Catholic Church hit firmer ground, and Italian parishes proliferated after 1900. In many settlements, parish churches became focal points providing a sense of ethnic identity, a range of social services, and a source of community adhesion.

Italian immigrant Catholicism centered on the local patron saints and the beliefs, superstitions, and practices associated with the *feste*. The *feste* not only assisted in perpetuating local identities, but they also served as a means for public expression of immigrant faith. In the early years, feast days replicated those of the homeland. Festivals were occasions for great celebration, complete with music, parades, dancing, eating, and fireworks displays. At the high point, statues of local saints such as San Rocco, San Giuseppe, or San Gennaro, were carried through the streets of Little Italies in a procession. New Yorker Richard Gambino, in *Blood of My Blood*, recalled the feast days of his youth: “Not long ago there were many such street *feste*. Their aromas of food, the sight of burly men swaying from side to side and lurching forward under the weight of enormous statues of exotic Madonnas and saints laden with money and gifts, the music of Italian bands in uniforms with dark-peaked caps, white shirts, and black ties and the bright arches of colored lights spanning the city streets.... True to the spirit of *campanilismo*, each group of *paesani* in New York had its *festa*. Three *feste* were larger than the

others. Sicilians, especially from the region of Agrigento, went all out for the huge September festival of San Gandolfo. In July, thousands turned out to honor the Madonna del Carmine. And in the fall, Neapolitans paid their respect to the patron of their mother city, San Gennaro.”

Worshippers lined the streets as processions moved toward the parish church, and they vied to pin money on the statue, place gifts on platforms, or make various penances (walking barefoot, crawling, licking the church floor [*lingua strascinuni*], reciting certain prayers). Irish prelates frequently attempted to ban such events, viewing them as pagan rituals and public spectacles. A cluster of beliefs focusing on the folk world of magic, witches, ghosts, and demons further estranged Italians from the church hierarchy. Many immigrants were convinced, for example, of the existence of the evil eye (*malocchio* or *jettatura*), and believed that wearing certain symbols, the most potent of which were associated with horns (*corni*) or garlic amulets, provided protection from its power.

As the second and subsequent generations grew to maturity, most strictly old-world forms of religious observance and belief were discarded, leading to what some have called the “hibernization” of Italian American Catholicism. Many feast day celebrations remain, although, in some cases, they have been transformed into mass cultural events which draw thousands of non-Italians. The San Gennaro *feste* in Manhattan’s Little Italy is a case in point: once celebrated only by Neapolitans, it now attracts heterogeneous crowds from hundreds of miles away.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Throughout the years of mass migration, Italians clustered heavily in the ranks of unskilled, manual labor. In part, this seems to have resulted from cultural preference—men favored outdoor jobs dovetailing old-world skills—and immigrant strategies that sought readily available employment in order to return quickly to Italy with nest eggs. But American employers also imposed the choice of positions since many regarded Italians as unsuited for indoor work or heavy industry. Immigrants thus frequently engaged in seasonal work on construction sites and railroads and in mines and public works projects. Male employment often operated under the “boss system” in which countrymen (*padroni*) served as middlemen between gangs of immigrant workers and American employers. Married women generally worked at home, either concentrating on family tasks or other home-based jobs such as keeping

boarders, attending to industrial homework, or assisting in family-run stores. In larger urban centers, unmarried women worked outside the home in garment, artificial flower, and costume jewelry factories, and in sweatshops and canneries, often laboring together in all-Italian groups.

Some Little Italies were large enough to support a full economic structure of their own. In these locations, small import stores, shops, restaurants, fish merchants, and flower traders proliferated, offering opportunities for upward mobility within the ethnic enclave. In many cities, Italians dominated certain urban trades such as fruit and vegetable peddling, confectioniering, rag picking, shoe-shining, ice-cream vending, and stevedoring. A portion of the immigrants were skilled artisans who typically replicated their old-world crafts of shoemaking and repairing, tailoring, carpentry, and barbering.

The dense concentration of Italian Americans in blue-collar occupations persisted into the second generation, deriving from deliberate career choices, attitudes toward formal education, and the economic dynamics of the nation. Italians had begun to make advances out of the unskilled ranks during the prosperous 1920s, but many gains were overshadowed during the Great Depression. Partially in response to these conditions, Italians—both men and women—moved heavily into organized labor during the 1930s, finding the CIO industrial unions especially attractive. Union memberships among Italian Americans rose significantly; by 1937, the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union (with vice president Luigi Antonini) counted nearly 100,000 Italian members in the New York City area alone. At the same time, women were becoming a presence in service and clerical positions.

The occupational choices of Italian Americans shifted radically after World War II, when structural changes in the American economy facilitated openings in more white collar occupations. Italian Americans were strategically situated to take advantage of these economic shifts, being clustered in the urban areas where economic expansion took place and ready to move into higher education. Since the 1960s, Italian Americans have become solidly grounded in the middle-class, managerial, and professional ranks. As a group, by 1991 they had equalled or surpassed national averages in income and occupational prestige.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Italians were slow to take part in the American political process. Due to the temporary nature of

early migration, few took the time to achieve naturalization in order to vote. Anti-government attitudes, exemplified in the *ladro governo* (“the government as thief”) outlook, also limited participation. Hence, Italian voters did not initially translate into political clout. Early political activity took place at the urban machine level, where immigrants typically encountered Irish Democratic bosses offering favors in return for support, but often blocking out aspiring Italian politicians. In such cities, those Italians seeking office frequently drifted to the Republican Party.

Naturalization rates increased during the 1920s, but the next decade was marked by a political watershed. During the 1930s, Italian Americans joined the Democratic New Deal coalition, many becoming politically active for the first time in doing so. The careers of independent/sometime-Republican Fiorello LaGuardia and leftist Vito Marcantonio benefited from this expansion. As a concentrated urban group with strong union ties, Italians constituted an important component of President Franklin Roosevelt’s national support. The Democratic hold on Italians was somewhat shaken by Roosevelt’s “dagger in the back” speech condemning Italy’s attack on France in 1940, but, overall, the group maintained its strong commitment to the Party. In the early 1970s, only 17 percent of Italian Americans were registered Republicans (45 percent were registered Democrats), although many began to vote Republican in recent presidential elections. Both President Ronald Reagan and President George Bush were supported by strong Italian-American majorities. Overall, the group has moved from the left toward the political center. By 1991, Italian American voter registrations were 35 percent Republican and 32 percent Democratic.

The political ascent of Italian Americans came after World War II with the maturation of the second and third generations, the acquisition of increased education and greater wealth, and a higher level of acceptance by the wider society. Italian Americans were well-represented in city and state offices and had begun to penetrate the middle ranks of the federal government, especially the judicial system. By the 1970s and 1980s, there were Italian American cabinet members, governors, federal judges, and state legislators. Only four Italian Americans sat in Congress during the 1930s, but more than 30 served in the 1980s; in 1987 there were three U.S. Senators. The candidacy of Geraldine Ferraro for the Democratic vice presidency in 1984, the high profile of New York governor Mario Cuomo in American political discourse, and the appointment of Antonin Scalia to the Supreme Court are indicative of the group’s political importance.

Since World War II, most Italian Americans have remained largely uninvolved in—even ignorant of—the political affairs of Italy, no doubt a legacy of World War II and the earlier brush with fascism. They have been very responsive, however, to appeals for relief assistance during periodic natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Italians constitute such a large and diverse group that notable individuals have appeared in virtually every aspect of American life.

ACADEMIA

Lorenzo Da Ponte (1747-1838), taught courses on Italian literature at Columbia University and sponsored the first Italian opera house in Manhattan in the 1830s. Prior to becoming president of Yale University in 1977, A. Bartlett Giamatti (1938-1989) was a distinguished scholar of English and comparative literature. He resigned his presidency to become the commissioner of the National Baseball League. Peter Sammartino (1904-1992) taught at the City College of New York and Columbia University before founding Fairleigh Dickinson University. He published 14 books on various aspects of education.

BUSINESS

Amadeo P. Giannini (1870-1949) began a storefront bank in the Italian North Beach section of San Francisco in 1904. Immediately after the 1906 earthquake he began granting loans to residents to rebuild. Later, Giannini pioneered in branch banking and in financing the early film industry. Giannini's Bank of America eventually became the largest bank in the United States. Lido Anthony "Lee" Iacocca (1924–) became president of Ford Motor Company in 1970. Iacocca left Ford after eight years to take over the ailing Chrysler Corporation, which was near bankruptcy. He rescued the company, in part through his personal television ads which made his face instantly recognizable. Iacocca also spent four years as chairman of the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Foundation, which supported the refurbishment of these national monuments.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Frank Capra (1897-1991) directed more than 20 feature films and won three Academy Awards for

Best Director. His films, stamped with an upbeat optimism, became known as "Capra-corn." Capra won his Oscars for *It Happened One Night* (1934), *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), and *You Can't Take It With You* (1938), but he is also well known for *Lost Horizon* (1937), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), and *It's a Wonderful Life* (1947). In addition to directing, Capra served four terms as president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences and three terms as president of the Screen Directors Guild. Francis Ford Coppola (1939–) earned international fame as director of *The Godfather* (1972), an adaptation of Mario Puzo's best selling novel. The film won several Academy Awards, including Best Picture. Among numerous other films, Coppola has made two sequels to *The Godfather*; the second film of this trilogy, released in 1974, also won multiple awards, including an Academy Award for Best Picture.

Martin Scorsese (1942–), film director and screenwriter, directed *Mean Streets* (1973), *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Raging Bull* (1980), and *Good Fellas* (1990), among others, all of which draw from the urban, ethnic milieu of his youth. Sylvester Stallone (1946–), actor, screenwriter, and director, has gained fame in each of these categories. He is perhaps best known as the title character in both *Rocky* (1976), which won an Academy Award for Best Picture (and spawned four sequels), and the *Rambo* series. Don Ameche (1908-1993), whose career spanned several decades, performed in vaudeville, appeared on radio serials ("The Chase and Sanborn Hour"), and starred in feature films. Ameche first achieved national acclaim in *The Story of Alexander Graham Bell* (1941) and appeared in many films, earning an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor for his performance in *Cocoon* (1986). Ernest Borgnine (born Ermes Effron Borgnino, 1915–) spent his early acting career portraying villains, such as the brutal prison guard in *From Here to Eternity*, but captured the hearts of Americans with his sensitive portrayal of a Bronx butcher in *Marty* (1956), for which he won an Academy Award. Borgnine also appeared on network television as Lieutenant Commander Quintin McHale on "McHale's Navy," a comedy series that ran on ABC from 1962 to 1965. Liza Minnelli (1946–), stage, television, and motion picture actress and vocalist, won an Academy Award for *Cabaret* (1972), an Emmy for *Liza with a Z* (1972), and a Tony Award for *The Act* (1977).

LITERATURE

Pietro DiDonato (1911-1992) published the classic Italian immigrant novel, *Christ in Concrete*, in 1939

to critical acclaim. He also captured the immigrant experience in later works, including *Three Circles of Light* (1960) and *Life of Mother Cabrini* (1960). Novelist Jerre Mangione (1909–) wrote *Mount Allegro* (1943), an autobiographical work describing his upbringing among Sicilian Americans in Rochester, New York. Mangione is also noted for his *Reunion in Sicily* (1950), *An Ethnic at Large* (1978), and *La Storia: Five Centuries of the Italian American Experience* (1992), with Ben Morreale. Gay Talese (1932–), began his career as a reporter for the *New York Times*, but later earned fame for his national best-sellers, including *The Kingdom and the Power* (1969), *Honor Thy Father* (1971), and *Thy Neighbor's Wife* (1980). Talese's *Unto the Sons* (1992) dealt with his own family's immigrant experience. The poetry of Lawrence Ferlinghetti (1919–) captured the essence of the Beat Generation during the 1950s and 1960s. His San Francisco bookstore, City Lights Books, became a gathering place for literary activists. John Ciardi (1916-1986), poet, translator, and literary critic, published over 40 books of poetry and criticism and profoundly impacted the literary world as the long-time poetry editor of the *Saturday Review*. Ciardi's translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* is regarded as definitive. Novelist Mario Puzo (1920–) published two critical successes, *Dark Arena* (1955) and *The Fortunate Pilgrim* (1965), prior to *The Godfather* in 1969, which sold over ten million copies and reached vast audiences in its film adaptations. Helen Barolini (1925–), poet, essayist, and novelist, explored the experiences of Italian-American women in her *Umbertina* (1979) and *The Dream Book* (1985).

MUSIC AND ENTERTAINMENT

Francis Albert "Frank" Sinatra (1915-1998), began singing with the Harry James Band in the late 1930s, moved to the Tommy Dorsey Band, and then became America's first teenage idol in the early 1940s, rising to stardom as a "crooner." Moving into film, Sinatra established a new career in acting that was launched in 1946. He won an Academy Award for his performance in *From Here to Eternity* in 1953. Since 1954, Sinatra has made 31 films, released at least 800 records, and participated in numerous charity affairs.

Mario Lanza (1921-1959) was a famous tenor who appeared on radio, in concert, on recordings, and in motion pictures. Vocalist and television star Perry Como (born Pierino Roland Como, 1913–) hosted one of America's most popular television shows in the 1950s. Frank Zappa (1940-1993), musician, vocalist, and composer, founded the influential rock group Mothers of Invention in the

1960s. Noted for his social satire and musical inventiveness, Zappa was named Pop Musician of the Year for three years in a row in 1970-1972.

POLITICS

Fiorello LaGuardia (1882-1947) gained national fame as an energetic mayor of New York City, in which capacity he served for three terms (1934-1945). Earlier, LaGuardia sat for six terms as a Republican representative in the U.S. Congress. Known as "The Little Flower," LaGuardia earned a reputation as an incorruptible, hard working, and humane administrator. John O. Pastore (1912–) was the first Italian American to be elected a state governor (Rhode Island, 1945). In 1950, he represented that state in the U.S. Senate. Geraldine Ferraro (1935–) was the first American woman nominated for vice president by a major political party in 1984 when she ran with Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale. Her earlier career included service as assistant district attorney in New York and two terms in the U.S. Congress. Mario Cuomo (1932–) was elected governor of New York in 1982 and has been reelected twice since then. Prior to his election as governor, Cuomo served as lieutenant governor and New York's secretary of state.

John J. Sirica (1904-1992), chief federal judge, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, presided over the Watergate trials. He was named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1973. Antonin Scalia (1936–) became the first Italian American to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court when he was appointed Associate Justice in 1986. Rudolph W. Giuliani (1944–), served for many years as U.S. Attorney for the southern district of New York and waged war against organized crime and public corruption. In 1993, he was elected mayor of New York City.

RELIGION

Father Eusebio Chino (Kino) (1645-1711) was a Jesuit priest who worked among the native people of Mexico and Arizona for three decades, establishing more than 20 mission churches, exploring wide areas, and introducing new methods of agriculture and animal-raising. Francesca Xavier Cabrini (1850-1917), the first American to be sainted by the Roman Catholic Church, worked with poor Italian immigrants throughout North and South America, opening schools, orphanages, hospitals, clinics, and novitiates for her Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Enrico Fermi (1901-1954), a refugee from Benito Mussolini's fascist regime, is regarded as the "father of atomic energy." Fermi was awarded the 1938 Nobel Prize in physics for his identification of new radioactive elements produced by neutron bombardment. He worked with the Manhattan Project during World War II to produce the first atomic bomb, achieving the world's first self-sustaining chain reaction on December 2, 1942. Salvador Luria (1912-1991) was a pioneer of molecular biology and genetic engineering. In 1969, while he was a faculty member at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Luria was awarded the Nobel Prize for his work on viruses. Rita Levi-Montalcini (1909-) was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1986 for her work in cell biology and cancer research. Emilio Segre (1905-1989), a student of Fermi, received the 1959 Nobel Prize in physics for his discovery of the antiproton.

SPORTS

Joseph "Joe" DiMaggio (1914-1999), the "Yankee Clipper," was voted the Greatest Living Player in baseball. DiMaggio set his 56 consecutive game hitting streak in 1941. (The record still stands.) In a career spanning 1936 to 1951, DiMaggio led the New York Yankees to ten world championships and retired with a .325 lifetime batting average. At the time of his death, Vincent Lombardi (1913-1970) was the winningest coach in professional football, and the personification of tenacity and commitment in American sports. As head coach of the Green Bay Packers, Lombardi led the team to numerous conference, league, and world titles during the 1960s, including two Super Bowls in 1967 and 1968. Rocky Marciano (born Rocco Francis Marchegiano, 1924-1969) was the only undefeated heavyweight boxing champion, winning all his fights. Known as the "Brockton Bomber," Marciano won the heavyweight championship over Jersey Joe Walcott in 1952 and held it until his voluntary retirement in 1956. Rocky Graziano (born Rocco Barbella, 1922-), middleweight boxing champion, is best known for his classic bouts with Tony Zale. Lawrence "Yogi" Berra (1925-), a Baseball Hall of Fame member who played for the New York Yankees as catcher for 17 years, enjoyed a career that lasted from 1946 to 1963. He also coached and managed several professional baseball teams, including the New York Mets and the Houston Astros. Joseph Garagiaola (1926-) played with the St. Louis Cardinals (1946-1951) and several other Major League clubs.

VISUAL ARTS

Frank Stella (1936-) pioneered the development of "minimal art," involving three-dimensional, "shaped" paintings and sculpture. His work has been exhibited in museums around the world. Constantino Brumidi (1805-1880), a political exile from the liberal revolutions of the 1840s, became known as "the Michelangelo of the United States Capitol." Brumidi painted the interior of the dome of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., from 1865 to 1866, as well as numerous other areas of the building. Ralph Fasanella (1914-), a self-taught primitive painter whose work has been compared to that of Grandma Moses, is grounded in his immigrant backgrounds.

MEDIA

PRINT

Since the mid-1800s, more than 2,000 Italian American newspapers have been established, representing a full range of ideological, religious, professional, and commercial interests. As of 1980, about 50 newspapers were still in print.

America Oggi (America Today).

Currently the only Italian-language daily newspaper in the United States.

Contact: Andrea Mantineo, Editor.

Address: 41 Bergentine Avenue, Westwood,
New Jersey 07675.

Telephone: (212) 268-0250.

Fax: (212) 268-0379.

E-mail: americoggi@aol.com.

Fra Noi (Among Us).

A monthly publication in a bilingual format by the Catholic Scalabrini order; features articles on issues primarily of interest to Chicago's Italian community.

Contact: Paul Basile, Editor.

Address: 263 North York Road, Elmhurst,
Illinois 60126.

Telephone: (708) 782-4440.

Italian Americana: Cultural and Historical Review.

An international journal published semi-annually by the University of Rhode Island's College of Continuing Education.

Contact: Carol Bonomo Albright, Editor.

Address: 199 Promenade Street, Providence,
Rhode Island 02908.

Italian Tribune News.

Publishes a heavily illustrated journal that features articles weekly in English on Italian culture and Italian American contributions.

Contact: Joan Alagna, Editor.

Address: 427 Bloomfield Avenue, Newark,
New Jersey 07107.

Telephone: (201) 485-6000.

Fax: (201) 485-8967.

E-mail: italtribnews@viconet.com.

The Italian Voice (La Voce Italiana).

Provides regional, national, and local news coverage; published weekly in English.

Contact: Cesarina A. Earl, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 9, Totowa, New Jersey 07511.

Telephone: (201) 942-5028.

Sons of Italy Times.

Publishes news bi-weekly concerning the activities of Sons of Italy lodges and the civic, professional, and charitable interests of the membership.

Contact: John B. Acchione III, Editor.

Address: 414 Walnut Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19106-3323.

Telephone: (215) 592-1713.

Fax: (215) 592-9152.

E-mail: info@sonsofitalypa.org.

VIA: Voices in Italian Americana.

A literary journal published by Purdue University.

Contact: Fred L. Gardophe, Editor.

Address: Department of Foreign Languages and
Literatures, 1359 Stanley Coulter Hall,
Purdue University, West Lafayette,
Indiana 47907-1359.

Telephone: (765) 494-3839.

Fax: (765) 496-1700.

RADIO**WHLD-AM (1270).**

Broadcasts eight hours of Italian-language programming a week.

Contact: Paul A. Butler.

Address: 2692 Staley Road, Grand Island,
New York 14072.

Telephone: (716) 773-1270.

Fax: (716) 773-1498.

Online: <http://www.wnybiz.com/whld>.

WSBC-AM (1240).

Presents seven hours of Italian-language programming each week.

Contact: Roy Bellavia, General Manager.

Address: 4900 West Belmont Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60641.

Telephone: (773) 282-9722.

WSRF-AM (1580).

Features 12 hours of Italian-language programming weekly.

Contact: Tony Bourne, Program Director.

Address: 3000 S.W. 60th Avenue, Ft. Lauderdale,
Florida 33314.

Telephone: (305) 581-1580.

Fax: (305) 581-1301.

WUNR-AM (1600).

Features 12 hours of programs of ethnic interest.

Contact: Jane A. Clarke.

Address: 160 North Washington Street, Boston,
Massachusetts 02114-2142.

Telephone: (617) 367-9003.

Fax: (617) 367-2265.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

America-Italy Society (AIS).

Fosters friendship between Italy and the United States based upon mutual appreciation of their respective contributions to science, art, music, literature, law, and government.

Contact: Gianfranco Monacelli, President.

Address: 3 East 48th Street, New York,
New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 838-1560.

American Committee on Italian Migration.

A non-profit social service organization advocating equitable immigration legislation and aiding newly arrived Italian immigrants. It sponsors conferences, publishes a newsletter, and disseminates information beneficial to new Italian Americans.

Contact: Rev. Peter P. Polo, National
Executive Secretary.

Address: 373 Fifth Avenue, New York,
New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 679-4650.

E-mail: acimny@aol.com.

American Italian Historical Association.

Founded in 1966 by a group of academics as a professional organization interested in promoting basic research into the Italian American experience; encourages the collection and preservation of primary source materials, and supports the teaching of Italian American history.

Contact: Fred L. Gardaphe, President.
Address: 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island,
 New York 11304.
E-mail: fgardaphe@notes.cc.sunysb.edu.

Italian Cultural Exchange in the United States (ICE).

Promotes knowledge and appreciation of Italian culture among Americans.

Contact: Professor Salvatore R. Tocci, Executive Director.
Address: 27 Barrow Street, New York,
 New York 10014.
Telephone: (212) 255-0528.

Italian Historical Society of America.

Perpetuates Italian heritage in America and gathers historical data on Americans of Italian descent.

Contact: Dr. John J. LaCorte, Director.
Address: 111 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn,
 New York 11201.
Telephone: (718) 852-2929.
Fax: (718) 855-3925.

The National Italian American Foundation.

A nonprofit organization designed to promote the history, heritage, and accomplishments of Italian Americans and to foster programs advancing the interests of the Italian American community.

Contact: Dr. Fred Rotandaro, Executive Director.
Address: 666 Eleventh Street, N.W., Suite 800,
 Washington, D.C. 20001-4596.
Telephone: (202) 638-0220.
E-mail: info@niaf.org.
Online: <http://www.niaf.org>.

Order Sons of Italy in America (OSIA).

Established in 1905, the organization is composed of lodges located throughout the United States. It seeks to preserve and disseminate information on Italian culture and encourages the involvement of its members in all civic, charitable, patriotic, and youth activities. OSIA is committed to supporting Italian-American cultural events and fighting discrimination.

Contact: Philip R. Piccigallo, Executive Director.
Address: 219 E Street, N.E., Washington,
 D.C., 20002.
Telephone: (202) 547-2900.
Fax: (202) 546-8168.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Italian Renaissance Foundation.

Focuses on the contributions of Italian Americans in Louisiana. Its research library also includes the wide-ranging Giovanni Schiavo collection.

Contact: Joseph Maselli, Director.
Address: 537 South Peters Street, New Orleans,
 Louisiana 70130.
Telephone: (504) 891-1904.

The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Contains many documents addressing the Italian American experience in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, most notably the Leonard Covello collection. A published guide to the holdings is available.

Contact: Pamela Nelson, Associate Curator/Registrar.
Address: 18 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia,
 Pennsylvania 19106.
Telephone: (215) 925-8090.
Fax: (215) 925-8195.
E-mail: balchlib@hslc.org.
Online: <http://libertynet.org/~balch>.

The Center for Migration Studies.

Houses a vast collection of materials depicting Italian American activities. It features extensive records of Italian American Catholic parishes staffed by the Scalabrini order. The center also provides published guides to its collections.

Contact: Dr. Lydio F. Tomasi, Director.
Address: 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island,
 New York, 10304.
Telephone: (718) 351-8800.
Fax: (718) 667-4598.
E-mail: cmslft@aol.com.
Online: <http://www.cmsny.org>.

Immigration History Research Center (IHRC), University of Minnesota.

IHRC is the nation's most important repository for research materials dealing with the Italian American experience. The center holds major documentary collections representing a wide cross-section of Ital-

ian American life, numerous newspapers, and many published works. A published guide is available.

Contact: Dr. Rudolph J. Vecoli, Director.

Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul,
Minnesota 55114.

Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

Fax: (612) 627-4190.

Email: ihrc@tc.umn.edu.

Online: <http://www.umn.edu/ihrc>.

**The New York Public Library,
Manuscripts Division.**

Holds many collections relevant to the Italian American experience, most notably the papers of Fiorello LaGuardia, Vito Marcantonio, Gino C. Speranza, and Carlo Tresca.

Address: 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York 10018-2788.

Telephone: (212) 930-0801.

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First generation

Jamaican Americans

cherish traditional

family values, such

as practicing

religion, respecting

elders and marital

vows, being with

one's family in times

of need, supporting

one's family, and

correcting and

punishing one's

disobedient children.

JAMAICAN by N. Samuel Murrell AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

One of the four large islands of the Caribbean archipelago, Jamaica measures 4,441 square miles, slightly smaller than the size of Connecticut. Its mountainous terrain, which exceeds 7,400 feet at its Blue Mountain peak, makes traveling from one end of the island to another more interesting than one would expect. Jamaica's northern shores are lined by many miles of lovely white sand beaches that attract thousands of American, Canadian, and a growing number of European tourists annually. Kingston, the capital and largest English-speaking city south of Miami, is Jamaica's chief commercial and administrative center. The island is well known for its rich-tasting Blue Mountain coffee and its bauxite mining and aluminum processing industries.

Jamaica's motto, "Out of Many, One People," is a national ideal for its diverse population of 2,506,000 in 1990. As many as 90 percent of all Jamaicans can lay claim to African ancestry. About 26 percent of the population is mixed and approximately nine percent is composed of people of Chinese, European, and East Indian descent. Inter-marriage among races over centuries accounts for the diverse physical features of Jamaicans. In addition to English, many Jamaicans speak *Patois* (pronounced *patwa*)—or what Jamaican intellectuals call Jamaican Talk—a mixture of English and African dialects. Jamaica was once called a "Christian country" because approximately 80 percent of its citizens

have some form of association with Christianity. Protestants have traditionally outnumbered Catholics by a wide margin and Rastafarianism, a twentieth-century religious movement, claims a following of approximately eight percent of the population. A number of small Afro-Caribbean, Asian, and Middle-eastern religious groups also exist in Jamaica.

HISTORY

As early as 600 A.D., Jamaica was settled by Arawaks who called the island Xaymaca. In 1494 Columbus claimed the island for Spain and in 1509, Juan de Esquivel began transporting Jamaican Arawaks to Hispaniola as slaves. Within a few decades, the original population, which was made extinct by European disease, kidnapping, enslavement, and genocidal methods of war, was later replaced by Africans. From 1509 until the early 1660s Jamaica served as a sparsely populated Spanish-held way station for galleons en route to Cuba and the Spanish Main. It became the headquarters for pirate ships. Whoever controlled the island controlled much of the Southern Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. After a failed expedition to the larger Spanish Caribbean, British Admiral Penn and General Vernables captured the island in 1655 and driving off the Spaniards. Later Spain officially ceded Jamaica to Britain at the Treaty of Madrid, and the British then left the island to the pirates until 1670. During this time, some of the Spaniards' black slaves fled to the hills. Known as *Maroons*, they were an organized band of fierce-fighting fugitive slaves who hampered British rule until a peace treaty was executed with them in 1738.

Britain turned the island into a vast sugar plantation based on slave labor. Since the British one-crop sugar economy in Barbados was in sharp decline by 1650, many planters in Barbados relocated to Jamaica with their slaves. They were followed by hundreds of British colonizers and hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans. By 1730 Jamaica's 75,000 slaves produced 15,500 tons of sugar and the island replaced Barbados as Britain's most prized colony. In 1808 the slave population exceeded 324,000 and produced 78,000 tons of sugar. Oliver Cromwell's government attempted to balance the white to black population ratio by shipping criminals, prisoners of war, prostitutes, and other undesirable persons to Jamaica as a form of punishment and as indentured servants. However, when the slave trade was abolished in 1807, blacks outnumbered whites by as many as ten to one.

Prior to 1834, when slavery was abolished, blacks in Jamaica fought a bitter and often futile

battle to free themselves from the savage institution of slavery. The *Maroons* were well known as Jamaica's only successful black resistance movement. For centuries, they menaced British troops, looted plantations, and carried off slave recruits to the precipitous mountains in retaliation against abuses. Their successful guerrilla warfare abated in 1739 and 1795 when *Maroon* chiefs signed peace treaties with the British government.

As the anti-slavery campaign in Britain heated up in 1830 the slave population gathered in large numbers in Afro-Christian Baptist circles—the most vocal anti-slavery organization in Jamaica—in anticipation of freedom. A different kind of revolt called the Baptist War occurred in Jamaica in 1831. Sam Sharpe, a black Baptist lay preacher, perceived that “free paper” had come but the government was concealing it from the slaves. He led a large revolt in western Jamaica, which resulted in massive destruction of property and a bloody and brutal repression by the government. It is believed that this violent slave resistance, the unprofitability of slavery, and mounting pressure from abolitionists, forced Britain to abolish the institution in 1834.

MODERN ERA

Blacks in post-emancipation Jamaica lived in freedom but had no rights or access to property. They were exploited by the white ruling class and treated with contempt by British governors, whose fiscal policies were designed only to benefit whites. In 1865, the unheeded plea of the peasant masses for farm land erupted into a second major revolt, the Morant Bay Rebellion. This was led by Paul Bogle and supported by George William Gordon, Baptist leaders who became two of Jamaica's national heroes. The suppression of the rebellion by the ruling class was ruthless. A blood thirsty Governor Eyre court-marshaled and executed almost 400 suspects, including dozens of innocent Baptist peasants. In the aftermath, the British government appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry, which found Eyre's penalty “excessive, barbarous, reckless, and criminal.” On December 1, 1865, the secretaries of state for the colonies tore up the Jamaican Constitution and recommended a Crown Colony government for the island. The new political system limited the powers of the governor and the Assembly and allowed Britain to retain direct control over the legislative and executive decisions of the colony. Adversely, however, the Crown Colony government inhibited national leadership and allowed the colonials to dominate and exploit the black masses.

As late as the 1930s the political system continued to be closed to most Jamaicans. In the post World War I period, blacks voiced their discontent by supporting trade unions and other organizations led by young political activists such as Dr. Love (a Jamaican physician and anti-colonialist), Marcus Moziah Garvey, Brian Alves, A.G.S. Coombs, and Alexander Bustamante. The lingering unameliorated political inequity and economic hardship led to the 1938 rebellion in which the working class staged a national strike when the West Indian Sugar Company (WISCO) failed to keep its promises of new jobs, higher wages, and better working conditions in its new massive, centralized factory in Westmoreland. Garvey, Bustamante, William Grant, and Norman Manley played key roles in this organized political agitation, which resulted in better workers' compensation. The strike also put new political leaders in the spotlight and renewed interest in political change. The Peoples' National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) were born in the throes of these upheavals under the Westminster form of government. It was not until 1944 that the country was granted limited self-government and adult suffrage. The Westminster system created the two-party parliamentary democracy that led Jamaica into independence in 1962; it is in effect today under a prime minister, elected by the people, and a governor general (a Jamaican) who represents the Queen.

THE FIRST JAMAICANS IN AMERICA

The documented history of black emigration from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands into the United States dates back to 1619 when 20 voluntary indentured workers arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, on a Dutch frigate. They lived and worked as "free persons" even when a Portuguese vessel arrived with the first shipload of blacks enslaved in 1629. Since Jamaica was a major way station and clearing house for slaves en route to North America, the history of Jamaican immigration in the United States is inseparably tied to slavery and post-emancipation migration.

After 1838, European and American colonies in the Caribbean with expanding sugar industries imported large numbers of immigrants to meet their acute labor shortage. Large numbers of Jamaicans were recruited to work in Panama and Costa Rica in the 1850s. After slavery was abolished in the United States in 1865, American planters imported temporary workers, called "swallow migrants," to harvest crops on an annual basis. These workers, many of them Jamaicans, returned to their countries after harvest. Between 1881 and the beginning of World War I, the United States recruited over

250,000 workers from the Caribbean, 90,000 of whom were Jamaicans, to work on the Panama Canal. During both world wars, the United States again recruited Jamaican men for service on various American bases in the region.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Since the turn of the twentieth century, three distinct waves of Caribbean immigration into the United States have occurred—most of these immigrants came from Jamaica. The first wave took place between 1900 and the 1920s, bringing a modest number of Caribbean immigrants. Official black immigration increased from 412 in 1899 to 12,245 in 1924, although the actual number of black aliens entering the United States yearly was twice as high. By 1930, 178,000 documented first-generation blacks and their children lived in the United States. About 100,000 were from the British Caribbean, including Jamaica. The second and weakest immigration wave occurred between the 1930s and the new immigration policy of the mid-1960s. The McCarran-Walter Act reaffirmed and upheld the quota bill, which discriminated against black immigrants and allowed only 100 Jamaicans into the United States annually. During this period, larger numbers of Jamaicans migrated to Britain rather than to the United States due to the immigration restrictions.

The final and largest wave of immigration began in 1965 and continues to the present. This wave began after Britain restricted immigration in its former black Commonwealth colonies. The 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Reform Act changed the U.S. immigration policy and, inadvertently, opened the way for a surge in immigration from the Caribbean. In 1976, Jamaicans again relocated to the United States in large numbers after Congress increased immigration from the Western Hemisphere to a maximum of 20,000 persons per country. Although about 10,000 Jamaicans migrated to the United States legally from 1960 to 1965, the number skyrocketed in succeeding years—62,700 (1966-1970), 61,500 (1971-1975), 80,600 (1976-1980) and 81,700 (1981-1984)—to an aggregate of about 300,000 documented immigrants in just under a quarter of a century.

At present, Jamaicans are the largest group of American immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean. However, it is difficult to verify the exact number of Jamaican Americans in this country. The 1990 census placed the total number of documented Jamaican Americans at 435,025, but the high Jamaican illegal alien phenomenon and the Jamaican attitude toward census response may

increase that number to 800,000 to 1,000,000 Jamaicans living in the United States. Government statistics report that 186,430 Jamaicans live in New York, but the number is closer to 600,000.

Jamaican migration became so large that it caused a national crisis in Jamaica. The exodus has resulted in a serious “brain drain” and an acute shortage of professionals, such as skilled workers, technicians, doctors, lawyers, and managers, in essential services in Jamaica. For example, the mail often takes one to three months to reach its final destination because of a shortage of postal service supervisors. During the 1970s and early 1980s about 15 percent of the population left the country. In the early 1990s the government began offering incentives to persons with technical, business, and managerial skills to return to Jamaica for short periods of time to aid in management and technical skills training.

REASONS FOR MIGRATING

Jamaicans migrate to the United States for many socio-economic reasons. Migration is encouraged by economic hardship caused by a failing economy based upon plantation agriculture, lack of economic diversity, and scarcity of professional and skilled jobs. Since the nineteenth century Jamaica has had a very poor land distribution track record. The uneven allotment of arable crown lands and old plantations left farmers without a sufficient plot for subsistence or cash crop farming, which contributed to high unemployment statistics and economic hardship. During the 1970s the standard of living declined due to economic inflation and low salaries. When companies and corporations lost confidence in Michael Manley’s Democratic Socialist government and his anti-American rhetoric and close business ties to Cuba, the flight of capital from Jamaica and the shift in U.S. capital investments worsened the situation. Jamaica’s huge foreign debt and the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) restructuring of the economy further exacerbated the island’s economic woes in the 1980s and 1990s. An increase in crime, fueled by unemployment and aggravated by the exporting of criminals from the United States back to Jamaica, forced thousands of Jamaicans to flee the island for safety. Today, unemployment and under-employment continue to rise above 50 percent, wages continue to fall, the dollar weakens, and the cost of goods and services continues to increase.

The Jamaican mentality that one must “go ah foreign” and “return to him country” to “show off” evidence of success has become a rite of passage for thousands of Jamaicans. This began when the Unit-

ed States imported Jamaicans to work on various projects in the 1800s and early twentieth century. Before long, Jamaicans saw migration as an attractive solution to the harsh social and economic conditions on the island. Since 1930 an important part of Rastafarian theology is the idea of repatriation to Africa in order to escape oppression in “Babylon.” However, many Rastas conveniently “followed the star” of the Yankee dollar instead of the “Star of David” (Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia). After 1966, Ethiopia as a haven for Rastafari faded in the bright lights of U.S. metropolitan centers. In addition, many Jamaican students and trainees study at American institutions. Not all return to Jamaica upon completion of their studies. Many stay because of the lack of job opportunities at home and an entrenched British-colonial bias among Jamaica’s elite against American education.

SETTLEMENT

Of the Jamaicans documented in the 1990 census 410,933 reported at least one specific ancestry. Of this number 94.5 percent are persons of first ancestry, and the remaining 5.5 percent are of second ancestry. The regional composition is as follows: 59 percent live in the Northeast; 4.8 percent in the Midwest; 30.6 percent in the South; and 5.6 percent in the West. The Northeast and the South have the largest number of immigrants and are home to most illegal Jamaicans in the United States. Jamaicans refer to Miami and Brooklyn colloquially as “Kingston 22” and “Little Jamaica” respectively. Accessibility, family connections, the help of friends or church, jobs, group psychology (including gangs), access to college and university education, and weather conditions explain the heavy concentration of Jamaican immigrants along the eastern coast.

Jamaicans have a saying, “Anywhere you go in the world you meet a Jamaican.” According to the 1990 census, there are Jamaicans in every state in the Union. The census shows that regionally, there are 30,327 in New England, 223,310 in the middle Atlantic, 18,163 in east north central, 2,698 in the west north central, 121,260 in the south Atlantic, 2,882 in the east south central, 9,117 in the west south central, 2,696 in the mountain region, and 21,571 in the Pacific region.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Jamaican immigrants generally have four options once they arrive in the United States. The first

option is to remain a “bird of passage” by viewing oneself as a temporary alien accumulating some Yankee dollars to return home. The second option is to immerse oneself within the culture and work for the improvement of the African American community. The third option is to settle in white suburbs, secure a good-paying job at a white institution or company, and live a life of being the conspicuous black family in town who enhances the diversity of the community. The fourth option is to engage in academic and professional training while intending to return to Jamaica upon completion. Most early Jamaican immigrants chose the first option because they did not intend to become part of the American mainstream. However, since the 1970s more Jamaicans have sought permanent residence in the United States because of social and economic problems back home.

In addition to adjusting to severe weather variations, especially in northern states, Jamaican immigrants must make many other adjustments to American society. First, they must adjust to their new citizenship or residency. Those who are naturalized American citizens often wrestle with the issue of a split national allegiance to Jamaica and to the United States. Immigrants who are resident aliens enjoy the same privileges as all legal residents and are generally more settled than illegal aliens, who exist in a state of vulnerability—a voice-with-no-vote status in the United States. Thousands of Jamaican American professionals, academics, and skilled workers fall in this category.

A second adjustment must be made to the cultural traditions and social roles of racial or ethnic groups with which the immigrants must identify. Today, Jamaicans enter a more prosperous society than that left behind. However, the first and second waves of immigrants suffered much of the racial prejudices of Jim Crow laws and the economy of pre-civil rights United States. Recent immigrants may not encounter the older blatant forms of segregation, but they suffer from the effects of subtle discrimination and stereotypical perceptions based upon color and ethnicity. Although Jamaica is not immune to color distinctions, immigrants to the United States become much more conscious of their blackness (often as a disadvantage) than they did back home in Jamaica, where blacks are the majority and many are highly respected leaders. In the United States, they must adjust to living in communities where blacks are treated as a numerical, political, social, and economic minority.

Third, Jamaicans also must learn to adjust to life in some of America’s toughest neighborhoods. They become street-wise very early and learn where

to walk and work, and which apartment buildings and neighborhoods to live in. Occasionally, they become victims of inner-city crimes, but many Jamaican youths have penetrated the gangs and drug culture in New York City, Miami, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and Boston. Some are named in organized-crime raids by the FBI and other law-enforcement bodies. Finally, because of their large numbers in many U.S. neighborhoods, uninformed Americans often classify any foreign black with a different accent as Jamaican. When Africans, Haitians, Barbadians, and other groups commit felonies, Jamaicans are often de facto implicated in the act by the media.

CULTURE

Jamaica’s ethnic distinctions are not as large as those of Trinidad, Guyana, or the United States, but Jamaicans are rich in cultural traditions and ethnic diversity. Although the population is predominantly black, small enclaves of East Indians, Chinese, Lebanese, Europeans, Jews, and other ethnic groups enhance the rich cultural heritage of the country. The motto “Out of Many One People” brings Jamaicans together to celebrate a wide range of local, national, and international cultural events throughout the year.

FESTIVALS

The Accompong Maroon festival is kicked off in Accompong, St. Elizabeth, in January. The annual Jamaica Carnival takes place in April and May in Kingston and Negril, respectively; and the Labor Day celebration is observed on May 23. In June, there is a Jamaica Festival National Heroes Tribute at National Heroes Park, in anticipation of National Heroes Day, celebrated on October 17. The Jamaica Festival Performing Arts Final also takes place in June, and the Jamaica Festival Amateur Culinary Arts, as well as the Jamaica Festival Popular Song Contest, are staged at the National Arena in July. Independence Day observed in August is the most celebrated cultural event in Jamaica. The Portland Jamboree follows Independence Day, providing ten days of colorful street parades, parties, street dancing, cultural and sporting events, fashion and cabaret shows.

HOLIDAYS

Jamaicans celebrate religious holidays like Christmas, Good Friday, New Year’s Day, Ash Wednesday, and Easter Monday. Additional holidays include

Bob Marley's Birthday (in February) and Boxing Day. The National Heroes Day celebration occurs on October 17, during which local communities come alive with music, folk dance, and colorful dress. Politicians or other prominent citizens give speeches and pay tribute to fallen heroes at National Heroes Park. The Independence Day celebration is Jamaica's grandest holiday. Between March and August, the Jamaica Cultural Development Commission offers an interesting array of colorful events that exhibit local talents, featuring visual arts, performing arts, and entertainment. On the first Monday in August, a profusion of color and excitement fills the air as community cultural groups showcase their abilities, and preachers and politicians thunder patriotic sermons and speeches. This culminates with the spectacular Grand Gala in Kingston. Jamaican Americans usually observe these holidays by staging their own local activities, such as traveling to Jamaica for the Big Splash. On Labor Day, Jamaican Americans join other Caribbean people during the Carnival celebration in New York.

MUSIC

Many Jamaican festivals celebrate Jamaica's rich musical tradition. In the 1960s, Count Ossie merged native Jamaican, Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-American musical rhythms with rock and other influences to create a distinctively black music called "reggae." This music, which the Rastafarians and Bob Marley popularized, is a plea for liberation and a journey into black consciousness and African pride. Like calypso, reggae began as a working-class medium of expression and social commentary. Reggae is the first distinctly Caribbean music to become global in scope. Each August, Jamaica stages its internationally acclaimed music festival at the Jamworld Center in Kingston. Over the five-day period, the premier music festival of the Caribbean attracts over 200,000 visitors. Each year it features top reggae stars like Ziggy Marley, Jimmy Cliff, Third World, and Stevie Wonder. This is followed immediately by the Reggae Sunfest at the Bob Marley Performing Center in Montego Bay. In the post Lenten period, the streets of Kingston come alive to the pulsating sounds of calypso and soca music. For nine emotionally charged days, local and international artists treat revelers to the best of reggae, soca and calypso "under the tents." During this time, thousands of glittering costumed celebrants revel and dance through the streets in a festive mood. The National Mento Yard is kicked off in Manchester in October with a potpourri of traditional and cultural folk forms which have contributed to Jamaica's rich cultural heritage. Many of these cultural events are



These Jamaican American women are entertaining people with their talent for playing steel drums.

observed by Jamaican Americans in local public celebrations or in the privacy of their homes.

DANCES AND SONGS

Jamaica is known worldwide for its African folk dances, Jan Canoe and Accompong. Jamaica's carnival Jump-up is now very popular in Kingston and Ocho Rios. The National Dance Theater (NDTC), established temporarily in 1962, is a world-renowned troupe that celebrates the unique traditional dance and rich musical heritage of Jamaica and the other Caribbean islands. Under the distinguished leadership of Professor Rex Nettleford, NDTC has made many tours to the United States, Britain, Canada and other countries.

Jamaica also has many other musical forms. Calypso and soca music sway the body of festive dancers to a mixture of Afro-Caribbean rhythms with witty lyrics and heavy metal or finely tuned steel drums. There is also "dub poetry" or chanted verses, "dance hall" music (with rap rhythms, reggae beat, and rude or suggestive lyrics), and Ska, with its emotionally charged, celebrative beat. Jamaican Americans listen to a great variety of music: jazz, reggae, calypso, soca, ska, rap, classical music, gospel, and "high-church" choirs.

CUISINE

The national dish in Jamaica is *ackee and saltfish* (codfish), but curried goat and rice, and fried fish and *barnrny* (a flat, baked cassava bread) are just as

popular and delicious. A large variety of dishes are known for their spicy nature. Patties, which are hot and spicy, turtle soup, and pepper pot may contain meats such as pork and beef, as well as greens such as okra and kale. Spices such as pimento or allspice, ginger, and peppers are used commonly in a number of dishes. Other Jamaican American foods are: plantain, rice and peas, cow-foot, goat head, jerk chicken, pork, oxtail soup, stew peas and rice, run-down, liver and green bananas, *calaloo* and dumplings, *mannish water* from goat's intestine, and hard dough bread and pastries.

Dessert is usually fruit or a dish containing fruit. An example is *matrimony*, which is a mixture of orange sections, star apples, or guavas in coconut cream with guava cheese melted over it. Other desserts are cornmeal pudding, sweet potato pudding, totoes, plantain tarts, and many other "sweet-tooth" favorites. Coffee and tea are popular nonalcoholic beverages, as are carrot juice, roots, and Irish or sea moss, while rum, Red Stripe Beer, Dragon and Guinness stouts are the national alcoholic beverages. In Miami and New York City, especially Flatbush, Nostrand, Utica, and Church Avenues, one sees groceries filled with a variety of other Caribbean foods, including sugar cane, jelly coconut, and yarns, and black American foods that Jamaicans use for supplementary dishes.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Jamaica's traditional folk costume for women is a bandana skirt worn with a white blouse with a ruffled neck and sleeves, adorned with embroidery depicting various Jamaican images. A head tie made of the same bandana material is also worn. Men wear a shirt that is also made of the same fabric. The colors of the national flag are black, green, and gold. However, because of the popularity of the clothes and colors of Rastafari, many people mistake Rastas' colors (red, green, and gold) as Jamaica's national colors. Jamaicans wear their costumes on Independence Day, National Heroes Day, and other national celebrations. In New York, Jamaican Americans participate in the Caribbean Carnival Jamboree and dress in lavish and colorful costumes during the festive celebration.

SPORTS

Jamaica's primary sports are cricket and soccer. Cricket is more than a sport in Jamaica; it is like a religion, a rallying point for the spirit of patriotism, Caribbean unity and pride, and an occasion for national and individual heroism. Other national

sports include horse racing, tennis, basketball, netball, track and field, and triathlon. Some local sports specifically designed for tourists are golf, boating, diving, fishing, and polo.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented medical problems that are unique to Jamaicans. In the 1950s and 1960s, polio appeared in some communities but was later contained by medical treatment. Since the 1980s, drug abuse, alcoholism, and AIDS have also plagued Jamaicans. Crime and economic hardship have taken a heavy toll on the health and life expectancy in Jamaica during the last two decades.

In 1994, the government of Jamaica admitted that most violent crimes committed in the country are drug related. Many of the Caribbean drug kingpins in New York City and Jamaica were trained in the slums of Kingston. The distribution and use of marijuana and crack cocaine accompany Jamaican gang members to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida, Massachusetts, California, and West Virginia, thus perpetuating drug abuse problems.

LANGUAGE

English, Jamaica's official language, is spoken with many variations ranging from British English to Jamaican *Patois*, which is now a language of its own. Jamaicans adapt their speech to the social context of the moment. They speak English in formal discourse or political discussions and shift to Patois in informal conversation and gossip. A large number of people from rural Jamaica, however, experience great difficulty in switching to standard English in formal conversation. In addition, thousands of Jamaicans who live in Brooklyn, speak mainly *Patois*. In recent years, the Rastafarians have developed their own non-Western vocabulary and Afro-Jamaican way of speaking.

PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

Before the 1960s, working-class Jamaicans used numerous *Patois* sayings and verbal expressions, which were usually scorned by the upperclass, and not easily understood by foreigners. In more recent years, the language and its proverbial expressions have been used by most Jamaicans. The use of animal characters is quite frequent in Jamaican proverbs: "When Jon Crow wan go a lowered, im sey a cool breeze tek im;" "When tiger wan' nyam, him seh him favor puss;" "Cow seh siddung nuh

mean res;” “Every dawg have im day;” “Yu see yu neighbor beard on fire, yu tek water an wet yu own;” “When man can’t dance, him say music no good;” “One time nuh fool, but two times fool, him a damn fool;” “Mi t’row mi corn but mi nuh call nuh fowl;” “One one cocoa full basket.”

There are many Anglicized African proverbs that are popular in Jamaica: When the mouse laughs at the cat there is a hole nearby; No matter how long the night, the day is sure to come; No one tests the depth of a river with both feet; He who is bitten by a snake fears a lizard; If you are greedy in conversation you lose the wisdom of your friend; When a fowl is eating your neighbor’s corn, drive it away or someday it will eat yours. Often, the purpose of these sayings is to give caution, play with social and political conventions, make uncomplimentary remarks, crack smutty jokes, or give a new twist to a conversation. They are also used to teach morality, values, and modes of conduct.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Some casual colloquial Jamaican greetings are: “Cool man;” “Wah the man ah seh?” “How di dahta doin’?” “Me soon come man” (See you soon); “Likle more” (See you later); “How you doin’ man?” “Wah ‘appen man?” “Mawning Sah!” “How yu deh do?” Some Rastafari greetings are: “Hail the man,” “I an I,” “Selassi I,” “Jah, Ras Tafari,” and “Hey me bre-dren” (hello brother).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

First generation Jamaican Americans cherish traditional family values, such as practicing religion, respecting elders and marital vows, being with one’s family in times of need, supporting one’s family, and correcting and punishing one’s disobedient children. The emotional bond between parents and children is very strong, often stronger than between spouses. Parents with legal status often are active in civic and political affairs and take an interest in their children’s education by joining the PTA, attending open school board meetings, and participating in programs designed to address racism, crime, and poor SATs. Jamaica was once proud of its high literacy rate but the constant migration of teachers and other professionals has taken a heavy toll on the school system and educational achievement since the 1970s.

Unfortunately, the modern Jamaican immigrant family is plagued by many problems. Immigra-

tion restrictions and financial limitations make it difficult for an entire family to migrate to the United States simultaneously and to keep their family values intact. One parent often precedes the other family members by many years. Jamaican women are more likely than men to migrate to the United States first. The filing of papers for family members becomes a top priority five to ten years after one becomes a permanent citizen. In some cases, during such long periods of separation, parents, especially men, sever ties with their Jamaican family and begin new ones in the United States. Before they migrate, mothers are forced to leave their children with relatives, grandparents, or friends. These children are often left unsupervised in Jamaica and are introduced to drugs and crime at a young age. They rarely remain in school and others who do become very disruptive because they believe they are in the process of migrating and see no need to complete their studies. When they join their parents in inner-city communities in the United States, Jamaican American children are often left on their own for many hours a day while their single parent, who lacks the family support that they had back home, works more than one job to make ends meet. The net result is that a significant number of Jamaican American families suffer a fair amount of dysfunction as part of the migration phenomenon. The situation is rather acute among blue-collar immigrants who migrate to the United States. Quite often, their children find it difficult to adjust to the new social setting and the resentment which they encounter from students and teachers in the American school environment.

WEDDINGS

Most Jamaican American weddings follow Christian tradition. an engagement period lasts a few months or years. Traditionally, in Jamaica the bride’s parents were responsible for supplying the bridal gown and the reception; the groom and his parents provided the ring and the new home. In the United States, substantial variation in this practice exists due to changes in family structure and values. In many cases, the parties are already cohabiting and the wedding ceremony, often performed by a judge or Justice of the Peace, only legalizes the relationship. However, lovers who are practicing Christians do not live together before marriage and the wedding ceremony is performed in a chapel or church. Traditionally, the bride wears white as a sign of chastity, and large numbers of people are invited to observe the ceremony. In rural Jamaica, weddings are community events—the community feels that they are a part of the couple’s life and they

These three young Jamaican Americans are performing in the Liberty Weekend Festival in New York.



view a public invitation to observe the ceremony also as an invitation to attend the reception, which includes lots of food and a large supply of rum and other beverages. In the United States, however, the ceremony and reception are kept within a small circle of close friends and relatives.

The wedding menu usually includes traditional Jamaican cuisine. It starts off with *mannish water*—a soup made from goat tripe (intestine). Guests are often given a choice of curry goat and white rice, rice and peas or kidney beans with fried chicken, or stewed chicken or beef for the main course. A light salad is served with the meal along with sorrel or rum punch. After the meal, the wedding cake is cut and served to the guests. It is usually a black cake with dried fruits presoaked in rum or wine and decorated with icing. Among the poorer people, port wine is used for toasting the couple. Some weddings include dancing by the bride and groom as well as guests and revelry, which can go into the wee hours of the morning.

BAPTISMS

Jamaicans practice two types of baptisms: infant baptism and adult baptism. Among Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, and Methodists, an infant is baptized into the body of believers and of Christ by sprinkling water on its head. When the child reaches the age of accountability, a confirmation ceremony is performed. In other Protestant-Christian and Afro-Caribbean Christian traditions, the infant is blessed

at “dedication” but baptized only after faith is confessed voluntarily in Christ. In this baptism by immersion, the “initiate” is submerged bodily under the water by a minister of religion or elder of the faith, in a river, the sea, or a baptismal font located near the sanctuary.

FUNERALS

Jamaican funeral rituals and beliefs are influenced by African, Caribbean, and European-Christian traditions. The basic West African-Jamaican and Christian beliefs concerning death are as follows: the individual has three components—body, soul, and spirit; death marks the end of mortal life and the passage into immortality; at death, the spirit returns to the Supreme God where it joins other spirits; and the deceased’s shadow or *duppy* wanders for several days, after which it is laid to rest through special rites. Consequently, Jamaican Christians and Afro-centric religions (Myalism, Pocomania, Shango) bury their dead after performing special rites or a formal church service. A Catholic priest gives the last rites to the dying and may offer a mass for a soul that departed to purgatory before making peace with God. In Jamaica, the high-church Protestants have stately funerals for their communicants who are prominent citizens. Around election time, these funerals are usually attended by high-ranking government officials and distinguished persons in the community. On the night before the funeral, there is a wake for the dead in which friends and family come to offer condolences, sing dirges, and “drink up.”

A highlight of the funeral in Afro-centric religions is the “Nine Night” service, conducted to ensure that the shadow of the deceased does not return on the ninth evening after death to visit with family members. In most funerals, it is a custom for men to carry the corpse in a coffin on their shoulders. During the funeral, a phase of ritual mourning and howling in a sorrowful manner occurs. An offering of libation and sacrifices accompanies communication with the deceased at the gravesite. A phase of ritual joy mixed with mourning precedes and follows the interment, which is concluded with a second ceremony at the gravesite. Funeral rites involve dancing, singing, music, and grand incantations. There are often elaborate superstitious grave decorations to fend off evil spirits or bad omens from the deceased who lived a wicked life.

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

Working-class Jamaican Americans have certain characteristics that set them apart from other groups. They dress differently (especially the Rastas), speak with a different accent, favor certain types of foods, and in some parts of New York City and Miami live as a self-contained group with distinct social and economic habits. They use special verbal expressions and linguistic codes to communicate (mostly in *Patois*). They are a hard-working and confident people, proud of their Jamaican heritage and the international reputation Jamaica receives from reggae and sports. Although often described as very assertive and not easily dominated, Jamaican immigrants generally establish good relations with other groups in their community. Jamaicans own or operate most of the successful Caribbean businesses in communities where they live. They are able to maintain strong friendly social, religious, economic, and political ties with both black and white American institutions and communities simultaneously. Many of the Caribbean nurses and nurses aides are Jamaican; and Jamaican American scholars and professionals establish collegial relations at American universities, colleges, and other institutions of learning.

On the other hand, Jamaican immigrants and native-born African Americans often misunderstand each other as a result of stereotypes and misconceptions, which often leads to intraracial conflict. For example, some Jamaicans believe that their attitudes of hard work, community building, and family values are superior to that of African Americans. Jamaicans see themselves as more ambitious and greater achievers than African Americans. Caribbean people also believe that they have healthier relations with whites than that of their

counterparts because they do not carry anti-white rhetoric into all social, political, and economic discussions. Some American blacks see Jamaicans as interlopers who are making it more difficult for African Americans to find jobs and live peacefully in their neighborhoods. The fact that Jamaican Americans have dual national allegiance and, as a result, often pursue a different social and political agenda from other African Americans, adds to the misunderstanding.

Evidence shows that with time, many of the differences between African Americans and Jamaican Americans will become less distinct. Marriage patterns, for example, demonstrate that first-generation Jamaicans marry and have relations with other Jamaicans, while second and third generations tend to marry African Americans as well. This is due to their contact in school, interaction in their living environments, and that the second and third generation Jamaican Americans have lived in the United States all their lives and share very similar life experiences with African Americans. The combined efforts of Jamaicans and African Americans to deal with racial incidences and injustice in their neighborhoods also helps to improve relations.

RELIGION

The majority of Jamaica’s population is Christian with small Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, and Bahai communities. The older, established Christian denominations are Baptist, Methodist, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Moravian, and the United Church (Presbyterian and Congregationalist). Jamaica’s most vibrant religious experience comes from the less formal or liturgical Protestant religious confessions: the Pentecostals, Church of God, Associated Gospel Assembly, Open Bible Standard Churches, Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovah Witnesses, the Missionary church, and a number of independent churches all of which are called “Evangelical.”

A number of African Caribbean revivalist religious groups also exist in Jamaica, which survived under slavery. Among these are Myalism, Bedwardism (founded by Alexander Bedward in 1920), Pocomania Kurnina, Nativism or the Native Baptist church, and Rastafarianism. Myalism is a religion with African origins. It is one of the oldest religions from Africa and involves the practice of magic and spirit possession. It is community-centered and refuses to accept negatives in life such as sickness, failure, and oppression. Kumina, which is related to Mayalism, began around 1730. Membership into Kumina “bands” is inherited at birth rather than by conversion or voluntary member-

ship. The Native Baptist church began as an indigenous church among black American slaves who were taken to Jamaica by their owners when they migrated to the island as Baptist loyalists. One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Native Baptist church is immersion baptism.

Rastafari is Jamaica's most famous Afro-Caribbean religion. It was founded in 1930 by wandering Jamaican preachers who were inspired by the teachings of Marcus Garvey, a political activist. Rastas established their beliefs on messianic interpretations of Christian scripture and the idea that Haile Selassie, the former Emperor of Ethiopia, is divine. Distinguishing features of Rastafari are the wearing of dreadlocks and loose-fitting clothes. The movement has made its presence felt on every continent. There are about 800,000 Rastas and Rasta supporters in the United States, about 80,000 of whom live in Brooklyn.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Jamaican American employment is quite diverse. A large number of older Jamaican women work for low wages taking care of predominantly white senior citizens in American metropolitan cities. However, many Jamaican Americans bring technical and professional skills with them to the United States, which often allow them to secure better paying jobs than other blacks. Before 1970, white-owned institutions and corporations tended to hire skilled and highly educated Jamaicans in preference to black Americans. This gave American blacks the distinct impression that Jamaicans were specially favored in the job market.

Both Caribbean and American blacks suffer job discrimination in the United States. Jamaican immigrants who are illegal aliens or who are in a transitional stage of residency are particularly vulnerable to injustice and exploitation. Often, unskilled immigrants work for long hours in two or three part-time low-paying jobs in order to survive. However, a significant number of Jamaican Americans are successful in entrepreneurial enterprises. In New York City, many have benefited from affirmative action policies in housing and jobs in Flatbush, Crown Heights, Bedford Stuyvesant, and elsewhere. Some Jamaicans have used the open enrollment at the City University of New York to improve their skills in order to obtain higher paying jobs and upward mobility.

After the late 1970s, Jamaican businesses in New York City proliferated, including grocery

stores, parlors, and shops, restaurants, travel agencies, realtor brokerages, bakeries, bars, beauty salons, music and record shops, and disco and dance clubs. A number of Jamaicans are subcontractors in building construction, masonry, carpentry, woodwork and cabinet making, electrical wiring, plumbing, heating and central air installations, printing, typing and stenographic services. Jamaican professional businesses include computer consulting and training in word processing, law firms, private medical practices, immigration agents or counselors.

Crime has become such a way of life in Jamaica that in the post independence period, both of the ruling parties, the JLP and the PNP, recruited gangsters to "eliminate" opponents in electoral districts, stuff ballot boxes to control election results, hand pick the tenants for scarce housing, launder money, and funnel government jobs to supporters. Since the late 1970s, the gangs have had almost unlimited power in Jamaica and are now bodyguards for government officials. They prey on the defenseless and vulnerable and compete with rivals for turf, both in Jamaica and the United States. In recent years, the U.S. government has adopted a policy of deporting violent Jamaican criminals who are now a serious menace to national security.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Jamaicans have been involved in issues of political significance in the United States since the early 1800s. In 1827, Jamaican-born John B. Russwurm co-founded and co-edited the first black press in America, *Freedom's Journal*. Russwurm's vocal political views and anti-slavery criticism forced him to leave the paper under pressure from contributors and his own colleagues. After slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834, a number of Jamaicans supported the Back to Africa movement and worked for the abolition of American slavery in collaboration with their black counterparts in the United States.

This political activity led to the founding of the Pan-African Movement, which Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Dubois championed. Garvey attracted the largest single political gathering in American history prior to the Civil Rights March on Washington. He spurred blacks in Harlem into political action with self-confidence and black pride. He established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which helped to cement the bonds of racial consciousness between American and Caribbean blacks. The majority of Garvey's

UNIA in the United States comprised West Indians, especially from Jamaica. Garvey's movement intimidated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which envied the power and support that Garvey enjoyed before he was arrested on charges of alleged embezzlement and later incarcerated in Atlanta, Georgia. After Garvey was deported in the late 1920s, he established the Peoples' Political Party (PPP), which called for many reforms, including minimum wages, guaranteed employment, social security benefits, workers' compensation, the expropriation of private lands for public use, land reform, and the creation of a Jamaican university. While working in the American political context, W. A. Domingo, a Jamaican-born Harlem Renaissance figure and writer, supported black rights and advocated Jamaican independence in the Caribbean. Domingo did not want to emphasize the differences between African Americans and West Indian Americans, because both are black and experience some of the same effects of racial oppression and discrimination.

The influences of Jamaican politics and culture on places like New York City, East Orange, Miami, and elsewhere extend beyond the mere establishment of cultural enclaves. Jamaicans were very vocal and assertive during the early twentieth century black struggle, often paving the way for new black professional opportunities not previously open to blacks. Jamaican Americans who experience racial discrimination in the work-place, in their neighborhoods, and in their communities, combine political efforts to address the concerns of the entire black population. In the 1930s, Jamaican-U.S. political activity reached a new level as Jamaican, Trinidadians, Guyanese, and other Caribbean immigrants began playing an important role in the Democratic Party in New York City. Years later, Una Clarke, a Jamaican-born educator who won one of New York's predominantly Caribbean districts, rose to be one of the prominent Jamaican American politicians in New York.

POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH JAMAICA

Jamaica and the United States have never engaged in a major military confrontation. U.S. involvement in Jamaica includes little intervention. There has never been a need for a "Bay of Pigs" invasion, as in Cuba, a "vertical insertion," as in Grenada, or a military occupation as in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The United States did not contemplate annexing Jamaica as it did with Puerto Rico and Cuba in the Spanish Cuban American War of 1898. The United States also did not have military

bases in Jamaica as it did in Trinidad. The relationship between Kingston and Washington has been very cordial, except for a period under Michael Manley's administration. Today, American tourists frequently visit the island in large numbers, adding substantially to the economy. A busy flow of air traffic exists between Jamaica and United States as Jamaicans make frequent business trips to the United States. Immigrants make regular remittances to family and relatives in Jamaica and visit their "land of origin" regularly. Many of them maintain dual residence and vote in local elections.

In recent decades, the U.S. government has used economic and diplomatic clout to influence political and fiscal direction in Jamaica. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the U.S. government used clandestine activities to destabilize Manley's democratic socialist government. Consequently, Washington came under heavy criticism from Jamaican political analysts and politicians for supporting political violence in Jamaica during elections.

MILITARY

Jamaican membership in the U.S. Armed Forces began during World War I and continued during World War II. Jamaicans both in America and on the island were recruited for service in Europe and some of them were stationed at U.S. bases in the region. Since then, Jamaican Americans have worked in many different wings of the Armed Forces. During the Gulf War, the Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell (born in New York City in 1937) was recognized as the America's most eminent second-generation Jamaican American. He served his country in the Armed Forces with academic and political distinction. He became a household name under the Bush administration and earned the admiration and respect of the nation; Random House paid the retired four-star general \$6.5 million to publish his memoirs.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Jamaican immigrants contribute substantially to American political, cultural, religious, and educational life. Jamaican-born writers, athletes, teachers, musicians, poets, journalists, artists, professors, sports writers, actors, and other professionals who have lived in the United States have greatly enriched the American culture in many ways.

ACADEMIA

Jamaican-born John B. Russwurm was one of the first blacks to enter an American academy; he graduated with a B.A. from Baldwin College in 1826; Russwurm distinguished himself as the co-founder of *Freedom's Journal*, black America's first newspaper. Jamaican-born Leonard Barrett lived most of his adult life in the United States and taught at Temple University and other institutions for more than 30 years. Jamaican-born Orlando Patterson, professor of sociology at Harvard University, and economist George Beckford are recognized as leading social scientists in America.

FILM, TELEVISION, THEATER, AND OTHER VISUAL ARTS

Jamaicans have made contributions to the film and television industry in the United States. Louise Bennett-Coverly, better known as "Miss Lou," Jamaica's premier and world-renowned folklorist, has lived and performed in the United States for many years. She was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1919 and became a performer of stories, songs, and rhymes. At the age of 14, she began to write and dramatize poems using *patois* rather than standard English. In 1996, she marked her sixtieth anniversary as a performer of poetry, story, and song. For her 50 years of contribution to Caribbean culture, she was named Jamaica's national poet and poet laureate in 1986. Her dramatic style, physical presence, and debonair theatrical equity have made her a legend in Jamaican and Jamaican American theater and has brought distinction to Jamaican *patois* on stage.

Other Jamaican American folklorists like Ranny Williams and Leonie Forbes have made a substantial contribution to the performing arts. Choreographer, scholar, literature laureate, and performer, Rex Nettleford, now vice chancellor of the University of the West Indies, has taken the Caribbean's premier National Dance Theater Company (NDTC) around the world and performed with distinction. The NDTC has won several awards and made several tours of the United States. The Sister Theater Group has also made several U.S. tours. The comedian Oliver Samuels has starred in *Oliver At Large* and *Doctors in Paradise*.

JOURNALISM

Modern Jamaican American journalists who have lived and studied in the United States are John Maxwell, John Heame, Barbara Gloudon (former editor of the *Jamaica Gleaner* and the *Star*), Ronnie

Thwaites, Adrian Robinson, Dennis Hall, and Morris Cargill (columnist). Carl Williams, editor and founder of *Black Culture* (1989), lives and works in the United States. Winston Smith, who lives in Brooklyn, works with *The Paper*.

LITERATURE

A number of contemporary Jamaican American scholars are well known in the field of literature. Claude McKay migrated from Jamaica to the United States in 1912 and became an important voice in the Harlem Renaissance; he wrote many novels, among them *Banana Bottom* and *This Island*. Many Jamaican poets have distinguished themselves in the field of literature: Adriza Mandiela wrote *Life of the Caribbean Immigrant*, *Living in America*. Louise Bennett-Coverly, poet laureate, has written dozens of poems and books on Caribbean life. Two literature laureates and scholars, Rex Nettleford and Sir Arthur Lewis, are well known in the United States. Afoa Cooper, Lillian Allen, Oliver Senior, Mutabaruka, Linton Kwasi Johnson, Gene Binta, Breeze, Opaimier Adisa, D'Janette Sears, Michael Smith, and a-dziao Simba, who wrote *25.40 P.M. Past Morning*, are only a few of the dozens of outstanding Jamaican American poets of modern times. Sheila Winter taught literature at Princeton University and Sir John Mordecai was a visiting professor at the same institution.

MUSIC

Well-known Rasta artists are: The Wailers, Big Youth, We the People, Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus, Peter Tosh, The I Threes, Light of Saba, and United Africa. Reggae rhythms are so popular and powerful that jazz musicians in Jamaica and the United States—Herbie Mann, Sonny Rollins, Roberta Flack, Johnny Nash, Eric Clapton, and Lennie Hibbert—are exploiting the potential of Rasta music with huge financial success. Other well-known Jamaican music stars are: Marjorie Wiley, a Jamaican folklorist, musician, and dancer; Marcia Griffiths, Tiger, Shine Head, and Freddie McGregor.

SPORTS

A number of Jamaicans and Jamaican Americans have excelled in international competition and carried home many trophies. Sir Herbert McDonald was an Olympian; Donald Quarrie won the 200 and the 4 x 100 meters Olympic Gold Medal; Marlene Ottey won the 200 and the 4 x 100 meters. Some of the world's most outstanding cricketers were Jamaicans; they include: O. J. Collier Smith, Alfred Valentine,

Roy Gilcrist, Michael Holding, Easton McMorris, Franze Alexander, and George Headley, who was born in Panama in 1909, transported to Cuba, grew up in Jamaica and lived in the United States.

MEDIA

PRINT

Caribbean Newsletter.

First published October 1, 1980, as "Friends for Jamaica," this quarterly acts as the voice of Friends for Jamaica, "a small collective of New York City residents" which supports the struggles of Jamaican workers and peasants. Also concerned with "the struggles of people in other countries in the English-speaking Caribbean." Contains articles on political, economic, social, and agricultural issues.

Address: Friends for Jamaica, Box 20392,
Cathedral Finance Station, New York,
New York 10025.

There are many other newspapers and tabloids in the United States that cater to the Jamaican population in America. The journal *Cimmarron*, published by the City University of New York, discusses a variety of Caribbean issues, as does the Afro-centric magazine, *Black Culture*. *Everybody's Magazine* has a very wide readership, as does *New York Carib News*, founded in 1981 by Karl Rodney, the former president of the Jamaican Progressive Party. Additional publications include *Viewpoint* and *The Paper*. These publications provide news about different aspects of Jamaican life such as politics, current events, sports, and other issues of importance to the Caribbean. Newspapers also cover issues and concerns facing Caribbean Americans in the United States. The *Jamaican Gleaner* and *The Star* are favorite daily papers in Miami and New York City.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

Jamaicans in the United States and Jamaica also receive up-to-the-minute news on CNN, C-Span, and other television stations in the international network. At the same time, the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) and Jamaican radio stations (like RJR) supply Jamaican Americans with current news of the island.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Various organizations and funds exist to help Jamaican Americans. These include the St. Vincent Benefit and Education Fund, Jamaican Nurses Association and the Jamaican Policemen's School Alumni Association of New York. The Brooklyn Council on the Arts, Caribbean Festival, The Jamaican Association of Greater Cleveland, The Cleveland Cricket Club, The New York Cricket Club (of Brooklyn), and The Third World Foundation located in Chicago are additional Jamaican organizations. Several Jamaican American clubs and organizations comprise alumni of several high schools in Jamaica, including MICA Old Student Association (MOSA), Cornwall College Association (CCA), St. Hughes High School Alumni Association (SHHAA), and the Montego Bay Boys Alumni Association (MBBAA).

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The economic
position and
socioeconomic
mobility of Japanese
Americans is much
higher now than
at any time in
American history.

JAPANESE AMERICANS

by
Stanley E. Easton and
Lucien Ellington

OVERVIEW

A country slightly larger than the United Kingdom (about the size of California), Japan lies off the eastern coast of the Asian continent. An archipelago, Japan consists of four main islands—Honshū, Hokkaidō, Kyūshū, and Shikoku—as well as 3,900 smaller islands. Japan has a total land area of 145,825 square miles (377,688 square kilometers). Much of Japan is extremely mountainous and almost the entire population lives on only one-sixth of the total land area. Of all the world's major nations, the Japanese have the highest population density per square mile of habitable land. Japan has virtually no natural resources except those found in the sea. To Japan's north, the nearest foreign soil is the Russian-controlled island of Sakhalin while the People's Republic of China and South Korea lie to the west of Japan.

The word, "Japan," is actually a Portuguese misunderstanding of the Chinese pronunciation of the Chinese term for the country. The actual name for the country is Nippon or Nihon ("source of the sun"). Japan has a population of approximately 124 million people. By the standards of other nations, the Japanese are one of the most homogeneous people on earth. Under two million foreigners (less than one percent of the total Japanese population) live in Japan. Koreans constitute well over one-half of resident minorities. There are also two indigenous minority groups in Japan, the Ainu and the

Burakumin. The Ainu, a Caucasian people, number around 24,381 and live mainly in special reservations in central Hokkaidō. Ethnically, the approximately two million Burakumin are no different than other Japanese, but have traditionally engaged in low-status occupations; and although they have the same legal status as their fellow citizens, they are often discriminated against. Shinto, an indigenous religion, is the most popular spiritual practice in Japan, followed by Buddhism, a Korean and Chinese import. Followers of other religions constitute less than one percent of the Japanese population. Culturally, the Japanese are children of China but have their own rich native culture and have also borrowed extensively from Western countries. Tokyo is Japan's capital and largest city. The national flag of Japan is a crimson disc, symbolizing the rising sun, in the center of a white field.

HISTORY

The oldest identified human remains found in Japan date from upper Paleolithic times of the last glacial period, about 30,000 B.C. While there is some dispute, most historians believe that political unity in Japan occurred at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The Yamato chiefs who unified the country developed an imperial line, which is the oldest in the world. However, early in Japanese history, emperors lost political authority. Compared to China, ancient and medieval Japan was undeveloped culturally. From early in Japanese history many Chinese imports, including architecture, agricultural methods, Confucianism, and Buddhism, profoundly influenced the Japanese. The Japanese established a pattern that still exists of selectively importing foreign customs and adapting them to the archipelago. Medieval and early modern Japan was marked by long periods of incessant warfare as rival families struggled for power. While power struggles were still occurring, the Japanese had their first contact with Europe when Portuguese traders landed off southern Kyūshū in 1543. In 1603, through military conquest, Tokugawa Ieyasu established himself as ruler of the entire country. Early in the Tokugawa era, foreigners were expelled from Japan and the country was largely isolated from the rest of the world until Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the U.S. Navy forced Japan to open its doors in 1853.

MODERN ERA

Japan's modern history began in 1868 when a number of citizens led by Satsuma and Chosū domains



overthrew the Tokugawas. In the decades that followed Japan feverishly modernized in an attempt to end Western efforts at dominance. By the early twentieth century, Japan possessed a rapidly industrializing economy and a strong military. At first the rest of Asia was excited by Japan's rise. However, the militarization of Japan in the 1930s, and Japan's attempt to dominate the rest of Asia, resulted in the Pacific War that pitted much of Asia and a number of Western countries (including the United States) against Japan. In August 1945, a devastated Japan accepted the surrender terms of the Allied powers. The subsequent American occupation resulted in major political and economic change as Japan became a democracy, renounced militarism, and resumed its impressive economic growth. Today, Japan is a stable democracy among the world's economic superpowers.

MIGRATION TO HAWAII AND AMERICA

In 1835, American settlers established the sugar plantation system in Hawaii, which was then an independent monarchy. The sugar plantations required large numbers of workers to cultivate and harvest the cane fields and to operate the sugar refineries. Beginning in 1852, the plantation owners imported Chinese laborers. In many ways, this "coolie" trade resembled the African slave trade.

By 1865, many of the Chinese were leaving the plantations for other jobs. Hawaii's foreign minister, a sugar planter, wrote to an American businessman in Japan seeking Japanese agricultural workers. On

The Japanese samurai is a very respectable warrior. Those who immigrated to the United States no longer had a need for the traditional costume, but they were worn occasionally for celebrations or ceremonies.

May 17, 1868, the *Scioto* sailed from Yokohama for Honolulu with 148 Japanese—141 men, six women, and two children—aboard. These laborers included samurai, cooks, *sake* brewers, potters, printers, tailors, wood workers, and one hairdresser. Plantation labor was harsh; the monthly wage was \$4, of which the planters withheld 50 percent. The ten-hour work days were hard on the soft hands of potters, printers, and tailors. Forty of these first Japanese farm laborers returned to Japan before completion of their three-year contracts. Once back home, 39 of them signed a public statement charging the planters with cruelty and breach of contract.

On May 27, 1869, the Pacific Mail Company's *China* brought a party of samurai, farmers, tradesmen, and four women to San Francisco. These Japanese had been displaced from their homes by the ending of the Tokugawa shogunate and the restoration of the Meiji emperor. Followers of lord Matsudaira Katamori established the 600-acre Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony on the Sacramento River at Placerville. The colony failed in less than two years because the mulberry trees and tea seedlings perished in the dry California soil. A few of the settlers returned to Japan while the rest drifted away from the colony seeking new beginnings. Such were the origins of the first-generation Japanese (*Issei*) on Hawaiian and American shores.

EFFORTS TO BAN JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

The U. S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, prohibiting further Chinese immigration. In 1886, Hawaii and Japan signed a labor convention that led to large numbers of Japanese contract workers in Hawaii and student laborers in California. The increase of Japanese in California gave rise to an anti-Japanese movement and a 1906 San Francisco school board order segregating Japanese American students. Ninety-three students of Japanese ancestry and a number of Korean students were ordered to attend the school for Chinese. The Japanese government was insulted. President Theodore Roosevelt, wishing to maintain harmonious relations with Japan, condemned anti-Japanese agitation and the school segregation order. He advocated naturalization of the *Issei*, but never sponsored introduction of a bill to accomplish it. Political reaction against Roosevelt in California was fierce. Several anti-Japanese bills were introduced in the California legislature in 1907. President Roosevelt called San Francisco school officials and California legislative leaders to Washington. After a week of negotiations, the Californians agreed to allow most Japanese children (excluding overage students and those with limited English) to attend regular public schools.

Roosevelt promised to limit Japanese labor immigration. In late 1907 and early 1908 Japan and the United States corresponded on the matter. Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers in the United States. The United States allowed Japanese who had already been to America to return and agreed to accept immediate family members of Japanese workers already in the country. This was the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement."

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement some Japanese migration to the United States continued. Between 1908 and 1924, many of the immigrants were women brought by husbands who had returned to Japan to marry. Between 1909 and 1920, the number of married Japanese women doubled in Hawaii and quadrupled on the mainland. Most of the Japanese women who migrated to Hawaii and the U. S. during that period were "picture brides." Marriages were arranged by parents. Go-betweens brokered agreements between families. Couples were married while the bride was in Japan and the groom was in the United States. Husband and wife met for the first time upon their arrival at the pier in Honolulu, San Francisco, or Seattle, using photographs to identify one another. This wave of immigration changed the nature of the Japanese American community from a male migrant laborer community to a family-oriented people seeking permanent settlement.

By 1924, many Americans favored restricting immigration through a quota system aimed primarily at restricting European immigration without discriminating against any country. Such a bill passed the U.S. House of Representatives in April 1924. U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson of California, however, wanted a ban on all immigration from Japan. Hoping to avoid offending the Japanese government further, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes asked the Japanese ambassador to write a letter summarizing the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908 since its provisions were not widely known. Ambassador Masanao Hanihara wrote the letter and included an appeal to the senators to reject any bill halting Japanese immigration. He referred to "the grave consequences" that exclusion would have upon relations between his country and the United States. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who chaired the Foreign Relations Committee, called Hanihara's letter a "veiled threat" and led the Senate to incorporate Japanese exclusion into the immigration bill. President Coolidge signed the Immigration Act of 1924, including the ban on further Japanese immigration, into law on May 24. Japanese immigration was curtailed until 1952, except for post World War II Japanese brides of U.S. servicemen.

POST WORLD WAR II IMMIGRATION

In 1952 the McCarran-Walter Act allowed immigration from South and East Asia. The new law ended Japanese exclusion, but was still racially discriminatory. Asian countries were allowed 100 immigrants each, while immigration from European countries was determined by the national origins quotas of the Immigration Act of 1924. The McCarran-Walter Act also repealed the racial clauses in the naturalization law of 1790 that forbade non-white immigrants from obtaining American citizenship. Over 46,000 Japanese immigrants, including many elderly Issei, became naturalized citizens by 1965.

The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the national origin quotas and annually permitted the admission of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. Twenty thousand immigrants per year per Asian country were allowed to enter the United States. This law opened the way for the second wave of Asian immigration and resulted in a new composition of the Asian American population. In 1960, 52 percent of the Asian American population were Japanese American. In 1985 only 15 percent of Asian Americans were Japanese. Between 1965 and 1985, there were nearly four times as many Asian immigrants as there had been between 1849 and 1965.

MODERN ERA

According to the 1990 census figures, there were 847,562 Japanese Americans in the United States. About 723,000 of the Japanese Americans lived in the West, 312,989 of those in California. Today there are Japanese Americans located in each of the 50 states.

Recent decades have brought not only legal and institutional changes but positive attitudinal change on the part of many white Americans toward Japanese Americans. The combination of legal and attitudinal change, along with the higher levels of education that Japanese Americans tend to attain, compared to whites, have resulted in a reversal of the dismal situation of overeducated and underemployed Japanese Americans that existed in the 1930s. Although a substantial number of Japanese Americans are employed by corporations and are members of professions that require college educations, Japanese Americans still experience problems that are a direct result of racially-based misconceptions that some members of the majority population hold.

Many white Americans, particularly well-educated white Americans, think of Japanese Americans as a “model minority” because of their reputa-

tion for hard work and their high educational attainment. Despite this reputation, many Japanese—as well as other Asian Americans—complain that they are stereotyped as good technicians but not aggressive enough to occupy top managerial and leadership positions. Anti-Asian graffiti can sometimes be found at top universities where at least some white students voice jealousy and resentment toward perceived Asian American academic success.

Recent economic competition between the United States and Japan has resulted in a rise in anti-Japanese sentiment on the part of many Americans. The 1982 murder of Vincent Chin, a young Chinese man in Detroit, by two auto workers who mistook him to be Japanese is one grisly example of these sentiments. Third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans often cite incidents of fellow Americans making anti-Japanese statements in their presence or mistaking them for Japanese nationals.

The issue of cultural revitalization is not related to racial attitudes but is still serious to many Japanese Americans. Because of the amazing success of Japan's economy since World War II, the number of Japanese immigrating annually has been far below the 20,000 quota allotted to Japan. In recent years, Japanese immigrants have constituted less than two percent of all Asian immigrants. As a result, the Japanese towns of large American cities are not being culturally renewed and many second- and third-generation Japanese have moved to the suburbs. Many third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans are not literate in the Japanese language. Unlike the lingering prejudices toward Japanese Americans, the over-assimilation problem may very well have no ultimate solution.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In the United States, Japanese Americans built Buddhist temples and Christian churches. They built halls to serve as language schools and as places for dramas, films, judō lessons, poetry readings, potlucks, and parties. They constructed sumō rings, baseball fields, and bath houses. They also established hotels, restaurants, bars, and billiard parlors. Japanese Americans opened shops to provide Japanese food and herbal medicines.

The Issei faced many restrictions. They were excluded from some occupations, could not own land, and could not become U.S. citizens. They faced discrimination and prejudice. The Issei's pleasure was in seeing the success of their children. Despite their poverty, the Issei developed large,

These Japanese American children are performing at the San Francisco Cherry Blossom Festival.



close-knit families. They encouraged their children (Nisei) to become educated and obtain white collar jobs rather than stay in farming communities. This drove the Nisei into close associations and friendships with Caucasians. The Nisei were educated in American schools and learned white middle-class American values. Hierarchical thinking, characteristic of Japanese culture, led to pressure to achieve academically and to compete successfully in the larger Caucasian-dominated society.

Between 1915 and 1967 the proportion of Japanese Americans living in predominantly Japanese American neighborhoods fell from 30 percent to four percent. With the end of World War II, prejudice and discrimination against Japanese Americans declined. The majority of Nisei now live in largely Caucasian neighborhoods. Their children (Sansei) have been schooled there and have mostly Caucasian associations. A majority of Sansei are unfamiliar with the Japanese American world characterized by intimate primary, communal association, and close social control. They rarely see members of their clan. Their world has been that of Little League and fraternities and sororities. Whereas only ten percent of Nisei married outside their ethnic group, about 50 percent of the Sansei did.

Many Sansei long to know more about their cultural roots, although the ways of their grandparents are alien to them. They are concerned over the demise of Japanese values. They seek to preserve their Japanese culture through service to the Japanese community at centers for the elderly, participation in community festivals, involvement with

Asian political and legal organizations, and patronizing Japanese arts.

In *Japanese Americans*, sociologist Harry Kitano observed that Japanese Americans developed a congruent Japanese culture within the framework of American society. This was due to necessity rather than choice, since there was little opportunity for the first Japanese immigrants to enter into the social structure of the larger community. Now most Japanese Americans can enter into that social structure. Nisei and Sansei continue to identify themselves as Japanese Americans, but that identity is of little importance to them as members and partakers of a larger society that is not hostile toward them as it was to the Issei. The degree to which Japanese Americans have been assimilated into the predominant culture is unusual for a nonwhite group. Coexistence between Japanese and American cultures has been successful due to the willingness of both cultures to accommodate to one another.

Japanese American history brings us to some critical questions. What the future holds for fourth-generation Japanese Americans (the Yonsei) is unclear. The Japanese American ethnic community may disappear in that generation, or complete assimilation may bring about the demise of the values that pushed Japanese Americans to socioeconomic success. It is uncertain whether the Yonsei will retain their Japanese characteristics and inculcate them in the next generation.

TRANSPLANTED TRADITIONS

In Japanese American communities many Japanese still celebrate New Year's Day very much in the manner the Issei did, following the customs of Meiji-era Japan. New Year is a time for debts to be paid and quarrels to be settled. It is an occasion when houses are cleaned, baths are taken, and new clothes are worn. On New Year's Eve, many Japanese Americans go to temples and shrines. Shinto shrines are especially popular. Just inside the red torii gate, worshippers wash their hands and rinse their mouths with water from the special basin. Then a priest cleanses them by sprinkling water from a leafy branch on them and blesses them by waving a wand of white prayer papers. The people sip sake, receive amulets (charms), and give money.

In Japanese American homes where the traditions are observed, New Year's offerings are set in various places of honor around the house. The offering consists of two *mochi* (rice cakes), a strip of *konbu* (seaweed), and a citrus arranged on a "happiness paper" depicting one or all of the seven gods of

good luck. The offerings symbolize harmony and happiness from generation to generation.

At breakfast on New Year's Day many Japanese Americans eat *ozoni*, a toasted *mochi*, in a broth with other ingredients such as vegetables and fish. *Mochi* is eaten for strength and family cohesiveness. Sometimes children compete with each other to see if they can eat *mochi* equal to the number of their years.

Friends, neighbors, and family members visit one another on New Year's Day. Special foods served include *kuromame* (black beans), *kazunoko* (herring eggs), *konbumaki* (seaweed roll), *kinton* (mashed sweet potato and chestnut), and *kamaboko* (fish cakes). Also, *sushi* (rice rolled in seaweed), *nishime* (vegetables cooked in stock), *sashimi* (raw fish), and cooked red snapper are commonly provided for New Year's guests. At many celebrations the Japanese cheer of "Banzai! Banzai! Banzai!" rings out. That salute, which originated around 200 B.C., means 10,000 years.

HEALTH ISSUES

Generally, Japanese Americans are healthier than other Americans. Japanese Americans have the lowest infant death rate of any ethnic group in the United States. In 1986, 86 percent of babies born to Japanese American mothers were born to women who had received early prenatal care, compared to 79 percent for Caucasians and 76 percent for all races. Relatively few Japanese American infants have low birth weight and only eight percent of Japanese American births were preterm, compared to ten percent for all races in 1987. Asian Americans have fewer birth defects than Native Americans, Caucasians, or African Americans, but more than Hispanic Americans. Asian and Pacific Islanders were two percent of the U.S. population in 1981-1988, but accounted for only one percent of all U.S. AIDS cases during that period. In October of 1987 less than one percent of drug abuse clients in the United States were Asian Americans.

A study comparing the health status of Japanese and Caucasians over the age of 60 in Hawaii revealed that better health could be predicted from younger age, higher family income, maintenance of work role, and Japanese ethnicity (Marvelu R. Peterson and others, "A Cross-Cultural Health Study of Japanese and Caucasian Elders in Hawaii," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, Volume 21, 1985, pp. 267-279). The better health of Japanese Americans in Hawaii may be due to cultural values such as the priority of family interests over those of the individual, reverence for elders, and obligation to care for elders.

Many Japanese Americans consider the use of mental health services as shameful. They tend to use them only as a last resort in severe disorders, such as schizophrenia. Japanese Americans under-use mental health services in comparison to other ethnic groups. They believe the causes of mental illness to be associated with organic factors, a lack of will power, and morbid thinking. They tend to seek help from family members or close friends, rather than from mental health professionals. Further, since Japanese Americans tend to somaticize psychological problems, they may seek help from traditional medical practitioners instead of mental health professionals. There are, however, a number of Japanese American psychiatrists in practice today, indicating greater acceptance of the need for professional mental health care.

LANGUAGE

The Japanese language is unique and has no close relationship to any other language, such as English does to German, or French does to Spanish. It is a popular misconception that Japanese and Chinese are similar. Although many kanji, or ideograms, were borrowed from classical Chinese, the two spoken languages do not have a single basic feature in common. The origins of Japanese are obscure, and only Korean can be considered to belong to the same linguistic family. Spoken Japanese was in existence long before kanji reached Japan. While there is some variation in dialect throughout Japan, variance in pronunciation and vocabulary is, in general, quite small.

Japanese is easy to pronounce and bears some similarity to the Romance languages. The five short vowels in Japanese order are "a," "e," "i," "o," and "u." They are pronounced clearly and crisply. The same vowels in the long form are pronounced by doubling the single vowel and making a continuous sound equal to two identical short vowels. Japanese consonants approximately resemble English.

Some useful daily expressions include: *Ohayōgozaimasu*—good morning; *Konnichiwa*—hello; *Kombanwa*—good evening; *Sayōnara*—good-bye; *Oyasumi nasai*—good night; *Okaeri nasai*—welcome home; *O-genki desu ka*—how are you; *Dōmo arigatō gozaimasu*—thank you very much; *Chotto matte kudasai*—wait just a moment please.

Many linguists believe that Japanese is the world's most difficult written language. Written Japanese consists of three types of characters: kanji, hiragana, and katakana. Kanji, which means "Chinese characters," are ideograms, or pictorial represen-

tations of ideas. Kanji were imported into Japan sometime during the fifth century A.D. from China via Korea. Although there are said to be some 48,000 kanji in existence, roughly 4,000 characters are commonly used. The Ministry of Education identified 1,850 kanji (called *tōyō* kanji) in 1946 as essential for official and general public use. In 1981 this list was superseded by a similar but larger one (called *jōyō* kanji) containing 1,945 characters. These are taught to all students in elementary and secondary school. Kanji are used in writing the main parts of a sentence such as verbs and nouns, as well as names. Kanji are the most difficult written Japanese characters, requiring as many as 23 separate strokes.

Since spoken Japanese existed before kanji reached Japan, the Japanese adopted the Chinese ideograms to represent spoken Japanese words of the same or related meanings. Since the sounds of Japanese words signifying the ideas were not the same as the sounds of the Chinese words, it became important to develop a writing system to represent the Japanese sound. Therefore, the Japanese developed two sets of characters, hiragana and katakana, from original Chinese characters. Each kana, as these two systems are called, is a separate phonetic syllabary and each hiragana character has a corresponding katakana character. Hiragana and katakana characters are similar to English letters in that each character represents a separate phonetic sound. Hiragana are used in writing verb endings, adverbs, conjunctions, and various sentence particles and are written in a cursive, smooth style. Katakana, which are used mainly in writing foreign words, are written in a more angular, stiff style. Both hiragana and katakana are easy to write compared with kanji. In modern written Japanese, kanji, hiragana, and katakana are combined. Traditionally, Japanese is written vertically and read from top to bottom and right to left. Now, most business writing is done horizontally because it is easier to include numerals and English words. Even though the written language is illogical, in many ways, it has aesthetic appeal and contributes to a feeling on the part of many Japanese that they are unique among the world's peoples. For a variety of reasons, including negative pressures by the majority population and a lack of new Japanese immigrants in the United States, many third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans do not know the language of their ancestors.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Communalism did not develop in overseas Japanese communities as it did among the overseas Chinese.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Japan's land-based lineage community gave way to down-sized extended families. Only the eldest son and his family remained in the parental household. Other sons established separate "branch" households when they married. In Japan, a national consciousness arose while in China, the primary allegiance remained to the clan-based village or community. Thus, Japanese immigrants were prepared to form families and rear children in a manner similar to that of white Americans. The "picture bride" system brought several thousand Japanese women to the United States to establish nuclear branch families.

The "picture bride" system was fraught with misrepresentation. Often old photographs were used to hide the age of a prospective bride and the men sometimes were photographed in borrowed suits. The system led to a degree of disillusionment and incompatibility in marriages. The women were trapped, unable to return to Japan. Nevertheless, these women persevered for themselves and their families and transmitted Japanese culture through child rearing. The Issei women were also workers. They worked for wages or shared labor on family farms. Two-income families found it easier to rent or purchase land.

By 1930, second-generation Japanese Americans constituted 52 percent of the continental U.S. population of their ethnic group. In the years preceding World War II, most Nisei were children and young people, attempting to adapt to their adopted country in spite of the troubled lives of their parents. For many young people the adaptation problem was made even more ambiguous because their parents, concerned that their children would not have a future in the U.S., registered their offspring as citizens of Japan. By 1940, over half of the Nisei held Japanese as well as American citizenship. Most of the Nisei did not want to remain on family farms or in the roadside vegetable business and with the strong encouragement of their parents obtained high school, and in many cases, university educations. Discrimination against Japanese Americans, coupled with the shortage of jobs during the Great Depression, thwarted many Nisei dreams.

The dual-career family seems to be the norm for Sansei households. Recently, spousal abuse has surfaced as an issue. If it was a problem in previous generations, it was not public knowledge. In San Francisco an Asian women's shelter has been established, largely by third-generation Asian women.

In Japanese tradition, a crane represents 1,000 years. On special birthdays 1,000 hand-folded red *origami* cranes are displayed to convey wishes for a long life. Certain birthdays are of greater impor-



These Japanese American children are eating obento lunches.

tance because they are thought to be auspicious or calamitous years in a person's life. For men, the forty-second birthday is considered the most calamitous. For women it is the thirty-third year. Especially festive celebrations are held on these birthdays to ward off misfortune. The sixty-first birthday is the beginning of the auspicious years and the beginning of a person's second childhood. Traditionally, a person in his or her second childhood wears a crimson cap. The seventy-seventh birthday is marked by the wearing of a loose red coat (*chanchan ko*) over one's clothes. The most auspicious birthday is the eighty-eighth, when the honoree wears both the crimson cap and the *chanchan ko*.

At a wedding dinner, a whole red snapper is displayed at the head table. The fish represents happiness and must be served whole because cutting it would mean eliminating some happiness. Silver and golden wedding anniversaries are also occasions for festive celebrations.

RELIGION

While virtually all Issei came to the United States as Buddhists, Christian missionaries worked at converting the immigrants from the very beginning. The Methodists were particularly successful in this effort and records of the Pacific Japanese Provisional Conference of the Methodist Church indicate that three immigrants from Japan were converted in 1877, 11 years before Japan legally allowed citizens to emigrate. In the beginning the Japanese, even though they understood no Chinese, were segregat-

ed into Chinese churches. By the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, separate Japanese Christian churches and missions were established in various California cities as well as in Tacoma, Washington, and Denver, Colorado. These early Japanese Christian organizations usually offered night English classes and social activities as well. While Methodism remained, other denominations such as Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Catholics also claimed converts.

Organized Buddhism was somewhat slow in attempting to minister to the spiritual needs of Japanese Americans. The first record of Japanese Buddhist priests in the United States was in 1893 when four of them attended the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. The priests had limited contact, however, with Japanese Americans. The success of one San Francisco Methodist minister, Yasuzo Shimizu, in winning converts stimulated a Japanese American to return to his native land and pressure priests of the Nishi Honganji sect of the Jodo Shinshu denomination to begin establishing Buddhist churches in the United States. The arrival in San Francisco of two Nishi Honganji priests, Shuyei Sonoda and Kukuryo Nishijima, on September 2, 1899, is regarded as the founding date for the Buddhist Churches of America. By the early years of the twentieth century, a number of Buddhist churches were founded on the West Coast. In the 1990s, Jodo Shinshu, organized as the Buddhist Churches of America with headquarters in San Francisco, is the dominant Buddhist denomination in the United States. However, Zen, Nichiren, and

Shingon sects of Buddhism are represented in various cities throughout the United States. While only a minuscule number of Japanese Americans practice Zen Buddhism, this particular sect has exercised a profound influence on many artists, musicians, philosophers, and writers who are members of the majority American population.

Because of cultural assimilation it is difficult to obtain statistics on the religious practices of Japanese Americans. However, followers of Christianity are probably more numerous than Buddhists.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Issei, who came to the United States in the late 1800s and early twentieth century, worked on the West Coast as contract seasonal agricultural workers, on the railroad, and in canneries. For the most part, working conditions were abysmal; and because of racism and pressure by organized labor, Issei were barred from factory and office work. As a result many Japanese Americans created small businesses such as hotels and restaurants to serve their own ethnic group or became small vegetable farmers. The term “ethnic economy” is often used to describe the activities of pre-World War II Japanese Americans. While Japanese produce interests sold to the majority population from the beginning, the grower, wholesaler, and retailer networks were Issei. Issei were remarkably successful in both of these endeavors for several different reasons. Small businessmen, farmers, their families, and work associates toiled an incredible number of hours and saved much of what was earned. Also, the Issei community was well organized, and small businesses and farms could rely upon their tightly knit ethnic group for capital, labor, and business opportunities. Ethnic solidarity paid off economically for Japanese Americans. By the eve of World War II, 75 percent of Seattle’s Japanese residents were involved in small business, and Japanese farmers were responsible for the production of the majority of vegetables in Los Angeles County.

Japanese economic success caused a substantial white backlash spearheaded by elements of the majority population who felt their livelihoods threatened. Unions were consistently anti-Japanese for a variety of reasons and California agricultural groups assumed leadership roles in the land limitation laws. The laws resulted, between 1920 and 1925, in the number of acres owned by Issei declining from 74,769 to 41,898 and the acreage leased plummeting from 192,150 to 76,797.

POST WORLD WAR II ECONOMIC CHANGES

No event in history has resulted in more economic change for Japanese Americans than World War II. Before the war Japanese Americans constituted mostly a self-contained ethnic economy. The internment of Japanese Americans and societal changes in attitudes toward Japanese destroyed much of the pre-war economic status quo. Since the war a minority of Japanese Americans have been employed in Japanese American-owned businesses. Many Japanese American farmers, because of the internment, either sold their land or never were able to lease their pre-war holdings again. As a result of the internment, Japanese Americans also sold or closed many family businesses. A comparison of pre-war and post-war economic statistics in Los Angeles and Seattle illustrates these major changes. Before World War II, Japanese Americans in Seattle operated 206 hotels, 140 grocery stores, 94 cleaning establishments, 64 market stands and 57 wholesale produce houses. After World War II, only a handful of these businesses remained. In Los Angeles, 72 percent of Japanese Americans were employed in family enterprises before World War II. By the late 1940s, only 17.5 percent of Japanese Americans earned their livelihood through family businesses.

While these economic changes were largely forced upon Japanese Americans because of the events surrounding the internment, other societal factors also contributed to the end of the Japanese American ethnic economy. The pre-war racial prejudice against Japanese Americans declined substantially in the late 1940s and 1950s. Japan no longer constituted a geo-political threat; many Americans were becoming more sympathetic about the issue of minority rights; and Japanese American West Coast agricultural interests no longer were seen as threatening by other Americans. As a result of these events, the large majority of Japanese Americans in the post-war years have experienced assimilation into the larger economy.

THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC POSITION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

Today, because of the changes in the post-war years, Japanese Americans are well-represented in both the professions and corporate economy. The pre-war discrimination against university-educated Japanese Americans is largely ended. Japanese Americans today have higher levels of education on average than the majority population and comparable to slightly higher incomes. Studies documenting the absence of Asian Americans from top corporate management and public sector administrative posi-

tions provide some evidence that there is some sort of “glass-ceiling” for Japanese Americans still present in the larger economy. Still, the economic position and socioeconomic mobility of Japanese Americans is much higher now than any time in American history.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

LABOR MOVEMENTS

In February 1903, 500 Japanese and 200 Mexican farm workers in Oxnard, California, formed the Japanese Mexican Labor Association, the first farm workers union in California history. Led by Kozaburo Baba, the union called a strike for better wages and working conditions. By March 1903, membership had grown to 1,200 members, about 90 percent of the work force. On March 23 a Mexican striker was shot and killed and two Mexicans and two Japanese were wounded in a confrontation with the Western Agricultural Contracting Company, the major labor contractor. Negotiations led to a settlement by the end of March. Despite such effective organization and leadership, however, the American Federation of Labor denied the Japanese Mexican Labor Association a charter, due to its opposition to Asians.

In Hawaii there were 20 strikes by Japanese plantation workers in 1900 alone. In 1908 the Higher Wage Association asked for an increase from \$18 to \$22.50 per month. In May 1909, 7,000 Japanese workers struck all major plantations on Oahu. The strike lasted four months. The planters branded the strike as the work of agitators and evicted the strikers from plantation-owned homes. By June, over 5,000 displaced Japanese were living in makeshift shelters in downtown Honolulu. The leaders of the Higher Wage Association were arrested, jailed, and tried on conspiracy charges. The Association called off the strike about two weeks before their leadership was convicted.

In 1920 the Japanese Federation of Labor struck the Hawaiian plantations for higher wages, better working conditions, and an end to discriminatory wages based on race and ethnic background. The strike lasted six months and cost the plantation owners an estimated \$11.5 million. The union saw their cause as part of the American way. Hawaii's ruling class—the plantation owners and their allies—called the strike anti-American and painted it as a movement to take control of the sugar industry. The planters evicted over 12,000 workers from their homes. Many deaths resulted from unsanitary conditions in the tent cities that arose.

WARTIME INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

The great plantation strike of 1920 generated fears within the U.S. government that the labor movement in Hawaii was part of a Japanese plot to take over the territory. Japanese Americans accounted for about 40 percent of the Hawaiian population in the 1920s and 1930s. Beginning in the 1920s, the U.S. Army viewed the presence of Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands as a military threat. The army formulated plans for the declaration of martial law, registration of enemy aliens, internment of Japanese who were considered security risks, and controls over labor. On the afternoon of December 7, 1941, the United States declared martial law, suspension of *habeas corpus*, and restrictions on civil liberties, following the attack by the Japanese navy on U.S. naval and army bases at Pearl Harbor.

Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor American officials in Hawaii began rounding up Japanese Americans. A concentration camp was established on Sand Island, a flat, barren, coral island at the mouth of Pearl Harbor. Terror and punishment were applied to the internees. Terror techniques included strip searches, frequent roll calls, threats to shoot, and excessive display of firepower by the guards who were armed with machine guns and pistols. The prisoners were often forced to eat in the rain, use dirty utensils, and sleep in tents. Ultimately, the army held 1,466 Japanese Americans in Hawaii and sent 1,875 to mainland camps such as Fort Lincoln (North Dakota), Fort Missoula (Montana), Santa Fe (New Mexico), and Crystal City (Texas).

General Delos Emmons, military governor of Hawaii, recognized that Japanese American labor was essential to the territory's economic survival. Therefore, he resisted pressure from Washington to intern more Japanese Americans. Those Japanese Americans in Hawaii who were not interned were required to carry alien registration cards at all times. They were to observe a curfew that applied only to them and were forbidden to write or publish attacks or threats against the U.S. government.

On the U. S. mainland, Japanese Americans were not considered essential to the economy or the war effort. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 authorizing the army to designate military areas from which “any or all persons may be excluded” and to provide transportation, food, and shelter for persons so excluded. Lt. General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, issued proclamations dividing Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona into military areas from which enemy aliens and all Japanese Americans would be excluded.

This small girl
awaits instructions
as to where she
and her family are
to be interned
during World War
II.



These proclamations also laid down a curfew between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. for enemy aliens and all Japanese, aliens and citizens alike.

RESPONSES TO THE INTERNMENT

While some in the majority population objected to the oppressive treatment of loyal American residents and citizens, most Americans either approved or were neutral about the actions of our government. Wartime American propaganda about the Japanese reflected long-held racist attitudes of many Americans. While cartoonists depicted Germans as buffoons, Japanese were typically caricatured as apes or monkeys.

On December 7, 1941, there were about 1,500 Nisei recruits in U.S. Army units in Hawaii. On December 10 the army disarmed them and confined them to quarters under armed guard. Two days later they were re-armed and placed on beach patrol. On June 5, 1942, after rounding them up and disarming them again, the army organized 1,432 Japanese American soldiers into the Hawaiian Provisional Battalion and shipped them to Camp McCoy, Wisconsin. There, they trained for seven months, initially with wooden guns. The Nisei from Hawaii were joined by other Japanese American soldiers, mostly volunteers and draftees from mainland concentration camps, to form the segregated 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Many Nisei argued that serving the United States in war against Japan and her Axis allies would prove their loyalty and worth as citizens and

overcome the discrimination from which they suffered. In all, about 33,000 Japanese Americans served the United States's cause in World War II.

Other patriotic Japanese Americans saw the situation differently. In 1943, about 200 Nisei at the Heart Mountain concentration camp in Wyoming formed the Fair Play Committee (FPC) to resist conscription into the armed services. The FPC published a manifesto that read in part, "We, the Nisei, have been complacent and too inarticulate to the unconstitutional acts that we were subjected to. If ever there was a time or cause for decisive action, IT IS NOW!" The Fair Play Committee protested denial of their rights as citizens without due process, without any charges being filed against them, and without any evidence of wrongdoing on their part. In June 1944, at the end of the largest draft resistance trial in U.S. history, 63 Nisei resisters were sentenced to three years in prison. On Christmas Eve 1947, President Harry S Truman pardoned them.

From the beginning, Japanese Americans sought to right the wrong of interning up to 120,000 innocent civilians. Mitsuye Endo agreed to serve as the test case against the internment program in 1942. On December 18, 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously declared the detention of Japanese Americans unconstitutional and ordered Endo's immediate release. One day before the ruling, and in anticipation of it, the Western Defense Command of the U.S. Army announced the termination of its exclusion of loyal Japanese Americans from the West Coast, effective January 2, 1945.

After the war, many Japanese Americans returned home from the camps or the armed services and went to work to secure their rights and redress the wrongs committed against them. In Hawaii, Daniel K. Inouye, a decorated veteran, entered politics. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1959 to 1962. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1962. Along with three other Japanese American legislators (Senator Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawaii and Representatives Norman Y. Mineta and Robert T. Matsui of California), Inouye sponsored a bill to apologize for the wartime internment and offer cash payments of \$20,000 (tax-free) to each of the 60,000 victims still living. Congress enacted the bill in 1988, but because Congress failed to appropriate the necessary funds, a second bill had to be passed in 1989 to assure the payments.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Harry H. L. Kitano (1926–), a native of San Francisco, is a professor of sociology at UCLA, where he holds an endowed chair in Japanese American studies.

ARCHITECTURE

Minoru Yamasaki (1912-1986) designed the World Trade Center in New York City. Its twin towers, erected in 1970-1977, rise 110 stories high.

ART

Perhaps the most famous Japanese American sculptor was Isamu Noguchi. His work extended beyond sculptures to include important architectural projects and stage designs, including designs for the Martha Graham Dance Company.

Ruth Asawa (1926–) is a Nisei artist known for her wire mesh sculptures and bronzed “baker’s clay” sculptures. She is co-founder of the School of the Arts Foundation in San Francisco.

Isami Doi (1903-1965) exhibited his art works widely. Born and reared in Hawaii, he studied art at the University of Hawaii, Columbia University, and in Paris.

Toyo Miyatake (1895-1979) was a noted photographic artist and a leader in the Los Angeles Little Tokyo Community. During World War II, he and his family were interned at Manzanar, California, where he was allowed to take photographs doc-

umenting life in the camp. After the war he reopened his studio.

FILM, MUSIC, AND ENTERTAINMENT

Philip Kan Gotanda (1949–), a playwright, musician, and director, is best known for musicals and plays about the Japanese American experience and family life. His plays include *The Avocado Kid*, *The Wash*, *A Song for a Nisei Fisherman*, *Bullet Headed Birds*, *The Dream of Kitamura*, *Yohen*, *Yankee Dawg You Die*, and *American Tatoo*.

Sessue Hayakawa (1890-1973) was a leading figure in silent films. After an absence of many years, he returned to Hollywood filmmaking in the 1950s and won an Academy Award for his portrayal of Colonel Saito in *The Bridge on the River Kwai*.

Hiroshima is a Sansei pop music group which blends traditional Japanese instruments into jazz.

Makoto (Mako) Iwamatsu (1933–) was the founding artistic director of the East West Players, an Asian American theater company in Los Angeles. He was nominated for an Academy Award for his supporting role as a Chinese coolie in *The Sand Pebbles*.

Nobu McCarthy (1938–) was a Hollywood star in the 1950s and is currently artistic director of the East West Players in Los Angeles. Her early film roles were mostly stereotypical (geisha girls and “lotus blossoms”). In the 1970s and 1980s, she appeared in more rounded roles in *Farewell to Manzanar*, *The Karate Kid, Part II*, and *The Wash*.

Midori (1971–) is a celebrated violinist who has performed with many of the world’s great orchestras.

Noriyuki “Pat” Morita (1932–) became a major television and film actor in the 1980s. In 1984 he starred as Miyagi, a kind-hearted karate instructor, in *The Karate Kid*, and was nominated for an Academy Award for best supporting actor.

Sono Osato (1919-) is an important dancer who worked with Diaghilev, the Ballet Russe, Balanchine, Tutor, Fokine, Massine, the American Ballet Theatre, and performed in the original production of the Jerome Robbins/Leonard Bernstein *On The Town*.

Seiji Ozawa (1935–), conductor, became music director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra in 1970 and the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1973.

Pat Suzuki (c. 1930–), singer and actress, was the first Nisei to star in a Broadway musical, Rodgers and Hammerstein’s *Flower Drum Song*, in 1958.

Miyoshi Umeki (1929–) received an Academy Award as best supporting actress in 1957 for her role in *Sayonara*.

GOVERNMENT

John Fujio Aiso (1909-1987) was director of the Military Intelligence Service Language School which trained about 6,000 persons in Japanese for intelligence work during World War II. In 1953 he became the first Japanese American judge.

George Ryoichi Ariyoshi (1926–) served as governor of Hawaii from 1973 to 1986. He was the first Japanese American lieutenant governor and governor in U.S. history.

S. I. Hayakawa (1906-1992), a professor of English, gained national attention for his strong stand against dissident students during his tenure as president of San Francisco State College (1968-1973). He served as a Republican U.S. Senator from California from 1977 to 1983.

Daniel K. Inouye (1924–) of Hawaii was the first Nisei elected to the U.S. Congress. A Democrat, he served in the House of Representatives from 1959 to 1962. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1962. He was a decorated veteran of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II.

Clarence Takeya Arai (1901-1964), a Seattle lawyer, was a key figure in the founding of the Japanese American Citizens League. He was active in Republican politics in the state of Washington in the 1930s. He and his family were sent to the relocation camp at Minidoka, Idaho, during World War II.

JOURNALISM

James Hattori is a television correspondent for CBS News.

Harvey Saburo Hayashi (1866-1943) was both a physician and newspaper editor for the rural Japanese American community of Holualoa in Kona, Hawaii. He founded the *Kona Hankyo* in 1897. The newspaper was published for the next 40 years and reached a circulation of 500 at its peak.

William K. "Bill" Hosokawa (1915–) has served as a writer and editor for the *Denver Post*. He is the principal historian for the Japanese American Citizens League. During his wartime internment at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, he edited the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*.

Ken Kashiwahara (1940–) is a television correspondent for ABC News and one of the first Asian American journalists to work in network television.

James Yoshinori Sakamoto (1903-1955) began the first Nisei newspaper, the *American Courier*, in 1928. He was a strong supporter of the Japanese American Citizens League from its beginning and served as its national president from 1936 to 1938.

LAW

Lance A. Ito (1950–), Los Angeles County superior court judge, is a highly respected jurist who gained national prominence as the judge in the O. J. Simpson murder trial.

LITERATURE

Velina Hasu Houston (1957–) is known for her plays and poetry reflecting on the experiences of Japanese American women and her own experience as a multiracial Asian woman. Her plays include *Asa Ga Kimashita*, *American Dreams*, *Tea*, and *Thirst*.

Jun Atushi Iwamatsu (1908–) is best known as author and illustrator of children's books. He has been runner-up for the Caldecott Medal for *Crow Boy* (1956), *Umbrella* (1959), and *Seashore Story* (1968). He has held several one-man exhibitions of his paintings.

Tooru J. Kanagawa (1906–), a journalist and decorated veteran of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, published his first novel at the age of 83. His novel, *Sushi and Sourdough*, is based on his youth in Juneau, Alaska.

Toshio Mori (1910-1980) chronicled the lives of Japanese Americans in numerous short stories and six novels. Most of his writings, however, remain unpublished.

SCIENCE

Leo Esaki (1925–) is a Nobel Prize-winning physicist who invented the tunnel diode while working for the Sony Corporation in Japan. In 1960, Esaki immigrated to the United States to work at IBM's Watson Research Center in Yorktown Heights, New York.

Makio Murayama (1912–), a biochemist, received the 1969 Association for Sickle Cell Anemia award and the 1972 Martin Luther King, Jr. medical achievement award for his research in sickle cell anemia.

Hideyo Noguchi (1876-1928), a microbiologist, devoted his life to fighting diseases such as bubonic plague, syphilis, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, and yellow fever.

Jokichi Takamine (1854-1922) was a chemist who developed a starch-digesting enzyme (*Takadiastase*), which was useful in medicines. In 1901 he isolated adrenaline from the suprarenal gland and was the first scientist to discover gland hormones in pure form.

SPORTS

Masao Kida (1968–), a major league baseball player for the Detroit Tigers, Kida is a pitcher and was born in Tokyo.

Hideo Nomo (1968–), a major league baseball player for the Milwaukee Brewers, Nomo was born in Kobe, Japan.

Kristi Yamaguchi (1971–), a figure skater, won the women's gold medal in figure skating at the 1993 Winter Olympics in Albertville, France.

MEDIA

PRINT

Chicago Shimpo.

Bi-lingual newspaper. The only Japanese publication in the Midwest.

Contact: Akiko Sugano, Editors.

Address: 4670 North Manor Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60625.

Telephone: (773) 478-6170.

Fax: (773) 478-9360.

The Hawaii Hoichi.

A bilingual publication intended to keep non-English fluent Japanese Americans informed about the United States.

Contact: Mr. Mamoru Tanji.

Address: 917 Kokea Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817-4528.

Telephone: (808) 845-2255.

Fax: (808) 847-7215.

Hokubei Mainichi.

A bilingual publication. Covers Japanese politics as well as national news. Receives strong support from local Japanese American organizations.

Contact: Ms. Atsuko Saito.

Address: 1746 Post Street, San Francisco, California 94115.

Telephone: (415) 567-7323.

Fax: (415) 567-1110.

Nichi Bei Times.

A bilingual publication geared toward both visitors from Japan and Japanese Americans. Covers world, national, local, and lifestyle news.

Contact: Ms. Keiko Asano.

Address: 2211 Bush Street, San Francisco, California 94115.

Telephone: (415) 921-6820.

Fax: (415)-921-0770.

Rafu Shimpo.

A bilingual publication. Main source of Japanese American news in Southern California.

Contact: Ted Ubukata.

Address: 259 South Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California 90012.

Telephone: (213) 629-2231.

Fax: (213) 687-0737.

RADIO

KALI-FM (106.3).

Japanese language news broadcast weekdays from 7 to 9 AM. Affiliated with *Bridge, U.S.A.* magazine.

Contact: Mr. Ono.

Address: 20300 South Vermont Avenue, Suite 200, Torrance, California 90502.

Telephone: (310) 532-5921.

Fax: (310) 532-1184.

KJPN.

Japanese language news broadcast daily.

Contact: Ms. Ikuko Tomita.

Address: 711 Kapiolani Boulevard, Honolulu, Hawaii 96813.

Telephone: (808) 593-1950.

Fax: (808) 593-8040.

KZOO-AM (1210).

Largest exclusively Japanese broadcast in the United States.

Contact: David Furuya.

Address: 250 Ward Avenue, Suite 209, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814.

Telephone: (808) 593-2880.

Fax: (808) 596-0083.

TELEVISION

The following television stations offer programming in Japanese language: KDOC-TV, Anaheim, California; KTSF (Channel 26), Brisbane, California;

KHNL, Hilo, Hawaii; KSCI (Channel 18), Pasadena, California; WMBC (Channel 63), New York City, New York; and WNYE (Channel 25), New York City, New York.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Japan-America Society of Washington (JASW).

Contact: Patricia R. Kearns, Executive Director.
Address: 1800 Ninth Avenue, Suite 1550, Seattle, Washington 98101-1322.
Telephone: (206) 623-7900.
Fax: (206) 343-7930.
E-Mail: admin@us-japan.org.
Online: <http://www.us-japan.org>.

Japanese American Citizens League (JACL).

Educational, civil, and human rights organization founded in 1929 with 115 chapters and 25,000 members.

Contact: Herbert Yamanishi, National Director.
Address: 1765 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California 94115.
Telephone: (415) 921-5225.
Fax: (415) 931-4671.
E-mail: jacl@jacl.org.

Japan Hour Broadcasting.

Founded in 1974, it produces radio and television programs in Japanese for Japanese residents in the United States, and English language programs on Japan to promote American understanding of Japan and U.S.-Japanese relations.

Contact: Raymond Otami, Executive Director.
Address: 151-23 34th Avenue, Flushing, New York 11354.

Japan Society (JS).

Organization for individuals, institutions, and corporations representing the business, professional, and academic worlds in Japan and the United States; promotes exchange of ideas to enhance mutual understanding.

Contact: William Clark, Jr., President.
Address: 333 East 47th Street, New York, New York 10017.
Telephone: (212) 832-1155.
Fax: (212) 755-6752.
E-mail: gen@jpsoc.com.
Online: <http://www.jpnsoc.com>.

Nippon Club.

Organization for persons who take special interest in Japanese affairs.

Contact: Tsutomu Karino, Executive Director.
Address: 145 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10019.
Telephone: (212) 581-2223.
Fax: (212) 581-3332.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Japanese American Cultural and Community Center.

A performing and visual arts center founded in 1980.

Address: 244 South San Pedro, Suite 505, Los Angeles, California 90012.
Telephone: (213) 628-2725.
Fax: (213) 617-8576.
E-mail: jaccc@ltsc.org.
Online: <http://www.jaccc.org/>.

Japanese American Curriculum Project.

Address: 234 Main Street, P.O. Box 1587, San Mateo, California 94401.
Telephone: (800) 874-2242.

Japanese American National Museum.

The first national museum dedicated to preserving and sharing the history of Japanese Americans.

Address: 369 East First Street, Los Angeles, California 90012.
Telephone: (800) 461-5266; or (213) 625-0414.
Fax: (213) 625-1770.
Online: <http://www.lausd.k12.ca.us/janm/main.htm>.

Japanese American Society for Legal Studies.

Contact: Professor Daniel H. Foote.
Address: University of Washington Law School, 1100 Northeast Campus Parkway, Seattle, Washington 98105.
Telephone: (206) 685-1897.
Fax: (206) 685-4469.
E-mail: wjackson@u.washington.edu.

U.S.-Japan Culture Center (USJCC).

Seeks to promote mutual understanding between the United States and Japan; to help the public, scholars, government officials, and businesspersons

of both countries increase their knowledge of U.S.-Japan relations.

Contact: Mikio Kanda, Executive Director.

Address: 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Suite 512, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Telephone: (202) 342-5800.

Fax: (202) 342-5803.

E-mail: info@usjpcc.com.

Online: <http://www.usjpcc.com/>.

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Nakano, Mei T. *Japanese American Women: Three Generations 1890-1990*. Berkeley, California: Mina Press, 1990.

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Jews have enjoyed greater acceptance in America than in any other country and have figured prominently in American culture and politics.

JEWISH AMERICANS

by
Jim Kamp

OVERVIEW

Jews represent a group of people rather than a distinct race or ethnicity. Although Jews originally came from the Middle East, many races and peoples have mixed together in Jewish communities over the centuries, especially after the Jews were forced out of Palestine in the second century C.E. What binds the group together is a common Jewish heritage as passed down from generation to generation. For many Jews, the binding force is Judaism, a term usually referring to the Jewish religion but sometimes used to refer to all Jews. There are, however, Jewish atheists and agnostics, and one does not have to be religious to be Jewish. In general, one is Jewish if born of a Jewish mother or if he or she converts to Judaism.

Most Jews consider the State of Israel the Jewish homeland. Located in the Middle East with a land mass of 7,992 square miles, Israel is only slightly larger than New Jersey. It is bounded by Lebanon in the north, by Syria and Jordan in the east, by Egypt in the southwest, and by the Mediterranean Sea in the west. With a population of approximately 4.2 million Jews, Israel is home to about one-third of the world Jewry, estimated at 12.9 million at the end of 1992. However, not all Jews consider Israel home. Some feel the United States, with 5.8 million Jews, is the de facto home of Jews, evidenced in part by the fact that Israel is sometimes called "Little America" because of its

similarities to the United States. Accounting for more than three-fourths of the world Jewry, Israel and the United States represent the two major Jewish population regions.

Although Jews comprise less than three percent of the American population, Jews have generally had a disproportionately larger representation in American government, business, academia, and entertainment. American Jews have suffered their share of setbacks and have had to combat anti-Semitism during the early twentieth century. On the whole, however, Jews have enjoyed greater acceptance in America than in any other country and have figured prominently in American culture and politics.

HISTORY

Jewish history dates back 4,000 years to the time of Abraham, the biblical figure credited for introducing the belief in a single God. Abraham's monotheism not only marked the beginning of Judaism, but of Christianity and Islam as well. Following God's instructions, Abraham led his family out of Mesopotamia to Canaan, later renamed Palestine, then Israel. Abraham and his descendants were called Hebrews. ("Hebrew" is derived from "Eber," which means "from the other side." This is a reference to the fact that Abraham came from the "other side" of the Euphrates River.) According to the Bible, God made a covenant with Abraham promising that if the Hebrews followed God's commandments, they would become a great nation in the land of Canaan. Subsequently, Hebrews referred to themselves as "God's chosen people."

After Abraham, the Hebrews were led by Abraham's son Isaac, then by Isaac's son Jacob. Jacob, also known as "Israel" ("Champion of God"), was the father of 12 sons, who became leaders of the 12 tribes of Israel. For hundreds of years these tribes lived in Canaan and comprised all of Hebrew civilization. By about 1700 B.C.E., food shortages compelled the Hebrews to leave Canaan for Egypt, where they were social outcasts and were eventually forced into slavery by pharaoh Ramses II around 1280 B.C.E. From these bleak conditions emerged perhaps the greatest leader of the Jews, Moses. In about 1225 B.C.E., Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt (the Exodus) into the Sinai Desert, where Moses is said to have received the Ten Commandments from God on Mount Sinai. For 40 years the Israelites lived in the desert, obeying God's commandments.

After Moses, Joshua led the Israelites back into Canaan, now called Palestine, representing the "Promised Land." There the people were ruled by

benevolent Judges and later by Kings until social tensions after the death of King Solomon caused the Israelites to break apart. Ten tribes organized into the northern kingdom of Israel, while the other two tribes formed the southern kingdom of Judah. The people of Israel, however, lost much of their Hebrew identity after the Assyrians invaded the northern kingdom in 721 B.C.E. By contrast, when the people of Judah, or Jews, were captured by Babylonians in 586 B.C.E., these Jews remained faithful to their traditions and to the Ten Commandments. Fifty years later Jews returned to Palestine after the Persians defeated the Babylonians.

For centuries Jewish culture thrived in Palestine until the Roman occupation beginning in 63 B.C.E. For more than 100 years Jews endured life with the oppressive, violent Romans. By 70 C.E., when the Romans destroyed the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, Jews had begun migrating to the outer regions of the Roman Empire, including the Near East, North Africa, and southwestern, central, and eastern Europe. In 135 C.E. the Romans officially banned Judaism, which marked the beginning of the diaspora, or the dispersal of Jews. Forced out of Palestine, Jews in exile concentrated less on establishing a unified homeland and more on maintaining Judaism through biblical scholarship and community life.

EUROPEAN LIFE

European Jews are divided mainly between the Jews of Spain and Portugal, the Sephardim, and the Jews from German-speaking countries in central and eastern Europe, the Ashkenazim. The distinction between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim—Hebrew terms for Spanish and German Jews—continues to be the major classification of Jews, with 75 percent of today's world Jewry being Ashkenazic. In medieval Europe, Sephardic Jews enjoyed the most freedom and cultural acceptance. Between the ninth and fifteenth centuries Sephardic Jews made significant cultural and literary contributions to Spain while it was under Islamic rule. By contrast, Ashkenazic Jews in the north lived uneasily among Christians, who saw Jews as "Christ killers" and who resented Jews for thinking of themselves as a chosen people. Christians subjected Jews to violence and destroyed Jewish communities beginning with the First Crusade in 1096. Jewish populations were driven from England and France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the beginning of the Spanish Inquisition in 1492, Jews from Spain faced similar oppression, violence, and expulsion from Spanish Christians. As a result, Sephardic Jews spread out to Mediterranean countries, while the majority

of Ashkenazic Jews moved east to Poland, which became the center of European Jewry.

In Poland, Jews were permitted to create a series of councils and courts that together represented a minority self-government within the country. In individual Jewish communities, the *kehillah* was the governing structure comprised of elected leaders who oversaw volunteer organizations involved in all aspects of social and religious life in the community. The disintegration of the Polish state in the eighteenth century, however, disrupted community life and caused many to emigrate. By the nineteenth century, Jews in eastern Europe were primarily split between Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The governments in these countries, however, oppressed Jews through military conscription, taxation, and expulsion. Though relatively impoverished, the four million Jews in the Pale of Settlement (a region encompassing eastern Poland and western Russia) maintained their Jewish traditions through close community life.

By contrast, Jews in Western Europe fared much better economically and socially as they gained acceptance in England, France, and Austria-Hungary after the Protestant Reformation. Northern European cities with large Protestant populations such as London, Hamburg, and Amsterdam increasingly opened their doors to Jews. In order to fully assimilate and become citizens, these Jews sometimes had to renounce Jewish laws, self-government, and the quest for nationhood. Still, many Jews were eager to comply, some even becoming Christians. As a result, many western European Jews attained significant wealth and status, generally through banking and trade. In addition to material prosperity, German Jews also enjoyed a period of heightened cultural activity during the Jewish Enlightenment of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period marked by free inquiry and increased political activism. Political turmoil by the mid-nineteenth century, however, brought upheaval to Jewish communities, prompting many to emigrate.

IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first Jewish immigrants to settle in the United States were 23 Sephardic Jews who arrived in New Amsterdam (later known as New York) in 1654. Although this group of men, women, and children from Dutch Brazil initially faced resistance from Governor Peter Stuyvesant, they were allowed to settle after Jews in Amsterdam applied pressure on the Dutch West India Company, Stuyvesant's employer. In addition to Spain, Sephardic Jews came from various Mediterranean countries as well

as from England, Holland, and the Balkans. The number of Jews in Colonial America grew slowly but steadily so that by 1776 there were approximately 2,500 Jews in America.

The wave of German Jewish immigrants during the mid-nineteenth century represented the first major Jewish population explosion in America. While there were just 6,000 Jews in the United States in 1826, the number of American Jews climbed above 50,000 by 1850 and rose to 150,000 only a decade later. The German Jews actually came from Germany and various other central European countries, including Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia, and western Poland. Challenges to the monarchies of central Europe in the 1840s caused considerable social unrest, particularly in rural villages. While wealthy Jews could afford to escape the turbulence by moving to cities such as Vienna or Berlin, poorer Jews could not. Consequently, many chose to immigrate to America.

The largest wave of Jewish immigrants were eastern European Jews who came to America between 1881 and 1924. During these years one third of the Jewish population in eastern Europe emigrated because of changing political and economic conditions. The assassination of Russian Tsar Alexander II in 1881 ushered in a new era of violence and anti-Jewish sentiment. Pogroms, or massacres, by the Slavs against the Jews had occurred since the mid-seventeenth century, but the pogroms of 1881 and 1882 were particularly numerous and intense, wiping out entire villages and killing hundreds of Jews. Also, industrialization made it difficult for Jewish peddlers, merchants, and artisans to sustain themselves economically. As a result, a mass exodus of Jews from eastern Europe occurred, with approximately 90 percent bound for America. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of Jews arrived in America annually. The immigration of some 2.4 million eastern European Jews boosted the American Jewish population from roughly a quarter million in 1881 to 4.5 million by 1924.

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 decreased the annual Jewish immigration from more than 100,000 to about 10,000. Subsequently, U.S. immigration policy remained strict, even during World War II when the need to emigrate was a matter of life and death for German Jews. The 150,000 Jews who managed to immigrate to America between 1935 and 1941 were primarily middle-class, middle-aged professionals and businessmen. These refugees from Nazi Germany represented a different type of immigrant from the young, working-class Jews who emigrated from eastern Europe at

the turn of the century. After a period of increased immigration during and immediately following World War II (within the quotas set by Congress), Jewish immigration leveled off for several decades. The most recent immigration wave occurred during the 1980s, when political and economic changes in the Soviet Union prompted hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews to come to Israel and America. The American quotas by this time had risen to 40,000 Jews per year. This immigration wave of Soviet Jews has been the largest since the immigration of Russian Jews at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Jewish population in relation to the general U.S. population peaked in 1937 at 3.7 percent. Limits on immigration and a Jewish birthrate of less than two children per family—lower than the national average—have lowered the Jewish proportion of the American population to under three percent. This proportion has remained relatively stable, even as the American Jewish population approached six million in the 1990s.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The Sephardic Jews who settled in the American colonies established themselves in cities along the eastern seaboard. From the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, the largest Jewish population centers were in New York, Newport, Savannah, Philadelphia, and Charleston, the only cities with synagogues during the period. Jewish businessmen from these cities were supported by influential businessmen from Sephardic communities in London and Amsterdam.

The influx of German Jews in the nineteenth century contributed to the westward expansion of the Jewish population in the United States. By the mid-nineteenth century, there were approximately 160 Jewish communities from New York to California, with Jewish population centers in the major hubs along the trade routes from east to west. Cities such as Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis all became centers of Jewish business, cultural, and religious life. Jewish peddlers and retailers also followed the economic growth of the cotton industry in the South and the discovery of gold in the West. Most of the Jewish immigrants from this period were young, single Germans hoping to escape unfavorable economic conditions and repressive legislation that restricted marriage. Individuals from the same community would typically immigrate together and continue their congregation in the New World.

The wave of eastern European Jews at the turn of the century gravitated toward big cities in the

East and Midwest. The result was that by 1920 Jews had their greatest population centers in New York, Newark, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit. Within these cities, eastern European Jews established their own communities and maintained their cultural heritage and identity much more so than nineteenth-century German Jews, who were eager to assimilate into American culture.

Jewish settlement trends in the twentieth century have shown population decreases in the midwest and increases in cities such as Los Angeles and Miami. During the 1930s and 1940s, refugees from Nazi Germany predominantly settled in Manhattan's West Side and Washington Heights as well as in Chicago and San Francisco. After World War II the population of American Jews decreased in midwestern cities such as Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland and increased in Los Angeles, Miami, and Washington, D.C. For each major city with a significant Jewish population, there has been a steady postwar trend of outward movement toward the suburbs. The young and middle-aged professionals have led this movement, while working-class, Orthodox, and older Jews continue to inhabit the old neighborhoods closer to the city.

By the end of 1992, the largest Jewish population centers were in New York City (1.45 million), Los Angeles (490,000), Chicago (261,000), Philadelphia (250,000), Boston (228,000), San Francisco Bay Area (210,000), Miami (189,000), and Washington, D.C. (165,000).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Until the late nineteenth century, Jewish settlers desired and found it relatively easy to assimilate into American society. Jews had left Europe because of poor social and economic conditions and were eager to establish themselves in an open, expanding society. Occasionally, Jews would have to combat anti-Semitism and negative stereotypes of "dirty Jews," but for the most part Americans appreciated the goods and services provided by Jewish merchants. The religious freedom guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution coupled with the increasing prosperity of nineteenth-century German Jews enabled Jews to enjoy considerable acceptance in American society.

The basic division between Jews during the nineteenth century was between Polish and German congregations. However, in large population centers such as New York, subgroups emerged to accommodate the local traditions of various Dutch,

U. S. Senator
Alfonse D'Amato
(left center),
comedian Jackie
Mason (center),
and others
celebrate the
annual Salute to
Israel Parade in
New York City.



Bavarian, English, or Bohemian Jews. The desire to assimilate to American culture was felt in the larger synagogues, where decorations were added and sermons were changed from German to English or abandoned altogether.

Beginning in 1881, the immigration of eastern European Jews marked the first significant resistance to acculturation. These immigrants tended to be poor, and they settled in tight-knit communities where they retained the traditions and customs from the old world. They consciously avoided assimilation into American culture and continued to speak Yiddish, a mixture of Hebrew and medieval German that further separated them from other Americans. Some American institutions applied pressure to assimilate into mainstream culture by banning the use of Yiddish in public programs. But the ban was removed by the beginning of the twentieth century as efforts to limit Americanization became more popular. Increasingly, rapid assimilation into American culture was viewed as unnecessary and harmful to Jewish identity. Still, a conflict remained between younger and older generation Jews over how much Americanization was desirable.

STEREOTYPES, ANTI-SEMITISM, AND DISCRIMINATION

The arrival of eastern European immigrants prompted the first significant tide of anti-Semitism in America. During the 1880s, clubs and resorts that once welcomed Jews began to exclude them. European anti-Semitism influenced a growing number of Americans to adopt various negative stereotypes of Jews as clannish, greedy, parasitic, vulgar, and physically inferior. To mitigate these sentiments, Americanized Jews developed aid societies to provide jobs and relief funds to help eastern European Jews fit into American society. In addition, American-born German Jews fought against restrictive legislation and formed philanthropic societies that funded schools, hospitals, and libraries for eastern European Jews. The hope was that if the hundreds of thousands of newly arriving Russian Jews had access to homes, jobs, and health care, the decreased burden on American public institutions would ease ethnic tensions.

Despite efforts by Americanized Jews to reduce ethnic hatred and stereotyping, discrimination against Jews continued into the twentieth century.

Housing restrictions and covenants against Jews became more common just prior to World War I. During the 1920s and 1930s, Jews faced significant difficulty obtaining employment in large corporations or in fields such as journalism. Jews were also increasingly subjected to restrictive quotas in higher education. In particular, Jewish enrollment dropped by as much as 50 percent at Ivy League schools such as Harvard and Yale during the 1920s. By the 1930s most private institutions had Jewish quota policies in place. In politics, one of the motivating forces behind the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 was the negative image that some held of immigrant Russian Jews, who were thought to live a lowly, animal-like existence. This “dirty Jew” stereotype was based on a perception of ghetto Jews, who were forced to endure squalid living conditions out of economic necessity. Another stereotype was of the Jew as Communist sympathizer and revolutionary, a characterization stemming from the belief that Jews were responsible for the Russian Revolution. All of these negative stereotypes were reinforced in American literature of the 1920s and 1930s. Authors such as Thomas Wolf, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway all depicted Jewish caricatures in their novels, while poets such as T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound freely expressed their anti-Semitism.

Fueled by a Worldwide Depression and the rise of German Nazism, Jewish discrimination and anti-Semitism reached a peak during the 1930s. One of the more influential American voices of anti-Semitism was Roman Catholic priest Charles E. Coughlin, who argued that the Nazi attack on Jews was justified because of the communist tendencies of Jews. Coughlin blamed New York Jews for the hard economic times, a message intended to appeal to Coughlin’s Detroit audience of industrial workers hurt by the Depression.

At the end of World War II, when the atrocities of the Nazi Holocaust became widely known, anti-Semitism in America diminished considerably. Though some Jews in academia lost appointments as a result of Communist fears instigated by Senator Joseph McCarthy, Jews generally enjoyed improved social conditions after 1945. Returning war veterans on the G.I. Bill created a demand for college professors that Jews helped fulfill, and entrance quotas restricting admission of Jewish students at universities were gradually abandoned. As discrimination waned, Jews enjoyed substantial representation in academia, business, entertainment, and such professions as finance, law, and medicine. In short, Jews during the postwar years resumed their positions as contributing and often leading members of American society.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Immigrant Jews passed on Jewish traditions in the home, but subsequent generations have relied on religious schools to teach the traditions. These schools have helped Jewish parents accommodate their goal of having their children become familiar with Jewish tradition without interfering with their children’s integration into American culture. Today, many Jewish children attend congregation school a few days a week for three to five years. During this time, they learn Hebrew and discover the essential traditions and customs of Jewish culture.

Jewish traditions and customs primarily derive from the practice of Judaism. The most important Jewish traditions stem from the *mitzvot*, which are the 613 holy obligations found in the Torah and Talmud. Consisting of 248 positive commandments (Thou shall’s) and 365 negative commandments (Thou shall not’s), these commandments fall into three categories: *Edot*, or “testimonies,” are rules that help Jews bear witness to their faith (e.g., rules on what garments to wear); *Mishpatim* (judgments) are rules of behavior found in most religions (e.g., the rule against stealing); and *Hukim* (statutes) are divine rules that humans cannot fully understand (e.g., dietary rules). No one person can possibly fulfill all 613 *mitzvot* since they include laws for different people in different situations. Even the most Orthodox Jew in modern times is expected to observe less than half of the obligations.

The basic beliefs common to all Jews, except atheists and agnostics, were articulated by Moses Maimonides (1135-1204). Known as the Thirteen Principles of the Faith, they are: (1) God alone is the creator; (2) God is One; (3) God is without physical form; (4) God is eternal; (5) humans pray only to God; (6) the words of the prophets are true; (7) the greatest prophet was Moses; (8) today’s Torah is the one God gave to Moses; (9) the Torah will not be replaced; (10) God knows people’s thoughts; (11) the good are rewarded and the evil are punished; (12) the Messiah will come; and, (13) the dead will be revived. Although most of the Jewish faithful share these broad beliefs, there is no specific requirement to commit all 13 to memory.

CUISINE

There is no specific Jewish cuisine, only lists of permissible and impermissible foods for Orthodox Jews and others who observe *kashrut*. Delineated in the Book of Leviticus and dating back to 1200 B.C.E., *kashrut* is a system of food laws for eating *kosher* foods and avoiding *treifa* foods. *Kosher* foods are simply ones that are, by law, fit for Jews; they include

Orthodox Jews burn hametz in preparation for Passover in the Williamsburg section of New York. Hametz, or leavened foods, are not permitted to be eaten during Passover.



fruits, vegetables, grains, meat from cud-chewing mammals with split hooves (e.g., sheep, cows, goats), fish with scales and fins (e.g., salmon, herring, perch), domesticated birds (e.g., chicken, turkey, duck), and milk and eggs from kosher mammals and birds. *Trefa* foods are forbidden by Jewish law, simply because of biblical decree, not because such foods are unfit for human consumption; they include meat from unkosher mammals (e.g., pork, rabbit, horse), birds of prey (e.g., owls, eagles), and water animals that do not have both scales and fins (e.g., lobster, crab, squid). *Kashrut* also prescribes that the slaughter of animals shall be painless. Thus, a Jewish butcher (*shohet*) studies the anatomy of animals to learn the precise spot where killing may occur instantaneously. After the animal is killed, the blood must be completely drained and any diseased portions removed. Finally, *kashrut* involves keeping meat and milk separate. Because of the biblical commandment not to “stew a kid in its mother’s milk,” Jewish law has interpreted this to mean that meat and dairy products cannot be prepared or consumed together.

HOLIDAYS

Because there is a separate Jewish calendar based on the lunar cycle, Jewish holidays occur on different secular days every year. The first holiday of the Jewish year is the celebration of the new year, *Rosh Hashanah*, which occurs sometime in September or October. It is a ten-day period in which Jews reflect on their lives during the previous year. Three basic themes are associated with this holiday: the anniversary of the creation of the world; the day of judgment; and the renewal of the covenant between God and Israel. On the night before the beginning of *Rosh Hashanah*, one popular custom is to eat honey-dipped apples so that the new year will be a sweet one. *Yom Kippur*, the “Day of Atonement,” occurs at the end of *Rosh Hashanah*. For 25 hours observant Jews fast while seeking forgiveness from God and from those against whom they have sinned. There are five services at the synagogue throughout the day, most centering on the themes of forgiveness and renewal.

In the winter, usually in December, Jews celebrate the festival of *Hanukkah*. This is a joyous eight-day period that marks the time when in 164 B.C.E. the Jews, led by Judah the Maccabee, success-

fully reclaimed the Temple in Jerusalem from the Syrians. When the Maccabees prepared to light the perpetual flame in the Temple, they only found one jar of oil, enough for only one day. Miraculously, the oil lasted eight days until a new supply of oil arrived. Thus, the celebration of Hanukkah, also known as the Festival of Lights, involves lighting a candle for each night of the festival, one on the first night, two on the second, and so forth. Over time, Hanukkah has become a time of family celebration with games and presents for children.

Other holidays and festivals round out the Jewish year. In late winter Jews celebrate *Purim*, a period of great drinking and eating to commemorate the biblical time when God helped Esther save the Jews from the evil, tyrannical Haman, who wanted to destroy the Jews. In late March or early April, Jews participate in the week-long festival of Passover, which marks the Jewish Exodus from Egypt. The Passover Supper, or *Seder*, is the central feature of this celebration and is a gathering of family and friends (with room for the “unexpected guest”) who eat a traditional meal of unleavened bread, parsley, apples, nuts, cinnamon, raisins, and wine. Seven weeks after Passover, *Shavout* is celebrated, marking the giving of the Torah by God and the season of wheat harvest. In autumn Jews celebrate *Sukkot*, an eight-day festival honoring the time when the Israelites spent 40 years in the desert after the Exodus and before returning to Palestine. Because the Israelites spent 40 years living in the wilderness, this holiday season is celebrated by living for eight days in a temporary home called a *sukkah*. Though a *sukkah* is small and typically does not protect well against the increasingly harsh fall weather, Jews are expected to be joyous and grateful for all that God has provided.

HEALTH ISSUES

Before coming to America, Jews living in small communities in Europe occasionally suffered from amaurotic idiocy, an inherited pathology attributed to inbreeding. During the early twentieth century, when the largest waves of Jewish immigrants arrived in America, Russian Jewish immigrants were afflicted with nervous disorders, suicides, and tuberculosis more often than other immigrants. Despite these afflictions, Jews had a lower death rate than other immigrants at the time. Recently, the National Foundation for Jewish Genetic Diseases published a list of the seven most common genetic diseases suffered by Jews:

Bloom Syndrome: a disease causing shortness in height (usually less than five feet), redness of

skin, and susceptibility to respiratory tract and ear infections. Affected men often experience infertility and both sexes have an increased risk of cancer. Just over 100 cases have been reported since the disease was discovered in 1954, but one in 120 Jews are carriers and children from two carriers have a 25 percent chance of contracting the disease.

Familial Dysautonomia: a congenital disease of the nervous system resulting in stunted growth, increased tolerance of pain, and lack of tears. One in 50 Ashkenazi Jews in America carries the gene, and the risk of recurrence in affected families is 25 percent.

Gaucher Disease: a disease that in its mildest form—the form common to Jews—is characterized by easy bruising, orthopedic problems, anemia, and a variety of other symptoms. The more advanced forms of the disease are fatal but rare and not concentrated in any one ethnic group. One out of 25 Ashkenazi Jews carries the recessive gene, and one in 2,500 Jewish babies is afflicted.

Mucopolidosis IV: a recently discovered disease (1974) involving the deterioration of the central nervous system in babies who later develop mild or more severe retardation. Thus far only handful of cases have been reported, all by Ashkenazi Jews. The disease only occurs when both parents are carriers, with 25 percent of babies from such parents being affected.

Niemann-Pick Disease: a usually fatal disease characterized by a buildup of fatty materials causing enlargement of the spleen, emaciation, and degradation of the central nervous system. Afflicted babies typically die before the age of three, but survival into young adulthood is possible in milder cases. The disease affects about 25 Ashkenazi Jews each year in the United States.

Tay-Sachs Disease: a biochemical disorder causing retardation in babies as early as the fourth month and leading to a deterioration of the central nervous system that ends in death, usually between the ages of five and eight. Approximately one in 25 Jews is a carrier, with the risk that 25 percent of babies from two carriers will have Tay-Sachs. Screening techniques have enabled carriers to bring only normal babies to term.

Torsion Dystonia: a disease involving an increasing loss of motor control coupled with normal to superior intelligence affecting children between the ages of four and 16. One in 70 Ashkenazi Jews in America is a carrier, with one out of every 20,000 Jewish babies developing the disease.

LANGUAGE

One of the strongest unifying links between Jews throughout the world is the Hebrew language. From the time of Abraham in 2000 B.C.E. until the Babylonians captured Judah in 586 B.C.E., Hebrew was the everyday language of Jews. Since then, Jews have generally adopted the vernacular of the societies in which they have resided, including Arabic, German, Russian, and English. Hebrew continued to be spoken and read, but primarily in sacred contexts. Most of the Torah is written in Hebrew, and religious services are mostly in Hebrew, though Progressive synagogues will make greater use of the language of the community. The use of Hebrew in religious worship enables Jews from all parts of the world to enjoy a common bond. In the twentieth century, Hebrew regained its status as an everyday language in Israel, where it is the official language.

During the diaspora, as Jews left Palestine to settle in various parts of Europe, two distinctly Jewish languages emerged. The Sephardic Jews of Spain and Portugal developed Ladino, a mixture of Spanish and Hebrew, while Ashkenazic Jews in central and eastern Europe spoke Yiddish, a combination of medieval German and Hebrew. These two languages were spoken by immigrants when they came to America, but were not typically passed on to the next generation. The exception to this occurred during the turn of the century when Russian Jews helped Yiddish gain a strong foothold in America through Yiddish newspapers and theater. At its high point in 1920, Yiddish was spoken by half of the Jewish population in America. By 1940, however, the proportion of American Jews who spoke Yiddish had dropped to one-third, and its presence as a world language was severely threatened by the Holocaust, which killed most of the Yiddish-speaking Jews. Today, a small but growing minority of Jews are attempting to revitalize Yiddish as a language uniquely capable of transmitting Jewish cultural heritage.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Commonly heard expressions are: *Shalom*—Peace (a general greeting); *Shalom lekha*—Hello/Goodbye (an everyday greeting); *Barukh ha-ha*—Blessed be the one who comes (a general welcome to guests often used at weddings or circumcisions); *Mazel tov*—Good luck (a wish for luck commonly used at births, *bar mitzvahs*, and weddings); *Le-hayyim*—To life/Cheers (a traditional toast wishing someone good health); *Ad me'ah ve-esrim shana*—May you live until 120 (an expression meaning good wishes for a long life); *Tizkeh le-shanim*—Long life to you

(an expression wishing someone happy birthday or happy anniversary); *Hag same'ah*—A happy holiday (a general holiday greeting used for all Jewish festivals); *L'shana tova*—Good year (a shortened version of “may you be inscribed in the Book of Life for a good year,” which is wished during Rosh Hashanah).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

As Jews have spread to Europe and America after being forced out of Palestine, their cultural heritage has depended on strong family and community relations. One of the chief ways in which Jews, particularly Orthodox Jews, have maintained family and community values has been through the keeping of *Shabat*, the Sabbath. Observing *Shabat*, or “the day of delight,” is one of the Ten Commandments and is essentially a matter of taking a break from work to devote one day of the week to rest, contemplation, and family and community togetherness. Just prior to Sabbath, which lasts from sunset on Friday to late Saturday night, the family must complete all the preparations for the day because no work should be done once the Sabbath begins. Traditionally, the mother starts the Sabbath by lighting candles and saying a special prayer. Afterward, the family attends a short service in the synagogue, then returns home for a meal and lighthearted conversation, perhaps even singing. The following morning the community gathers in the synagogue for the most important religious service of the week. On Saturday afternoon observant Jews will continue to refrain from work and either make social visits or spend time in quiet reflection. A ceremony called *havdalah* (distinction) takes place Saturday night, marking the end of Sabbath and the beginning of the new week.

The relative importance of *Shabat* and the synagogue for American Jews has declined over the years. In fact, the history of Jews in America reflects an ongoing secularization of Jewish values. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the Jewish community center developed as an important nonsectarian counterpart to the synagogue. Modeled after the Young Men's Hebrew Association, Jewish community centers became dominated by the 1920s by professionals who wanted to establish a central place for younger Jews to acquire such American values as humanism and self-development. While such community centers continue to play a role in Jewish population areas, many of today's American Jews no longer associate with a synagogue or community center, but may live in a Jewish neighborhood as the only outward sign of their Jewish identity.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

According to Judaism, marriage is the fulfillment of one of God's purposes for human beings. Consequently, all Jews are intended to experience both the joy and hardship of matrimony, including rabbis. To facilitate the finding of a mate, the matchmaker plays a role in Jewish society of bringing together suitable but perhaps reluctant individuals. The matchmaker only helps the process along; the final choice must be made freely by both partners according to Jewish law.

Traditionally, intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles has been forbidden. A Jew who married a Christian faced ostracism from family and community. Jews who immigrated to America during the Colonial period and after, however, intermarried with non-Jews with relative impunity. This tolerance of religious freedom lasted until the 1880s when the arrival of Russian Jews ushered in a conservative era with a more traditional view of marriage. For the first half of the twentieth century, intermarriage among Jews remained low, with only about five percent choosing to marry non-Jews. By the 1960s and 1970s, however, intermarriage became more common, with as many as 20 to 30 percent of Jews choosing non-Jewish mates, and by 1999 had risen to 52 percent. Increased assimilation and intermarriage has sparked concern over the continued existence of American Jewry. A recent survey of American rabbis found opinion divided on performance of mixed marriages by rabbis, with disagreement on whether performing such marriage ceremonies encourages those marrying non-Jews to maintain their connection with Judaism and perhaps encourages the non-Jewish partners to convert.

The question of "who's a Jew" in Israel also has American Jews concerned. Recent legislation makes conversions to Judaism legal only when performed by Orthodox rabbis. This has political implications, given the close relationship of religious affiliation and political power in Israel; for example, 150 religious councils distribute more than \$70 million in government funds annually. More important for American Jews is that along with the authority over conversions comes the authority to determine eligibility for automatic Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return. Eighty-five percent of American Jews are Reform, Conservative, or unaffiliated and thus feel that such legislation is shutting them out, in effect telling them that they are not really Jews. In 1997 many withheld charitable contributions or redirected them to more secular organizations in response.

BIRTHS, WEDDINGS, AND FUNERALS

Jewish babies usually receive two names, an everyday name and a Hebrew name used in the synagogue and on religious documents. The naming of the baby occurs after birth at a baby-naming service or, for many male babies, when they are circumcised. Since the emergence of Judaism some 4,000 years ago, Jews have observed the tradition of *brit milah* (covenant of circumcision). Although the practice of cutting the foreskin of male babies probably served a hygienic purpose originally, circumcision has come to represent the beginning of life in the Jewish community. To be sure, many non-Jews are circumcised, and being born of a Jewish mother is sufficient to make a baby Jewish. Nonetheless, circumcision is traditionally associated with the keeping of the covenant between Abraham and God as well as with physical and ethical purity. The *brit milah* must occur eight days after birth, unless the baby is sick. The ceremony takes place in the home and is usually performed by a *mohel*, an observant Jew who may be a rabbi, doctor, or simply one skilled in the technique. After the circumcision, which occurs very quickly and without much pain, a celebration of food, prayers, and blessings follows.

Bar mitzvah, which varies according to local traditions (Ashkenazic, Sephardic, or Oriental) is the ceremony that initiates the young Jewish male into the religious community. By reading in the synagogue, he becomes an adult. According to Talmudic tradition, this usually occurs at the age of 13. Following the reading in the synagogue, there is a celebration (*seudat mitzvah*). In the twentieth century, the *bas* or *bat mitzvah* has been introduced for young girls; however, this occurs more frequently in the Reform and Conservative groups than the Orthodox ones.

Jewish weddings are marked by several distinct traditions. The ceremony occurs under a *huppah*, a canopy open on all four sides, symbolizing the openness of the bride and groom's new home. The *huppah* can be placed in a home or outdoors but is most often used in a synagogue. Under the *huppah*, the bride circles the groom a set number of times, the couple is blessed, and they both drink from the same cup of wine, a sharing which demonstrates that from this point forward they will share a life together. The heart of the ceremony, the only part required to make the marriage legally binding, occurs next. The groom places a ring on the right-hand index finger of the bride, proclaiming, "Behold you are consecrated to me by this ring according to the law of Moses and Israel." If at least two witnesses observe her accept the ring, the marriage is complete. The ceremony is rounded out by

the signing of the marriage contract (the *ketubah*), the singing of seven blessings (the *Sheva brahot*), and the traditional smashing of the glass by the husband. Breaking a glass symbolizes the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the fact that the couple will have to face hard times together. When the glass is broken, guests exclaim, “*Mazel tov*” (good luck), and a wedding feast ensues.

Jewish funerals and mourning are characterized by a sense of frankness toward the reality of death. Funerals occur soon after a person dies, usually within a day or two unless family travel plans or the observance of Sabbath delays the service for an extra day. Arrangements for the deceased are handled by the *hevra kadisha* (holy society), which is a volunteer organization within the synagogue responsible for preparing the body. Such preparation does not involve make-up or embalming but instead consists of dressing the person in white, perhaps wrapping the deceased with his or her prayer cloth, or *tallit*. In modern times, the *hevra kadisha* are sometimes assisted by professionals, but not for profit. The ceremony is usually short and is followed by burial at the cemetery, where family members will recite the *Kaddish*, a traditional prayer celebrating God and life.

For Orthodox survivors, four stages of mourning have evolved over the years which encourage expression of grief so that the healing process may occur without delay. From the time a person dies until the funeral, mourners cease working, gather together, and do not generally receive visitors, primarily because any comfort at this point is premature and only causes unnecessary strain. The second stage occurs during the first week after the funeral, when the family observes *shiva*. At this time, mourners do not generally work but open their homes to visitors who offer their sympathy. The next stage is *shaloshim*, which lasts for three weeks after *shiva* and is marked by a resumption of work and other obligations, but entertainment is avoided. Finally, there is a last phase of light mourning for spouses or immediate family members that ends 11 months after the funeral. By the anniversary of a person's death, mourning is complete.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Jewish culture over the years has been male-dominated. Women's roles were limited to household activity, including raising children and performing minor religious functions, such as lighting the Sabbath candles. Although women are subject to the same negative biblical commandments as men, they are not expected to observe the same positive commandments. For example, men are expected to pray

three times a day at fixed times, while women only pray once at a time of their choosing. This difference has been variously attributed to the demanding nature of women's household duties and to men's higher proclivity to sin. For centuries, women could not study the Torah and could not receive a formal education. While Orthodox Jews have eased their stance against education for women, they have nevertheless maintained that women should serve a secondary role to their husbands. Other Jews have taken a more liberal view, holding that women are equals who can fully participate in religious ceremonies. In Reform and Conservative Judaism, women are permitted to become rabbis. Many Jewish women rabbis played a role in the American feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The movement liberated women from having to serve traditional roles, and Jewish women such as Congresswoman Bella Abzug and authors Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan paved the way for women to enter a variety of fields once dominated by men.

EDUCATION

For years Jews have placed strong emphasis on the importance of education. In the nineteenth century, the ability to read gave German Jewish immigrants a competitive edge over other German immigrants. Later, American-born Jews pursued education as a means of entering such professions as law and medicine. Although Jews currently represent less than three percent of the American population, the proportion of Jews in academia has been significantly higher since World War II, with Jews comprising ten percent of the teaching faculty at American universities. By 1973, nearly 60 percent of all Jewish graduate students were enrolled in the nation's top ten institutions of higher learning. Approximately 20 to 30 percent of the leading scholars who taught at such universities were Jewish.

Religious education was once taught in a *heder*, an eastern European elementary school for boys. While girls generally did not have access to formal education, boys would attend the *heder* all day long, studying the Hebrew prayerbook and the Torah. In America, the *heder* played a secondary role to public schools. As priorities changed with acculturation, the *heder* diminished in significance. However, the Talmud Torah school, a charitable school first established in Europe, began to usurp the role of the *heder* as a place for Judaic instruction. Today, a number of Jewish children attend some type of religious school a few hours each week for three to five years in order to learn Jewish history, traditions, and customs as well as the Hebrew language.

PHILANTHROPIC TRADITIONS

The Jewish philanthropic tradition reaches back to biblical times when Israeli Jews practiced *tzedakah*, or charity, as one of their primary duties in life. One common form of *tzedakah* was to allocate a portion of the harvest for the poor, who were free to take crops from certain parts of a farm. During the Middle Ages, Jewish self-governing communities called *kehillahs* would ensure that the community's poor would have the basic necessities of life. The spirit of the *kehillah* survived into the twentieth century in the form of *landsmanshaft*, separate societies existing within congregations in cities such as New York. The *landsmanshaft* were comprised of townspeople from congregations who pooled resources to provide such benefits as insurance, cemetery rights, free loans, and sick pay.

While the tradition of lending assistance began in the synagogue, over the years philanthropic organizations became increasingly independent. Organizations such as the Order of B'nai B'rith and the Young Men's Hebrew Association became major sponsors of charitable projects. These and other benevolent societies were responsible for the establishment of Jewish orphanages, hospitals, and retirement homes in major cities across the United States throughout the nineteenth century.

Jewish philanthropy increased tremendously during the twentieth century. Scientific philanthropy—a method of providing aid through modern methods and without assistance from religious institutions—gained favor at the beginning of the twentieth century in response to the problem of helping settle the large waves of Russian immigrant Jews. One outgrowth of this movement was the establishment of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, which formed national agencies to deal with immigrant issues. During World War I, Jewish philanthropic efforts were consolidated through the establishment of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, an organization formed to provide relief to eastern European Jews suffering from famine and pogroms. By raising more than \$66 million by 1922, the Committee was able to expand its relief efforts to include health care and economic reconstruction programs that reached some 700,000 Jews in need of assistance. Several organizations supplied economic relief to European Jews during and after World War II. One such organization, the United Jewish Appeal, was initially established to help Holocaust survivors and to promote Israel as a homeland for Jews. During the postwar decades, however, it has blossomed into the largest private charity in America, providing financial aid to Israel and Jews worldwide. In recent decades, the Jewish philanthropic tradition has

extended beyond the Jewish community. Mazon, for example, was founded in the 1980s as a national hunger relief organization that is funded by Jews who voluntarily donate three percent of the costs of such celebrations as weddings and *bar mitzvahs*.

RELIGION

The basic message of Judaism is that there is one all-powerful God. Originally established as a response to polytheism and idol worship, Judaism has been quite successful in perpetuating its belief in monotheism in that it is the parent religion of both Christianity and Islam. The basic difference between these three religions centers on the Messiah, or savior of the world. While Christians believe the Messiah was Jesus Christ and Muslims believe in several divinely inspired prophets, the greatest being Mohammed, Jews believe the Messiah has not yet appeared.

“Everybody had something to give me for help. It wasn't a question of money, it was a question of being a human being to a human being. And in those days people were apparently that way. There were so many nice people that were trying to help us when we came to this country.”

Clara Larsen in 1908, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

The centerpiece of Judaism is the Torah. Strictly speaking, the Torah refers to the first five books of the Bible (Five Books of Moses), but it can also mean the entire Bible or all of Jewish law, including the Talmud and the Midrash. The Talmud is oral law handed down through the generations that interprets the written law, or Torah. The Talmud consists of the Mishnah, which is the text version of the oral law as compiled by Rabbi Judah the Patriarch in 200 C.E., and the Gemara, which is the collected commentary on the Mishnah. The Midrash refers to the collection of stories or sermons, or *midrashim*, which interpret biblical passages. Taken as a whole, Jewish law is known as *halakah*, which guides all aspects of Jewish life.

Two other vital components of Judaism are the rabbi and the synagogue. Since the Middle Ages, rabbis served as spiritual leaders of communities. Though equal with the rest of humanity in the eyes of God, the rabbi was chosen by the community as an authority on Jewish law. Rabbis were paid to teach,

This boy reads
from the Torah
during his Bar
Mitzvah.



preach, and judge religious and civic matters. While the role of the rabbi was well established in Europe, American synagogues were reluctant to preserve the social and economic position of rabbis. Congregation members no longer felt the need for such an authoritative figure. Consequently, some congregations hired ministers rather than rabbis in order to restrict the influence of their religious leaders. Today, many congregations continue to be led by rabbis who perform traditional duties as well as a variety of other functions, including visiting the sick and attending to wedding and funeral services. The synagogue is the place for Jewish worship, study, and social meetings. Although synagogues have generally played a secondary role to Jewish secular organizations in America, the postwar years saw a revival in the importance of the synagogue in Jewish life. The synagogue expanded to become the center of community life and the organization through which Jewish children developed a Jewish identity. Membership in synagogues rose dramatically, though attendance at services did not increase proportionately.

Though not known as such, Jews were all basically Orthodox until the French Revolution. Orthodoxy as a separate branch of Judaism developed in eastern and central Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the Jewish Enlightenment and Emancipation ushered in a new era of freedom of thought and living. Rejecting such changes, Orthodox Jews sought to maintain Jewish traditions through strict observance of Jewish law as expressed in the Torah. While most Jewish immigrants were Orthodox when they arrived in the United States, economic pressure and differences in social

climate between Europe and America caused many to abandon Orthodoxy. As a result, Orthodox Judaism has only been practiced by a small minority of American Jews. (Roughly ten percent of American Jews are Orthodox, 30 percent are Reform, and 40 percent are Conservative.) The survival of Orthodox Judaism is due in part to its tolerance of American ways and modern educational practices, which have appealed to middle-class Jews. Other factors include the founding of Yeshiva College in 1928 and the development of an Orthodox parochial school system, which grew from just 17 schools in the 1930s to more than 400 schools by the 1970s.

For many years, the dominant branch of American Judaism has been Reform. Though some Jews maintain that Judaism has always been Reform, Reform Judaism as a distinct segment of Judaism can be traced to eighteenth-century German Jewish Enlightenment. Some Reform synagogues began to appear in Germany in the early nineteenth century, but Reform Judaism gained its largest following among German Jews who immigrated to America during the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike Orthodox Jews, members of Reform Judaism view Jewish laws as adaptable to the changing needs of cultures over time. As a result, Reform Jews look to the Bible for basic moral principles. They do not believe in a literal reading of the Bible and have felt free to ignore outdated passages, such as those that make reference to animal sacrifice. In general, Reform Judaism represents the most liberal strain of Judaism: Reform was the first to let women become rabbis (1972); it is accepting of intermarriage and converts; and it does not stress such traditional teachings as the coming of the Messiah or the need for separate nationhood (Israel). These liberal views reflect Reform's emphasis on reason over tradition, a shift that represents a transformation of the traditional Jewish identity into a Jewish American identity.

As assimilation has proceeded and intermarriage greatly increased, many Reform Jews seeking to reinforce their Jewish identity have rediscovered traditional practices such as keeping kosher households and the wearing of yarmulkes as well as the study of Hebrew, the use of which has increased in religious services. In May of 1999 the Central Conference of American Rabbis, meeting in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania, adopted a new platform, known as the Pittsburgh Principles. The document, while not requiring such observances, strongly recommended the study and practice of mitzvot, many of which are obligatory in more conservative Jewish sects.

With a theological perspective that falls somewhere between Orthodoxy and Reform, Conservative Judaism has become the largest branch of

American Judaism. Conservative Judaism first developed in nineteenth-century Germany and later gained an American following by the early 1900s. The American roots of this branch of Judaism can be traced to the 1887 founding in New York City of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which has since become the center of Conservative Judaism and home to the world's largest repository of books on Judaism and Jewish life. With its blend of tradition and openness to change within the confines of Jewish law, Conservative Judaism steadily attracted new members until World War II, when membership sharply increased and ultimately attained its current status as the largest branch of Judaism in America. Theologically, Conservatives look to the Talmud and its interpretations of the Torah as an example of their own views on the evolving nature of Jewish law. As long as change does not violate the basic tenets outlined in the Torah, change is welcomed by Conservatives. Thus, religious ceremonies do not have to be in Hebrew, and women can serve as rabbis. Because Conservatives have not formally articulated their ideology, individual congregations are able to style themselves around the needs of the community.

Another segment of American Judaism is Reconstructionist Judaism, which is sometimes lumped together with Reform and Conservative Judaism as Progressive Judaism. Developed in the 1920s and 1930s by Mordecai M. Kaplan and influenced by the thinking of American pragmatist philosopher John Dewey, Reconstructionism emphasizes Democratic culture and humanistic values. Reconstructionists value Jewish traditions not merely for their religious significance, but because such traditions reflect Jewish culture. Thus, Judaism is more a way of life than a religion. Reconstructionists may learn Hebrew, observe Jewish holidays, and eat kosher foods, but not out of a sense of obligation but as a way of preserving Jewish culture. Of the four major branches of Judaism, Reconstructionism has the smallest following.

Although most American-born Jews do not practice traditional Judaism or attend religious services, nearly three-fourths of American Jews align themselves with either Reform or Conservative Judaism.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Over the years, Jews have attained a high level of economic prosperity through keen business sense and dedication to hard work. Such prosperity has

been achieved over the course of several generations, dating back to medieval Europe when Jews first became associated with the world of finance and trade. Because they were not allowed to hire Gentiles and were excluded from craft guilds, Jews took on the jobs that Christians found repugnant, such as money-lending and tax-collecting. In time Jews became involved in trade and the clothing business as well. By the time the Sephardic Jews began settling in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most earned their livings as independent retailers; they were bakers, tailors, merchants, and small business owners.

Jews in the mid-nineteenth century were predominantly tailors or peddlers. Many of those who worked in the city were tailors or were otherwise affiliated with the garment business. Those who sought their fortune outside of the city were usually peddlers, who played a key role in bringing merchandise from the city to the country. The successful peddler could eventually earn enough to set up his own retail store on the outskirts of town or in rural areas. Credit was at the heart of the emerging network of these retail businesses. German Jews were the chief creditors at the time, and they would minimize their credit risks by dealing with relatives whenever possible. The close connection between creditor and businessman led to the emergence of a Jewish business elite between 1860 and 1880 that had established profitable ventures in such fields as investment banking, the garment industry, shoe manufacturing, and meat processing. By the end of the century, American Jews were no longer primarily tailors or peddlers (those trades represented just three percent and one percent, respectively, of American Jews in the 1890 census). Instead, Jews had attained a substantial measure of wealth by becoming retailers, bankers, brokers, wholesalers, accountants, bookkeepers, and clerks; together, these occupations represented 67 percent of all American Jews in the 1890 census.

The immigration of Russian Jews in the early twentieth century brought vast numbers of workers into the clothing industry in large cities. Newly arriving immigrants would work in the factories for long hours, often 70 or more hours a week, honing their skills and developing their own specialties. As with the German Jews before them, the Russian Jews worked their way into more affluent positions over the years, becoming business owners and professionals. While German Jews comprised the majority of the 1,000 clothing manufacturers in the late nineteenth century, by the eve of the World War I Russian Jews owned more than 16,000 garment factories and employed more than 200,000 Russian Jews. The slowing of immigration during

and immediately after World War I coupled with increasing wages in the garment industry enabled Russian Jews to raise their standard of living and attain the same socio-economic status as German Jews by the 1920s.

The educated professional has long been a highly valued member of Jewish culture. The entrepreneurial success of first-generation Jews enabled subsequent generations to move into the professional ranks of society. In large eastern and mid-western cities such as New York and Cleveland, the disproportionate share of Jewish doctors, lawyers, and dentists represented two to three times the proportion of the Jewish population in those cities. For example, Jews in the 1930s comprised 25 percent of the population of New York City, yet accounted for 65 percent of all lawyers and judges in the city.

As with the general population, Jews enjoyed considerable economic prosperity during the Post-war years. After World War II, the institutional discrimination against Jews that had developed during the first part of the twentieth century disappeared. With unprecedented access to education and advancement in American society, younger Jews entered colleges and embarked upon successful professional careers at about twice the rate of the preceding generation. Rather than gravitating toward the clothing industry, as many of their parents and grandparents had done, postwar Jews turned to a range of fields, including management, communications, real estate, entertainment, and academia.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since the first Jews arrived in Colonial America, Jews have enjoyed a high degree of political freedom and have taken an active role in politics and government. Although early Jewish settlers in America faced some political and social discrimination, laws restricting Jewish religious and business activities were generally not enforced. By 1740, Parliament granted Jewish aliens the right to citizenship without having to take a Christian oath. After America gained its independence, the Mikveh Israel Congregation urged the Constitutional Convention to make a provision guaranteeing the freedom of religious expression, which became a reality with the passage of the First Amendment in 1789. Since then, Jews have been involved in all levels of American civic and political life, with the presidency being the only office a Jew has not held. By 1992, Jews held 33 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and a full ten percent of the Senate. The

Republican congressional victories in 1994 reduced the number of Jews in the House to 24, while the retirement of Democrat Howard Metzenbaum brought the number of Jewish senators to nine.

Over the years Jews have developed a rich political tradition of fighting for social justice as liberals and radicals primarily affiliated with the Democratic party. Jews have been staunch supporters of Democratic political leaders. When in 1944 President Roosevelt's New Deal policies caused the president to lose popularity, 90 percent of Jews continued to support him. The tendency to side with an unpopular liberal candidate continued through 1972, when Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern won only 38 percent of the popular vote, but garnered more than 60 percent of the Jewish vote. The majority of Jews have continued their allegiance to the Democratic party, even during the 1980s when Republicans Ronald Reagan and George Bush won the presidency in landslide victories. Beginning in the 1970s, however, a growing number of Jews abandoned liberal politics in favor of pragmatism and conservatism. Leading this movement were Nathan Glazer, Irving Kristol, Sidney Hook, and Milton Friedman.

UNIONS AND SOCIALISM

The more radical Jewish political activists have been involved in unions and socialism. During the first part of the twentieth century, Jewish union leaders had strong ties to the Socialist party and the Jewish Socialist Federation. This support reflected a socialist leaning on the part of several Russian Jews who had participated in the failed Russian Revolution of 1905. The Socialist party enjoyed its greatest success in New York City between 1914 and 1917 when Socialist Meyer London was elected to represent the Lower East Side in the U.S. Congress and more than a dozen Socialists won seats in city government.

Influenced by eastern European socialist thought and American free enterprise, Jews found themselves on both sides of the labor disputes of the early twentieth century. The clothing industry provided the battleground. For a time Russian Jewish manufacturers refused to recognize unions, many of which contained a significant proportion of Jewish members. Tensions came to a head during two major strikes: The "uprising of twenty thousand," which involved Jewish and Italian young women striking against shirtwaist manufacturers in 1909, and "the great revolt," a massive strike in 1911 involving thousands of cloak makers. Both strikes pitted thugs and police against union workers. The

workers received community support from various Jewish benefactors, ranging from wealthy women who posted bail for the arrested workers to lawyers and community leaders who helped mediate settlements. As a result of the strikes, the work week was lowered to 50 hours and permanent mediation procedures were established. Two key unions at the time were the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, both of which included a significant proportion of Jewish members. Another union with significant Jewish membership was Arbeter Ring, or Workmen's Circle. With approximately 80,000 Jewish families on board by the mid-1920s, this union provided health care and cemetery services and involved itself in Yiddish culture by sponsoring Yiddish newspapers, schools, and theaters.

MILITARY PARTICIPATION

Throughout American history, Jews have served with distinction in the U.S. military. Of the approximately 2,500 Jews in America during the Revolutionary War, hundreds fought against the British while others supported the struggle for independence by refusing to recognize British authority. Just as the Civil War divided North against South, so too did it divide the American Jews. While most Jewish soldiers served in the Union army, many Jews in the South remained loyal to the Confederate cause. Several prominent Jews supported the South, notably Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of War and Secretary of State. Jews also figured prominently in the two world wars, with 250,000 Jews participating in World War I and 550,000 in World War II.

The participation of Jews in America's major wars demonstrates that while they are generally known as a peaceful people, Jews are prepared to fight for just causes. For some Jewish Americans, this principle extends beyond national concerns. The Jewish Defense League (JDL), for example, is a militant organization established in New York in 1968 by radical Rabbi Meir Kahane. The JDL's guiding principle is "Never Again," a reference to the Nazi Holocaust. The group's method of combatting worldwide anti-Semitism with violence has made the JDL controversial among Jews and non-Jews alike.

ISRAEL

For centuries Jews have sustained a commitment to establishing a homeland for Jews at some point. The longing to return to Zion, the hill on which Jerusalem was built, remained a vague dream until

1896, when Theodor Herzl wrote *The Jewish State*, which called for modern Palestine to be the home for Hebrew culture. The following year the first Zionist Congress convened in Basle, which along with Herzl's book marked the beginning of Zionism as an official movement. By 1914, some 12,000 American Jews had become Zionists. The movement was bolstered by the 1934 publication of Conservative Mordecai M. Kaplan's influential *Judaism as a Civilization*, which argued that Judaism as a religion reflected the totality of the Jewish people's consciousness. As such, Kaplan asserted that Jewish culture deserved its own central location, Palestine. After World War II, the effort to establish a Jewish state was helped considerably when the British gave the United Nations control of Palestine. In November of 1947 the United Nations approved a resolution to partition Palestine into Arab and Jewish regions. When Israel declared itself a nation on May 14, 1948, President Harry Truman decided to officially recognize Israel, despite a longstanding warning from the U.S. State Department that such recognition could anger oil-producing Arab countries.

Since the late 1930s American Jews have contributed billions of dollars in aid to help Israel deal with its immigration burdens and tenuous relations with Arab neighbors. While the periods of military strife in 1948, 1967, and 1973 brought forth the greatest contributions from the American Jewish community, financial support for various philanthropic projects has been steady over the years.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Countless Jews have made significant contributions to American culture over the years. Only a partial listing of notable names is possible.

ACADEMIA

Jews have been particularly influential in academia, with ten percent of faculty at American universities comprised of Jews, the number rising to 30 percent at America's top ten universities. Notable Jewish scholars include historians Daniel J. Boorstin (1914–), Henry L. Feingold (1931–), Oscar Handlin (1915–), Jacob Rader Marcus (1896-1995), Abram Sachar (1899–), and Barbara Tuchman (1912–), linguist Noam Chomsky (1928–), Russian literature and Slavic language experts Maurice Friedman (1929–) and Roman Jakobson (1896-1982), Zionist scholar and activist Ben Halpern (1912–), and philosophers Ernest Nagel (1901-

1985), a logical positivist influential in the philosophy of science, and Norman Lamm (1927–), Yeshiva University president and founder of the orthodox periodical *Tradition*.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Jews have had an enormous influence in Hollywood. By the 1930s Jews dominated the film industry as almost all of the major production companies were owned and operated by eastern European Jews. These companies include Columbia (Jack and Harry Cohn), Goldwyn (Samuel Goldwyn—born Samuel Goldfish, 1882), Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (Louis B. Mayer and Marcus Loew), Paramount (Jesse Lasky, Adolph Zukor, and Barney Balaban), Twentieth Century-Fox (Sol Brill and William Fox), United Artists (Al Lichtman), Universal (Carl Laemmle), and Warner Brothers (Sam, Jack, Albert, and Harry Warner).

Actors/performers: The Marx Brothers—Chico (Leonard; 1887-1961), Harpo (Adolph; 1888-1964), Groucho (Julius; 1890-1977), Gummo (Milton; 1894-1977), and Zeppo (Herbert; 1901-1979); Jack Benny (Benjamin Kubelsky; 1894-1974); George Burns (Nathan Birnbaum; 1896–); Milton Berle (Milton Berlinger; 1908–); Danny Kaye (Daniel David Kominski; 1913-1987); Kirk Douglas (Issur Danielovitch; 1918–); Walter Matthau (1920–); Shelly Winters (Shirley Schrift; 1923–); Lauren Bacall (Betty Joan Perske; 1924–); Sammy Davis, Jr. (1925-1990); Gene Wilder (Jerome Silberman; 1935–); and Dustin Hoffman (1937–).

Directors: Carl Reiner (1922–); Mel Brooks (Melvyn Kaminsky; 1926–); Stanley Kubrick (1928–); Woody Allen (Allen Konigsberg; 1935–); and Steven Spielberg (1947–).

GOVERNMENT

Mordecai M. Noah (1785-1851) was the most widely known Jewish political figure of the first half of the nineteenth century. A controversial figure, Noah was U.S. consul in Tunis from 1813 to 1815, when he was recalled for apparently mismanaging funds. He went on to serve as an editor, sheriff, and judge. In 1825 he created a refuge for Jews when he purchased Grand Island in Niagara River. The refuge city, of which Noah proclaimed himself governor, was to be a step toward the establishment of a permanent state for Jews.

In 1916 the first Jew joined the U.S. Supreme Court, noted legal scholar Louis Brandeis (1856-1941), whose liberalism and Jewish heritage sparked

a heated five-month Congressional battle over his nomination. After his confirmation, Brandeis used his power to help Zionism gain acceptance among Jews and non-Jews alike. Other prominent Jewish Supreme Court jurists include Benjamin Cardozo (1870-1938), a legal realist whose opinions foreshadowed the liberalism of the Warren court, and Felix Frankfurter (1882-1965), who prior to his Supreme Court appointment had been influential in promoting New Deal policies as a key advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

After the 1994 elections, nine Jews were members of the U.S. Senate: Barbara Boxer (California), Russell Feingold (Wisconsin), Diane Feinstein (California), Herbert Kohl (Wisconsin), Frank Lautenberg (New Jersey), Carl Levin (Michigan), Joseph Lieberman (Connecticut), Arlen Specter (Pennsylvania), and Paul Wellstone (Minnesota). With the exception of Specter, all are Democrats.

JOURNALISM

During the late nineteenth century Joseph Pulitzer operated a chain of newspapers, many of which often featured stories of public corruption. After his death in 1911, he left funds for the Columbia University School of Journalism and for the coveted annual prizes in his name. Since then, many Jewish journalists have won the Pulitzer Prize, including ABC news commentator Carl Bernstein (1944–), *Washington Post* columnist David Broder (1929–), syndicated columnist and satirist Art Buchwald (1925–), syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman (1927–), former *New York Times* reporter and author David Halberstam (1934–), journalist Seymour Hersh (1937–), *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis (1927–), former *New York Times* reporter and Harvard journalism professor Anthony J. Lukas (1933–), *New York Times* executive editor and author A. M. Rosenthal (1922–), stylist, humorist, and former presidential speech writer William Safire (1929–), *New York Times* reporter Sydney Schanberg (1934–), and journalist and political historian Theodore H. White (1915–). Other notable Jewish journalists include sportscaster Howard Cosell (William Howard Cohen; 1920-1995), *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff (1925–), NBC television journalist Marvin Kalb (1930–), financial columnist Sylvia Porter (Sylvia Feldman; 1913–), investigative journalist I. F. Stone (Isador Feinstein; 1907–), “60 Minutes” television journalist Mike Wallace (Myron Leon Wallace; 1918–), and television journalist Barbara Walters (1931–).

LITERATURE

Novelists: Saul Bellow (Solomon Bellows; 1915–)—*The Adventures of Augie March* and *Mr. Sammler's Planet*; E. L. Doctorow (1931–)—*Ragtime* and *Billy Bathgate*; Stanley Elkin (1930–); Joseph Heller (1923–)—*Catch 22*; Erica Jong (Erica Mann; 1942–)—*Fear of Flying*; Jerzy Kosinski (1933-1991)—*Being There*; Ira Levin (1929–)—*Rosemary's Baby* and *Boys from Brazil*; Norman Mailer (1923–)—*The Naked and the Dead* and *Tough Guys Don't Dance*; Bernard Malamud (1914-1986)—*The Natural* and *The Fixer*; Cynthia Ozick (1928–)—*The Pagan Rabbi*; Philip Roth (1933–)—*Portnoy's Complaint*; Isaac Bashevis Singer (1904-1991)—*In My Father's House*; Leon Uris (1924–)—*Exodus*; Nathaniel West (Nathan Weinstein; 1903-1940)—*Miss Lonelyhearts* and *The Day of the Locust*; and Herman Wouk (1915–)—*The Caine Mutiny* and *War and Remembrance*.

Playwrights: Lillian Hellman (1907-1984)—*Children's Hour* and *The Little Foxes*; David Mamet (1947–)—*American Buffalo* and *Glengarry Glen Ross*; and Arthur Miller (1915–)—*Death of a Salesman* and *The Crucible*.

Poets: Allen Ginsberg (1926–)—"Howl" and "Kaddish;" Stanley Kunitz (1905–)—"Green Ways;" and Howard Nemerov (1920-1991).

Essayists/critics: Irving Howe (1920–)—*World of Our Fathers* and *How We Lived*; Alfred Kazin (1915–)—*New York Jew*; Susan Sontag (1933–)—*Against Interpretation*; and Elie Wiesel (1928–)—*Night*.

MUSIC

Broadway and popular composers: Irving Berlin (1888-1989)—"Blue Skies," "God Bless America," and "White Christmas;" George Gershwin (1898-1937)—*Of Thee I Sing* and *Porgy and Bess* (musicals) and "Rhapsody in Blue;" Richard Rodgers (1902-1979)—*Oklahoma!*, *Carousel*, *South Pacific*, *The King and I*, and *The Sound of Music* (musicals; with Oscar Hammerstein II); Benny Goodman (1909-1986)—"Let's Dance" and "Tiger Rag" (swing band music); pianist, composer, and conductor Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990)—*West Side Story* and *Candide* (musicals) and *On the Waterfront* (film score); Burt Bacharach (1929–); Herb Alpert (1935–); and Marvin Hamlisch (1944–).

Classical performers/composers: pianist Arthur Schnitker (1887-1982); violinist Jascha Heifetz (1901-1987); pianist Vladimir Horowitz (1904-1989); violinist Nathan Milstein (1904-1992); violinist Itzhak Perlman (1945–); operatic soprano Beverly Sills (Belle Silverman; 1929–); and composer Aaron Copeland (1900-1990).

Popular songwriters/performers: Bob Dylan (Robert Zimmerman; 1941–)—"Like a Rolling Stone" and "Blowing in the Wind;" Neil Diamond (1941–)—"Solitary Man" and "I'm a Believer;" Carole King (Carole Klein; 1941–)—"You've Got a Friend" and "Been to Canaan;" Paul Simon (1941–); Art Garfunkel (1941–); and Barbra Streisand (1942–).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Perhaps the best known thinker of the twentieth-century is Albert Einstein (1879-1955), the German Jewish physicist who had completed his most important scientific work before coming to America in 1934. Though best known for his theory of relativity, for which he won the Nobel Prize in 1922, Einstein played a critical role in American history as part of team of scientists who researched atomic power during World War II. At that time, Jewish emigres joined native-born Jews in the famous Los Alamos nuclear project that led to the explosion of the first atomic bomb in 1945. Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967), Lewis Strauss, and I.I. Rabi (born 1898), all American-born Jews, teamed up with such Jewish immigrant scientists as Einstein, Enrico Fermi (1901-1954), Leo Szilard, Theodor von Karman, and John von Neumann. Einstein was part of "brain drain" of Jews from Nazi Germany that also included psychoanalysts Erich Fromm (1900-1980), Bruno Bettelheim (1903-1990), and Erik Erikson (1902–), as well as social scientists Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) and Leo Strauss (1899-1973).

Other American Jews made notable contributions to science as well. Albert Michelson, who measured the speed of light, was the first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize. Jonas Salk (1914-1995) and Albert Sabin (1906-1993) discovered polio vaccines during the 1950s, and Robert Hofstadter (1916-1970) won the Nobel Prize for creating a device for measuring the size and shape of neutrons and protons. Medical science pioneer Joseph Goldberger (1874-1929) laid the foundation for modern nutritional science with his study of the dietary habits of poor whites and blacks in the South. Finally, chemist Isaac Asimov (1920-1992) popularized science with his 500 fiction and non-fiction books on science.

SPORTS

Children of Jewish immigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century gravitated toward sports to break up the routine of daily life. Boxing was especially popular, with Jewish boxing champions Abe Attell (Albert Knoehr; 1884-1969), Barney Ross

(Barnet Rasofsky; 1909-1967), and Benny Leonard (Benjamin Leiner; 1896-1947), all hailing from New York's Lower East Side. Other world champions from various weight classes for two years or more include Benny Bass (1904-1975), Robert Cohen (1930-), Jackie Fields (Jacob Finkelstein; 1908-), Alphonse Halimi (1932-), Louis "Kid" Kaplan (1902-1970), Battling Levinsky (Barney Lebowitz; 1891-1949), Ted Lewis (Gershon Mendeloff; 1894-1970), Al McCoy (Al Rudolph; born 1894), Charley Phil Rosenberg (Charles Green; 1901-), "Slapsie" Maxie Rosenbloom (1904-1976), and Corporal Izzy Schwartz (1902-).

Beyond boxing, Jews have made their mark in many other sports as well. The Jewish Sports Hall of Fame in Israel includes the following Americans: Red Auerbach (basketball), Isaac Berger (weightlifting), Hank Greenberg (baseball), George Gulak (gymnastics), Irving Jaffe (ice skating), Sandy Koufax (baseball), Sid Luckman (football), Walter Miller (horse racing), Dick Savitt (tennis), Mark Spitz (swimming), and Sylvia Wene Martin (bowling).

MEDIA

PRINT

Commentary.

An organ of the American Jewish Committee and published monthly, this influential Jewish magazine addresses religious, political, social, and cultural topics.

Contact: Neil Kozodoy, Editor.

Address: 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (800) 551-3252; or (212) 751-4000.

Fax: (212) 751-4017.

E-mail: info@ajc.org.

Jewish Forward.

Published in English and Yiddish by the Forward Association. With a circulation of 25,000, the daily paper covers local, national, and international news, with special emphasis on Jewish life.

Contact: Mordecai Shtrigler, Editor.

Address: 45 East 33rd Street, New York, New York 10016.

Telephone: (800) 266-0773; or (212) 889-8200.

Fax: (212) 684-3949.

Jewish Press.

A national weekly newspaper covering issues and events related to Jewish life. Established in 1949, it has a circulation of 174,000.

Contact: Sholom Klass, Editor.

Address: 338 Third Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11215.

Telephone: (800) 992-1600; or (718) 330-1100.

Fax: (718) 935-1215.

E-mail: jpeditor@aol.com.

Nashreeye B'nei Torah.

A bimonthly journal published by the Iranian B'Nei Torah Movement that carries articles on Jewish history, tradition, and culture for Iranian Jews.

Contact: Rabbi Joseph Zargari.

Address: P.O. Box 351476, Los Angeles, California 90035.

Telephone: (310) 652-2115.

Fax: (310) 652-6979.

Reform Judaism.

An organ of Union of American Hebrew Congregations, this quarterly concentrates on religious, political, and cultural issues of concern to Reform Jews.

Contact: Aron Hirt-Manheimer, Editor.

Address: 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

Telephone: (212) 650-4240.

Online: <http://shamash.org/reform/uahc/rjmag/>.

The Sentinel.

An English-language weekly paper established in 1911 with a circulation of 46,000. It publishes local, national, and international news stories and commentary as well as listings of events of interest to the Jewish community.

Contact: Jack I. Fishbein, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 6 North Michigan, Suite 905, Chicago, Illinois 60602.

RADIO

More than a dozen Jewish radio programs are broadcast weekly in cities across the United States. Typically lasting one to two hours, the programs are found on such stations as the following:

KCSN-FM (88.5).

Address: 18111 Nordhoff Street, Northridge, California 91330.

Telephone: (818) 677-3089.

E-mail: kcsn.request@csn.edu.

Online: <http://www.kcsn.org>.

WCLV-FM (95.5).

Address: 26501 Renaissance Parkway, Cleveland, Ohio 44128.

Telephone: (216) 464-0900.
Fax: (216) 464-2206.
E-mail: wclv@wclv.com.
Online: <http://www.wclv.com>.

WMUA-FM (91.1).
Address: 105 Campus Center, University
of Massachusetts, Amherst,
Massachusetts 01003.
Telephone: (413) 545-2876.
Fax: (413) 545-0682.
E-mail: wmua@stuaf.umas.edu.

TELEVISION

There are several Jewish television broadcasting stations, including:

Israel Broadcasting Authority.
Address: 1101 30th Street, Washington, D.C.
20007.
Telephone: (202) 338-6091.

Israel Broadcasting Authority Radio and Television.
Address: 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New
York 10020.
Telephone: (212) 265-6330.

Jewish Television Network.
Address: 617 South Olive Street, Suite 515, Los
Angeles, California 90014.
Telephone: (213) 614-0972.

Jewish Video Cleveland.
Address: Jewish Community Federation, 1750
Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.
Telephone: (216) 566-9200.

Tele-Israel.
Cable channels 23, 24, 25, and M in New York City.
Telephone: (212) 620-7041.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Jewish Committee (AJC).
Founded in 1906, the AJC is an influential organization dedicated to the protection of religious and civil rights. Representing more than 600 Jewish American communities, the AJC sponsors educa-

tional programs, maintains its own library, and publishes the noted journal, *Commentary*.

Contact: David Harris, Executive Director.
Address: c/o Institute of Human Relations, 165
East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022.
Telephone: (212) 751-4000.
Fax: (212) 838-2120.
E-Mail: info@ajc.org.
Online: <http://www.ajc.org>.

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

Founded 1914, the JDC is a charitable organization created by the American Jewish Relief Committee, the Central Committee for Relief of Jews of the Union of Orthodox Congregations, and the People's Relief Committee. In addition to providing economic assistance to needy Jews in 25 countries, the organization fosters community development through an assortment of educational, religious, cultural, and medical programs with an annual budget of \$90 million.

Contact: Michael Schneider, Executive Vice
President.
Address: 711 Third Avenue, New York, New York
10017-4014.
Telephone: (212) 687-6200.
Fax: (212) 682-7262.
E-mail: info@jdcny.org.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL).
Founded in 1913, the ADL was created by B'nai B'rith, an international organization founded in 1843 to foster Jewish unity and protect human rights. The ADL was established to counter the rising tide of anti-Semitism during the early twentieth century, but it has since expanded its focus to protect against defamation of any group of people. Though the ADL has broadened its mission and sought to improve interfaith relations, one of the group's primary goals is to further American understanding of Israel. The ADL sponsors a number of bulletins, including its *Anti-Defamation League Bulletin*, as well as articles, monographs, and educational materials.

Contact: Abraham H. Foxman, Director.
Address: 823 United Nations Plaza, New York,
New York 10017.
Telephone: (212) 490-2525.
Fax: (212) 867-0779.

**92nd Street Young Men's and Young Women's
Hebrew Association (YM-YWHA).**
Founded in 1874, the YM-YWHA resulted from the merger between the Young Men's Hebrew Associa-

tion, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, and the Clara de Hirsch Residence. It provides Jewish cultural, social, educational, and recreational programs for 300,000 Jews in New York City. The association serves a variety of functions by maintaining several facilities in New York, including residence facilities for Jewish men and women between 18 and 27, men's and women's health clubs, swimming pools, gymnasiums, and a library containing more than 30,000 volumes on Jewish life and thought. Scholarships are also offered to Jewish undergraduate and graduate students.

Contact: Sol Adler, Executive Director.
Address: 1395 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10128.
Telephone: (212) 996-1100.
Fax: (212) 828-3077.
Online: <http://www.92ndsty.org>.

World Jewish Congress, American Section (WJC).

Founded 1936, the WJC is an international organization representing three million Jews in 68 countries. The American Section of the WJC represents 23 Jewish organizations. Guided by its mission to protect human rights worldwide, the WJC serves a consultative capacity with various international governing bodies, including the United Nations, UNESCO, UNICEF, International Labour Organization, and Council of Europe. The WJC is responsible for such periodicals as *World Jewry*, *Journal of Jewish Sociology* and *Patterns of Prejudice*.

Contact: Elan Steinberg, Executive Director.
Address: 501 Madison Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, New York 10022.
Telephone: (800) 755-5883; or (212) 755-5770.
Fax: (212) 755-5883.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Jewish Historical Society.

Founded in 1892 in an effort to gather, organize, and disseminate information and memorabilia related to the history of American Jews. The society has a library with more than ten million books, documents, manuscripts, pictures, and miniatures.

Contact: Justin L. Wyner, President.
Address: 2 Thornton Road, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154.
Telephone: (617) 891-8110.
Fax: (617) 899-9208.
E-mail: ajhs@tiac.net.

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Sponsored by the President's Commission on the Holocaust and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, it presents a moving tribute to the millions of Jews who perished in Nazi concentration camps during World War II. Opened in 1994, the museum features photographs, documents, and video.

Contact: Sam Eskenazi, Public Information Director.
Address: 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024-2150.
Telephone: (212) 488-0400.
E-mail: archives@ushmm.org.
Online: <http://www.ushmm.org/>.

The Jewish Museum.

Boasts the largest collection in the Western Hemisphere of materials related to Jewish life. Covering 40 centuries, the collection features paintings, drawings, prints, sculpture, ceremonial objects, coins, broadcast material, and historical documents.

Contact: Anne Scher, Director of Public Relations.
Address: 1109 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10128.
Telephone: (212) 423-3200.
Online: <http://www.jewishmuseum.org/>.

Leo Baeck Institute.

A research center dedicated to the preservation and study of materials related to the culture and socio-economic history of German-speaking Jews of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The institute maintains a library with more than 500 unpublished memoirs and 60,000 volumes on the German Jewish experience from the Jewish Enlightenment to the emergence of National Socialism. There is also an art collection featuring more than 3,000 works by German-Jewish artists.

Contact: Carol Kahn Stauss, Executive Director.
Address: 129 East 73rd Street, New York, New York 10021.
Telephone: (212) 744-6400.
Fax: (212) 988-1305.
E-mail: lbi1@lbi.com.
Online: <http://www.users.interporl.net/~lbi1>.

YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

A secular research institute dedicated to scholarship on all aspects of the American Jewish experience, with particular emphasis on Yiddish language and literature. Established in 1925, the institute has gathered a massive collection of some 22 million documents, photographs, manuscripts, audiovisuals, and other items related to Jewish life.

Contact: Dr. Tom L. Freudenheim, Executive Director.
Address: 555 West 57th Street, Suite 1100, New York, New York 10019.
Telephone: (212) 246-6080.
Fax: (212) 292-1892.
E-mail: tom@fruedenheim.com.
Online: <http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/yivo/>.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

American Jewish History: The Colonial and Early National Periods, 1654-1840, edited by Jeffrey S. Gurock. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Dimont, Max I. *The Jews in America: The Roots, History, and Destiny of American Jews*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978.

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Howe, Irving. *World of Our Fathers*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

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Sklare, Marshall. *America's Jews*. New York: Random House, 1971.

Sorin, Gerald. *Tradition Transformed: The Jewish Experience in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

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Arabic is the official language of Jordan, but the number of languages listed for Jordan is eight, including Adyghe, Armenian, Chechen, Arabic and four Arabic dialects.

JORDANIAN AMERICANS

by
Norman Prady
and Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

Jordan is a kingdom near the Mediterranean Sea in the Southwest Asia area known as the Middle East or Near East. Its neighbors are Israel to the west, with which it shares the Dead Sea; Syria to the north; Iraq to the northeast; and Saudi Arabia to the east and south. Amman, the largest city, is the capital. Jordan is the site of the city of Petra, an archeological treasure that was the religious center for the nomadic Arab people called the Nabateans. Jordan's land area is about 35,000 square miles (almost 92,000 square kilometers).

Accurate demographic figures have been difficult to compile because of the substantial number of Jordanians living and working abroad and the continuous flow of West Bank Palestinians using Jordanian passports to travel back and forth between the East and West Banks of the Jordan River. Jordan's 1994 census estimated its population to be almost 4.3 million. Arabs represented 98 percent of the population, Circassians one percent, and Armenians one percent. Within the category of Arabs, a significant distinction exists between Palestinians—estimated at 55 to 60 percent of the population—and Transjordanians. A Palestinian is defined narrowly as a citizen of the British-mandated territory of Palestine, which existed from 1922 to 1948, and more broadly as a Muslim or Christian native or descendant of a native of the region between the Egyptian Sinai and Lebanon and west

of the Jordan River-Dead Sea-Gulf of Aqaba line. A Transjordanian is a Muslim or Christian native of the region east of the Jordan River-Dead Sea-Gulf of Aqaba line and within the approximate boundaries of the contemporary state of Jordan. In addition to Circassians and Armenians, the small numbers of non-Arabs originating elsewhere include Shishans—also known as Chechens—and Kurds.

More than 90 percent of Jordanians are Sunni Muslims, and most of the rest are Christians of various denominations. There are a few Shia Muslims and even fewer adherents of other faiths. Arabic is the official language, and English is widely understood among the upper and middle classes. Almost all Jordanians speak a dialect of Arabic; increasing numbers speak or understand Modern Standard Arabic. Most people who have another native language, such as Circassians and Armenians, also speak Arabic.

The flag has three equal horizontal bands of black, white, and green with a red isosceles triangle based on the hoist side bearing a small white seven-pointed star. The seven points on the star represent the seven fundamental laws of the Koran. The King's website explains the flag's symbols as follows: "The flag symbolizes the Kingdom's roots in the Great Arab Revolt of 1916, as it is adapted from the revolt banner. The black, white and green bands represent the Arab Abbasid, Umayyad and Fatimid dynasties respectively, while the crimson triangle joining the bands represents the Hashemite dynasty. The seven-pointed Islamic star set in the center of the crimson triangle represents the unity of Arab peoples in Jordan."

HISTORY

As an independent nation, Jordan is relatively young. The land it occupies, however, has been inhabited for thousands of years. The archaeological record indicates that people who survived by hunting and gathering lived in the area during the Paleolithic and Mesolithic eras. They developed agriculture in the region in the Neolithic period, which began about 10,000 B.C. By 8000 B.C. these peoples were largely sedentary, settling in the region. The cities of Bayda and Jericho grew up during this time. After the Bronze Age, Amorites, Western Semites, Hyksos and Hittites successively invaded the area.

Since biblical times, the area came under the control of various political and military powers—Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Jews, Greeks, Nabateans, and Romans, to name a few—until 1516, when the Ottoman Turks incorporated the

region into their empire. Shortly after the fall of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, the Allied Powers—the countries that won the war—made the area part of the British mandate of Palestine. Britain then established the Emirate of Transjordan in the portion of Palestine east of the Jordan River. In 1946 the country became independent of Britain. Three years later King Abdullah renamed it the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Hashemite is the name of the dynasty, or hereditary line, through which the country's rulers descend.

Jordan captured and occupied territory on the west bank of the Jordan River in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. It formally annexed the occupied area in 1950. It lost this land, however, in 1967, when Israel took control of East Jerusalem and the west bank following another war with Arab nations.

MODERN ERA

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy, meaning that its government consists of a hereditary king, plus a constitution guaranteeing citizens' rights. King Hussein took the throne in 1952 following the abdication of his ailing father. At that time Hussein was a teenager ruling a country where fewer than a third of the people were literate. Hussein made education a priority, and by the 1980s the literacy rate had doubled. Jordanians' standard of living also improved during this period, as the country received much aid from other Arab nations during the oil boom of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In 1970 and 1971, Hussein successfully fought a civil war against Palestinian rebels. In 1974, under pressure from other Arab leaders, he recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian peoples. Hussein worked hard to prevent Palestinian activity against his government. He brought many Palestinians into the government and into positions of power in the private sector. Jordan's policy toward other Arab nations generally has been moderate and flexible, with Arab unity as a priority. Jordan was, however, the most outspoken of the Arab states supporting Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war of 1980, partly out of a fear of the spread of Islamic fundamentalism from Iran. In 1988 Jordan abandoned its attempts to regain the West Bank from Israel.

Foreign aid declined in the 1980s, and Jordan's debts grew. In mid-1989 the Jordanian government began debt-rescheduling negotiations. The Persian Gulf crisis that began in August 1990 aggravated Jordan's already serious economic problems. The economy rebounded in 1992, largely due to the influx of capital repatriated by workers returning

from the Gulf, but the recovery was uneven. In 1994 Hussein signed a peace treaty with Israel, the neighbor with which Jordan had fought three wars in 50 years. Still, debt, poverty, and unemployment remained ongoing challenges. Water shortages and disputes with Israel over water use became serious problems in the late 1990s. Hussein died February 7, 1999, following a seven-month battle with cancer. His oldest son, Abdullah, a 37-year-old career Army officer who was educated in the United States, succeeded him.

THE FIRST JORDANIANS IN AMERICA

It appears that the relatively small Jordanian immigration began shortly after World War II. Other Arab-Americans, notably those from Syria and Lebanon, have been coming to the United States since about 1850. West Bank Palestinians, as well as East Bank Jordanians, might travel to the United States with Jordanian passports, creating the indefinite category "Palestinian/Jordanian."

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In the 1950s, 5,762 Jordanians immigrated to the United States. This number almost doubled in the 1960s, when 11,727 Jordanians immigrated. Then in the 1970s, 27,535 Jordanians arrived, reflecting an era of civil strife in Jordan. In the 1980s, immigration averaged around 2,500 a year. The total number of Jordanian immigrants from 1820 to 1984 was 56,720.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

From World War II until the 1980s, the typical Jordanian immigrant was a married male between the ages of 20 and 39. His education level was higher than that of the average person on the East Bank. More than 30 percent of those working in the United States were university graduates, and 40 percent were in professional positions. Many immigrants stayed four and a half to eight years, then returned to Jordan. American salaries were higher than those in Jordan, and attracted immigrants. More than other Middle Eastern immigrants, Jordanians tended to take their families with them when working in the United States. Since the 1980s, many Jordanians have remained in the United States and have formed cohesive communities. The Jordanian American community in Washington, D.C., held a candlelight vigil after the death of King Hussein.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

As comparative newcomers to the United States, few Jordanian Americans are at or beyond the third generation. As a result, they are much less Americanized, if at all, than groups with longer histories here. Guided by family and friends, these new Americans understandably find comfort in neighborhoods established by others from their home country. In such surroundings they continue their familiar practices in social activities, shopping, and religion. Continued use of their native language and dialect sustains homeland ties and delays acculturation. Language is a key factor in the acculturation process. Those who are fluent in English have greater communication and interaction with the larger community. Other factors that can accelerate acculturation include educational levels and how much contact with the larger community occurs on the job. Also, people from urban areas of Jordan adjust more quickly to America's cities than do some from rural areas. Children often adapt more easily to new surroundings and, as with other immigrant groups, tend to assimilate faster than their parents.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

While Jordan is modern and Western-oriented, Islamic ideals and beliefs provide the conservative foundation of the country's customs, laws and practices. The workweek for Jordanian government offices and most businesses is Saturday through Thursday. Along with religion, hospitality is an important value of Jordanians. A small gift is acceptable in return for hospitality.

Many elements of Jordanian American life provide cultural continuity. Among these are events offering music and dancing, which are typically provided by a larger Arab group. The events range from live stage presentations to shows on radio or cable television in many major metropolitan areas of the United States. Additionally, some cable networks show Arabic movies. This ongoing exposure to traditional entertainment is especially comforting to new immigrants and reassuring even to longer-term residents.

PROVERBS

Like many other Arab peoples, Jordanians use proverbs in place of slang. Here are some common proverbs: When elephants begin to dance, smaller creatures should stay away; Do not cut down the tree that gives you shade; The dogs may bark but the car-

avan moves on; Eat whatever you like, but dress as others do; The hand of God is with the group; He that plants thorns must never expect to gather roses; I am a prince and you are a prince, who will lead the donkeys; If begging should unfortunately be thy lot, knock at the large gates only; If you do what you've always done, you'll get what you've always gotten; Judge a man by the reputation of his enemies; A kind word can attract even the snake from his nest; Knowledge acquired as a child is more lasting than an engraving on stone; The man who can't dance says the band can't play; Older than you by a day, wiser than you by a year; Silence is the door of consent; Trust in God, but tie your camel; The wound of words is worse than the wound of swords; All sunshine makes the desert; The ass went seeking for horns and lost his ears; Beware of one who flatters unduly for he will also censure unjustly; Dawn does not come twice to awaken a man; Death is a black camel that lies down at every door; Sooner or later you must ride the camel.

CUISINE

Jordanian food is popular in the United States, and many cities boast Jordanian restaurants such as the Petra House in Portland, Oregon. Jordanian food is based on traditional Bedouin cooking. A good example is *mensef*, feast for special occasions that has altered little over the years. Usually, a whole sheep is roasted. Large chunks of the roasted meat are served with rice on a huge platter. A yogurt-based sauce, chopped parsley, and fried nuts are the dish's toppings. One generally eats *mensef* with the hand. The guests of honor at the feast are presented with the softly cooked eyes of the sheep, which is a delicacy.

In Jordanian meals, the main course usually starts with several varieties of *mazza*, or hors d'oeuvres, such as *humus*, *fuul*, *kube*, and *tabouleh*. *Felafel* consists of deep-fried chickpea balls. *Shwarma* is spit-cooked sliced lamb. *Fuul* is a paste of fava beans, garlic, and lemon. Lentils, *adas* in Arabic, are a common ingredient in Jordanian dishes, and there are many recipes for *Shorabat 'adas*, lentil soup. *Magloubé* is a meat, fish, or vegetable stew served with rice. For example, one *Magloubé* recipe calls for alternating layers of chicken, fried aubergines, and rice. *Magloubé* is often served with a lettuce and tomato salad and some plain yogurt. Salads are an important side dish. Jordanian foods are seasoned with spices typical of the Mediterranean, including cumin, garlic, lemons, coriander, and especially saffron. Arabic unleavened bread, or *khobz*, is eaten with almost everything. A meal finishes with dessert or fresh fruits, and Arabic coffee without which no meeting, whether formal or informal, is

complete. Arabic coffee will normally be served continuously during social occasions. To signal that no more is wanted, one slightly tilts the cup when handing it back; otherwise it will be refilled.

There are several other typical Jordanian recipes. *Musakhan* is a chicken dish, cooked with onions, olive oil, and pine seeds and baked in the oven on a thick loaf of Arabic bread. *Mahshi Waraq 'inab* is made of grape leaves stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices. Also popular is the famous Middle Eastern shish kebab, consisting of chunks of lamb or marinated chicken speared on a wooden stick and cooked over a charcoal fire with tomatoes and onions. The local drink is known as *arak*, an anise-flavored beverage that is served mixed with ice and water. Traditionally, lunch is Jordanians' main meal. They usually have a light breakfast and supper. Most Jordanians do not eat pork, which is forbidden to Muslims.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

As late as the 1980s, the style of any Middle Eastern costume conveyed the wearer's ethnic and regional identity as well as the identity of its maker. Men traditionally wore an ankle-length, cool, loose-fitting garment with a high neck and long sleeves called the *kandoura* or *dishdash*. The headdress was a *taqia* or *qahfa*, a skullcap covered by a long cloth, usually white, called *agutra*, and was secured by a wool rope, known *asal iqal* or *al ghizam*. The headdress was wound around the crown, to protect the head and neck from the blistering sun. The *bisht*, a sleeveless flowing black or beige cloak trimmed with gold, whose material depended on the social status of the wearer, was the outfit for ceremonial occasions. Many people throughout the Arabian peninsula still wear traditional dress, with minor variations, because it is suitable for the desert climate.

Bedouin men typically carried weaponry of some kind. The *khanjar*, a curving double-edged blade, six to eight inches long, with hilt of local horn overlaid with silver, was once necessary for defense and has since become a status symbol. The *khanjar*'s curving wooden scabbard has more extensive decoration, the upper part usually with engraved silver, the lower section consisting of strips of leather overlaid with silver and decorated with silver rings and wire, often in a geometric pattern, and capped with a silver tip. Scabbards also were decorated with gold. A single-edged tapering blade dagger with straight carved wood scabbard, silver overlaid at both ends, was another popular weapon, as was the *yirz*, an axe combining a three-foot shaft with a four-inch steel head. The *saif*, a

double-edged sword, and the scimitar-like *qattara* are usually only seen in museums or in ceremonial dances. Silver and copper were used to decorate containers for gunpowder and long-barreled pistols. Bedouin men also carried less deadly items such as beautifully decorated silver purses, pipes, toothpicks, ear-cleaning spoons, and tweezers, all hanging from silver chains. Modern rifles and cartridge belts slung around the waist were eventually added to the customary dress of the Bedouin.

Women dressed in accordance to their lifestyle and to Islamic ordinances. As with men, traditional dress among women is still very popular. Bedouin women, for practical and monetary reasons, have chosen wool and cotton for their garments, whereas urban women favor silks, brocades, satins and chiffons. Women's clothing often bears intricate decoration. The *burqa*, a veil of coarse, black silk with a central stiffened rib resting on the nose leaving only the eyes clearly visible, is still worn in the street, particularly by older women. An all-enveloping black *abaya* is made from lightweight cloth embroidered with tapestried threads. The *kandoura*, a loose, full-sleeved dress reaching to midcalf, exquisitely embellished on cuffs and collar, is usually of colorful material, with its quality and design varying with the economic status of the wearer. Older Bedouin or Bedouin women of the village, and sometimes the younger ones too, still make and wear the traditional dress, a long black *thobe*, with hems, yokes and sleeves decorated with tiny embroidered stitches that form intricate and colorful patterns. Women make the most of their eyes and hands, as these are often the only visible parts of their bodies. They accentuate their eyes with kohl, while they apply henna to make detailed designs on palms of their hands and sometimes the soles of their feet.

Many tribal women still carry their savings around their necks, wrists, or ankles in their jewelry. These pieces have at various times included intricately designed necklaces formed from beads and coins; elaborate forehead decorations of coins and chains; earrings of ornate loops or dangling shapes, including inverted pyramids with embossed geometric designs; heavy bossed bracelets covering much of the lower arm; elaborate hinged anklets; rings for fingers, toes, and noses, sometimes inset with bone or horn and studded with stone, glass, or coral. Many fine examples of silver Bedouin jewelry can still be found in markets and museums.

DANCES AND SONGS

Bedouin musical traditions are important in Jordan. Jordanian music encompasses both vocal and

instrumental performances. Groups of men sing trance-like chants to accompany belly dances. Arabian flute music is also popular. "Lamma Bada Yatathanna" is a classical Arabic song played on the *oud* (Arabic lute).

HOLIDAYS

Jordanian Americans celebrate Jordanian Independence Day on May 25, Labor Day on May 1, Army Day on June 10, the accession of the king, and the king's birthday.

HEALTH ISSUES

Jordanian-Americans' attitudes about health care show the influence of the culture's profound sense of family bonds. An elderly parent, for example, who is not able to live on his or her own, in a nearby private home, would become part of another family member's household. A retirement center or nursing home would not be an option. This attitude that family members should take care of one another extends to all relatives as well as the larger kinship group, which might include persons not directly related but considered family.

In February of 1999, the Cyprus Institute of Neurology and Genetics, in collaboration with two Jordanian hospitals, identified a new form of nerve and muscle-wasting hereditary disease that strikes a particular tribal population of Jordanians. The researchers also isolated the gene on chromosome nine that causes the crippling motor neuropathy, which is unique to people of the ancient Roman-Greek Jordanian city of Jerash and is transmitted by intermarriage among them. It is a recessive disorder, meaning both parents can carry the gene and not pass it to their children, although the risk is greater in this case than if only one parent is a carrier. The disease's victims are strictly Arab Jordanians, all from the Jerash area, and include no Palestinians. The disease causes selective weakness and wasting of the nerves controlling the muscles of the hands and feet, while not necessarily affecting the arms and legs.

LANGUAGE

Arabic is the official language of Jordan, but the number of languages listed for Jordan is eight, including Adyghe, Armenian, Chechen, Arabic, and four Arabic dialects. Levantine Bedawi Arabic dialect was the language of Jordan before the arrival of Palestinian refugees in the wake of the wars with Israel. It remains the language of the army and

many TV programs for Bedouin people or to promote Bedouin culture. Most Jordanians speak an Arabic dialect common to Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and parts of Iraq. Arabic is a Semitic language related to Aramaic, Hebrew, various Ethiopic languages, and others. The language exists in three forms: the classical Arabic of the Koran, the literary language developed from the classical and known as Modern Standard Arabic, and the local form of the spoken language. Standard Arabic is used for education, official purposes, and communication among Arabic-speaking countries. Arabic is rich in synonyms, rhythmic, highly expressive and poetic, and can have a strong emotional effect on its speakers and listeners. As the language of the Koran, believed by Muslims to be the literal word of God, it has been the vehicle for recounting of the historic glories of Islamic civilization. Arabic speakers are more emotionally attached to their language than are most peoples to their native tongues. Poetic eloquence has been one of the most admired cultural attainments and signs of cultivation in the Arab world.

Many Jordanians speak English, so Jordan's radio and television stations offer some English programming. There is a daily English newspaper in Amman as well a weekly newspaper that offers a French section. Additionally, some Jordanians who have business or cultural connections with France and Germany speak French and German; Jordan television offers some daily programming in French. Jordanian Americans have access to national newspapers published in Arabic. There is sometimes a local Arabic newspaper in a community with a large Arab population, such as metropolitan Detroit.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

In Arabic the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is called *Urdoun*. *Ahlan Wa Sahlan* means "welcome," and *Marhab* means "hello." *Mat el malak, ash el malak* means "The king is dead; long live the king." This expression was heard frequently after the death of Hussein and the swearing in of King Abdullah, to signify both grief and optimism. The expression *inshallah*, "God willing," often accompanies statements of intention, and the term *bismallah*, "in the name of God," accompanies the performance of most important actions.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Jordanians' upbringing emphasizes generosity, warmth, openness and friendliness. The ideals of

tribal unity and respect for the family form the core of Jordanian society. The father is the head of the Jordanian family and has authority over all members. These statements are equally true of Jordanian American families.

EDUCATION

As of 1998 Jordan had the second-highest literacy rate, 85 percent, in the Arab world. Nearly 68 percent of the adult population is literate, and nearly 100 percent of 10-to-15 age group is literate. The first nine years of education are compulsory and free; the next three are also free. In 1987 more than 900,000 students were enrolled in 3,366 schools with approximately 39,600 teachers. Also in 1987, about 69,000 students were enrolled in higher education. Nearly half of these were women.

Jordanian American families place a premium on education. Parents are very active in their children's schools, regardless of their own levels of education. They value education because it improves children's future prospects and brings honor to the family. Jordanian Americans have a higher rate of college graduation than other Arab groups, partly because so many Jordanians come to the United States specifically for education and then stay here.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

In Jordan, as in many other Arab nations, there is an ongoing campaign for women's equal rights. Since the 1960s, increasing numbers of women have entered the work force. As women's education levels rose, they generally delay marriage. They also tend to have fewer children, partly because of the economic strain of supporting a large family. Still, marriage and childbearing confer status on women.

In a 1988 study of women and work in Jordan, journalist Nadia Hijab argued that cultural attitudes were not the major constraint on women's employment; rather, need and opportunity were more significant factors. Most employed women were single. In the mid-1980s, when unemployment surged, Jordan's leaders pressured women to return to their homes. Publicly and privately, Jordanians hotly debated the issue. Letters to the editors of daily newspapers argued for and against women's working. Hijab observed that by 1985 there was "almost an official policy" to encourage married women to stay at home. That year Prime Minister Zaid ar Rifai bluntly suggested in 1985 that working women who paid half or more of their salary to foreign maids who sent the currency abroad should stop working.

In the 1990s women organized to influence Jor-

danian society. The Jordan National Committee for Women was established as a policy forum in March of 1992. The committee worked to increase Jordanian women's awareness of the National Strategy, ratified in 1993, that aims to improve women's status, involve them in national development and economic activities, promote their legal status, and increase their participation in decision-making. In the late 1990s, the United Nations Development Fund for Women collaborated with the Jordan National Committee for Women in a meeting in Amman to discuss how to eliminate violence against women in Muslim society. Jordanian women led women's movements in Arab countries, and in 1998 Jordanian women gathered outside the U.S. embassy protesting against U.S. missile strikes against Sudan and Afghanistan. Princess Basma attended workshops on prioritizing women's research. In 1999 Queen Noor spoke out against "crimes of honor," specifically the murder of a woman by her husband whom she had allegedly dishonored by immodest or otherwise unacceptable behavior. Legal reform for women's rights appeared to be imminent in Jordan in 1999.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Jordanian Americans want their children to marry within the culture or, at least, within the larger Arab-American community. Sometimes a Jordanian American man will travel to Jordan to find a woman he considers a suitable wife. On the other hand, marriage to a non-Jordanian is tolerable, and husband and wife are welcomed into each other's families.

According to Jordanian tradition, brought to the United States, the bride, groom, and both families plan weddings, and the groom and his family pay for them. Marriage is for life in the Jordanian American culture. If a couple has marital problems, parents and relatives from both families will intervene. Their focus will be on preserving the marriage. If there are children, the culture dictates that the couple resolve past their own problems for the children's sake. Divorce is uncommon.

In Jordan, arranged marriage was once the norm, but this changed toward the end of the twentieth century. Social interaction between single men and women, once rare, has increased. Jordanian society has become more accustomed to the idea of romantic love.

FUNERALS

Jordanian Americans have modified their homeland custom of quick burial to conform to fairly

common U.S. practices. They generally use the facilities and services of a funeral director instead of having a home-based rite. Jordanian American Christians might display the body for several days while family and friends visit and offer their sympathies. Jordanian American Muslims, however, do not display the body. Well-wishers usually send food to the home of the deceased person's immediate family each day before the burial. Following the burial, family and friends will gather for a meal and to share memories. Visiting might continue for some days after.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Jordanian Americans tend to be identified with and identify themselves with the larger Arab community. Along with language, they share culture and Middle Eastern history. Jordanian Americans sometimes conflict politically with Israeli organizations in the United States as well as with the pro-Israel policies of the U. S. government.

RELIGION

The religious affiliations of Jordanian Americans contrast sharply with those of homeland Jordanians. Jordan's government states that the country is 96 percent Muslim and four percent Christian. The Jordanian American community is almost the opposite, with the majority Christian and eight percent Muslim. The largest group of Jordanian American Christians belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Church, the next largest to the Roman Catholic Church, and the remainder to Protestant and evangelical churches. Jordanian American Christians and Muslims often share their church buildings and mosques with compatible congregations from other Arab groups, with the institutions bolstering identity and cultural continuity.

Jordan's constitution guarantees freedom of religion, but the official religion is Sunni Islam, and the government supports Sunni institutions. Sunni is the larger branch of Islam, with Shia being the smaller. The 1952 constitution stipulates that the king and his successors must be Muslims and sons of Muslim parents.

Muslims and Christians in Jordan have not had major conflicts. Even the interest of some Jordanians in Islamic fundamentalism during the late 1970s and the 1980s did not produce significant tensions. The largest of the Christian sects in Jordan, as among Jordanian Americans, is Eastern Orthodox.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Jordanian Americans have careers in education, business, engineering, and science. Women formed a little over 12 percent of the labor force in Jordan in the late twentieth century; the male-female breakdown in the Jordanian American work force is similar. Many Jordanians come to the United States to pursue advanced degrees in medicine and engineering. Most of the Jordanian students in Western Europe and the United States receive financing from their families, but some obtain assistance from the government of Jordan. Students from Western European and American schools tend to gain the more desirable and prestigious positions on their return home. The perceived higher quality of education in the West helps make these graduates more competitive in the job market.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Jordanians began arriving in the United States at a time—the latter half of the twentieth century—when their new country was rethinking its own structure. Civil rights laws have helped immigrants feel they do not have to totally submerge their ethnic identity to fully participate in American society. As a result, Jordanian Americans and members of other groups have felt increasingly secure in taking part in local and national political activity, both inside and outside their own groups' interests. They have welcomed interactions with their mother country as well. Jordan's deputy prime minister opened a Detroit trade show in 1997 and urged the United States to take a more active role in the peace process in the Middle East.

RELATIONS WITH JORDAN

Jordan established diplomatic ties to the United States in 1949. The United States began providing limited military aid to Jordan in 1950, then became its principal source of assistance in 1957, after the British discontinued financing. The United States supported Hussein against the Palestinian insurgents in the 1970-71 civil war but did not intervene directly. There were some conflicts between Jordan and the United States over Jordan's weapons requests during the 1980s. The two countries remained on largely cordial terms, however, with the United States providing specialized training for Jordan's military, and senior officers from each country visiting the other in exchange programs. The United States considered Hussein one of the

most moderate Middle Eastern leaders and often relied on him to assist in peace negotiations in the region. Shortly before his death, he was instrumental in developing a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians.

In 1997 Jordan had a \$400 million trade deficit with the United States and was eager to attract American tourists. About 80,000 Americans visited Jordan in 1998, according to the *St. Petersburg Times*. In May of 1999, the U.S. State Department announced it would grant two scholarships yearly to Jordanian students pursuing studies in fields relevant to the Middle East peace process. The department's U.S. Information Agency will award two highly qualified Jordanian students money for advanced studies from the King Hussein Memorial Fulbright Scholarship Program.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

LITERATURE

Diana Abu-Jaber, a second-generation Jordanian-American, received her doctorate in English literature from the State University of New York. She has taught literature and creative writing at the University of Michigan, the University of Oregon, and the University of California, Los Angeles. Her first novel, *Arabian Jazz*, won the Oregon Book Award and was a finalist for the national PEN/Hemingway award. For her second novel, *Memories of Birth*, she won a National Endowment for the Arts grant for the manuscript. In 1998 she returned from Amman, where she was on a Fulbright research grant award, conducting interviews with Jordanian and Palestinian women about their lives to develop background for her next novel. In 1999 Abu-Jaber was writer in residence at Portland State University.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Lily Bandak is a renowned photographer who founded an organization to help disabled workers in Arab nations. Born in Amman, Jordan, Bandak went to grade school in Bethlehem on the West Bank. She has lived in the United States since 1960, residing in Newark, Delaware. She studied at the Académie De La Grande Chaumiér in Paris, the Philadelphia College of Art, the University of Delaware, and the Antonelli College of Photography.

Her work with major public figures in the Middle East has included assignments as the personal photographer of Mrs. Anwar Sadat and King Hus-

sein and Queen Noor. She also has photographed Yasser Arafat. In 1978 the government of Egypt invited her to document the people and monuments of that country. These photographs were exhibited in Egypt, in Washington, D.C., and across the United States, and were later compiled into a book, *Images of Egypt*. She has also exhibited at the World Trade Center in New York City. She was the first photographer to have work accepted into the permanent collection of the White House during the Carter administration.

In 1984 Bandak was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis. She designed a camera mount to be attached to her wheelchair that makes it possible for her to return to work. In 1994 she set up the Bandak Foundation, which encourages people with disabilities to enter the work force and participate fully in society.

MEDIA

There are no publications in the United States for Jordanian Americans. *The Jordan Times* is an English-language independent political newspaper, published daily except Friday in Jordan by the Jordan Press Foundation. *Jordan Today* is a monthly English-language magazine on tourism, culture, and entertainment, published by InfoMedia International in Amman. An online weekly newspaper in English can be found at <http://star.arabia.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Arab Anti Discrimination Committee.

Nonsectarian, nonpartisan organization committed to defending the rights of people of Arab descent and promoting their rich cultural heritage. The largest Arab-American grassroots organization in the United States, founded in 1980 by former Senator James Abourezk, with chapters nationwide.

Address: 4201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 244-2990.

Bandak Arab African Foundation.

Nonprofit organization that urges Middle Eastern governments, particularly Jordan, to help people with disabilities in the work force.

Address: 345 New London Road, Newark, Delaware 19711.

Telephone: (302) 737-4055.

Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Address: 3504 International Drive, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 966-2664.

Palestine Children's Relief Fund.

Nonprofit, nonpolitical relief fund to provide humanitarian assistance to children suffering from crisis in the Middle East.

Contact: Steve Sosebee, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 1926 Kent, Ohio 44240.

Telephone: (330) 678-2645.

Palestinian Heritage Foundation.

A nonprofit cultural and educational organization aimed at promoting awareness and understanding of Arab and specifically Palestinian culture and traditions.

Address: P.O. Box 1018, West Caldwell, New Jersey 07006.

E-mail: palherf@aol.com.

Sisterhood Is Global Institute.

Established in 1984, the Sisterhood is Global Institute seeks to deepen the understanding of women's human rights at the local, national, regional and global levels, and to strengthen the capacity of women to exercise their rights. With members in 70 countries, it currently maintains a network of over 1,300 individuals and organizations. It has a regional office in Jordan that was inaugurated by Princess Basma Bint Talal.

Address: 4343 Montgomery Avenue, Suite 201, Bethesda, Maryland 20814.

Telephone: (301) 657-4355.

E-mail: sigi@igc.apc.org.

United Palestinian Appeal.

Nonprofit, nonpolitical, tax-exempt American charity based in Washington, D.C., established in 1978, dedicated to alleviating the suffering of Palestinians, particularly those living in the Occupied Territories.

Address: 2100 M Street N.W., #409, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Telephone: (202) 659-5007.

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Kenyan immigrants
enjoy a linguistic
advantage over
other immigrants
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widely spoken in
Kenya. Within a
short amount of
time, many Kenyan
Americans achieve a
relative degree of
financial security.

KENYAN AMERICANS

by
Laura C. Rudolph

Overview

Located in East Africa near the equator, the Republic of Kenya measures 224,960 square miles (582,650 square kilometers). It is bordered to the north by Ethiopia and Sudan, the Indian Ocean to the east, Somalia to the northeast, Tanzania to the south, and Uganda to the west. The capital is Nairobi is Kenya's largest city, with close to 2 million people.

Kenya has a total population of just under 29 million people and represents a mixture of over 40 indigenous ethnic groups. The groups fall into one of four categories that comprise over 98 percent of the entire population: the Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, and Hamitic peoples. The Bantu peoples are comprised of the Kikuyu (22 percent), Luhya (14 percent), and Kisii (6 percent); the Nilotics include the Luo (13 percent) and the Kalenjin (12 percent); the Nilo-Hamitics include the Masai, Samburu, Kipsigis, and Nandi; and the Hamitics include the Tugen and Elgeyo. Asians, Arabs, and Europeans compose the remaining 2 percent of the population.

The majority of Kenyans are Christians, including Protestants (38 percent) and Roman Catholics (28 percent), while others practice indigenous beliefs (26 percent). Other religious denominations include Muslim (6 percent), and smaller numbers of Hindus, Sikhs, and Bahais. The country's official languages are Kiswahili and Eng-

lish. Kenya's national flag consists of three horizontal bands of black, green, and red, and contains a shield with crossed spears in the center.

HISTORY

The history of Kenya may be that of humankind. Toward the end of the twentieth century, excavated bones and artifacts convinced many archaeologists and scientists that human evolution began in Kenya. Throughout the first few centuries A.D., Kenya was the destination of numerous migrating tribes, such as the Luo and the Bantu peoples. The tribes spread across the country and established themselves in various areas. The Kalenjin settled around the western part of what became Kenya, while the Kikuyu covered the fertile ground of the Highlands and the Rift Valley. Each group was a self-contained community with its own language, customs, and beliefs.

During years of drought or other natural disasters, tensions increased between tribes as they vied for fertile ground. The Bantus, particularly the Kikuyu, established a stronghold in Kenya's interior around Mount Kenya, largely as a result of their sophisticated tools and weapons. The Kikuyu prospered and established a rich agricultural economy, developing a sound economic and political infrastructure. However, in the nineteenth century, the Masai peoples, famous for their hunting and fighting skills, challenged the Bantu domination and eventually exerted a great influence on customs and styles before severe droughts and disease ended their reign.

Arabs settled on the Kenyan coast as early as the tenth century, and the Portuguese contested for the coast during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Arabs regained control during the eighteenth century, and by the early-to-mid nineteenth centuries, Sayyid Said of Oman loosely controlled the coast. By this time, Africa's largely untapped wealth attracted scores of Europeans, and in 1885 Africa was partitioned into several sectors controlled by various European nations.

Great Britain received control of Kenya and Uganda, and the British Empire lost little time in issuing a commercial license in 1888 to The Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC). The IBEAC, headed by Sir William MacKinnon, attempted to establish trading centers and a unified control across the regions. However, the British government was not altogether satisfied with their efforts and formally established Kenya as a British protectorate in 1895 and a crown colony in 1920.

British rule was not kind to native Kenyans. Although they quickly built a railroad that promot-

ed economic development by linking the regions together, the rights of Africans were restricted, while white settlement was encouraged. The Africans were overtaxed, undereducated, and lacked political representation. In addition, they were not allowed to grow certain exportable crops, and could not settle in the Highlands and the Rift Valley, regarded as the richest farmland in the country. In many instances, tribal peoples were forced to relocate to designated areas in Kenya.

During World War I, a large number of Kenyan soldiers were recruited to fight for the British. Following the war, many Africans, particularly the Kikuyus, who had lost much of their land, began organizing to lobby for reform. One such group, the East African Association (EAA), encouraged protests and demonstrations. Although the EAA dissolved shortly thereafter, the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) quickly took its place and continued the fight against white supremacy. The KCA lobbied for political representation, lower taxes, and the right to inhabit restricted lands. Although the organization enjoyed some success, it was unable to achieve its goals before it was banned in 1940, shortly after World War II began. However, the KCA helped pave the way for future organizations, which would ultimately achieve independence for Kenya.

MODERN ERA

World War II provided the impetus Kenya needed to achieve independence. Many Kenyans fought in the war and they learned both organizational and military skills. In 1944, the Kenyan African Union (largely comprised of Kikuyus) was formed to continue the fight against white supremacy. In 1947, Jomo Kenyatta was elected the president of the KAU. Although most members were Kikuyus, they encouraged all ethnic groups to join together to achieve independence.

Other Africans, frustrated with the slow response to their demands, turned to more violent means. The *Mau Mau* uprising of 1952-56 was characterized with numerous acts of violence and terrorism against the colonial government and settlers. Brutally suppressed, the uprising left thousands of Africans dead, while only a handful of British were killed.

However, the uprising was not wholly unsuccessful. In response to changes occurring throughout European-dominated countries across Africa, the colonial government was ready to capitulate in Kenya. Africans were allowed representation in the government, and they continued to lobby to gain autonomy. In 1960 they formed the Kenya African

National Union (KANU). However, political infighting between the dominant Kikuyus and other groups led to the formation of a rival party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

In 1962, the two parties laid aside their differences and united to form a coalition government. Jomo Kenyatta was elected the first prime minister. Kenya was officially declared independent on December 12, 1963, and became a republic in 1964. Shortly thereafter the KADU dissolved, and Kenya was ruled chiefly by the KANU until 1966 when the Kenya People's Union (KPU) was formed.

From the start, the KPU was at odds with the KANU and did not gain much support beyond the Luo peoples. The group was ordered to disband after an important member of government personnel was assassinated, a crime that was attributed to the KPU. The Kenyan government, largely under Kikuyu control, turned its attention to ongoing social and economic problems. In an effort to boost their flagging economy, they welcomed foreign investors, and Kenya rapidly became the most prosperous country in East Africa.

Although Kenya was fearful that its political stability would be shaken by the death of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, Daniel arap Moi succeeded without challenge. In 1982 the Royal Air Force staged a coup attempt, but Moi remained in office. In 1991, largely at the urging of foreign investors, Moi pledged to further address social and economic problems and encouraged the formation of a multi-party system, which prevailed through the end of the twentieth century.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Kenyans have a recorded presence on American soil for over 300 years. The earliest Kenyans were not voluntary immigrants, but were victims of the American slave trade that was not outlawed until 1808. Partly as a result, voluntary migration remained negligible until the last decades of the twentieth century. Between 1980 and 1990, Kenyan immigration more than doubled.

Several factors contributed to increased Kenyan immigration to the United States. Many Kenyans were already exposed to different facets of American culture because of the close relationship between Kenya and the United States. American cuisine and entertainment had become commonplace in Kenya. Exposure to American culture encouraged Kenyans to take advantage of numerous economic and educational opportunities available in the United States.

Kenya's depressed economy and high unemployment rate (over 35 percent), coupled with the importance the country places on education, resulted in more qualified and educated workers than available skilled positions. Toward the end of the twentieth century, Kenyan immigrants were particularly attracted to technology-oriented careers in the United States, an occupation virtually impossible to pursue in Kenya where over 75 percent of the jobs are agricultural-based.

The main areas of Kenyan settlement in the United States include Washington, D.C., where 50 percent of Kenyan Americans can be found, Texas, California, and parts of the Midwest. A number of Kenyans also settled in Georgia and North Carolina, two states with important technological centers.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

For the most part, Kenyan Americans have enjoyed a fairly smooth assimilation process. Many Kenyan immigrants are well educated and possess specialized job skills. They have little trouble finding employment in the technological and health care professions, where they are most numerous. In addition, Kenyan immigrants enjoy a linguistic advantage over other immigrants because English is widely spoken in Kenya. Within a short amount of time, many Kenyan Americans achieve a relative degree of financial security.

Although Kenyans enjoy a smooth transition, their assimilation has not been completely free of difficulties. Unfortunately, Kenyan Americans are sometimes subject to the same prejudice that other African Americans often face. Although blatant discrimination is socially frowned upon, a covert bias is frequently directed toward those of African heritage. Kenyan immigrants often expressed disappointment in this aspect of their assimilation into the larger American society.

The vast majority of Kenyans do become naturalized citizens; less than two percent return to Kenya. The strict immigration quota creates obstacles for many of the immigrants desiring to become citizens and the process can be long and difficult. A small number of Kenyans become U.S. citizens through marriage to Americans. Although many Kenyan Americans would eventually like to return to Kenya after they have completed their education or achieved financial goals, the instability of Kenya's economy deters them. They do maintain contact with their Kenyan relatives and make frequent trips to Kenya.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Kenyans have a variety of traditions, most of which are connected to indigenous religious beliefs and thus vary from group to group. Many customs and beliefs originate from an agricultural lifestyle and contain special prayers, dances, and rituals to encourage different natural events. During droughts, for instance, the Masai strip the bark off of tree, bury a skin around the root of the tree, and pour water over it while placing charms and praying for rain.

Other traditions stem from hunting and war-ring practices, where prayers and rituals would be performed before and after the hunt or raid. The Masai sacrifice a sheep before a raid. Reverence of various animals plays a role in other customs. The Suk revere snakes and if a snake were to enter a hut, the animal could not be killed but was to be fed milk. Traditions also centered around life events, particularly the initiation of a child into adulthood or the birth of a baby.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, traditional Kenyan customs and beliefs were gradually fading despite attempts to preserve them. Many agricultural and hunting traditions were not easily transferable to the United States and disappeared as Kenyans immigrated. Although Kenyan Americans maintain a close connection to their cultural heritage, they have abandoned many of the older customs that are no longer relevant to their life in the United States.

PROVERBS

Many proverbs from Kenyan culture have survived through the generations. They include: Even when the shield covering wears out the frame survives; When a drum has a drumhead, one does not beat the wooden sides; When a scorpion stings without mercy, you kill it without mercy; A man does not rub backs with porcupines; Rooster, do not be so proud. Others are: Your mother was only an eggshell; The canoe must be paddled on both sides.

CUISINE

Traditional Kenyan cuisine reflects the agricultural products of the region. Kenyan recipes are generally inexpensive and nourishing, relying heavily on potatoes, rice, and maize. Maize is found in a variety of recipes, especially a porridge called *ugali*, which is cooked with meat (chicken, goat, or beef) or greens and is eaten nearly every day. Other dishes include: *karanga*, a stew cooked with goatmeat, carrots, onions and potatoes; *pillau*, a spiced rice dish that sometimes includes meat; *sukima wiki*, a fried dish

with chopped spinach, onions, tomatoes or other vegetables; *kienyeji*, a dish with mashed corn, beans, potatoes, and greens; and *michicha*, which contains spinach, onions, and tomatoes.

Fruits are an important part of the Kenyan diet. People commonly eat bananas, mangos, pineapples, and avocados. Snacks include roasted maize; *samosa* (fried mincemeat and vegetables); *kitumbuo* (fried rice bread); and *mandaazi* (fried dough cakes). Like most regions of the world, Kenyans also eat at international and fast food restaurants.

DANCES AND SONGS

Ngoma, the traditional form of Kenyan music, is generally used to describe both music and dance centered around the drum. Many Kenyan dances and songs serve specific purposes and have a variety of themes such as agricultural (for example, harvest, rain, or fire), mourning, jubilation, fertility, war, and peace. Most of the dances include stamps, hops, squats, slides, and hip swivels, reflecting the occasion for which it is intended. For instance, the battle dance of the Samburu contains fierce jumping motions, which simulate actions of a raid. There are numerous traditional Kenyan instruments, including the drum; bow harp; lute; lyre; instruments made from animals' horns; wood trumpet; flute; rattle; bell; gong; and the pit xylophone. Some songs are sung in unison, while others are call-and-response, in which one person shouts a line and the others respond.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The traditional clothing of Kenyans varies from region to region. Although the clothing of each ethnic group can appear similar, they are actually unique representations. For example, the traditional clothing of the Masai men, who were known for their fierce warrior status, includes headdresses of lion's mane and ostrich feathers. In addition, their faces are painted with white and red paint.

The Suk men wear elaborate shoulder-length chignons, jewelry from animals' horns, capes made of skins, lip plugs, and pierced nose discs. Turkana women shave their hair at the sides and twist the top into strands, and wear oval-shaped plate earrings. Their shoulders are covered with disc-shaped ornamentation chipped from ostrich eggs. Married Turkana women also wear an apron decorated with beads, which is held with a beaded belt.

During special events, particularly those related to the life cycle, clothing serves a special purpose. When girls and boys undergo initiation via

Samb Aminata polishes one of the wooden sculptures from Kenya that she has for sale at the Afro-American Festival in Detroit, Michigan.



circumcision or clitoridectomies, they wear certain clothing that reveals their status. Njemps boys undergoing circumcision wear a dyed black skin held in place by a belt of cowry shells and two ostrich feathers in their ears. Njemps girls don metal beads around their neck or faces as a symbol of their on-going clitoridectomy process. Other life cycle events require particular costumes as well. Women who have just given birth to a baby often paint the area around their eyes. The majority of Kenyans—including Kenyan Americans—wear more modern clothing and no longer don traditional garments except on special occasions.

HOLIDAYS

Kenyan Americans celebrate Good Friday, Easter Monday, and Christmas Day along with American holidays such as New Year's Day, Labor Day, and other secular holidays. Specific Kenyan holidays include the anniversary of the country's independence (December 12) and Kenyatta Day (October 20), which honors Kenya's first prime minister, Jomo Kenyatta. The small number of Kenyan immigrants in the United States prohibits lavish celebrations in honor of these events, but Kenyan-American organizations sometimes hold a special event in honor of these holidays.

HEALTH ISSUES

Despite recent efforts to address health issues, Kenyans have a fairly low life expectancy (47 years

for males and 48 years for females) and a high percentage of infant deaths (59.38 per 1,000 births). Poor living conditions increase the risk of disease and several diseases are particularly troublesome to Kenyans: poliomyelitis, schistosomiasis, intestinal parasites, malaria, respiratory ailments, and, increasingly, HIV infection. Most Kenyan Americans conform to the rules established for immigrants and are in good health when they enter the United States. Like most Americans, Kenyan Americans are able to take advantage of the medical insurance offered as a benefit of employment.

LANGUAGE

Most Kenyans are multilingual and speak at least three languages. Kiswahili and English are the official languages of Kenya. Each indigenous group has a fully developed language of their own. Kiswahili, a Bantu language that gradually incorporated Arabic words over the centuries, serves as a common language for the various regions in Kenya. Although everyday activities are conducted in Kiswahili, government and court business continue to use the English language. Other ethnic languages include Luo, Kikuyu, Kamba, Luyia, Gusii, and Kalenjin, which are usually spoken at home. In addition, English words have become incorporated into Kiswahili, which has led to a hybrid language composed of Kiswahili and English called *Sheng*. Since most Kenyans speak English, Kenyan immigrants generally do not face linguistic obstacles, and are comfortable switching to English as their principal language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Swahili greetings and other expressions include: *Jambo*—hello; *si jambo*—no problems; *habari*—how are you doing?; *nzuri*—fine; *karibu*—welcome; *kwaheri*—goodbye; *asante*—thank you; *tutaonana*—see you; *ndiyo*—yes; *hapana*—no; *jina langu*—my name is; *zuri*—good; *baya*—bad; *si mbaya*—not bad; *sawa*—ok; *kabisa*—perfect; *sama-hani*—sorry; *hebu*—excuse me; *inshallah*—if God wills it; and *tafadhali*—please.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Kenyan place a high value on family relationships and the importance of kinship. Close attention is paid to the maintenance of ancestry and lineage, particularly along the paternal lines. The individual is considered less important than his or her community, which centers around the extended family. Households normally contain at least one extended family member. Often several generations are present. Children sometimes refer to their cousins as “brother” or “sister,” and call their aunts and uncles “mother” and “father.” Grandparents and great-grandparents are revered for their wisdom.

Because of the emphasis placed on the survival of lineage, marriage is a sacred duty. Men are often allowed to marry more than one woman in order to ensure the continuance of the patriarchal line. Women are expected to raise large families. Women who do not have many children often face public derision. Large families are rewarded in many instances, both financially and through the elevation of their status. Kenyan homes are traditionally conservative and strictly patriarchal. Husbands work outside the home while the women are expected to stay within the boundaries of the household.

As a result of strict immigration laws, many Kenyans initially immigrate alone and are separated from their families for a long period of time. Kenyans often have a difficult time adjusting to American values, which they perceive as antithetical to their own, especially individualism, competitiveness, and materialism. Most Kenyan immigrants are accustomed to a closely-knit community surrounded by many family members, and they sometimes feel isolated when they first arrive.

One of the greatest concerns of Kenyan immigrants is their inability to foster a sense of Kenyan identity in their children, who are born and raised in the United States. The gap between immigrants and their children often fosters tensions as the chil-

dren have a more difficult time understanding the importance of ancestry and lineage. While Kenyans usually marry within their own ethnic group, the children of Kenyan immigrants are much more likely to marry outside of it. Many Kenyan American parents are involved in Kenyan American organizations that sponsor events to help expose their children to Kenyan culture.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Through the end of the twentieth century, Kenyan households maintained rigid rules concerning women’s roles within the patriarchal household. Wives and daughters were expected to stay strictly within the domestic sphere, except for designated agricultural tasks. The importance of these responsibilities is attested by the custom of paying bride-price, which compensated the parents for the loss of their daughters.

From the moment they were considered ready for betrothal, women were under an enormous amount of societal pressure to marry. Married women were under the protection of their husbands and forced to obtain permission from them to open a bank account or acquire a driver’s license.

Families were always traced from the father’s line and all children from a marriage “belonged” to the father. The frequent pregnancies of Kenyan women further reduced their opportunities to break out of traditional domestic-related roles. Contraception remained difficult to obtain and was regarded with suspicion by communities. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, the emerging women’s movement began lobbying for changes in educational, health, and other matters.

Kenyan American women are appreciative of the opportunities they find in the United States. Unlike their native-born country, immigrants are able to obtain contraception, driver’s licenses, and bank accounts without permission from their husbands. Since Kenyan women are usually well educated, they do not have difficulties finding employment and enjoy the freedom of pursuing a career outside the home.

WEDDINGS

Since much emphasis is placed on family relationships, Kenyan marriages are taken very seriously and must be met with approval by both families. After it has been granted, there is an engagement period, before the marriage ceremony takes place. The vast majority of Kenyans are Christians and their weddings usually conform to the dictates of their religion.

There are also traditional indigenous customs that vary from group to group. For instance, the Kikuyu men choose their wives after carefully examining their personalities, integrity, and sociability. However, it is not customary for women to accept a marriage offer immediately, but to hesitate and refer the question to her father.

After she does accept, the bridegroom presents his bride with gifts, which are termed bridewealth. In addition to more practical items such as cattle or livestock, the gifts sometimes include a *mukwar* (leather strap), *neguo ya maribe* (woman's dress made out of skins and beads, presented to the mother of the bride), a *ruhiu* (sword), and an *itimu ria nduthu* (a man's coat made out of skins, presented to the father of the bride). Other indigenous groups practice similar marriage customs, which are sometimes performed in addition to the Christian ceremonies.

CIRCUMCISIONS

An important life cycle event that takes place in Kenyan culture concerns the initiation of boys and girls into adulthood. This event is traditionally marked with male circumcision and female clitoridectomy rituals. Although male circumcision is regularly practiced fairly among many different groups, the practice of female circumcision (clitoridectomy) is less common. These initiations are an important event for those involved as well as the entire community. Although the customs vary from tribe to tribe, circumcision usually occurs between the twelfth and sixteenth birthday of a boy or girl.

Before undergoing the ceremony, the initiates spend up to a year in preparation, undergoing a series of rituals. For instance, Nandi boys are circumcised around their thirteenth birthday. Their preparation includes learning their groups' folklore, shaving their heads, passing courage tests, and wearing certain garments. After the event, they are placed in seclusion and not allowed to eat with their hands for the first week. After undergoing another series of rituals, they take an oath of secrecy about what they have learned. They are then considered part of Nandi manhood and wear certain clothing to indicate their new status.

Nandi girls undergo a similar process. During their preparation, time they wear certain garments and enter into seclusion. They are generally not allowed to see men during this time. At the end of the initiation period, following the clitoridectomy, the girls can wear different clothing to display their new status. They are then eligible for marriage. Both girls and boys are expected to undergo the experience without complaining.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, these customs were gradually abandoned. Clitoridectomies, in particular, were heavily criticized, in part due to the unhygienic conditions under which they were performed. Kenyan immigrants generally do not observe the practice of male or female circumcision in the United States.

FUNERALS

The majority of Kenyans practice Christian burials and funeral services. Their reverence of ancestry dictates proper respect for the dead and funerals are carefully performed. There are also many indigenous beliefs regarding the afterlife and the spirit world, which are reflected in older customs of burial and funeral services.

The Suk traditionally buried their dead so that their stomachs were tilted toward the Seker, the sacred mountain of the Suk. The Maragoli give a widow her husband's spear and shield. During the funeral she would carry them before handing them to his eldest brother immediately afterwards. The Taveta bury their dead in a sitting position. Men were buried with their left arm positioned on the knee to support the head while the women were buried near the door of their hut in a sitting position with their right arm positioned on their knee. Kenyan American funerals usually do not vary greatly from the funerals of other Americans of their same religion.

RELIGION

Over 60 percent of the Kenyans are Protestant or Roman Catholic, while six percent are Muslim. There are also numerous tribal religions. For example, the Suk believe in a god called the sky (*terorut*) whose his son is the rain (*ilat*). This traditional religion demands regular rituals and sacrifices that demonstrate their loyalty to their god.

The Maragoli believe in a god named *Nyasaye* who is aided by spirits. The Maragolis make offerings to these spirits in a shrine made out of a pole surrounded by eight stones. Once a year, followers drink a brew of water and millet and spit the mixture on the heads and feet of women and children. Blood from a dead chicken is smeared on the heads and feet of women and children as well as the eight stones. The beak is cut off from the dead chicken and put around the neck of the youngest child. The rest of the chicken is roasted and mixed with the millet, cooked to a paste, and then arranged on the stones. If the necessity arises, for example illness taking hold of the group, the Maragoli repeat the ritual.

Most indigenous groups also believe in witchcraft and spirit matter. Witch doctors are commonly called upon during times of distress from illness, drought or other natural disasters, and other disruptive events. The last part of the twentieth century saw a decline in the practice of older customs.

The vast majority of Kenyans that immigrate to the United States are Protestant or Catholic. They generally maintain the practice of these beliefs. Kenyan immigrants look for churches in which they feel comfortable with both the congregation and the manner in which their faith is practiced. The immigrants often find that their church helps ease the adjustment process to their new country, particularly if other Kenyan immigrants belong to the same church.

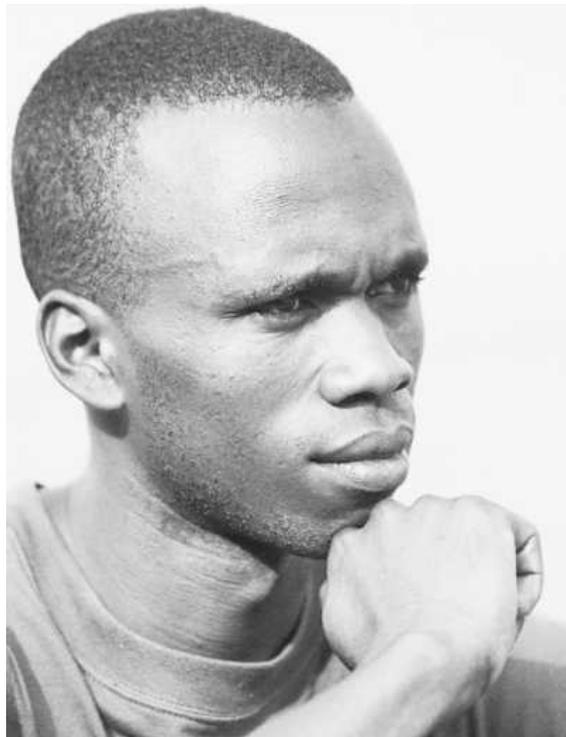
EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The high value that Kenyan Americans place on education has allowed them to find skilled positions. Even during the initial adjustment period, Kenyan Americans are less likely to need assistance than other immigrants, and they tend to have an overall high employment rate. Because most Kenyans are already fluent in English, they have an even greater advantage over other immigrant groups. Over 50 percent of Kenyans gravitate toward technology fields. There is also a large number of Kenyan Americans in the health care professions, especially nursing. Smaller numbers of Kenyan Americans work as doctors, lawyers, college professors, and business owners and managers.

RELATIONS WITH KENYA

Kenya and the United States have maintained good relations since Kenya declared its independence in 1963. The United States has provided both political and financial support to Kenya. Kenyans and Americans alike were shocked when the U.S. Embassy was bombed in Nairobi in 1998, and during which both Americans and Kenyans lost their lives.

Not surprisingly, relations with Kenya are important to the Kenyan American immigrants. Most Kenyan Americans have left family and friends behind and they are sensitive to the situation that Kenya's floundering economy has produced. Kenyan Americans actively lobby to increase aid to Kenya. There are a number of organizations designed to provide such support. One such organization is the Kenyan-American Chamber of Commerce (KACC, Inc.), which was formed in 1999 from the existing



Kenyan American
Iowa State
University student
David Lichoro was
inside the U.S.
embassy in Nairobi
just minutes before
it was bombed in
August of 1998. He
escaped with minor
injuries and
assisted those who
were more greatly
injured in the blast.

Kenyan American Association. KACC, Inc. is an influential private investment company that strives to increase development of Kenyan communities through investments in technology, educational, and other sectors, and to promote trade and culture between Kenya and the United States.

A similar organization is the American-Kenyan Educational Corporation. The corporation raises money to purchase textbooks and other items for primary school children and to help secondary school students pay their tuition. The corporation has also set up a sponsor program in which individuals or businesses provide for the needs of an entire classroom.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Kenyan-American Chamber of Commerce (KACC).

Established in 1999, the KACC is devoted to the development of communities in Kenya through educational, technical, and other sectors. In addition to providing assistance to Kenyan immigrants, the KACC provides links to cultural, linguistic, academic programs, and news of interest to Kenyan immigrants.

Contact: John Gakuha.

Address: 13829 South Darnell #307, Olathe, Kansas 66062.

Telephone: (913) 491-7388.

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KOREAN AMERICANS

by
Amy Nash

Coming from a traditional society greatly influenced by the Confucian principle of placing elders, family, and community before the individual, Korean immigrants struggle to make sense of the American concept of individual freedom.

OVERVIEW

Known to its people as *Choson* (Land of Morning Calm), Korea occupies a mountainous peninsula in eastern Asia. Stretching southward from Manchuria and Siberia for close to 600 miles (966 kilometers), it extends down to the Korea Strait. China lies to Korea's west, separated from the peninsula by the Yellow Sea. Japan lies to its east on the other side of the Sea of Japan.

Western societies have traditionally viewed the Korean peninsula as a remote region of the world. They have often referred to it as "The Hermit Kingdom" because it remained isolated from the western world until the nineteenth century. Yet it actually holds a central position on the globe, neighboring three major world powers—the former Soviet Union, China, and Japan.

At the end of World War II in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union divided the peninsula along the 38th Parallel into two zones of occupation—a Soviet controlled region in the north and an American controlled one in the south. In 1948, North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and South Korea (the Republic of Korea) were officially established. North Korea is run by a Communist government, with Pyongyang as its capital city. South Korea's government is an emergent democracy, and Seoul—Korea's largest city—is its capital.

An estimated 67 million people live on the Korean peninsula, with a population of approximately 43.9 million in South Korea and another 23.1 million residing in North Korea. Together they are racially and linguistically homogeneous. They are the ethnic descendants of a Tungusic branch of the Ural-Altaic family. Their spoken language, Korean, is a Uralic language with similarities to Japanese, Mongolian, Hungarian, and Finnish.

EARLY HISTORY

In its 5,000-year history, Korea has suffered over 900 invasions from outside peoples. Accordingly, the Korean people have found it necessary to defend fiercely their identity as a separate culture. Tungusic tribes from the Altai mountain region in central Asia made the peninsula their home during the Neolithic period around 4000 B.C. These tribes brought with them primitive religious and cultural practices, such as the east Asian religion of shamanism. By the fourth century B.C. several wall-town states throughout the peninsula were large enough to be recognized by China. The most advanced of these, Old Choson, was located in the basin of the Liao and Taedong rivers, where Pyongyang is situated today. China invaded Choson in the third century B.C. and maintained a strong cultural influence over the peninsula for the next 400 years.

Historians commonly refer to the first period of recorded Korean history (53 B.C.-668 A.D.) as the Period of the Three Kingdoms. These kingdoms were Koguryo, Paekche, and Silla. Toward the end of the seventh century A.D. Silla conquered Koguryo and Paekche and united the peninsula under the Silla dynasty. This period saw many advancements in literature, art, and science. Buddhism, which had reached Korea by way of China, was practiced by virtually all of Silla society. By the mid-eighth century the Silla people began using woodblock printing to reproduce sutras and Confucian writings.

In 900, the three kingdoms divided again. Within 36 years the Koguryo kingdom took control and its leader, General Wang Kon, established the Koryo dynasty. The word Korea comes from this dynastic name. During Koryo's 400-year reign, artistic, scientific, and literary achievements advanced further. Improving upon earlier Chinese printing methods, Korea became the first country in the world to use movable cast metal type in 1234. Medical knowledge also developed during the thirteenth century. Evolving out of local Korean folk remedies and Chinese practices, Korean medical science was recorded in books such as *Emergency Remedies of Folk Medicine* and *Folk Remedies of Samhwaja*.

Mongolian forces invaded Koryo in 1231 and occupied the kingdom until 1368. The Chinese Ming dynasty forced the Mongols back to the far north. This struggle eventually led to the fall of Koryo in 1392, when General Yi Song-Gye revolted against the king and founded the Yi dynasty. In control until the early twentieth century, it proved to be Korea's longest reigning dynasty and one of the most enduring regimes in history. The increasingly militant Buddhist state of the former Koryo dynasty yielded to the thinking of the new Choson kingdom, which was ruled by civilians who devotedly followed Confucian principles. Confucianism is not a religion but a philosophy of life and ethics that stresses an individual's sense of duty to family members and society as a whole. The Yi regime emphasized hierarchical relationships, with highest respect given to family elders, the monarch, and China as the older, more established country.

The Yi dynasty remained peaceful until 1592, when Japan invaded the peninsula. Chinese soldiers helped Korea seize control over its land from the Japanese armies. Japan attacked again in 1597, but Korea was able to force its withdrawal by the end of the year. Still, the country was left in tatters from the war. Korea suffered more attacks in 1627 and 1636, this time at the hands of the Manchus, who later conquered China. Western scientific, technological, and religious influences began to make their way to Korea during this period, by way of China. France, Great Britain, and the United States had already begun to dominate areas within China and other Asian countries. Calling Korea "The Hermit Kingdom" because of its closed-door policy toward non-Chinese foreigners, Western countries became interested in the peninsula in the nineteenth century.

In 1832 an English merchant ship landed off the coast of Chungchong province, and in 1846 three French warships landed in the same area. Eight years later two armed Russian ships sailed along the Hamgyong coast and killed a few Korean civilians before leaving the region. In 1866 the U.S.S. *General Sherman* sailed up the Taedong River to Pyongyang. The crew's goal of drawing up a trade agreement was thwarted by an enraged mob of Koreans who set fire to the ship, killing everyone aboard. Five U.S. warships appeared near the Korean island of Kanghwa the following year and also were fought off. Korean animosity toward Western countries stemmed largely from their awareness of China's troubles with these same nations, particularly Great Britain, which had devastated China during the First Opium War of 1839-1842. Despite Korean resistance, Japan forced the country to open to trade in 1876. In 1882 Korea reluctantly agreed to trade with the United States.

For two centuries China and Japan fought for control over Asia. China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) greatly weakened Chinese dominance. After this victory Japan invaded the Korean peninsula. Korean students from American-founded schools resented this invasion. These schools had become a place to learn about democracy and national liberation. The Japanese army despised the American missionaries who had established these schools but knew better than to confront citizens of the powerful U.S. government. Instead, they took advantage of Korean citizens and outlawed Korean customs. Korea turned to Russia for financial support and protection. What followed was a ten-year struggle between Russia and Japan for control over the Korean peninsula. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 ended in another Japanese victory. U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt mediated the treaty agreement and won a Nobel Peace Prize for his role in creating the Treaty of Portsmouth. Korea became a protectorate of Japan, and Japan officially annexed the country in 1910.

MODERN ERA

During its 35 years as a Japanese colony, Korea experienced major economic and social developments, such as soil improvement, updated methods of farming, and industrialization in the north. Japan modernized the country along Western lines, but Korea did not reap the benefits. Japan used half of the Korean rice crop for its own industry. Most Korean farmers were forced off their land. All Korean schools and temples were controlled by the Japanese. By the 1930s Koreans were forced to worship at Shinto shrines, speak Japanese in schools, and adopt Japanese names. Japan also prevented them from publishing Korean newspapers and organizing their own intellectual and political groups.

Thousands of Koreans participated in demonstrations against the Japanese government. These marches were mostly peaceful, but some led to violence. On March 1, 1919, a group of 33 prominent Koreans in Seoul issued a proclamation of independence. Close to 500,000 Koreans, including students, teachers, and members of religious groups, organized demonstrations in the streets, protesting against Japanese rule. This mass demonstration, which became known as the March First Movement, lasted two months until the Japanese government suppressed it and expanded the size of its police force in Korea by 10,000. According to conservative estimates from Japanese reports, the Japanese police killed 7,509 Koreans, wounded 15,961, and imprisoned another 46,948 in the process of quelling the movement.

Japan sided with Nazi Germany during World War II. The Japanese government put Koreans to work in munitions plants, airplane factories, and coal mines in Japan. Before the war, Korean nationalists living outside of the country (in Siberia, Manchuria, China, and the United States) organized independence efforts, often using guerrilla tactics against the Japanese. One of these nationalists residing in the United States, Syngman Rhee, went on to become the first president of South Korea. Another Korean who was making a name for himself as a rebel was Kim Song-Je. Born in 1912 near Pyongyang, Kim spent most of his childhood in Manchuria and took the pseudonym Kim Il Sung in 1930. He organized one of the first anti-Japanese guerrilla units in Antu, Manchuria, on April 25, 1932, and became North Korea's first president. North Koreans still celebrate April 25 as the founding date of the Korean People's Army.

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, bringing the United States into World War II, the Korean provisional government created by such nationalists as Syngman Rhee finally had an opportunity to take a stand against Japan. On December 8, this provisional government declared war on Japan and formed the Restoration Army to fight alongside the Allies in the Pacific theater.

When Japan surrendered to the Allies on August 15, 1945, ending the Japanese occupation of Korea, Koreans took to the streets in celebration of the end of 36 years under oppressive rule. But the freedom they expected did not follow. The Soviet Union immediately occupied Pyongyang, Hamhung, and other major northern cities. The United States followed by stationing troops in southern Korea. This division, which was supposed to have been a temporary measure, remained a source of turbulence and tragedy for Koreans at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

In the months that followed the end of World War II, postwar international decisions were made without the consent of the Korean people. The Soviet Union set up a provisional Communist government in northern Korea, and the United States created a provisional republican government in the South. In 1948 the Republic of Korea was founded south of the 38th Parallel, followed by the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north. Both governments claimed authority over the entire peninsula and tempted fate by crossing the border at various points along the 38th Parallel.

On June 25, 1950, North Korea launched a surprise attack on South Korea, beginning a costly, bloody, three-year struggle known as the Korean

War. It was perhaps the most tragic period in modern history for the Korean people. In the end, neither side achieved victory. On July 27, 1953, in the town of Panmunjom, the two sides signed an armistice designating a cease-fire line along the 38th Parallel and establishing a surrounding 2.5-mile-wide (four-kilometer-wide) demilitarized zone, which remains the boundary between the two Koreas. The war left the peninsula a wasteland. An estimated four million soldiers were killed or wounded, and approximately 1 million civilians died.

Both Koreas moved swiftly to rebuild after the war and have emerged into modern, industrialized nations. North Korea, which was more industrialized than South Korea before the war, restored the production of goods to prewar levels within three years. North Korea's economy and industry suffered, however, as a result of the break-up of the Soviet Union, one of its major trading partners. South Korea has evolved from a rural to post-industrial society since the 1960s. It has become an important exporter of products such as Hyundai cars, GoldStar televisions, and Samsung VCRs. In the late 1980s the United States was the second largest exporter to South Korea, after Japan. In 1989, South Korea was the seventh largest exporter country to the United States.

Kim Il Sung ruled as a Communist dictator in North Korea for more than four decades, until his death in July 1994. South Korea, on the other hand, has undergone several political upheavals since the Korean War. South Koreans have become increasingly dissatisfied with the U.S.-South Korea alliance and with the presence of U.S. troops in the country. Corruption in the government and the lack of free elections have caused many student uprisings. President Kim Young-Sam, who took office in February 1993, has instituted economic reforms and an aggressive anti-corruption campaign. As of 1995, it was too soon to tell if his programs would bring the country closer to a true democracy.

All measures introduced to reunify the Korean peninsula have ended in a stalemate. U.S. concern over North Korea's nuclear weapons program during the 1990s has threatened to increase tensions between the two Koreas. North Korea's refusal to allow full international inspection of its nuclear facilities brought the United States close to proposing a resolution for a United Nations economic embargo against North Korea in June 1994. Before sanctions were implemented, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter met with the North Korean government and reported back that the country would be willing to freeze all activity that produces fuel for nuclear weapons if Washington would initiate high-level talks. In the past, planned meetings between

the two Korean governments have broken down. Officials were cautiously hopeful that this time would be different, until Kim Il Sung's death once again put negotiations between the two countries on hold. Reunification remains the most pressing issue on the minds of virtually all Koreans.

THE FIRST KOREANS IN AMERICA

The first recorded emigration of Koreans from their homeland occurred in the eighth century, when thousands moved to Japan. Korean communities also existed in China as early as the ninth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Yen-pien section of Manchuria and the Maritime provinces of Russia became home to many Koreans escaping famine on the peninsula. Emigration was illegal in Korea, but by the end of the century, 23,000 Koreans were living in the Maritime provinces. Natural disasters, poverty, high taxes, and government oppression were given as their reasons for leaving. As Japanese control over the peninsula began to spread, so did Korean discontent. The United States became a refuge for a small number of Koreans at the end of the nineteenth century. Three Korean political refugees moved to America in 1885. Five more arrived in 1899 but were mistaken for Chinese. Between 1890-1905, 64 Koreans had traveled to Hawaii to attend Christian mission schools. Most of these students returned to Korea after completing their studies.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first major wave of Korean immigrants to the United States began in 1903, when Hawaiian sugar plantation owners offered Koreans the opportunity to work on their plantations. By 1835 sugar had become the main crop produced on the Hawaiian Islands, largely due to the prolific yield of the Koloa Plantation on the island of Kauai. Initially the sugar planters hired native Hawaiians to work as contract laborers on the plantations. By 1850 the native population had declined, the laborers became increasingly dissatisfied with the hard work, and the demand for sugar continued to grow. The resulting labor shortage forced the planters to form the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society to recruit outside sources of labor. Hawaii was not yet a part of the United States, and contract labor was therefore still legal. In 1852, the first immigrant laborers arrived in Hawaii from China. By the time the United States annexed Hawaii in 1898, 50,000 Chinese immigrants lived in Hawaii. Low wages, long work days, and poor treatment caused many Chinese laborers to leave the plantations in order to find

work in the cities. The sugar planters then began to recruit Japanese immigrants to supplement the work force on the plantations.

In 1900 Hawaii became an official U.S. territory, making it legal for the Chinese and Japanese workers to go on strike. Many of them did. America's Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited immigration of Chinese people to the United States. When Hawaii became a U.S. territory, Chinese workers were not allowed to immigrate to Hawaii. To offset another labor shortage and weaken the unions, Hawaiian sugar planters turned to Korea. In 1902 growers sent a representative to San Francisco to meet with Horace Allen, the American ambassador to Korea. Allen began recruiting Koreans to work on the plantations with the help of David William Deshler, an American businessman living in Korea. Deshler owned a steamship service that operated between Korea and Japan. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association paid Deshler 55 dollars for each Korean recruited. The Deshler Bank, set up in the Korean seaside town of Inchon, provided loans of 100 dollars to each immigrant for transportation.

With conditions worsening in their homeland, the offer appealed to a great number of Koreans. They would be paid a monthly wage of 16 dollars; receive free housing, health care, and English lessons; and would enjoy a warmer climate. Newspaper advertisements and posters promoted Hawaii as paradise and America as a land of gold and dreams. Recruiters used the slogan *Kaeguk chinch wi* ("the country is open, go forward") to encourage potential recruits. American missionaries also helped persuade Koreans with stories of how life in the West would make them better Christians. Reverend George Heber Jones of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Inchon was one of the more well-known American preachers who encouraged Koreans to go to Hawaii.

In December 1902, 121 Koreans left their homeland aboard the U.S.S. *Gaelic*, and all but 19 of the recruits (who failed their medical examinations in Japan) arrived in Honolulu on January 13, 1903. This original group included 56 men, 21 women, and 25 children. Over 7,000 Korean immigrants joined them on the Hawaiian sugar plantations within two years. Most of these immigrants were bachelors or had left their families behind. They hoped to save their wages and return to Korea to share the wealth with their families. With the higher cost of living in Hawaii, only about 2,000 Koreans were able to return to Korea. By 1905 the Japanese government banned emigration from the peninsula because so many Koreans were leaving to avoid Japanese oppression.

The next wave of Korean immigration to the United States occurred when Japan issued the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907. This pact forbade further immigration of Japanese and Korean workers but included a clause that allowed wives to rejoin their husbands already in the United States. This law initiated the "picture bride" system, enabling immigrant men to have wives and families in America. Of the 7,296 Korean immigrants in Hawaii, only 613 of them were women. To improve the male/female ratio, Korean village matchmakers and the groom's family selected the women to contact. The men exchanged photographs with the prospective brides, and when a match was agreed upon, the groom's family would write the bride's name into the family register to legalize the union. The bride would then travel to the United States by boat and meet her new husband. Marriage ceremonies were often performed on the boat, so that the women could touch American soil as legal wives of the immigrants. Between 1910 and 1924, over 1,000 Korean picture brides came to the United States, mostly to Hawaii. These women were motivated to become picture brides by the opportunities for education and wealth they heard existed in America. Traditional Korean society placed many restrictions on women. Education, travel, and careers were not open to them at home.

The picture brides, however, did not find America paved with gold. Many discovered that their husbands were much older than they looked in the pictures. In fact, an alarming number of these women became widows at a very young age. They faced hard work and long hours, leaving little free time to learn English. In her introduction to *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings By and About Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989; p. 9), Sucheta Mazumdar recounts Anna Choi's description of her life in Hawaii as a picture bride: "I arose at four o'clock in the morning, and we took a truck to the sugar cane fields, eating breakfast on the way. Work in the sugar plantations was back breaking. It involved cutting canes, watering, and pulling out weeds.... The sugar cane fields were endless and twice the height of myself. Now that I look back, I *thank goodness* for the height for if I had seen how far the fields stretched I probably would have fainted from knowing how much work was ahead."

In the years between 1907 and World War II, a few Korean political refugees and students also came to the United States. Some were members of a secret Korean patriotic society called *Sinmin-hoe* (New People's Society). To escape persecution by the Japanese government, they crossed the Yalu River and took trains to Shanghai. From there, they made their way to America. By 1924, 541 Koreans

living in America claimed to be political refugees. Among the political activists residing in the United States at this time were Ahn Chang Ho, Pak Yong-Man, and Syngman Rhee, the future first president of South Korea. Rhee immigrated to the United States as a student and earned a doctorate from Princeton University in 1910. He returned to Korea to organize a protest against the Japanese. He then came back to the United States to avoid arrest and remained there until the end of World War II. During his years in America, he founded one of the major Korean independence movements.

Korean emigration was discouraged by the South Korean government after World War II, and North Korea forbade any kind of emigration. Most of the Koreans who did immigrate to the United States after the war were women. The quota system created by the United States Office of Immigration in the 1940s allowed between 105 and 150 immigrants from each of the Asian nations into the country. This law favored immigrants with post-secondary education, technical training, and specialized skills. Most of the Koreans allowed to immigrate were women with nursing training. The War Brides Act of 1945 also helped women and children obtain papers to immigrate.

More women who had married American soldiers were allowed into the United States after the Korean War. By this time, Koreans and all Asians in America were able to acquire citizenship through naturalization as a result of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. Foreign adoption of Korean babies also began at the end of the Korean War. The war had left thousands of children orphaned in Korea. Over 100,000 South Korean children have been adopted abroad since the war, and roughly two-thirds of these children have been adopted by American families. An estimated 10,000 Korean children have been adopted by Minnesota families alone. Criticized by other countries for running a “baby mill,” the South Korean government began to phase out the practice in the 1990s. Although adopting children is traditionally frowned upon in Korean society, social workers are attempting to encourage domestic adoption.

RECENT IMMIGRATION

In 1965 the U.S. Congress passed the Immigration and Naturalization Act. The quota system was replaced with a preference system that gave priority to immigration applications from relatives of U.S. citizens and from professionals with skills needed by the United States. Thousands of South Korean doctors and nurses took advantage of the new law. They

moved to America and took jobs in understaffed, inner-city hospitals. Koreans with science and technological backgrounds also were encouraged to immigrate. These new immigrants came from middle-class and upper-class families, unlike the earlier immigrants. The portion of the law informally known as the “Brothers and Sisters Act” has also been a factor in the dramatic increase in the Korean American population. In 1960, 10,000 Koreans were living in the United States. By 1985 the number had increased to 500,000. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce’s 1990 Census of Population, 836,987 Korean Americans had settled in the United States. The 1991 *Statistical Yearbook* of the Immigration and Naturalization Service states that 26,518 Koreans were admitted to the United States in 1991, making up 1.5 percent of the total immigrants arriving in America that year.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Virtually all of the first Koreans who immigrated to the United States settled in Hawaii and the West Coast. As Korean immigrants working on the Hawaiian sugar plantations became increasingly frustrated by the harsh conditions, they moved to cities and opened restaurants, vegetable stands, and small stores, or worked as carpenters and tailors. Some returned to Korea if they could save the money for transportation. Approximately 1,000 Korean plantation workers remigrated to the U.S. mainland by 1907. They settled in San Francisco or moved farther inland to Utah to work in the copper mines, to Colorado and Wyoming to work in the coal mines, and to Arizona to work on the railroads. Some Koreans moved as far north as Alaska and found jobs in the salmon fisheries. The majority of those who remigrated, however, settled in California.

Recent Korean immigrants have settled in concentrated areas around the country. In 1970 the highest percentage of Korean Americans lived in California, followed by Hawaii, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Washington. In 1990 the U.S. Census reported 260,822 Korean Americans in California, 93,145 Korean immigrants in New York, 42,167 in Illinois, 38,087 in New Jersey, 35,281 in Texas, 32,918 in Washington, and 32,362 in Virginia. Maryland, Hawaii, and Pennsylvania each have over 25,000 Korean American residents. Every state has at least a small population of Korean Americans. Most Koreans who settle in the United States reside in large cities where jobs are available and Korean communities have been established. Koreatowns have developed in areas such as the Olympic Boulevard neighborhood west of downtown Los Angeles, where over 150,000 Korean

Americans live. The Flushing, Woodside, and Jackson Heights neighborhoods within the New York City borough of Queens also have substantial Korean American populations. Unlike the early immigrants, later immigrants generally traveled to America to take up permanent residence. Korean American professionals who can afford it have begun moving to the suburbs.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Like all immigrants arriving in the United States, Koreans have had to make major adjustments to live in a country that is vastly different from their homeland. Coming from a traditional society greatly influenced by the Confucian principle of placing elders, family, and community before the individual, Korean immigrants struggle to make sense of the American concept of individual freedom. Since the first immigrants arrived in Hawaii, Korean Americans have preserved their identity by creating organizations, such as Korean Christian churches and Korean schools. The Korean word *han*, used to describe an anguished feeling of being far from what you want, accurately conveys the longing that accompanies most Koreans to America. Korean American organizations provide a sense of community for new immigrants and a way to alleviate this longing.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Korean immigrants bring with them a culture that incorporates aspects of Chinese, Indian, Japanese, and Western cultures. These influences have filtered into Korean society throughout its long history. Yet Koreans have also maintained native elements of their literature, art, music, and way of life. The result is a wonderful collage of elements, both foreign and indigenous to the peninsula. Korean Americans tend to maintain aspects of their culture, while also adopting elements of mainstream America.

LITERATURE, ART, AND MUSIC

Korean literature draws from Chinese and Japanese roots but has its own distinctive features. Poems, romances, and short stories represent only a portion of the breadth of the Korean literary tradition. This tradition includes both folk and highly advanced literary writings and works written in Chinese, as well as Korean. Korean poems, called *hyangga*, dating back to the sixth century, were written in Chinese characters. *Hyangga* were sung by Buddhist



Groups of immigrants often found themselves settling in neighborhoods together. These neighborhoods then took on characteristics of that particular group, as is shown here in Koreatown in New York.

monks for religious purposes. Korean myths and legends were first recorded in Chinese in the thirteenth century. The first literary work written in the Korean alphabet, *hangul*, was the *Songs of Flying Dragons*, a multi-volume account written between 1445 and 1447 by King Sejong's father during the Yi dynasty. Novels began to appear in the seventeenth century. Among the best known are Ho Kyun's *Life of Hong Kiltong* and *Spring Fragrance*, written anonymously in the eighteenth century.

Chinese, Japanese, and Korean art forms have many similarities, but Korea has also preserved its own creative elements in this field. Korean art is characterized by simple forms, subdued colors, humor, and natural images. Korea is known for its ceramics, especially the celadon. This highly sophisticated form of pottery was first introduced during the Koryo dynasty.

Korean music incorporates Confucian rituals, court music, Buddhist chants, and folk music. Ancient instruments used for court music include zithers, flutes, reed instruments, and percussion. Folk music, which usually includes dancing, is played with a *chango* (a drum shaped like an hour-glass) and a loud trumpet-like oboe. *P'ansori*, stories first sung by wandering bards in the late Choson dynasty, are an early form of Korean folk music. Modern Korean composers often draw from Western classical music. Korean American musicians, like Jin Hi Kim, use traditional Korean elements in their compositions. Kim is a *komungo* harpist who came to the United States in her twenties. She incorporates traditional Korean musical styles with

other non-Western styles. Kim is one of the leaders in the No World Improvisations movement, which promotes the performance and composition of new improvisational music.

SPORTS

Several sports native to Korea have become popular around the world. For instance, *tae kwon do*, a method of self-defense that originated in Korea more than 2,000 years ago, has now become a commonly taught form of karate in the United States. It involves more sharp, quick kicking than the Japanese style of karate. It was a demonstration sport in the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul.

SPECIAL EVENTS

The importance placed on family in Korean society is apparent from the way special events in family members' lives are celebrated. Traditionally parents—with the help of a marriage broker or go-between—chose their children's marriage partners. The parents also planned and prepared the wedding ceremony. Female relatives spent days preparing special dishes for the wedding feast and making the wedding clothes. The picture bride system used to increase the population of Korean American females in Hawaii is one example of how this traditional system was maintained in America. While still common in rural areas of Korea, these customs are no longer standard practice in cities. Similarly, Korean Americans, who generally come from urban areas, usually allow their children to choose their own spouses. As members of Christian churches, most modern Korean Americans have Western-style wedding ceremonies and wear Western-style bridal gowns and formal suits. Another event that Koreans traditionally celebrate with great flourish is a baby's first birthday. The child is dressed in a traditional costume and seated amidst rice cakes, cookies, and fruits. Friends and relatives offer the child objects, each one symbolizing a different career. A pen represents a writing career, and a coin signifies a career in finance. The first object the child picks up is said to indicate his or her future profession.

PRESERVING TRADITION

Korean culture is maintained within Korean American communities through church organizations, Korean schools, and Korean-culture camps. Since the beginning of this century, Korean Protestant churches have offered classes in Korean culture and language. In 1990 an estimated 490 Korean-lan-

guage schools operated in the United States. Approximately 31,000 students attend these schools, which are run by 3,700 teachers. Classes are held during the week and sometimes on the weekends. The April/May 1994 issue of *The U.S.-Korea Review* lists 19 summer Korean-culture camps across the country. Located predominantly in California, Minnesota, New Jersey, and New York, these camps offer Korean American children, usually adoptees, an opportunity to learn about their heritage with other Korean American children.

CUISINE

Korean cooking is similar to other Asian cuisines. Like the Chinese and Japanese, Koreans eat with chopsticks. Common ingredients in Korean food, such as tofu, soy sauce, rice, and a wide variety of vegetables, are also staples in other far eastern cuisines. But Korean food is also distinct in many ways. It is often highly seasoned, including combinations of garlic, ginger, red or black pepper, scallions, soy sauce, sesame seeds, and sesame oil. Blander grain dishes such as rice, barley, or noodles offset the heat of the spices. Red meat is scarce in both North and South Korea and typically is reserved for special occasions. Koreans do not usually designate certain foods as breakfast, lunch, or dinner dishes. A standard meal consists of rice, soup, *kimchi* (a spicy Korean pickle), vegetables, and broiled or grilled meat or fish. Fresh fruit is usually served at the end of a meal. *Kimchi* is considered the national dish and is served at virtually every meal. Made from cabbage, turnips, radishes, or cucumber, *kimchi* can be prepared many ways, from mild to very spicy. Korean cuisine includes many different kinds of *namul* (salads). A common type of *namul* is *sukju namul*, or bean sprout salad. Made with bean sprouts, soy sauce, vinegar, sesame oil, black pepper, and other ingredients, it is easy to make and serve. A common soup served at breakfast is *kamja guk* (potato soup). It is often spiced with chopped onion and chunks of tofu. Koreans serve *mandu* (Korean dumplings) at winter celebrations. They are deep-fried wonton skins, usually filled with beef, cabbage, bean sprouts, onions, and other ingredients. Another common Korean dish is *chap ch'ae* (mixed vegetables with noodles). This popular stir-fry dish features cellophane noodles, which are made from mung beans and prepared with vegetables in a wok.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

Traditional Korean clothing is rarely worn in either the United States or in Korea on a daily basis. Modern Western-style clothes are standard attire in

most of South Korea, with the exception of some rural areas. During holidays, however, Koreans in both the United States and Korea often wear traditional costumes. Women may wear a *chi-ma* (a long skirt, usually pleated and full) and *cho-gori* (a short jacket top worn over a skirt) during New Year's celebrations. Traditional attire for men includes long white overcoats and horsehair hats or colorful silk baggy trousers known as *paji*.

HOLIDAYS

Koreans in both the United States and Korea celebrate several important days throughout the year. Following Buddhist and Confucian traditions, Koreans begin the new year with an elaborate three-day celebration called *Sol*. Family members dress in traditional clothing and pay homage to the oldest members of the family. The festivities include several feasts, kite-flying, board games, and various rituals intended to ward off evil spirits.

The first full moon is also an ancient day of worship. Torches are kept burning all night, and often people set off firecrackers to scare away evil spirits. *Yadu Nal* (Shampoo Day) is celebrated on June 15. Families bathe in streams or waterfalls to protect them from fevers. *Chusok* (Thanksgiving Harvest) is celebrated in autumn to give thanks for the harvest. *Kimchi* is also prepared for the winter at this time. Other traditional holidays observed in many Korean American households include Buddha's birthday on April 8, Korean Memorial Day on June 6, Father's Day on June 15, Constitution Day in South Korea on July 17, and Korean National Foundation Day on October 3. Korean American Christians also observe major religious holidays such as Easter and Christmas.

PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPES

Anti-Asian prejudice first erupted in the United States when Chinese and Japanese immigrants began arriving in the nineteenth century. Early Korean immigrants suffered discrimination but were not specifically targeted until they became a significant percentage of the population. Americans generally knew nothing about Korea when Koreans first came to the United States. What little information they could find was written by non-Asians and claimed Western superiority over Asian cultures. William Griffis' *Corea: The Hermit Kingdom*, Alexis Krausse's *The Far East*, and Isabella Bird Bishop's *Korea and Her Neighbors* are examples of books that perpetuated the myth of Western superiority. American writer Jack London was also responsible for giving Ameri-



Many different ethnic groups display their pride in their diversity through annual parades.

cans an unfavorable view of Korea. As a war correspondent covering the Russo-Japanese conflict in 1904, London voiced his opinions in dispatches that appeared on the front pages of newspapers across the country. In an article entitled "The Yellow Peril" (*San Francisco Examiner*, September 25, 1904; p. 44), London wrote that "the Korean is the perfect type of inefficiency—of utter worthlessness."

Anti-Asian sentiments grew during the early twentieth century when San Francisco workers accused Koreans, along with Japanese and Chinese immigrants, of stealing jobs because the immigrants would work for lower wages. Restaurants refused to serve Asian customers, and Asians were often forced to sit in segregated corners of movie theaters. Violent white gangs harassed Korean Americans in California, and the government did nothing to help the victims. In fact, California laws in the first few decades of the twentieth century supported anti-Asian attitudes. Asian students were banned from attending public schools in white districts in 1906. The 1913 Webb-Heney Land Law prohibited Asians from owning property, and the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 banned all Asian immigration to the United States for close to 30 years.

Korean Americans continue to be discriminated against in the job market, often receiving lower pay and having fewer opportunities for promotion than non-Asian co-workers. The view of Korean Americans as "super immigrants" has also caused discord. Korean American success stories in business and education have led to resentment from outside groups. These stories are often exaggerated. Rumors that the

U.S. government gives Korean immigrants money when they arrive are untrue. Only refugees receive aid from the U.S. government, and very few Korean immigrants qualify as refugees. Also, statistics that show the mean income of Korean American families to be higher than that of the general public are misleading because most Korean Americans live in large cities where the cost of living is much higher. These stereotypes have led to boycotts of Korean greengrocers in Brooklyn, Chicago, and elsewhere. In the April 1992 Los Angeles uprising that followed the verdict in the trial of African American assault victim Rodney King's attackers, black rioters targeted Korean grocers, destroying countless Korean American businesses. Korean immigrants refer to this tragic episode as the *Sa-i-kup'ok-dong* (April 28 riots). Korean Americans have come to represent wealth, greed, materialism, and arrogance because they have started businesses in inner-city neighborhoods that have been abandoned by corporations. The people still living in these neighborhoods often use the Korean small businessperson as a scapegoat for their anger against corporate America. Organizations such as the Korea Society in New York and the Korean Youth and Community Center in Los Angeles have begun to address these issues.

HEALTH ISSUES

Korean Americans hold a prominent position in the field of medical science. The proportionally large number of Korean American doctors and nurses attest to this fact. Data on the status of the health of Korean Americans is limited. Asian Americans in general have a longer life expectancy than Americans as a whole. Job-related stress and other factors have contributed to mental health problems within the Korean American community. Most Korean Americans receive health insurance through their employers. New immigrants and the elderly, however, often do not have access to medical care because of language barriers. Organizations such as the Korean Health Education Information and Referral in Los Angeles address this problem.

LANGUAGE

Virtually every citizen in North and South Korea is an ethnic Korean and speaks Korean. Spoken for over 5,000 years, the Korean language was first written in the mid-fifteenth century when King Sejong invented the phonetically-based alphabet known as *hangul* ("the great writing"). The King created the alphabet so that all Korean people, not just the aristocracy who knew Chinese characters,

could learn to read and write. As a result both North and South Korea have among the highest literacy rates in the world.

While most second- and third-generation Korean immigrants speak English exclusively, new immigrants often know little or no English. As time goes by, they begin to learn necessary English phrases. The earliest Korean immigrants in Hawaii learned a form of English known as pidgin English, which incorporated phrases in English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Portuguese—all languages spoken by the different ethnic groups working on the plantations. Learning English is crucial for new immigrants who hope to become successful members of the larger American community. Yet most Korean American parents also hope to preserve their heritage by sending their American-born children to Korean-language schools.

Several American universities offer undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral programs in Korean language and Korean studies. These universities include Brigham Young University, Columbia University, Cornell University, Harvard University, the University of Hawaii, Manoa, and the University of Washington, Seattle.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

The following greetings are translated phonetically from the *hangul* alphabet according to the McCune-Reischauer System of Romanization: *Annyonghasipnigga*—Hello (formal greeting); *Yoboseyo*—Hello (informal greeting); *Annyonghi kasipsio*—Good-bye (staying); *Annyonghi kyeshipsio*—Good-bye (leaving); *Put'akhamnida*—Please; *Komapsumnida*—Thank you; *Ch'onmaneyo*—You're welcome; *Sillyehamnida*—Excuse me; *Ye*—Yes; *Aniyo*—No; *Sehae e pok mani padu sipsiyo!*—Happy New Year!; *Man sei!*—Hurrah! Long live our country! Ten thousand years!; *Kuh reh!*—That is so! True!

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Historically, the family-kinship system was an extremely integral part of Korean society. The male head of a household played a dominant role, as did the oldest members of the family. Parents practiced control over their children's lives, arranging their marriages and choosing their careers. The eldest son was responsible for taking care of parents in their old age. Inheritances also went to the son. These systems have changed in modern Korea, particularly in cities, but the family remains very important to Koreans in

The basic Korean alphabet consists of 10 vowels and 14 consonants.

The basic
Korean alphabet

Basic Vowels: **ㅏ ㅑ ㅓ ㅕ ㅗ ㅛ ㅜ ㅠ ㅡ ㅣ**
a ya o` yo` o yo u yu u` i

Basic Consonants:

Name	Sound	Name	Sound
ㄱ 기역 kiyō`k	k,g	ㅇ 이응 iu`ng	(ng)
ㄴ 니은 niu`n	n	ㅈ 지읒 chiu`t'	ch,j(t)
ㄷ 디귤 tiku`t	t,d	ㅊ 치읓 ch'iu`t'	ch'(t)
ㄹ 리을 riu`l	r,l	ㅋ 키읓 k'iu`k'	k'
ㅁ 미음 miu`m	m	ㅌ 티읓 t'iu`t'	t'
ㅂ 비읍 piu`p	p,b	ㅍ 피읓 p'iu`p'	p'
ㅅ 시읓 siot'	s(t)	ㅎ 히읓 hiu`t	h(t)

() sound of final consonants

There are also 11 compound vowels and 5 compound consonants in the Korean alphabet.

Compound Vowels: **ㅐ ㅑ ㅓ ㅕ ㅗ ㅛ**
ae yae e ye wa wae
ㅜ ㅠ ㅡ ㅣ
oe wo` we wi ui

Compound Consonants: **ㄲ ㅌ ㅍ ㅈ ㅊ**
kk tt pp ss tch

their homeland and in America. Parents still pressure their children to marry someone who has a good relationship with the family. Children—both male and female—usually are responsible for the care of elderly parents, although the government has begun to carry some of the financial burden. Tight family bonds continue to exist among Korean Americans. The current U.S. immigration laws encourage these bonds by favoring family reunions. Korean Americans who invite relatives to come to the United States have a responsibility to help the new immigrants adjust to their new home. Korean American families often include extended family members. The average Korean American household consists of more members than the average American family. The 1980 U.S. Census Bureau reported an average of 4.3 members in the Korean American household, compared to an average of 2.7 persons in the American household at large. The family ties also extend to strong networks of support within Korean American communities.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Because of the well-defined familial structure in Korean society, Koreans traditionally rely less on

public assistance. Receiving welfare is often considered to be disgraceful. Family support, however, began to break down in the 1980s and 1990s. Larger numbers of recent Korean immigrants, particularly the elderly, are in need of assistance. Organizations within the Korean community have begun to address this problem. The Korean Youth and Community Center in Los Angeles offers numerous programs and activities for children and their families who have recently immigrated or are economically disadvantaged. Services include employment assistance and placement, family and youth counseling, and education and tutorial programs.

MARRIAGE

In Korean American communities, the marriage bond has in some ways become stronger than filial piety. While honoring one's parents remains important, physical distance and cultural barriers between Korean Americans and their parents have shifted priorities. Korean Americans are less likely to have arranged marriages than their ancestors, because marrying outside of the Korean community has also become increasingly common. Recent

surveys show that Korean American women in college are expressing a preference for mates from other ethnic groups.

Traditionally Koreans have frowned upon divorce. Even with the marriages arranged through the picture bride system in Hawaii, few ended in divorce. Recent statistics suggest that the stigma against divorce no longer exists. The divorce rate among Korean Americans has reached and is possibly surpassing the national average. Exhaustion due to working extremely long hours in order to survive contributes to failed marriages. Women in particular suffer from stress. They often work long hours in garment factories or managing small businesses and are also responsible for running their households. Again, Korean American community organizations attempt to address these problems in order to make life in America more fulfilling.

EDUCATION

Koreans have always valued education, and Korean Americans place a strong emphasis on academic achievement. Employment in the civil service, which required passing extremely difficult qualifying examinations, was considered to be the most successful career path to take. Koreans take great pride in their educational achievements. Recent immigrants are strongly motivated to perform well in school and come to the United States better educated than the general population in Korea. Korean American parents pressure their children to perform well. In 1980, 78.1 percent of Korean Americans over the age of 25 had at least a high school education, compared with 66.5 percent of Americans overall. While 33.7 percent of Korean Americans had four or more years of college education, only 16.2 percent of the general U.S. population did.

Korean society gives priority to the education of males. Many of the Korean women who chose to come to the United States as picture brides hoped to find more educational opportunities than they were offered in their home country. In the United States, the bias in favor of educating males persists. Of all Korean American males over 25, 90 percent were high school graduates in 1980. Only 70.6 percent of Korean American women had high school educations. In 1980, 52.4 percent of Korean American males had attended four or more years of college, compared with 22 percent of Korean American females. It is a common stereotype that Korean Americans excel in math and science. Although this is often true, they tend to perform well in all subjects.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Korean husbands traditionally work outside the home, while their wives take full-time responsibility for the children and household. Living in a modern industrialized nation, South Korean women do have full-time jobs today, especially in urban areas. Still, the majority of full-time female employees in South Korea are unmarried. In the United States, economic needs often require both parents to work. Running the household, however, usually remains solely the responsibility of the woman. Second-, third-, and fourth-generation Korean American women face conflicts between traditional familial values and mainstream American culture. These women have more opportunities than their mothers and grandmothers. Some of them have careers as lawyers, doctors, teachers, and businesswomen, but most have behind-the-scenes positions or are clerks, typists, and cashiers. Korean American women, like American women in general, are still discriminated against in the job market. Korean immigrant women often come to the United States with professional skills but are forced to work in garment factories or as store clerks because of the language barrier.

The view that Korean American women are passive also persists. Contrary to popular perceptions, Korean American women have a long history of political activism. Unfortunately their work has gone largely unrecorded. Korean female immigrants played a significant role in organizing protests against Japanese occupation both in Korea and America. They established organizations like the Korean Women's Patriotic League, wrote for Korean newspapers, and raised \$200,000 for the cause by working on plantations, doing needlework, and selling candies. They also participated in labor strikes on the Hawaiian plantations. Korean American women of the 1990s joined other Asian American women in fighting unfair work practices in the hotel, garment, and food-packaging industries. Korean American women also participate fully in efforts to reunify Korea.

RELIGION

Throughout Korea's long history, religion has played a prominent role in the lives of its citizens. A variety of faiths have been practiced on the peninsula, the most common being shamanism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

Shamanism, the country's oldest religion, involves the worship of nature; the sun, mountains, rocks, and trees each hold sacred positions. Based on a belief in good and evil spirits that can only be appeased by priests or medicine men called shamans,

early shamanism incorporated pottery making and dances such as the *muchon*, which was performed as part of a ceremony to worship the heavens.

China brought Buddhism to Korea sometime between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. This religion, based on the teachings of the ancient Indian philosopher Siddhartha Gautama (Buddha), has as its premise that suffering in life is inherent and that one can be freed from it by mental and moral self-purification.

Christianity first reached Korea in the seventeenth century, again by way of China where Portuguese missionaries came to promote Catholicism. American Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea in the nineteenth century. The Korean government persecuted these missionaries because the laws of Christianity went against Confucian social order. By the mid-1990s, the majority of South Koreans were still Buddhists, but an estimated 30 percent of the population practiced some type of Christianity.

CHRISTIANITY

Of the original 7,000 Korean immigrants in the United States, only 400 were Christian. Those 400 immediately formed congregations in Hawaii, and by 1918 close to 40 percent of the Korean immigrants had converted to Christianity. Koreans immigrants relied heavily on their churches as community centers. After Sunday service, immigrants spoke Korean, socialized, discussed problems of immigrant life, and organized political rallies for Korean independence. The churches also served as educational centers, providing classes in writing and reading Korean. They remain an integral part of the Korean immigrant community. In 1990 there were an estimated 2,000 Korean Protestant churches in the United States. Most Korean Protestants are evangelical Christians, who study the Bible extensively and follow the word of the gospel closely. In large cities like Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, Korean Protestants have their own buildings and hold several services a week. The Oriental Mission Church and Youngnak Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles are two of the largest Korean Protestant churches in America with 5,000 members each. Most Koreans in the United States today practice Protestantism.

Over two million Catholics live in South Korea. The Korean American Catholic Community was established by Korean immigrants in the 1960s. The first Korean Catholic center opened in Orange County, California, in 1977. As of 1995, an estimated 35,000 Korean Americans practiced Catholicism. Most Korean American Catholic

parishes are part of larger American Catholic parishes.

There are about 100 Korean American Catholic communities in the United States, most of which are headed by priests from Korea, who usually serve four-year periods. Many speak little English and are perceived as being ignorant of contemporary American life, insensitive to the problems of Korean Americans, and more loyal to their dioceses in Korea than to their Korean American congregations. Some have been accused of having affairs with married women and of financial misdealing. To address these problems by providing a forum for open discussion of them, Korean immigrant Kye Song Lee founded the newspaper *Catholic 21* in 1996. He felt that the two official Catholic newspapers for Koreans—both published in Korea—did not adequately address the problems. *Catholic 21* has been controversial since its inception, with some welcoming its perspective and others labeling it divisive, offensive, and even anti-Catholic.

BUDDHISM

Although Buddhism has undergone many upheavals on the Korean peninsula, nearly 14 million South Koreans practice Buddhism today. A Buddhist monk named Soh Kyongbo founded Korean Buddhism in the United States in 1964. Most Korean American Buddhists belong to the Chogye sect. Prominent Buddhist organizations in the United States include the Zen Lotus Society in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the Korean Buddhist Temple Association, the Young Buddhist Union in Los Angeles, the Buddhists Concerned with Social Justice and World Peace, the Western Buddhist Monk's Association, the Southern California Buddhist Temples Association, and several Son and Dharma centers across the country. According to the Korean Buddhist Temple Association's reports, there were 60 temples in the United States and Canada in 1990. The Young Buddhist Union holds an annual arts festival where Buddhist monks dance, sing, read Son poetry, and perform comedy sketches, plays, and piano recitals. Still, Buddhism has not become widespread in the United States and is often viewed as a cult.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Early Korean immigrants living on the West Coast were restricted from many types of employment. Discriminatory laws prohibited Asian immigrants from

applying for citizenship, which meant that they were ineligible for positions in most professional fields. They took jobs with low pay and little advancement potential, working as busboys, waiters, gardeners, janitors, and domestic help in cities. Outside the cities, they worked on farms and in railroad "gangs." Many Korean immigrants opened restaurants, laundries, barbershops, grocery stores, tobacco shops, bakeries, and other retail shops. With the changes in immigration laws after World War II, Korean immigrants have been able to move into more professional fields such as medicine, dentistry, architecture, and science. Recent immigrants, those who have come to America since 1965, are mostly college-educated, with professional skills. The language barrier, however, often prevents new immigrants from finding jobs within their fields. Korean doctors often work as orderlies and nurses' assistants. In 1978, only 35 percent of Korean teachers, administrators, and other professionals were working in their respective fields in Los Angeles.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau's *Asian and Pacific Islander Population in the United States: 1980 Report*, the average Korean American household income was \$22,500, which was higher than the average household income for Americans overall (\$20,300). However, Korean Americans have, on the average, more persons living in each household and, as noted earlier, tend to live in urban areas where the cost of living is higher. The same report indicates that 13.1 percent of Korean American families had incomes below the poverty level, which is higher than the 9.6 percent reported for the total U.S. population. Asian American adults have lower unemployment rates than the U.S. adult population overall. In 1980 the U.S. Census Bureau also reported that 24 percent of Korean Americans age 16 or older held managerial or professional positions; 26 percent had technical, sales, or administrative jobs; 16 percent worked in service fields; nine percent held precision production, crafts, or repair jobs; 19 percent were laborers or operators; and six percent were unemployed.

SMALL BUSINESSES

Out of economic need, large numbers of recent Korean immigrants start their own businesses. Most of these immigrants did not run small businesses in Korea. In 1977, 33 percent of Korean American families owned small businesses, such as vegetable stands, grocery stores, service stations, and liquor stores. As a whole, they have a high success rate. In the 1980s an estimated 95 percent of all dry-cleaning stores in Chicago were owned by Korean immigrants. By 1990, 15,500 Korean-owned stores were

in operation in New York City alone. Since then, a recession and internal competition has slowed the growth. New Korean immigrants are opening businesses in cities other than New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, where the competition is less fierce.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Support within Korean communities has contributed to the success of small businesses. Recent immigrants still use the ancient Korean loan system, based on the *kye*, a sum of money shared by a group of business owners. A new grocer, for instance, will be allowed to use the money for one year and keep the profits. The *kye* is then passed to the next person who needs it. Organizations like the Korean Produce Association in New York and the Koryo Village Center in Oakland, California, are another source of support for new immigrants hoping to set up their own businesses.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Koreans have a general distrust of central governments. Historically, individual citizens have had little power in Korea and have suffered through scores of tragic episodes at the hands of other governments controlling the peninsula. As a result, most Korean immigrants come to America unaccustomed to participation in the democratic process. Discriminatory laws against Asian Americans on the West Coast have contributed to this distrust. Korean American communities have traditionally isolated themselves, relying on their family and neighborhood networks. Korean American participation in these grass-roots organizations and in U.S. government politics in general is growing and evolving slowly.

GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS

From the church meetings on Hawaiian plantations in the early 1900s to the efforts of the Black-Korean Alliance in the 1990s, Korean immigrants have created settings to voice their opinions. Racial tensions within Korean American communities have led to the establishment of several grass-roots organizations. The Black-Korean Alliance in Los Angeles and the Korea Society in New York have set up programs to educate the two ethnic groups about each other's cultures. In 1993, the Korea Society launched its Kids to Korea program. Designed to improve the strained relationship between the Korean and African American communities, the program enabled 16 African American high school students from New York

City and Los Angeles to travel to South Korea in order to learn about its people, culture, and history. This successful program has been expanded to include students from other cities. The Korea Society also sponsors a program called Project Bridge in Washington, D.C., which offers classes in both Korean and African American cultures.

UNION ACTIVITY

While research experts have studied extensively the economic development and work patterns of Korean American professionals and entrepreneurs, the general American public knows little about Korean immigrant laborers. Yet since the beginning of the twentieth century, American industries have employed Koreans. By the 1990s, Korean Americans had begun to join forces with other Asian Americans to educate themselves about labor unions and their rights. Founded in 1983, the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) organizes Chinese and Vietnamese garment workers and Korean hotel maids and electronics assemblers in the Oakland, California area. They have staged demonstrations and rallies to draw attention to the unfair labor practices within the garment, hotel management, and electronics industries. The Korean Immigrant Worker Advocates (KIWA) in Los Angeles is another group that is bringing labor issues to the forefront. The KIWA is unique among Asian American organizations in Los Angeles because most of the members of its board of directors are workers themselves.

VOTING PATTERNS

Studies have shown that voter participation among Korean Americans is low. Historically, Korean immigrants have rarely been active in election campaigns and have seldom made financial contributions to individual candidates. Groups such as the Coalition for Korean American Voters (CKAV) in New York are working hard to address this problem. In just three years CKAV has registered 3,000 voters and sponsored programs that educate Korean immigrants about local and national government. The Coalition's efforts include airing public service announcements on Korean American television channels, establishing a college internship program to foster community service and leadership skills in students, and joining forces with other Asian American organizations to increase Asian American involvement in government.

MILITARY PARTICIPATION

In his book *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, Ronald Takaki describes the plight of a Korean immigrant named Easurk Emsen Charr. He was drafted and served in the U.S. Army during World War I. Afterward he argued in court that as a U.S. military veteran, he should be entitled to citizenship and the opportunity to own land in California. The court ruled that the military should not have drafted him because he was Asian and therefore ineligible for American citizenship. Despite such discriminatory treatment, Korean Americans were eager to volunteer for military service during World War II. Doing so gave them a chance to support the American effort to curtail Japanese imperialism. Some Korean Americans served as language teachers and translators, and 100 Korean immigrants joined the California Home Guard in Los Angeles. They also participated in Red Cross relief operations. The American government, however, was somewhat suspicious of Korean-immigrant support because Koreans were technically still part of the Japanese empire. In Hawaii, Korean immigrants were referred to as "enemy aliens" and banned from working on military bases. Today, many Korean American men and women hold positions in the military.

INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS OF KOREAN PENINSULA

Since Koreans first began immigrating to the United States, they have remained active in the politics of their homeland. Studies have shown that Korean Americans are generally more actively involved in the politics of Korea than in that of their new home. The lives of early Korean immigrants revolved around the Korean independence movement. In the 1960s Korean Americans staged mass demonstrations and relief efforts in response to the massacre of civilians by the South Korean dictatorship in Kwangju, the capital of South Cholla province. Today virtually every Korean American organization supports reunification of the peninsula. Groups such as the Korea Church Coalition for Peace, Justice, and Reunification were formed specifically for this purpose. Other American-based organizations, including the Council for Democracy in Korea, seek to educate the public about the political affairs of Korea.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

EDUCATION

Margaret K. Pai (1916–) taught English at Kailua, Roosevelt, and Farrington high schools on the

Hawaiian island of Oahu for many years. Her father, Do In Kwon, immigrated to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations in the early 1900s. Her mother, Hee Kyung Lee, was a picture bride and met and married her husband in Hawaii at age 18. Since retiring, Margaret Pai has been writing short Hawaiian legends, poems, and personal reminiscences, including *The Dreams of Two Yi-Men* (1989), a vivid account of her parents' experiences as early Korean immigrants in America.

Elaine H. Kim (1943–) is a professor of Asian American studies and faculty assistant for the status of women at the University of California-Berkeley. Kim is also president of the Association for Asian American Studies and founder of the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates and Asian Women United of California. She is the author of *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and their Social Context*.

FILM, VIDEO, TELEVISION, THEATER, AND MUSIC

Peter Hyun (1906–) worked in the American theater for many years. He was a stage manager for Eva LeGallienne's Civic Repertory Theatre in New York, director of the Children's Theatre of the New York Federal Theater, and organizer and director of the Studio Players in Cambridge, Massachusetts. During World War II, he served as a language specialist in the U.S. Army. After settling in Oxnard, California, he taught English to immigrant students from Asia. He is the author of *Man Sei!: The Making of a Korean American* (1986), a personal account of growing up as the son of a leader in the Korean independence movement.

Nam June Paik (1932–) has built a worldwide reputation as a composer of electronic music and producer of avant-garde "action concerts." He grew up in Seoul and earned a degree in aesthetics at the University of Tokyo before meeting American composer John Cage in Germany. His interest in American electronic music brought him to the United States. His work has been exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum, and the Kitchen Museum, all in New York City, the Metropolitan Museum in Tokyo, and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago. Among his video credits are *TV Buddha* (1974) and *Video Fish* (1975). He also produced a program called *Good Morning, Mr. Orwell*, which was broadcast live simultaneously in San Francisco, New York, and Paris on New Year's Day 1984 as a tribute to George Orwell's novel *1984*.

Myung-Whun Chung (1953–) was born in Seoul into a family of talented musicians. He made his piano debut at age seven with the Seoul Phil-

harmonic Orchestra and then moved with his family to the United States five years later. He studied piano at the Mannes School of Music and conducting at the Juilliard School of Music in New York City. He has served as assistant conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, music director and principal conductor for the Radio Symphony Orchestra in Saarbrücken, Germany, and principal guest conductor of the Teatro Comunale in Florence, Italy. He is now music director and conductor for the Opera de la Bastille, located in the legendary French prison.

Margaret Cho (1968–) is a second-generation comedian who has broken barriers and stereotypes with her numerous television and film appearances. In 1994 Cho became the first Asian American to star in her own television show, the ABC-sitcom *All-American Family*, which centered on a Korean American family.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY ACTIVISM

Herbert Y. C. Choy (1916–) became the first Asian American to be appointed to the federal bench in 1971. Educated at the University of Hawaii and Harvard University, he practiced law in Honolulu for 25 years. He served as attorney general of the Territory of Hawaii in 1957 and 1958 and continued his law practice until President Richard Nixon appointed him to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Grace Lyu-Volckhausen comes from a family of female activists. Her mother and grandmother were members of organizations supporting women's needs in Korea. Moving to New York in the late 1950s to study international and human relations at New York University, Lyu-Volckhausen established an outreach center for women at a YWCA in Queens in the 1960s. The program now offers sewing classes, after-school recreation for children, counseling for battered women, and discussion groups. She has served on the New York City Commission on the Status of Women, on the Mayor's Ethnic Council, and on Governor Mario Cuomo's Garment Advisory Council. Still chairperson of her YWCA youth committee in the mid-1990s, she also worked with the New York mortgage agency to provide affordable housing for minorities.

INDUSTRY

Kim Hyung-Soon (1884-1968) immigrated to the United States in 1914 and started a small produce and nursery wholesale business in California with his friend Kim Ho. The Kim Brothers Company developed into a huge orchard, nursery, and fruit-

packing shed business. Kim is credited with having developed new varieties of peaches known as “fuzzless peaches,” or “Le Grand” and “Sun Grand.” He also crossed the peach with the plum and developed the nectarine. Kim helped establish the Korean Community Center in Los Angeles and the Korean Foundation, a fund that offers scholarships to students of Korean ancestry.

LITERATURE

Younghill Kang (1903-1972) was one of the first Korean writers to offer Americans a firsthand, English-language account of growing up in occupied Korea. He wrote his first novel, *The Grass Roof* (1931), after spending many years struggling to survive as an immigrant living in San Francisco and New York. He later taught comparative literature at New York University and devoted the rest of his life to fighting racism in the United States and political oppression in his homeland.

Kim Young Ik (1920–) is the author of several novels and stories for children and adults. His books have won numerous awards and have been translated into many languages. They include *The Happy Days* (1960), *The Divine Gourd* (1962), *Love in Winter* (1962), *Blue in the Seed* (1964), and *The Wedding Shoes* (1984).

Marie G. Lee (1964–) is at the forefront of the current boom in children’s literature being written by and about Korean Americans. Raised in Hibbing, Minnesota, she graduated from Brown University and lives in New York City. She is the author of the young adult novel *Finding My Voice* (1992), which won the 1993 Friends of American Writers Award. Her other young adult novels include *If It Hadn’t Been for Yoon Jun* (1993) and *Saying Goodbye* (1994). Her work has appeared in many publications, including *The New York Times* and the *Asian/Pacific American Journal*, as well as several anthologies. She is president of the Board of Directors of the Asian American Writers’ Workshop and a member of PEN and the Asian American Arts Alliance.

SPORTS AND MEDICINE

Dr. Sammy Lee (1920–) has made a name for himself in both sports and medicine. He won the gold medal for ten-meter platform diving in the 1948 Olympic Games in London and again in the 1952 Games in Helsinki, along with a bronze medal in three-meter springboard diving. He received his M.D. in 1947 and practiced medicine in Korea as part of the U.S. Army Medical Corps. Lee was named outstanding American athlete in 1953 by

the Amateur Athletic Union and inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame in 1968. He served on the President’s Council on Physical Fitness and Sports from 1971 to 1980 and coached the U.S. diving team for the 1960 and 1964 Olympics. He has also been named Outstanding American of Korean Ancestry twice—by the American Korean Society in 1967 and the League of Korean Americans in 1986. After retiring from sports, he ran a private practice in Orange, California, for many years.

MEDIA

PRINT

Korean Culture.

Published quarterly by the Korean Cultural Center of the Korean Consulate General in Los Angeles.

Contact: Robert E. Buswell, Jr., Editor in Chief.

Address: 5505 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90036.

Telephone: (323) 936-7141.

Fax: (323) 936-5712.

E-mail: kcc@pdc.net.

Korean Studies.

Journal addressing a broad range of topics through interdisciplinary and multicultural articles, book reviews and scholarly essays.

Contact: Edward J. Shultz, Editor.

Address: Journals Department, Hawaii 96822.

Telephone: (808) 956-8833.

Fax: (808) 988-6052.

E-mail: uhpjournal@hawaii.edu.

The New Korea.

A bilingual magazine published weekly for the Korean American community.

Contact: Woon-Ha Kim, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 141 South New Hampshire Avenue, California 90004-5805.

Telephone: (213) 382-9345.

Fax: (213) 382-1678.

The U.S.-Korea Review.

The bimonthly newsletter of the Korea Society, it is designed to improve the depth and breadth of information, news, and analysis in U.S.-Korea relations. It features chronologies of current affairs and trends in trade and business. It also includes literary excerpts and reviews.

Contact: David L. Kim, Editor.

Address: 412 First Street, S.E., Washington,
D.C. 20003.
Telephone: (202) 863-2963.
Fax: (202) 863-2965.

RADIO

FM-Seoul.

News programs broadcast in both Korean and English. Affiliated with *Korean Times* and KTAN-TV.

Address: 129 North Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90004.
Telephone: (213) 389-1000.
Fax: (213) 487-8206.

KBC-Radio.

Contact: Jung Hyun Chai.
Address: 42-22 27th Street, Long Island City, New York 11101.
Telephone: (718) 482-1111.
Fax: (718) 643-0479.

KBLA-AM (1580).

Korean broadcasts around the clock, seven days a week.

Contact: Ron Thompson.
Address: 1700 North Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, California 90026.
Telephone: (213) 665-1580.
Fax: (213) 660-1507.

Korean-American Radio (AM 1400).

Contact: Mr. Chin P. Kim.
Address: 475 El Camino Real, Suite 202, Millbrae, California 94030.
Telephone: (415) 259-1400.
Fax: (415) 259-1401.

Radio Korea NY (AM 1480).

Contact: Byung Woo Kim.
Address: 44 East 32nd Street, New York, New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 685-1480.
Fax: (212) 685-6947.

Radio Seoul (106.9 FM).

Contact: Ms. Rae Park.
Address: 1255 Post Street, Suite 315, San Francisco, California 94109.
Telephone: (415) 567-3585.
Fax: (415) 567-0909.

TELEVISION

KBC-TV (Channel 28).

Contact: Dave Kang.
Address: 5225 N. Kedzie Ave., #200, Chicago, Illinois 60625.
Telephone: (800) 236-0510; or (773) 588-0070.
Fax: (773) 588-8750.

Korean Broadcasting Corporation (Channel 53).

First East Coast television company owned and operated by Koreans.

Contact: Priscilla Ahn.
Address: 42-22 27th Street, Long Island City, New York 11101.
Telephone: (718) 426-5665.
Fax: (718) 937-0162.

Korean Cultural Television.

Contact: Seung Ho Ha.
Address: 111 West 30th Street, New York, New York 10001.
Telephone: (212) 971-0212.
Fax: (212) 629-0982.

KTAN-TV (Channel 62).

Diverse programming in Korean.

Contact: Ms. Kyung Chung.
Address: 4525 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90010.
Telephone: (213) 964-0101.
Fax: (213) 964-0102.

KTE-TV.

Exclusive distributor for Korean Broadcasting System's programming.

Contact: Mr. Cha Kon Kim.
Address: 625 South Kingsley Drive, Los Angeles, California 90005.
Telephone: (213) 382-6700.
Fax: (213) 382-4265.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

M. Y. Han at Duke University has an extensive list of links to Korean and Korean American interest web-sites (http://www.duke.edu/~myhan/C_KAWWW.html), including organizations and media.

Coalition for Korean American Voters, Inc.

Founded in 1991, this nonprofit, nonpartisan, volunteer organization promotes voter registration and

education of Korean Americans in the New York City metropolitan area.

Contact: Johnny Im, Coordinator.

Address: 38 West 32nd Street, Suite 904,
New York, New York 10002.

Telephone: (212) 967-8428.

Fax: (212) 967-8652.

The Korean American Coalition.

Founded in 1983, this organization seeks to bring together Korean communities within the United States through fundraising and educational programs. It also sponsors programs designed to educate non-Koreans about Korean culture. The Coalition publishes a monthly newsletter called the *KAC Newsletter*.

Contact: Charles J. Kim, Executive Director.

Address: 610 South Harvard Street, Suite 111,
Los Angeles, California 90005.

Telephone: (213) 380-6175.

Fax: (213) 380-7990.

E-mail: kaclal983@aol.com.

Korean National Association (KNA).

Contact: Woon-Ha Kim, President.

Address: 141 South New Hampshire Avenue,
Los Angeles, California 90004-5805.

Telephone: (213) 382-9345.

Fax: (213) 382-1678.

The Korea Society (U.S.-Korea Society).

The Korea Society is the result of the 1993 merger of the work and programs of the New York-based Korea Society and the U.S.-Korea Foundation based in Washington, D.C. This nonprofit organization is dedicated to strengthening the bonds of awareness, understanding, and cooperation between the United States and Korea, and among Koreans, Korean Americans, and all other Americans. The Society's efforts extend to education, public policy, business, the arts, and the media. Its Washington branch publishes *The U.S.-Korea Review*.

Contact: Ambassador Donald P. Gregg, President.

Address: 950 Third Avenue, Eighth Floor,
New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (888) 355-7066; or (212) 759-7525.

Fax: (212) 759-7530.

E-mail: korea.ny@koreasociety.org.

Online: <http://www.koreasociety.org>.

National Association of Korean Americans (NAKA).

Individuals of Korean descent living in the United

States. Seeks to safeguard the human and civil rights of Korean Americans; promotes friendly relations between Korean Americans and other racial and ethnic groups. Conducts educational programs.

Contact: John H. Kim, General Secretary.

Address: 276 Fifth Avenue, #806, New York, New York 10001.

Telephone: (212) 679-3482.

Fax: (212) 481-9569.

E-mail: nakausa@naka.org.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Many major universities have a "Centers for Korean Studies," including: Columbia University, State University of New York at Stony Brook, University of California at Berkeley, and University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Association for Korean Studies.

University professors and other scholars interested in the promotion of research in Korean studies. Sponsors six to eight seminars a year which are open to the public, featuring distinguished speakers. Presently inactive.

Contact: John Song, President.

Address: 30104 Avenue, Tranquila, Rancho Palos Verdes, California 90275.

Korean Cultural Center.

Founded in 1980, this cultural center offers programs that introduce Korean culture, society, history, and arts to the American public. It organizes exhibitions, lectures, symposiums, and multicultural festivals. The Center houses a 10,000-volume library and an art museum and gallery. *Korean Culture Magazine* is published by the Center.

Contact: Joon Ho Lee, Director.

Address: 5505 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90036.

Telephone: (213) 936-7141.

Fax: (213) 936-5172.

E-mail: KCCLA@PDC.NET.

Online: <http://www.kccla.org/>.

The Korea Economic Institute of America.

Founded in 1982, this educational group includes politicians, academics, trade organizations, banks, and other Americans concerned with the Korean economy. The Institute publishes a quarterly update on economic issues in Korea.

Contact: W. Robert Warne, President.
Address: 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite 401,
Washington, D.C. 20005.
Telephone: (202) 371-0690.
Fax: (202) 371-0692.
E-mail: rbw@keia.com.
Online: <http://www.keia.com/>.

Korean Institute of Minnesota.

Founded in 1973, this nonprofit organization is dedicated to preserving Korean language and culture. It brings together Korean American and adoptive families with a variety of classes and social opportunities for all ages.

Contact: Yoonju Park, Director.
Address: 1794 Walnut Street, St. Paul,
Minnesota 55113.
Telephone: (612) 644-3251.
E-mail: lschulte@wavefront.com.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

The Korean American Community: Present and Future, edited by Tae-Hwan Kwak and Seong Hyong Lee. Seoul: Kyungnam University Press, 1991.

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Patterson, Wayne. *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896-1910*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

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———. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989.

Won Moo Hurh. *The Korean Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

LAOTIAN AMERICANS

by
Carl L. Bankston III

Many Laotian Americans have retained the values they brought with them from their homeland. Most significant among these values is the practice of Buddhism, which pervades every aspect of Laotian American life.

OVERVIEW

Located in Southeast Asia, Laos measures approximately 91,400 square miles (236,800 square kilometers), making it slightly larger than the state of Utah. The country shares its borders with Thailand in the southwest, Cambodia in the south, Burma in the west, China in the north, and Vietnam in the east. Laos has a tropical climate, with a rainy season that lasts from May to November and a dry season that lasts from December to April.

Laos has about 4,400,000 residents and an estimated population growth rate of 2.2 percent each year. Minority groups in this small, mountainous country include the Mon-Khmer, the Yao, and the Hmong. Approximately 85 to 90 percent of employed persons in Laos work in subsistence agriculture. Rice is the country's principal crop; other significant agricultural products include corn, tobacco, and tea. The majority of Laotians practice Theravada Buddhism, a form of Buddhism popular in Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and Sri Lanka. In Laos, however, Buddhism is heavily influenced by the cult of *phi* (spirits) and Hinduism.

The Laotian flag has three horizontal bands, with red stripes at the top and bottom and a blue stripe in the middle. A large white disk is centered in the blue band. Many Laotian Americans identify more with the pre-1975 flag of the Kingdom of Laos than with the present-day flag of the country. This flag was red, with a three-headed white elephant sit-

uated on a five-step pedestal, under a white parasol. The elephant was symbolic of the ancient kingdom of Laos, known as “The Kingdom of a Million Elephants.” The parasol represented the monarchy and the five steps of the pedestal symbolized the five main precepts of Buddhism.

HISTORY

Laotians trace their ancestry to the T'ai people, an ethnolinguistic group that migrated south from China beginning in the sixth century. Originally part of the Khmer (Cambodian) Empire, Laos achieved independence in 1353 when Fa Ngum, a prince from the city of Luang Prabang, claimed a large territory from the declining empire and declared himself king, calling the newly established state Lan Xang, or “The Kingdom of a Million Elephants.” Luang Prabang was the nation’s capital for 200 years until, in 1563, a later king, Setthalhiralh, moved the capital to Vientiane, which serves as the capital of Laos today.

The Lao kingdom reached its height in the late 1600s, under King Souvigna Vongsa. After his death in 1694, three claimants to the throne broke the kingdom into three distinct principalities, the kingdoms of Vientiane, Luang Prabang, and Champasak. Each kingdom struggled for power, causing the weakened Lao states to become vulnerable to the more powerful nations of Siam (Thailand) and Vietnam. While the Siamese took Vientiane, the Vietnamese took other parts of Laos. By the mid 1800s, almost all of northern Laos was controlled by Vietnam, and almost all the southern and central parts of the country were controlled by Thailand. Only the area around Luang Prabang remained independent.

MODERN ERA

Vietnam suffered from its own internal problems in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and in 1859 French Admiral Rigault de Genouilly attacked and seized Saigon. By 1862, the emperor of Vietnam was forced to recognize French possession of the southern provinces, and Vietnam became a French colony 21 years later.

In 1893 the French entered Thailand’s Chao Phya River and forced the king to relinquish Thailand’s suzerainty over Laos. Four years later, King Oun-Kham of Luang Prabang was forced to seek the help of France against invaders from China and, consequently, Luang Prabang also fell to France’s growing Indochinese empire. Laos then became a protectorate, or colony, of France. By 1899, Vien-

tiane had become the administrative capital of French Laos with French commissioners holding administrative power in all the provinces.

Although there were some local rebellions against French rule—mainly by the tribes of the hills and mountains—widespread Laotian resistance to the French did not begin until after World War II, when Japan, which had assumed control over Indochina during the war years, was defeated. In 1945 the Laotian prime minister, Prince Phetsarath, declared Laos an independent kingdom and formed a group known as the Lao Issara, or “Free Lao.” Some Laotians supported a return to French colonization, feeling that their country was not ready for immediate independence. The Lao Issara, however, were strongly opposed to French rule in Laos. The prime minister’s half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, called for armed resistance and sought support from the anti-French movement in neighboring Vietnam, the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh. This Laotian political group became known as the Pathet Lao (“Lao Nation”).

The Viet Minh defeated French troops at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. Afterward, an international conference held in Geneva separated Vietnam at the 17th parallel to prevent Ho Chi Minh’s communist government from assuming control over the entire nation. Many Laotians supported the Viet Minh and, when North Vietnam invaded South Vietnam in 1959, Laos was drawn into the war.

The United States also became involved in the war to deter the spread of Communism in Southeast Asia. In Laos, American forces provided tactical and economic support to the royal government but were unsuccessful in their efforts. U.S. troops withdrew from the area in 1973 and South Vietnam fell to its northern enemy in April 1975. Later that same year, Pathet Lao forces overthrew the Laotian government, renaming the country the Lao People’s Democratic Republic. Thousands of Laotians fled to Thailand where they were placed in refugee camps.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

While there was some migration from Laos to the United States prior to 1975, the immigrants were so few that there is no official record of them. Available records do suggest, however, that they were highly professional and technically proficient. After 1975, thousands of Laotian people fled their homeland for the United States; the passage of the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 by Congress aided them in this effort. Early Laotian immigrants included former government administrators, soldiers from the royal army, and

shopkeepers. More recent immigrants from Laos included farmers and villagers who were not as educated as their predecessors.

While large numbers of Vietnamese and Cambodians began to settle in the United States almost immediately after socialist governments came to power in the spring of 1975, Laotian refugees did not begin to arrive in America in great numbers until the following year. In contrast to the 126,000 Vietnamese and 4,600 Cambodians who arrived in 1975, only 800 refugees from Laos were admitted into the United States. This is partially due to the fact that the new Laotian government obtained power in a relatively peaceful manner, despite fighting between the Hmong and the Pathet Lao. Moreover, the U.S. government was reluctant to accept refugees who had fled Laos for bordering Thailand, many of whom U.S. officials viewed as economic migrants rather than refugees from political oppression.

In 1976, 10,200 refugees from Laos, who had fled across the border into Thailand, were admitted to the United States. The number of Laotian refugees dipped to only 400 in 1977 and then climbed to 8,000 in 1978. In the years between 1979 and 1981, the number of Laotians entering the United States increased dramatically, due to international attention given to the plight of Indochinese refugees in the late 1970s and to the family unification program, which allowed refugees already in the United States to sponsor their relatives. During these three years, about 105,000 people from Laos resettled in America: 30,200 in 1979, 55,500 in 1980, and 19,300 in 1981. Although migration from Laos to America never again achieved the stature of this period, the resettlement of Laotians in the United States continued throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the U.S. Census, in 1990 there were about 150,000 Laotian Americans living in the United States. (This figure does not include the Hmong and other minority groups from Laos.) The majority of Laotian Americans (58,058) lived in California, primarily in Fresno (7,750), San Diego (6,261), Sacramento (4,885), and Stockton (4,045). Texas held the second largest number of Laotian Americans (9,332), with the majority living in Amarillo (1,188) and Denton (1,512). Minnesota and Washington State had the third and fourth largest Laotian American populations, with 6,831 and 6,191 residents, respectively. Thirty-four percent (2,325) of Minnesota's Laotian American population lived in Minneapolis and 46 percent



Former refugees
from Laos, now
living in Brooklyn
Center, MN, recall
how they were
forced to flee war
torn Laos nearly
25 years ago.

(2,819) of Washington's Laotian American community lived in Seattle.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

While few Laotian residents live in cities, Laotian Americans are an overwhelmingly urban people, with most living in large metropolitan centers. Of the 171,577 people in America born in Laos (this figure includes both ethnic Laotians and Hmong and excludes members of both groups born in America), 164,892 people (96 percent) lived in urban areas in 1990. The remaining four percent lived in rural communities. This is largely due to the fact that the vast majority of Laotians who immigrated to the United States were unaccustomed to an industrial society and spoke either very little or no English; they migrated to urban areas where they could find work that did not require many skills or language proficiency.

As a group, Laotian Americans are substantially younger than the national average. In 1990, the median age for Laotian Americans was 20.4 years while the median age for other Americans was 34.1 years. Moreover, Laotian Americans have larger families than other Americans. In 1990, the average number of people in each Laotian American family was 5.01 members, compared to an average of 3.06 members in white American families and 3.48 members in African American families. These figures demonstrate that Laotian Americans are a dynamic, rapidly growing community.

Because Laotian Americans are relatively new members of American society, it is difficult to predict to what extent they will assimilate. According to interviews given by Laotian Americans, however, it is apparent that many individuals have had to alter their viewpoints considerably to better adapt to American society. For example, such common “American” acts as touching, kissing, slapping someone on the back, waving, pointing one’s feet at another person, and looking directly into someone’s eyes are considered rude in Laotian culture. As Saelle Sio Lai has explained in John Tenhula’s *Voices from Southeast Asia*, “Some of the Laotian customs I can use in my own way and some I must forget.”

The majority of Laotian Americans have maintained a low profile in the United States. Consequently, few Americans have much knowledge of Laotian culture and people and, as a result, there are few stereotypes—positive or negative—regarding Laotian Americans.

“My children will surely be influenced by their scholastic environment and be Americanized very fast. I can’t and don’t intend to stop this natural process. I just want them not to forget their own culture. The ideal is the combination of the positive traits of the two cultures.”

A Laotian refugee, cited in *Voices from Southeast Asia: The Refugee Experience in the United States*, edited by John Tenhula (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991).

VALUES

Many Laotian Americans have retained the values they brought with them from their homeland. Most significant among these values is the practice of Buddhism, which pervades every aspect of Laotian American life. While individual Laotian Americans may not follow all Buddhist teachings, its philosophy serves as a behavioral guide.

The family is also highly important to Laotian Americans. In Laos, where the majority of people work in agriculture, families often work together to produce the goods necessary for their livelihood. In the United States, this practice has been altered somewhat since the majority of Laotian Americans work outside the home in urban communities. Nonetheless, Laotian Americans often live in close proximity to their extended family and such family values as respect for one’s parents have remained constant. Laotian American children are expected to respect and care for their parents throughout their adult life.

Education has also become extremely important among Laotian Americans. Often, the family’s future

is dependent upon their children’s success in school. “My husband and I always remind [our children] to study first, study hard, not play, not go out without permission from us,” explained one Laotian American woman in *Voices from Southeast Asia*, “We tell them that we want to go to school, too, but we have to work to feed them. We sacrifice for them, and the only thing they can pay back is to study well.”

PROVERBS

Laotian proverbs often express an earthy and practical sort of folk wisdom that is rooted in the experiences of generations of hard-working farmers. The Lao have brought countless proverbs to America with them, including the following examples: If you’re shy with your teacher, you’ll have no knowledge; if you’re shy with your lover, you’ll have no bedmate; Don’t teach a crocodile how to swim; Keep your ears to the fields and your eyes on the farm; If you have money, you can talk; if you have wood, you can build your house; Water a stump and you get nothing; Speech is silver, silence is gold; Follow the old people to avoid the bite of a dog; It’s easy to find friends who’ll eat with you, but hard to find one who’ll die with you; It’s easy to bend a young twig, but hard to bend an old tree.

FESTIVALS

Most Laotian holidays and festivals have religious origins. The Lao word for “festival,” *boon*, literally means “merit” or “good deed.” Scheduled according to the lunar calendar, festivals usually take place at Buddhist temples, making it difficult for Laotian Americans to participate due to the limited availability of monks and temples in the United States. Two of the most important festivals are the *Pha Vet*, which commemorates the life of the Buddha in the fourth lunar month, and the *Boon Bang Fay*, or “rocket festival.” Held in the sixth month to celebrate the Buddha, it is marked by fireworks displays.

CUISINE

Laotian cuisine is spicy. Most meals contain either rice (*khao*) or rice noodles (*khao poon*). The rice may be glutinous (*khao nyao*) or nonglutinous (*khao chao*), but glutinous, or “sticky,” rice is the food most often associated with Laotian cuisine. The rice is accompanied by meat, fish, and vegetables. Meats are often chopped, pounded, and spiced to make a dish known as *lap*, and fish is usually eaten with a special sauce called *nam ba*. The sticky rice is usually taken in the thumb and first three fingers and used to scoop up other foods. A papaya salad spiced with hot peppers,

Laotian
tribeswomen
gather near the
Vietnam Veterans
Memorial in
Washington, D.C.



which is known as *tam mak hoong* to Laotians and *som tam* to Thais, is a popular snack food.

Many Laotian Americans still eat Lao-style foods at home. These dishes are also available at most Thai restaurants, since the cooking of northeastern Thailand is almost identical to that of Laos. Sticky rice and other ingredients for Lao foods are likewise available at most stores that specialize in Asian foods. In areas that have large Laotian American communities, there are also a number of Lao markets where these ingredients may be purchased.

TRADITIONAL DRESS

On special occasions marked by the *sookhwan* ceremony, some Laotian American women wear traditional costumes. The staple of their attire is the *sinh*, a skirt made from a piece of silk brocade about two yards long that is wrapped around the waist. It is often held in place by a belt made of silver buckles or rings. Accompanying the *sinh* is a shawl, or a strip of material, which is draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm. Some Laotian American men wear ethnic costumes at weddings, especially during the *sookhwan* ritual, and on stage during a *maw lam* performance, when actors sometimes don the *sampot*, or baggy trousers worn in Laos before French occupation.

HEALTH ISSUES

Traditional Laotian medicine involves massages and herbal cures. Practitioners of traditional medicine

may be laypeople or monks. Since sickness is often seen as a problem of spiritual essence, the *khwan*, chants, and healing rituals are often used to cure illnesses. Although some traditional Lao medicine may be found in the United States, particularly in places that have large Laotian American communities, the practice of mainstream western medicine in America appears to be much more common.

Laotian Americans are more likely to visit a community clinic than any other type of medical establishment. As new arrivals, their mental health generally follows a pattern common to refugees. The first year in the United States tends to be a period of euphoria at having reached their destination. The second year tends to be a time of psychological shock, producing feelings of helplessness as the strangeness of the new environment becomes apparent. New Laotian Americans usually begin to adjust during the third or fourth year in the United States.

LANGUAGE

Lao is a tonal language; therefore, the meaning of a word is determined by the tone or pitch at which it is spoken. Although the tones vary somewhat from one part of the country to another, the dialect of the capital, Vientiane, is considered standard Lao. In Vientiane there are six tones: low, mid, high, rising, high falling, and low falling. Changing the tone of a word makes it a different word. The sound “kow,” pronounced much like the English “cow,” spoken with a high tone means “an occasion, a time.” “Kow” spoken with a rising tone means “white.”

Spoken with a mid tone, this word means “news.” These tones give the Lao language a musical quality, so that its speakers often sound like they are singing or reciting melodic poetry.

The Lao alphabet is phonetic, meaning that each Lao letter stands for a sound. Lao writing has 27 consonant symbols that are used for 21 consonant sounds. There are more symbols than sounds because different consonants are used to begin words of different tones. The Lao alphabet also has 38 vowel symbols, representing 24 vowel sounds. These 24 sounds are made up of nine simple vowels and three diphthongs (vowels made up of two vowel sounds), each of which has a short form and a long form. The sounds are written with more than 24 symbols because some of them are written differently at the end of a word and in the middle of a word. All Lao words end in a vowel or in a consonant sound similar to the English “k,” “p,” “t,” “m,” “n,” or “ng.” Some English diphthongs (including “th” and “oh”) do not exist in the Lao phonetic system. This is why some Laotian Americans who learned English as a second language may occasionally pronounce “fish” as “fit” or “stiff” as “stip.”

The graceful, curving letters of the Laotian alphabet are based on the Khmer (Cambodian) alphabet, which, in turn, was developed from an ancient writing system in India. Although the Lao writing system is not the same as the Thai writing system, the two are very similar, and anyone who can read one language can read the other with only a little instruction.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common Laotian American greetings and expressions include: *Sabai dee baw*—How are you? (literally, are you well?); *Koy sabai dee*—I’m well; *Jao day*—And how are you? (used when responding to *Sabai dee*); *Pai sai*—Where are you going? (used as a greeting); *Kawp jai*—Thank you; *Kaw toht*—Excuse me; *Baw pen nyang*—You’re welcome, never mind (literally, it’s nothing); *Ma gin khao*—Come eat! (literally, come eat rice); *Sab baw*—Is the food good?; *Sab eelee*—It’s delicious.

LITERATURE

Most Laotian literature consists of oral tales and religious texts. Laotian oral literature often takes the form of poetry and is sung or chanted to the accompaniment of a hand-held bamboo pipe organ called the *khene* (pronounced like the word “can” in American English). Such poetry is most often used in theater, or opera, known as *maw lam*. The *maw*

lam leuang, or “story *maw lam*,” is similar to European opera; a cast of actors in costume sing and act out a story, often drawn from historical or religious legend. *Maw lam khoo*, or “*maw lam* of couples,” involves a young man and a young woman. The man flirts with the woman through inventive methods and she refuses him with witty verse responses. *Maw lam chote*, or “*maw lam* competition,” is a competition in verse sung between two people of the same gender, in which each challenges the other by asking questions or beginning a story that the other must finish. In *maw lam dio*, or “*maw lam* alone,” a single narrator sings about almost any topic.

Among the many legends and folktales told by Laotians and Laotian Americans, the stories about the character Xieng Mieng are among the most popular. Xieng Mieng is a trickster figure who plays pranks on people of various social classes. Other popular tales involve legends taken from Buddhist writings, especially the *Sip Sat*, stories about the last ten lives of the Buddha before he was reborn and achieved enlightenment. All Laotian religious literature is made up of the same Buddhist texts used by other Theravada Buddhists. These include the *Jataka*, the five *Vinaya*, the *Dighanikaya*, and the *Abhidamma*, all of which are scriptures written in Pali, an ancient language from India still used for religious purposes in countries practicing Theravada Buddhism. Verses in Pali known as the *parittam* are also important to Laotian Buddhists and are chanted by monks to protect people from a variety of dangers.

In the United States, Laotian monks have successfully retained Laotian religious literature. In addition, secular legends and stories, told through the medium of *maw lam*, may be heard at gatherings in cities with large Laotian American communities.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Laos, men represent their family in village affairs, while women are responsible for running the household and controlling the financial affairs of the family. Among Laotian Americans, however, female employment is an important source of family income, and it is common for Laotian American women to work outside the home. Fifty percent of Laotian American women and 58 percent of Laotian American men participate in the American labor force. Because of the relative equality between men and women in Laotian American society, many Laotian American men share responsibility for completing household tasks. While Laotian American men almost always hold the official posi-

tions of leadership in community organizations, women are also quite active in their communities and are often important (though usually unacknowledged) decision makers.

The most common family arrangement in Laos is that of a nuclear family that lives in close proximity to their extended family. In the United States, extended families have, in many cases, become even more important to Laotian Americans for social and financial support. This interdependence may account for the low divorce rate among Laotian Americans. In 1990, only about four percent of Laotian Americans over the age of 15 who had been married were divorced, while nearly 12 percent of the American population over 15 years of age who had been married were divorced.

The practice of dating is also new to Laotian American immigrants, as it simply was not done in their homeland. In Laos couples usually come to know one another in the course of village life. In the United States, however, many young people date, although this custom is not always embraced by their parents.

EDUCATION

Since Laotian Americans are such a young group, their prospects for continuing adaptation are good, especially considering the scholastic successes of Laotian American children. In *The Boat People and Achievement in America*, an influential book on the academic achievement of young Indochinese Americans, Nathan Caplan, John K. Whitmore, and Marcella H. Choy asserted that refugee children, including Laotians, “spoke almost no English when they came, and they attend predominantly inner-city schools whose reputations for good education are poor. Yet by 1982, we find that the Indochinese had already begun to move ahead of other minorities on a national basis, and, two years later, their children are already doing very well on national tests.”

Despite these accomplishments, few Laotian American young people attend college; this may be attributed to the economic disadvantages of their families. Only 26.3 percent of Laotian Americans (not counting the Hmong) between the ages of 18 and 24 attended college in 1990 (compared to 39.5 percent of white Americans and 28.1 percent of African Americans). Laotian American young people also had relatively high dropout rates; 12.2 percent of Laotian Americans between the ages of 16 and 19 were neither high school graduates nor enrolled in school in 1990 (compared to 9.8 percent of white Americans and 13.7 percent of African Americans).

IMPORTANT RITUALS

Many Laotian Americans retain the ritual practices of their culture. The most common of all Laotian rituals is the *baci* (pronounced “bah-see”) or *sookhwan*, which is performed at important occasions. The word *sookhwan* may be interpreted as “the invitation of the *khwan*” or “the calling of the *khwan*.” The *khwan* are 32 spirits that are believed to watch over the 32 organs of the human body. Together, the *khwan* are thought to constitute the spiritual essence of a person. The *baci* is a ritual binding of the spirits to their possessor. Even Laotians who do not believe in the existence of the *khwan* will usually participate in the *baci* as a means of expressing goodwill and good luck to others.

In the *baci* ceremony, a respected person, usually an older man who has been a monk, invokes the *khwan* in a loud, song-like voice. He calls on the spirits of all present to cease wandering and to return to the bodies of those present. He then asks the *khwan* to bring well-being and happiness with them and to share in the feast that will follow. After the invocation to the *khwan* is finished, the celebrants take pieces of cotton thread from silver platters covered with food, and tie them around each other’s wrists to bind the *khwan* in place. While tying the thread, they will wish one another health and prosperity. Often an egg is placed in the palm of someone whose wrist is being bound, as a symbol of fertility. Some of the threads must be left on for three days, and when they are removed they must be broken or untied, not cut. Non-Laotians are not only welcomed to this ceremony, they are frequently treated as guests of honor.

WEDDINGS

The *khwan* is also significant to traditional Laotian wedding ceremonies. When a couple adheres to Laotian traditions strictly, the groom goes to the bride’s house the day before the wedding feast, where monks await with bowls of water. The bride’s and groom’s wrists are tied together with a long cotton thread, which is looped around the bowls of water and then tied to the wrists of the monks. The next morning, friends and relatives of the couple sprinkle them with the water and then hold a *baci* ceremony. Afterward, the couple is seated together in front of all the guests and the monks chant prayers to bless the marriage.

RELIGION

In Laos almost all lowland Laotians are Buddhists, and the temple, or *wat*, is the center of village life. Most Laotian Americans are Buddhists as well,

although many have converted to Protestant Christianity, especially in areas where there are no large Laotian concentrations to sustain traditional religious practices. Laotian American Buddhist temples are frequently established in converted garages, private homes, and other makeshift religious centers.

Buddhism is divided into two schools of thought. The “Northern School,” known as Mahayana Buddhism, is a school of Buddhism most often found in China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, and Vietnam. The “Southern School,” or Theravada Buddhism, is predominant in Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, and Sri Lanka. Theravada Buddhists stress the importance of becoming a monk and achieving *Nirvana*, an ideal state in which an individual transcends suffering. Mahayana Buddhists rely more on *Bodhisattvas*, enlightened beings who delay achieving *Nirvana* in order to help others become enlightened.

Essential to the Buddhist faith is the belief that all worldly things are impermanent. Those who are not aware of this concept become attached to worldly things, and this leads to suffering. Their suffering continues as the soul goes through a cycle of rebirths, and they are continually drawn back to worldly desires. An individual may break this cycle by overcoming desire through meditation and a moral, disciplined life. The soul that successfully overcomes all worldly desires reaches *Nirvana*.

Also significant to Buddhism is *karma*, which is form of spiritual accounting: good deeds performed in this life enable the soul to be reborn in better circumstances; bad deeds cause the soul to be reborn in worse circumstances. Accordingly, performing good deeds, or “making merit,” is important to all Laotians and Laotian Americans. One can make merit through acts of kindness; however, becoming a monk or supporting monks or a temple are considered the best methods for making merit. All Laotian men are expected to become monks, usually in early manhood, before marriage. It is also common for older men, especially widowers, to become monks. Laotian women may become nuns, although nuns are not as respected as monks. In Laos, some men are not able to fulfill their religious duty of entering the temple for a time. This is even more difficult for Laotian American men because of demands in the workplace and the scarcity of temples in the United States. Laotian American monks sometimes share temples with Thai American or Cambodian American monks, since the latter also adhere to Theravada Buddhism.

A belief in spirits, or *phi* (pronounced like the English word “pea”), dates back to the time before the Lao were introduced to Buddhism. Since then, the spirit cult has become a part of popular Buddhist

practices in Laos. Some of these spirits are “ghosts,” the spirits of human beings following death. Other *phi* are benevolent guardians of people and places or malevolent beings who cause harm and suffering.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although Laotian Americans have earned a reputation as hardworking people, many find themselves among the most disadvantaged in their new country. In 1990, while one out of every ten Americans lived below the poverty line, about one out of every three Laotian Americans lived below the poverty line. The median household income of Laotian Americans in that year was only \$23,019, compared to \$30,056 for other Americans. Unemployment among Laotian Americans is high (9.3 percent in 1990) and those with jobs tend to be concentrated in manual labor. Fully 44 percent of employed Laotian Americans held jobs classified as “operators, fabricators, and laborers” in 1990.

Many of the economic hardships of people in this ethnic group stem from their newness in America and from the difficulties in making the change from life in a predominantly agricultural country to a highly industrialized country. Nearly 34 percent of Laotian Americans over the age of 25 had not completed fifth grade in 1990, compared to 2.7 percent of other Americans. While 75.2 percent of all adult Americans had completed high school, only 40 percent of adult Laotian Americans had finished high school. With regard to higher education, over 20 percent of Americans over 25 had finished college, while only about five percent of adult Laotian Americans were college graduates.

Learning English has hindered the economic adjustment of Laotian Americans. Over two-thirds (68 percent) of Laotians over five years of age reported that they did not speak English very well in 1990. While adult education programs and classes in English as a second language in community colleges and other institutions have helped, the transition has not been easy.

Despite their economic difficulties, Laotian Americans generally have positive views of life in the United States, probably because they tend to contrast life in America with their experiences in war-ravaged Laos.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

As a group, Laotian Americans are very concerned about occurrences in their homeland and many

would like to return but are unable to because of Laos's communist government. Laotian Americans have not yet become very active in American politics. At present, their first priority appears to be achieving economic independence. In general, they tend to have a positive view of American society and government, as might be expected of recent political refugees.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Laotian Americans are relatively new to the United States, many professional individuals have made significant contributions to the Laotian American community and American society in general, specifically in professions requiring strong communication skills. Many Laotian American professionals are multilingual and serve as interpreters, negotiators, counselors, organization executives, and educators. For example, Banlang Phommavanh (1946–), a respected Laotian American educator, is the founder and executive director of the Lao Parent and Teacher Association. As such, she assists in promoting Lao culture, language, and arts through classes and support services. In 1990, Phommavanh received the Minnesota Governor's Commendation, Assisting the Pacific Minnesotans, State Council of Asia. In 1988, Lee Pao Xiong (1966–) served as an intern in the U.S. Senate. That same year he was one of 25 people chosen in a nationwide competition to attend the International Peace and Justice Seminar. From 1991 to 1993, Xiong was executive director of the Hmong Youth Association of Minnesota. Currently, he is executive director of the Hmong American Partnership in St. Paul, Minnesota. William Joua Xiong (1963–), who is proficient in Lao, Hmong, Thai, English, and French, served as an interpreter and translator at the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok in 1979. Presently a guidance counselor, he is also co-author of the *English-Hmong Dictionary* (1983).

MEDIA

PRINT

Because Laotian Americans are still establishing themselves in the United States, there are very few Laotian publications. Worthy of mention is the monthly, multilingual publication *New Life*, which has attained a wide readership among Laotian Americans. Published by the federal government, it provides international news and articles covering American culture and institutions. *New Life* circu-

lates 35,000 copies in Vietnamese, 10,000 in Lao, and 5,000 in Cambodian.

Khosana.

The semi-annual newsletter of the Thai / Lao / Cambodian Studies Group. News about scholarly activities and endeavors.

Circulation contact information.

Contact: Arlene Neher.

Address: Association for Asian Studies, Thailand-Laos-Cambodia Studies Group, Department of Anthropology, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, Illinois 60115.

Telephone: (815) 753-8577.

Editorial contact information.

Contact: Michael R. Rhum, Editor.

Address: Khosana, 5100 South Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60615.

E-mail: mrrhum@worldnet.att.net.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Most Laotian organizations in the United States were established to help Laotian Americans adapt to life in a new country. Therefore, these organizations concentrate heavily on providing English language tutoring, job counseling, psychological counseling, and other social services.

Coalition of Lao Mutual Assistance.

Located in Washington State, this organization coordinates the activities of ten Laotian organizations (including Hmong organizations and organizations of other minority groups from Laos). The Coalition also provides social services, including transitional counseling, transportation, and tutoring. This is probably the best source for information on the Laotian American community of Washington.

Contact: Udong Sayasana, President.

Address: 4714 Rainier Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98118.

Telephone: (206) 723-8440.

Lao-American Association of Oklahoma.

Address: 2433 Northwest 44th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73112-8301.

Lao American Community Service.

Address: 4750 North Sheridan Road #369, Chicago, Illinois 60640-5042.

Lao Assistance Center of Minneapolis.

Provides social services to the Laotian American community in Minneapolis.

Contact: Manivah Foun, Executive Director.

Address: 1015 Olson Memorial Highway,
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55405.

Telephone: (612) 374-4967.

Lao Family Community of Stockton.

Provides training in English as a second language, vocational education, a variety of youth programs, and a gang prevention program for people from Laos and other countries in Southeast Asia.

Contact: Pheng Lo.

Address: 807 North Joaquin, Suite 211, Stockton,
California 95202-1716.

Telephone: (209) 466-0721.

Migration and Refugee Services.

Public policy and social action office of the U.S. Catholic Conference, on matters of migration, refugee, and immigration. Provides program support and regional coordination for a network of 110 diocesan refugee resettlement offices. Office for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Refugees provides the pastoral foundation for all MRS programs and assists the Bishops in encouraging the integration of immigrants, migrants, and refugees into the life and mission of the local Church. The Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLINIC), a related organization, ensures that all newcomers have access to affordable immigration related services.

Contact: Mark Franken.

Address: 3211 Fourth Street NE, Washington, DC
20017-1194.

Telephone: (202) 541-3352.

Fax: (202) 722-8755.

E-Mail: mrs@nccbuscc.org.

Online: <http://www.nccbuscc.org/mrs>.

National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans (NAFEA).

Seeks to provide equal educational opportunities for and advance the rights of Indochinese Americans; acknowledge and publicize contributions of Indochinese in American schools, culture, and society; and encourage appreciation of Indochinese cultures, peoples, education, and language.

Contact: Ms. Ngoc Diep Nguyen, President.

Address: Illinois Research Center, 1855 Mt.

Prospect Road, Des Plaines, Illinois 60018.

Telephone: (708) 803-3112.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Laotian Cultural and Research Center (LCRC).

Individuals interested in preserving Laotian culture by collecting documents that illustrate the history of Laos. Maintains library of more than 500 items.

Contact: Seng Chidhalay, President.

Address: 1413 Meriday Lane, Santa Ana,
California 92706.

Telephone: (714) 541-4533.

Fax: (714) 953-7693.

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LATVIAN AMERICANS

by
Andris Straumanis

OVERVIEW

Latvia is situated in Eastern Europe on the Baltic Sea, bordered by Estonia to the north, Russia to the east, Belarus to the southeast, and Lithuania to the south. With a population in 1993 of about 2.6 million and a surface area of 24,903 square miles (64,600 square kilometers), Latvia—one of the three Baltic nations—is larger than Estonia but smaller than Lithuania. Nearly 69 percent of Latvia's population lives in cities, especially the capital, Rīga, which is home to about a third of the nation's people.

Although Latvia has always had a diverse population, the country's ethnic composition has become a growing issue among Latvians concerned with preservation of their culture. In 1993, according to Latvian government statistics, 53.5 percent of inhabitants were ethnic Latvians, while 33.5 percent were Russians. In some regions, particularly in southeastern Latvia as well as in the capital city of Rīga, ethnic Russians outnumber ethnic Latvians. Other ethnic groups often found in Latvia include Belarussians, Estonians, Germans, Gypsies, Jews, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians. The leading religions in Latvia include Lutheran, Russian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic. The official language of the country is Latvian, and the national flag consists of three horizontal stripes (maroon on top and bottom, white in the middle).

The majority of Latvians who came to the United States after World War II had received at least some higher education in their homeland. Many were already academic or cultural leaders, and they placed high value on education for their children.

HISTORY

Latvia's experience as an independent nation has been limited. Inhabited as early as 9000 B.C., the region now called Latvia only began taking on a national identity in the mid-nineteenth century. The Latvians' ancestors—early tribes of Couronians, Latgallians, Livs, Selonians, and Semgallians—were established in the area by about 1500 B.C. Through the centuries, these pagan tribes gradually developed their society and culture, but beginning in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries they came under subjugation from German invasions. In particular, the Teutonic Knights of the Holy Roman Empire forcibly Christianized the tribes and built an economic and political system that continued in power until the twentieth century. The Germans were responsible for the growth of Rīga, established in 1201, as an important Baltic Sea port that continues today to serve as a transportation link between western Europe and Russia.

As the Russian Empire expanded in the 1600s, German military control of the Baltic region weakened. Beginning in the 1620s and into the 1700s, the northern part of Latvia was under Swedish rule, while the south and the east came under Polish-Lithuanian domination. Only the Duchy of Courland, in western Latvia by the Baltic Sea, maintained some independence. The Duchy of Courland even managed to briefly extend its influence beyond its home, establishing colonies in Gambia in Africa (1651) and on the Caribbean Sea island of Tobago (1654).

With the signing of the Treaty of Nystad in 1721, settling the Great Northern War between Russia and Sweden, the region that would later become Latvia came under the political and military rule of the Russian czar. Its economy, however, continued to be controlled by German barons who lived off the labor of Latvian peasants. Latvians began to gain some economic power after 1819, when serfs in the Baltic provinces were emancipated by the Russians.

Industrialization and the emergence of the so-called “National Awakening” in the late nineteenth century created discontent among Latvians over their social and political relationships with the Russians and the Germans. That discontent led to the 1905 Revolution in Latvia. Although the revolution failed, it served to bring together the Latvian working class and intelligentsia and to heighten hopes for independence. A year after the 1917 Russian Revolution, Latvia declared its independence and was a sovereign nation until its occupation by Soviet troops in 1940. In June of 1941, during the final three days of the Russian occupation of Rīga

before its fall to the Germans, an estimated 30,000 Latvians were shepherded onto boxcars and deported to Siberia. Thousands died in what is now known among Latvians as the *Baigais gads* (“The Year of Terror”). “Liberated” by German troops in 1941, Latvia again fell under Soviet rule by the end of World War II. Forcefully incorporated into the Soviet Union, Latvia only regained independence in 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

THE FIRST LATVIANS IN AMERICA

Some historical evidence suggests that the first Latvians in North America may have settled with Swedish and Finnish migrants in the area of Delaware and Pennsylvania around 1640. In the late 1600s, a group from the island of Tobago migrated to Massachusetts. Latvians were also among the thousands of fortune seekers who headed to California during the 1849 Gold Rush. Two histories of Latvians in America claim that Mārtiņš Bucīņš, believed to be a Latvian sailor, was among the first to die during the American Civil War.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Latvian American immigrants consist of two distinct groups: those immigrants—often called *veclatvieši*, or Old Latvians—who settled in the United States before World War II, and those who arrived after the war. Immigration before World War II is generally divided into three phases. The first phase began in 1888 with the arrival of several young men in Boston. (Among them was Jēkabs Zībergs [1863-1963], who became one of the most important Latvian American community leaders in the pre-World War II era.) Like other Latvian immigrants who followed in the early years of the twentieth century, these men journeyed to America in search of their fortunes—or to escape being drafted into the Russian czar's army. Politically, the early immigrants were further divided into two groups: one devoted to the creation of an independent Latvia; the other, influenced by socialism, concerned with freeing Latvian workers from the oppression of imperial Russia. This division was mirrored in Latvian American society.

The early immigrants were usually young, single men, although some single women and families also came to the States at the end of the nineteenth century. They settled primarily in East Coast and Midwest cities, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Chicago, as well as in some cities on the West Coast, including Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco. Scattered immigrants also settled in

rural areas, although usually not in great enough numbers to form long-lasting communities. In most cities, in fact, Latvians were so few in number that they failed to create the sort of ethnic neighborhoods for which other groups, such as the Italians or Poles, are known. Only in the Roxbury district of Boston did an urban Latvian neighborhood develop. Latvians also attempted to create a rural colony in Lincoln County in north central Wisconsin, but political differences and hard economic conditions sapped the community of its members, which at one point is said to have numbered about 2,000. The first Lutheran church built by Latvians in America was erected in Lincoln County in 1906.

Among the early wave of immigrants were several hundred Latvian Baptists who also settled in various East Coast locations. Perhaps the best-known Latvian Baptist settlement was in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, not far from Philadelphia, where beginning in 1906 a community was formed that eventually grew to about 100 individuals.

The next wave of immigration of Old Latvians began around 1906, following the failed 1905 Revolution in the Latvian province of the Russian empire. Many Latvian political leaders, as well as rank-and-file revolutionaries, faced certain death if caught by Russian soldiers, so they chose instead to emigrate and to continue the revolutionary movement from abroad. Most of the revolutionaries who arrived in the United States had more radical political views than the earlier Latvian immigrants, and this resulted in splits not only between conservative and leftist Latvians but also among the leftists themselves.

With the beginning of World War I, Latvia became a battleground between German and Russian forces. Latvian migration came to a halt until the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, when many revolutionary Latvians returned to their homeland to work for the creation of a Bolshevik government (a forerunner to the Communist party) in Latvia as well as in Moscow. Among those returning was Fricis Roziņš (1870-1919), a radical Marxist philosopher who had immigrated to America in 1913. He returned in 1917 to head a short-lived Latvian Soviet government. A few nationalist Latvian Americans returned to Latvia after the country declared independence in 1918.

The next wave of immigration was more of a trickle. U.S. immigration quotas put in place in 1924 limited the number of Latvians who could settle in America, while the creation of a free Latvia and the promise of better economic times in the homeland—coupled with the Great Depression in the United States—generally discouraged immigration.

The number of Latvians who journeyed to America before World War II is difficult to determine. Figures compiled by Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek, published in *Our Racial and National Minorities* in 1937, show that 4,309 Latvians came to the United States before 1900; 8,544 from 1901-1910; 2,776 from 1911-1914; 730 from 1915-1919; 3,399 from 1921-1930; and 519 from 1930-1936. Until the 1930 census, the U.S. government lumped Latvians in with Lithuanians and Russians. Ten years later, the census counted 34,656 people of Latvian origin, about 54 percent of them foreign-born.

World War II's ravages of Latvia turned many Latvians into refugees. Fearing the Soviet communists, they headed to western Europe. By the end of the war, an estimated 240,000 Latvians—more than a tenth of the country's population—were camped in Displaced Persons (DP) facilities in Germany, Austria, and other countries. About half were eventually repatriated to Latvia, but the rest resettled in Germany, England, Sweden, Australia, Canada, and the United States, as well as in other countries. As documented by Andris Skreija in his unpublished thesis on Latvian refugees, an estimated 40,000 Latvians immigrated to the United States from 1949 to 1951 with the help of the U.S. government and various social service and religious organizations. Many of these Latvians had been members of the professional class in their homeland, but in America they often had to take jobs as farmhands, custodians, or builders until they managed to find better paying positions.

Most Latvian DPs settled in larger cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. As with the Old Latvians, the DPs failed to create neighborhoods and had to rely on social events, the telephone, the mail, and the press to create a sense of community. In a few eastern cities, the newer immigrants found that some Old Latvian colonies remained active. (Some organizations and congregations begun by the Old Latvians, such as the Philadelphia Society of Free Letts, founded in 1892, continue to operate today.) In most cases, however, the Latvian DPs had to start from scratch and within a few years had managed to create a rather complete social and cultural world that included schools, credit unions, choirs, dance groups, theater troupes, publishers and book sellers, churches, veterans' groups, and political organizations.

Unlike the Old Latvians, many of whom considered themselves immigrants, the Latvian DPs saw themselves as living in *trimda*, or exile, and dreamed of the day they could return to a free Latvia. Since the reestablishment of an independent Latvia in 1991, however, few have returned,

These Latvian immigrants are newly arrived in the United States.



although about 9,000 have declared dual citizenship as a way to offer political support to the reemerging nation. Many frequently travel to their homeland and provide financial and material support for relatives and various organizations. A number of Latvian Americans have been elected to the *Saeima*, or Parliament, in Latvia. According to the 1990 report of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, a total of 75,747 persons claimed Latvian ancestry, 27,540 of whom were born abroad. From 1980 to 1990, the census reports, 1,006 Latvians arrived in the United States.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Latvians of the pre-World War II immigration are generally thought to have assimilated quickly into the American mainstream, while the exiles of the post-World War II period have maintained their ethnic distinctiveness but now are facing deepening concerns about their future.

In a 1919 article in *Literary Digest*, the attitude of Latvians (or Letts, as they were known then)

toward acculturation was described thus: "Their first aim, except among the radical element, is to secure admission to American citizenship. Their children all are educated in our public schools, and the second generation of Letts are thorough Americans in the majority" ("Letts in the United States," *Literary Digest*, 21 June 1919; p. 37). While it may be true that many of the Old Latvians were eager to seek American citizenship, many also continued to keep up their interest in Latvia, especially between 1918 and 1920, when Latvia declared and fought for independence. At the same time, as the *Literary Digest* article noted, some Latvians who held leftist political views may have resisted becoming part of the American system. In 1919, for example, about 1,000 Latvians were among those immigrants who helped found the Communist Party of America.

Except for the political radicals among them, pre-World War II Latvian immigrants tended to assimilate easily. According to Brown and Roucek, 60.9 percent of the 20,673 foreign-born Latvians in the United States had been naturalized by 1930, while another 10.5 percent had declared their intention to be naturalized. Most Latvians, like

other immigrants, started out in low-paying, unskilled jobs, but over the years gained experience and higher socioeconomic status. A report of the Committee on Racial Groups of the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary Inc., written about 1930, had this to say about the Latvians in Massachusetts: “The Lettish people cannot be classified among the rich, but neither are they poor. Many of them own their own homes. Partly due to the fact that the Letts are scattered, there are no Lettish banks, corporations, or big businesses that are worth mentioning. The same is true of the professional workers. Mostly, they are skilled workers, such as carpenters, machinists, painters, wood finishers, tool makers, railroad workers, garage mechanics. Some of them, however, have taken up farming as their chosen profession and are successful farmers” (Committee on Racial Groups of the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary Inc., *Historical Review*, 1930).

Latvians did not experience much of the stereotyping that plagued southern, central, and eastern European immigrants during the early twentieth century. This is most likely due to the fact that the Latvians were a little-known group. In one incident in Boston in 1908, however, Latvians as a group briefly made the front pages of local newspapers after three Latvians robbed a saloon at gunpoint. The newspaper coverage, the Boston-based magazine *Arena* complained, made the Latvians look like “a bloodthirsty, murderous people, lawless, criminal and altogether undesirable citizens” (Andris Straumanis, “‘This Sudden Spasm of Newspaper Hostility’: Stereotyping of Latvian Immigrants in Boston Newspapers, 1908,” *Ethnic Forum*, Volume 13, No. 2, and Volume 14, No. 1, 1993-1994).

The arrival of the Latvian DPs after World War II sparked an era of heightened ethnic maintenance. Fiercely anticommunist, they saw the Soviet occupation of their homeland not only as an infringement on their right to autonomy but also as an effort to eradicate Latvians altogether. Migration of Russians and other non-Latvian groups into Latvia, part of a Soviet effort at “Russification,” became a threat to Latvian culture. Latvian DPs in the United States reacted by launching a number of political and cultural movements to fight assimilation and help make Americans aware of Latvia’s plight. Weekend Latvian schools were organized in several cities, while summer camps offered children and adults cultural immersion. *Runāsim latviski* (“Let’s speak Latvian”) was as much a political statement as an expression of cultural preservation. Marriage outside of the Latvian group often was discouraged, because it might mean that children of mixed couples would not learn the language.

As with the Old Latvians, few cultural misconceptions exist about post-World War II Latvians. Indeed the biggest difficulties Latvians have faced are their small numbers and the erasure, before 1991, of Latvia from many world maps. As a result, few Americans know anything about Latvians—and often confuse Europe’s Balkan states with the Baltic countries, of which Latvia is a part.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Like many other ethnic groups, the Latvians in the United States have adopted some American ways, but they also maintain a cultural heritage from the homeland. Until the late nineteenth century, when industrialization created demand for workers in several Latvian cities, Latvians remained rural. As a result, many of the traditions, customs, and beliefs still acknowledged by Latvian Americans are based on agricultural life. Others are drawn from more ancient Latvian culture. For example, in the Latvian tradition, a bride-to-be proved her worthiness by knitting many intricately designed wool mittens, as well as linen handkerchiefs and wool socks. The more she had in her dowry, the more worthy she might appear to her suitor. In the States, wool mittens and socks are sometimes used as adornments in wedding ceremonies.

Among the Latvian people’s strongest traditions are their songs, called *dainas*, and their interest in folk culture. The *dainas*—simple verses that tell old stories and reveal the wisdom of centuries of Latvian culture—were handed down orally over generations. Beginning in the nineteenth century, as interest in Latvian nationalism grew, folklorists transcribed about 900,000 of these songs, culminating in a multi-volume collection compiled by Krisjānis Barons (1835-1923). Even at the end of the twentieth century, dozens of Latvian ensembles maintained the musical tradition in the United States, often performing at community events and in ethnic festivals. On a grander scale, Latvians in America and in Latvia have organized song festivals that feature performances of traditional folk songs and dances, choral music, and even musicals and plays. These song festivals serve as a ritual, reminding Latvians of their common ideals. The first such festival was held in Latvia in 1873; the tradition has since been carried on in the States, beginning in Chicago in 1953.

CUISINE

Traditional Latvian foods include *pīrāgi*, pastry stuffed with bacon or ham; *Jāņu siers*, a cheese usu-

ally made for the Midsummer Eve's holiday; various soups; sauerkraut; potato salad; smoked fish and eel; and beer. At major celebrations, such as holidays and birthdays, a popular sweetbread—the *kliņģeris*, flavored with raisins and cardamom and shaped like a large pretzel—is served. Because of the work involved in preparing many of these dishes, as well as the difficulty in obtaining some ingredients, many of these foods are now prepared only for special occasions. The foods tend to be rich, although Latvian Americans have been known to modify recipes by using lower-fat ingredients and less salt.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Folk costumes are worn by Latvian Americans primarily when performing in song groups or dance troupes. Men's costumes are characterized by monotone (white, gray, or black) wool trousers and coats, white shirts, and black boots. Women's costumes usually include an embroidered white linen blouse and a colorful ankle-length wool skirt. Both men and women wear wide, bright belts and silver jewelry. Unmarried women wear a *vaiņags* (crown) on their heads, while married women wear a cap or kerchief. The designs of costumes are characteristic of specific locales in Latvia.

HOLIDAYS

Latvian Christians observe Easter and Christmas, attending church services and getting together with relatives and friends. At Easter, eggs are colored using onion skins rather than paint. The skins are wrapped around uncooked eggs, which are then boiled. One Easter dinner custom is to play a game to determine whose egg is strongest: two people each hold an egg, the ends of the eggs are knocked together, and the person whose egg does not break goes on to challenge someone else. At Christmas, an evergreen tree is brought into the home and decorated. Before Christmas gifts are opened, a line of poetry or words from a song are recited. At New Year's, some Latvians still observe a custom of "pouring one's fortune." The person who wishes to know what his or her fortune will be in the New Year pours a ladle filled with molten lead into a bucket of cold water. The shape of the hardened lead is then examined to determine the future.

Perhaps the favorite Latvian holiday, however, comes in June, during the summer solstice—the longest day of the year. Called *Jāni* (also known as St. John's Eve or Midsummer's Eve) in Latvia the day was a traditional celebration of nature's fertility. An elaborate feast was prepared—including the

symbolic *Jānu siers*, a rich cheese—and the home was decorated with oak leaves and flowers. The celebration, featuring bonfires and sing-alongs, lasted through the night and well into the following morning. In the United States, many of these customs survive; in modern Latvia, *Jāni* is an official holiday.

HEALTH ISSUES

Latvians in the United States have largely accepted modern medical treatments, although some folk cures are still used by some families. A number of Latvians have entered the medical profession. In addition to health insurance offered through their place of employment or through government programs, many Latvians also have joined the Latvian Relief Fund of America (*Amerikas latviešu palīdzības fonds*), founded in 1952. No illnesses specific to Latvian Americans are known.

LANGUAGE

Latvian, along with Lithuanian, is considered part of the small Baltic language group of the Indo-European family. It is one of the oldest languages still spoken in Europe. Latvian uses the Latin alphabet, although the letters "q," "w," "x," and "y" are not part of the alphabet. In addition, Latvian uses diacritical marks on some letters ("ā," "č," "ē," "ģ," "ī," "ķ," "ļ," "ņ," "ŗ," "š," and "ž") to differentiate long or soft sounds from short or hard sounds. Latvian words are stressed on the first syllable, and written Latvian is largely phonetic.

Due to Latvia's location and its history, the country's language has been influenced by German, Russian, and Swedish. During the 50-year occupation of Latvia by the former Soviet Union, the influence of Russian became particularly strong. A few dialects in addition to standard Latvian can still be heard in Latvia, most notably Latgallian, spoken in the heavily Catholic southeastern province of Latgale. In the United States, Latvian cultural leaders and schools have battled against the encroachment of English into their mother tongue; since Latvia regained independence in 1991 and declared Latvian rather than Russian the official language, more and more English words are creeping into Latvian.

Latvian continues to be used in the United States most widely among the first generation of post-World War II immigrants. According to the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report, about 13 percent of those persons who claim Latvian ancestry—most of them aged 65 and older—said they do not speak

English very well. Among second and third generation Latvian Americans, usage has dropped significantly, in some cases because of intermarriage. Latvian is still used in church services in many congregations, although some churches have begun to use English as a way to attract and serve non-Latvian speakers. In the United States, only one Latvian-language newspaper is published (the semi-weekly *Laiks* of Brooklyn, New York), but there are several small Latvian-language magazines and numerous church newsletters.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Perhaps the most widespread salutation in Latvian is *Sveiks!* (“svayks”)—Greetings! It is commonly used when greeting friends but is also seen on bumper stickers on cars driven by Latvian Americans. Other terms include: *Apsveicu* (“ap-svaytsu”)—Congratulations; *Atā* (“a-tah”)—Good-bye; *Daudz laimes dzimšanas dienā* (“daudz laimes dzim-shan-as dien-ah”)—Happy birthday; *Labdien* (“labdien”)—Good day; *Labrīt* (“labreet”)—Good morning; *Labvakar* (“labvakar”)—Good evening; *Lūdzu* (“loodz-u”)—Please; *Paldies* (“pal-dies”)—Thank you; *Priecīgus svētkus* (“prie-tsee-gus svehtkus”)—Happy holidays, used at Christmastime; *Uz redzēšanos* (“uz redz-eh-shan-os”)—Until we meet again.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Latvians in the United States tend to have small nuclear families, usually not exceeding two adults and two children. According to the 1990 census, a total of 37,574 households of Latvian ancestry were reported. Of those, 12,341 had only one family member (32.8 percent); 14,211 (37.8 percent) had two; 5,010 (13.3 percent) had three; and 3,985 (10.6 percent) had four. A total of 86.9 percent of children under the age of 18 were living with two parents. Most families are middle-class; the median household income in 1989 was \$38,586. Four percent of Latvian families received public assistance in 1989.

Within the post-World War II Latvian emigre population, young men and women have been encouraged to seek each other out in the hope that new Latvian families would result. For some youth, however, the close-knit nature of Latvian community life made it difficult to transform longtime acquaintances into romantic involvement. Others, perhaps realizing that their involvement in the Latvian community would make a relationship outside



In this 1949 photograph, a Latvian immigrant explains the meaning of the American flag to his daughter upon their arrival in the United States.

the ethnic group difficult, seem to have deliberately sought out Latvian mates. But because the rate of marriage to non-Latvians has continued to increase over the years, older Latvians have become concerned that Latvian culture in the United States might be threatened. At one point in the early 1970s, it was even suggested that Latvian newspapers should not carry announcements of marriages involving non-Latvians. Among Latvian men, according to the 1990 census, 62.3 percent were married, one percent were separated, and 6.4 percent were divorced. Among women, 50.9 percent were married, one percent were separated, and 8.8 percent were divorced.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Latvia extended broad democracy to its inhabitants and guaranteed equal rights to women. In the States, women have often been placed in such traditional roles as homemaker and cook. Despite their accomplishments in the professions, women for many years were not seen at the helm of the most influential local and national Latvian institutions. In recent years, however, that has been changing. For example, the Latvian newspaper *Laiks*, published since 1949, is now edited by a woman, Baiba Bičole.

EDUCATION

The Old Latvians, while recognizing the value of education, did not appear to want or to be able to

afford college degrees. By 1911—more than 20 years after the first Latvian immigrants had arrived in the United States—only two individuals had obtained American university degrees, the first one being a woman, Anna Enke, who studied at the University of Chicago.

The majority of Latvians who came to the United States after World War II had received at least some higher education in their homeland. Many were already academic or cultural leaders, and they placed high value on education for their children. The 1990 census indicates that about 34 percent of people claiming Latvian ancestry had earned bachelor's degrees or higher. Between 1940 and 1982, according to a 1984 study, 28 percent of Latvian men outside the Soviet Union who had earned bachelor's degrees studied in the engineering sciences, while another 15.6 percent studied in the humanities. Among women, 22.5 percent studied humanities and 16.9 percent studied medicine.

RELIGION

In 1935, 55.1 percent of religious Latvians followed the Lutheran faith, 24.4 percent were Roman Catholic, and 8.9 percent were Greek Orthodox (*Cross Road Country—Latvia*, edited by Edgars Dunsdorfs [Waverly, Iowa: Latvju Grāmata, 1953]; p. 360). Although it is difficult to obtain accurate figures, the majority of Latvians in the United States follow the Lutheran faith, but there also are adherents of the Catholic and Baptist faiths, as well as a small group of *dievturi*, followers of a folk religion.

The first Latvian Lutheran church service in the United States was organized by the Boston Latvian Society in 1891. The earliest known congregation, St. John's Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church, was formed in 1893 in Philadelphia and continued to operate more than a century later. The Rev. Hans Rebane (1862-1911) became the first Latvian Lutheran minister ordained in America. Rebane, of Estonian and Latvian heritage, also served Estonian and German congregations. Together with Jēkabs Zībergs, he began *Amerikas Vēstnesis* (*America's Herald*, 1896-1920), a nationalist and religiously oriented newspaper based in Boston; Zībergs also published an almanac and other religious materials. In a few short years, additional Latvian congregations were established in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, northern Wisconsin, San Francisco, and other locations. Radical Latvians in the United States criticized these early churchgoers; to them, the church in Latvia—largely controlled by Ger-

man-appointed pastors—contributed to the oppression of Latvian peasants. By World War II, only a few congregations remained, but the arrival of Latvian DPs beginning in 1949 gave them new life.

Latvian Lutheran DPs saw theirs as a church in exile. Although a Lutheran church still existed back in Latvia, its activities were suppressed by the Soviet regime. The Latvian Lutheran church in the United States remains conservative but in many cities has become a focus of community activity. Many congregations have organized Saturday or Sunday schools offering language and cultural heritage lessons in addition to religious instruction. In cities where Latvians acquired their own church buildings, the facilities often double as cultural centers where concerts or other programs might be presented.

A key issue for Lutheran clergy has been whether they can continue to preach Christianity at the expense of Latvian ethnic maintenance. Attempts by some pastors to introduce English into religious instruction have in the past been met by resistance. Like other Latvian social and cultural institutions in the United States, the Lutheran church is concerned about decreasing membership, which erodes both the vitality of congregations as well as their financial base. According to Latvian statistics published in 1993, the number of church members totaled 26,265 in 1978, but dropped steadily to 18,557 over the next 15 years.

Latvian Baptists were also active in the States by the late 1880s. The first Latvian Baptist congregation was founded in Philadelphia in 1900; by 1908 congregations were also meeting in Boston, Chicago, and New York, as well as in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Latvian Baptists published a number of magazines and newsletters before World War II, including the monthly *Amerikas Latvietis* (*America's Latvian*, 1902-1905) and *Jaunā Tēvija* (*The New Fatherland*, 1913-1917).

Latvian American Catholic groups also sprang up after World War II, but they were not large enough in any city to have their own church. Latvian Catholics are represented by the American Latvian Catholic Association (*Amerikas latviešu katoļu apvienība*), formed in 1954.

Also active in the United States are the *dievturi*, followers of a folk religion registered as the Latvian Church Dievturi Inc., which developed in the 1920s in Latvia. The *dievturi* look to ancient Latvian culture, particularly folk songs, for their beliefs and are credited for their efforts in maintaining old folkways.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many of the Old Latvians who left their homeland were either farmers or factory workers. Upon arriving in the United States, they at first took jobs as unskilled laborers; later, however, some moved into management and professional positions. Unlike the Old Latvians, many of the DPs had held professional positions in Latvia before migrating to America. Most, however, were unable to immediately resume their professional careers—at least until they had mastered English and proven their qualifications.

According to the 1990 census, 38,132 persons of Latvian ancestry were counted in the nation's civilian labor force, of which 1,653 (4.2 percent) were unemployed. About 48 percent of Latvians in the labor force had positions in management and the professions; 30 percent had jobs in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. Almost three-fourths of the Latvians in the labor force worked in the private sector, about 16 percent had jobs in government and education, and about 10 percent were self-employed.

Like other Americans, Latvians were among those affected by the economic recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s. When a family was forced to relocate to other parts of the mainland States in search of employment, the move sometimes had a dramatic effect on Latvian social and cultural life. In Minneapolis, for example, when two young but large families had to move in the mid-1980s, their departure resulted in enrollment in the small Latvian Saturday school being trimmed by about a third.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Latvian Americans have always been politically active. Before Latvia declared its independence, radical Old Latvians were particularly active in working for the creation of a socialist government in their homeland as well as in the United States. The first Latvian socialist organization, the Lettish Workingmen's Society, was started in Boston in 1893. By World War I, almost every city where Latvians could be found also had at least one socialist club. With the arrival of revolutionary Latvians after the failed 1905 Revolution, Latvian radicalism moved further to the left. Latvians were among those immigrants who helped form the American communist movement in 1919. Radicals produced a number of newspapers and other publications, but the most important was the Boston-based weekly *Strādnieks* (*The Worker*, 1906-1919). The failure to

establish a permanent socialist government in Latvia following the 1917 Russian Revolution—compounded by U.S. government repression of radical activities during the “Red Scare” of the 1920s—largely put an end to Latvian radical activity in America.

The radicals were opposed by nationalist Latvians who sought independence for their homeland. Under the leadership of Jēkabs Zībergs, Christopher Roos (1887-1963), and others, the nationalists organized in 1917 to support the American World War I military effort by selling Liberty Bonds. The American National Latvian League (*Amerikas latviešu tautiskā savienība* [ALTS]) was formed the next year in Boston to represent Latvian interests in the United States. When their homeland declared independence later in 1918, ALTS representatives urged America to recognize the new nation of Latvia; *de jure* recognition came in 1922.

Soviet occupation of Latvia during World War II was criticized by nationalist Latvians in the States, who sought to inform the American public about atrocities committed by the Russians. The arrival of Latvian DPs after the war heightened political activity among Latvian Americans. A number of Latvian civic and political organizations were founded, including the American Latvian Association in 1951 and the American Latvian Republican National Federation in 1961. Latvians also joined with Estonians and Lithuanians to form groups such as the Baltic Appeal to the United Nations (BATUN), to press world governments to oppose Soviet power in their homelands.

Officially, the U.S. government never recognized the incorporation of the Baltic countries into the Soviet Union. Attempts by U.S. diplomats to ease tensions with the Soviets usually drew swift criticism from the Baltic groups. At election time, the Republican party tended to evoke more support from Latvians than the Democrats—particularly among the first generation of Latvian immigrants, who felt the Republicans had a stronger anticommunist foreign policy platform. Within the Latvian community, efforts during the 1970s and 1980s by some Latvian Americans to establish cultural exchanges with Soviet Latvia were viewed with suspicion and criticism.

Reestablishment of Latvian independence in 1991 opened the door to direct political involvement in the homeland. Latvian immigrants and their descendants were allowed to reclaim their pre-World War II citizenship and voting rights; by May of 1993 more than 8,700 Latvian Americans held dual U.S. and Latvian citizenship, according to American Latvian Association statistics. In June of

1993, during the first free democratic elections after the end of Soviet rule, a number of Latvian Americans were elected to Parliament. Among them were twin brothers Oļģerts Pavlovskis (1934–) and Valdis Pavlovskis (1934–), both of whom returned to Latvia to take government posts.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Latvians have made a number of contributions to American culture and society. The following sections list some of their achievements.

ART

Florida's famed Coral Castle, a sculpture garden carved from coral, was created over a 30-year period by Edward Leedskalnin (1887-1951), a Latvian immigrant. Leedskalnin, jilted by the girl he wanted to marry, journeyed to the United States and decided to build the sculpture garden as a testament to his love for her. The garden (located in Homestead, Florida) was completed in 1940 and was placed on the National Register of Historical Places in 1984.

EDUCATION

Edgars Andersons (1920-1989) was a prolific historian who taught at San Jose State University in California. A specialist in European and early American history, he received a Distinguished Academic Achievement Award in 1978. Oswald Tippe (born 1911), a botanist by training, held several top academic posts during his career, including chancellor of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Actress Rutanya Alda (1942–) has appeared in numerous film, stage, and television productions, including *The Long Goodbye* (1973), *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973), *The Deer Hunter* (1978), and *Prancer* (1989). Actor Buddy Ebsen (born 1908), best known for his television roles as Jed Clampett in *The Beverly Hillbillies* and as the title character in *Barnaby Jones*, is of Latvian and Danish parentage. Chicagoan Mārīte Ozere (1944–) was crowned Miss U.S.A. in 1965. Actress Laila Robins (1959–) has appeared in several feature films, including *Planes, Trains & Automobiles* (1987), *A Walk on the Moon* (1987), *An Innocent Man* (1989), and *Welcome Home, Roxy Carmichael* (1990). Anita Stewart (1895-1961) appeared in the silent movies *Hollywood* (1923) and *Never the Twain Shall Meet* (1925).

INDUSTRY

Augusts Krastiņš (1859-1942) began building gasoline-powered automobiles in 1896, several years before Henry Ford. The Cleveland, Ohio-based Krastin Automobile Company operated until 1904. Leon "Jake" Swirbul was a cofounder of the Grumman Aircraft Company and helped lead the company's production of fighter planes for the U.S. Navy during World War II. In 1946 Swirbul became president of the company, which is now part of Northrop Grumman Corporation.

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

Anšlevs Eglītis (1906-1993), a novelist and movie critic, wrote many popular Latvian books and was a frequent contributor to the Latvian American newspaper *Laiks*. Jānis Freivalds (1944–) has worked as a journalist, consultant, and entrepreneur. In 1978 he published a novel, *The Famine Plot*. Peter Kihss (1912-1984) spent nearly 50 years working as a journalist, including 30 years for the *New York Times*.

MUSIC

Several Latvian Americans have made significant contributions to symphonic music and opera, such as concert pianist Artūrs Ozoliņš (1946–), who has recorded with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, and composer Gundaris Pone (1932-1993), whose work received international recognition but whose radical politics did not endear him to Latvian Americans. Alternative pop singer-songwriter Ingrid Karklins (1957–) of Austin, Texas, has released two albums, *A Darker Passion* (1992) and *Anima Mundi* (1994), some of which draws inspiration from traditional Latvian instruments and songs. The Quags, a Latvian rock group in Philadelphia, have made some recordings.

SCIENCE

John Akerman (1897-1972), a professor of aeronautics, had a long career teaching and researching at the University of Minnesota. Akerman Hall on the Minneapolis campus is named in his honor. Lectures about the Star of Bethlehem by retired astronomy professor Kārlis Kaufmanis (1910–) have become a popular Christmas attraction in Minnesota. Mārtiņš Straumanis (1898-1973) was a professor of metallurgy at the University of Missouri at Rolla.

SPORTS

Latvians in America and in Latvia have become ardent fans of the San Jose Sharks team of the

National Hockey League. Two Latvians, goalie Arturs Irbe (1967–) and defenseman Sandis Ozolinsh (1972–), were acquired by the team in 1991. Gundars Vetra (c. 1967–) was the first Latvian to play for a National Basketball Association team. He was recruited by the Minnesota Timberwolves after playing for the Russian-led Unified Team in the 1992 Olympics.

MEDIA

PRINT

Laiks (Time).

A semi-weekly Latvian-language newspaper published in Brooklyn, New York.

Contact: Ilavars Spilners, Editor.

Address: 7307 Third Avenue, Brooklyn,
New York 11209-2466.

Telephone: (718) 836-6382.

Fax: (718) 748-1426.

Latvian Dimensions.

Published by the American Latvian Association, it offers a national perspective on issues of interest to Latvians.

Contact: Elisa Freimanis, Editor.

Address: American Latvian Association, P.O. Box
4578, 400 Hurley Avenue, Rockville,
Maryland 20850-3131.

Telephone: (301) 340-1914.

Fax: (301) 340-8732.

RADIO

WVVX-FM (103.1).

Chicago Association of Latvian Organizations (*Čikāgas latviešu organizāciju apvienība*) sponsors a program.

Contact: Juris Valainis.

Address: 210 Skokie Valley Road, Highland Park,
Illinois 60035.

Telephone: (847) 831-5250.

Fax: (847) 831-5296.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Latvian Association in the U.S. (*Amerikas latviešu apvienība, ALA*).

Founded in 1951, the ALA is largest Latvian association in the United States; it has about 9,000

members and represents approximately 160 organizations. In the past, it served as an umbrella organization that coordinated the political, cultural, and educational activities of Latvian communities and lobbied the U.S. government for legislation and policies supporting independence for Latvia. Since independence was achieved, the ALA has given increased attention to welfare and education efforts in Latvia.

Contact: Anita Terauds, Secretart General.

Address: 400 Hurley Avenue, Rockville, Maryland
20850-3121.

Telephone: (301) 340-1914.

Fax: (301) 340-8732.

E-mail: alainfo@alausea.org.

Online: <http://www.alausea.org/>.

American Latvian Catholic Association

(*Amerikas latviešu katoļu apvienība, ALKA*).

Founded in 1954, the ALKA represents the interests of Latvians of the Roman Catholic faith, many of whom trace their heritage to the Latgale province in southeastern Latvia.

Address: 2235 Ontonagon Street, S.E.,
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506.

American Latvian Youth Association (*Amerikas latviešu jaunatnes apvienība, ALJA*).

Founded in 1952 and incorporated in 1964, the ALJA is a national organization for Latvian youth, generally those under age 30. It has served as a voice for its members in the exile community. During the 1970s and 1980s, it was especially active on the political front, organizing demonstrations at the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C., and in other locations. Some former officers of the association have gone on to other leadership posts in the Latvian American community as well as in newly independent Latvia.

Contact: Pēteris Burielis, Information Director.

Address: 10 Lois Lane, Katonah, New York 10536.

Telephone: (914) 232-2192.

E-mail: burgelis@pitnet.net.

Online: <http://www.alja.org/>.

Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (*Latvieš evaņģēliski luteriskā baznīca Amerikā, LELBA*).

Founded in 1975, the LELBA carries on the work of a Latvian American church association formed in 1957. Before 1975, local Latvian Lutheran congregations belonged to one of the U.S. churches, such as the American Lutheran Church. Since then,

many have dropped their ties to U.S. churches and now are only members of LELBA. As of 1994, LELBA included 53 congregations in the United States; not all congregations, however, have their own churches or ministers.

Contact: Rev. Uldis Cepure, Chairman of the Board.

Address: 2140 Orkla Drive, Golden Valley, Minnesota 55427.

Telephone: (612) 546-3712.

Latvian Welfare Association (*Daugavas Vanagi*).

Founded in 1945 in Belgium, this is a global organization of war veterans—primarily those who fought in the two Latvian divisions organized during the German occupation of Latvia in World War II. Aside from offering support for disabled Latvian veterans, *Daugavas Vanagi* also supports cultural and educational efforts and works to preserve the history of the Latvian military. The organization has national and local chapters in several countries.

Address: 3220 Rankin Road, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55418.

Telephone: (612) 781-7132.

Fax: (612) 789-2602.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, Inc.

Independent, nonprofit research association. Focuses on Baltic area, including the people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and Baltic literature, history, and economics.

Contact: Kalle Merilo.

Address: 3465 East Burnside Street, Portland, Oregon 97214-2050.

Telephone: (908) 852-5258.

Fax: (908) 852-3233.

E-mail: aabs@teleport.com.

Online: <http://www.lanet.lv/members/aabs/aabs.html>.

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Houses Latvian material in its archives, including some records of St. John's Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Contact: John Tenhula, President.

Address: 18 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

Telephone: (215) 925-8090.

Fax: (215) 925-8195.

E-mail: balchlib@hslc.org.

Online: <http://libertynet.org/~balch>.

Immigration History Research Center.

Devoted to collecting archival materials concerning eastern, central, and southern European immigrants, as well as immigrants from the Middle East, the IHRC continues to expand its Latvian collection of books, newspapers, serials, and manuscripts. In 1993 the center embarked on a two-year project to organize materials pertaining to Displaced Persons from Latvia and Ukraine.

Contact: Joel Wurl, Curator.

Address: University of Minnesota, 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.

Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

Fax: (612) 627-4190.

E-mail: ihrc@tc.umn.edu.

Online: <http://www.umn.edu/ihrc>.

Latvian Museum.

Housed in the Latvian Lutheran Church in Rockville, Maryland, the museum opened in 1980 and provides an overview of Latvian life in the homeland and in exile.

Address: 400 Hurley Avenue, Rockville, Maryland 20850.

Latvian Studies Center.

Serves as a focus for students of Latvian heritage. It includes a growing library and archives of Latvian materials that have been donated to the center by Latvians from throughout the country.

Contact: Maira Bundža.

Address: Western Michigan University, 1702 Fraternity Village Drive, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49006.

Telephone: (616) 343-1922.

Fax: (616) 343-0704.

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Lieven, Anatoly. *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993.

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Though Lebanese in America today are both Christian and Muslim, Christians remain the majority. There are also many Jews from the earliest migration, “as well as a smaller number of Druze from both immigration waves.

LEBANESE AMERICANS

by
Paula Hajar and
J. Sydney Jones

OVERVIEW

The earliest immigrants from the Eastern Mediterranean were generally lumped together under the common rubric of Syrian-Lebanese, and it is consequently difficult to separate the number of ethnic Lebanese immigrants from ethnic Syrian immigrants. Neither of these countries came into being as nation-states until the mid-twentieth century; thus records and statistics for both groups are generally combined for early immigration patterns. Such difficulties with early immigration records are further exacerbated because of religious affiliation, both Muslim as well as myriad Christian denominations, which cut across national and ethnic lines in the region.

Early Lebanese settlers in America came mostly from Beirut, Mount Hermon, and surrounding regions of present-day Lebanon, a nation located at the extreme eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Syria forms Lebanon’s northern and eastern borders. Israel lies directly south of Lebanon, with the Mediterranean Sea to the west. Lebanon’s land mass is 4,015 square miles (10,400 square kilometers), and its population is estimated at between 3 and 3.5 million. The capital, Beirut, was often referred to as the “Paris of the Middle East.” Beirut was also considered the commercial center of the Middle East before the Lebanese civil war of the 1970s. Lebanon is named for the major mountain range that runs north to south through the middle

of the country. The Cedars of Lebanon, famous since Biblical times, are now protected in a few mountain groves. Arabic is the official language of the country, and is even spoken by the minority population of Lebanese Jews. The Armenian population speaks mostly Armenian or Turkish, while Assyrians speak Syriac. French and English are also widely spoken. A land of varied terrain, Lebanon encompasses coastline, mountain, and fertile growing regions such as the Bekáa Valley, which is a primary cereal-producing region. The population of the country is made up of ethnic groups from every Middle Eastern country, which is reflective of Lebanon's long history.

In Lebanon, there is no religious majority. Both Muslims and Christians have many sectarian subdivisions, 17 in all. Among the Muslim population, the Shi'a are the most numerous with about 35 percent, the Sunni number around 23 percent, and the Druze comprise 6 percent. Christians, who account for under two-fifths of the total Lebanese population, include the Maronites (the most numerous and the most powerful) at 22 percent, the Eastern Orthodox at 10 percent; Melkites (Greek Catholics) and Armenians, each at 6 percent, and Protestants at 2.5 percent. Through Lebanon's unwritten National Pact of 1943, political power was apportioned between Christians and Muslims. Originally, the ratio was six to five, Christian to Muslim. Since 1992, power has been shared equally by both groups. Various government offices are still reserved for specific sects: the prime minister is always a Sunni Muslim; the president is always a Maronite, and the speaker of the house is always a Shiite. Throughout its history, there have been movements within Lebanon to "deconfessionalize"—to create a one-person, one-vote system instead of apportioning representation and political offices by religious affiliation. These efforts are ongoing at the end of the twentieth century.

HISTORY

From 1516 until 1916, when the Ottoman Empire was dismembered by the victors of World War I, the area that is now Lebanon was part of the Ottoman province of Greater Syria. At the time of the first immigration wave to the West, Lebanon was not yet a sovereign nation; Because the Ottomans administered their subject peoples according to their religious affiliation, early immigrants from Greater Syria identified with their religious sect rather than any nationality. A sense of national identity did not begin to form among the Greater Syrians until the 1920s, when Lebanon became a separate French

protectorate. This identity strengthened in the 1940s, when Lebanon gained independence.

As a witness to the rise and fall of the Mesopotamian, Hittite, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Greek empires, Lebanon has a distinct history. In the second and early first millennium B.C., the Canaanites, who became known as Phoenicians, were the first inhabitants of Lebanon. Famous as sailors and traders, the Phoenicians lived along the Lebanese coast in the port cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Biblos. They also founded colonies in North Africa, Europe, and the Mediterranean. A succession of peoples, including Persians, Greeks, and Romans, challenged Phoenician power. With the rise of Islam in the East, the population adopted Arabic culture but also maintained its multi-religious character as the mountains of Lebanon became a haven for various religious sects. After the Ottoman Empire gained general control of the area in 1516, Lebanon continued to maintain a feudal system of rule by local chieftains. After 1860, the year many Christians were massacred by the Druze in Lebanon and Damascus, the French, who had economic and strategic interests in Lebanon since the Crusades, created a protectorate. During the next 50 years, the people of Lebanon became increasingly interested in Western culture, independence from the Ottomans, and a revival of the Arabic language.

MODERN ERA

With the fall of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, England and France divided the area into English and French protectorates. England assumed control of what became Palestine and Jordan, and France took over what became Syria and Lebanon. At this time, France divided Mount Lebanon from Syria and, adding the coastal area, created an entity called "The State of Greater Lebanon." In 1926 the Republics of Lebanon and Syria were created, but it was not until 1941 that each gained full independence, and the last French troops did not depart until 1946.

After gaining independence from the French in 1943, Lebanon became known as the "Switzerland of the Middle East." However, its delicate political and demographic equilibrium was shattered in 1975 when civil war erupted. The political inequities that had existed within Lebanon for decades were exacerbated by severe economic divisions, the resistance of those in power to addressing the needs of the poor, and the weakness of the public sector. For 16 years, Lebanon was torn apart by fighting between Christians and Muslims.

Although a tentative peace agreement in 1991 ended the war, many problems remain. Several thousand Syrian troops, who entered Lebanon during the civil war, remain in the country. Relations with Israel have long been contentious and border skirmishes are fought periodically between the two nations. Israel also occupies areas of southern Lebanon. Meanwhile, Lebanon is striving to reconstruct itself physically, economically, and politically.

THE FIRST LEBANESE IN AMERICA

Immigrants from the region of the former Greater Syria account for close to two-thirds of the estimated 2.5 million people in the United States who are of Arabic descent. Christian Lebanese were the first Arabic-speaking people to come to the Americas in large numbers. Their earliest immigration to the United States began in the late 1870s, peaked in 1914 at 9,023, dropped to a few hundred a year during World War I, and rose again during the early

“Wherever they went, Lebanese carried with them their *derbakke*, as small drum held under the arm and played with the finger tips. To the beat of the *derbakke* and the music from their voices, they danced traditional circle and handkerchief dances.”

Saud Joseph, *Where the Twain Shall Meet-Lebanese in Cortland County*, (New York Folklore Quarterly, v. XX, no. 3, September, 1964).

1920s, fluctuating between 1,600 and 5,000. Later, with the passage of the Immigration Quota Act (1929–1965), it dropped to a few hundred a year. When the second wave of Arab immigration to the United States began in the late 1960s, the descendants of the early Lebanese immigrants were in their third generation and had almost completely assimilated into mainstream America. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Arabic-speaking population of the United States began to grow again, and Lebanese Americans assumed a higher ethnic profile.

Many factors spurred large-scale Lebanese immigration to America in the late nineteenth century. For instance, many emigrants were inspired by tales of American freedom and equality that were told by American missionaries (doctors and teachers). Also, the world fairs that took place in Philadelphia (1876), Chicago (1893), and St. Louis (1904) exposed participating Greater Syrians to Americans and American society. For the majority of Lebanese emigrants, the determining factors were economic ambition and family competition. For

many Lebanese families, having a son or daughter in America became a visible mark of status. Young men were the first to emigrate, followed by young women and later wives and entire families. Some villages lost their most talented young people. Between the late 1870s and World War I (1914–1918), Lebanon lost over one quarter of its population to emigration. During World War I, it lost about another fifth to famine. Immigrants abroad played a major role in the country’s postwar reconstruction and subsequent independence.

The 1975–1991 civil war sparked a new wave of emigration from Lebanon. Many Lebanese went to Europe. Those who came to the United States reinvigorated Lebanese American ethnic life. Most of the new immigrants were better educated and were more conscious of their Arab identity than their predecessors. Many Lebanese Americans who are Muslims devoutly maintain their Islamic traditions and are cautious about assimilating fully into American culture.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Lebanese Americans have settled all over the United States. Peddlers who traveled to New England and upstate New York communities, as well as those in the Midwest and the West, often stayed on and opened general stores. Lebanese developed important communities in Utica, New York; Boston, Lawrence, Lowell, and Springfield, Massachusetts; Fall River, Rhode Island; and Danbury, Connecticut. They also settled in New Orleans, Louisiana; Jacksonville, Florida; Detroit and Dearborn, Michigan; and Toledo, Ohio. Some of the largest concentrations of Lebanese Americans are found in the Northeast and Midwest. Detroit has one of the largest Lebanese American communities in the country, and there are new communities in Los Angeles and Houston.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The first Lebanese who came to America were considered exotic—their baggy pants (*shirwal*) and fezzes made them stand out even among other immigrants. Later, when enclave living and the ubiquitous peddler made immigrants from Greater Syria a visible presence, attitudes toward them darkened. During a Senate debate on immigration quotas in 1929, Senator David Reed of Pennsylvania referred to Syrian-Lebanese as the “trash of the Mediterranean.” Working as peddlers allowed



Lebanese American

Alix Naff is a historian who specializes in Arab American culture. Pictured are some of the Arab American artifacts she has been collecting since 1962.

Lebanese immigrants to meet regularly with other Americans, and helped them to quickly absorb the English language and American culture. Service in the American armed forces during World Wars I and II also hastened the assimilation of Lebanese Americans. Many Lebanese American women worked in war-related industries during World War II, which hastened their assimilation into American culture. By the end of World War II, it was not uncommon for Lebanese American women to work outside the home or family business. Lebanese Americans worked hard to assimilate rapidly into mainstream American society. Many Anglicized their names, joined Western churches, and focused their energies on becoming financially successful.

In the late 1990s, Lebanese Americans faced many of the same problems as other Arab Americans. They have often been the victims of negative stereotyping, especially in films, theater, books, and cartoons. Lebanese Americans have also experienced anti-Arab sentiments in American politics. Because the United States has strong ties with Israel, Arab Americans have often felt that American politicians have little interest in understanding Arab hostility toward Israel. During the 1980s, some political candidates rejected financial support from Arab Americans in order not to appear unsympathetic toward Israel.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Lebanese Americans are a deeply religious people. In Lebanese culture, age is greatly respected, and

respect for parents is extremely valued. Family is at the core of Lebanese social identity and loyalty to family has traditionally superseded all other allegiances. Each person is expected to protect the family's honor. In Lebanese culture, roles are often defined by gender, and this social definition anchors both men and women in their respective roles. Women are to be protected by other family members. Men are the undisputed heads of families, and take the concerns of other members into consideration. In Lebanese American families, the welfare of the group is considered more important than the needs of the individual. Lebanese Americans are known for their elaborate and warm hospitality, and it is considered rude not to offer food and drink to a guest.

Americanization, with its emphasis on youth, personal achievement, individualism, and independence, has eroded some of these traditional beliefs and practices. The Arab respect for age, though still stronger in comparison to the larger society, has decreased. Though the family is highly valued among Lebanese Americans, the belief in family honor has lessened, in part because families are not longer living together in close circles. Family roles are less gender-defined in the United States. Hospitality has also changed: doors are locked, schedules are tight, and people are preoccupied with their own personal concerns. New immigrants who come expecting the kind of help from settled relatives that they themselves would have offered back in the village are often sorely disappointed; they soon discover that they are expected, like everyone else in America, to make it on their own.

CUISINE

Some common Lebanese dishes are described in this section, and it should be noted that the seasoning used in Lebanese cuisine is always subtle. *Kibbee* is ground lamb meat mixed with bulgur wheat and eaten either baked or raw. Yellow and green squash, called *koosa*, are hollowed out, stuffed with rice and ground lamb meat, and cooked in a tomato sauce. The insides of the squash are often fried in olive oil as a separate dish. The ground lamb and rice stuffing mixture (*mahshee*) is sometimes wrapped in grape leaves (*wara* 'anab) and served with yogurt, or in cabbage leaves (*malfoof*) and served with lemon juice. *Sfeeha* are small, open square pies of ground lamb meat and pine nuts, sometimes made with a thin tomato sauce.

Lebanese food is widely available in gourmet food shops and health food restaurants. Pita bread, hummus (chickpea dip), *baba ghanouj* (eggplant dip), and *tabbouleh* (a salad of parsley and bulgur or cracked wheat), have become mainstays on health food menus. Lebanese Americans also eat fresh fruits and vegetables, cheese, yogurt and yogurt cheese (*labnee*), pickles, hot peppers, olives, and pistachio nuts. One of the most popular Lebanese desserts is *baqlawa*, which is filo dough laced with sugar syrup and wrapped around finely chopped walnuts. The national alcoholic beverage of Lebanon is 'arak, which is a liqueur flavored with aniseed.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

Western dress is the norm in Lebanon and among most Lebanese Americans. Religiously observant Muslim women wear the *hijab*, a long-sleeved coat or dress, and a scarf (often white) that completely covers the hair. Young girls and married women can decide whether or not to wear the *hijab*.

Traditional Lebanese clothing is worn only by performers at ethnic dance festivals. Men wear the *shirwal* (baggy black pants that fit at the shin), high black boots, white blousy shirts, dark vests, and a fez. Women wear long dresses with embroidered bodices and side panels, and tall hats with long white veils.

HOLIDAYS

Different sects within Lebanon celebrate different religious holidays. Christians celebrate the feast days of saints, as well as Easter and Christmas. Easter is celebrated on the Sunday after the first full moon following the vernal equinox. The Orthodox Easter must also come after Passover, and thus Western Easter often falls on a different Sunday

than Orthodox Easter. Muslims celebrate three major holidays: Ramadan (the 30-day period of daytime fasting); 'Eid al Fitr, a five-day holiday that marks the end of Ramadan; and 'Eid al-Adha, the "Feast of the Sacrifice," which commemorates Abraham's agreement with God that he would sacrifice his son Ishmael. Lebanon's National Independence Day, which is celebrated on November 22, receives little attention from Lebanese Americans.

HEALTH ISSUES

Except for higher-than-average incidences of anemia and lactose intolerance, Lebanese have no incidence of medical disease specific to them as a group. As a rule, they support the conventional medical establishment.

LANGUAGE

Most Lebanese speak Arabic. Arabic is a poetic language, and poets are prized in Arab culture. In its first 50 years in America, the Lebanese American community enjoyed a golden age of letters, with the literature of such New York experimental poets as Khalil Gibran, Ameen Rihany, and Elia Abu-Madey casting their influence on literary circles of the Middle East. However, in their desire to embrace American culture, many Lebanese Americans did little to teach their American-born children to read Arabic. Immigration quota restrictions accelerated the problem. Without a continuous influx of new readership, once-flourishing Arab American newspapers and journals experienced a steep decline. Christian churches streamlined their Arabic services, and changed many of them to English. Newly arrived Lebanese immigrants to the United States, however, have reinvigorated Arabic language usage within the community. Many Arabic churches now have bilingual announcements, bulletins, and sermons, and the business signs in Arab commercial neighborhoods are often painted prominently in Arabic. In particular, Lebanese Muslim immigrants have contributed to the increase in Arabic usage and have developed Arabic-language classes for children.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Greetings in Arabic are elaborate, and there is usually a response and counter-response to every one. *Ahlein*—"Welcome"; or the longer *Ahlan wa Sahlan*—"You are with your people and in a level place"(a greeting appropriate at the door or when being introduced to someone for the first time); the

more casual *Marhaba*—"Hello," responded to with *Marhabteen*—"Two hellos"; to which the response is *Maraahib*—"A bunch of hellos." Similarly, the response to the morning greeting, *Sabaah al-kheir*—"The morning is good," is *Sabaah an-noor*—"The morning is light." The evening greeting and response are *Masa al-kheir* and *Masa n-noor*. Leave-takings are extremely elaborate: the person leaving says *Bkhatrak* to a woman, *Khatrik* and to a group, *Khatirkum*, which translates as "By your leave." The response is *Ma'a salaame*—"With safety," or "Go in peace"; to which the counter-response is *Allay salmak*, or *Allay salmik* to a female, and *Allay salimkum* to a group—"May God keep you safe." The holiday greeting is *'Eid Mubarak*—"Holiday blessings"; and *Kull sane w'inte saalim*—"Every year and you are safe." *Sahteen* is the Arabic toast—"May your good health be twofold." Arabic is filled with references to God. For example, the most common response to *Keif haalak?*—"How are you?" is *Nushkar Allah*—" (We) Thank God." Often heard after a statement of intention are the words *In sha Allah*—"If God wills it." Such phrases imply the belief in human impotence to control the affairs of the world.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Traditionally, Lebanese families and extended families operate as a unit, relying on each other implicitly in social, financial, and business affairs. The father is the decision maker, and the mother his close advisor. Her domain is the daily life of the children and all that happens within the home; The man's domain is strictly outside the home. The firstborn son plays a special role in the family, for he brings his bride to live with his parents, raises his family in his parents' household, and cares for them in their old age.

As Lebanese American families have adopted the American pattern of nuclear families, the dividing line between gender roles has blurred. Fathers spend more time with their small children, and mothers frequently represent the families in public, for example, at school meetings. Independent households are now the norm, and daughters no longer become part of their marital families. Consequently, sisters share responsibility with their brothers for aging parents.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREARING

Because marriage was traditionally an opportunity for a family to strengthen its prestige and economic situation, marriages in Lebanon were often

arranged. This custom is still practiced among some conservative Lebanese Americans. To arrange a marriage, parents and other relatives seek out mates for their children. They set up a chaperoned meeting, which allows the prospective couple to get acquainted. Courtship is conducted under the watchful eye of family members and always carries with it a sense of responsibility and purpose. Casual dating is frowned upon by more conservative Lebanese Americans because it can jeopardize the reputations of the couple and families involved. Among assimilated Lebanese Americans, however, dating is the usual form of courtship.

The majority of early Lebanese American immigrants married within their ethnic and religious groups. Many men returned to Lebanon to find a bride, particularly in the years when single men outnumbered single women in the immigrant community. Most of the first American-born generation of Lebanese Americans also married within the community.

Divorce among Lebanese Americans is less common in arranged marriages than in marriages based on love. The basis of the arranged marriage is a contract of shared responsibility and self-sacrifice. There is no expectation that the needs of the individual will be satisfied in the marriage. The purpose of such marriages is to build a family. In fact, divorce on the grounds of personal unhappiness is frowned upon. Since divorce has traditionally been viewed as a source of family shame, families often become involved in solving marital problems.

Lebanese American families often indulge babies and younger children. Boys are coddled, but are expected to be strong and independent. Girls are restrained, taught to work within existing social schemes, and trained to be dependable as well as interdependent. As they mature, girls assume many household responsibilities. They often take charge of the younger siblings or, if the mother is absent, the entire household.

EDUCATION

By the time they began immigrating to the United States, the immigrants from Greater Syria had attended British, French, Russian, and American schools in their homeland for half a century or longer. These foreign schools had also stimulated the establishment of local government schools, and many of these schools encouraged the education of girls. When they arrived in the United States, the Lebanese adapted to the American school system and culture. Their attitudes paralleled the evolution of the attitudes of other Americans toward educa-

tion. By the third generation, the education of girls was considered equal in importance to that of boys. The generation of Lebanese Americans born after World War II attended college at the same rate as the rest of the nation's youth, studying business, medicine, law, pharmacy, computer science, and engineering. Because the vast majority of third-generation Lebanese Americans are middle class, they enjoy a higher educational level than Americans on average.

Many Catholic Lebanese children receive their education at Catholic schools. Muslim Lebanese immigrants to the United States occasionally send their children to Catholic schools, where there is more discipline and emphasis on respect for authority. Many Muslim immigrants have set up Islamic schools, some as supplements to their children's education, and a few as full-day parochial schools that teach Arabic language, history, and culture in addition to basic subjects.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women have always been the heart of the Lebanese family. Although men have the final say in family decisions, the opinions of women are also valued. Husbands depend on their wives to maintain the household and raise the children. Many Lebanese American women also work outside the home. They often play key roles in running family businesses, and often take over if their husband dies or becomes incapacitated. As Lebanese American men have become more active in public life, women have begun to follow suit. Donna Shalala, a Lebanese American woman, was the chancellor of the University of Wisconsin and president of Hunter College in New York City, before becoming President Clinton's secretary of health, education and welfare.

PHILANTHROPY

Just as each family must take care of its own, each religious community traditionally takes care of its members. Lebanese Muslims are required to give 2.5 percent of their income, a tithe called *zakkat* to the needy within the community. Philanthropic efforts within the Lebanese American community also cut across religious lines. One is Save Lebanon, an organization formed in 1982 to bring Lebanese children injured during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, to the United States for medical treatment. More prominent is the Saint Jude Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee. Established in 1962, it is funded by an organization called Aiding Leukemia-Stricken American Children, American

Lebanese Syrian Associated Charities, and individual donations. Founded by entertainer Danny Thomas (1914–1991), a Lebanese American, ALSAC and St. Jude's have assumed the leading position in the field of research and treatment of childhood leukemia.

RELIGION

For centuries, religious affiliation in Greater Syria was tantamount to membership in a small nation, or at least a political party. The millet system, which the Ottomans used to divide people into political entities according to religion, gave religion social and political meaning. The millet system also served to create a sense of boundaries among differing sects that went beyond doctrinal disputes. Because brides often converted to the faith of their husbands, all of the major religions within Lebanon competed for converts to their faith. Interfaith marriage was considered taboo.

Although Lebanese Americans include Christians and Muslims, Christians are in the majority. Many Lebanese Jews and a smaller number of Druze are also a part of the Lebanese American community. The vast majority of Lebanese Christians in America belong to one of three Eastern-rite Christian churches: the Maronite, the Eastern Orthodox, and the Melkite/Greek Catholic. Orthodox and Melkite liturgies are in Arabic and Greek; Maronite liturgy is in Arabic and Aramaic. In the United States, all three are sung partly in English.

The differences among these churches are jurisdictional rather than dogmatic. In particular, they differ on the question of the infallibility of the pope in matters of faith. Since its beginnings in the fourth century, the Maronite Church has been steadfast in its allegiance to Rome and the West, and resistant to the Arabic identity embraced by the Eastern Orthodox and Melkite/Greek Catholic churches.

All three churches administer confirmation at Baptism, and use bread soaked in wine for the Eucharist. The marriage ceremony in each rite contains similar components: the blessing of the rings, the crowning of the bride and groom as queen and king, and the sharing of bread and wine—the couple's first meal together. In the Orthodox and Melkite churches, the bride and groom walk around the altar as a symbol of their first journey together as a couple.

Orthodox priests can marry, but those who do cannot climb the clerical hierarchy. While Melkite and Maronite Catholic priests in the Middle East are encouraged by their own Eastern canon law to



Lebanese Americans from the Detroit area demonstrate near the speaker's podium in Lafayette Park across from the White House.

marry, they are forbidden to by Western canon. Unlike the Roman Catholic church, Eastern-rite churches have icons rather than statuary.

Most Lebanese American Muslims arrived after 1965. Generally, Muslims pray five times a day and attend Friday prayers. When no mosque is available, they rent rooms in commercial and business districts where they can go for midday prayers. These small prayer places are called *masjids*. Muslims are supposed to fast during the daylight hours for the month of Ramadan. Many, including young schoolchildren, do keep the fast.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Upon their arrival in the United States, many Lebanese engaged in peddling. These peddlers carved out routes from New England through the West. Many developed a regular clientele, and eventually opened their own general stores. Some of those who stayed in the city developed their small dry goods businesses into import/export empires. By

1910, there were a handful of Lebanese American millionaires. Other early immigrants were factory workers, particularly those that settled in Detroit and Dearborn, Michigan, where many Lebanese worked in the auto industry.

The occupational profile of Lebanese Americans is very broad, although they are still disproportionately concentrated in retail occupations. Lebanese Americans tend to be self-employed and enter managerial and professional positions at a higher rate than Americans as a whole. Lebanese Americans are well represented in medicine, law, banking, engineering, and computer science.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Lebanese American political involvement has revolved around American policies in the Middle East, particularly those relating to Israel. Through the Eastern Federation of Syrian-Lebanese Organizations, which was established in 1932, Lebanese Americans quietly protested the 1948 partitioning of Palestine. Following the 1967 war between Israel

and its Arab neighbors, Lebanese Americans began to work with other Arabs to form organizations that promoted their common interests.

Members of the Association of Arab American University Graduates, which was established in 1967, focused on educating the American public about the Arab-Israeli conflict. Five years later, the National Association of Arab Americans was created to lobby the American Congress and White House administrations on Middle Eastern issues. In 1980, former senator James Abourezk established the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee to combat defamation of Arab Americans in the media. As conditions in the Middle East continued to worsen during the 1980s Lebanese Americans, along with other Arab Americans, became the targets of government surveillance and civil rights infringements. When the United States bombed Libya in 1986, for example, it was revealed that the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) had a list of thousands of Arab (including Lebanese) and Iranian students, permanent residents, and even U.S. citizens, for possible detention in internment camps in the United States.

From 1985 to 1987 it was illegal for Americans to visit Lebanon. The travel ban was allowed to expire in 1997 with assurances from the Lebanese government of cooperation on anti-terrorism measures and security. Among the Arab American organizations who lobbied was the American Task Force for Lebanon. This group of prominent Lebanese Americans meets regularly with congressmen and administration officials to advise them on American support for the reconstruction of Lebanon, and the normalization of diplomatic relations between Lebanon and the United States.

Lebanese Americans have traditionally supported the Republican party due, in part, to its support of business interests. Lebanese Americans have also been influenced by the Arab American Institute (AAI). The AAI, which was founded in 1985, is designed to foster Arab American participation in American politics, support candidates who champion Arab American causes, and encourage Arab Americans to run for public office. During the 1988 presidential election, the AAI had gathered more than 300 Arab Americans to serve as delegates to the national Democratic convention. At the 1988 Democratic Convention, Lebanese Americans successfully introduced platforms that supported Palestinian statehood and the restoration of Lebanon as a sovereign state. This convention also marked the first time that an Arab American, served as co-chairperson of the Democratic National Committee.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ENTERTAINMENT

Casey Kasem, (1933–) is America's most famous disc jockey and originator of radio show *American Top 40*, the host of *American Top 10*, and the principal voice-over for NBC-TV.

FASHION

Norma Kamali (1945–) and Joseph Abboud (1950–) are prominent New York fashion designers. J. M. Haggart (1892–1987) founded a major manufacturer of men's slacks; and Mansour Farah (1895–1937) established Farah Brothers, a large competitive pants manufacturer.

FILM AND TELEVISION

Jamie Farr (1934–) played Corporal Klinger for 11 years on the popular television series *M*A*S*H*; actor-singer-comedian Danny Thomas (1914–1991) starred in the popular 1950s television situation comedy *Make Room For Daddy*; his daughter Marlo Thomas (1943–) is an Emmy Award-winning actress who starred in the 1960s television situation comedy *That Girl*; his son Tony Thomas (1948–) is a television and film producer who has won many Emmys for his work on *Golden Girls* and other television series; Tony Shalhoub starred in the television show *Wings*; Vic Tayback (1930–1990) played Mel in *Alice*; Kristy McNichol (1962–) was one of the co-stars of *Empty Nest*; Kathy Najimy (1957–) was a co-star of the film *Sister Act* with Whoopi Goldberg; guitarist and musician Frank Zappa (1940–1993) was a legend in the rock world; and Callie Khoury (1957–) was the first woman to receive an Oscar for Best Original Screenplay, for *Thelma and Louise*.

GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND DIPLOMACY

Career diplomat Philip Habib (1920–1992) helped negotiate an end to the Vietnam War and the Israeli war in Lebanon in 1982; Senator James Abourezk (1931–) from South Dakota was the first Lebanese American to serve in the U.S. Senate (1974–1980), and he founded the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Nick Rahal (1949–) has served as a U.S. congressman from West Virginia since 1976; Donna Shalala (1941–) was the president of New York City's Hunter College and serves as the Secretary of Health, Educa-

tion, and Welfare in the Clinton administration; George Mitchell (1933–), was a Senator from Maine who served as the Senate Majority Leader from 1989 to 1995.

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

William Blatty (1928–) is the author of the book and screenplay *The Exorcist*. Vance Bourjaily (1922–) is the author of *Confessions of a Spent Youth*, and *The Man Who Knew Kennedy*. Khalil Gibran (1883–1931), poet and artist, is the author of *The Prophet*, perhaps the best-selling volume, after the Bible, of all time; Gibran's exhortation "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country" in his "Letter to Syrian Youth" was quoted in John F. Kennedy's inaugural address and remains the most-quoted sentence of any inaugural address in American history. American-born poets who are descendants of the Greater Syrian diaspora include D. H. Milhelm (1926–), Sam Hazo (1928–), Joseph Awad (1929–), Sam Hamod (1936–), Lawrence Joseph (1948–), Gregory Orfalea (1949–), and Elmaz Abinader (1954–). Journalist Helen Thomas (1920–) has been the UPI White House correspondent for half a century and opens and closes every White House press conference.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Paul Anka (1941–) wrote and recorded popular hit songs beginning in the 1950s, including "Diana," "She's a Lady," and "My Way." Rosalind Elias (1931–) is a soprano with the New York City Metropolitan Opera; Elie Chaib (1950–) is a 20-year veteran dancer with the Paul Taylor Company.

PIONEERS

Ralph Nader (1934–) is one of America's most prominent consumer advocates. He is the author of *Unsafe at Any Speed* and founder and head of Public Citizen, an organization that has spawned a number of other citizen action groups such as Congress Watch and the Tax Reform Research Group. Najeeb Halaby (1915–) is the former head of the Federal Aviation Agency and was head of Pan-American Airlines. Candy Lightner (1946–) is the founder of MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving). Christa McAuliffe (1948–1986) was the teacher aboard the ill-fated space shuttle *Challenger*. Paul Orfalea (1946–) founded Kinko's, the world's largest international chain of copying and business service stores.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Heart surgeon Michael DeBakey (1908–) invented the heart pump and pioneered the bypass operation in the United States. Harvard University professor Elias J. Corey, (1928–) won the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1990. The St. Jude Research Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee, founded by Danny Thomas, is the leader in the field of research and treatment of childhood leukemia.

SPORTS

Race-car driver Bobby Rahall won the Indianapolis 500 in 1986; the late Joe Robbie (1916–1990) was owner of the Miami Dolphins.

MEDIA

PRINT

Jusoor (Bridges).

An Arabic/English quarterly periodical that publishes poetry and essays on politics and the arts.

Address: P.O. Box 34163, Bethesda, MD 20817.

Telephone: (301) 869-5853.

Lebanon Report.

A monthly magazine that describes political events in Lebanon in great detail.

Contact: Michael Bacos Young, Editor.

Address: Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, Box 1377, Highland Park, New Jersey 08904.

Telephone: (908) 220-0885.

News Circle.

A socially oriented magazine published in English that reports on the activities of West Coast Arabs.

Contact: Joseph Haiek, Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 3684, Glendale, CA 91201-0684.

RADIO

Arab Network of America.

Every city with any concentration of Arabic-speaking people, including Lebanese, has at least one or two hours of radio programming a week. The Arab Network is a national Arabic-language radio network whose programs are broadcast in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Contact: Bruce Finland, CEO.

Address: 150 South Gordon Street,
Alexandria, VA 22304.
Telephone: (703) 823-8364.

TELEVISION

Arab Network of America (ANA).
Contact: Bruce Finland, CEO.
Address: 150 South Gordon Street, Alexandria,
Virginia 22304.
Telephone: (703) 823-8364.

TAC—Arabic Channel.
Contact: Jamil Tawfiq, Director.
Address: P.O. Box 936, New York, NY, 10005.
Telephone: (212) 425-8822.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

**American Arab Anti-Discrimination
Committee (ADC).**
The largest grassroots Arab American organization;
combats stereotyping and defamation in the media
and in other venues of public life, including politics.
Address: 4201 Connecticut Avenue, Washington,
DC 20008.
Telephone: (202) 244-2990.

American Task Force for Lebanon (ATFL).
Lobbies Congress and various administrations on
issues related to Lebanon and its reconstruction.
Contact: George Cody, Executive Director.
Address: 2213 M Street, N.W., Third Floor,
Washington, DC 20037.
Telephone: (202) 223-1399.

Arab American Institute (AAI).
Fosters participation of Arab Americans in the
political process at all levels.
Contact: James Zogby, Executive Director.
Address: 918 16th Street, N.W., Suite 601,
Washington, DC 20006.
Telephone: (202) 429-9210.

**Association of Arab American University
Graduates (AAUG).**
Publishes monographs and books on Arab interests;
holds symposia and conferences on current Middle
East issues.

Contact: Ziad Asali, President.
Address: P.O. Box 408, Normal, IL, 61761-0408.
Telephone: (309) 452-6588.

National Association of Arab Americans.
Lobbies Congress and current administrations on
Arab interests.
Contact: Khalil Jahshan, Executive Director.
Address: 1212 New York Avenue, N.W.,
Suite 300, Washington, DC 20005.
Telephone: (202) 842-1840.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Communities and churches have begun to archive
some of the memorabilia of the Arab American
experience. The following two centers are of
national importance.

**Faris and Yamna Naff Family Arab American
Collection Archives Center, National Museum
of History, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, DC**
Contains artifacts, books, personal documents, pho-
tographs, oral histories, and doctoral dissertations per-
taining to the Arab American immigrant experience,
beginning with the earliest wave of immigrants.
Contact: Alixa Naff.
Telephone: (202) 357-3270.

**Near Eastern American Collection,
Immigration History Research Center,
University of Minnesota.**
Contains the Philip Hitti archives.
Contact: Rudolph Vecoli.
Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, MN 55114.
Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

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Liberia was conceived
by American political
and religious leaders
of the time as a way
of removing from
America Africans
brought in as slaves.

LIBERIAN AMERICANS

by
Ken R. Wells

OVERVIEW

Liberia is a country slightly larger than the state of Tennessee, measuring 44,548 square miles (111,370 square kilometers). Located in Western Africa, it is bordered by Sierra Leone to the northwest, Guinea to the north, Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire) to the east, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. It has a hot, humid tropical climate. The summers (from May to October) consist of frequent, heavy showers. The slightly drier winters, in turn, are characterized by dust-laden winds (called *harmattan*) blowing in from the Sahara Desert during December. Annual rainfall averages 183 inches (465 centimeters) on the coast and 88 inches (224 centimeters) inland. The country's primary natural resources are iron ore, timber, rubber, diamonds and gold. The principal food crops are rice, coffee, palm oil, cassava, and cocoa. About 3 percent of Liberia's land is used for agriculture.

Liberia has a population of nearly 2.8 million people, with an annual population growth rate of about 5.75 percent. Approximately 95 percent of the population are made up of ethnic tribes, with the largest tribes being Kpelle, Bassa, Gio, Kru, Grebo, and Mano. Descendants of immigrants from former slaves in the United States, called Americo-Liberians, make up 2.5 percent of the population. The life expectancy at birth is just under 60 years. The literacy rate is about 38 percent. About 70 percent of the population practice traditional African

religions, 20 percent are Muslim, and ten percent are Christian. English is the official language, although 16 tribal languages, each with numerous dialects, are also spoken. The capital city is Monrovia (population 350,000). The Liberian flag consists of 11 horizontal red and white stripes with a white five-point star on a blue square in the upper left corner. The flag is modeled after the U.S. Stars and Stripes.

HISTORY

The history of Liberia started nearly 5,000 years ago. Anthropologists believe people from northern and western areas of Africa began settling in what is now Liberia around 3000 B.C. Most came because the rich, fertile soil of the coastal areas was conducive to agriculture and the tropical rain forests of the interior held an abundance of game. But over a few centuries, these people dispersed to other areas of Africa. It is believed that present day Liberians are descendants from several African tribes that migrated into the area between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries from the belt of Sudan, which stretches from the North African Atlantic coast to the Red Sea. Scientists speculate these people came to Liberia for two reasons. First, they were seeking new land to farm since the Sahara Desert was slowly expanding into their existing homelands. Second, the invasion of Ghana in 1076 by a Muslim sect called the Almoravids forced thousands to flee south and west. By the eleventh century, more than a dozen ethnic groups had settled in Liberia. Over time, these groups formed tribal territories, each with its own culture and oral language.

The first known outsiders to visit Liberia were a group of Portuguese explorers, led by Pedro de Sintra, in 1461. De Sintra named the region the Malagueta Coast, after a green spicy pepper grown in the area. From this first contact, trade routes developed between Europe and coastal Liberia. The name Liberia is Latin for "place of freedom" and was given to the country, formerly known as Cape Mesurado or Cape Montserrado, by the American Colonization Society, which acquired the land from local tribal chiefs in 1821. Liberia was conceived by American political and religious leaders of the time as a place to relocate Africans who were brought to America as slaves. The first African American settlers, known as Americo-Liberians, landed in 1822. By 1864 approximately 15,000 African Americans had settled there. The colony declared itself an independent nation in 1847. The flow of immigrants dwindled to nearly zero following the end of the U.S. Civil War and the emancipation of slaves in America. Despite making up only about one percent of the population, Americo-Liberians became

the intellectual and ruling class, modeling the government after that of the United States. Rising economic problems, including a large foreign debt, led to the overthrow of the government in 1871. Instability, fueled by a sour economy, continued into the early twentieth century. The first major economic development came in 1926 when the Firestone Rubber Co. leased large areas of Liberia for rubber production.

MODERN ERA

In 1930, the government of president Charles D. B. King resigned after a League of Nations' (now the United Nations) investigation revealed that the government was involved in the slave trading of Liberia's native peoples. With the election of William V.S. Tubman in 1944, Liberia began a period of sustained economic growth and democracy. Under Tubman, Liberia's native tribes were given a greater voice in the political process. They were able to vote in presidential and legislative elections, a privilege previously reserved only for Americo-Liberians. Liberia remained a close ally of the United States, siding with the Allies during World War II. After a visit to Liberia by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1943, the United States agreed to develop a modern port in Monrovia. Liberia was a founding member of the United Nations (UN) and Liberians helped write the UN Charter. Under Tubman's benevolent rule, Liberia prospered. A road system was developed, a major port built in Monrovia, and investment by foreign corporations was encouraged. A strong economy and expanded rights for all ethnic groups proved popular and Tubman was reelected president six times.

Tubman died from prostate cancer in 1971 and the vice president, W.R. Tolbert, became president. He was formally elected to that position in 1972. Soon after, an organized opposition to Tolbert began to rise, including support from some Liberian college students in the United States. It reached its peak in 1979 when increases in the price of rice, the Liberian staple, led to widespread civil unrest and riots. Tolbert was assassinated in a bloody 1980 military coup led by Army Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe. Democracy collapsed and a prolonged period of dictatorship, corruption, and human rights abuses followed. Civil war broke out in 1989 and was followed by Doe's assassination by a rebel group led by Prince Yormie Johnson in 1990. Another rebel force opposed to Doe, led by Charles Taylor, took over the government and Taylor proclaimed himself president. After Taylor threatened to take foreign residents hostage in late 1990, the United States sent a naval unit with 2,500 Marines to Liberia to

evacuate American and other foreign citizens. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) brokered a peace between the warring factions, but the peace agreement soon fell apart.

The civil war raged on between Taylor's forces (the National Patriotic Front of Liberia) and rebel factions. According to the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, nearly one-third of the population, 755,000 Liberians, fled into neighboring countries and several hundred thousand were killed. The scope of the problem could be seen in Monrovia, which went from nearly one million residents in 1990 to about 350,000 by 1996. In 1990 a peacekeeping force of 10,000 troops from the 16 ECOWAS nations led by Nigeria entered Liberia and installed an interim government headed by Amos Sawyer. Despite several peace agreements, civil war continued until 1997 when citizens elected a new government, again headed by President Charles Taylor. Opposition parties charged that Taylor rigged the election and that many opposition voters did not turn out at the polls because they feared violence. Despite sporadic fighting throughout 1998, the country began the slow and difficult task of rebuilding its economic, social, and political structures. Thousands of refugees who fled into neighboring countries began returning to Liberia. However, the situation remained unstable and uncertain into 1999. Opposition parties and the U.S. State Department accused the Taylor regime of various human rights violations, including murder, rape, torture, and arbitrary arrest and detention. As of mid-1999, freedom of speech and of the press continued to be restricted by the government. Although some refugees who fled the civil war returned to Liberia to begin rebuilding their lives and their country, hundreds of thousands remained outside Liberia.

THE FIRST LIBERIANS IN AMERICA

Liberia is unique among nations because it was settled by former slaves from the United States. Nearly all immigration between the two countries was from the United States to Liberia. In the first half of the twentieth century, only several hundred Liberians immigrated to the United States, an extremely small number compared to those that came here from Europe, Asia and Latin America. The probable reason is that Liberia had one of the most stable democracies and prosperous economies in Africa up until the military coup in 1980. For example, from 1925 to 1929 only 27 Liberians immigrated to the United States, according to statistics from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). From 1930 to 1939, the number was 30, and from

1940 to 1949 the total number was 28. In the 1950s, the number increased to 232, then to 569 in the 1960s. The number jumped to 2,081 during the 1970s and then more than doubled in the 1980s. It was not until the last decade of the twentieth century that there has been significant immigration of Liberians to America. This influx can be attributed to the civil war, which sent thousands fleeing to the United States.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The civil war, which started in 1989 and continued through 1997, sent a wave of immigrants from Liberia to the United States. Until 1989, less than 1,000 Liberians left their homeland for the United States each year. But in 1989, the number jumped to 1,175 and increased to 2,004 in 1990. From 1990 through 1997, the INS reported 13,458 Liberians fled to the United States. This does not include the tens of thousands who sought temporary refuge in the United States. In 1991 alone, the INS granted Temporary Protective Status (TPS) to approximately 9,000 Liberians in the United States, according to the August 1998 issue of *Migration News*, published by the University of California at Davis. The INS revoked the status in 1997 following national elections in Liberia. However, many of these Liberian Americans resisted returning to Liberia. As of mid-1999, the U.S. Congress was considering legislation to give the Liberian refugees permanent status in the United States. While many of the immigrants have set down roots in America, some still vow to return to their homeland once the political and social situation stabilizes. Many of the Liberian refugees granted temporary protection have children born in the United States and Liberian American groups are concerned about these children's fate should their parents be forced to return to Liberia. "Unfortunately, security and general living conditions in Liberia are unlikely to improve in the near future and forcing families to return will subject them to undue hardship and suffering," said Joseph D. Z. Korto, president of the Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas, in a 1999 letter to members.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

There are no official figures regarding the number of Liberians in the United States, since the number granted immigration visas by the U.S. government only tells part of the story. Including Liberians in the country on temporary status, and children born here to Liberian families, Liberian American organizations estimate there are between 250,000 and 500,000 Liberians in the United States. Liberian

immigrants tend to settle on the East Coast of the United States, with large communities in New York, New Jersey, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Ohio, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Liberians are attracted to Georgia and the Carolinas because the hot, humid summers resemble weather conditions in Liberia. Minneapolis and Rhode Island also draw them because of the lower cost of living. Cities with the largest Liberian populations are the greater New York City area, with an estimated population of 35,000 to 50,000, followed by the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, with an estimated 20,000. Other cities with significant numbers of Liberians include Boston, Atlanta, Detroit, and Philadelphia. On the West Coast, Liberians are concentrated in California, with the primary settlement points being Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland and Stockton. The Liberian Community Foundation in Vallejo, California estimates that there are about 4,000 Liberians living in Northern California. Another 2,000 live in Southern California, according to the Liberian Community Association of Southern California. The INS reported the most popular states for Liberian immigrants in 1997 were Maryland (320), New York (279), New Jersey (241), Pennsylvania (200), and Minnesota (155).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Since most Liberians immigrated to the United States in the late twentieth century, fleeing civil war and a social and economic collapse in their homeland, many of the children have little education. Therefore, students often have a difficult time catching up with their American counterparts. Newer immigrants are also unfamiliar with American culture and sometimes have difficulty in adapting to their new environment.

Lanla Labi came to the United States from Liberia in 1977 when she was seven years old. She went to live with her mother, already in this country, in Los Angeles. In a January 1999 article in *Essence* magazine, Labi recalls her difficulty in adjusting to a new culture. "My initial excitement about attending an American school quickly faded. My thick accent and sudden shyness alienated me from my classmates, who taunted me with names like 'Cheetah,' Tarzan's chimpanzee companion. After school, I rode the bus home and entered the solitary world of a latchkey child." Author Stephen Chicoine, in his book, *A Liberian Family*, writes about a Liberian family who fled to the United States in 1990 to escape the civil war. Chicoine

details their new life in Houston, Texas, including problems adjusting to living in a small apartment, low-wage jobs for the adults, and isolation from their culture. Although such experiences still happen, they are less common today because there are more Liberians in the United States, and communities of Liberian expatriates have developed in many major metropolitan areas.

One advantage for Liberian Americans is that many Liberian customs, as well as social and economic traditions, originally came from the United States with the first wave of freed African American slaves in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Social gatherings, such as weddings, birthdays, and funerals, are similar in nature to those of Americans in general and more specifically to African Americans. Liberians also celebrate many of the same holidays as Americans, including Christmas, Easter, New Year's Day, and Thanksgiving. These holidays are generally celebrated according to American custom, although occasionally some Liberian and African traditions are incorporated.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Nearly any occasion is cause for celebration among Liberians, both in Liberia and America. Ethnic Liberians will sing and dance, sometimes for days, during weddings, funerals, the birth of a child, circumcision ceremonies, and initiation into the traditional ethnic societies (usually around puberty). A group of dancers, singers, and musicians may perform in one location, or move from one neighborhood house to another. It is customary for the neighbors to provide drinks and sometimes money to the musicians and dancers.

A unique custom among Liberians is the "snapshake" greeting. When shaking hands, you grasp the middle finger of the other person's right hand between your thumb and ring (third) finger, and bring it up quickly with a snap. The custom is derived from the days of slavery in the United States when a slave owner often would break the middle finger of a slave's hand to indicate bondage. The "snapshake" greeting began in the nineteenth century as a sign of freedom among former slaves. It is sometimes used by Liberian Americans to greet dinner guests.

The ethnic groups of Liberia are known for their collective rather than individual artwork. Members of the secret Poro men's society make ceremonial masks used in various rituals. The Dan group is noted for their carved wooden masks representing spirits of the forest, and for large spoons carved with the features of humans and animals. Another form of Liberian art is drums and other

Michael Rhodes, an African art dealer, examines turn of the century Liberian Passport Masks at the New York International Tribal Antiques Show.



musical instruments, usually made from wood, animal skins, raffia, and gourds. Since nearly all of the ethnic languages of Liberia are oral rather than written, there is very little traditional Liberian literature.

PROVERBS

Liberian folklore is filled with proverbs and parables, most of which are specific to particular tribal groups. Animals are a common theme in the sayings. A general proverb is: "He who knows the way must conduct others". Two proverbs from the Kpelle tribe are: "When pointing an evil finger at a man, three fingers are also pointed at yourself" and "The stones that you throw into the well to kill frogs are the same stones that will cause you to suffer when you drink the dirty water." A common saying from the Bassa tribe is "He who steps in (a river) first shows the depth of the current." Proverbs from the Krahn tribe include: "To cure a bad sore, you must use bad medicine" and "The leaf that is very sweet in a goat's mouth sometimes hurts his stomach;" From the Gola tribe, sayings include: "A man cannot be taller than his head" and "Washing with dirty water does not clean a dirty object." Two sayings from the Vai tribe are "Do not look where you fell, but where you slipped" and "A curled snake never gets fat."

CUISINE

Traditionally, Liberians eat a healthy diet consisting mainly of fish, rice, greens, and vegetables. Rice is often served with breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Liberians like their food hot, and cayenne and other

peppers are usually added to Liberian dishes. Another staple of Liberian cuisine is *cassava*, a tropical plant with starchy roots from which tapioca is obtained. *Dumbo* is fresh cassava roots, which are boiled, then beaten with a mortar and pestle, and finally cut into small pieces. It is usually served with a soup made of peanuts and okra. *Fufu* is made from granulated cassava that is fermented, then the liquid is boiled until it thickens. It is served with soup.

Cassava leaves are also used in Liberian cooking. They are washed and beaten, mashed, or finely chopped with pepper and onion. They are then boiled with beef or chicken until well done and most of the liquid has evaporated. Palm oil is added and, after simmering a few minutes, the dish is served with rice. Another dish is potato greens, called potato "grains" by Liberians, which are fried with onions and hot peppers. Water is then added to the dish and it is boiled until done. The resulting taste and texture is similar to spinach.

Stews and soups are popular dishes among Liberians, and goat soup is considered the national soup. Other favorites are pigs' feet with bacon and cabbage, fish with sweet potato leaves, shrimp and palm nuts in fish or chicken stock, and a combination of rice and platto leaves or okra called check rice. Sweet desserts, such as sweet potato, coconut, and pumpkin pie, are a favorite of Liberian Americans. Peanuts are commonly used in cookies and other desserts. Another delicacy is a sweet bread made from rice and bananas. The preferred drinks are ginger beer (usually homemade), palm wine, and Liberian coffee.

DANCES AND SONGS

The tapestry of Liberian life, both in the homeland and in America, is woven together by the thread of music. Birth, death, planting, harvesting, and other major events have their own music. Traditional Liberians dance according to the sounds of various musical instruments. The heart of Liberian music is the drum, ranging from large ones three or four feet tall and placed on the ground, to smaller ones that fit between the legs or under the arms. At the center is the “talking drum” player, who tells a proverb or story through musical tones that imitate the native languages. The *tardegai* is the traditional Liberian drum, which is played with a stick shaped like a hammer. Another instrument is the *saa-saa*, usually played by women. It is made from a dried gourd enclosed in a net tied into a knot at the top and decorated with shells. By shaking the gourd, the basic rhythm is established, accompanied by the sound made by pulling on the netting.

Among the Kpelle ethnic group, a popular instrument is a foot-long drum made of hollow wood and shaped like an hourglass. The top and bottom drumming surfaces are made from monkey skin. A set of raffia strings connect the skins on either end. It is held under the arm, and by pressing these strings between the arm and body, the drum’s pitch is changed. Another musical instrument of Liberia is the *gowd*, the dried round shell of a gourd that is fitted between a string of beads. When the gourd is moved around between the beads, it creates a rhythmic rattling sound. Liberians also play a trumpet-like instrument made out of logs, animal horns, or elephant tusks. Since each instrument has its own sound quality, several are usually played together, creating a unique melody.

SONGS

Traditionally, Liberians sing as a group, repeating a verse over and over. Sometimes the lead singer interrupts the song with parables on Liberian culture. A common subject of the songs and parables is animals, including the monkey, spider, leopard, dog, chicken and frog. Each ethnic group has its own songs and parables. Probably the only commonly sung song is the Liberian National Anthem, “All Hail, Liberia, Hail.” The words are: “All hail, Liberia, hail! All hail, Liberia, hail! This glorious land of liberty, Shall long be ours. Though new her name, Green be her fame, And mighty be her powers, And mighty be her powers. In joy and gladness, With our hearts united, We’ll shout the freedom, Of a race benighted, Long live Liberia, happy land! A home of glorious liberty, By God’s command! A home of glorious liberty, By God’s command! All

hail, Liberia, hail! All hail, Liberia, hail! In union strong success is sure, We cannot fail! With God above, Our rights to prove, We will o’er all prevail, We will o’er all prevail! With heart and hand, Our country’s cause defending, We’ll meet the foe, With valor unpretending. Long live Liberia, happy land! A home of glorious liberty, By God’s command! A home of glorious liberty, By God’s command.”

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

If one word had to be used to describe traditional Liberian costumes and dress, it would be colorful. Both men and women’s clothing is very loose fitting and flowing. Among women, the most traditional garment is the *lappa*, a skirt made from hand woven material, called country cloth, in an assortment of bright colors, sometimes with intricate designs woven in. The women also wear a headband or bandana that often matches the *lappa*. The style and design can vary according to ethnic group. Traditionally, the clothing is woven into cloth from cotton picked and twined into thread on a spool. Gowns for men are made by cutting a hole in the center of a piece of cloth for the head to go through. The entire process usually takes weeks or months to complete. Liberian Americans have generally adopted western styles of dress and traditional clothing is usually reserved for special events, such as holidays, weddings, and Liberian Independence Day celebrations.

HOLIDAYS

Christmas Day is traditionally celebrated with a large feast, but without a Christmas tree or exchanging presents. However, more Liberian Americans are adopting the Western traditions of the holiday. New Year’s Day is also celebrated by Liberians much the same way as by Americans. Although Easter is celebrated among some Christian Liberian Americans, a more traditional holiday is Fast and Prayer Day on the second Friday in April. July 26 is National Independence Day and Liberian Americans celebrate it with communal picnics and other outdoor gatherings. As with all Liberian celebrations, there is plenty of music, song, and dance. Thanksgiving is celebrated on the first Thursday in November. The birthdays of Liberia’s presidents are also formal holidays, but few Liberians in the United States commemorate the dates. The only exception is former President William V. S. Tubman’s birthday on November 29. Much like the birthdays of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are to Americans, Tubman’s birthday is a matter more of remembrance rather than celebration for Liberian Americans.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented medical or mental health problems that are specific to Liberian Americans. In Liberia, the major health issue is infectious diseases, including yellow fever, cholera, typhoid, polio and malaria. These problems are almost non-existent in Liberian Americans because of improved health care, housing, and sanitation conditions. Instead, the major health concerns are the same as those affecting all African Americans, including hypertension (high blood pressure), diabetes mellitus Type 2 (adult onset or non-insulin dependent diabetes), high cholesterol levels, stroke and heart disease. These conditions are not widespread in Liberia, and physicians suggest the increased risk among Liberians in the United States is due to a less healthy diet and less exercise. Specifically, a Liberian American's diet generally has less fiber and more fat and cholesterol than the typical diet in Liberia.

LANGUAGE

English is the official language of Liberia, but it is the primary language of only about 20 percent (69,000) of the population. There are 34 ethnic languages spoken in Liberia and within each are multiple dialects, most of which are oral and cannot be written. Because of this, there is a dearth of recorded historical and other information on Liberians prior to the arrival of European and American missionaries in the mid nineteenth century. The primary tribal languages and the number of people who speak them are: Kpelle (487,400), Bassa (347,600), Mano (185,000), Klao (184,000), Dan (150,800), Loma (141,000), Kisi (115,000), Gola (99,300) and Vai (89,500). Other languages include Bandi, Dewoin, Gbii, Glaro-Twabo, Glio-Oubi, nine forms of Grebo, two forms of Krahn, Krumen, Kuwaa, Maninka, Many, Mende, Sapo, and Tajua-sohn. About half the population (1.5 million) speaks English as a second language, mainly for communication between different ethnic language groups. In the mid-nineteenth century, a member of the Vai invented an alphabet for his tribe. Later that century, European missionaries reduced two other tribal languages, Bassa and Grebo, to writing. The ethnic languages are very tonal in quality and are often spoken with musical characteristics. Ethnic Liberian languages usually contain two or three distinct tones, based on pitch, which indicate semantic or grammatical differences. The Liberian "talking drum" can imitate these sounds. Proverbs, songs, and prose narratives are the primary forms of verbal expression within many Liberian ethnic groups. In many of the ethnic languages, there are

up to 20 classes of nouns, compared to three (masculine, feminine and neutral) in English. For example, one set of nouns designates human beings, another is for animals, and a third is for liquids.

Among Liberians in the United States, English is almost universally spoken. Kru is the most widely spoken ethnic Liberian language in the United States and it is ranked thirty-fifth among the top non-English languages spoken by Americans, according to Census Bureau data from 1990. The number of American who spoke Kru was 65,848 in 1990, compared to 24,506 in 1980, which is a 168.7 percent increase. Another language spoken by some Liberian Americans is Gullah, a Creole language with influences from the Gola ethnic group of Liberia. It is limited mainly to a small group of people in the Carolina Sea Islands and middle Atlantic coast of the United States. Several Gullah words have become common in American English, including *goober* (peanut), *gumbo* (okra), and *voodoo* (witchcraft).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Extended families are the cornerstone of the Liberian American community. Each member is held in high esteem and treated with deep respect by the others. The elderly in particular command veneration, and younger family members respect their elders' opinions and thoughts. Family elders are considered sources of wisdom and knowledge, and therefore are often asked to make important decisions. It is rare to find an elderly Liberian American in a rest home because families take care of their elders. A household is often composed of a husband and wife, their children and the parents of the couple. The typical Liberian American household is an extended family, which can also include brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews and cousins. Children are very important and their parents endeavor to make sure they receive an education. Financial sacrifices are commonly made by the family to pay for schooling.

EDUCATION

Education is extremely important to Liberian Americans, with adults often taking general education and self-improvement classes. A number of Liberian organizations in the United States fund college scholarships for students. Graduates remain very loyal to their high schools and universities, and often sponsor students from Liberia who want to attend school in the United States. However, school-age children

who have recently immigrated to the United States often have difficulty in American schools, mainly because the educational system in Liberia was severely damaged during the seven years of civil war. Many schools were destroyed and teachers were killed or forced to flee the country. Also, when children arrive in the United States, their English may be limited and flavored with a heavy accent. Likewise, many Liberian Americans find the accent, tone, and idioms of American English challenging to understand and learn. With all of these challenges, many Liberian American children initially struggle to keep up with their American counterparts. But since education is so valued in the Liberian community, they are motivated to overcome these difficulties. Many Liberian Americans go on to colleges and universities, receive degrees, and find employment in a wide range of professional fields, such as teaching, medicine, science, engineering, and technology.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

The birth of a child and subsequent birthday celebrations are steeped more in American, rather than African, traditions. A typical celebration is marked by a birthday cake, festive decorations, and gifts. There is almost always music and dance. A birth is usually preceded by a shower, in which the expectant mother receives gifts for the child.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The role of Liberian women in the United States is somewhat different from the traditional role of women among Liberia's ethnic groups. In Liberia the main responsibility for women is child rearing, although women are responsible for some agricultural work. In the United States, Liberian women are still the center of the family but many also have jobs, are more educated than their counterparts in Liberia, and are more involved in community dynamics. One significant difference is the practice of female circumcision, also called female genital mutilation. While at least half of females in Liberia undergo the painful experience, the practice is largely non-existent among Liberian American females born or raised in the United States.

WEDDINGS

A traditional Liberian wedding is a verbal contract between the groom and the bride's family. The prospective groom must give the bride's family a dowry to compensate for the loss of a daughter. The dowry usually consists of any combination of money, animals, and household goods. The wedding

itself is a festive affair, with singing, dancing, drumming, and a lavish feast. At the conclusion, the guests lead the bride and groom to the home they will live in together.

A Liberian American wedding is deeply rooted in American customs, slightly influenced by Liberian tradition. A dowry is rarely involved. Since most Liberians in the United States belong to a Christian denomination, the ceremony follows along the lines of what is prescribed by the particular church, whether it is Catholic, Mormon, Lutheran, or Methodist. Marriage vows are exchanged and the ceremony is conducted by a priest or minister. The groom usually wears a long, baggy ceremonial gown, which is usually brightly decorated with traditional African colors: red, yellow, green, and black. The groom also wears a traditional hat that is as colorful as the wedding gown. The bride and other women in the entourage wear dresses that are flowing and brightly colored. They also wear their hair tied up with a piece of cloth. Women wear a lot of jewelry, including multiple necklaces, bracelets and earrings.

A popular saying among the Liberian American community is that a prospective couple need only send out a dozen wedding invitations. This is because the word will get around so quickly that ten times that number will show up for the ceremony. Like traditional American weddings, the Liberian ceremony is followed by a reception with a lot of food, song, and dance. In America, as in their homeland, one or several traditional drummers are usually on hand to provide the underlying beat of the festivities.

FUNERALS

A Liberian funeral is a time for both grief, since the departed will be missed by loved ones, and a time for joy, since it is believed the deceased has gone on to a better life among his or her ancestors. On the night before the funeral, a wake is held in the family home where the extended family and friends of the deceased gather for a feast, replete with drinking, the singing of spiritual songs, and often a Liberian drummer. The purpose is to be jovial, to console the immediate family, and to wipe away the grief.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Although the bulk of Liberians in the United States have only been here since 1989, the community has sought to develop strong ties with other West African immigrants, particularly those from the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone. They also have close ties with African Americans in general. Several U.S. civil rights groups have embraced the Liberian

community, including support for granting permanent residency to tens of thousands of Liberian immigrants who have temporary status in the United States. There are also efforts by groups such as civil rights leader Jesse Jackson's PUSH/Rainbow Coalition and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to bring Liberian Americans into the mainstream of African American society and culture.

RELIGION

About 70 percent of Liberians in Liberia practice traditional African religious beliefs, 20 percent are Muslims, and 10 percent Christian. However, few Liberians in the United States carry on African traditions. The majority is Christian, while a much smaller number is Muslim. Christian Liberians are spread among a wide range of denominations, including Lutheran, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist and Catholic. Liberian Americans have established several churches in the United States, including four in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Two more are the African United Methodist Church in Trenton, New Jersey, and the International Christian Fellowship in Atlanta founded in 1986.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Liberian Americans have sought employment in a variety of fields, including health care, law, education, service, and hospitality. A few have started their own businesses. Their professions often depend on where they live. For example, Liberian Americans in the Central Valley of California tend to find agricultural jobs. In Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Virginia, many work for the federal government. In the San Francisco Bay area, Liberian women lean toward the health care professions, such as nursing, nursing assistants, and even a few physicians. Many Bay area males have gravitated to the security profession as guards. This is because a Liberian who emigrated to the United States shortly after the Liberian Civil War started his own security firm, which also served as a training ground for guards to go on to other security companies, according to Roosevelt Tarlesson, founder and chairman of the Liberian Community Foundation serving the Bay area. However, many newer immigrants start with low paying jobs, such as kitchen workers, janitors, or in home health care, because of limited education, a lack of English proficiency, and unfamiliarity with the American work culture.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Politics plays an important role in the life of Liberian Americans, especially when it involves their homeland. Liberia is divided into 13 local government subdivisions called counties. A fierce identification with these counties has caused dozens of county organizations to spring up in areas of the United States with large numbers of Liberian immigrants. These include the Sinoe County Association of Georgia, the United Nimba (County) Citizens' Council, and the Grand Cape Mount County Association of Georgia.

Liberian Americans have taken an active role in lobbying the federal government to more actively support freedom and democracy efforts in Liberia. They also have organized in support of various issues affecting Liberia, including humanitarian assistance, wildlife and nature preservation, and women's rights.

RELATIONS WITH LIBERIA

Although Liberian Americans still maintain close ties with family, friends, and organizations in Liberia, there is widespread dissatisfaction with the current economic and political situation. Many Liberian Americans are working to help rebuild the political, social, educational, and commerce institutions of their homeland. Yet that does not mean all Liberian Americans speak with a unified voice. The Liberian community in the United States is divided between several political parties in Liberia, including the ruling National Patriotic Party, and the opposition Liberian National Union, National Democratic Party, and the United People's Party, all of which have organizations in the United States. Despite the political differences, the Liberian American community is united in the goal of helping the people of Liberia recover from ten years of civil war. Of particular interest is rebuilding schools and restoring the freedom Liberians enjoyed under the leadership of former president William V. S. Tubman's administration.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Liberian Americans represent between one-eighth and one-tenth of one percent of the total American population, so their contribution to popular American culture is limited. This may change as more and more Liberian families become integrated into American culture. However, the following sections list a few Liberian Americans and their achievements.

ACADEMIA

Benjamin G. Dennis (1929–) was born in Monrovia, Liberia but emigrated to the United States. Educated in the United States, Dennis received his doctorate in 1964 from Michigan State University. He is a sociology and anthropology professor at the University of Michigan, Flint. He wrote *The Gbandes: A People of the Liberian Hinterland* (1973) and is researching another book about the effects of industrialization and urbanization on the people of Lofa County, Liberia. He is also a contributor to the *American Sociological Review*.

MUSIC

Liberians in America continue many of the musical traditions of their homeland. A popular contemporary Liberian singer and songwriter is Gbanjah, who mixes American soul music with traditional Liberian percussion. Another is Kaipai, a drummer, dancer, and storyteller from the Vai ethnic group who migrated from Liberia to the United States. His credits include former director of the National Dance Troupe of Liberia and a member of the Jungle Dance Troupe.

In 1996, Liberian immigrant Jacob M. Daynuah started an independent record production company and label in Minneapolis, Minnesota, called Zoto Records, specializing in Liberian music and artists. *Zoto* means “lizard ears” in the Dan language of Liberia. Daynuah has released three albums under the pseudonym Jake D: *African Lady* in 1990, *Unity* in 1992, and *Banjay* in 1996. His musical style is known as *Korlor*, an infectious and happy sound from Nimba County in northeast Liberia. Two other Zoto artists are Joseph Woyee, a singer and composer from southeast Liberia, and Naser, a drummer from Nimba County, Liberia who now lives in Minneapolis. Her traditional *sokay* sound comes from the harmonica and a conga drum known as a *balah*. Her first album, *Sokay*, was released in 1998.

SPORTS

Soccer (football) is the national sport of Liberia and is enjoyed by Liberian Americans. Many large outdoor gatherings of Liberian Americans will include a soccer match. The most famous Liberian soccer player is George Weah (1966–). He is the only soccer player ever to simultaneously hold the titles of World Player of the Year, European Football Player of the Year, and African Football Player of the Year, all in 1995. He has played for national championship teams in Liberia, Cameroon, France (Paris and Monaco), and Italy (Milan). He lives in New York.

Liberian Americans also represented their homeland in the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. Of particular note are four members of the Liberian national men’s track and field 100-meter relay team. They are Sanyon Cooper and Robert H. Dennis III of Maryland, Kouty Mawenh of Indiana, and Eddie Neufville of South Carolina. Liberian American Grace Dinkins competed for the Liberian women’s track and field team in the 1996 Olympics.

MEDIA

There are a very limited number of newspapers, magazines, and broadcast sources aimed specifically at Liberian Americans. Many keep up with news of their community through newsletters distributed by Liberian American organizations. The Internet’s World Wide Web is probably the top media source of news and information for the Liberian American community. There are several Internet sites associated with Liberian American organizations. Dozens of Liberian Americans have their own Web home pages, often using them to post news of themselves and to seek information on missing or lost friends and family members. The embassy of Liberia also maintains a website. Some Liberian Americans keep up with news from their homeland by listening to Star Radio broadcasts from Monrovia, Liberia, on the Internet.

PRINT

Liberian Studies Journal.

Publishes articles on scholarly research in a wide range of disciplines, including social sciences, arts, humanities, science, and technology.

Contact: William C. Allen, Editor.

Address: University of South Carolina, Division of Fine Arts, Languages and Literature, 800 University Way, Spartanburg, SC 29303.

Telephone: (864) 503-5602.

Fax: (864) 503-5825.

INTERNET

The Liberian Connection.

An on-line magazine of news from Liberia and within the Liberian American community. Contents include news, features, sports, entertainment, an email directory of Liberians in the United States, and several chat rooms. It also has dozens of links to other Liberian Web sites.

Contact: Ciata Victor-Baptiste, Webmaster.

Address: P.O. Box 4292, Brockton, MA 02301-4292.

Telephone: (508) 559-0552.
E-mail: toadoll@gis.net.
Online: <http://www.liberian-connection.com/liberia.htm>.

The Perspective.

An on-line newspaper featuring news, sports, entertainment, opinion and commentary on issues affecting Liberia and the Liberian American community. Also includes some regional news, mainly from North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Contact: Abraham M. Williams, Editor in Chief.
Address: P.O. Box 2824, Smyrna, GA 30081.
Telephone: (770) 435-4829.
E-mail: perspective@mindspring.com.
Online: <http://www.mindspring/~perspective/>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Coalition of Progressive Liberians in the Americas (COPLA).

COPLA, based in New York with an office in Georgia, describes itself as “a watchdog of vice and virtue” in the Liberian community.

Contact: Bodioh Siapoe, Founder and Chairman.
Address: 108-109 91st Avenue, Queens, NY 11418.
Telephone: (718) 849-8243.

Liberia First, Inc.

Established in 1998, Liberia First is a non-profit organization serving the metropolitan Triangle Area of Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina. It promotes cultural and social values among Liberians in the Triangle Area. It also seeks to help with rebuilding the social, economic and education structures in Liberia.

Contact: Siaka Kromah, President.
Address: P.O. Box 5655, Raleigh, NC 27650-5655.
Telephone: (919) 286-5774.
Online: <http://www.liberiafirst.com/membership.htm>.

Liberian Association of Southern California.

The Liberian Association of Southern California is a social and economic support group for the estimated 2,000 Liberians living in the Los Angeles area. Services include helping newly arrived immigrants adjust to life in the United States and providing community outreach, especially to the young

and elderly. It was founded in the early 1960s to serve the needs of Liberian American students. It later broadened its scope to include all Liberians in Southern California.

Contact: David Beyan, President.
Address: P.O. Box 77818, Los Angeles, CA 90007.
Telephone: (213) 382-8339.

Liberian Community Association of Washington, D.C.

The association has 400 members and serves the social and economic needs of Liberians in Washington D.C., Maryland, and Virginia. It holds quarterly general assembly meetings.

Contact: John G. F. Lloyd, President.
Address: P.O. Box 57189, Washington, D.C. 20037.
Telephone: (301) 681-6560.
Online: <http://www.geocities.com/capitolhill/lobby/9152/info.html>.

Liberian Community Foundation (LCF).

A non-profit organization founded in 1995, the LCF has an office and warehouse where it dispenses information, food, clothing and small appliances to needy Liberians in the San Francisco Bay area. It also provides relief supplies, including food and medical equipment, to Liberia. It is staffed by unpaid volunteers and is run solely on private contributions.

Contact: Roosevelt Tarlesson.
Address: 406 Georgia St., Vallejo, CA 94590-2310.
Telephone: (707) 557-2310.

Liberian Social Justice Foundation (LSJF).

Founded in 1995, the LSJF has 2,000 members in the United States. Its primary focus is to provide humanitarian assistance to Liberians abroad and in the United States, and to promote freedom, justice and, democracy in Liberia. It also has a scholarship program, and promotes cultural awareness.

Contact: Edwin G. K. Zoedua, Executive Director.
Address: P.O. Box 31438, Cincinnati, Ohio 45231.
Telephone: (513) 931-1872.
Fax: (513) 931-1873.

Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas.

An umbrella organization for Liberian Community Associations in the United States. Activities

including lobbying the federal government for immigration and other rights for Liberians in the United States.

Contact: Joseph D. Z. Korto, President.

Address: P.O. Box 57189, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Telephone: (202) 478-4659.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

James E. Lewis Museum of Art.

Located in the Carl Murphy Arts Center, the university art museum has a large collection of art works from Africa, including several dozen from Liberia. The Liberian collection includes Dan masks, drums, wood statues, clay bowls, and carved figurines.

Contact: Gabriel S. Tenabe, Director.

Address: Morgan State University, 1700 East Cold Spring Lane, Baltimore, MD 21239.

Telephone: (443) 885-3030.

Fax: (410) 319-4024.

Liberian Museum of City College.

The collection of Liberian art and handcrafted artifacts includes eating and cooking utensils, musical instruments, and traditional clothing donated by citizens in Monrovia, Liberia, Baltimore's sister city in Africa. The museum is in the library of Baltimore City College, a college preparatory high school in Baltimore.

Contact: Joette Chance, Librarian.

Address: Baltimore City College, 3320 The Alameda, Baltimore, MD 21218.

Telephone: (410) 396-7423.

Liberian Studies Association (LSA).

Founded in 1968 and based in Georgia, the LSA is a scholarly research organization with members from cultural, scientific, and educational institutions throughout the United States. It discusses and presents information and opinions on issues involving Liberia and Liberian Americans.

Contact: Ciyata Dinah Coleman, Coordinator.

Address: Morris Brown College, Department of Business and Economics, 643 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, NW, Atlanta, GA 30314.

Telephone: (404) 220-0157.

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Slowly, as the immigrants began to settle permanently in the United States, family, religious, and community institutions were formed. A growing sense of nationalism within the community allowed the Lithuanians to see themselves as a people separate from the Poles and the Russians.

LITHUANIAN AMERICANS

by
Mark A. Granquist

OVERVIEW

Located in northeastern Europe on the east coast of the Baltic Sea, Lithuania is the most southern of the Baltic Republics—a trio of countries that were formed in 1918. Lithuania measures 25,174 square miles (64,445 square kilometers) and is bordered by Latvia to the north, Belarus to the east, and Russia and Poland to the south and southwest. Its capital is Vilnius, which has a population of 590,000, making it the largest city in the country.

The 1993 census estimated the population of Lithuania at just over 3.75 million people; approximately 80 percent of the citizens are ethnic Lithuanians, 9 percent are Russians, and the remaining 11 percent are largely of Polish, Latvian, and Ukrainian descent. Roman Catholics constitute the largest religious group in Lithuania (85 percent), with smaller numbers of Lutherans, Orthodox Christians, and Jews. The official language of the country is Lithuanian, and the country's flag consists of three equal horizontal bands—yellow on the top, green in the middle, and red on the bottom.

HISTORY

The Lithuanians are ethnically part of the Baltic group of Indo-European peoples, most closely related to the Prussians (a people with Polish and German roots who populated a former northern European state) and the Latvians. The Lithuanians

settled along the Neman River perhaps as early as 1500 B.C., founding small agricultural settlements in the area's thick forests. The eastward expansion of medieval German Christianity—under the guise of the crusading religious-military Teutonic Order—brought a number of important changes to the Lithuanians. This outside pressure forced the Lithuanians to unite and sparked Lithuanian expansion south and eastward, into the Belarus and Kievan territories.

Lithuania soon became one of the largest kingdoms in medieval Europe and remained pagan despite attempts by the Catholics and the Orthodox church to Christianize it. The region forged a close alliance with Poland, and the two crowns united in 1386. Lithuania accepted Roman Catholicism at that time, and the combined forces began to push back German incursions, most notably at the battle of Tannenberg-Grünberg in 1410. By 1569 the union of Lithuania and Poland was complete, and the Polish language and culture began to dominate the Lithuanian upper classes, although the peasantry remained culturally and linguistically Lithuanian.

The rise of Russia, combined with the weakness of the Polish-Lithuanian state, led to increasing Russian domination of Lithuania in the eighteenth century. This movement was completed in 1795, when the Russians executed their third division of Poland, effectively ending Polish sovereignty. Some of the northern regions of the division's Lithuanian-speaking territory came under German control as a part of East Prussia. Russia attempted a program of so-called "Russification" of the Baltic states throughout the next century, including the prohibition of Lithuanian language and literature, the imposition of Russian legal codes, and the forcible integration of Uniate (or Byzantine Rite) Catholicism into the Orthodox church. Lithuanian consciousness was maintained in ethnic regional cultures and through a variety of linguistic groupings, but not with a particular sense of national feeling. Beginning in the 1880s, however, a rising nationalistic movement emerged, challenging both Polish cultural domination and Russian governmental controls. With the Revolution of 1905 and the organization of the *Lietuvių Socialistų Partija Amerikoje* (Lithuanian Socialist Party of America), a Lithuanian assembly convened and demanded a greater degree of territorial and cultural autonomy.

Russian rule of Lithuania came to an end with the German invasion and occupation of the territory during World War I, and 1918 marked the proclamation of the Lithuanian Republic. Achieving actual independence proved more complicated, with opposing forces of Germany, Poland, and the

Soviet Union involved, but within two years the region was exercising self-rule.

The dawn of World War II brought political upheaval to Lithuania. In 1940 the Soviet Union took over control of the country—only to lose it to the Germans from 1941 to 1944. Soviet forces then retook Lithuania, though many thousands of Lithuanian refugees fled westward along with the retreating German army. Soviet authorities ordered the deportation of many Lithuanian people from their homeland and from eastern Europe in general between 1945 and 1949, at which time they also collectivized Lithuanian agriculture. During the late 1980s, growing Lithuanian nationalism forced the communists to grant concessions, and, after two years of contention with Soviet authorities, Lithuania finally declared its independence in 1991.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

A number of Lithuanians immigrated to the New World before the American Revolution. The first may have been a Lithuanian physician, Dr. Aleksandras Kursius, who is believed to have lived in New York as early as 1660. Most of the other Lithuanians who ventured to the Americas during this period were members of the noble class or practitioners of particular trades. The first really significant wave of Lithuanian immigration to the United States began in the late 1860s, after the Civil War. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an estimated 300,000 Lithuanians journeyed to America—a flow that was later halted by the combined effects of World War I, the restriction of immigration into the United States, and the achievement in 1918 of Lithuanian independence. This number is hard to document fully because census records did not officially recognize Lithuanians as a separate nationality until the twentieth century, and the country's people may have been reported as Russian, Polish, or Jewish.

Several key factors brought about the first surge of Lithuanian immigration to the United States. These included the abolition of serfdom in 1861, which resulted in a rise in Lithuania's free population; the growth of transportation, especially railroads; and a famine that broke out in the country in the 1860s. Later, other conditions, such as a depressed farm economy and increased Russian repression, prompted even more Lithuanians to leave their home soil. In 1930 the U.S. Census Bureau listed 193,600 Lithuanians in the United States. This figure represents six percent of the total population of Lithuania at the time.

The initial wave of immigrants to the United States can also be viewed as part of a larger move-

A Lithuanian American family poses in this 1949 photograph taken in Cleveland, Ohio.



ment of the Lithuanian peasantry off the land, in search of a better life. Lithuanian peasants moved into Russia and western Europe as agricultural and industrial workers, often intending to return to their native country when they had earned enough money. Their pattern was cyclical, with the numbers of migrating workers shifting along with the seasons and economic cycles. This wave of intra-European immigration consisted mostly of young males, either single or having left their families behind; approximately 48 percent of them were illiterate.

The second wave of immigration had a greater impact on U.S. census figures. Following World War II, a flood of displaced refugees fled west to escape the Russian reoccupation of Lithuania. Eventually 30,000 *Dipukai* (war refugees or displaced persons) settled in the United States, primarily in cities in the East and the Midwest. These immigrants included many trained and educated leaders and professionals who hoped to return someday to Lithuania. The heightening of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union—known as the Cold War—dampened these expectations, and many Lithuanians sought to create a semipermanent life in the United States. By 1990 the U.S. Bureau of the Census listed 811,865 Americans claiming “Lithuanian” as a first or second ancestry.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The main areas of Lithuanian settlement in the United States included industrial towns of the Northeast, the larger cities of the Northeast and the Midwest, and the coal fields of Pennsylvania and

southern Illinois. According to the 1930 census report, only about 13 percent of Lithuanians lived in rural areas, and even fewer—about two percent—were involved in agriculture.

Many of the first immigrants were very mobile, searching for work all over the United States and returning to Lithuania from time to time. Slowly, however, settlement patterns became apparent, and stable Lithuanian American communities were established in the smaller industrial towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. But by 1930 almost 50 percent of all Lithuanian Americans lived in just ten metropolitan areas. The large cities of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, New York, and Boston saw the greatest rise in Lithuanian American population. Nearly 20 percent of all Lithuanian immigrants settled in Chicago alone.

When the World War II refugees started entering the United States after 1945, they set up their own communities in many of the same areas as the previous immigrants. The 1990 census lists the leading areas of Lithuanian American settlement as Illinois (109,400), Pennsylvania (103,200), New York (70,300), Massachusetts (68,400), California (63,800), and New Jersey (49,800).

INTERACTIONS WITH SETTLED AMERICANS

Lithuanian immigrants were seen by settled Anglo-Americans as part of the “immigration problem” of the late nineteenth century: the poverty and illiteracy of many of the new arrivals, their Eastern Euro-

pean language and culture, and their devotion to Roman Catholicism put them at a distinct disadvantage in a country where scores of immigrant groups were competing for jobs, housing, and a better life—the so-called “American Dream.” Because Lithuanians often took low-paying, unskilled laboring positions, they were not considered as “desirable” as other immigrants. In addition, their involvement in the U.S. labor movement at the turn of the twentieth century led to even more discrimination and resentment from a frightened and suspicious American public. (Lithuanians played an important role in the growth of the United Mine Workers Union and the United Garment Workers Union and were involved in labor unrest in the meat packing and steel industries.)

Throughout the twentieth century, however, Lithuanian Americans began to climb up the economic ladder and gain an important place in their local communities. This mobility allowed them to enter the American mainstream. Members of the post-1945 immigration surge—with their fierce opposition to Russian communism and their middle-class professionalism—have adjusted smoothly and rapidly to the American way of life.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In 1930 only about 47 percent of Lithuanian immigrants had become American citizens, despite the formation of Lithuanian citizens clubs to promote naturalization. But with their rise toward economic and social success in the twentieth century, Lithuanian Americans began to adapt more easily to life in the States. The American-born second generation, which by 1930 made up the majority of the immigrant community, assimilated much more quickly than their predecessors.

But along with assimilation came the development of an extensive network of immigrant institutions that sought to preserve and advance the immigrant community’s native traditions. Foremost among these institutions were the Lithuanian parishes of the Roman Catholic church, which were joined together by various religious orders and lay and clerical organizations. Each immigrant community also boasted numerous immigrant social and fraternal organizations, newspapers, and workers’ societies, all of which helped to buttress an immigrant identity.

Two important developments in Lithuania led to the growth of a strong Lithuanian American ethnic identity: the late nineteenth-century rise of

Lithuanian national consciousness and the achievement of Lithuanian independence in 1920. Lithuanian Americans were staunch supporters of their newly independent homeland during the 1920s and 1930s, and some even returned to assist in the restructuring of the country’s economy and government.

The post-World War II wave of Lithuanian immigrants—the *Dipukai*—also experienced a surge of Lithuanian consciousness. These later immigrants saw themselves as an exiled community and clung to their memory of two decades of freedom in Lithuania. They developed an extensive network of schools, churches, and cultural institutions for the maintenance of Lithuanian identity in the United States. But among the second and third generations of this community, assimilation and acculturation have taken deep hold; ethnic identity, while still important, is no longer central to the community’s existence. Given the mass of those American citizens who claim at least partial Lithuanian heritage, most observers feel that this ethnic identity will not be completely forgotten, but many of the institutions that maintained the earlier generations of immigrants have declined in numbers and vitality.

“It was kind of bad for awhile till we got to know people and speak the language and quit being called greenhorns. People say, you ought to preserve your own heritage or something, but all we could think of was, we didn’t want to be different, we wanted to be like the rest of the Americans.”

Walter Wallace in 1923, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

CUISINE

Lithuanian cuisine is influenced by the foods of the land itself and by the various cuisines of its neighbors. More than the other Baltic nations, Lithuanian cooking looks to the east and the south, having much in common with the cooking of Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine; this is not surprising, as these were the directions taken by the expansion of the medieval kingdom of Lithuania. Lithuanian recipes rely heavily on pork, potatoes, and dairy products such as eggs, milk, cream, and butter. (One specialty is a white cottage-type cheese called *suris*.) Dark, flavorful mushrooms, herring, eels, sausages, and dark rye breads are also central to the Lithuanian-

ian diet. Holiday foods included jellied pigs feet, goose stuffed with prunes, and roasted suckling pig.

TRADITIONAL DRESS

The colorful regional dress of Lithuania was used at times of festivals, market days, and special events in the old country. Some immigrants may have brought these costumes with them when they immigrated, but the wearing of such dress was not common in the United States, except for ethnic festivals. The daily working clothes of the immigrants never really differed from that of other Americans holding the same positions.

HOLIDAYS

Along with the traditional Catholic and American holidays, there are several festival days of special significance to the Lithuanian American community. February 16 is Lithuanian Independence Day, marking the formal declaration of independence in 1918. September 8 is known as Lithuanian Kingdom Day. Roman Catholics celebrate the Feast of St. Casimir on March 4, with special celebrations led by the Knights of Lithuania fraternal organization.

HEALTH ISSUES

With the formation of a solid Lithuanian American community at the end of the nineteenth century, the need for health care among immigrants became a key issue. Immigrant fraternal and benefit societies sought to provide help for sick or injured Lithuanians, as did social and charitable organizations. Roman Catholics organized Holy Cross Hospital in Chicago, as well as homes for the aged and infirm. Many of these activities came under the control of Lithuanian Roman Catholic orders, especially the Sisters of St. Casimir. Few Lithuanian medical professionals set up practice in the United States until after 1945, when a postwar influx of Lithuanian doctors from the European refugee community took place.

LANGUAGE

The Lithuanian language—a part of the Baltic branch of the Indo-European language family—is closely related to Latvian and the now-extinct language known as Old Prussian. Wider relationships, whether to German or the Slavic languages, are difficult to establish. Spoken Lithuanian is a very

ancient language; it maintains many early features of speech and grammar that other Indo-European languages have lost. Although written Lithuanian came into existence in the sixteenth century, strong Polish cultural influences and Russian Imperial domination effectively suppressed the development of Lithuanian as a written, literary language—at least until the rise of Lithuanian nationalism in the late nineteenth century.

Lithuanian is divided into Low and High dialects, with numerous subdialects. The language uses 11 vowels (“a,” “ą,” “e,” “ę,” “ė,” “i,” “į,” “y,” “o,” “u,” “ų,” “ū”) along with six diphthongs (“ai,” “au,” “ei,” “ui,” “ie,” and “uo”). In addition to most of the standard consonants of the English language, Lithuanian makes use of “č,” “š,” and “ž,” however, the consonants “f” and “h” and the combination “ch” are used only in foreign words.

The preservation of the Lithuanian language was a key concern among the initial wave of immigrants to the United States. The cultural domination of the Poles led to considerable dissension among the members of the Lithuanian American community. Especially in the Roman Catholic church, Polish prevailed as the official language used in worship and religious education, a practice that came under bitter attack from Lithuanian Americans. Religious organizations and their priests were divided along this issue; eventually, however, the Polophile party lost, and modern Lithuanian became the language of the community. The later immigrants who came after World War II have worked to keep the Lithuanian language alive within the community by developing a network of schools to encourage the preservation of the language. There are still quite a few Lithuanian American publications issued at least partially in Lithuanian, including some local Lithuanian daily newspapers. Several universities and colleges offer Lithuanian language courses, including Yale University, University of Illinois-Chicago, Indiana University-Bloomington, Tulane University, Cornell University, and Ohio State University. There are also dozens of public libraries with Lithuanian language collections, including the Los Angeles Public Library, Chicago Public Library, Donnell Library Center at the New York Public Library, Ennoch Pratt Free Library, and the Detroit Public Library.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Lithuanian greetings and other expressions include: *labą rytą* (“lahba reeh-ta”)—good morning; *labą vakarą* (“lahba vah-kah-ra”)—good evening; *labanaktis* (“lahba-nahk-tees”)—good

night; *sudievu* (“sood-yeeh-vo”)—goodbye; *kaip tamsta gyvuoji* (“kaip tahmstah geeh-vu-oyee”)—how are you; *labai gerai* (“lahbai gar-ai”)—quite well; *dėkui* (“deh-kooy”)—thanks; *atsiprašau* (“aht-see-prah-show”)—excuse me; *sveikas* (“say-kahs”)—welcome; *taip* (“taip”)—yes; *ne* (“nah”)—no; *turiu eiti* (“toor-i-oo ay-tee”)—I must go.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

During the first wave of Lithuanian immigration to the United States, a stable immigrant community developed rather slowly. Since many of the first immigrants were young males seeking temporary employment, an immigrant community identity was hard to establish. Long hours, grinding poverty, and isolation increased the pressures that fragmented the immigrants. Slowly, as the immigrants began to settle permanently in the United States, family, religious, and community institutions were formed. A growing sense of nationalism within the community allowed the Lithuanians to see themselves as a people separate from the Poles and the Russians.

The immigrant community of the early twentieth century was beginning to mature, with second and third generations rapidly becoming Americanized. The arrival of Lithuanian refugees after World War II brought a fresh wave of immigrants and an intensified sense of Lithuanian nationalism. The size and strength of the Lithuanian American community has allowed its people to maintain a certain sense of ethnic heritage, even as the immigrant population evolves and its succeeding generations become thoroughly Americanized.

INTERACTION WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Lithuanian American community was closely tied to the Polish community. Since the borders of these nations were fluid—and since a long history of Polish religious and cultural dominance existed in Lithuania—Polish American and Lithuanian American immigrants tended to settle in many of the same areas of the United States. The early struggle for Lithuanians in America involved a move away from the Polish community and toward the definition of a pure Lithuanian national and ethnic identity. In later years a significant relationship developed between Lithuanian Americans and the other Baltic immigrants, Estonians and Latvians. These groups banded together in the interest of freeing the Baltic Republics from Soviet rule:

their solidarity is especially evident in the creation of groups such as the Joint Baltic-American National Committee (1961) and other joint organizations.

EDUCATION

Like many other immigrant groups, Lithuanians have seen that the road to success in America lies with education. Many of the immigrants, especially before 1920, arrived in the States as illiterate peasants. Despite their limited resources, the community soon established a system of parochial schools among the Lithuanian Roman Catholic parishes in the United States, many of which were run by the Sisters of St. Casimir. A smaller network of Lithuanian American Roman Catholic high schools and academies appeared later, numbering approximately ten by 1940.

Responding to a plea from the immigrant community, the Marian Fathers opened a high school and college in Hinsdale, Illinois, in 1926. Later the college was relocated to Thompson, Connecticut, and renamed Marianapolis College. Another early center of Lithuanian education was Indiana's Valparaiso University. Though not an ethnic institution, this university attracted a number of Lithuanian students early in the twentieth century; between 1902 and 1915 the school graduated 29 Lithuanian doctors, 15 lawyers, and 14 engineers. Lithuanian refugees of World War II—many of whom were highly educated, skilled professionals—exhibited an intense interest in education. Their main educational contribution to the community was the formation of a series of Lithuanian schools to transmit Lithuanian language and culture to succeeding generations of Lithuanian Americans.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Coming from an extremely traditional agricultural society, the first wave of Lithuanian immigrants brought with them a very rigid set of beliefs about women's roles in the community. Male domination of the family was a given, and women's roles were strictly defined. This social system was very hard for the immigrants to maintain in the United States, especially in the urban areas where the majority of the immigrants settled. As the immigrants became assimilated into the mainstream of American life, women's roles began to change and grow, though not without stress and conflict. One new independent role for women came through the formation of Lithuanian American religious orders, which afforded Lithuanian women a leading role in the immigrant religious community, and beyond: they headed parochial

schools and established institutions of mercy, such as hospitals, orphanages, and nursing homes. Later, lay women's organizations—such as the American Lithuanian Roman Catholic Women's Alliance (founded in 1914) and the Federation of Lithuanian Women's Clubs (founded in 1947)—began to spring up in Lithuanian American communities, further empowering the female population.

RELIGION

The large majority of Lithuanian immigrants to America were Roman Catholics; there were also small numbers of Lutherans, Jews, and Orthodox Christians. The dominance of Roman Catholicism in the Lithuanian American community is even more pronounced because of the influence of Catholicism in the formation of the institutions of Lithuanian identity. However, the Roman Catholic presence was neither monolithic nor universal, and significant tensions existed within the Catholic community.

Lithuania adopted Roman Catholicism along the lines of its western neighbor, Poland, and for many centuries Lithuanian Catholicism was Polish in language and orientation. Lithuanian was considered to be a barbarous language, unworthy of religious use, so Polish was used for all official religious business. This dominance in religious matters extended to the immigrant communities of America as well; early Lithuanian immigrants tended to merge into Polish-language Roman Catholic parishes, and Polish-leaning priests dominated many of the early institutions of the Lithuanian American community.

But the rising tide of Lithuanian nationalism and ethnic identity toward the end of the nineteenth century sparked profound changes in the Lithuanian American religious community. Under the leadership of Aleksandras Burba, a priest from Lithuania, some Lithuanian Americans began to pull away from Polish parishes and Polish-dominated institutions and establish their own Lithuanian parishes. More than 100 Lithuanian parishes were formed by 1920. This movement created considerable tension within the immigrant community but also helped heighten and define a sense of ethnic consciousness among Lithuanian Americans. Not all Lithuanians wanted to distance themselves from Polish Roman Catholicism though, and divisiveness soon clouded the ranks of many Lithuanian American institutions and organizations.

The development of Lithuanian Roman Catholicism took hold early in the twentieth cen-

tury, cementing a Lithuanian ethnic consciousness in America. Many of these efforts were led by an immigrant priest, Father Antanas Staniukynas, who formed the Lithuanian American Roman Catholic Priest's League in 1909. Staniukynas also contributed to the establishment of religious orders in the immigrant community, including the Sisters of St. Casimir and an American branch of the Lithuanian Marian Fathers. Around the same time, many lay Roman Catholic organizations were also founded; fraternal and social organizations were formed for men, women, workers, students, and other lay groups. But probably the most lasting and impressive achievement was the formation of a large parochial school system in affiliation with the Lithuanian American Roman Catholic parishes, a system run largely by the immigrant religious orders.

Religious life in the United States was not without conflict for the Lithuanian Roman Catholics. The old style of autocratic priestly leadership soon gave way to the realities of a democratic and pluralistic America, and the laity demanded an increased role in parish government. After 1945 the influx of war refugees brought new members to Lithuanian American Roman Catholicism; new religious orders, such as the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and the Lithuanian Franciscan and Jesuit priestly orders were also established.

In 1914 the Lithuanian National Catholic Church was formed in Scranton, Pennsylvania. This movement, which broke away from the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States, stressed the national dimension of Lithuanian Catholicism. Lithuanian National Catholic parishes flourished in areas of heavy Lithuanian settlement early in the twentieth century.

Lithuanian Lutherans hailed mainly from the northern and western areas of Lithuania, areas that had been influenced by German and Latvian Lutheranism. The Lutheran reformation—a sixteenth-century Protestant reform movement—took hold in Lithuania until it was largely eliminated by the counter-reformation, yet over the centuries a small Lutheran minority remained. When these immigrants came to America during the initial surge of Lithuanian immigration, they tended to develop separate Lutheran congregations apart from the mainstream Lithuanian American community. The German-speaking Lutheran Missouri Synod sponsored several pastors who sought to reach out to this community. After 1945 a second wave of Lithuanian Lutherans formed the Lithuanian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Exile, headquartered near Chicago. This church has 19 congregations and 10,000 members worldwide.

Although a sizable Jewish community was established in Lithuania prior to World War II, it was forced to coexist with the Christian ethic of the country's wider Roman Catholic world. Many members of the Lithuanian Jewish community immigrated to America during the latter part of the nineteenth century and formed their own communities in the United States, mainly in the cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. One estimate from about 1940 puts the number of Lithuanian American Jews at around 25,000. During the assimilation process, these communities became affiliated with the larger Jewish communities throughout the United States. At the same time back in Europe, the Nazi-engineered Holocaust of World War II had a devastating effect on the Lithuanian Jewish community, leaving it almost completely destroyed by war's end.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The first wave of Lithuanian immigration, which ended around 1920, included mostly unskilled and often illiterate immigrants who settled in the cities and coal fields of the East and the Midwest and provided the raw muscle power of urban American factories; they were especially drawn to the garment trade in the East, the steel mills and forges of the Midwest, and the packing houses of Chicago and Omaha. Other immigrants opened businesses within their communities, supplying the growing needs of Lithuanian Americans.

To assist their people in the economic transition to life in the United States, the immigrants established many institutions, including fraternal and benefit societies and building and loan associations. The fraternal societies assisted needy immigrants and provided inexpensive insurance and death benefit protection. The building and loan associations met the immigrants' banking needs and helped them to purchase their own homes. By 1920 there were at least 30 such associations within the Lithuanian immigrant community.

The war refugees who came to the United States after 1945 were a different class of immigrants, mainly educated and professional. Although they had been the leaders of an independent Lithuania from 1918 to 1940, many of these new immigrants had difficulty finding suitable employment in the United States. The language barrier and professional differences meant that many of them had to take positions that were beneath their level of training and education. These refugees were



an enterprising group, however, and they began a tradition of economic success in the United States.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Much of the initial political activity of the Lithuanian Americans was confined to the immigrant community itself, as immigrants sought to define themselves, especially in terms of the rising tide of Lithuanian nationalism that dominated the latter part of the nineteenth century. But slowly the immigrant community began to look outside itself toward the wider American world. The first examples of immigrant political activity came in areas that directly affected the new immigrants—namely labor issues and the condition of American relations with the new Lithuanian state. Lithuanians were active in the formation of some of the American labor unions, especially in coal mining and the garment trade. For some, this activity grew into a wider push for socialism (a political and economic doctrine espousing collective rather than private ownership of property), especially with the formation of the Lithuanian Socialist Party of America in 1905. This prewar socialism collapsed, though, after 1918, as the so-called “Red Scare” put great pressure on all socialist groups. The first major political push among Lithuanian Americans came after 1918, when they tried to influence American foreign policy to recognize and support Lithuanian independence.

Since the Lithuanian immigrant community was mostly urban and working class, many Lithuanians aligned themselves with the Democratic party

Lithuanian
Americans protest
Soviet policies
concerning the
Baltic States in this
1990 photograph.

during the twentieth century. Although they were not a real force in national politics, Lithuanian Americans used their numbers to dominate local politics, electing local officials, state legislators, judges, and occasionally members of the U.S. House of Representatives. In turn they became loyal supporters of the local Democratic political machines in areas such as Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. In many communities Lithuanians formed their own Democratic clubs for the support of political and ethnic priorities. A smaller number of Lithuanians were attracted to the Republican party, especially after 1945. Along with some members of the other Baltic groups, these Lithuanians blamed the Democrats for the “betrayal” of Lithuanian independence in the Yalta agreement of 1945, which extended Soviet territories to the West. Post-World War II immigrants, because of their strongly anticommunist feelings, favored mostly the Republicans.

UNION ACTIVITY

Lithuanian immigrants were involved in a number of industries that saw a great deal of union activity at the end of the nineteenth century. The Lithuanian coal miners of Pennsylvania and Illinois became members of the United Mine Workers unions, and local unions of Lithuanian garment workers soon merged with either the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union or the United Garment Workers Union. In other industries, such as steel or meat packing, union organization was slower, but Lithuanian workers were an omnipresent force in labor agitation. A number of nationalist, Roman Catholic, and socialist immigrant organizations were developed to provide support to laborers. Socialist and radical workers groups, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), succeeded in recruiting Lithuanian workers in the first part of the twentieth century, but these groups declined rapidly after 1920. The Lithuanian community was generally sympathetic to the union cause and supported their fellow immigrants during labor unrest.

MILITARY

Lithuanians have served in the American armed forces in every war since the Civil War; in that war 373 Lithuanians fought on the Union side, and 44 fought on the side of the Confederacy. Lithuanian Americans were especially interested in both World Wars, since they directly influenced the fate of Lithuanian independence. In 1918 a group of 200 Lithuanian Americans who had served in the American military went to Lithuania to help in the fight for freedom.

RELATIONS WITH LITHUANIA

Relations with Lithuania have always been important to the Lithuanian American community. Tensions ran especially high among Lithuanians in the United States during those periods when the Russian state had control over Lithuania. Immigrant communities in America were fertile ground for nationalistic sentiment, and during the last decades of the nineteenth century many radical Lithuanian nationalists sought refuge in the United States from political oppression in Russia. Most Lithuanian Americans supported the nationalist cause, although a small group of radical communists backed Soviet attempts to forcibly annex Lithuania to the Soviet Union.

When Lithuania was declared a republic in 1918, the immigrant community supported independence with financial, military, and political help. A number of the leaders of independent Lithuania had even lived and studied for a time in the United States. Lithuanian Americans pressured the American government to recognize Lithuanian independence and support Lithuanian border claims in the dispute with Poland. This support of the homeland helped strengthen Lithuanian American group solidarity in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s.

With the Soviet invasion of Lithuania in 1940, the Lithuanian American community had new cause for common action. War refugees from Lithuania flooded the United States after 1945, and many new groups and organizations were formed to rally for an independent Lithuania—and to support this cause with money and publicity. Lithuanian Americans worked to keep the dream of an independent Lithuania alive with publicity, lobbying efforts, and various political and cultural activities. These actions moved Lithuanian Americans into the wider sphere of the Lithuanian exile community worldwide, uniting American organizations with others in Europe and elsewhere. Agitation efforts also brought Lithuanian Americans into closer contact with other Baltic Americans, with whom they shared the dream of independence for the Baltic states.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Lane Bryant (1879-1951), born Lena Himmelstein, arrived in New York in 1895 and began working in the garment industry. With the help of her second husband, Lithuanian-born Albert Maislin (1879-

1923), Bryant expanded her business, introducing the first maternity wear and later manufacturing larger-sized women's clothing. The family of Nicholas Pritzker, a Lithuanian immigrant born in 1871, started numerous businesses that now comprise the Hyatt Corporation.

FILM

Actor Laurence Harvey (1928-1973) was born Laurynas Skinkis in Lithuania. He had an active career in England and the United States, appearing in such films as *Room at the Top*, *Butterfield 8*, and *The Manchurian Candidate*. Charles Bronson (1920–), born Casimir Businskis, is a popular movie actor known for his action roles in such movies as *The Great Escape*, *Once Upon a Time in the West*, *Death Wish*, and *Hard Times*. Actress Ruta Lee, born Ruta Kilmonis, appeared in the 1950s and 1960s motion pictures *Witness for the Prosecution*, *Marjorie Morningstar*, and *Operation Eichmann*.

GOVERNMENT

Alexander Bruce Bialaski, an American of Lithuanian descent, was the first director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), serving in that capacity from 1912 to 1919. Sydney Hillman (1887-1946), a Lithuanian Jewish immigrant, was the leader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union for over 30 years. He moved into the national political arena in 1941, when he became director of the U.S. Office of Production Management.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Lithuanian photographer and journalist Vitas Valaitis (1931-1965) worked for several major publications, including *Newsweek*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *U.S. News and World Report*, and won numerous prizes for his work.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Father Jonas Zilinskas (1870-1932) was instrumental in developing the Lithuanian Alliance of America and served as its president. Emma Goldman (1869-1940) was a radical anarchist and supporter of communism. She immigrated to America in 1886 and quickly became a leader in radical movements in the United States. Her bold lectures promoting atheism, revolution, birth control, and "free love" often led to trouble with the authorities. Goldman was imprisoned in 1917 and deported to Russia in 1919. An early supporter of Soviet ideals, she eventually grew disenchanted with the course of the rev-

olution. When she died in 1940 her body was returned to the United States for burial.

SPORTS

Johnny Unitas (1933–) was one of the greatest quarterbacks in the National Football League (NFL). As a star player for the Baltimore Colts in the 1960s, he set a number of professional records and was repeatedly named to the all-star team. Dick Butkas (1942–), a key player for the Chicago Bears during the 1960s and 1970s, is widely regarded as the best middle-linebacker ever to play professional football. Johnny Podres (1932–) pitched for the Brooklyn Dodgers and other professional baseball teams. Jack Sharkey (born Juozas Žukauskas; 1902–) was a World Heavyweight champion boxer whose career peaked in the 1920s and 1930s. Billie Burke, born Vincas Burkauskas, made her mark as a professional golfer on the women's circuit. Vitas Gerulaitis (1954-1994) was a top-ranked tennis professional whose career flourished in the 1970s and 1980s.

THEATER

Elizabeth Swados (1951–) is an award-winning composer, writer, and director whose works include the Broadway musicals *Doodles* and *The Beautiful Lady*. She has also written music for many classical dramatic productions and television specials.

VISUAL ARTS

Victor D. Brenner (1871-1924; surname originally Baranauskas) designed the Lincoln penny in 1909. Many of the first Lincoln pennies, now collector's items, bear his initials, "VDB."

MEDIA

PRINT

Bridges.

A Lithuanian American news journal.

Contact: Rimantas Stirbys, Editor.

Address: 2715 East Allegheny Avenue,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19134.

Telephone: (215) 739-9353.

Fax: (215) 739-6587.

Dirva (The Field).

Lithuanian-language newspaper that contains items of interest to the Lithuanian community.

Contact: Vytautas Gedgaudas, Editor.
Address: Viltis, Inc., 19807 Cherokee Avenue,
Cleveland, Ohio 44119-1090.
Telephone: (216) 531-8150.
Fax: (216) 531-8428.

Draugas (The Friend).

Newspaper published by the Lithuanian Catholic Press Society.

Contact: Ms. Danute Bindokas, Editor.
Address: 4545 West 63rd Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60629-5589.
Telephone: (312) 585-9500.
Fax: (312) 585-8284.
E-mail: draugas@earthlink.com

Garsas (The Echo).

Published by the Lithuanian Alliance of America, this monthly bilingual publication contains general news for and about the Lithuanian American community.

Contact: Florence Eckert, Editor.
Address: 71-73 South Washington Street,
Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania 18701.
Telephone: (717) 823-8876.

I Laisve (Toward Freedom).

Lithuanian-language magazine of politics that contains articles of interest to the Lithuanian community.

Contact: Vacys Rociunas, Editor.
Address: Friends of the Lithuanian Front,
1634 49th Avenue, Cicero, Illinois 60650.

Journal of Baltic Studies.

Published by the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, this quarterly provides a forum for scholarly discussion of topics regarding the Baltic Republics and their peoples.

Contact: William Urban and Roger Noel, Editors.
Address: Executive Offices of the ARABS, 111
Knob Hill Road, Hacketstown, NJ 07840.

Lietuviu Dienos (Lithuanian Days).

A general interest, bilingual monthly publication that covers Lithuania and the Lithuanian American community.

Contact: Ruta Skurius, Editor.
Address: 4364 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood,
California 90029.
Telephone: (213) 664-2919.

Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences.

Established in 1954, this quarterly publication features scholarly articles about Lithuania and Lithuanians around the world. Published by the Lituanus Foundation, Inc.

Address: P.O. Box 9318, Chicago,
Illinois 60690.

Metmenys.

Lithuanian-language scholarly publication.

Contact: Vytautas Kavolis, Editor.
Address: A M & M Publications, 7338 South
Sacramento, Chicago, Illinois 60629.
Telephone: (312) 436-5369.

Sandara (The League).

Monthly fraternal magazine published by the Lithuanian National League of America in English and Lithuanian; first published in 1914.

Contact: G. J. Lazauskas, Editor.
Address: 208 W. Natoma Avenue, Addison,
Illinois 60101.
Telephone: (630) 543-8198
Fax: (630) 543-8198

Tevyne.

Weekly Lithuanian interest newspaper published by the Lithuanian Alliance of America.

Address: 307 West 30th Street, New York,
New York 10001.
Telephone: (212) 563-2210.

World Lithuanian.

Established in 1953 by the Lithuanian World Community, Inc., this is a monthly publication that seeks to unite Lithuanians around the world for ethnic solidarity.

Address: 6804 Maplewood Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60629.
Telephone: (312) 776-4028.

RADIO

KTYM-AM (1460).

Contact: Bobby A. Howe.
One-half hour of Lithuanian programming weekly.

Address: 6803 West Boulevard, Inglewood,
California 90302-1895.
Telephone: (213) 678-3731.

WCEV-AM (1450).

Seven hours of Lithuanian programming weekly.

Address: 5356 West Belmont Avenue, Cicero,
Illinois 60641-4103.

Telephone: (312) 282-6700.

Fax: (773) 282-0123.

WPIT-AM (730).

One hour of Lithuanian programming weekly.

Address: 7 Parkway Center, Suite 625, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania 15220.

Telephone: (412) 937-1500.

Fax: (412) 937-1576.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Institute of Lithuanian Studies (ILS).

Seeks to sponsor and encourage research on Lithuanian language, literature, folklore, history, and other fields related to Lithuania and its culture.

Contact: Violeta Kelertas, President.

Address: University of Illinois at Chicago,
Department of Slavic and Baltic Studies (m/c
306), 601 South Morgan, Chicago, Illinois
60607-7116.

Telephone: (312) 996-7856.

Fax: (312) 996-0953.

Lithuanian Alliance of America.

Founded in 1886, the LAA was one of the first social organizations established by Lithuanians in America. Though originally a fraternal benefit association, the alliance quickly became the center of organized Lithuanian life in the United States, especially in the early part of the twentieth century.

Contact: Genevieve Meiliunas, Secretary.

Address: 307 West 30th Street, New York,
New York 10001.

Telephone: (212) 563-2210.

Lithuanian American Community (LAC).

Founded in 1952, this organization focuses on educational and cultural activities, sponsoring regional cultural festivals, providing grants and scholarships to support academic and cultural activities, and calling for freedom in Lithuania.

Contact: Joseph Gaila, President.

Address: 2713 West 71st Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60629.

Telephone: (312) 436-0197.

Lithuanian American Council (LAC).

Founded in 1940, the LAC functions as an umbrella organization to coordinate the work of Lithuanian American groups, clubs, and religious and fraternal organizations. Its primary purpose is to unite the Lithuanian American community and to advance Lithuanian independence.

Contact: John A. Rackauskas, President.

Address: 6500 South Pulaski, Chicago,
Illinois 60629.

Telephone: (312) 735-6677.

E-mail: lrsc@mcs.net.

Lithuanian National Foundation (LNF).

Collects, researches, analyzes, and disseminates information on Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation.

Contact: Mr. Vilgalys Jonas, Chairman.

Address: 351 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn,
New York 11207-1910.

Telephone: (718) 277-0682.

Fax: (718) 277-0682.

Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America.

Founded in 1906. Composed of Lithuanian-American Catholic organizations, parishes, religious orders, and publications; agencies and institutions; individuals. Seeks to unite Lithuanian-American Catholics; promotes Catholic action; upholds Lithuanian culture. Operates a camp and retreat center in Michigan; collects archival material about immigration history; is establishing audio- and videocassette library in Lithuanian and English on educational and religious topics.

Contact: Saulius V. Kuprys, President.

Address: 71-73 South Washington Street,
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18703.

Telephone: (717) 823-8876.

Lithuanian World Community (LWC).

Founded in 1949, LWC is the largest ethnic organization for the Lithuanian community in exile. It was formed by immigrants who fled Lithuania following the Soviet takeover during World War II. It seeks to unite the Lithuanian exile community around the world and helps maintain an extensive Lithuanian educational presence in the United States.

Contact: V. J. Bieliauskas, President.

Address: 14911 127th Street, Lemont,
Illinois 60439.

Telephone: (708) 257-8457.

Lituanus Foundation (LF).

Organizes, sponsors, and publishes research material on the language, history, politics, geography, economics, folklore, literature, and arts of Lithuania and the Baltic States.

Contact: A. Damulis, Administrator.

Address: 6621 South Troy Street, Chicago, Illinois 60629-2913.

Telephone: (312) 434-0706.

National Lithuanian Society of America (NSLA).

Fosters Lithuanian fine arts, handicraft, cultural, and educational activities. Publishes bimonthly newsletter.

Contact: Peter Buckas, President.

Address: 13400 Parker Road, Lemont, Illinois 60439.

Telephone: (708) 301-8183.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture.

A museum and research library dedicated to the study of Lithuania and Lithuanian Americans. Displays feature Lithuanian art, collectibles, and memorabilia.

Contact: Stanley Balzekas, Jr., Director.

Address: 6500 South Pulaski Road, Chicago, Illinois 60629.

Telephone: (312) 582-6500.

Immigration History Research Center.

Located at the University of Minnesota, it is a valuable library and archival resource on eastern and southern Europeans, including Lithuanians. In addition to serials and newspapers, the center has a large holding of books and monographs on the immigrant community, along with archival resources and manuscripts.

Contact: Joel Wurl, Curator.

Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.

Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

Lithuanian American Cultural Archives.

Run by the Lithuanian Marian Fathers, it focuses on Lithuanians in America. It has an extensive collection of early materials on the immigrant community, especially on Lithuanians in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic states.

Address: Thurber Road, Putnam, Connecticut 06260.

Telephone: (203) 928-9317.

Lithuanian Museum.

Founded to promote and further an understanding of the Lithuanian American immigrant experience, it sponsors both permanent and traveling exhibits and also houses a library. The Lithuanian Museum is affiliated with the World Lithuanian Archives, a major repository of materials by and about the Lithuanian American community, gathered by the Lithuanian Jesuit Fathers Provincial House in Chicago.

Contact: Nijole Mackevincius, Director.

Address: 5620 South Claremont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60636.

Telephone: (773) 434-4545.

Fax: (773) 434-9363.

E-mail: lrsc@mcs.net.

Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

The library houses one of the largest collections of materials about Lithuania and Lithuanian Americans in the United States.

Address: 3420 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

Telephone: (215) 898-7088.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Alilunas, Leo J. *Lithuanians in the United States: Selected Studies*. San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1978.

Budreckis, Algirdas. *The Lithuanians in America, 1651-1975: A Chronology and Factbook*. Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1975.

Encyclopedia Lithuanica, six volumes, edited by Simas Suziedelius. Boston: Juozas Kapocius, 1970-78.

Fainhauz, David. *Lithuanians in the U.S.A.: Aspects of Ethnic Identity*. Chicago: Lithuanian Library Press, Inc., 1991.

Kantautas, Adam. *A Lithuanian Bibliography*. Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: University of Alberta Press, 1975.

Kučas, Antanas. *Lithuanians in America*. San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1975.

Lithuanian Cooking. New York: Darbininkas, 1976.

Wolkovich-Valkavičius, William. *Lithuanian Religious Life in America: a Compendium of 150 Roman Catholic Parishes and Institutions*. Norwood, MA: Corporate Fulfillment Systems, 1991-98.

LUXEMBOURGER AMERICANS

by
Drew Walker

OVERVIEW

The small country of Luxembourg, also known as the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, is contained within some 998 square miles, or 2,586 square kilometers of land in western Europe. Luxembourg is surrounded by Belgium to its north and west, France to its south and Germany to its east. The history and culture of Luxembourg have been significantly affected by this geographical location. Since Luxembourg has fused the traditions of the surrounding countries and is the product of various immigration movements throughout its history, the population of Luxembourg (some 410,000) is ethnically diverse. Because of its location and history, it is referred to as one of Europe's most important crossroads. Along its border with Belgium are the Ardennes Mountains, forming a plateau between 1,300 and 1,600 feet (400 to 490 meters). This area is known as the Oesling. To the south of the Ardennes is an area known as Gutland or Bon Pays (literally "good land"), which contains various contours of fertile farmland.

HISTORY

In early ancient times the land of Luxembourg was inhabited by two Belgic tribes named the Medioatrici and the Teveri. In the fifth century A.D. the Franks began to occupy the area. In the following centuries, the people began to convert to Christianity. Under

Luxembourgers are fond of sayings that mark important moments in history and the formation of national identity. One such saying is "Et get fir de glaf!" or "Here goes for faith!" a saying that was used in the Kloppelkrieg rebellion against the French during the reign of Napoleon.

the domination of the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne, the area was first a section of the Kingdom of Austrasia and then the Kingdom of Lotharinga. From an exchange of land in 963 by Siegfried, the Count of Ardennes, the Kingdom of Luxembourg became an independent land. Involved in this exchange was Siegfried's acquisition of a Roman castle on the Alzette River. The present name of Luxembourg was derived from the name of the castle "Lucilinburhuc," or "Little Fortress." After the death of Siegfried, he was succeeded by a long line of his descendants. Near the year 1060 one of these descendants, Conrad, became the first Luxembourg ruler to take the title of the "Count of Luxembourg." In 1354, Luxembourg was made a duchy by Holy Roman emperor Charles IV.

Perhaps the greatest point in the history of Luxembourg in this era came in 1443, when the then Duchess of Luxembourg, Elizabeth of Görlitz, gave up the throne to the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (Philip III). When all of Burgundy and its lands passed into the hands of the Hapsburg rulers in 1477, so did the Duchy of Luxembourg. In 1556, through a series of changes brought about by the abdication of Hapsburg emperor Charles V, Luxembourg became a property of Spain and part of what were known as "The Spanish Netherlands." Through the two turbulent centuries that followed, Luxembourg often found itself at the geographic and political center of wars and disputes; when these conflicts ended, Luxembourg, along with Belgium, passed from the Spanish into the hands of the Austrian Hapsburgs.

MODERN ERA

Austrian rule continued until 1795 when the French took over the duchy. Following this occupation by French revolutionary forces, a modern state bureaucracy was installed in Luxembourg resembling the French system at the time. In their zeal to institute these reforms, along with their disempowerment of the clergy and the call for mandatory military service by the Luxembourgers, the French created dissent. This dissent eventually led to a rebellion against French rule in 1798, which in turn was brutally put down.

With the fall of Napoleon in 1814 and the end of French rule came the decision of the Allied Powers in 1815 to cede parts of the duchy to Prussia and to give the rest to William I, King of the Netherlands, and to elevate it to the status of a grand duchy. This resulted in confusion over Luxembourg's identity. While owned by William I of the Netherlands, it was also a member of the German Confederation

and had close ties with Prussia. In addition, it was, technically, an independent state as well. What ensued in the decades immediately following the possession of Luxembourg by the Netherlands was a struggle against this rule, which was undertaken in cooperation with the Belgians. In a revolution against Dutch rule, the Belgians also declared Luxembourg to be a part of Belgium against the claim of the Netherlands. The series of international reactions that followed led in 1831 to a decision by the "Great Powers" of France, Prussia, Russia, and Britain. Despite Belgium's claim, Luxembourg was to remain the possession, albeit in altered form, of William I and was also to remain a part of the German Confederation. Dividing Luxembourg once again, the French-speaking part of Luxembourg was given to Belgium while the Netherlands retained the parts that spoke the native Luxembourg language. After a series of disputes on this decision between the Netherlands and Belgium, it eventually came to be accepted, and the Netherlands ruled this area alone from 1839 until 1867.

While William I and his successor William II made several moves on behalf of the Luxembourg-Netherlands union, including making Luxembourg a part of the Customs Union directed by Prussia, dissent against this and other decisions continued to grow among the Luxembourgers. The constitution of 1841 given by the Netherlands was met with hostility, which led to a series of constitutional changes thought to be more just. When the German Confederation was dissolved in 1866, Luxembourg became a sovereign nation. In the years that followed, however, a series of disputes between the Great Powers regarding the status of Luxembourgian independence led to the decision in 1867 that Luxembourg be deemed an independent nation with perpetual neutrality. While still a part of the Dutch house of Nassau, which had been ruled by the royal family of the Netherlands for generations, Luxembourg at that time was controlled by William III, who remained ruler until his death in 1890. At that time the grand duchy passed into the hands of Adolf, Duke of Nassau.

Following the death of Adolf in 1905, his son William ruled for seven years before dying in 1912. Led by William's daughter, the Grand Duchess Marie Adélaïde, the grand duchy cooperated with the Germans in their unlawful violation of Luxembourg's neutrality during World War I (1914-1918). Disliked by her people and severely criticized by the victorious Allied Powers in 1919, Marie Adélaïde was forced to abdicate in favor of her sister Charlotte. Shortly afterward the people of Luxembourg voted to retain Charlotte as grand duchess and not to turn Luxembourg into a republic.

In the following decades, Luxembourg established and pursued an economic union with Belgium with mixed results. When the German army invaded and occupied Luxembourg again in May 1940, Grand Duchess Charlotte went into exile with her family. When Luxembourg was liberated in the late summer of 1944, Charlotte returned and the country formed an economic union with both Belgium and the Netherlands. In 1948 Luxembourg abandoned its perpetual neutrality by taking part in forming the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Upon the death of Grand Duchess Charlotte in 1964, her son Prince Jean assumed the throne as the Grand Duke of Luxembourg.

THE FIRST IN AMERICA

The earliest Luxembourgers to emigrate to America came in 1630 with the Dutch to New York City (then New Amsterdam). The first Luxembourger is thought to be Philip de la Noye (or de Lannoy), who arrived on the ship *Fortune*, the sister-ship of the *Mayflower*. Another notable figure from the early years in of Luxembourgers in North America was Father Raphael de Luxembourg who arrived in Louisiana in 1723. Chosen by the King of France to represent the King's interests in the then French colony of Louisiana, Father Raphael also became a leading figure in the Christianization of Native Americans. Noted for his work to provide just pay for Native Americans and blacks, he founded a seminary for Native Americans and the first primary school in the colony.

The greatest influx of Luxembourgers into the United States, however, was during the mid- and late nineteenth century. Between 1841 and 1891, an estimated 45,000 Luxembourgers emigrated to the United States. In the 1830s and 1840s the Luxembourgers arrived in such areas as Maryland, New York and Louisiana. The greatest attraction of the Midwest, where most of them eventually settled, was the availability of fertile and inexpensive farmland. By the 1880s community networks among the settled Luxembourger Americans made further Luxembourger immigration easier and less costly. During this time many came on board ships of the Red Star Line, which sailed from Antwerp, Belgium.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The first significant wave of immigration took place between 1830 and the mid-1840s. These immigrants settled in western New York state, in towns such as Sheldon, in Wyoming County, and New

Oregon, in Erie County. Significant numbers of settlers also settled in Ohio in such places as Alvada, in Seneca County and New Riegel and Kirby, in Wyandot County.

The second important wave between 1846 and 1860 led to a great expansion in the population of Luxembourger Americans. Moving westward, they settled in Illinois. A large number settled in Chicago while smaller, yet significant, numbers settled in Rogers Park, Rosehill, Evanston, Aurora, and what is now Skokie. Further settlements were in eastern Wisconsin's Ozaukee County, including such towns as Port Washington, Belgium, Lake Church, Holy Cross, and Dacada. In the Mississippi Valley there were settlements in Winona County, Minnesota, in the towns of Elba, Rollingstone, and Oak Ridge. There were also settlements in Wabasha County, Minnesota, in such towns as Wabasha and Minnieska. In western Wisconsin settlements were made in La Crosse County in places like St. Joseph and La Crosse. In Eastern Iowa's Jackson County there were settlements in St. Donatus, Springbrook, Bellevue, and St. Catherine, and in Dubuque County settlements were made in Dubuque, Luxemburg, Holy Cross, Cascade, and Worthington.

The third major wave of immigration took place between 1860 and 1900. During the American Civil War (1861-1865) this movement slowed but slowly rose to an all-time high in the 1880s. Following the general trend of earlier settlement patterns, many of these people made their homes in the mid-western states. Those who settled in northern and southeastern Minnesota concentrated in towns like Hastings and Vermillion in Dakota County; Belchester and Luxemburg in Stearns County; and Caledonia in Houston County. Moving into South Dakota, settlers in this wave chose places like Alexandria, Hanson County, and White Lake. In western Iowa the towns of St. Joseph and Algona in Kossuth County were settled, as well as the town of Gilbertville. Moving further south and west, the settlers established the towns of Bellwood, David City, Juniata and Roseland, Nebraska. A smaller influx of Luxembourgers took place between 1937 and 1940, when 200 to 300 Luxembourger Jews fleeing Nazi persecution settled in the United States.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Like many long-settled groups in the United States, very few Luxembourger Americans can speak the language of their ancestors. Despite this, however, a

considerable number still practice traditions handed down through the generations. Even though they have been interacting for over a century with German Americans, many of these people continue to identify themselves as being Luxembourgier.

PROVERBS

Luxembourgiers are fond of sayings that mark important moments in their history and the formation of national identity. One such saying is *Et get fir de glaf!* or “Here goes for faith,” a saying that was used in the Kloppelkrieg rebellion against the French during the reign of Napoleon. This motto was used by peasants when they rose up and by their captured leaders before they were executed.

CUISINE

Among the indigenous Luxembourgier foods found in Luxembourgier American settlement areas, two stand out. The first is *träipen* (*mousträipen*), a sausage consisting of hog’s head, pork blood, cabbage, and spices. It is similar to black pudding. Included in a tradition in which a large meal with *träipen* would be served after midnight mass on Christmas day, *träipen* was a winter food, produced at a time when pigs would be butchered to be made into smoked ham and other foods. A second popular food is known as *stärzelen* (*sterchelen*), buckwheat dumplings with lard greaves.

MUSIC, DANCES, AND SONGS

A number of traditional forms of music and dance were a part of holiday celebrations. In Luxembourg, people would travel to towns such as Echternach, to take part in well-known national festivals. Although there is little information on the exact forms of dance and music carried through the generations of Luxembourgier-Americans, bands with horns and tubas were likely included. In places like New York and Chicago, military bands were made up of Luxembourgier-Americans whose repertoire included tunes from the homeland. Among the variety of songs brought to the United States by Luxembourgiers, perhaps the most well known would have been the national song called the “Wilhelmus.” Other well known Luxembourgier songs included “*De Feierwon, D’ Fëscher an d’ Jëer*,” “*De Kueb an de Fuuss*,” “*Den Éim Steffen*,” “*De Schmitt*,” “*D’ Pierle vum Da*,” “*Léiwier Härgottsblieschen*,” “*Marsch vun der Iechternacher Sprangprëssessioun*,” “*Ons Hemecht*” (the national hymn), “*Rommelpott*,” “*Schuebermëss*,” “*Tass Fréijor*,” and “*Wéi meng*

Mamm nach huet gesponnen.” For more information on the dance of Echternach one can check the website <http://www.restena.lu/primaire/consdorf/luxmidi/luxmidi.html>. Songs and audio can be found at <http://www.restena.lu/primaire/consdorf/luxmidi/luxmidi.html>.

HOLIDAYS

In Luxembourg, around sunset on the first Sunday of Lent, fires are lit in every community. This tradition, called *Burgbrennen*, is one of the four times of the year when such fires are lit. The other times are Easter, the summer solstice, and in the late fall. According to the popular “solar theory” of such festivals found throughout Europe and elsewhere, it is thought that the fires are in some sense a magical imitation of the sun. These fires are lit in the hopes that its imitation might make the sun cooperate in the coming months. Besides the desire for practical results, a strong element of revelry and excess is also displayed at such festivals. A great sacrifice to the spirits of the dead, ancestors, and nature is symbolized in the massive destruction of such bonfires. Often accompanied by feasting and carnivalesque behavior, these bonfires are important elements in communal sentiment and the preservation of tradition.

Burgbrennen began with a form of trick-or-treat. Village youngsters go from house to house begging for wood and kindling for the fire. Carrying these materials up the hill to the site of the fire, the boys hold the stack of wood and kindling while a large pole with a wooden cross is hoisted and planted into the ground. As the cross is secured, the youngsters heap the combustible material around the pole, and it is set ablaze by the man to last marry in the village. Other variations of this ritual involved affixing a large wheel and streamers to the top of the pole, which would in turn be set ablaze and spun.

Burgbrennen has not remained a strong custom among Luxembourgier Americans. While many communities in the United States have retained bonfire-like festivals, usually in the late fall, the tradition of fires at Lent seems to have greatly faded. In Vermillion, Minnesota, however, memories remain of its existence earlier in this century. One account was told by a village elder: “*Bjork Sonntag* was the First Sunday of Lent and the last day of drinking alcohol during Lent. They had a very unusual custom in this area during the evening of *Bjork Sonntag*. Many of the farmers would erect a pole on the highest point of the farm, put rags on top of the pole or put a wheel on top of the pole and cover that with old rags, pour oil on the rags and start the rags/wheel and pole on fire. As to the reason for the

fire on *Bjork Sonntag*, at this time I cannot find out. The people who remember these fires, just remember that this was a custom from the old county that their grandfathers and fathers took part in.”

In late August and early September of every year there is a festival called the *Schueberfouer*, or “Shepherd’s Fair.” This festival was founded by then ruler John the Blind in 1340. Lasting 18 days (except every fifth year when it lasts 25 days), the *Schueberfouer* began as a livestock fair. In addition to livestock and pottery, cloth and woolen articles were also displayed and sold. Craftsmen and weavers were originally the organizers and directors of the fair, giving way to a broader sponsorship and direction in the late eighteenth century. Traditionally, each *Schueberfouer* began with the marching of a flock of sheep called the *Hämmelsmarsch*. A shepherd and his sheep were followed by a band playing the *Hämmelsmarsch* tune. During this procession a door to door collection was made. The origin of the tune for the *Hämmelsmarsch* is unknown. It is known, however, that the carillon of the cathedral was said to have played it in the eighteenth century. The *Schueberfouer* was brought to the United States by Luxembourgers in the nineteenth century.

There is a noted observance of the *Schueberfouer* near the end of the Civil War. An immigrant publication named the *Luxemburger Gazette*, published on September 20, 1917, reported that there had been a northern army military unit founded in 1865 in the Williamsburg area of Brooklyn, New York, which was referred to as the *Lëtzebörger Gard*. When the 80 members of this unit met for a reunion after the war, they decided to organize a yearly gathering on the first Monday of September and to organize this event as a *Schueberfouer* as they had known it in Luxembourg. This event, like the festival in the old country, included a parade, games, dance, and target shooting.

As a result of this reunion and annual *Schueberfouers*, a united group of Luxembourger-Americans was formed. By 1871 this veterans’ group had grown and changed into a new organization called the “Luxembourger Mutual Aid Society.” The growth of this organization was not, however, unique among Luxembourger Americans across the country. Several organizations grew out of organized *Schueberfouers*, in this way, including Chicago’s “Luxembourger Brotherhood of America,” which was founded on the occasion of its annual *Schueberfouer* in 1904. Despite the growth of *Schueberfouers* and similar organizations, the twentieth century has seen a gradual decline in their presence in traditionally Luxembourger communities, including Chicago, Rollingstone, Minnesota, and Remsen, Iowa.

Among Luxembourger-Americans Santa Claus is not a Christmas figure. Rather, a special day was marked early in December to celebrate a “St. Nicholas Day.” It is the custom one week before this day for children to put their slippers in front of their bedroom doors so that they might be filled with a small gift by St. Nicholas while they slept. On the eve of December 6 it is also a tradition for children to place plates on dining room or kitchen tables to be filled overnight with sweets and gifts from St. Nicholas.

Many Luxembourger-Americans continue to follow Christmas traditions handed down from the old country. Many celebrate Christmas Eve with family and friends after attending midnight mass. It is not uncommon for local clubs and association to organize nativity plays with children as actors and to arrange concerts to be given later on Christmas day. Many families of Luxembourger descent today also include traditions from the more mainstream Anglo- and German-American cultures.

LANGUAGE

The native language of the majority of Luxembourgers is *Letzebuergesch* or *Luxembourgisch*. This language descends from a Frankish dialect spoken by people who moved into this area between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. The closest relatives to this language are Flemish, Dutch, and the Plattdeutsch dialects still spoken Germany’s Rhineland. Only a few words derive from Celtic tongues exist in *Letzebuergesch* today. Perhaps the most important retention of Celtic influences are those in the very name of the country and language itself. The presence of French words and phrases is evident in the modern usage of *Letzebuergesch*, yet French has not had the influence on this language that might have been expected over so many years. Since the year 1830 the two legal languages of Luxembourg have been German and French. It was not until 1984 that *Letzebuergesch* was actually named the official language of the country. Very little *Letzebuergesch* has ever been taught in schools, as the language has been mainly learned at home. Although German has been a more popular language within the media, a great many Luxembourgers are wholly conversant in French as well.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

In *Luxembourgisch* the following are equivalent expressions used in daily life: “Good morning/hello” is *Moiën*; “Goodbye” is *Äddi* or *a’voir*; “Thank you (very much)” is *Merçi (villmols)*;

“Sorry” is “Pardon;” “Excuse me” is *Entschëllegt*; and “Please” is *Wannechgift*. The national motto, found everywhere in Luxembourg, is *Mir Wöelle Bleiwe Wat Mir Sin*, or “We want to remain what we are.”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Luxembourg communities of the Midwest, people interacted with one another in several ways. The first was the sharing of farm work. Luxembourg immigrants who were farmers often came to possess land in America ten times or more in size than that of their forebears in the old country. So much land created a great need to organize labor at crucial times of the planting, growing and harvesting seasons. In these crucial times farmers of an area would band together to share in each others' labor. It was thought of as one's responsibility not only to one's neighbor, but to one's family, to offer aid and participate in such communal work. These times of year would provide opportunities for people to come together and share their lives, often holding feasts, dances and other events when the seasonal work was finished. The second important factor in family and community dynamics was the church. Whether providing a time for meeting or providing religious services, the local parish was the focus of community pride. The third major factor was the everyday socializing that took place in towns and farm communities. Among these activities were card playing and quilt making. In town during the summer, people would also go for walks and visit neighbors, often inspecting each other's gardens and discussing their growth, variety, and arrangements.

EDUCATION

In many settlement towns, Luxembourg American education went hand-in-hand with religion. Many of the schools were Catholic and largely staffed by priests, nuns, and lay persons of the Catholic faith. Thus religious and academic instruction were given together, with moral education having great priority. Lessons related to the Catholic rite of catechism were always a part of the school curricula. In the country far from towns, Luxembourg American immigrants often had a one-room schoolhouse education not affiliated with the Catholic church. Despite their isolation from Catholic school instruction in towns, many children were sent to towns to receive weeks of religious education to prepare them for the rite of confirmation or to receive first communion. In some towns

there also were literary societies that aided in the advancement of education within their communities by raising funds and establishing libraries.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The role of women among Luxembourg immigrants was varied. In towns, women worked in shops and other businesses, raised families, and did the great share of domestic chores. They also took part in church activities involving education, community awareness, and minor fundraising for projects. In the country, women were responsible for much of the overall work of the business of the farms, often relying on one another for mutual support in the tasks of child-raising, health care, education, and household economizing.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

In Luxembourg American communities, there were many opportunities for courtship between persons of all ages. Going to church, dances, and school and community events provided a means for socializing. Most persons were allowed to choose whom they wished to court or be courted by, although issues of class, ethnicity and faith often acted as barriers to courting outside of one's own group as defined by parents or other family members.

Marriages are traditionally performed along with a Catholic mass. After the marriage a great feast is held, sometimes lasting days, during which gifts are given, traditional dishes are served, songs are sung, and games are played.

FUNERALS

The rites of funerals in Luxembourg American communities are detailed and depend upon many circumstances, including family choice. Luxembourg Americans have changed many of the nineteenth-century customs that followed them from the old country. All funerals, however did share and continue to share common symbolic meanings of the Catholic faith. The funeral is a time for the affirmation of one's own faith and a time to pray for the Christian salvation of the deceased.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

In Luxembourg American communities, there has traditionally been a close alliance and kinship of custom with German-Americans. Many Luxembourgers spoke German and shared many customs, songs, cuisine and morals with Germans. Although

this helped forge a bond between the two groups, religious differences between many Protestant Germans and Catholic Luxembourgers could still result in friction. Politics from the homeland also came to influence relations between older Luxembourgers and Germans as seen in the many anti-Prussian sentiments expressed by this group around the turn of the twentieth century, in places like Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York City. In time, however, German and Luxembourgian-Americans overcame most of their differences in opinion and have since assimilated to a much greater degree. In relation to other groups Luxembourgers living in towns were often taken for Germans and were sometimes embroiled in anti-German sentiments that arose during World War I.

RELIGION

Throughout their history, the vast majority of Luxembourgers and Luxembourg-American have been Catholic. The country of Luxembourg is covered by one diocese that contains 13 deaneries and 265 parishes in total. Luxembourg has also traditionally been the home of a great number of convents and religious orders, a number that has dwindled since the last century. A small number of Protestants and Jews have also been active for centuries in Luxembourg.

Among Luxembourg-American, Catholic churches have served important roles in preserving their heritage. As is common with many immigrant groups, religious practices maintain certain continuities and ties to the homeland. In the beginning of their settlement in the midwestern states there were very few, if any, established churches or assigned priests to minister to the settlers. The building of a church or the establishment of membership to one nearby was often a top priority. Often many of the community's resources went into the establishment of such local religious institutions. In the year 1877, 92 priests of Luxembourg extraction were ministering to these communities.

A great number of saints popularly venerated in Luxembourg also serve as patron saints of churches in those areas settled by Luxembourg immigrant. In Jackson County, Iowa, for example, one finds a parish dedicated to St. Donatas, the martyr who is thought to protect against storms and lightning, two threats to farmers. Another example is St. Henry's parish, founded in the Luxembourg settlement area north of Chicago and named after a saint who was closely related to Siegfried, the first count of Luxembourg. Symbols of Luxembourg, including the Luxembourg crest, are often found in

such shrines dedicated to Luxembourg saints.

Among the many traditions that center on the church, perhaps the most prominent is the one called the *Kiirmes*. This term, which is a contraction of the words *kirch* (church) and *messe* (mass) signifies the mass that is performed when a church is consecrated. This celebration traditionally took place on the Sunday following the feast day of the patron saint of the consecrated church. The more secular aspects of this event and celebration in Luxembourg culture involved the gathering of families during the anniversaries of such church consecration masses. At such times, usually between April and November, and most in late fall, very special meals were prepared, and the celebration would last for days.

In America *Kiirmes* took a different form. It was not the consecration of their own churches that was celebrated, but rather the day in which *Kiirmes* had been celebrated in the village in Luxembourg from which they came. *Kiirmes* was, then, an occasion for reunions of families and old country family friends. As those born in Luxembourg grew older and died, this tradition faded, along with the memories of ancestral villages and parishes from where they came.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Luxembourg-American did not shy away from politics or government in their new home. Many were active proponents of political causes and several held elected and non-elected positions in public service. Among their group's notable political sentiments was anti-Prussianism, a position that reflected both concerns with the government of the Luxembourg and Luxembourgers' place in relation to German-Americans in many parts of the United States. Another notable moment in Luxembourg-American political history occurred when the United States entered the war against Germany in 1914. At this time Luxembourg-American came out in numbers strongly for the United States effort and against Germany.

MILITARY

One example of a Luxembourg who found success through the military was Dominik Welter. At the age of 11, Welter came from Luxembourg to settle with his family in Ohio. As a young man Welter struck out and traveled west to seek a fortune in the Gold Rush but eventually returned to his family in

Ohio without having had success. In 1861, at the advent of the Civil War, Welter joined the Fourth Ohio Cavalry and worked his way up the ranks to become a captain. Captured at the battle of Chickamauga, he was detained in a prisoner of war camp until the war's end in 1865. After the war in 1877, still a member of the army he traveled to Chicago where he was given the command of a cavalry unit. After resigning from the army Welter was hired as Secretary of Police for Chicago and given the rank of inspector. In the following years he, along with a fellow Luxembourger named Michael Schaack, were the leaders of a political and social organization named the Luxembourg Independent Club of Chicago.

RELATIONS WITH LUXEMBOURG

Throughout the nineteenth century contacts between the Luxembourgers in the United States and in Luxembourg were maintained in various ways. It was not uncommon for visitors from either land to stay awhile and work, often to return with news from either side of the Atlantic. These visitors, some from one's extended family, were not the only conduits on information, however. The Catholic church itself provided many forms of exchange between the two countries as well. It was not uncommon for Luxembourg bishops to keep contact with their emigrated countrymen. One bishop named Koppes made two trips from Luxembourg to America, one in 1901 and one in 1910. Much later, in 1965, another bishop named Lommel is noted for having made a trip to America to invite Luxembourger-Americans to the bicentennial of the Marial festivities in Luxembourg. Another bishop, Jean Hengen, made a trip to Carey, Ohio, in 1975 to participate in the centennial celebration in honor of the founding of the pilgrimage to that community's Our Lady of Consolation shrine.

The importation and circulation of religious objects and figures have also helped to maintain contacts. For example, a church in St. Donatus, Iowa, received a pieta sculpture of Luxembourg artist Victor Thibeau for its pietal chapel. Another of Thibeau's creations was also donated to a church in Schewebsange, Luxembourg.

In addition to these religious and artistic realms, several organizations are dedicated to issues concerning Luxembourger-Americans, including the Luxembourg Jewish Society, begun in 1958 in New York, the Luxembourg-American Social Club established in Chicago in 1960, and the American Luxembourg Society, founded in 1963.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

While Luxembourger Americans have been a relatively small group in population with only some 50,000 total immigrants, they have made a great many contributions to American society.

ACADEMIA

Eduard Conzemius gained acclaim in the earlier part of this century as one of the foremost ethnographers of Central American peoples. Emigrating from Luxembourg to the United States to join his brother, Conzemius moved to Chicago and was first employed by the Sherman House Hotel. In the following years he studied English and Spanish while making money as an accountant in Chicago and New Orleans. In 1916 he decided to pursue his dream to study Central American Indians. Leaving the US, he spent time in Honduras and Nicaragua living with the Miskito, Sumu and Rama Indians. In 1932 the Smithsonian Institution published the results of his work on the native languages of these people in a monograph entitled *Ethnological Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua*.

ART

Jean Noerdinger, a prominent modernist artist and proponent of modernism emigrated from Diekirch, Luxembourg to the Chicago area in 1925. While in Luxembourg, Noerdinger had been an outspoken critic of the Luxemburg Artists Union, whose power in support of conservative art he opposed, along with a group of artists he led. While in America he continued to exhibit his art and paint portraits.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Perhaps the greatest star of Luxembourger-American descent was the actress Loretta Young. Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, in January 1913, Young received her first part when she was four through her uncle, who was working as an assistant director in Hollywood. In 1927 she had another small part in the film *Naughty, But Nice*. From this point into the early thirties, Young was acting in six to nine films each year. In the mid-1930s Young joined the Fox studios and by then had become one of Hollywood's most prominent leading ladies. In 1947 she was awarded the Academy Award for best actress in *The Farmer's Daughter*, a film about a girl from a rural area who works her way into the U.S. House of Representatives as a congresswoman. In 1949 she was nominat-

ed again for an Academy Award. In 1953 Young began her television career with her series *The Loreta Young Show*. This show gained Young Emmy Awards in 1954, 1956, and 1958. After 1962 Young did not appear before the camera until 1986, when she starred in a made-for-television film called *Lady in the Corner*. In 1996 she was retired and living happily in Palm Springs, California.

JOURNALISM

Nicholas Gonner is chiefly known as the author of an authoritative study of the emigration of Luxembourgers into the New World entitled *Die Luxemburger in der neuen Welt: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Luxemburger* (Luxembourgers in the New World: Contributions to the History of the Luxembourgers). This work was written for and published by the *Luxemburger Gazette*, published in Dubuque, Iowa, in 1889 and was meant to be not only a chronicle of Luxembourger success in the New World, but also to be read in Europe as a testament to the success in “the land of opportunity,” as the United States imagined itself.

LITERATURE AND MUSIC

Although Luxembourg itself has been home to a great many writers in French, Luxembourgeois and German, Luxembourger-Americans have yet to make conspicuous inroads into American literature.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Among prominent scientists of Luxembourger descent are Johann and Joseph Druecker, two brothers from Ozaukee County, Wisconsin. In 1884, the Drueckers invented a gas lime-kiln that greatly improved their own business and the lime industry overall. Also notable is biologist Francois Mergen.

SOCIAL ISSUES

The first Luxembourger-American to serve in the United States Congress was Nicholas Muller. Born in Luxembourg on November 15, 1836, he attended common schools in the city of Metz and thereafter attended the Luxembourg Athenaeum. Upon immigrating to the United States, the family settled in New York City. Muller was employed as a railroad ticket agent for over 20 years, during which time he was one of the promoters and directors of the Germania Bank in New York. From 1875 to 1876 Muller served as a member of the State Assembly of New York and was also a member of the State Cen-

tral Committee. In 1876 Muller was elected as a Democrat to the Forty-fifth and then re-elected to the Forty-sixth Congress, serving from March 4, 1877, to March 3, 1881. Losing his seat after an unsuccessful re-election bid in late 1880, Muller regained it in 1882, serving another five years until 1887. In 1888, Muller was appointed president of the New York City Police Board and to one other minor office until he was again elected to the U.S. Congress, where he served until his resignation on December 1, 1902. After holding and attempting to hold other minor offices, Muller died in New York City, December 12, 1917.

Another addition to the history of Luxembourger-Americans was the thirty-second President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt is said to be descendant of Philip de la Noye (or de Lannoy), who arrived on the ship *Fortune*. De la Noye is thought to be the first Luxembourger to emigrate to North America. Roosevelt was born on January 30, 1882, in Hyde Park, New York, and served as President from 1933 until his death on April 12, 1945.

SPORTS

Perhaps the most famous athlete of Luxembourger-American descent is tennis star Chris Evert. Born in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on December 21, 1954, Evert came to dominate the sport of tennis throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s and continued to win many important matches into the late 1980s. In 1970, at the age of 15, Evert made her first mark in an important match, beating top-ranked Margaret Court in a small tournament. Having become a professional on her eighteenth birthday in 1972, by the time of her retirement in the late 1980s she had earned nearly \$9,000,000. Evert won the U.S. Open women's singles title from 1975-1978, as well in the years 1980 and 1982. She won the Wimbledon singles title in 1974, 1976, and 1981, the French Open singles title in 1974, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1983, 1985, and 1986, and the Australian Open singles title in 1982 and 1984. Her World Tennis Association singles titles number 157. In 1995 Evert was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame. In 1985, she was named Greatest Woman Athlete of the last 25 years by the Women's Sports Foundation.

VISUAL ARTS

Edward Steichen, one of the most prominent American figures in the art of photography, was born in Luxembourg on March 27, 1879. In 1882 his parents moved from Luxembourg to settle in Hancock,

Michigan. By the age of 21, Steichen had achieved a moderate degree of success as a photographer, having had his pictures shown in Chicago and Philadelphia. His photographs portrayed a distinctive soft and fuzzy quality. In his day these photographs were considered highly innovative. In the following decades, Steichen became one of the most sought after and lauded photographers in the United States, showing his photos in many of the major shows of this era. During his service in the First World War Steichen's artistic philosophy and direction changed profoundly. Returning home after the war, he loudly proclaimed his rejection of impressionism and the other elements of style he had made famous and strongly supported a stark form of realism. Steichen then burned all his paintings in a bonfire and took up commercial photography in a studio that he operated from 1923 to 1938. During this time he photographed literary and artistic personalities as well as members of the elite of New York City, and he became the chief photographer for *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue* magazines. With the outbreak of World War II, Steichen, then 62 years of age, was commissioned by the U.S. Navy to photograph the war at sea. During and after the war Steichen continued to have major shows and became the director of photography at the Museum of Modern Art in 1947, a post that he held until 1962. He worked until his death on March 25, 1973.

MEDIA

PRINT

Luxembourg News of America.

This monthly publication is meant to serve as a medium of communication for Luxembourgers living in the United States and also for their descendants and friends. It contains news of Luxembourg societies and anything of interest in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Address: 496 North Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, Illinois 60629.

Telephone: (312) 394-8253.

Although there are no other well known papers, or radio or television programs that address Luxembourger-American cultural issues today, the various organizations and associations that concern themselves with Luxembourger-American issues have a wealth of printed and printable, audio and visual materials, accessible by phone, fax or the internet.

INTERNET

Both of the following sites contain many helpful links to more information about Luxembourger American culture and heritage.

Michaelus Luxembourg Links.

Online: <http://artmichaelis.com/links/luxlinks.html>.

Luxembourg Connections.

Shelby County, Iowa, Genealogy.

Online: <http://www.rootsweb.com/~iashelby/lux.htm>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Stearns History Museum.

Address: 235 33rd Avenue South, St. Cloud, Minnesota 56301.

Telephone: (320) 253-8424.

Fax: (320) 253-2172.

E-mail: info@stearns-museum.org.

Online: <http://www.stearns-museum.org>.

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M ACEDONIAN AMERICANS

by
Elizabeth Shostak

OVERVIEW

The Republic of Macedonia is a country slightly larger than the state of Vermont and measures 25,333 square kilometers. Located on the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe, Macedonia is bordered on the north by Yugoslavia, on the south by Greece, on the west by Bulgaria, and on the east by Albania. It is a landlocked and mountainous country, and only about four percent of its land is suitable for crops. The region experiences a high rate of seismic activity, making it susceptible to earthquake damage. It has few natural resources other than mineral deposits. Macedonians have traditionally made their living from farming, herding, and mining.

Macedonia's population is estimated at approximately 2,194,000 and is comprised of a mix of ethnic groups. Sixty-seven percent are identified as ethnic Macedonians. Albanians make up the largest minority, with 21 percent of the population, and small Turkish and Serbian populations are also represented. The majority of Macedonians, 59 percent, belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church, while 26 percent are Muslims. Small Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish communities are also present. Eight languages are spoken in Macedonia. The official language, Macedonian, is spoken by 70 percent of the population. Twenty-one percent speak Albanian, three percent speak Turkish, and three percent speak Serbo-Croatian. Smaller numbers speak

Easter is the greatest holiday in the Eastern Orthodox Church, and Macedonians in the United States continue to observe it seriously. Easter is celebrated two weeks after the Roman Catholic Easter, in accordance with the Eastern Orthodox Church's adherence to the Gregorian calendar.

Adyghe, Romanian, Romani, and Balakan Gagauz Turkish. The capital of Macedonia is Skopje (SKOHP-yeh). The Macedonian flag consists of a 16-point gold sun centered on a red field.

HISTORY

The Republic of Macedonia was created in 1991 when the country obtained independence from Yugoslavia. But Macedonian history is long and complex. The Macedonians are a Slavic people, with close ethnic and linguistic ties to Bulgaria, as well as political and church ties to Greece. The earliest civilizations in the Macedonian region have been traced back to at least 3500 B.C., and by about 1000 B.C., several population groups, including Dacians, Thracians, Illyrians, Celts, and Greeks, coexisted in the area. Macedonia had perhaps its greatest period of political power during the fourth century B.C., when King Philip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great, strengthened and expanded the Macedonian empire. By 29 A.D., however, Rome had subdued the region and ruled it for several centuries. The Romans incorporated Macedonia into their Eastern Empire, controlled by Constantinople. Beginning in the third century A.D., tribes of Goths, Huns, and Avars invaded the region. By about the middle of the sixth century, Slavic peoples began to settle in Macedonia. A century later, Bulgars, a Turco-Ugrian people of remote Mongolian origin, invaded and were assimilated by the Slavs. The Bulgars established the First Bulgarian Kingdom, which included much of Macedonia's territory. During the ninth century A.D., future saints Cyril and Methodius brought Christianity to the region. Their disciples devised a Slavic alphabet (the Cyrillic alphabet that is also used in Russian) in order to promote literacy in the vernacular.

In the tenth century, the Bulgarian Kingdom split into two. The western kingdom, with its capital in Ohrid, is considered the first Slavic Macedonian state. It was ruled by Tsar Samuil (997-1014) but was conquered by the Byzantine Empire in 1018. Except for a brief period of Serbian control under Stefan Dusan (1331-55), Macedonia remained under Ottoman rule until 1912. This long period of Turkish control was considered the most stable in Macedonian history, and deeply influenced language and social traditions throughout the Balkan region. At the same time, however, Ottoman rule was harsh and authoritarian, and fueled increasing dissent from the subjected population. In 1876, the Bulgarians staged an armed revolt against the Turks, which was brutally subdued and resulted in an indiscriminate massacre of civilians. From that time, intense anti-Turkish sentiment

continued, and the region became increasingly destabilized.

MODERN ERA

The early twentieth century was a period of intense conflict and volatility throughout the Balkans as various states competed for power. When the Ottoman Empire began to dissolve at the end of the nineteenth century, Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria all sought cultural and territorial claims over Macedonia. In response to these threats, Macedonians organized the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in 1893. IMRO's aim was to preserve "Macedonia for the Macedonians," and on August 2, 1903, it proclaimed independence from the Turks. Though this rebellion was harshly suppressed, it made the "Macedonian Question" an international concern for several years. In 1912, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria successfully united in the First Balkan War to eject the Turks from Europe, after which the competing states sought to strengthen their claims to Macedonia. The Serbian army occupied Skopje and claimed "Vardar Macedonia" as a Serbian colony. The Greek army occupied Salonika, which it deemed part of "Aegean Macedonia," virtually excluding Bulgaria from the region. The occupying forces instituted harsh campaigns to force the population to renounce its Macedonian identity. They encouraged Serbian and Greek colonists to move to these regions, suppressed the Macedonian language, and forced priests to convert to the Greek or Serbian Orthodox religions.

Bulgaria's loss of Macedonia precipitated decades of conflict and violence, which arguably contributed to the ethnic hostilities that resurfaced in the Balkans during the 1990s. After a surprise attack on Serbian forces in Macedonia in 1913, which initiated the Second Balkan War, Bulgaria was again defeated and stripped of its claims to Macedonian territory. Despite alliances with Germany in both the First and Second World Wars, during which Macedonia suffered brutal invasions and "Bulgarization" campaigns, Bulgaria was unable to reestablish its hold on Macedonia. In 1945, the new Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, controlled by a Communist party actively sympathetic to the Macedonian cause, created a People's Republic of Macedonia. This region, which incorporated the boundaries of the later independent republic, was a semi-autonomous constituent republic within the Yugoslav federation. The Communist party encouraged the renewal of Macedonian cultural life, promoting the Macedonian language and restoring the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

After the Yugoslav federation broke up in 1989, Macedonia declared independence on November 20, 1991. A new constitution went into effect that day, and Kiro Gligorov was elected president. Ethnic and political discord, however, remained. Greece, which has a province called Macedonia in its northern region, objected to the country's use of that name. Bulgaria, which has a significant Macedonian minority population, has also historically objected to the idea of an independent Macedonian nation.

THE FIRST MACEDONIANS IN AMERICA

Although Macedonian immigration to the United States did not truly begin until the early twentieth century, there is evidence to suggest that the first Macedonian to arrive in America, Dragan of Ohrid, sailed with Christopher Columbus. There are different accounts of Dragan. One story claims he was a religious heretic who escaped persecution in Macedonia by fleeing to Spain. He was later discovered, however, and condemned to death. Columbus saved Dragan from burning at the stake by recruiting him for his first trip to America. Another account claims that Dragan was expelled from Ohrid with his family when he was a child, after the city fell to the Turks. The family moved to Spain, where Dragan advanced in the military, became a favorite of the crown, and sailed with Columbus on his second voyage. According to this story, after Dragan returned to Europe he formed his own expedition and sailed with this crew to Venezuela. Seeing that the native people there lived along the water in marshy areas, as in Venice, he bestowed the name "Venezia" on the land. He then went to Panama, allegedly becoming the first white man to set foot in that country.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Macedonian immigration to the United States began in the early twentieth century, as poverty forced many peasants to seek economic opportunities abroad. Most of these early immigrants considered themselves Bulgarians from Macedonia, and entry records from the period usually listed them as Bulgarian, Turkish, Serbian, Albanian, or Greek nationals. For this reason, it is difficult to determine precise numbers of Macedonian immigrants. It is estimated, however, that between 1903 and 1906, approximately 50,000 Macedonian Bulgarians entered the United States. From 1906 to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars and World War I, a few thousand more arrived. The first Macedonian immigrants came primarily from the western parts of

Macedonia, near the towns of Kastoria, Florina, and Bitola. About 80 percent of these immigrants were peasants, with small craftsmen, workers, and intellectuals making up the remainder. The vast majority of early Macedonian immigrants were *gurbetchii* or *pechalbari*, single men driven by poverty to seek their fortunes in America, but who expected to return to their homeland after a few years.

American Protestant churches played a notable role in Macedonian immigration. Congregational and Methodist churches began missionary activities in the Balkans in the 1860s and 1870s, and sent many Bulgarians and Macedonians to the United States to attend college. When these individuals returned, they spoke highly of their experiences in America. In addition, the churches established numerous schools in Balkan cities and towns. These activities created a positive image of America and prompted interest in immigration.

After World War I, many Macedonians in America returned to Europe, with only about 20,000 Macedonians remaining in the United States. Further immigration was seriously affected by passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 (the Johnson-Reed Act), which established quotas for each national group based on their numbers in the American population in 1920. Because Macedonian immigration had begun so late, and because many immigrants had returned to their homeland, the basis for the Macedonian quota was extremely low. Nevertheless, though new immigration was much slower during the period between the world wars, Macedonians continued to enter the United States. Many arrived via Canada, crossing the border into Detroit to evade quota restrictions. During this period, increasing numbers of Macedonians also arrived from Greece. By 1945, the number of Macedonians in the United States had reached an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 people.

When the Yugoslav Federation was created after World War II, however, Macedonian immigration slowed significantly. Yugoslavia's support of Macedonian autonomy, as well as economic improvements in Macedonia, encouraged Macedonians to remain there. From 1945 to 1960, only about 2,000 Macedonians arrived in the United States from Yugoslavia. During the 1960s and 1970s, however, after emigration policies were liberalized, as many as 40,000 Macedonians left Yugoslavia for Canada, Australia, and the United States. Few from Bulgaria, however, were allowed to leave. As many as 70,000 Macedonians living in Greece left that country after World War II, when Slavs were expelled from the area. Many settled in Canada, where the Macedonian community in

Toronto grew to more than 100,000. Smaller numbers moved to Australia and the United States.

During the 1990s, Macedonian immigration again increased. Newcomers followed the same settlement patterns of earlier immigrants, settling in large urban centers in the Midwest. Like earlier generations, most came to take advantage of economic opportunities. Others entered the United States to enroll in colleges and universities. The 1990 U.S. census listed the number of Macedonian Americans as 20,365 but that figure almost certainly under represents the actual population.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Though a small proportion of Macedonians who came to the United States from Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s were political dissidents, the majority of Macedonian immigrants were compelled by economic motives. Early Macedonian immigrants from Bulgaria settled in America's northern and eastern industrial centers, especially in the Midwest, where they were able to find unskilled jobs in heavy industries. A large community sprang up in Detroit, which numbered from as many as 15,000 to 20,000 Macedonian Americans by the 1980s. Macedonians also settled in large numbers in Gary, Indiana, Chicago, Illinois, and the Ohio cities of Columbus, Akron, Lorain, Cincinnati, Canton, and Massillon. Other communities were established in Passaic, New Jersey and in New York City, Lackawanna, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse, New York.

Adjusting to industrial jobs and a competitive economic setting was often difficult for Macedonian immigrants, who had come from relatively poor rural areas dominated by an authoritative political regime. Upon their arrival in the United States, they often took hazardous jobs in mines, steel mills and foundries, and railroad construction. Since most immigrants were single men, residents from the same village or region in their homeland tended to stay together in America for social support. Coffee houses and boarding houses became important places where immigrants could socialize and share job prospects, read newspapers and discuss politics, and participate in their associations. Where Macedonians were few in number, they often associated with other Slavic or Orthodox communities.

Macedonian immigrants established fraternal, mutual aid, and cultural societies in America that offered assistance when members lost their jobs or became ill. These societies were organized according to place of origin, and often sent material aid back to their respective villages in Macedonia. The

Orthodox Church also served as an important cohesive presence.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The first Macedonian immigrants endured poverty and harsh working conditions when they first arrived in the United States. Many received daily wages below \$2.50, and lived in crowded and unhealthy conditions in large cities. It was customary for several men from the same village in Macedonia to share a small flat or house, often without running water and electricity. Space was so limited that the men had to sleep in shifts, sharing the same bedding. Most lived extremely frugally, reluctant to spend their hard-earned money on anything except the most basic necessities so that they could more quickly save enough to return to their homeland. Though many did eventually return, a large number eagerly embraced Americanization. Some Anglicized their surnames and severed all ties with Macedonia. Others, however, developed identities tied to both their new American homes and their native traditions.

Much about American life was exciting or even shocking to Macedonian immigrants, who had come from a very isolated and impoverished area. Electricity, telephones, and other modern inventions amazed them. However, the large buildings, crowded conditions, pollution, and frantic pace of industrialized cities often demoralized them. In his memoir, *The Eagle and the Stork: An American Memoir*, Macedonian immigrant Stoyan Christowe described the profound disappointment and alienation his uncle and his father found in the factory work and anonymity of the city: "My uncle was here only with his body. His mind, his heart, his whole being were back in the homeland where life had meaning for him, where life was rooted in decency and dignity. The man he worked for there was his host and not his boss. That was because he was building him a house to live in, or a barrel to keep his wine in, or a wedding chest for his daughter. He could sit down with him for a glass of brandy or a cup of Turkish coffee. This America was boring into his life like a worm into the core of an apple, hollowing out the soundness, the meaning."

For other immigrants, however, American offered opportunities they were eager to exploit. Christowe himself avidly learned English and sought an education, and others were able to establish themselves in better-paying jobs as they increased their job skills and experience. Younger

generations of Macedonian Americans have become fully integrated into the mainstream American culture.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Many Macedonian customs and traditions were associated with religious holidays, pre-Christian beliefs, or were tied to the agricultural cycle. Making and jumping over bonfires, a practice that probably originated in pagan times, was often incorporated into the celebration of Christian holidays. On festive occasions throughout the year, villagers would visit their neighbors to wish them good luck, health, and prosperity. On the Eve of St. John (midsummer's day), it was customary to tell omens. Bulgarian and Macedonian housewives observed several customs to ensure prosperity and to keep their homes free of dangers. For example, they used cakes to rid their homes of evil spirits. On Mice Day, October 27, they would spread mud over the threshold and hearth to "muddle over" the mice's eyes, preventing them from seeing food stored in the house. During Wolf Days in November, women would tie their scissors shut to keep wolves from opening their mouths and would refuse to sew any clothes for their husbands to keep them from turning into werewolves. On November 30, St. Andrew's Day, women cooked wheat, lentils, and beans to keep bears away.

CUISINE

Traditional Macedonian foods reflect both the region's indigenous crops and its ethnically mixed history. Ingredients such as feta cheese, yogurt, peppers, cucumbers, tomatoes, and eggplant are commonly used. Food is often flavored with paprika, lemon juice, garlic, or vinegar. When meat is served, it is usually lamb or mutton. Seasonal fruits such as sour cherries, plums, quinces, and grapes are made into thick jam (*slatko*), which is traditionally served to visitors and eaten from a glass jar with a spoon. Milk is used to make a rich cheese-like appetizer, *kajmak*, or is fermented into yogurt. There are several versions of *pindzhur*, a traditional Macedonian vegetable dish made from tomatoes, green peppers, and eggplant. It is usually either baked or stir-fried, and served with feta cheese and fresh bread. *Tarator* is a cucumber salad seasoned with yogurt, vinegar, and garlic, and sometimes garnished with walnuts. Other traditional dishes include stuffed peppers (*polneti piperki*), stuffed grape leaves (*sarma od lozov list*), and mousaka (*musaka*), a casserole of meat, eggplant, and rice bound with a custard sauce. A popular item at barbecues is *kjebapchinja*, a sea-

soned mixture of beef or veal and lamb that is grilled and served with scallions, tomatoes, and hot peppers. Also served is *muchkalica*, seasoned mutton grilled on skewers. Festive occasions call for special baked goods such as *baklava*, a honey-dipped layered pastry often filled with ground walnuts, and *burek*, a yeast pastry filled with feta cheese. Macedonians also enjoy Turkish coffee (*Tursko Kafe*), a legacy from centuries of Turkish rule.

MUSIC

Macedonian folk music combines influences from several ethnic traditions. Centuries of Ottoman rule brought to Macedonian music a distinctly eastern tone and style, which was further enhanced by the significant contributions of Gypsy (Rom) musicians. A notable legacy from the Turks was the introduction in the nineteenth century of brass bands, which Macedonian and Gypsy musicians adapted to their own musical traditions. The popularity of brass bands waned in the late twentieth century, however, as Macedonian nationalism gained momentum.

Macedonian folk songs were to be played or sung by shepherds in their fields, and are distinguished by very slow introductory parts and sections of intricate improvisations known as *trepaza*. These variations are thought to resemble the several courses of a grand feast, in which many flavors are mingled in one meal. Their melodies show an eastern influence which ethnic musicologists have linked to the ancient oboe technique of circular, continuous breathing. Instruments commonly used in Macedonian music include the *zurla*, an ancient folk oboe similar to those used in Turkey, Central Asia, and Northern Africa, and the *kaval*, a vertical flute. One of the region's most characteristic instruments is the *gaida*, or Bulgarian bagpipe, which is often used as a solo instrument but is also sometimes accompanied by the *dumbek*, a hand-held drum. The *tambura*, a pear-shaped stringed instrument, is similar to the Bulgarian *gadulka*, and has been compared in tone to the American banjo. The clarinet and the accordion are also popular instruments.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Costumes worn for ceremonial occasions in Macedonia are often heavily embroidered and very colorful. The Valley Bridal Dress worn in the Prilep region is dominated by red and bright yellow, while the Bitola Valley Dress is mostly yellow and black. According to an article in James Nicoloff's *Macedonia*, the Prilep dress is heavily ornamented with

embroidery and metal and bead ornaments. It consists of a smock (*golema*) which is almost completely covered with embroidered circles on the sleeves and with stylized blossom and horseshoe patterns on the front and the border of the skirt. Knitted multi-colored cuffs are worn on the lower arms. An embroidered cotton upper garment, the *valanka*, is embellished with tufted fringes and braid along the seams. The *chulter*, an intricately woven apron, is worn below the black wool girdle or belt. In back, the *potkolchelniche*, trimmed with beads and old silver coins, is worn beneath the girdle. Scarves and a necklace, both trimmed with old coins, are also worn. On the head is placed a *fes*, ornamented with rows of silver coins that hang down beside the face. A garland of spruce is placed above the *fes*. A hair decoration, the *kocelj*, is made from twisted woolen yarn and hangs down from the shoulders. Flame-colored stockings and homemade slippers complete the costume.

The corresponding men's dress consists of the *aba*, an undershirt made of hand-woven wool, a long linen smock with embroidered sleeves, front, and skirt, knitted cuffs worn on the arms below the elbow, and white broadcloth breeches. A brightly-colored girdle (*kemer*) is worn beneath a black broadcloth waistcoat, which is embellished with multicolored embroidery, buttons, and flame-colored trimmings. A distinctive black astrakhan and velvet cap is worn on the head, and white stockings, decorated garters, and cowhide slippers with straps complete the costume. Men also wear a knife (*zhrenche*) with a chain and a horn sheath as part of this traditional garb.

DANCES AND SONGS

Many Macedonian folk songs were influenced by Gypsy (Rom) music, which was in turn affected by Macedonian traditions. A humorous song popular among Gypsy musicians but sung in Macedonian is "Da Me Molat Ne Se Zhenam" ("I Won't Get Married"). The singer laments that if he married a young girl, she would never stay home but if he married an older one she would quarrel with him. If he married a village girl, she would call him Daddy, and if he took a widow for his wife she would already have children. He decides a divorcee would leave him, and a town girl would drive him away. So he will marry no one at all. "Pesna I Devojka" ("The Song and the Girl") is also performed in Macedonian. A haunting Macedonian pastoral melody is "Aj Zajdi Zajdi Jasno Sonce," sung to kaval accompaniment. Other traditional Macedonian songs include "Makedonsko Kevojce" ("Macedonian Girl"), "Majko Mila Moja Makedonijo," and "Katerino."

Balkan dances are colorful and festive. As with music and songs, they show some borrowing from Gypsy traditions. Many Macedonian dances are based on the *Horo*, or circle dance.

HOLIDAYS

Easter is the most significant holiday in the Eastern Orthodox Church, and Macedonians in the United States continue to observe it seriously. Easter is celebrated two weeks after the Roman Catholic Easter, in accordance with the Eastern Orthodox Church's adherence to the Gregorian calendar. Macedonian American families dye eggs a deep red, to symbolize the blood of Christ, and enjoy the custom of tapping an egg against another person's to try to crack it without cracking one's own. The egg that remains intact symbolizes good luck. Christmas Day (*Bozhik*) is also important. Though the traditions of Santa Claus and Christmas trees did not exist in Macedonia, they have become a part of holiday celebrations in many Macedonian American families.

LANGUAGE

Macedonian is a South Slavic language closely related to Bulgarian. Like Russian, it is written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Unlike Russian, however, modern Macedonian does not change the endings of nouns according to their grammatical case. Standard Macedonian is based on the country's western dialects, which are the most distinct from Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian. Northern dialects are similar to Serbian dialects, and eastern dialects are closest to Bulgarian. Macedonian has 31 sounds and a letter for each sound, making it a completely phonetic language that is easy to learn to read and write. A Macedonian-English dictionary of 50,000 words, scheduled for publication around 1999 and the largest edition to that date, reflects a strong interest in the Macedonian language among communities in English-speaking countries.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

The usual Macedonian greeting is *zdravo* (ZDRA-vuh), or "hi." More formal greetings are *dobro utro* (DOE-bruh OO-troh), "good morning" or *dobar den* (DOE-bar DAIN), "good day." "Good night" is *dobra nok* (DOE-bruh NOK-yih). *Kako cte?* (KAK-uh STAI) means "how are you?" and *dobrodojdovte* (DOE-bruh DOY-dux-tai) means "welcome."

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Macedonian immigrants who chose to remain in the United States in the early 1900s often returned to their native land when it was time to marry, bringing their new brides back with them to America. Those who chose their wives in the United States often favored women of Macedonian or Bulgarian ancestry. Though marriage outside the ethnic group was tolerated, Macedonians practiced a high rate of endogamy (same-group marriage), which strengthened family and community bonds. It was not unusual for several generations of Macedonian American families to remain in the same geographic area and to maintain close personal and professional contacts. Perhaps because the Macedonian American population is relatively small, the community has organized associations and festivities, such as folk dancing, concerts, and picnics, to foster group solidarity.

EDUCATION

Though the earliest Macedonian immigrants arrived in the United States with little or no formal education, they quickly availed themselves of new opportunities to improve their literacy skills. Political organizations such as the American Socialists were an important means of spreading literacy. They published several newspapers and magazines in Macedonian and other Slavic languages, and found an interested readership. Many immigrants eagerly studied English and went to school to learn the skills that would enable them to take full advantage of opportunities in America. Within a few generations, Macedonian Americans were attending college and universities and entering the professions.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

It is a Macedonian custom to prepare a special type of fritter, called *pituli*, to celebrate the birth of a baby. Babies are ceremonially baptized according to the rites of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

When Macedonian women followed their husbands to the United States, they often took jobs outside the home a departure from their customary role in Europe. Women in America often worked with their husbands in family businesses. In addition, they played a central role in maintaining Macedonian culture in America. They preserved culinary tra-

ditions in their homes and were active in church groups, Sunday schools, and social organizations.

WEDDINGS

Macedonian Americans have continued to celebrate many wedding traditions from earlier generations. The night before the wedding (*kolak* or *kvas*) is spent feasting and dancing. The next morning, friends and family of the groom gather at his home for the groom-shaving ritual. The godparents, known as *kym* and *kyma*, ceremoniously give the groom his last shave as a single man as the guests sing, dance, and feast. During the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom, sometimes joined by their fathers, participate in the “breaking of the bread” to see who will “wear the pants” in the new household. After the wedding ceremony, the male members of the wedding party often perform the Macedonian Pig Dance at the reception. Holding bottles of wine as well as forks and knives, they dance into the reception area carrying a roasted pig. They dance, shout, and whistle in front of the *kym* and *kyma*, demanding “payment” for the feast, and continue until the pig bearer is satisfied with the amount paid.

“One of the first customs to be lost in this country, and indeed, a custom which lost favor some years ago in Macedonia, is the arranged marriage. Match-makers (Macedonia: *posturnitsi*; Bulgarian: *svatovnitsi*), usually older women, were contacted by one of the sets of parents and it was she and she alone who completed the necessary negotiations. The bride and groom-to-be were simply not consulted.”

Philip R. Tilney, *Immigrant Macedonian Wedding in Ft. Wayne*, (Indiana Folklore, vol. III, no. 1, 1970).

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

The first groups of Macedonian Americans tended to congregate in areas where there were other Southern Slavic populations. They lived among their fellow Macedonians and Bulgarians, as well as Croats and other immigrants from the Balkan region. In areas with only small numbers of Macedonians, they tended to be most comfortable with other Orthodox Slavs. Their pan-Slavic attitudes often brought them into contact with Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians, with whom they frequently associated in left-wing political groups.

After the creation of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991, tensions escalated between Slavic and Greek Macedonians in the United States and

Canada. When a Macedonian group organized a pavilion at the Toronto Carvan in 1991, the Greek pavilion boycotted the festival, claiming that the Republic of Macedonia had stolen territory from Greece. Macedonians coined the derogatory term “Gerkoman” to refer to ethnic Macedonians who considered themselves Greek instead of Slavic.

RELIGION

The vast majority of Macedonians who immigrated to the United States were members of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and religious affiliation played a central role in maintaining ethnic identity, language, and native traditions. Early immigrants established parishes under the jurisdiction of the patriarch (head of the church) in Sofia, Bulgaria. The first Bulgarian Orthodox church in America was Sts. Cyril and Methodius, established in Granite City, Illinois in 1909. Others included St. Stephen in Indianapolis, founded in 1915, St. Clement Ohridsky in Detroit, founded in 1929, and St. Trinity in Madison, Illinois, founded in 1929. The Bulgarian Orthodox Mission for the entire United States and Canada, which in 1937 was renamed the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church, Diocese of the United States and Canada, was centered in Indianapolis. In 1962, a group of Macedonian Americans in Gary, Indiana founded a separate Macedonian Orthodox Church, which was recognized by the Holy Synod of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Skopje. Within 20 years, 11 Macedonian Orthodox parishes had been established. By the late 1990s, 19 parishes were listed in the United States. However, Bishop Kyril, head of the Bulgarian Church in the United States and Canada, refused to recognize the Macedonian Orthodox Church, and this rift continued to cause bitter feelings between Macedonian and Bulgarian immigrant communities.

Macedonian Orthodox churches are organized under the guidance of a metropolitan (a bishop who is head of an ecclesiastical province) for the United States, Canada, and Australia. Parishes offer liturgical services in both Macedonian and English and provide a variety of social and cultural activities such as festivals, dinners, and holiday bazaars. Women’s groups contribute a great deal to the church’s social functions. Sunday schools, which teach the Macedonian language, are also important cultural institutions.

Like other Eastern Orthodox churches, the Macedonian Orthodox Church follows the Julian calendar, which is 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar. Orthodox sacraments and liturgy closely resemble those of the Roman Catholic Church, but

in the Orthodox church, great reverence is attached to icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. Often, homes as well as churches have icons in a place of honor. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox church allows married men to become priests. Orthodox churches adhere to the Nicene Creed and follow the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (c.347-407 AD). They observe seven sacraments: the Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and the Anointing of the Sick. The Macedonian Orthodox Church also observes the ritual of *Agiasmos*, or Holy Water, as a means of bestowing grace upon the congregation. There are Greater and Lesser Blessings of Water. The Lesser Blessing can be performed on any day of the year, either in the church or within a home or designated space. The Greater Blessing of Water is performed on the Feast of the Epiphany (in the Julian calendar, January 19). On this day, churchgoers often take a bottle of holy water to their homes, where it is kept until the following year.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Macedonian Americans were known as hard workers in their new country. Because they often arrived with little education and limited job skills, they frequently took the most hazardous and poorly paid industrial jobs. According to George Prpic in *South Slavic Immigration in America*, immigrants from the Macedonian region enjoyed railroad work, which, though demanding, at least allowed them to labor under the open sky and escape the crowded conditions that beset them in the cities. For several months at a time, these workers lived together in railroad cars and ate meals prepared by their own cooks. Data from 1909 estimated that as many as 10,000 immigrants from Bulgaria and Macedonia were then working on the railroads in North and South Dakota, Montana, Iowa, and Minnesota. Among the Macedonians who sought railroad work was the future writer Stoyan Christowe, who described his living conditions as very harsh. Railroad work, however, paid a little better than some of the industrial jobs available in the cities.

By 1910, almost 15,000 Bulgarian and Macedonian immigrants worked in the steel mills near Chicago, Illinois. Living and working conditions here were, according to Prpic, extremely primitive and unsanitary. Similar communities of Balkan immigrant workers existed throughout the industrial belt. Though they did not have the skills to move immediately into more prestigious jobs, Macedonian immigrants developed a reputation as hard-

working, strong, sober, intelligent, and eager workers. Often a Macedonian immigrant dreamed of saving up enough money to open a store or to buy a small farm. Although many immigrants were illiterate in their native land, they acquired reading and writing skills in America, which in time enabled them to move into more highly paid jobs. By the 1940s, many Macedonian Americans had opened small businesses such as stores or bakeries. In the city of Pittsburgh alone, 33 Bulgarian and Macedonian bakeries were in business during this period.

With access to education, subsequent generations of Macedonian Americans have made careers in medicine, law, academia, broadcasting, and other professions, as well as in business. By the end of the 1900s, new immigrants brought more specialized skills to their adopted country, and individuals trained in the sciences, technology, and business have established themselves in those fields. One of the most prominent business leaders in the United States, Frank Popoff, who is president and CEO of Dow Chemical, is of Bulgarian-Macedonian descent. Another business mogul, Mike Ilitch (originally Iliev), began his career in the United States with a single pizza shop, which he built into the successful Little Caesar's franchise.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The long struggle of Macedonians to free themselves from Ottoman rule and to maintain autonomy amidst the political turmoil of the Balkan region prepared Macedonian immigrants for active political engagement in the United States. As early as 1908, for example, a group of 600 unemployed and starving immigrants from Bulgaria and Macedonia marched on Chicago's city hall to demand work. Such an action was extremely shocking at the time and the incident had little effect, but it indicated the determination of these immigrants to stand up for their rights. Like other Slavic groups, Macedonians tended to support leftist causes more than the general U.S. population, but few were outright radicals.

A commitment to pan-Slavic solidarity also contributed to Macedonian Americans' interest in Socialism. Macedonians had been traditionally friendly toward Russia, with whom they shared ethnic, linguistic, and church ties, and the American Communist Party was very active in enlisting their support for the Soviet cause. Official Soviet support for Macedonian independence further strengthened the bond between Macedonian Americans and Russia. The Socialist Labor Party of America, too, worked to gain Bulgarian and Macedonian membership, and published many newspapers and peri-

odicals to promote their political education. George Pirinsky (born George Zaikoff), a Bulgarian Communist leader in the United States, was the most active leader in this cause.

During World War II, pro-socialist activity among Macedonian Americans and other Slavic groups intensified. On April 25 and 26, 1942 an All-Slavic Congress was held in Detroit, out of which was created the American Slav Congress. The Macedonian-American People's League was a member organization. Macedonian Americans attended the Michigan Slav Congress held in Detroit in 1943 and were involved in the creation of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans. Macedonian Americans also were attracted to the International Workers Order, a Communist front organization that included special sections for individual South Slavic groups. Throughout the war years, these groups criticized American foreign policy toward the Soviet Union, arousing the suspicion of the conservative political establishment. In 1948, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the U.S. Attorney General accused the American Slav Congress and its affiliate groups of being Communist organizations under the influence of Moscow. For the next several years, Congressional investigations conducted a witch hunt against left-wing radicals, among them some leaders of the South Slavic groups. During this difficult period, many either chose to leave the country or were deported. Despite the leftist orientation of many Macedonian Americans, the vast majority of them, according to Prpic, were loyal to the U.S. government and found such political hostility troubling. They supported American involvement in World War II, served in the military, and worked on the home front to help the war effort.

MILITARY

Though many Macedonian immigrants were actively opposed to World War I, in which their homeland was occupied by Serbia and Greece, thousands of them served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II. Hundreds were killed or wounded on several fronts.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRY

Macedonians in the United States generally maintained great interest in events in their homeland. Political strife in the Balkans and the Macedonian struggle for autonomy were frequent subjects of discussion when Macedonians gathered to socialize. They organized material relief for Macedonian vil-

lages, sending parcels of clothing and financial assistance to areas in need. They were also very active politically. During the 1920s and 1930s, increased violence in Serbian and Greek occupied Macedonia caused intense concern among Macedonians in the United States. To support the cause of Ivan Mihajlov's Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, they founded the Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO) in October 1922. This organization, which originated in Fort Wayne, Indiana and later moved to Indianapolis, was dedicated to the "liberation and unification of Macedonia." Anastas Stephanoff became president of its Central Committee and Atanas Lebanoff was elected secretary. The MPO began publishing the *Makedonska Tribuna* (*The Macedonian Tribune*) on February 10, 1927. This weekly newspaper is still in publication.

Because of their cultural bonds with Russia and their appreciation of the Soviet Union's support for Macedonian autonomy, Macedonian Americans tended not to adopt the anti-Communist attitudes common throughout much of the American population. They appreciated Yugoslavia's official efforts to promote Macedonian autonomy.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Filmmaker Milcho Manchevski, born in Skopje in 1959, immigrated to the United States in 1982 to study film and photography at the University of Southern Illinois. After directing dozens of commercials and music videos, for which he became well-known, he made his feature film debut in 1994 with *Before the Rain*. A three-part story set in contemporary Macedonia and London, the film explores love and fate within the context of ancient Macedonian traditions and conflicts. The film won the Golden Lion award at the Venice Film Festival.

Nick Vanoff (1929-1991), born in Vevey, near the Greek port of Salonika, enjoyed a highly successful career as a Hollywood television and film producer. Vanoff was associate producer for such programs as *The Perry Como Show* and the *Tonight Show*. He originated several others, including the *Bing Crosby Specials*, the *Perry Como Specials*, the *Phil Silvers Specials*, *Hollywood Palace*, the *Andy Williams Specials*, the *Sonny and Cher Show*, and the *Kennedy Center Honors Show*. Vanoff was the creator of the comedy series *Hee-Haw*, which he later syndicated. He served as co-producer for the acclaimed film *Eleni* (1985), based on the memoir of his close friend Nicholas Gage, who grew up near Vanoff.

Other Macedonian Americans have affected television in the 1990s. Actress Starr Andreoff appeared in several daytime television roles, among them Jessica on *General Hospital*. Michael Stoyanov played the role of Anthony, a recovering substance abuser, in the NBC sitcom *Blossom*, which ran from 1991 to 1995.

JOURNALISM

The first editor of the *Macedonian Tribune* was Boris Zograffoff, who came to the United States from Bitola to accept the position. He wrote and edited the paper's first issue, published on February 10, 1927, and served as editor for three years. Zograffoff was admired as a talented editor with a sophisticated understanding of the Macedonian independence movement. His most renowned successor, Christo N. Nizamoff, worked for the *Macedonian Tribune* for more than 40 years. In the early 1920s, Nizamoff was a member of the Macedonian Press Bureau in New York City. He was the first foreign-born writer to be invited to join the Indianapolis Literary Club. Nizamoff was a founding member of the Indianapolis Press Club as well as its Man of the Year, and was elected to the Indiana Journalism Hall of Fame.

LITERATURE

The most esteemed Macedonian American writer, Stoyan Christowe, was born in Konomlady, Macedonia, in 1898. He came to the United States as a child, and attended Valparaiso University in Indiana. Christowe published six books, including *This is My Country* (1938), *My American Pilgrimage* (1947), and *The Eagle and the Stork: An American Memoir* (1976). As a young man, Christowe identified himself so wholeheartedly as an American that when he returned to the Balkans to visit, he found it easier to converse with the Bulgarian King in English than in Bulgarian. In his books, Christowe explored both the process of assimilation and the strong ties that he continued to feel for his native land. In the late 1930s, Christowe moved to Vermont, where he served for 12 years in the state legislature.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Dr. Boris P. Stoicheff, a professor of physics at the University of Toronto who worked closely with American Nobel laureate Arthur L. Schawlow, contributed to the development of laser technology. Dr. Stoicheff worked with NASA on the Apollo space project.

Peter T. George, D.D.S., an Olympic weightlifter who became an orthodontist after retiring from athletics, has pioneered treatments for obstructive sleep apnea. He holds a patent for the Nocturnal Airway Patency Appliance (NAPA), a device used to prevent the stoppage of breathing during sleep. The NAPA also prevents snoring.

SPORTS

Macedonian Americans have participated actively in both amateur and professional sports. Businessman Mick Ilitch, who was born in Bitola, Macedonia, owns both the Detroit Red Wings, a professional hockey team, and the Detroit Tigers, a professional baseball team. National Basketball Association (NBA) hall-of-famer Pete Maravich (1947-1988), born in Pennsylvania to parents of Serbian and Macedonian backgrounds, scored more points during his college career than any other player and was named a three-time All American as well as the 1970 College Player of the Year. He went on to a professional career with the Atlanta Hawks, the New Orleans Jazz, the Utah Jazz, and the Boston Celtics.

Peter T. George, born in Akron, Ohio in 1929 to Tony and Para George (Tryan and Paraskeva Tal-eff) won three Olympic medals for the United States in weightlifting. He won a gold medal in 1952 in Helsinki and silver medals in 1948 in London and 1956 in Melbourne. Beginning his athletic career in his teens, George won five world championships from 1947 to 1952, and was middleweight champion at the Pan-American Games in 1951 and 1955. George was named coach of the 1980 Olympic team, but did not attend the games in Moscow because of the U.S. boycott.

Since the early 1990s, soccer in the United States has been greatly enhanced by the presence of foreign-born players, among them Jovan Kirovski, a U.S. citizen of Macedonian descent. Kirovski scored the winning goal in the British 1992-93 Youth Cup semifinal for Manchester United before joining the U.S. national team.

MEDIA

PRINT

The Macedonian Tribune.

A weekly newspaper published since 1927 by the Macedonian Patriotic Organization. It is printed in Macedonian and English.

Address: 124 West Wayne Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802.

Telephone: (219) 422-5900.

Fax: (219) 422-1348.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Bulgarian-Macedonian National Educational and Cultural Center (BMNECC).

BMNECC was formed in 1980 from the Bulgaro-Macedonian Beneficial Association, which had originally been established in 1930. The BMNECC offers exhibits, displays, and educational programs, maintains an archive of folk artifacts, runs a museum and library, and has done research on the contributions of individual Macedonians and Bulgarians in America.

Contact: Patricia Penka French, President.

Address: 449-451 West 8th Avenue,
West Homestead, Pennsylvania 15122.

Telephone: (412) 461-6188.

Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO).

MPO was established in 1922 in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Its purpose was to advocate for the liberation of Macedonia, and it began publishing the *Macedonian Tribune* in 1927. Since 1991, the MPO has focused on increasing awareness of Macedonian history and culture.

Contact: Chris Evanoff, President.

Address: 124 West Wayne Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802.

Telephone: (219) 422-5900.

Fax: (219) 422-1348.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Allen County Public Library.

The Fred J. Reynolds Historical Genealogy Department, the second largest genealogical repository in North America, includes federal and state census and mortality records, state indexes, Soundex, and Michigan state census data for selected years. It also contains passenger lists, naturalization records, city and town histories, military records and regimental histories, cemetery and church records, land and probate records, city directories, etc. It maintains the largest English-language genealogy and local history periodical collection in the world.

Address: 900 Webster Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801; P.O. Box 2270, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801-2270.

Telephone: (219) 421-1200.

Fax: (219) 422-9688.

Russian and East European Studies Consortium.

This organization administers inter-university academic exchange program with the University of Sts. Kiril and Metodij (UKIM) in Skopje, Macedonia.

Address: P.O. Box 872601, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85287-2601.

Telephone: (602) 965-4188.

The University of Minnesota's Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTL) Project lists seven institutions in the United States that offer courses in Macedonian: Cornell University, Lawrence University (Appleton, WI), Ohio State University, University of Chicago, University of Kansas, University of North Carolina, and University of Virginia.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Kaplan, Robert D. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Nicoloff, James. *Macedonia: A Collection of Articles About the History and Culture of Macedonia*. Toronto: Selyani Macedonian Folklore Group, 1982.

Prpic, George J. *South Slavic Immigration in America*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978.

MALAYSIAN AMERICANS

by
Karl Heil

OVERVIEW

The country of Malaysia is composed of 13 states. It is located in Southeast Asia on the Malay Peninsula, which divides the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, as well as the northern corner of the island of Borneo. The peninsular portion of the country, which lies between Thailand to the north and Singapore to the south, is referred to as Western Malaysia, and the northern portion of Borneo as Eastern Malaysia. About 400 miles (644 kilometers) of the South China Sea separates East and West Malaysia. Malaysia has a combined area of 127,320 square miles (329,758 square kilometers), slightly larger than the state of New Mexico. The country's capital was Kuala Lumpur since it gained independence beginning in 1957. However, in June of 1999, the country planned to move its capital 20 miles (32 kilometers) south to Putrajaya. Putrajaya was designed as a high-tech capital featuring buildings linked with fiber-optic cable and a "paperless" office environment for banks and government buildings. The capital also is slated to have a floating mosque in the city's lake.

The country's population is composed of ethnic Malays and other aboriginal people, who represent 62 percent of the country's population; ethnic Chinese (26 percent) and ethnic Indians (7 percent) make up the country's largest minorities. Other groups include Arabs, Armenians, and Eurasians. The country's indigenous population includes the *orang asli*, which is commonly divided into the Negri-

Since Malaysia is an Islamic country, the traditional clothing of Malaysia reflects Islamic beliefs in modesty—that is, keeping the body covered, especially among women. Nevertheless, Malaysian clothing tends to be colorful with abstract and floral patterns and embroidery.

tos (a nomadic hunting people), the Senoi (an agrarian people), and the Jakun (an agrarian people). These three groups number around one million people. Overall, Malaysia has a population of more than 20 million people, with most residing in Western Malaysia. In addition, Islam is the religion of more than 50 percent of the population, and the official language is Bahasa Malaysia, which is derived from the indigenous Malay language. The country includes two federal territories, Kuala Lumpur and Lubuan, and 13 states, Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Melaka, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Penang, Selangor, Terengganu, Sabah, and Sarawak.

The Malaysian economy, once based mostly on the extraction of raw materials such as rubber and tin, has shifted to manufacturing, tourism, and technology. About 15 percent of the country's land is devoted to agriculture, and rice is the country's leading crop. Furthermore, Malaysia is the world's leader in palm oil production. Production of natural gas and petroleum also constitute significant industries in Malaysia. Malaysia's currency unit is the ringgit, which is also called the Malaysian dollar. The Malaysian flag contains horizontal red and white stripes as well as a blue square in the upper left corner that includes a crescent moon and the sun.

HISTORY

Because of a scarcity of information on Malaysia's history prior to the fifteenth century, historians have been unable to construct with any certainty a picture of Malaysia for this earlier era. Around 1400, however, a major trading port developed in Melaka on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and after its rise the area became known to other countries around the world. Nevertheless, some Chinese, Indian, and Arab documents prior to 1400 contain references to the area that is now Malaysia. These sources suggest that the Chinese, Indians, and Arabs made contact with the Malay people before 1400. In addition, archaeological evidence indicates that the original human inhabitants came to the Malay Peninsula in spurts beginning about 35,000 years ago. The original inhabitants apparently came from South China, migrating southward to Malay, Indonesia, and Australia. Somewhat later, immigrants from India traveled to the Malay Peninsula around the beginning of the common era, bringing with them an alphabet, laws, literature, and the Hindu and Buddhist religions. The Indians set up trade centers along the peninsula and retained influence over them until around the thirteenth century, when China began to expand its trade substantially in the region. China's influence over the Malay Peninsula lasted through the fifteenth century.

In the fifteenth century, Islamic sultans arrived in Malay and founded the state or sultanate of Melaka (also spelled Malacca). This port city became a nexus for trade, the spread of Islam, and the dissemination of the Malay language to other parts of the island chain (including what are now Indonesia and Singapore). Paramesvara became the sultanate's first ruler, and he received recognition as such by the Chinese around 1405. During this period, a few significant changes took place that helped form aspects of contemporary Malaysia. First, Islam supplanted Hinduism as the dominant religion. Second, the country's sultanate structure of different states ruled by an Islamic leader developed along with its Islamic aristocracy, which remains today in that Malaysia's Muslims are afforded certain privileges because of their religion. Furthermore, Melaka became one of the greatest powers in the region during this period and eventually included all of Malaya, a federation of nine Malay states (Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor, and Terengganu). With its good harbor and fleet, Melaka became a major center for international trade and the source of spices in the region. The burgeoning wealth of Melaka during this period because of its spice trade and its key location between China and India piqued the interest of Europeans. The Portuguese first seized the state from the Sultans Mahmud Shah and Ahmad Shah in 1511. Although they defeated the sultans and their followers, the Portuguese faced frequent attacks from the sultans' followers as well as from Siam, China, and Japan. However, the Portuguese retained control of Melaka for until 1641, when the Dutch conquered the state and became the region's dominant European trader.

Under Dutch rule, Melaka's importance and size diminished. The Dutch tried to exploit trade in Malay, especially trade of gold, tin, and pepper. To do so, they exacted high duties from merchant vessels passing through Melaka. Hence, many ships navigated around Dutch controlled territories to avoid paying these duties. However, the Dutch efforts proved successful overall and Malay remained under Dutch rule for over two centuries. Nevertheless, Britain eventually came to control sizable interests in the area, too. In 1786, the British East India Company established a port to the north, on the island of Penang, and competed with the Dutch-held ports. The British took over control of Melaka in 1795 under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty. To facilitate governing Penang, Melaka, and Singapore, Britain combined them to form the Straits Settlements Presidency in 1867. This designation allowed the British to control Malay and neighboring territories without direct rule. Because British interest was exclusively

in trade, the British established a policy of non-interference with the occurrences in Malay states. Social upheaval in the region eventually forced Britain to play a greater role in the governing of Malaya and nearby British-controlled states, however. Beginning in 1895, Britain formed a variety of federations of Malay states to help restore peace and stability. These federations involved both Malay and British governors, although the British had the ultimate control. British rule became increasingly centralized in the region, until Japan seized Malaya, Sarawak, and North Borneo during World War II and occupied them until the war ended in 1945. In the postwar period, a complicated independence movement began.

MODERN ERA

The independence movement had to overcome the differences among the various ethnic groups in the peninsula, especially those of the Malays, the Chinese, and the Indians. Around 1950, the Alliance party emerged as a voice for independence representing the country's three major ethnic groups. The party came to power in 1955 after the country's first national elections. Tunku Abdul Rahman became the country's first prime minister. The Federation of Malaysia was formed in 1957, and nine Malay states, along with Penang and Melaka, became a country independent of British rule. Before achieving independence, a Communist guerrilla movement fought for independence from British control. In 1963, the Borneo states Sabah and Sarawak joined the states of the Malay Peninsula as part of the Federation of Malaysia. Singapore entered the federation in 1963, too, but defected in 1965 because of disputes with the Malaysian leadership.

During its infancy, Malaysia faced resistance from Indonesia, which attacked Malaysian states in an effort to break up the fledgling country. Indonesia saw Malaysia as a throwback to the colonial era with its dependence on British military assistance. In addition, Communist guerrilla attacks continued in the Borneo states through the early 1970s. The country also saw growing conflict between its Malay and ethnic Chinese citizens, which prompted the New Economic Policy of 1970. This policy was designed to reduce the economic inequality between the rural Malays and urban Chinese.

The economic changes ultimately proved successful to a large extent and helped rural Malays move into urban areas and reap a greater share of the country's economic benefits. Consequently, the country has enjoyed relative prosperity and stability since the early 1970s, and relations with its neighbors

also have been positive during this period. In addition, the country's economic policies are still based on the New Economic Policy, although it is now called the National Development Policy. Malaysia's economic policies of the late 1990s included the expansion of the country's technology industries, promotion of entrepreneurship, and maintenance of harmony among different ethnic groups.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

CUISINE

The cuisine of Malaysian Americans depends on the particulars of ethnicity, although rice is common across all groups. Traditional Malay food features hot chilies, coconut milk, shallots, garlic, ginger, which go into Malay curries and *belacan*, a fermented shrimp cake. Since the Malays are Islamic, they do not eat pork; they instead rely on beef and seafood for their dishes. One of the most popular Malay dishes is the *satay*, or barbecue meat and vegetables on wooden skewers. In addition, peanut sauces are a prominent ingredient of many a Malay dish.

Ethnic Chinese Malaysians developed their own brand of Chinese cuisine, which varies from the food of mainland China, after spending centuries on the Malay Peninsula. This cuisine is often regional, and its ingredients and methods depend on the specific areas in which the Chinese Malaysians reside. Consequently, specific dishes come from specific cities. For example, *nasi ayam*, or chicken rice, comes from the city of Ipoh and consists of chicken, rice, and bean sprouts. Chinese Malaysian cuisine includes many of the spices that Malay food does—shallots, ginger, garlic, and even chilies—but it generally lacks the spiciness of Malay or Indian Malaysian cuisine.

Indian Malaysian food varies based on religion: those who are Hindus do not eat beef and those who are Islamic do not eat pork. Nevertheless, the cuisine of all Indian Malaysians tends to reflect the cooking of South India, from where most Indians emigrated. Hence, spicy Indian-style curries are popular; they include meat, seafood, and vegetarian curries served with rice. Although all Indian Malaysian food tends to be spicy, those who are Islamic often prefer even spicier food.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Since Malaysia is an Islamic country, the traditional clothing of Malaysia reflects Islamic beliefs in

This elaborate
Malaysian
American float was
created for the
Tournament of
Roses Parade in
Pasadena.



modesty—that is, keeping the body covered, especially among women. Nevertheless, Malaysian clothing tends to be colorful with abstract and floral patterns and embroidery. Indian and Chinese Malaysians sometimes retain their respective attire in Malaysia.

HOLIDAYS

Malaysian Americans may celebrate a variety of standard Malaysian holidays such as Worker's Day or Labor Day on May 1, National Day or Independence Day on August 31, and Christmas on December 25 (celebrated by Christian Malaysian Ameri-

cans, who also celebrate Easter and other Christian holidays). In addition, Malaysian Americans may observe a number of other holidays, depending on their ethnicity. Since Islamic, Chinese, and Hindu calendars are all lunar calendars, these holidays do not set have dates and change from year to year. Islamic Malaysian Americans, for example, may observe *Hari Raya Puasa* (sometimes shortened to *Hari Raya*), which comes at the end of Ramadan (called *Puasa* in Mala). This holiday involves special prayers at the mosque and gatherings of families and friends. For the occasion, houses are usually decorated with lights, and people dress formally.

Ethnic Chinese Malaysian Americans, on the other hand, might celebrate China's three important holidays: the Chinese New Year, the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts, and the Moon Cake Festival. The Chinese New Year usually falls in January or February, and its traditional Malaysian celebration involves the closing of businesses for two days, parades, and dances. In addition, the holiday brings families and friends together, usually for dinner and celebration. The Hungry Ghosts Festival usually is held between July and August when it is believed that the spirits of the dead circulate on earth and hence need to be fed. When celebrating this holiday, Malaysian Americans may offer food to the spirits and hold feasts for themselves. Finally, the Moon Cake Festival, which is held in September around the autumn moon, commemorates the defeat of the Mongols in ancient China. The celebration includes the preparation and eating of pastries shaped like the moon.

Hindu Malaysian Americans may celebrate the major Hindu holidays. The most popular of these holidays is Deepavali, the Festival of Lights, which usually takes place in October or November. For the holiday, family and friends gather to celebrate the stories of good overcoming evil. Families usually have open houses for the holiday and decorate their homes with colored lights, lamps, fruit, flowers, and other kinds of decorations. Another important Hindu holiday is Thaipusam, which usually takes place in January or February. The holiday honors Lord Subramaniam, and it is day of giving thanks for answered prayers and courage. Traditionally, the holiday includes more elaborate celebration such as parades and processions.

LANGUAGE

Bahasa Malaysia simply means the "Malaysian language" and is a standardized version of Malay. Not only is it the official language of Malaysia but also of Brunei, Indonesia, and even Singapore. Malay began

as a trade language and adopted words from its trading partners, the Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. While the traditional Malay alphabet Jawi is based on Arabic, Malay script has been converted to roman characters.

The pronunciation of Malay is similar to English and other European languages. However, there are some important differences. The letter *c* is pronounced "ch" as in "church." Hence, the Malay word *cat* is pronounced "chat" and means "paint." The letter *g* also has the hard consonantal sound as in "grade," and so a word such as *garam* ("salt") will have the hard sound. *H* has a soft sound or is not pronounced at all, and *kh* is always hard, as in "kill." *Ng* has the soft sound, as in "song," whereas *ngg* has the hard sound, as in "mango." *Sy* is pronounced like "sh," and *r* rolled as in Spanish. Malay has five vowels as English does: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. The vowels *i*, *o*, and *u* are long, while *a* is short. Finally, *e* can be unstressed, as in *u* in "put" or stressed, as in "bench." The diphthongs *au* and *ai* are pronounced like those in "cow" and "sky," respectively.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some Malay greetings and salutations include: *selamat datang* ("welcome"), *selamat pagi* ("good morning"), *selamat petang* ("good afternoon"), *selamat malam* ("good evening"), *selamat tidur* ("good night"), *selamat jalan* ("goodbye"). Basic Malay phrases and expression include: *Apa khabar?* ("How are you?"), *Khabar baik* ("I'm fine"), *Siapa nama kamu?* ("What's your name?"), *Nama saya . . .* ("My name is . . ."), *Dimana . . .?* ("Where is . . ."), *Ma'af* ("Excuse me" or "Sorry"), *bari ini* ("Today"), *besok* ("tomorrow"), *semalam* ("yesterday"), *tidak* ("no," "not"), *ya* ("yes"), *lelaki* ("man"), *perempuan* ("woman"), *orang* ("person"), *Terima kasih* ("Thank you"), *tolong* ("please" in a request for help), *minta* ("please" in a request for something), *makan* ("to eat"), *minum* ("to drink"), *saya mau* ("I would like"), *beli* ("to buy"), *saya tidak mengerti* ("I don't understand").

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

WEDDINGS

Malaysian weddings are colorful ceremonies, traditionally held in the home of the bride. The groom and his entourage enter the bride's home in procession, accompanied by musicians and singers and bringing gifts. While customs may vary depending on which region Malaysian Americans come from, the bride and the groom both typically wear profuse-

ly decorated garments. The bride's costume is decorated with the Malay colors, gold and silver. The ceremony features a lavish feast for the guests as well as the *bersanding*, in which the bride and groom sit together on ornate chairs while the guests come forth individually to offer their congratulations and blessings. The ceremony also may involve the *tepong tawar*, a ritual performed by guests of honor who anoint the groom's forehead with a gold ring, apply rice flour or sandalwood to it, and dapple the groom's head and hands with flowers or rice grains.

RELIGION

Like other aspects of Malaysian American culture, religion also depends on ethnic background. In Malaysia, most Malays and a smaller percentage of Chinese and Indian Malaysians are Muslims. Consequently, more than 50 percent of the population is Islamic, and Islam is the country's official religion. Nonetheless, the government ensures freedom of religion. Most of the Chinese Malaysians follow Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, and the majority of the Indian Malaysians are Hindus or Sikhs—although some are Muslims. In addition, Malaysia has a small Christian segment located mostly in the states of Sabah and Sarawak.

Islamic Malaysians are Sunni Muslims from the Shafi denomination of Islam. The beliefs and obligations of Malaysian Muslims are epitomized in the Five Pillars of Islam: the belief in the omnipotence of Allah and in the Prophet Muhammad, the divine messenger; participation in ritual prayers and purification; the giving of alms; fasting during Ramadan; and at least one pilgrimage to Mecca during one's lifetime.

Since Malaysian Sunnis believe that the prayers and language of Islam came from Allah through Muhammad, they consider the very words powerful in and of themselves. Hence, their religious practices involve chants and readings of the holy words and prayers of Islam.

The Chinese Malaysians tend to believe or follow part of the three main religions of this ethnic group: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Depending on where they came from in China, Chinese Malaysians may emphasize particular aspects of one of these religions. Unlike Islam and other religions, these three are largely philosophical and ethical systems, not organized theologies. Buddhism and Taoism, however, have temples and monasteries. The doctrines of Confucianism call for strong family ties; Taoist beliefs emphasize spiritual and mystical life over materialism; and Buddhism

holds that there is salvation and reincarnation and that people must venerate their ancestors.

Most Malaysian Indians are Hindus, and they worship a pantheon of gods. They also try to live up to a variety of ideals and practice a range of rituals. The beliefs of the Hindus emphasize family welfare, land cultivation, and veneration of the family home. Hindu temples are designed as homes for the gods rather than for communal worship. Hindus go to temples to give offerings and receive blessings. Hindu priests tend to the temples, maintaining shrines, accepting offerings, and serving as intermediaries between humans and gods; however, overall there are not that many Hindu priests in Malaysia.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Harvard Club of Malaysia.

This organization serves Malaysian and Malaysian American students and alumni and seeks to build ongoing friendships among its members.

Address: Harvard Club of Malaysia c/o Proven Resources Sdn. Bhd. Suite 15.03, Level 15 Menara IMC No. 8, Jalan Sultan Ismail 50250 Kuala Lumpur.
Fax: (603) 201-9934.

The Malaysian American Society (MAS).

MAS was founded in 1967 to promote cultural exchanges between the Malaysia and the United States. The organization has a registered membership of 200 Malaysians and Malaysian Americans.

Address: 48B, Jalan SS 22/21, Damansara Jaya, 47400 Petaling Jaya, Selangor.
Telephone: (603) 716-4848.
Fax: (603) 716-6048.

Malaysian Students Association at the University of Michigan (U.M.I.M.S.A.).

U.M.I.M.S.A. has some 50 members who are Malaysian Americans or Malaysians studying in the United States and serves to foster friendships and camaraderie among Malaysian students.

Contact: Nasir Sobri.
Address: Malaysian Students Association at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48107-7054.

Malaysia Student Association of St. Louis, Missouri (MASA).

Established in the 1980s by Malaysian students,

MASA has about 100 members and serves students from five different universities in the St. Louis area. The objective of the association is to maintain close relationships among the students after their graduation.

Contact: Abdul Shukor Ali.

Address: The New Straits Times Press, (M)
Berhad Balai Berita, 31 Jalan Riong 59100
Kuala Lumpur.

Telephone: (603) 282-3131 ext. 847.

University of California-Berkeley Alumni Club of Malaysia.

The UC-Berkeley Alumni Club of Malaysia strives to promote congenial relations among members in Malaysia and throughout Southeast Asia and to foster an ongoing and mutually enriching exchange between UC-Berkeley and Malaysia in the areas of

professional discourse and cultural understanding. Founded in 1996, the club has a membership of about 40.

Contact: Mr. Victor Kong, President.

Address: 6, USJ 4/1G, 47600 UEP,
Subang Jaya, Selangor.

Telephone: (603) 202-8330.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Leonard Y. Andaya. *A History of Malaysia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

King, Victor. *The Simple Guide to Malaysia: Customs and Etiquette*. Kent, England: Global Books, Ltd., 1998.

The greatest number
of Maltese people
came to the United
States during the first
decades of the
twentieth century.
Their move
coincided with the
discharge of skilled
workers from the
Royal British
Dockyard in 1919
following the end of
the World War I.

MALTESE AMERICANS

by
Diane Andreassi

OVERVIEW

A European country often called “the mouse that roars,” Malta is also referred to as “the island of sunshine and history.” Malta covers 122 square miles in the center of the Mediterranean Sea and is comprised of three inhabited islands: Malta, Gozo, and Comino. Malta, 17 miles long and about nine miles across, is the largest of the three islands. Gozo, the northern island, is 35 square miles and is known for its grottoes, copper beaches, and the third-largest church dome in the world. Comino, at one square mile, has a small population and is located between Malta and Gozo. The uninhabited islands in the archipelago are Filfla and St. Paul’s. The topography of Malta lacks mountains and rivers, but the island is characterized by a series of low hills with terraced fields.

The weather, more than any other feature, has made Malta a key tourist resort in the center of the Mediterranean. It never snows in Malta, and the total average rainfall is 20 inches annually. The summers are warm and breezy and the winters are mild, with an average winter temperature of 54 degrees. About 606,000 tourists from all over the world, including the United States and Europe, arrive annually. Tourists boost the economy significantly by spending approximately \$3.6 million each year on the island. The Maltese weather and lifestyle also call for afternoon breaks, when shop owners close and the island people rest. Everything

resumes again later in the day, when the sun is not as tiring. The climate, sea, and terrain also provide perfect backdrops for movies; for instance, the movie “Popeye” was filmed on the island in the 1980s.

Malta is located 58 miles south of Sicily and 180 miles north of North Africa. The total population is 350,000, which places it among the most densely populated countries in the world. Ninety-six percent of the population is of Maltese descent, two percent are British, and the remaining people are of various other heritages. The chief languages are Maltese, English, and Italian. Ninety-seven percent of the population is Roman Catholic. A high priority is placed on education, bringing the literacy rate to 96 percent. Education is mandatory for Maltese children from age 5 to 16, and by age four there is already almost 100 percent enrollment. Instruction is available in state as well as private schools, with the private sector catering to about 27 percent of the total population.

HISTORY

The first Maltese were late Stone Age farmers who immigrated to Malta from Sicily before 4000 B.C. Structures believed to be temples were the biggest reward of these early people, and their remains can be seen in the megalithic buildings. At least one underground temple catacomb has been associated with the cult of a Mother Goddess. By the year 2000 B.C. these early arrivers were replaced by bronze-using warrior-farmers of the Alpine race who likely arrived from southern Italy.

Phoenicians were to follow during the Iron Age period around 800 B.C., and they were succeeded by Carthaginians. Due to the Punic Wars, Malta became part of the Roman Empire, and inhabitants were well treated by the conquerors. During this time, the Maltese enjoyed peace and prosperity based on a well-developed agricultural economy. Aghlabite Arabs, by way of Sicily, invaded Malta in 870. Then came Count Roger, a Norman who conquered the Arabs in Sicily and brought Malta back into the Christian and European orbit. For four-and-a-half centuries, beginning in 1090, Malta’s history was nearly identical to that of Sicily.

In 1530 Malta was granted as a fief to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who as the Knights of Malta defended Christianity against Islam and fortified the island. The Knights of Malta were responsible for building grand churches and palaces, especially in the city of Valletta, Malta’s capital. The decline of the order hastened when Napoleon landed with his Republican Army in 1798; however, the insurrection of the Maltese that same year

brought the end of the French rule. Malta was granted to Britain in 1814. The British built a first-class dockyard and concentrated her fleet on Malta’s magnificent harbors.

Malta’s strategic position in the Mediterranean Sea made the islands an important ally during World War II. This key location also made Malta a target for overwhelming bombing by Germany and Italy during the war. Surviving the unrelenting attacks, the Maltese people were awarded the George Cross by English prime minister Winston Churchill for their fortitude and dogged determination. Evidence of the bombings, including buildings reduced to rubble and torn up streets, was still apparent decades after the war. The island became independent after a 164-year British occupancy. In 1974 Malta became a Republic.

MODERN ERA

Malta has limited natural resources, and the land is not suited to agriculture. The small size of the country and its isolation dissuades industrialization. Economic growth was spurred until the eighteenth century by a low rate of population growth, income gained from trade of cotton, and the European estates of the Knights of St. John. This began to unravel, however, following the era of the Napoleonic Wars, when an economic downswing was coupled with a surge in population. Early in the nineteenth century the government tried to obtain an ideal population—220,000 inhabitants by the twentieth century. As part of this plan, the government encouraged immigration to other British colonies in the Mediterranean and to the West Indies. The Maltese preferred northern Africa, and by 1885, 36,0000 Maltese immigrants moved to Algeria, Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli. The rise in cheap native labor in northern Africa later pushed the Maltese people to find other locations in which to settle.

THE FIRST MALTESE IN AMERICA

The earliest Maltese settlers in the United States came in the mid-eighteenth century, mostly to New Orleans. These settlers were often regarded as Italians, and in fact tombstones sometimes mistakenly noted the deceased as “natives of Malta, Italy.” The burial grounds were inscribed with such common Maltese names as Ferruggia (Farrugia), Pace, and Grima. By 1855 there were 116 Maltese living in the United States. In the 1860s, it was estimated that between five and ten Maltese came to the United States every year. The majority of the

migrants were agricultural workers, and in New Orleans the majority worked as market gardeners and vegetable dealers.

The greatest number of Maltese people came to the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century. Their move coincided with the discharge of skilled workers from the Royal British Dockyard in 1919 following the end of the World War I. More than 1,300 Maltese immigrated to the United States in the first quarter of 1920, and most found work in automobile manufacturing. The *Detroit Free Press* reported in October 1920 that Detroit had the largest Maltese population in the United States, at 5,000 residents. In 1922, the *Detroit Free Press* reported that the only Maltese colony in the United States was in Detroit. Over the next few years, it is believed that more than 15,000 Maltese people settled in the United States and became citizens. They apparently intended to stay for a short time and return home. However, opportunities in America seemed more plentiful and stable than the uncertainties at home, and many Maltese people remained in the United States. By 1928 New York had an estimated 9,000 Maltese immigrants. San Francisco also had a large Maltese population.

After World War II, the Maltese government launched a program to pay passage costs to Maltese willing to emigrate and remain abroad for at least two years. As a result, a surge of Maltese left their homeland. In 1954, a reported 11,447 Maltese left the islands. This program enticed approximately 8,000 Maltese to come to the United States between 1947 and 1977. For more than a century Malta's government encouraged emigration because of the tiny size of the overpopulated island nation.

SETTLEMENT

Settlement in the United States was concentrated in Detroit, New York City, San Francisco, and Chicago. It has been estimated that more than 70,000 Maltese immigrants and their descendants were living in the United States by the mid-1990s. The largest estimated communities are the more than 44,000 Maltese in the Detroit area and the 20,000 Maltese in New York City, most of them in Astoria, Queens.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Possibly due to the small size of their nation and the large numbers of countries that once occupied the

islands, the Maltese are often ignored or confused with other nationalities when studies are done. However, signs of Malta can be seen in fire stations in most cities, small and large, throughout the United States. Firefighters are identified by a badge that designates their company. The majority of badges worn by firefighters take the shape of the Maltese Cross, which is an eight-sided emblem of protection and badge of honor. The history of the cross goes back to the Knights of St. John, who courageously fought for possession of the Holy Land.

Malta's involvement with the United Nations is substantial. The island country became a full member in December 1964 after gaining independence from Great Britain. Issues Malta has been involved in, or spearheaded, include the Law of the Sea Convention in 1981; the United Nations Conference on the Aged; and an initiative to raise questions about the effects of climate change.

Although the people of the Maltese islands are not particularly well known, there are a number of Maltese influences in United States culture. For instance, many people are familiar with the Maltese, a tiny fluffy white dog. The movie *The Maltese Falcon*, a drama about a detective trying to find a priceless statue, is a classic part of American cinema, although another movie, *The Maltese Bippy*, is less known. Oftentimes people with the surname Maltese are Italian by heritage, not Maltese.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Maltese have traditions and folklore dating back centuries. They are wide and varied—and mostly forgotten today. One popular belief was that if someone gave you “the evil eye,” you would have bad luck. To rid their houses of those bad spirits, some Maltese would undergo an elaborate ritual involving old dried olive branches, which were blessed on Palm Sunday in place of the palm branches commonly used in the United States on the Sunday before Easter. The Maltese would burn the olive branches in a pan and spread the incense through every room of their houses, saying a special prayer and hoping the evil spirit would be chased away.

In other folklore tradition, some Maltese believed women who were menstruating could taint new wine, so they were banned from the cellar while wine was made. The same thinking was applied to making bread.

Others thought bad luck would follow if you dropped a knife. Another sign of bad luck was the sighting of a black moth. Good luck was sure to come when a white moth was seen, however. Some believed, also, that you should never kill a moth.

The tradition of matchmaking involved an elaborate sequence of events. For instance, if a young woman were ready for marriage, her parents would place a flower pot on the front porch. A matchmaker would take note and alert the single men about her availability. Interested suitors would then tell the matchmaker they wanted to marry. Next the matchmaker would approach the father of the prospective bride and obtain his blessing.

In the United States a matchmaker was not involved. However, during the first half of the twentieth century, men interested in marrying a Maltese girl still spoke to the girl's father, and in some cases brothers and other members of her family, for permission to marry. This tradition has faded with time.

Most of these customs and beliefs were gradually forgotten as the Maltese people were assimilated into American society. However, some lingered even if they were only jokingly remembered.

CUISINE

Maltese cuisine involves a tasty mixture with many influences. Garlic is a mainstay. The most popular Maltese dish is *pastisi*, made of a flaky dough similar to the filo dough used by Greeks. A meat or ricotta cheese mixture is wrapped inside the dough envelope, which is usually about the size of a hand. The ricotta mixture includes ricotta cheese, egg, grated cheese, salt, and pepper. The meat mixture has ground beef, onion, tomato paste, peas, salt, pepper, and curry powder. This cheese or meat mixture also can be cooked in a pie form and served as a meal. Baked macaroni, *imquarrun fil forn*, is another popular dish. The macaroni is cooked in salt water. The sauce includes ground beef, tomato paste, garlic powder, eggs, grated cheese, and a dash of curry powder. This dish can be served without baking, in which case it is called *mostoccoli*.

Rabbit cooked in various ways, including stew, is a Maltese mainstay on the island and in the United States. Pastas with ricotta and tomato sauce are common meals, too. Fish is extremely popular, likely because of the abundance available from the Mediterranean Sea. Fried cod, octopus stew, and tuna are typically on the menu. Stuffed artichoke and eggplant are regular meals as well.

For dessert or treats, date slices, or *imqaret*, are found in most Maltese homes in Malta and the United States. This deliciously deep fried pastry has dates, orange and lemon extract, anisette, chopped nuts, orange rind, and lemon rind. Cream-filled or ricotta-filled cannoli shells are common, too. These Maltese sweets are often served at functions like showers, weddings, and baptisms.



This Maltese American woman is participating in a parade in New York City.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Up until the 1950s some of the women in Maltese villages wore a *ghonella*, or *faldetta*, a black dress with a black cape with a hard board black veil. In the modern era many of the fashions are dictated by Italian styles. In the United States, Maltese Americans wear typically the same fashions as other Americans.

DANCES AND SONGS

The traditional Maltese dance is an interpretive routine called *miltija*, which describes the victory of the Maltese over the Turks in 1565. Old-time singing was called *ghana*. This involves bantering, oftentimes between two people who good-heartedly tease each other. They use rhyme and jokes in a relay of comments about each other. Maltese folk singer Namru Station was best known for this form of singing.

HOLIDAYS

The Maltese love festivals, and between May and October almost every town and village in Malta and Gozo celebrates the feast day of its patron saint. The *festa* is the most important day in each village, where the church is the focal point of the event. The churches are elaborately decorated with flowers. Gold, silver, and crystal chandeliers are placed on display as a backdrop for the statue of the patron saint. After three days of preparation, the statue is carried shoulder-high along the streets of the city or village in a parade like procession, including bands

and church bells. Since the Maltese specialize in making elaborate fireworks, colorful displays are part of the party. Cities and villages compete with one another to put on the best show. Maltese in the United States privately commemorate and remember the patron saint of their town, but gone are the big festivals and fireworks.

Since the country is officially Roman Catholic, the Catholic traditions and celebrations dominate in the Maltese culture. Holy days include Christmas, Easter, and an annual observance of February 10, which is the day St. Paul, Malta's patron saint, shipwrecked on the island. Legend has it that when he was shipwrecked with his crew, the people made a bonfire to make them warm. Later, a viper snake came out of the wood and went toward St. Paul. The people were awed that this man had escaped the ravages of the seas, and they were curious to see what would happen with the snake. When he was not bitten, the people thought for sure this man was God. He told them, "I am not a God, but I came to talk to you about God."

Other public holidays in Malta include January 1, New Year's Day; March 19, St. Joseph's feast day; March 29, Good Friday; March 31, Freedom Day; May 1, May Day; June 7, Sette Giugno; June 29, St. Peter and St. Paul feast day; August 15, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; September 8, Our Lady of Victories or Victory Day; September 21, Independence Day; December 8, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary; December 13, Republic Day; and December 25, Christmas Day.

On patriotic days, the Maltese flag is flown. It has two vertical stripes, white in the hoist and red in the fly. A sign, of the George Cross awarded to Malta by His Majesty King George the Sixth on the April 15, 1942, is carried, edged with red in the canton of the white stripe. According to tradition the national colors were given to the Maltese by Count Roger in 1090. Roger the Norman had landed in Malta to oust the Arabs from the island. Out of regard for their hospitality, Roger gave the Maltese part of the pennant of the Hautevilles to serve as their colors.

PROVERBS

Unless the baby cries, he or she will not be put to the mother's breast; Build your reputation and go to sleep; Who I see you with is who I see you as; Little by little the jar will fill; Essence comes in small bottles; Cut the tail of a donkey and it's still a donkey; If you want it to be it never will be; I'll be there if I'm not dead; A friend in the market is better than your money in the hope chest; God does not pay

every Saturday; He who waits will sooner or later be happy; Only God knows when death and rain will happen; Always hold onto the words of the elderly to show respect and to gain from their wisdom.

HEALTH ISSUES

Many Maltese people have been stricken with thalassemia. It is also called Mediterranean anemia, because it usually strikes people from that region. In the United States most cases occur in Americans of Maltese, Italian, Greek, Portuguese, or Levantine background. Thalassemia refers to a group of hereditary disorders of the control of globin synthesis, causing too much or too little synthesis of either the alpha or the beta globin chains. In some cases a wrong kind of chain is produced. In beta-thalassemia deficient amounts of beta chains are produced, and in hemoglobin-Lepore thalassemia the beta chain grows longer than the normal 146 amino acids. When the gene is taken from only one parent, a mild anemia usually results; however, when the gene is from both parents the results are devastating. This blood disease is usually discovered during infancy.

LANGUAGE

Like its people and history, the Maltese language is varied. It is Semitic, chiefly Arabic, written in the Roman alphabet, with words and phrases taken from the Italian, Spanish, English, Greek, and some French. The official languages in Malta are Maltese and English. Many people also speak Italian. When English is spoken it is often heard with a British accent, likely a remnant of the 164-year British occupancy of the country.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Typical Maltese greetings and other expressions include: *bongu* ("bon-ju")—good morning; *bonswa* ("bon-swar")—good night; *grazzi* ("grats-ee")—thank you; *taf titkellem bl-Ingliż?* ("tarf tit-kell-lem bilin-gleez")—do you speak English?; *kemm?* ("kem")—how much? The word *sahha* ("sa-ha") can be used as a greeting, as good-bye, or as a toast—it is the Maltese equivalent of "good health."

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

There were many changes in the family structure when the first Maltese immigrants came to the Unit-

ed States. Typically, the patriarchs came to the United States without their families. Sometimes they would bring sons, but the wives and children were often left on the homeland. The plan was that they would bring their entire family after they established themselves in their new country and were more financially stable. Oftentimes years lapsed before the entire family was reunited. In other cases, single men came to the United States and lived with relatives or close family friends who had come to the country earlier. They lived in communities that were heavily populated by other Maltese and often married Maltese women who came to America with their families. These Maltese couples then raised a generation of full-blooded Maltese children who had never lived in the mother country. In downtown Detroit and neighboring Highland Park, the largest Maltese community in the United States, there was a heavily populated Maltese area. However, by the 1970s many, but certainly not all, the Maltese in this area began moving to Detroit suburbs.

Maltese family members were usually very close, and aunts, uncles, and cousins were often regarded as immediate family. Before 1980 most Maltese families were large, with four or more children as the norm. In later years, however, the Maltese, like most other ethnic groups in the United States, were beginning to have smaller families, with two or three children commonly found in each household.

There were a number of gathering places, like clubs, where immigrants and first-generation Maltese could find camaraderie. New immigrants also turned to the Maltese clubs and organizations for information and direction on life in their new country. They were a good place to meet other Maltese, who spoke the language and could help in the assimilation process.

WEDDINGS

A Maltese bridal shower is usually very elaborate, with a multi-course meal and a sweet table. The party often is held in a hall or banquet room to accommodate the large number of family and friends who are invited. In Malta the typical wedding is based on the Roman Catholic mass. The bride would be accompanied by several bridesmaids and the groom had one male, the best man, at his side. In the United States, however, the Maltese wedding is usually dictated by typical traditions followed in the United States.

BAPTISMS

Again the Roman Catholic religion dictates much of what happens at baptisms. A *parrina*, or god-

mother, and a *parrinu*, or godfather, are chosen. Usually, these people are close family members, like brothers or sisters of the baby's parents. In Malta a party celebration with tables of cookies, ice creams, and drinks will follow the religious ceremony. However, as the customs changed in their new country, the Maltese Americans adopted new traditions, like having a full meal at the party after the baptism.

FUNERALS

The Maltese in the United States have adopted the wake tradition. In Malta when a person died they were usually buried within 24 hours, and very few people were embalmed. In the villages during the early part of the twentieth century, a local person would visit the home, clean the body, and dress the deceased. This person usually was on the lowest rung of the social ladder. Superstition prevailed, and some people were afraid of the undertaker to the point that when village people saw him walking down the street they would walk on the other side of the road. As time passed, however, these traditions faded in Malta and most certainly were not followed in the United States.

RELIGION

Malta's strong Roman Catholic history has been imprinted on those who came to the United States. The religion dates back to a cadre of important visitors to the island, including the Apostle Paul, who was shipwrecked on the island in 60 A.D. The hospitality shown to him by the locals was well documented in the Acts of the Apostles, Chapters 27 and 28, in the New Testament of the Bible. "The natives showed us extraordinary kindness by lighting a fire and gathering us all around it, for it had begun to rain and was growing cold," a passage reads.

Malta's historical and religious background was also greatly influenced by the Knights of the Order of St. John during the eleventh century. In the Holy Land, the Order's original duties were to care for the sick and wounded Christians. The Knights became soldiers of Christ and maintained huge estates in the Holy Land. With the loss of Acre—their headquarters—to the Moslems in 1291, however, the Knights withdrew to Rhodes. They were shields against the Turks until 1522, when Suleiman the Magnificent ousted the Knights from Rhodes. In 1530 they moved to Malta. They quickly improved trade and commerce on the islands by building new hospitals and erecting strong fortifications. Although heavily outnumbered, the Knights fought off an attack by Suleiman during the Great Siege of

Maltese American
children in
traditional costume
celebrate their
homeland.



1565. They were assisted by Maltese and Sicilian reinforcements. The Turks retreated and the Knights of St. John protected southern Europe and Christendom. A blossoming era in culture, architecture, and the arts followed, when the fortress city, Valletta, was built. The fall of the Ottoman Empire marked the end of the military life of the Order. To this day, 97 percent of the Maltese are Roman Catholic.

In the United States the Maltese maintain their strong devotion to the Catholic church by attending mass weekly and becoming active in their local parishes. Since attendance among Maltese Americans is high, church is another common place where they meet one another. For instance, in San Francisco, St. Paul of the Shipwreck Church at 1122 Jamestown Avenue is heavily populated by Maltese. And in Detroit, the Maltese have attended St. Paul's Maltese Church since the 1920s.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many of the Maltese who came to the Detroit area worked on the assembly line at one of the three automakers, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, and Chrysler Corporation. Other Maltese immigrants worked at various jobs on ships, in restaurants and hotels, selling real estate, and in religious orders as priests and nuns.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Maltese government is a Republic with a president and prime minister. The major political parties are the Malta Labor Party and the Nationalist Party. In Malta, the first American consul was nominated in 1796, which made Malta among the first countries to have a consular office of the United States.

MILITARY

Maltese involvement in supporting the United States during war dates back to at least the American Revolution. Maltese seamen enlisted in the French navy, which was supporting the colonists against Great Britain. About 1,800 Maltese sailors went to Toulon to join the French in this effort.

RELATIONS WITH MALTA

During the first decade of the nineteenth century American ships brought a variety of goods to Malta, including flour, rice, pepper, salted meat, rum, tobacco, and mahogany wood from Boston and Baltimore, as well as dried fruits, cotton, wax, pearls, goat hides, coffee, potatoes, drugs, and sponges from Smyrne and the Greek archipelago. During 1808, 33 American vessels entered Valletta, Malta's capital city. Trade would rise and fall cyclically. Malta's biggest boon of American shipping was during the Crimean War, between 1854

and 1856, when Great Britain and France were fighting Russia. Malta also emerged as a stepping stone in the wool trade between Barbary and the United States because it received wool from different ports in North Africa for shipment to America. Later, American tobacco was shipped to Barbary and Sicily through Malta. About 1,500 Maltese were employed in making cigars, which were exported to Italy, Barbary, Turkey, and the Greek Islands. Malta also imported petroleum, rum, pepper, flour, logwood, pitch, resin, turpentine, coffee, sugar, cloves, codfish, wheat, cheese, butter, and lard. Meanwhile, the island nation exported to America items such as olive oil, lemons, sulphur, ivory, salt, rags, goat skins, stoneware, soap, squills, sponges, and donkeys of the largest and most valuable race in the Mediterranean.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Professor Paul Vassallo, formerly of Marsa, Malta, headed a consortium of eight universities in the Washington, D.C. area. The Washington Research Library Consortium is a national model of the U.S. government that demonstrates how university libraries can keep up with the volume of new material. Vassallo, born in 1932, immigrated to the United States when he was 15 years old. His mother and siblings lived in the Detroit area.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Joseph Calleia, a Maltese native and actor, appeared in a number of Hollywood movies, including *Wild Is the Wind* in 1957.

MILITARY

Joseph Borg went to the United States at the time of the American Revolution. He was described as having been a sea captain who fought in many battles for American independence.

Brigadier General Patrick P. Caruana commanded the 50 B-52 bombers flying out of Saudi Arabia, England, Spain, and the Indian Ocean during the Persian Gulf War of 1991. The fleet pounded the Iraqis incessantly and helped break their morale. Caruana, a St. Louis resident, was also a KC-135 tanker pilot in Vietnam and commanded the 17th Air Division and its fleet of bombers refueling tankers and spy planes.

MUSIC

Oreste Kirkop, an opera singer, appeared in *Student Prince*. Legend had it that he was encouraged to change his name to increase his fame, but he refused to take the suggestion and instead returned to Malta.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

John Schembri, a Pacific Bell employee, has two patents to his name and a third pending. He holds degrees in electronics, engineering, mathematics, and industrial relations and is a recognized expert in the design and application of optical fiber transmissions systems.

VISUAL ARTS

The Liberty Bell was made in England in 1751 for the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, to be used in the State House of the City of Philadelphia. However, when it was being tested the bell cracked. It was recast in Philadelphia by John Pass, a Maltese immigrant, and John Stow, who added a small amount of copper to make it less brittle. Pass appears in the painting "The Bell's First Note," which hangs in the U.S. National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Although Pass is not a Maltese surname, there is no doubt about his heritage: the speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly referred to him as hailing from Malta. It is likely that his name in Malta was Pace, and he either changed it, or it was misspelled in documents.

MEDIA

Malta Messenger.

Contact: Charles Hogan, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 72 West High Street, Ballston Spa, New York 12020-1927.

Telephone: (518) 885-4341.

Fax: (518) 885-4344.

Maltese Center Update.

Formerly *Malta Gazette*.

Address: 27-20 Hoyt Avenue South, Astoria, New York 11102.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Association, Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

Address: 1011 First Avenue, Room 1500, New York, New York 10022.

Committee for Maltese Unity, Inc.
Address: P.O. Box 456, Mount Vernon,
New York 10551.

Friends of Malta Society, Inc.
Address: 3009 Schoenherr Road, Warren,
Michigan 48093.

Institute of Maltese American Affairs.
Address: Malta Overseas Press News Service,
Allied Newspapers Limited, Malta House, 36
Cooper Avenue, Dumont, New Jersey 07628.

Malta Club of Macomb.
Address: 31024 Jefferson Avenue, St. Clair
Shores, Michigan 48082.

Maltese American Association of L.I., Inc.
Address: 1486 Lydia Avenue, Elmont,
New York 11003.

Maltese American Benevolent Society.
Serves social and patriotic needs of Detroit's Maltese population, estimated to be 66,000 and believed to be the largest in the U.S. Supports children's services. Offers activities for members and their families.

Contact: John Caruana, President.
Address: 1832 Michigan Avenue, Detroit,
Michigan 48216.
Telephone: (313) 961-8393.
Fax: (313) 961-2050.

Maltese American Club.
Address: 5221 Oakman Boulevard, Dearborn,
Michigan 48216.
Telephone: (313) 846-7077.

Maltese American Community Club.
Address: 17929 Eton Avenue, Dearborn Heights,
Michigan 48215.

Maltese American Foundation.
Address: 2074 Ridgewood Road, Medina,
Ohio 44256.

Maltese American Friendship Society, Inc.
Address: 32-57 45th Street, Astoria,
New York 11103.

Maltese American League.
Address: 1977 Le Blanc Street, Lincoln Park,
Michigan 48146.

**Maltese-American Social Club of
San Francisco, Inc.**
Address: 1769 Oakdale Avenue, San Francisco,
California 94134.

Maltese International.
Address: 10 Columbus, Berea, Ohio 44017.

Maltese Social Club.
Address: 27-20 Hoyt Avenue South, Astoria,
New York 11102.

Maltese Union Club.
Address: 246 Eighth Avenue, New York,
New York 10011.

San Pablo Rectory.
Address: 550 122nd Street, Ocean Maraton,
Florida 33050.

Sons of Malta Social Club, Inc.
Address: 233 East 32nd Street, New York,
New York 10016.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Maltese American Benevolent Society.
Contains a library covering Maltese issues, concerns, and background.

Contact: John Caruana, President.
Address: 1832 Michigan Avenue, Detroit,
Michigan 48216.
Telephone: (313) 961-8393.
Fax: (313) 961-2050.

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Early Relations Between Malta and U.S.A. Valletta, Malta: Midsea Books, Ltd., 1976.

The Epic of Malta. Odhams Press Limited, 1943.

Luke, Harry. *Malta: An Account and an Appreciation*, second edition. [London], 1968.

The Malta Yearbook. Sliema, Malta: De La Salle Brothers Publications, 1991.

Price, Charles A. *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration.* Melbourne, Australia, 1954.

By 1990 over one-half million Hispanic-owned businesses existed in the United States, the majority of them in California and controlled by Mexican Americans.

MEXICAN AMERICANS

by
Allan Englekirk and
Marguerite Marín

OVERVIEW

Mexico, or Estados Unidos Mexicanos, is bordered by the United States to the north, the Gulf of Mexico to the east, Guatemala, Belize, and the Caribbean Sea to the southeast, and the Pacific to the south and west. The northwest portion of Mexico, called Baja California, is separated from the rest of the nation by the Gulf of California. The Sierra Madre, an extension of the Rocky Mountain chain, divides into the Oriental range to the east and the Occidental range to the west. The central highlands, where the majority of Mexico's 75 million people live, lies in between these two mountain systems. Overall, Mexico occupies 759,530 square miles.

HISTORY

The earliest inhabitants of Mexico are believed to have been hunters who migrated from Asia approximately 18,000 years ago. Over time, these early peoples built highly organized civilizations, such as the Olmec, Teotihuacan, Mayan, Toltec, Zapotec, Mixtec, and Aztec societies, the majority of which were accomplished in art, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture. In 1517 Spanish explorer Francisco Fernández de Córdoba discovered the Yucatán, a peninsula located in the southeast of Mexico. By 1521 the Spanish conquistador Hernando Cortéz had managed to conquer the

Aztec empire, the most powerful Indian nation in Mexico at the time. For the next 300 years, Mexico, or New Spain, would remain under colonial rule.

Spain's generally repressive colonial regime stifled the growth of commerce and industry, monitored or censored the dissemination of new and possibly revolutionary ideas, and limited access to meaningful political power to anyone but native-born Spaniards. An unequal distribution of land and wealth developed and, as the nation grew in numbers, the disproportion between the rich and poor continued to increase, as did a sense of social unrest among the most neglected of its populace. Their discontent resulted in a successful revolt against Spain in 1821.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, under the 30-year authoritarian rule of Porfirio Díaz, noticeable industrialization occurred in Mexico, financed in large part by foreigners. Mining was revitalized and foreign trade increased. Dynamic growth brought relative prosperity to many economic sectors of various regions of the country, complemented by increased levels of employment. As the century ended, however, a vast majority of the nation's inhabitants had realized little if any improvement in their standard of living. Those residing in rural areas struggled to produce enough to survive from their own small parcels of land, or, much more likely, worked under a debt-peonage system, farming lands owned by someone infinitely wealthier than they were. Most residents of urban areas, if they were lucky enough to have full employment, worked long hours under poor conditions for extremely low wages and lived in housing and neighborhoods that fostered diseases. The economic depression of 1907 soured the aspirations of the small but growing middle class and brought financial disaster to the newest members of the upper class (Ramón Ruiz, *Triumphs and Tragedy*, pp. 310-13).

Though he was able to manipulate his reelection in 1910, opposition to the Díaz regime was strong, and when small rebellions began to proliferate in the northern states of the nation, he resigned his post in 1911 and left the country. After Francisco Madero, the newly elected president, failed to define an agenda to satisfy the several disparate groups in Mexico, he likewise agreed to self-exile but was assassinated by supporters of General Victoriano de la Huerta, the man who next assumed national leadership. Violence escalated into a bloody and prolonged civil war known as the Revolution of 1910. The turmoil and bloodshed motivated some people from all levels of society to flee the country, most often northward to the United States.

By the early 1920s, though relative peace had been restored, the social and economic reforms that had become associated with the revolution were still unrealized, chief among them the redistribution of land to a greater percentage of the populace. From the perspective of the government-controlled political party, first designated as the PNR (Partido Nacional Revolucionario/National Revolutionary Party), and finally, in 1946, as the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional/Institutional Revolutionary Party), a nonviolent revolution was to continue until the goals related to social and economic justice were attained (Ruiz, p. 423). National presidents focused on promoting growth in the industrial sector, but the opening of new jobs did not keep pace with the employment needs of a rapidly expanding population.

Since the 1950s, economic conditions in Mexico have improved at a gradual pace. Expanding industrialization has provided additional jobs for greater numbers of workers and increased oil production has brought in needed foreign currencies. The projected benefits from commercial accords such as the North American Free Trade Agreement have yet to materialize, but continued growth of international trade with other Latin American nations may invigorate areas of economic investment and production. Continued single-party rule by the PRI, high levels of unemployment, underemployment, low wages, and the many social problems related to a prolonged period of intense urbanization—coupled with the need for renewed efforts at land redistribution in certain areas of the country—remain as sources of concern for the government and causes of unrest for a significant segment of the population. In increasing proportions since the late 1970s, those people unable to find dependable sources of employment or subsistence wages have moved to the northern borderlands and crossed into the United States, where the economic prospects are more promising. To reverse this movement of manpower out of the country, future administrations in Mexico will have to continue to promote the expansion of economic growth to all regions in the country and the creation of new jobs in the public and private sectors.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR AND MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The Mexican government initially promoted American settlement in parts of the territory now known as Texas in the 1820s to bolster the regional economy. As the proportion of North American settlers in these lands multiplied, however, they began to request greater local autonomy, feared the

possibility that Mexico might outlaw slavery, and resented the imposition of taxes from the government in Mexico City (Oscar Martínez, *The Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States History*, p. 263). Sporadic insurrections occurred after a new president, General Antonio López de Santa Anna, imposed restrictive controls on commerce between the Anglos living on Mexican land and the United States, and these uprisings precipitated an armed response by the Mexican army. Santa Anna seized the Alamo in San Antonio but was later defeated in the Battle of San Jacinto. Santa Anna later signed the Velasco Agreement in Washington D.C., which formally recognized the independence of present-day Texas. After returning to Mexico, however, he was quick to join other military leaders who rejected the accord.

Relations between the United States and Mexico remained strained, at best, during the late 1830s and early 1840s. The Lone Star Republic was admitted to the Union as the State of Texas in 1845; shortly thereafter the frequency of border skirmishes between the two countries increased. U.S. forces responded to these clashes by moving into New Mexico and California in 1846, as well as southward into Mexico. The capture of Mexico City was the final significant armed conflict.

War between Mexico and the United States ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 in which Mexico surrendered 890,000 square miles, close to one-half of its territory. Six years later, in order to finish construction of a transcontinental railway, the United States purchased an additional 30,000 square miles of Mexican land for \$10 million. This acquisition was made final through the Gadsden Treaty of 1854 (Carlos Cortés, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, p. 701).

Approximately 80,000 Mexicans resided in the territory transferred to the United States at the conclusion of the Mexican-American War, the greatest numbers of whom were located in present-day New Mexico and California. Only a small proportion of the total, slightly over 2,000, decided to return to their country of origin after the signing of the treaty. Those who remained north of the border were guaranteed citizenship after two years, along with other privileges and responsibilities related to this status.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

When compared to various periods of the twentieth century, Mexican immigration to the United States between 1850 and 1900 was relatively low. The discovery of gold in the Sierra Nevada of California in 1849 was an initial stimulus for this migration, as

was the expansion of copper mining in Arizona beginning in the 1860s. During this same period and on into the twentieth century, ranching and agriculture lured many inhabitants of the northern and central states of Mexico to Texas. By 1900 approximately 500,000 people of Mexican ancestry lived in the United States, principally in the areas originally populated by Spaniards and Mexicans prior to 1848. Roughly 100,000 of these residents were born in Mexico; the remainder were second-generation inhabitants of these regions and their offspring.

A combination of factors contributed to sequential pronounced rises in Mexican migration to the United States during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The Reclamation Act of 1902, which expanded acreage for farming through new irrigation projects, spurred the need for more agricultural laborers. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the aftermath of political instability and social violence caused many to flee northward across the border for their safety, and the growth of the U.S. economy in the 1920s attracted additional numbers of immigrants. Though the wages received by most Mexican migrants in these decades were quite low, they were considerably higher than the salaries paid for comparable work in Mexico. Most importantly, the number of jobs for foreign laborers seemed unlimited, especially during World War I and on into the early 1920s.

Only 31,000 Mexicans migrated to the United States in the first decade of the twentieth century, but the next two ten-year periods manifested markedly higher numbers, especially from 1920 to 1929, when almost 500,000 people of Mexican ancestry entered the country. However, since the frontier was virtually open to anyone wishing to cross it until the creation of the Border Patrol in 1924, immigration figures for years prior to this date are of dubious legitimacy. The actual number may be appreciably higher (Cortés, p. 699). Rural areas of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas attracted a vast majority of these migrants, but during the years of World War I, mounting numbers of newcomers moved to the upper midwestern states, mainly to the region around Chicago. They were attracted by jobs in industry, railroads, steelmills, and meat-packing.

In these initial periods of heavy immigration, it was most common for Mexican males to cross the border for work and return to Mexico periodically with whatever profits they were able to accumulate over several months. Alternatively, they remained in the United States for a longer duration and sent money southward to family members; between 1917 and 1929, Mexican migrants to the United

States sent over \$10 million to relatives in their home country (Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico*, [New York: Praeger, 1990], p. 171). During these same decades, men might also establish residency in the United States and return for their families, though still quite often with the ultimate objective of returning to Mexico permanently in a not-too-distant future. It is estimated that about one-half of those immigrants who entered the United States from 1900 to 1930 returned to Mexico (Matt Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans*, [New York: Hill and Wang, 1993], p. 129).

Mexican immigration to the United States decreased considerably in the 1930s due to the economic depression of this decade. Though approximately 30,000 Mexicans entered the United States during these years, over 500,000 left the country, most of them forced to do so because of the Repatriation Program, which sought to extradite those Mexicans without proper documentation. The Mexican government since the 1870s had attempted to encourage reverse migration to Mexico. In the 1930s jobs and/or land were promised to those who would return, but when this commitment was not fulfilled, many families or individuals moved back to the border towns of the north and often attempted again to return to the United States (Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La familia*, p. 59).

With the exception of the decade of World War II, legal immigration from Mexico to the United States since 1940 has remained at or above the high levels of 1910 to 1930. Despite federal legislation to limit the numbers of immigrants from most countries to the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, Mexican migrants crossing the border totaled 453,937 and 640,294 for the two decades. It is estimated that approximately one million entered the United States legally between 1981 and 1990. The number of undocumented workers has increased consistently since the 1960s; approximately one million people of this category were deported annually to Mexico in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a proportion of this figure representing individuals deported more than once (Meier and Rivera, pp. 192-95). The availability of jobs in the United States, coupled with high rates of unemployment and periodic slowdowns in the Mexican economy, served to encourage this continued migration northward.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Though in 1900 a vast majority of people of Mexican ancestry lived in rural areas, by 1920, 40 percent of the Mexican American population resided in cities

or towns. In 1990 the estimated proportion had risen to 94 percent (Meier and Rivera, p. 250). Los Angeles had among the highest number of Hispanics of major cities of the world and by far the greatest proportion of its population was Mexican in origin.

According to the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report, approximately 12 million people of Mexican ancestry lived in the United States, a figure which represented 4.7 percent of the total national population and 61.2 percent of the total Hispanic population in the country. Over 66 percent of the people of Mexican ancestry were born in the United States, while 7.5 percent of the total were naturalized citizens. The Pacific states, led by California, held 47.8 percent of the 12 million; 30 percent lived in the West Central states, led by Texas. The states with the highest populations of Mexican Americans are, in descending sequence: California, Texas, Illinois, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Florida, and Washington.

RELATIONS WITH ANGLO AMERICANS

Mexicans who held tracts of land of any appreciable size in Texas, California, and New Mexico prior to 1848 were angered and alienated when they began to lose their properties because of alterations made in the 1848 treaty after its signing or because of other unethical tactics used by Anglo Americans to obtain their land. Luis Falcón and Dan Gilberg identify the procedures employed to acquire two-thirds of the lands once held by Spanish or Mexican families in New Mexico: "Traditional claims were rejected, and original owners were required to prove their ownership in court. The procedures of these courts were biased against the original owners: the burden of proof fell on them, the courts were conducted in English and in locations less accessible to Mexican landowners, and standards of legal proof were based on U.S. law rather than Mexican law under which the land had originally been acquired" (Luis Falcón and Dan Gilberg, *The Handbook ... Sociology*, p. 58). Small landholders were particularly vulnerable. Land companies often successfully appropriated the holdings of isolated Mexican villagers who neglected to register their land claims in the appropriate governmental offices or failed to pay sometimes burdensome new taxes demanded on their properties. In some instances, these taxes were increased to excessive levels for Mexicans, then lowered after they were forced to sell their holdings to Anglo American families or land agents (Cortés, p. 707).

The response of many Mexicans in the southwestern United States to the Anglo American presence was retaliatory violence. In New Mexico, Las

Gorras Blancas, a vigilante group, destroyed rail lines and the properties of lumber and cattle interests in an attempt to convince these forces to move elsewhere (Griswold del Castillo, p. 13). In Texas, the decade-long Cortina War started in 1859. After shooting a deputy sheriff for arresting one of his former servants for no apparently just reason, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina and some followers conducted a prolonged series of raids on ranches and small towns around Brownsville, in part to avenge the deputy's act but also because he believed that since shortly after their arrival in the region Anglo Americans had scorned and insulted Mexican locals. In defense of Mexican property rights, Cortina declared: "Our personal enemies shall not possess our lands until they have fattened it with their gore" (McWilliams, pp. 104-05). Most Mexicans perceived Anglo Americans to be "arrogant, overbearing, aggressive, conniving, rude, unreliable and dishonest" because of the unscrupulous actions of some (McWilliams, p. 89).

Disfavor on the part of some Anglo Americans with Mexicans was evident before 1848, but it intensified thereafter. Besides a small minority of well-to-do Mexican families with extensive landholdings, the preponderant number of residents in the territories ceded to the United States in 1848 were of humble origin and negligible financial resources. As greater numbers came north in search of work, the wages of those Mexicans already working in the United States were held down due to the abundant supply of labor, and the standard of living of most of these individuals consequently remained at the same low level for decade upon decade. Though not all Anglo Americans living in the same areas inhabited by Mexicans were appreciably better off, a definite economic disparity existed and was one of the reasons for a division to develop between the two cultures.

Other differences made this division more pronounced, however. Whereas the immigrants from Mexico were predominantly Catholic, most of the people who settled in Texas, California, and the other territories were of Protestant sects. The religious wars on the European continent between these creeds were not too distant in the past to be forgotten. Perhaps most importantly for some, however, the new majority society was decidedly of North European origin and of light skin color. In contrast, most Mexicans living in or moving to these newly acquired lands of the United States were *mestizos* (people of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry), and a significant percentage of those who immigrated from the northern states of Mexico were primarily of Indian ancestry. The sentiments of a sizable portion of western settlers in the United States in the mid-

1800s about the indigenous civilizations whose lands they were slowly appropriating were quite negative. In the words of McWilliams, "Indians were a conquered race despised by Anglo Americans" and "Mexicans were constantly equated with Indians" by the most race-conscious of the early Anglo American westerners (McWilliams, p. 190).

The number of immigrants increased considerably in the first decades of the twentieth century. Though employers in mining, agriculture, and various industries were more than pleased to see ever larger numbers of migrant workers cross the border each year, Anglo American laborers in the same occupations as these immigrants blamed the newcomers for holding their wages down and viewed them as strike busters. Moreover, when urbanization became more pronounced in the 1920s and Mexicans in the Southwest began moving to the major cities, many people in these urban centers perceived these Hispanics as part of the cause of higher crime rates, increased vagrancy, and violence. City chambers of commerce, local welfare agencies, nativist organizations, and various labor unions all began to call for controls on Mexican migration. Bills to place a limit on their immigration were proposed in Congress in the 1920s but never ratified (Cortés, p. 703). Massive unemployment in the 1930s prompted the initiation of the Repatriation Program. Many of the Mexicans who left the country had lived in the United States for over ten years and had started American-born families. Their mandated eviction was a tragic experience that led to a bitter realization: it was clear to those involved that they were only welcome in the United States when the economy needed their labors. This would not be the last time this fact would be dramatized to Mexicans and Mexican Americans in such humiliating fashion.

Approximately 350,000 children born in the United States of Mexican immigrants or Mexican American parents fought in World War II, and a proportionately high number won medals of honor, but relations between Mexican American and Anglo American citizens remained tense in the 1940s. In 1942 in Los Angeles, the purported beating of eleven sailors by a group of Mexican American youths sparked a prolonged retaliation by servicemen and civilians against Hispanics wearing "zoot suits," distinctive clothing interpreted by some Anglo Americans in the city to symbolize a rebellious attitude by the younger Mexican Americans. Many injuries occurred on both sides and the riots in Los Angeles spread to several other metropolitan centers nationwide (Meier and Rivera, p. 164).

After the war, despite the fact that thousands of Mexican Americans lost their lives in battle,

many Hispanics remained segregated in neighborhoods out of sight to Anglo American society. They attended segregated schools, ate in segregated restaurants, sat in specially designated areas of theaters, and swam in pools on “colored” days only (Cortés, pp. 707-09). Though in the 1950s several southwestern states attempted to rebuild old sections of certain towns of Spanish heritage to romanticize the local Hispanic traditions, the apparent respect for the Hispanic past in this region of the country contrasted “harshly with the actual behavior of the community toward persons of Mexican descent” (McWilliams, p. 47). Increased tourism, rather than pride in the multicultural heritage of these areas, might have been the primary factor for most reconstruction programs.

Only in the 1960s, when the civil rights of most minorities in the United States were brought under scrutiny, did the negative attitudes of many citizens toward Mexican Americans begin to be called into question. In 1970 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights proclaimed that Mexican Americans had been denied equal treatment by the legal and judicial systems in the United States (Cortés, p. 714). The press coverage given to the efforts of César Chávez to improve the wages and working conditions of agricultural workers and the vital ideas emerging from the Chicano movement of the 1970s raised the consciousness of non-Hispanic U.S. citizens to the social and economic issues of importance to the Mexican American population of the country. The *Teatro Campesino* of Luis Valdez dramatized visually for audiences the barriers of prejudice faced by most Mexican Americans in the land once possessed by their ancestors.

A significant majority of U.S. citizens in the 1990s recognized that Mexican Americans represent a segment of the population whose contributions to the nation’s society have been and will be valuable and praiseworthy. Upward mobility has brought a better life to a minority of Mexican Americans and increased acceptance by some who might previously have repudiated them. Inequalities and discrimination have not disappeared, however, and remain as legitimate and vexing sources of discontent for a significant segment of this Hispanic community. As reasons for misunderstanding or discord diminish, both cultures will realize greater rewards.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Most immigrant groups in America to a lesser or greater extent have attempted to maintain their dis-

tinctive cultural ways. However, the general pattern has been that with each successive generation the use of the mother tongue and other cultural practices diminishes. Mexican Americans do not fit this pattern for a number of reasons. First of all one must consider their historical experience, particularly their “charter member” status within the United States. Some Mexican Americans can trace their ancestry back ten generations. The ancestors of many Mexican Americans living in rural Colorado and northern New Mexico pre-date the Anglo American presence in that region. Many have not acculturated; some speak English with difficulty and appear to be more traditionally oriented than the newly arrived Mexican immigrant (Joan Moore and Henry Pachón, *Hispanics in the United States*, p. 92). Second, Mexican immigration has been a constant pattern throughout the twentieth century. As a result, each successive wave of Mexican immigration has served to reinforce certain aspects of Mexican culture and maintain and encourage the use of the Spanish language within the United States. In addition, intermarriage between immigrant males and Mexican American women has encouraged the maintenance of Spanish. Immigrants have also encouraged the continuous growth of Spanish language enterprises such as the Spanish-language media, print as well as electronic, and small businesses that cater to the Spanish-speaking community. In fact, McLemore has stated that Mexican Americans “have been the primary contributors to the maintenance of the Spanish language over a comparatively long period of time” (*Ethnic Relations in America*, p. 261).

The size and the distribution of the ethnic group also plays a dominant role in the persistence of traditional cultural patterns. The 1990 census indicates that there are approximately 21,000,000 Hispanic Americans residing in the United States, so about one out of every ten Americans is of Hispanic origin. Mexican Americans form the largest group of Hispanic Americans, at over 12,000,000. Not all speak Spanish, but most have some familiarity with the language, and many who speak English in the larger society will often speak Spanish at home. While most are concentrated in the southwestern United States, there has been a greater integration of Mexican Americans into the larger society, and the vast majority are likely to live in communities with high concentrations of inhabitants of their same ethnic identity. Thus, the potential for interaction with other Mexican Americans is extremely high. Many, on a daily basis, will work, go to school, go to church, and attend various community events with other Mexican Americans. This continuous interaction over the years has served to

perpetuate certain elements of Mexican and Mexican American culture.

The Mexican Americans' close proximity to their homeland is yet another factor resulting in their slower rate of assimilation. Since the United States shares a 2,000 mile border with Mexico, Mexican Americans are in a truly unique position. Over the years, the children and grandchildren of Mexican immigrants have been able to maintain close ties with the "old country." Many have the opportunity to visit Mexico on a relatively frequent basis. On extended trips, they may travel to the interior of Mexico, or, if their time is limited, they can visit the border region. These return visits to the old country are not once-in-a-lifetime opportunities as has been the case for most European immigrants who settled in America. Many Mexican Americans are able to maintain strong cultural ties through their contacts with friends and extended family in Mexico (Richard Schaefer, *Racial and Ethnic Groups*, p. 277).

TERMS OF IDENTITY

In the 1990s, two terms were widely used to identify Spanish-speaking people: Hispanic and Latino. The latter term appears to be growing in acceptance, especially by younger people who reject the Hispanic identification. The popular use of "Hispanic" grew out of the federal government's efforts, beginning with the 1980 census, to identify and count all people of Spanish-speaking backgrounds with origins from the western hemisphere. Since the term was employed in most federal government reports, the media soon appropriated it and popularized its use. Some members of the Hispanic community have employed the term to create political alliances among all ethnic groups with ties to the Spanish language. However, according to the Latino National Political Survey, the majority of respondents indicated that they defined their identities in terms of place of origin. Among those of Mexican origin who were born in the United States, 62 percent identified themselves as Mexican; 28 percent as Hispanic or Latino; and ten percent as American (P. Kivisto, *Americans All*, pp. 386-387).

Terms of identity vary greatly from region to region and from generation to generation. Traditionally, residents of northern New Mexico have referred to themselves as Spanish Americans or *Hispanos*, terms which are essentially a reflection of their early ancestors from "New Spain" who settled the region. Persons from Texas, in the recent past, have referred to themselves as Latin Americans, although there is growing use of the term "Tejano" by Texas residents of Mexican ancestry. The identi-

fication of Mexican is more commonly used in the Los Angeles area. More recently, the identification of Mexican American has gained in popularity.

In general, varying group identities are a reflection of the changing self-definitions of an ethnic group. The term "Chicano" is perhaps the best example of this social process. Chicano appeared in the mid-1960s as a political term of choice primarily among the young. The term identified an individual actively promoting social change within the context of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. To the older generation and the more affluent, to be identified as a "Chicano" was an insult. In the past the term specifically referred to the unsophisticated immigrant. However, to the generation of political activists, their term of ethnic identity came to signify a sense of pride in one's community and heritage. Thus, as Kivisto states, group identities are social constructs that "human beings are continually renegotiating and articulating" (Kivisto, p. 18).

RESISTANCE TO ASSIMILATION

Following the Mexican-American War, increasing violence perpetrated by Anglo Americans made Mexicans and Mexican Americans intensely aware of their subordinate status within the American Southwest. They did not have equal protection under the law, despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the U.S. Constitution, and several laws were passed to specifically control their way of life. According to Griswold del Castillo: "A Sunday Law imposed fines ranging from ten to 500 dollars for engaging in 'barbarous or noisy amusements' which were listed as bullfights, horse races, cockfights, and other tradition Californio amusements. At the same time, a vagrancy law called 'the Greaser Law' was passed.... This law imposed fines and jail sentences on unemployed Mexican-Americans who, at the discretion of local authorities, could be called vagrants" (*The Los Angeles Barrio: A Social History*, p. 115). When Mexican Americans defied Anglo Americans and their newly established laws, lynchings, murders, and kangaroo trials were quite common as Anglo Americans asserted their dominance.

In an attempt to cope with their second-class status, Mexican Americans created a variety of social and political organizations, many of which promoted ethnic solidarity. As sociologist Gordon Allport has noted, one of the results of ethnic persecution is the strengthening of ethnic ties. Within their group, ethnic minorities "can laugh and deride their persecutors, celebrate their own heroes and holidays" (*The Nature of Prejudice*, p. 149).

Before the turn of the twentieth century at least 16 Spanish-language newspapers were established in Los Angeles. The Mexican American press took the lead in condemning discrimination against their community. For example, in 1858 the editor of *El Clamor Público* denounced the theft of California lands by Anglo Americans and urged nonconformity to Anglo American culture and domination. The Mexican American press also developed a sense of ethnic solidarity by reporting on such cultural events as Mexican Independence Day and Cinco de Mayo, which celebrates the defeat of the French forces in Mexico in 1862.

The concept of “La Raza” was also promoted by the newspapers of the time. Its use by the Spanish-language press was evidence of a new kind of ethnic identity. The term connoted racial, spiritual, and blood ties to all Latin American people, ties particularly to Mexico. In addition, a number of social and political associations began to reinforce ethnic identity. Griswold del Castillo notes that between 1850 and 1900 at least 15 associations were established in Los Angeles. Their purposes were social and political. However, they overwhelmingly promoted Mexican nationalist sentiments (p. 135).

During the 1960s the Chicano movement specifically challenged assimilationist orientations within the larger society as well as within the Mexican American community itself. The ideology of the Chicano movement, particularly for Mexican American college students, called into question the idea of conformity to “Anglo American” cultural ideals. The beliefs promoted by the movement articulated a sense of personal worth and pride in common history and culture by emphasizing Chicano contributions to American society. The activists also reevaluated former symbols of shame associated with their heritage, culture, and physical appearance. Activists took great care in pronouncing Spanish names and words with the proper accent. Monolingual English-speaking Chicanos took courses to learn Spanish. Cultural relics and artifacts were resurrected. Items such as *sarapes* (serapes, or shawls) and *huaraches* (sandals), as well as other clothing symbolic of Mexican American culture, were displayed and worn with pride. A new perception of self-worth and pride in one’s heritage prevailed among the adherents of the Chicano movement. This perspective was not only indicative of a newfound image and self-concept; it was also an assertion of dignity within a society that regarded Chicanos and their cultural symbols as inferior (Marguerite Marín, *Social Protest in an Urban Barrio*, pp. 114-120).

The ethnic movements of the 1960s and 1970s brought to the fore the contemporary debate concerning cultural pluralism. The ethnic movements

of this period argued that assimilating into American society entailed the loss of distinctive identities, cultures, and languages. Assimilation was defined as a virtual assault on the way of life of American ethnic minority groups. As a result, a concerted effort is under way to understand, albeit only within certain segments of American society, the internal and external dynamics of the many peoples that make up the American mosaic.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

The first major wave of Mexican immigration during the twentieth century triggered physical as well as verbal attacks by white Americans. Immigrant labor camps were raided by whites espousing white supremacist beliefs. By 1911 certain politicians lobbied against further Mexican immigration. The Dillingham Commission argued that Mexicans were undesirable as future citizens. Nativist scholars and politicians feared “mongrelization” as a by-product of contact with Mexicans, and in 1925 a Princeton economics professor even spoke of the future elimination of Anglo Americans by interbreeding with Mexicans (Feagin and Feagin, p. 265). These themes reemerged in 1928 when a congressional committee attempted to set limits on immigration from the western hemisphere. Congressman John Box called for restrictions on Mexican immigration because the Mexican was a product of mixing by the Spaniard and “low-grade” Indians. This mixture, according to Boxer, was an obstacle to participation in American democracy.

The image of the Mexican American male possessing innate criminal tendencies emerged during the World War II era. For example, in 1943, following the Zoot Suit Riots, the Los Angeles Sheriff’s Department issued a report alleging that the Mexican American’s desire to spill blood was an inborn characteristic. Further, the report concluded that Mexican Americans were violent because of their Indian blood (Feagin and Feagin, 265). And as late as 1969, a California judge ruling in an incest case reiterated similar racist beliefs. He stated in court: “Mexican people ... think it is perfectly all right to act like an animal. We ought to send you out of this country.... You are lower than animals ... maybe Hitler was right. The animals in our society probably ought to be destroyed” (Feagin and Feagin, p. 266).

One of the most persistent stereotypes is the image of simplemindedness. In 1982 the U.S. Department of Defense issued a report explaining that lower test scores for Hispanics and African Americans as compared to white Americans were due to genetic differences as well as cultural differ-

ences. During the same year, the National Educational Testing Service, surprised by the excellent performance of 18 Mexican American students attending Garfield High School (a school situated in one of Los Angeles' poorest Mexican American communities), demanded that all retake the exam. Allegations of cheating by the students was the reasoning of the testing administrators. The students eventually did re-take the exam; once again they received excellent scores.

HEALTH CARE BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

A majority of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans relied most frequently on traditional medical beliefs and practices to resolve health problems up through the first decade of the twentieth century. In some situations, a physical ailment might easily be alleviated or eliminated by herbs or other natural medicines or remedies. These cures, prescribed most often by mothers or grandmothers,

“I went to the doctor. He made me get undressed and put on a little robe. He examined my hands and knees. Then he told me I had rheumatism. I already knew that! He said he couldn't do anything for me, just give me a shot. He charged me \$15; now I go to him only when I feel real sick and need the drugs. Otherwise I go see [a healer]. I don't know why but I have more confidence and faith in him. He gives me herbs, and I feel fine.”

Cited from Robert Trotter, *Curanderismo*, p. 51.

represented the accumulated knowledge gained from personal experience or observation of others passed down from generation to generation. On those occasions in which relief from a specific affliction was not achieved through home remedies, however, individuals or families might solicit the assistance of a *curandero* (folk curer) or other type of folk healer.

In general, all folk healers possessed a certain *don*, or God-given gift or ability, that provided them the power to restore the health of others. They might accomplish this through the use of herbs (*yerberos*, or herbalists), massages or oils, and/or the aid of the spirit of another more powerful healer serving as a medium between this more potent spirit and the afflicted person (Leo R. Chávez and Victor M. Torres, *The Handbook ... Anthropology*, p. 227). Alternatively, some used cards to divine an illness or to prescribe a remedy (Chávez and Torres, pp. 229-30).

Curanderos also have been used to cure ailments more readily recognizable to the medical establishment in the United States. It was not uncommon for some Mexican Americans to seek assistance from both a *curandero* and a physician. Several factors prompted the first generations of Mexican Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to rely more readily on folk healers than on practitioners of the U.S. medical community. The geographic isolation of the rural areas in which they settled or the segregated neighborhoods in which they lived in the cities combined with limited financial resources to restrict the options available to most people or families for several generations. Even those with ready access to medical assistance often were more confident in relying on a local *curandero* because of the faith their parents and grandparents had placed in these traditional curers or because of the more personal approach they employed. In many cases, the healers were likely to be acquainted with the family and involved relatives in the evaluation or treatment of an illness (Trotter, p. 44). The emotional bond established by the folk healer with the patient was a consistent and compelling element promoting greater trust in these traditional health providers.

As more Mexican Americans emigrated to large cities and greater numbers moved into more integrated settings, a higher percentage of them came to depend on practitioners and services of the U.S. medical community, occasioned either by easier access to these facilities, by the availability of medical insurance through their employers, or because of decreasing contact with families maintaining ties to traditional health practices. By the 1950s, research revealed that the primary source of health care for a dominant percentage of Mexican Americans had become doctors and clinics of the modern medical establishment. Surveys in the 1970s and 1980s in various urban areas of California suggested that as low as five percent of those polled had consulted a folk healer to resolve a health problem. Other studies showed that though close to 50 percent in some mixed urban and rural areas expressed faith in *curanderos*, over 90 percent of the same sample proclaimed confidence in medical doctors (*Family and Mental Health in the Mexican American Community*, edited by Susan E. Keefe and J. Manuel Casas, pp. 10-11).

Though their importance among Mexican Americans has diminished considerably over the last century, folk healers remain as a viable source for assistance with illness. J. Diego Vigil asserts that “some very acculturated Latinos accept the validity of diagnoses and traditional cures” of these healers

(Chávez and Torres, p. 223). Second-generation families living in rural areas may have easier access to curanderos and therefore use them more frequently, and these curers still may consult with urban dwellers whose family medical doctors, despite the advances in contemporary medicine, are ineffective in treating a given ailment.

HEALTH ISSUES

Though Mexican Americans manifest no congenital diseases that are group-specific, the rates at which they contract certain maladies are considerably above the national average. Some of these diseases are more evident among certain sectors of the Mexican American population, while others are common to the entire community.

The incidence of diabetes is greater among obese persons and studies have shown that one-third of all Mexican Americans fall in this category, the highest rate among Hispanics in the United States. Among those of the 45-74 age group, 23.9 percent had diabetes. Poor eating habits and/or inadequate diets contributed directly to its prevalence (Chávez and Torres, p. 235).

According to recent studies, 14 percent of all AIDS cases in the United States occurred among the Hispanic community and, as a group, they were 2.7 times more likely to contract this disease than Anglo Americans. Evidence of higher rates of AIDS within the migrant farmworking community (a considerable proportion of which is still Mexican or Mexican American) became more pronounced in the 1990s. The mobile nature of existence of this specific populace facilitates its dissemination, as does a lower frequency of condom use (Chávez and Torres, p. 236). Farmworkers are also at higher risk of exposure to tuberculosis. In comparison to the overall population of the United States, they are six times as likely to fall victim to this disease.

Alcoholism afflicts Hispanics at two to three times the national average. Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans suffer the highest rates. Alcohol abuse is eight percent to 12 percent higher for all age groups among Mexican Americans as compared to "non-Hispanic whites" in these same categories (*The Statistical Record . . .*, p. 434). The highest frequencies occur in those families of low economic stability, and many of those afflicted are unaware of, or ineligible for, treatment programs. Cirrhosis of the liver is the most common cause of death for these specific individuals. The frequency level for this disease is 40 percent higher among Mexican Americans than among Anglo Americans.

The underutilization of medical services represents one of the most pressing health issues among a significant proportion of the Mexican American population. For second-generation families whose contacts with Anglo American society have been limited and whose disposable income is low, such fundamental considerations as inadequate language skills, lack of transportation, or inability to pay for services reduce the possibilities for using or even seeking health care facilities. Public health facilities have decreased in number in some urban zones of heavy Hispanic population. In rural areas, medical assistance may be too distant, poorly staffed, or offer medical technologies of limited capacity to detect or cure more complex ailments. Preventative health measures are a privilege too expensive to consider for those whose income is at survival-level.

Research in the 1960s in Texas and California revealed that the proportionate number of Mexicans and Mexican Americans receiving psychiatric assistance in public facilities was significantly lower than their overall population in these areas. The findings in Texas prompted sociologist E. G. Jaco to suggest that Mexican Americans might in fact suffer less from mental illnesses than the Anglo American population, a premise that seemed to contradict generally held assumptions regarding immigrant groups and their families raised in foreign countries—specifically, that individuals of such groups were more likely than people of the dominant culture in a given society to exhibit a higher prevalence of mental disorders due to the psychological stress and tension generated by the immigration experience, discrimination, and the acculturation process in general. Jaco proposed that the existence of strong, supportive family ties among the Mexican and Mexican American population might explain the lower proportion of patients of this ethnic community at these facilities, but other theories have since been put forth. The most often-repeated assertions, some of which have been posited with little or insufficient supporting material to defend their contentions, have suggested that: Mexican and Mexican Americans are more tolerant of psychiatric disorders than Anglo Americans and seek assistance with lower frequency; they suffer from just as many disorders but manifest these conditions more often in criminal behavior, alcoholism and other addictions; they are too proud or sensitive to expose such psychological problems, especially in facilities staffed mainly by Anglo Americans; they utilize priests and family physicians instead of public health specialists or they return to Mexico to seek a cure.

LANGUAGE

Spanish has remained the principal, if not sole, language of almost all Mexicans in the southwestern United States for many decades after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Since the overwhelming majority of the first generations of Mexican immigrants moved to areas already populated predominantly by people of their heritage and worked side-by-side with these individuals in the same jobs, the need for them to learn more than rudimentary English was of minor importance. Proximity to Mexico and the continued entry of additional immigrants constantly revitalized the culture and native language of those who chose to become permanent residents of the United States.

In the twentieth century, as the proportion of second- and third-generation Mexican American families increased and some of their members moved into a wider range of professions in which more of their co-workers were non-Hispanic, proficiency in English became practical necessary for many. In addition, heightening exposure of the younger generations of Mexican Americans to Anglo American education meant that English became a fundamental part of their curriculum. Moreover, the use of Spanish in and outside the classroom was strongly discouraged and sometimes even prohibited in many school systems until mid-century and beyond. Of equally substantial and enduring impact, English was introduced to ever greater numbers of Hispanic households by means of television. Though few lower income Mexican American families could afford this form of entertainment in the 1950s, it had entered most living rooms by the end of the next decade and brought the language (as well as other aspects) of Anglo American culture nightly to the ears of a growing Mexican American audience.

The persistence of high immigration levels did not allow Spanish to disappear from this community, regardless of the encroachments made by English in their public and private lives, and the Chicano movement of the late 1960s and 1970s renewed the pride of many Mexican Americans in their heritage and in the Spanish language. In the 1980s there were still over 100 Spanish-language newspapers in circulation within the United States, approximately 500 radio stations, and 130 television stations whose programming was partially or completely in Spanish.

MEXICAN SPANISH

Some families in more remote parts of northern New Mexico still speak a Spanish quite similar to the language spoken in Spain at the time of the

arrival of the first conquistadors in the Americas. On the other hand, later immigrants, like their immediate ancestors, speak Mexican Spanish. This language differs from Castilian Spanish in the pronunciation of certain consonants and consonant and vowel combinations but is more strikingly distinct in aspects of vocabulary, where the influence of pre-Columbian indigenous languages have added to the language spoken in Mexico. Such words most often apply to agriculture and the natural world. For example, the native word for “grass,” *zacate*, replaced the Spanish word *hierba*- and *guajolote* and *tecolote*, of Indian derivation, replaced the Spanish words for “turkey” and “owl.”

The Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans is “a spoken and informal dialect” (González-Berry, p. 304). It varies to some extent depending on the rural or urban identity of the speaker, his/her economic standing, length of time in the United States, and level of education. Though some scholars have maintained that Mexican American Spanish may be separated or differentiated by geographic zone in the United States, the intramigration among these areas has made a clear delineation between them difficult. In general terms, it is characterized by and distinguished from Mexican Spanish in differences between the enunciation of certain sounds. For example, whereas the standard Spanish words for “soldier” and the pronoun “you” are respectively *soldado* and *usted*, the corresponding words in Mexican American Spanish for many speakers have altered to *soldau* and *usté* through the elimination of the consonant of the last syllable. Transformations of certain verb conjugations are evident also in Mexican American Spanish, such as the shift from *decía* (“I/she/he/you were saying”) to *dijía* (González-Berry, p. 305). Markedly evident also is the incorporation of English words to Spanish, with the appropriate orthographic changes to make the specific terminology more similar in sound to Spanish, for example, *troca* for “truck,” *parquear* for “park,” or *lonche* for “lunch.”

Still prevalent among various urban groups of young Mexican Americans is the use of *caló*, a variation of Mexican Spanish which employs slang from Mexican Spanish, African American English, and Anglo American English to create a new vocabulary. It was used much more extensively in urban settings in the Southwest during the 1940s and 1950s by members of the younger generation who wished to set themselves apart from their parents. As González-Berry illustrates, the combination of languages used in *caló* make it comprehensible only to those who use it, as may be seen by the phrase *gasofla pá la ranfla*—“gas for the car” (p. 306).

Those Mexican Americans who have been exposed extensively to English and Spanish and employ both languages actively in speaking or writing may move from one language to another within a given sentence, a linguistic phenomenon referred to as “code-switching.” The alternation may be caused by a momentary memory lapse by the speaker, with use of proper nouns, or when a specific word has no exact equivalent in the other language. The result occasioned by one or more of these factors might be a sentence such as: “*Mucha gente no sabe where Magnolia Street is*” (“Many people don’t know where Magnolia Street is”) (Lipski, *The Hispanic American Almanac*, p. 224). This linguistic tendency was once perceived in a negative light, and in the case of some speakers is indicative of lexical deficiencies. An expanding percentage of Mexican Americans, however, are now “coordinate bilinguals,” able to separate English from Spanish completely and use either language effectively and persuasively depending upon the situation or need (Olivia Arrieta, *The Handbook ... Anthropology*, p. 166). Code-switching when employed by these bilinguals by no means signifies confusion or insufficient linguistic aptitude to distinguish between the two languages but an attempt to use the most appropriate phrase to convey a certain word or notion (Lipski, p. 224).

LANGUAGE ISSUES

Despite high levels of Mexican immigration and strong pride in their Hispanic heritage, the primary language of Mexican Americans is English, and with each new generation born in the United States the use of Spanish becomes less frequent in many families. U.S. Census Bureau statistics for 1976 revealed that 68 percent of the Mexican American population possessed good language proficiency in English. According to Meier, polls taken in the 1990s indicate that though 90 percent of those Mexican Americans questioned asserted an ability to speak and comprehend Spanish, only 5.3 percent confirmed that they spoke the language at home (p. 245). Census figures for 1990 calculate that though 65 percent of Mexican Americans “speak a language other than English,” 97.8 percent of those persons five years of age and over professed to an “ability to speak English” (1990 *Census of Population—Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States*, p. 86).

In addition to the factor of progressive acculturation, these figures also in part reflect the effect of bilingual education programs nationwide, programs that began in significant numbers in the late 1960s with passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 but multiplied considerably in the 1970s

due to a decision rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974. This verdict affirmed that those schools not able or willing to provide language instruction to children of immigrants whose skills in English were deficient were acting in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. By the close of the 1970s there were still four states in which bilingual instruction was forbidden. Spending for these classes had increased to \$107 million (Cortés, p. 715).

The movement to bilingual instruction in the public schools was not received positively by all sectors of society in the United States in this period, however. Towards the end of the 1970s and in the initial years of the 1980s, various individuals and organizations set out to reverse a perceived trend towards bilingualism and/or biculturalism/multiculturalism in the United States, which they saw as a threat to the dominant Anglo American culture. In 1978 Emmy Shafer established the organization English Only and in 1983 United States English was founded, a group whose annual budget is now \$5 million with a membership of 400,000. One of the priorities of this second group has been to secure passage of the English Language Amendment, thereby declaring to ratify English as the official language in the United States. Though they had not achieved this goal at the national level as of 1995, 21 states had passed legislation to this effect. Opponents of these proposals assert that the United States has never been monolingual or monocultural and that attempts to establish national or local restrictive language policies are anti-immigrationist and racist.

Though virtually all Mexican Americans endorse the need to learn English and have supported programs in bilingual instruction as a prerequisite to academic and professional advance in the United States, many have found fault with the “language immersion” or “transitional” approaches employed in a large percentage of bilingual programs, which place little or no importance on the retention of the students’ native language or culture as they learn English. A method far less commonly employed but defended more positively by many Mexican Americans is “maintenance bilingual instruction,” a technique that utilizes the speaker’s language of origin to teach English but never abandons the use of the native language nor denies the importance of the student’s ethnicity. The goal of this popular alternative is to make the learner totally functional in the two languages in terms of reading, writing, and speaking (Arrieta, p. 186). The English Plus proposal endorsed by the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC), which asserts the necessity of

acquiring fluency in English for Hispanics yet also reaffirms the importance of maintaining identity with Hispanic values, has received the support of many Hispanic groups in the United States.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The average size of the Mexican American family in 1989 was 4.1 persons, as compared to 3.1 for non-Hispanic and 3.8 for all Hispanic families residing in the United States. Though the birth rate among Mexican American women remains high in comparison to the national average and 43 percent of the Mexican American population was 14 years of age or under, the size of the family has declined slowly over the past generations. In 1991, among Mexican-origin families in the United States, 73.5 percent were headed by married couples, and 19.1 percent were female-headed, a figure approximately three percent higher than for non-Hispanic groupings. Among female-headed families, 49 percent were below the poverty line in terms of income. According to the 1990 census, 7.8 percent of Mexican American men over 15 years of age were divorced, as opposed to 6.4 percent of the women in this same category. In 1989 13.5 percent of Mexican American households received public assistance. The mean for this specific income per household was \$4,359 (1990 *Census of Population...*).

Intermarriage between Mexicans/Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans was prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century and increased slowly in subsequent generations. After World War II, due in part to a slow movement towards residential integration and greater and more widespread social mobility, the incidence of intermarriage increased at more rapid rates, especially in urban settings. In the mid 1980s in the states of the Southwest of highest Hispanic population, intermarriage rates varied from nine to 27 percent in Texas, 27 to 29 percent in New Mexico, and 51 to 55 percent in California (Rosina Becerra, in Mindel, *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations*, p. 156). Male exogamy was slightly higher than female exogamy for the same period and occurred most frequently among third-generation Mexican Americans.

TRADITION AND CHANGE IN FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ROLES

In the mid-nineteenth century *la familia*, or the extended family, included aunts and uncles, as well as grandparents and even great grandparents.

Beyond these direct familial ties between generations, *compadres* (co-parents) were most often an integral part of these groupings, as were adopted children and intimate friends, in many instances. As close, personal friends of the mother or father of a child, the *padrinos* (godfathers) or *madrinas* (godmothers) developed a special relationship with their *ahijados* (godchildren), a relationship that started in definitive terms at his/her baptism. From this point forward, in most instances, they provided emotional, financial, or any other form of assistance or advice their *ahijados* might require past that afforded by their actual parents, especially in times of family crisis. They were also essential participants in all events of social or religious importance to the godchild and maintained strong bonds with their *compadres* or *comadres*—lasting friendships based upon mutual admiration and support. As much as any immediate family member, godparents contributed to strong family unity (Griswold del Castillo, p. 42).

A patriarchal hierarchy prescribed a system of male dominance in the traditional family. As the authority figure, the husband was the principal, if not the sole, breadwinner. He made the important social and economic decisions and was the protector of the family's integrity. Wives had general control over household matters but were expected to be obedient and submissive to their husbands (Maxine Baca Zinn, *The Handbook ... Sociology*, p. 164). Though the wife might perform work outside the household, this was usually an acceptable alternative only in cases of extreme economic duress. In such cases, her efforts were limited to a restricted number of options, almost always of a part-time nature, and contributed nothing to improve her subservient status within the house. This division of authority established between man and wife was perpetuated by their offspring. Girls were taught distinct behavior patterns and were encouraged to adopt specifically defined aspirations quite different from their brothers, beginning at an early age. Motherhood was the ideal objective of all young girls and the primary virtue of all those who achieved it (p. 167).

This system of mutual dependence and respect for elders created a close-knit family unit. Family honor and unity were of paramount significance. If problems arose for individual members, the immediate or extended family could be relied upon to resolve the issue. Important decisions were always made with first consideration given to the needs of the group rather than the individual. Traditional social and religious practices passed from one generation to the next virtually unchanged because they were perceived as intrinsic values to the family's cultural heritage.

While extended family households are less common today, the importance of the family as a unit and the ties between these units and their extended members remains strong. Newly arrived immigrants generally continue to seek out relatives in the United States, as did the initial generations after 1848, and may rely upon these individuals and their families for temporary residence as well as assistance in arranging employment, especially in rural regions. Though in a majority of instances each successive generation born in the United States tends to exhibit reduced dependence on extended kin, birthdays, baptisms, marriages, and other family celebrations bring relatives together with a pronounced regularity (Robert R. Alvarez, Jr., *The Hispanic American Almanac*, p. 171).

Modifications also have occurred in the pattern of male dominance and division of work by gender within these families. In the United States in the generations immediately subsequent to 1848, economic necessities provided the initial impulse toward a more egalitarian relationship between husband and wife. The specific forms of employment assumed by the Mexican American husband in the southwestern region during these years frequently made his absence necessary from the household for long periods of time; while drovers, miners, farmworkers, and other laborers often strayed considerable distances from their families in pursuit of work or in performing their labors, the wife was left as the authority figure. Though the male almost always assumed total control upon his return, accommodations or compromise might alter the structure of power within the family somewhat, and it was not uncommon for women to continue to exert a more pronounced role in decision making in those families where this pattern of male absence was prolonged and repetitive (Griswold del Castillo, p. 34).

As a growing proportion of Mexican American women moved into the full-time labor force in the early decades of the twentieth century and thereafter, alterations in role patterns and the division of responsibilities were manifested in greater frequencies. Though in some cases, especially in the early years of the century, the family was less male dominant, equal hours of work outside the house for the wife generally helped to initiate a progressively more egalitarian arrangement with the family structure.

The contemporary Mexican American family exhibits a wide range of decision making patterns, including that of male authoritarianism. Most, but not all, studies in the 1980s and early 1990s have concluded that both parents generally share in the day-to-day management of the family and in determining responses to matters of critical importance to

this unit. Among others, Ybarra contends that “egalitarianism is the predominant conjugal role arrangement in Chicano families” (*Journal of Marriage and Family* 1982, p. 177). The mother, as before, is generally seen as the individual most responsible for meeting the domestic needs of husband and children, but in those families in which she has become the disciplinarian, she has frequently found this role is in conflict with her traditional identity as nurturer (Chavira-Prado, p. 258). Alvarez contends that, as in many contemporary cultures, though women most often have taken on new and varied roles, men have altered little with respect to their low participatory level related to household chores (*The Handbook . . .*, p. 165). Despite the fact that actual family dynamics reveal general egalitarianism, deference to the father as the ultimate authority remains the ideal behavior pattern (Alvarez, *The Hispanic American Almanac*, p. 172).

CHILDREARING AND COURTSHIP

Fairly rigid sex roles were maintained for Mexican American children well into the twentieth century. Beginning in colonial times in Mexico, young girls were taught the tasks and skills of their mother from an early age. The eldest daughter was initially always given the chore of caring for her younger siblings, but, after reaching puberty, the eldest brother replaced her in this responsibility (Becerra, pp. 149-50).

Whereas girls, up through adolescence, were restricted in their activities and spent much time together with their sisters at home, boys of the same age group were given more liberties and were allowed to venture outside the household with peers. There were rules of proper etiquette that prevailed in large cities and small towns for dating. Chaperoning was most common, if not required. Young unwed women were to be perceived by the community as the ideal figures in terms of social behavior. Adolescent boys, on the other hand, were not monitored as closely. The male was seen as “a fledgling (sic) macho who must be allowed to venture out of the home so he may test his wings and establish a masculine identity” (Alfredo Mirandé and Evangelina Enríquez, *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*, 1979, p. 114).

Teen marriages were most prevalent in Mexican American families into the first decades of the twentieth century. The premarital procedures involved in joining a couple in matrimony varied depending on the social background of the families. Up until the 1920s and perhaps later in rural areas, a *portador* (go-between) would deliver a written pro-

posal of marriage to the father of the would-be bride. Fathers decided on the acceptability of the suitor based on the apparent moral respectability of the young man and his family, and though the opinions of his spouse and daughter were important in the final decision as to marriage, the father might often overrule the wishes of either or both of these individuals (Williams, pp. 27-30).

Except among the most traditional Mexican American families, childrearing and dating practices have changed substantially over the past few generations. Among other studies finding similar conclusions, Jesse T. Zapata and Pat T. Jaramillo have found that parents rarely ascribe pronounced roles determined by sex to their children (*Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 3, No. 3, p. 286). Family commitments or responsibilities may still curtail the social activities of young girls more than boys, but equal privileges within the family arrangement are the norm rather than the exception. Girls may be monitored more closely in their dating patterns, but few of the restrictions that once prevailed now determine their behavior. Premarital chastity is still expected of young Chicanas, but as Mirandé and Enríquez affirmed, though “premarital virginity prevails ... its enforcement may prove more difficult today than in the past” (p. 114). Parents have far-reduced and sometimes incidental influence with regard to the selection of marriage partners for their offspring, except in the most traditional families, but their sentiments on the issue are most always considered of significance.

EDUCATION

The desire of low-income migrant families from Mexico to provide their children with opportunities for education in the late 1800s and early 1900s was counterbalanced by more fundamental needs: the wages paid these immigrants for their labors in the fields, mines, factories, or railways were most often so low that families needed the additional income provided by their children to meet the basic necessities required for survival. Attendance at the primary level of instruction was relatively high, provided that schools were available in the predominantly rural areas where the first generations of Mexican immigrants resided. But progress past this level and on into secondary schools was less common because of economic factors. The mobile nature of farm and railworker families made it difficult for children to maintain a continuity in their schooling. Finally, the schools and teachers in these rural areas were of inferior quality. It was hard for parents to maintain a positive attitude about the long-range significance of attending classes since it quickly became apparent to

most that, as with other families before them, it would only be a matter of time before economic factors would force them to pull their children out of classes or at least reduce the number of hours or days that they could attend school.

Low-income immigrant families, as well as those with greater financial stability whose children consequently had a better chance of staying in school, were dissuaded from adopting a more positive attitude toward the U.S. educational system because of the tendency of teachers and administrators to deny the existence or importance of Catholic or Hispanic traditions in favor of those held by the majority population. The assimilationist philosophy endorsed by the public school system was designed “to shape desirable behaviors for functioning in America” and encourage uniformity of perspective regardless of differences in the ethnic heritage among the student population (Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *The Handbook ... Anthropology*, p. 293). Texts as well as curricula in the public schools well into the twentieth century disregarded or acknowledged only minimally the role and/or contributions of minority peoples to the socioeconomic historic development of the United States.

Religious orders staffed most Catholic schools in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, many of which were located in areas of high Mexican and Mexican American population. Though not founded specifically to educate Hispanics, these schools attracted significant numbers of Mexican Americans because of their religious orientation. As public education facilities began to proliferate at the end of the century, however, an ever-smaller percentage of Chicanos attended parochial schools, either because of easier access to public institutions or because of the cost factor involved with Catholic education (San Miguel, p. 293). By the 1960s, though the Mexican American population of the United States was close to 90 percent Catholic, only 15 percent of Spanish-surname students in Los Angeles attended grades one through six in Catholic institutions, whereas in San Antonio 21 percent attended grades one through eight (Grebler, p. 475). The proportion of Mexican Americans in parochial schools in the 1990s remains at similar or lower levels.

Beginning in the first decades of the twentieth century and continuing thereafter, as greater numbers of Mexican Americans moved to an urban setting, the opportunities for public school education increased measurably. Alternative sources of employment were more plentiful in the cities, and, though a majority of Mexican Americans continued to experience wage discrimination during these

decades, the possible advantages of higher levels of education related to salary and employment options made academic preparation more attractive. Segregated educational facilities were the rule, however, until mid-century and beyond. The suits brought by *Menendez v. Westminster School District* in Southern California and *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* represented important steps in the 1940s toward the outlawing of segregation, but some school systems practiced “integration” by joining Mexican American and Afro American students rather than combining these minorities with predominantly Anglo American students (Cortés, p. 718). The separate educational facilities provided to minority students were most often poorly maintained, staffed by undertrained instructors, and provided with inadequate supplies.

As segregated facilities have slowly diminished over time, Mexican Americans who have entered integrated schools have often been classified as “learning disabled” because of linguistic deficiencies or inadequate academic preparation afforded by their previous learning institutions. This factor has caused many of these students to be channeled into “developmentally appropriate” classes or curricular tracks (San Miguel, p. 303). It was only in the late 1960s that the judicial system took steps to mandate the establishment of bilingual programs in education, but continued strong funding for these programs has been challenged by many groups at national and local levels. The pedagogical approach adopted by the vast majority of bilingual programs has stressed rapid conversion to the use of English without regard for the maintenance of skills in the native languages of first- and second-generation immigrants.

Leaders of the Chicano movement focused much of their energies on educational issues. They emphasized the need to lower the high school dropout rate, expand the number of bilingual/bicultural programs, increase the availability of fellowships for Mexican Americans at the college level, support the recruitment of higher percentages of Hispanic instructors and administrators at all levels of the educational system, and diversify class offerings by establishing new courses and programs in Chicano studies (Cortés, p. 718). Several student organizations have evolved to provide forums for the discussion and wider propagation of issues fundamental to improving educational opportunities for Mexican American students. In 1969 a conference at the University of California, Santa Barbara, attempted to unite many of these organizations under MECHA (*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán*—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán). A *Plan de Santa Barbara* (Santa Barbara Plan) was for-

mulated related to the procedures necessary for the development of degree programs in Chicano studies (Meier, in McWilliams, p. 287). Strategies emerging from this reunion and other meetings of an academic focus among Mexican Americans have resulted in the creation of a growing number of Chicano studies programs nationwide. These programs feature courses and curricula of more definitive relevance to students at advanced education levels. In 1972 the National Association of Chicano Studies (NACS) was founded, an organization for college students and professors that sponsors annual conferences oriented to social, economic, literary, and other themes pertinent to Mexican Americans. A special session of the annual meeting in 1982 brought under discussion the need to champion recognition and participation by Mexican American women in this organization, a goal that has been accomplished in large part since that time (Teresa Córdova, *The Handbook ... Sociology*, p. 185).

According to U.S. Census Bureau estimates for 1991, 50.5 percent of the “Mexican-origin” population 35 years of age and over had completed four years of high school or more, and 7.4 percent of this same age category had attended four years of college or more. As of 1985, 27.8 percent of women in the United States designated under the identical classification had studied four years or more in high school, whereas 4.6 percent had continued on to four or more years of college. Significant differences existed between first- and second-generation families and their levels of educational attainment in 1988: 34 percent of the first generation received a high school degree while 65 percent of the next generation reached this level (Steven F. Arvizu, *The Handbook ... Anthropology*, p. 288). Though the number of Hispanics with advanced degrees remains low, this number has risen in a consistent, albeit slow, pattern since the 1970s.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Beginning in the late 1960s and in increasing proportions thereafter, Mexican American women began to write about themes directly oriented to the socioeconomic and political challenges that had confronted them over many generations: gender/race-based discriminatory practices in almost all areas of the labor market; inequities in educational opportunities and lack of sufficient local or federal support to alter this situation; the specific needs of Chicana women in poor Mexican American neighborhoods (health care, physical abuse, and unemployment, among others); Chicana prisoner abuse and rights; welfare rights and child care issues; lack of equitable political enfranchise-

This elaborate altar is decorated for the celebration of the Mexican Festival *El Día de los Muertos*, or the Day of the Dead.



ment; and the virtual nonexistence of gender-specific political representation at local, state, or national levels (Córdova, pp. 177-80).

In the 1970s and early 1980s a significant number of Mexican American women were intrigued, but most often not attracted, by the ideas emerging from the women's movement in the United States. Though, as Maria Gonzalez affirms, it "provided the example and the language with which Hispanic women could challenge traditional attitudes towards women's roles," several basic perspectives identified with the movement were seen in a negative light by most Mexican American women. While they were aware of the need to react to oppression from within and without the Mexican American community, they judged the declarations of Anglo American feminists as somewhat excessive in their demands for independence and self-autonomy and contended that such stances, if adopted by Chicanas, might function to disrupt the unity of the Mexican American family. They also were disenchanted by a perceived racism that was made evident to them from occurrences at various national women's association conferences. As synthesized by

María González: "What has emerged from Hispanic women's experience with feminism is an acknowledgment by Hispanic feminists of pride in their traditional heritage but with a realistic attitude toward its limitations, as well as an acknowledgment of the limitations of feminism" (*The Hispanic-American Almanac*, p. 356).

Since the 1960s, many notable advances for women and women's issues have been made within the Mexican American community. Melba J. T. Vásquez cites two studies (Gándara and Avery) of the 1980s on "high-achieving" Chicanas that suggest a dilemma of a different dimension for these women when set in the context of Mexican American social history in the United States. In both studies, it was revealed that, as opposed to Anglo American professional women, Mexican American women in industry, academia, and politics married at significantly lower rates and, of those who married, only 56 percent of them had children. Avery concluded that for these specific females, "the conflicts involved in maintaining roles within and outside the home may be perceived as too overwhelming and the availability of male partners of

comparable educational backgrounds may be limited” (quoted in Vásquez in *Chicano Psychology*, second edition, edited by Joe L. Martínez and Richard H. Mendoza, p. 42).

For the pronounced majority of Chicanas, however, the move to a position of equality in North American society has yet to begin or is only commencing. Insufficient opportunity for an adequate education to allow them to compete in an increasingly challenging job market condemns too many of them to unemployment, underemployment, or work in professions with little promise for upward mobility and jobs with decent salaries. Many Chicanas remain in oppressed situations within their own community, held back by gender-based traditions that deny them a chance to alter their role and define a new identity. The positive advances of the minority of Mexican American women must be viewed by the majority, however, as a promise for a better future.

CUISINE

The basic diet of the inhabitants of Mexico has changed little from the beginning years of recorded human history in the area to the present period. Corn, beans, squash, and tomatoes were staples until the arrival of the Spaniards in the early 1500s. The culinary preferences of these Europeans, plus the addition of some items from trade centered in Manila brought pork, beef, rice, and various spices, among other foods, to the diet of this region.

Pork and beef, in steaks or stews, along with chicken, were the meats eaten in those areas from which migration to the United States was highest in 1848 and subsequent decades. This same cuisine forms the day-to-day food of most contemporary Mexican Americans: prepared with tomato-based sauces flavored by a variety of chiles and/or spices or herbs such as cumin and cilantro, one of these meats is generally served with rice, beans, and corn tortillas.

On festive occasions such as religious holidays or family reunions, one or more of the following traditional meals consumed in Mexico are prepared by most Mexican American families: *tamales* (shredded and spiced pork or beef caked within cornmeal and wrapped in a corn husk before steaming); *enchiladas* (corn tortillas lightly fried in oil then wrapped around sliced chicken, shredded beef, cheese, or ground beef and various spices and coated with a tomato and chile sauce before baking); *mole* (most often chicken, but sometimes pork, combined with a sauce of chiles, chocolate, ground sesame or pumpkin seeds, garlic, and various other spices,

slow-cooked under a low flame on the stove); *chilaquiles* (dried tortilla chips complemented by cheeses, chile, and perhaps *chorizo*—spiced sausage—and/or chicken and a tomato-based sauce of green or red chile stirred into a hash-like dish on the stove); *chiles rellenos* (green chiles stuffed with a white cheese and fried in an egg batter that adheres to the chiles); and *posole* (a soup-like stew which contains hominy as its essential ingredient, as well as stew meat and various spices).

Though some ingredients of the meals described above are at times somewhat difficult to find in major supermarkets in the United States, the proximity of Mexico makes it possible for small markets that specialize in Mexican food to obtain and sell these items at a reasonable price.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

The clothing identified as most traditional by Mexicans and Mexican Americans and, according to Olga Nájera-Ramírez, recognized as “official national symbols of Mexico,” is now worn most frequently at festivals of historic importance to these people. Men dress as *charros*, or Mexican cowboys, and wear wide-brimmed *sombreros* along with tailored jackets and pants lined with silver or shining metal buttons. Women dress in *China Poblana* outfits, which include a white peasant blouse and a flaring red skirt adorned with sequins of different colors. This apparel is linked most closely in socio-historical terms to people of more humble origin in Mexico.

HOLIDAYS

Two secular holidays of national importance in Mexico are celebrated by a significant number of Mexican Americans. Mexican Independence Day is celebrated on the 16th of September. Commemorating the date that the priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla initiated the war for liberation from Spain with the *grito*, or call to battle, “*Viva Mexico y mueran los gachupines*” (“Long live Mexico and death to all *gachupines*”—a derogatory term for Spaniards used during the colonial period and afterwards), part of the festivities may include the pronouncement of the *grito* and/or a mass with *mariachis*, (Mexican street bands) followed possibly by a speech or parade. In that the central idea related to this date is ethnic solidarity, many of the participants wear the *charro* and *China Poblana* outfits. Along with traditional plates such as *mole*, other condiments and food served on this date traditionally stress the colors of the Mexican flag: white, red, and green. These items may include rice, limes, avo-

cados, chopped tomatoes, peppers, and onions (Eunice Romero Gwynn and Douglas Gwynn, *The Handbook ... Anthropology*, p. 366).

Perhaps the most widely recognized Mexican holiday celebrated by Mexicans and Mexican Americans residing in the United States, as well as by other Hispanics nationwide, commemorates the victory of Mexican troops in the Battle of Puebla over the invading French army on May 5, 1862. The Cinco de Mayo celebration may include parades or other festivities and, as with Independence Day, reinforces for many Mexican Americans a sense of ethnic brotherhood. Many Anglo Americans join in commemorating this date, though its historic importance is known by only a negligible number of revellers.

RELIGION

Approximately 75 percent of the Mexican American population are of the Catholic faith, and in the southwestern United States over two-thirds of the Catholics are Mexican or Mexican American (Julián Samora, *A History of the Mexican-American People*, p. 232). Despite their numerical importance within this church, however, the first Mexican American bishop was not ordained until 1970 and, as of 1992, only 19 of 360 bishops in the country were of Hispanic origin. In recent decades, attempts have been made by church hierarchy to establish a stronger bond between Mexican Americans and the Catholic church in the United States, but various factors and events over time since 1848 created a rift that remains clearly defined between this specific laity and the institutional church with which they are nominally affiliated (Silvia Novo Pena, *The Hispanic-American Almanac*, p. 367).

CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

The presence of the Catholic church on Mexico's northern frontier was weak throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, due in part to the attempts of liberals to reduce its economic and political power nationwide, but also because of the death, departure, or expulsion of Spanish clerics from the region and the failure of the church to replace them (Cortés, p. 710). By 1846 there were only 16 Catholic priests in the lands that were to become the states of California, Arizona, and New Mexico (Alberto L. Pulido, in *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* IV, p. 106).

Beginning in the colonial period, and increasingly so in the nineteenth century, Mexicans living

in the rural areas of this region evolved a "self-reliant," popular religiosity. Though based upon fundamental Catholic tenets, this form of religion manifested practices that deviated in notable ways from those endorsed by the institutional church, especially so after 1848 (Moisés Sandoval, *On the Move: A History of the Hispanic Church in the United States*, p. 21). Home altars and devotional tables became the center of prayer for this isolated laity, and parents or grandparents often instructed the younger members of the family in religious matters. Feasts, festivities, and processions to honor saints or events of historical religious significance became the principal means for local believers to share religion on a community level. Pilgrimages to shrines took on added importance for those hoping for divine intervention in times of despair (Anthony Stevens-Arroyo and Ana María Díaz-Stevens, *The Handbook ... Sociology*, p. 270). A more pronounced devotion to certain saints or the Virgin Mary in one of her various identities frequently dominated a believer's prayers. Religious brotherhoods, such as *Los Hermanos Penitentes* (the Confraternity of Our Father, Jesus of Nazarene) in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado—operating in the absence of priests—directed holy ceremonies for those in the surrounding communities, taught doctrine to the young, and conducted penitential rituals (Sandoval, p. 22).

By the mid-1850s the lands taken over by the United States were included in newly created dioceses placed under the control of bishops and vicars whose origin or heritage, much like the newly ordained clergy of the period, most frequently was European. These leaders were prompt to voice protests over the religious practices of the Mexican laity and priests in their regions and soon proposed several basic reforms. Though they had been prohibited since 1833, the collection of tithes was called for in most dioceses and set fees were established for church marriages, burials, and baptisms. Processions and other public demonstrations of faith not under the direct control of the church were discouraged. Festive religious celebrations often were condemned as immoral and those who selected not to worship or to do so in services not tied officially to the institutional church were chastised. In New Mexico the French apostolic vicar of the Santa Fe diocese, Jean Baptiste Lamy, actively sought to curtail the activities and power of the *Penitentes* and replaced or excommunicated several priests who failed to follow his dictates, among them Father Antonio José Martínez of Taos, who, despite being excommunicated, continued to perform services in a small chapel in his parish (Mirandé, p. 136).

Thus, although they had been guaranteed the right to maintain their religious preferences and practices in 1848, as the nineteenth century ended it was progressively more evident to most Mexican and Mexican American Catholics that they had no institutional voice at any level in the American Catholic church and that the religious traditions they had come to deem important and essential to their convictions were considered inappropriate, if not unacceptable, in the estimation of the Euroamerican Catholic laity and clergy in the United States.

It was not until the mid-1940s that the institutional Catholic church in the United States began to devise strategies and programs to meet the pastoral and social needs of Mexican Americans and other Hispanics. In 1944 meetings and seminars were organized for delegates of western and south-western dioceses at the request of Robert E. Lucey and Urban J. Vehr, the archbishops of San Antonio and Denver, respectively, to analyze the scope and effectiveness of the church's efforts in these areas (Sandoval, p. 47). In 1945 the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-speaking was formed, the objectives of which were to construct clinics, improve housing and educational and employment opportunities, and eliminate discrimination.

Hispanic priests increased in numbers slowly during the 1950s and 1960s, and beginning in 1969, some of these pastors organized the PADRES (Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights) to help strengthen the voice of their ethnic community within the national Catholic church (Novo Pena, p. 367). Fifty nuns in 1971 united to form *Las Hermanas* and proclaimed a similar agenda. In response to pressure from these and other associations, a Secretariat of Hispanic Affairs was created within the church to coordinate activities of Hispanic clergy across the country. Three national meetings (*Encuentros*) between Spanish-speaking leaders and higher clerics in the church were held in 1972, 1977, and 1985. Though not all participants involved in these meetings viewed them in positive terms, Sandoval concludes that they provided a means for Hispanics to "come face to face with the top levels of authority in the church to express their frustrations and demands for equality and opportunity in the community of believers. The *encuentros* have legitimized protest and demonstrated the Church's willingness to listen to the oppressed" (*Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the United States*, p. 431).

One of the most dynamic forces to bring about change between Mexican Americans and the Catholic church and its clergy in the United States

was the Chicano movement of the 1960s and early 1970s. In seeking to define their unique identity within North American society by affirming a strong sense of pride in their Spanish and indigenous American heritage, leaders of this movement also condemned U.S. institutions that they believed had fostered or condoned the oppression of Mexican Americans in the past and present. In the early 1970s, the activist group *Católicos por la Raza* dramatized their discontent over lingering evidence of segregation in the church and its failure to bring about reforms to correct inequities in society by organizing a Christmas Eve demonstration. Many of the participants were arrested, but their sentiments were publicized (Meier, p. 227).

By the 1990s, an expanding proportion of Mexican Americans were mainstream Catholics and no longer sensed the same isolation or separation that their parents or grandparents likely experienced. According to Sandoval, however, the basic reality is the same as before: "Hispanics ... remain a people apart. They continue to cling to their culture and maintain at least some of their religious traditions. There is 'social distance' between them and the institutional Church. For some it is a vague discomfort of not feeling at home. For others, it is the perception that the clergy are not interested in them. Moreover, Hispanics in the main have no role in ministry: episcopal, clerical, religious or lay. They are the objects of ministry rather than its agents" (p. 131).

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND RITUALS

Various rituals and festivals of Spanish or Mexican Catholic origin continue to represent an important spiritual element in the lives of many contemporary Mexican Americans. In some instances, these public manifestations of faith have remained virtually unchanged since 1848 or before, but the number of those believers who practice them is decreasing with each new generation. The degree to which any single family participates in these activities depends on the nature of their religious convictions and the level of contact they maintain with more tradition-oriented members of churches of the Mexican American Catholic community.

One of the most symbolic celebrations for many Mexican Americans is the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 12th. The festivity commemorates the apparitions of the Virgin Mary to a converted Christian Indian, Juan Diego, in Mexico on the hill of Tepeyac (located within the boundaries of present-day Mexico City) on this same date in 1521. Though she had identified her-

self as the Virgin Mary to Diego, in appearing before him she spoke his language, Nahuatl, related herself to indigenous deities, and, most importantly, was of a skin color similar to his. In the years immediately after her apparition countless thousands of Indians who had previously sought to maintain their native religions converted to the Catholic faith, seeing the coming of the Virgin in a new identity as a symbolic act of supreme consequence.

To commemorate the day of the Virgin's final apparition to Juan Diego on December 12th, some Mexican Americans may rise early and unite at some high point in the area (symbolic of the hill at Tepeyac) and sing "Las Mañanitas," a traditional song which, according to Elizondo, in this festivity represents the Mexican Americans' "proclamation of new life" (*Galilean Journey: The Mexican-American Promise*, p. 44). A special mass is said and roses are an important part of the celebration; most families take these flowers to the service and place them at the altar of the Virgin. Some Mexican Americans, on a given year, may make a pilgrimage to the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City. The importance of the Virgin Mary to Mexican Americans and Hispanics in general cannot be overstated, as affirmed by Silvia Novo Pena: "For the males she is the understanding mother who forgives and intercedes for her errant sons; for the women she sympathizes with the early travails of a mother, sister, or daughter" (p. 381).

Ceremonies and rituals in recognition of events related to the birth and death of Jesus Christ are an essential part of the religious calendar of many Mexican Americans. During the nine days prior to Christmas Day, masses are said at dawn and the festivities of "Las Posadas" honor the arrival of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem and their search for lodging at an inn (*posada*). Dressing in clothing similar to that likely worn by these personages, a couple visits designated houses of friends or other family members on consecutive nights. It is common for the participants to read dialogues that recreate the probable conversation between the Holy Family and the innkeepers. Though the contemporary Mary and Joseph, like those whom they represent, are denied entry each night, after the dialogues and other ritual acts are completed they may return to the house and unite with friends and family for fellowship. On the ninth night, which is Christmas Eve, Mary and Joseph visit a house that accepts their request for a night's lodging. All those who participated in the events of prior evenings generally attend the *Misa de Gallo* (Midnight Mass), which usually starts with a procession down the main aisle during which two godparents carry a statue of the Christ Child to a manger near the

front altar (Samora, p. 227). Festivities include the sharing of food and drink to celebrate the arrival of Mary and Joseph at the inn where the Christ child will be born. During the evening, in most instances, those children present break a *piñata* (a paper maché figure often in the shape of a farm animal filled with candy and hung from a high spot in the house). In all, these joyous events serve to prepare the human spirit for the arrival of the Christ Savior. Christmas Day is spent at home with members of the extended family, and traditional Mexican dishes are principal elements of the menu (Nájera-Ramírez, p. 337).

The final significant event of the Christmas season is *El Día de los Reyes Magos* (Three Kings' Day) on January 6th, when children receive gifts to mark the arrival of the Magi and their offerings for the Christ Child. The night before this special date children leave a note in one of their shoes explaining their behavior during the past year, followed by a list of requests for specific gifts. The shoes often are filled with straw and left under the bed or on a windowsill, along with water, symbolically to provide sustenance to the camels of the kings. In doing so, "they are taught to be mindful of animals and to experience the joy of gratitude" (Samora, p. 227). On the evening of January 6th, families and close friends of this group unite to cut and share a special bread of circular shape with the figure of the infant Jesus in the center.

Activities throughout the Hispanic world also occur to recall the last days of Christ's life on earth. *El Miércoles de Ceniza* (Ash Wednesday), according to Samora, is of particular importance to Mexican Americans "as they reflect on their ties to the earth as a mestizo people" (p. 227). By receiving the imprint of a cross on their foreheads during mass on this day, like Catholics of all countries, they acknowledge the pain and suffering of Christ on the cross and "profess publicly the Christian faith with an awareness of their human sinfulness and limitations." On Good Friday in many parishes, *La Proce-sión de las Tres Caídas* (The Procession of the Three Falls) in conjunction with religious services brings to the memory of those in attendance the agony associated with Christ's journey to Calvary. Families may visit a statue or altar of Our Lady of Sorrows, a Virgin Mary with tears of anguish for her Son in His last moments on earth. The Mexican American mother, in visiting the statue, demonstrates her pity for the Virgin on this anniversary day. On Easter Sunday, another procession commemorates the reunion of the resurrected Christ and His mother. The burning of an effigy of Judas may also form part of the religious activities (Samora, p. 228).



These Mexican American World Cup fans display their excitement on their faces and their clothes.

FUNERALS

Rituals practiced in Spain and colonial Mexico associated with the death of family members are still preserved by some Mexican American families. After passing, the body of the deceased may be dressed in special clothing (*la mortaja*) and remain in the family home overnight, making it possible for relatives and friends to pay respects to the departing soul. Food is generally served at this *velorio* (wake). For years to follow on this same date, those people who attended the *velorio* may reunite to affirm once again their bonds to the deceased person. On the day of burial, the family accompanies the body to the grave, frequently singing songs of a religious theme. Flowers are thrown into the grave and the entire family generally stays at the site until the casket is completely covered. Mexican American families whose deceased members were born in Mexico may sometimes arrange for the body to be transported back to his/her town of origin. It was once customary for the spouse and certain family members to wear black clothing for varying periods and make *promesas* (vows) to honor the dead. This is still the practice with a reduced number of families, but the length of time of mourning differs considerably from group to group. Most significant is the perspective on death held by many Mexican and Mexican American Catholics that, rather than an end, death is seen as “a new beginning” (Stevens-Arroyo and Díaz Stevens, p. 379).

PROTESTANTISM AND OTHER FAITHS

The Anglo American settlers who immigrated in the early nineteenth century to the area of present-

day Texas were predominantly of Protestant faith, as were those who in later decades travelled to California and most other regions north of the Rio Grande. Over time, they converted a small number of Mexican Americans to Protestantism. By the 1960s three percent of the Mexican American population were members of Protestant denominations (Cortés, p. 711). Increased efforts in social outreach projects, pronounced support of farmworker protest campaigns, and expanded evangelism, coupled with the continued dissatisfaction of many Mexican Americans with the relative lack of recognition accorded them locally or institutionally, have contributed to a considerable expansion in the proportion of Mexican Americans who have converted to Protestant sects. Pentecostal groups have also attracted growing numbers of Mexican Americans.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Mining, agriculture, transportation, and ranching attracted the highest numbers of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in search of work in the United States from shortly after the mid-nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth century. As these sectors of the economy grew in importance, their demand for low-wage laborers multiplied, and the completion of local and transcontinental rail lines expanded the markets for ranchers and farmers in this region, prompting further increases in demands for additional workers (Mirandé, p. 29). Laws limiting or excluding Chi-

nese and Japanese immigration made jobs even more abundant for others in certain regions of the western United States. For the Mexican immigrant, repeated downturns in the Mexican economy and the socio-political turbulence related to the Revolution of 1910 made “the North” an attractive location for at least temporary residence.

A reduced percentage of Mexican landowners and merchants crossed into the United States in this early period during the years of the Mexican Revolution. Many were successful in establishing businesses in Mexican American neighborhoods in the Southwest. With more years of formal education in their background than the majority of immigrants in this same period, this minority frequently provided jobs and political leadership within their newly adopted communities (Meier, p. 109).

Though mining, ranching, and transportation employed many new immigrants, the highest percentage of foreign workers were drawn to agriculture, mostly in Texas and California, but also in parts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. By 1930, 41 percent of the agricultural laborers in the Southwest were Mexicans or Mexican Americans (Cortés, p. 708). Eight-, ten-, or twelve-hour workdays, with few if any days of rest, combined with generally high temperatures to make this work in the fields or orchards extremely demanding and wearing in physical terms. Housing made available to laborers by their employers was of inferior quality. Unsanitary and confining living quarters facilitated the spread of disease. Clean drinking water was not easily accessible and indoor plumbing was uncommon. In areas of colder climate, inadequate heating was the norm. The transitory nature of this work was most difficult on immigrant families, whose children very seldom had the opportunity to attend anything but makeshift schools on a temporary basis and were most often forced, for economic reasons, to begin work in the fields at a young age.

The decade of the 1930s brought severe cutbacks in hiring in agriculture and other industries due to worldwide economic depression. High levels of unemployment nationwide made immigrant labor expendable. Those workers not of U.S. origin were deported in large numbers; over 500,000 were forced to return to Mexico during this ten-year period. Frequently, families were separated: parents of foreign citizenship were returned to their home countries, whereas their children, if born in the United States, and thus, American citizens, sometimes remained in their country of birth with relatives or family friends, hoping for the prompt return of their parents.

Less than ten years after the first of these deportations, however, labor shortages caused by

World War II—principally in agriculture—stimulated a renewed need for immigrant labor. To resolve this matter, the governments of the United States and Mexico signed an agreement in 1942 that initiated the *bracero* (someone who works with their arms—*brazos*) program, which allocated temporary work visas to Mexican immigrants seeking farm work in the Southwest. From 1942 to 1948, over 200,000 laborers entered the United States to work in California agribusiness and, in reduced numbers, in the rail industry and other sectors. Though cancelled in 1948, the program was renewed shortly thereafter and continued in force until 1964 when, in part because of socio-political pressures related to the civil rights movement, the U.S. Congress decided against any further extensions of the agreement. Accusations of farmworkers against their employers related to substandard housing and work conditions had been confirmed by studies conducted by the Labor Department in the 1950s; agencies such as the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and the National Consumers League had spoken out against these infringements and made many U.S. citizens more fully aware of the abuses repeatedly suffered by these workers.

A major portion of the *braceros* working in the United States from 1942 to 1964 returned to Mexico, but it is estimated that eight percent of these workers, roughly 750,000, remained in the Southwest to raise families and establish permanent residency or citizenship (Meier, p. 184). To those who participated in this program and to other immigrant Mexican laborers who had come northward for work in this period, it became evident once again, as in the 1930s, that when low-wage workers were needed, they were welcome in the United States. When the demand for laborers diminished, however, their presence was not wanted by significant numbers of the majority community.

Wages for Mexican and Mexican American farmworkers continued at inequitable, low levels and living and work conditions failed to improve to any marked degree in the decades subsequent to the 1960s. Strikes and boycotts organized by César Chávez further publicized the injustices perpetrated by many employers in this rural industry. The formation of the United Farm Workers union gave somewhat greater strength to migrant labor demands, but unfair practices by employers still remain a source of grievance in the fields (Meier, p. 210).

DIVERSIFICATION OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Noticeable beginning in the 1920s and increasing measurably in the years after World War II was a shift in the Hispanic labor force in the United States, especially by second- and third-generation Mexican Americans, away from their initial sources of employment into a wider range of occupations. Many of these workers were attracted to other regions of the country. The midwestern states, particularly Illinois, offered jobs in meat-packing and manufacturing to mounting numbers of Mexican Americans seeking alternatives to the transient life of field work. By 1990 only 2.9 percent of the Mexican American working population were employed in agriculture and forestry, with less than one percent in the mining industry. Professional and health and education services employed 20.3 percent of this specific labor force, while 16.4 percent had service occupations and 15.9 percent were in manufacturing. Over 16 percent held managerial and professional specialty positions (*The Statistical Record of Hispanic Americans*, p. 534).

The small Mexican American entrepreneurial sector—evident beginning in the second decade of the 1900s—expanded considerably after World War II. By 1990 over one-half million Hispanic-owned businesses existed in the United States, the majority of them in California and controlled by Mexican Americans. Earnings for these commercial concerns approached \$100 billion annually and contributed to the growth of the Mexican American middle class (Meier, p. 253).

Mexican American women entered the labor market as farmworkers, laundresses, and domestics in representative numbers starting in the first decades of the twentieth century. By 1930, 15 percent had employment, and 45 percent of this total worked in domestic and personal service, with smaller percentages in textile and food processing industries, agriculture, or sales (Cortés, pp. 708, 713). The proportion of Mexican American women in the labor force increased substantially in the decades that followed, reaching 21 percent by 1950 and over 50 percent by 1990 (Falcón and Gilbarg, p. 64). In 1991 the sectors of the national economy with highest levels of employment for Mexican American women were technical, sales, and administrative support, including clerical positions at 39 percent, followed by jobs in service occupations at 27 percent. Fourteen percent were in managerial and professional specialty classifications (*The Statistical Record . . .*, p. 508). Though Mexican American women are employed at approximately the same percentage as non-Hispanic women, their earnings

are 82 percent of the income of this other group (Meier, p. 262). In general, as asserted by many contemporary sociologists, Mexican American women have had to overcome the triple oppression of class, race, and gender in seeking employment.

Despite the diversification in employment into other sectors of the national economy detailed above, wages have remained low for most members of the Mexican American community. Though well over 50 percent of the families had two wage earners and 15 percent had three workers, as of 1990, the median family income was \$23,240, considerably lower than the national average. The median incomes for Mexican American males and females were below those of most other Hispanic groups: while Puerto Rican males and females earned \$18,193 and \$11,702 respectively, the corresponding wages for Mexican American men and women were \$12,894 and \$9,286. Unemployment rates for the two genders were 11.7 percent and 9.2 percent (Falcón and Gilbarg, p. 64).

In the early 1990s jobs in manufacturing in the national economy declined, whereas service and information technology hirings increased. Service sector jobs respond more immediately to cyclical trends, and because a large percentage of Mexican Americans are in this line of employment, they are among the first exposed to periodic declines in the contemporary job market. High dropout rates at the high school level and low numbers of Mexican American youth that graduate from two- or four-year colleges allow but a small percentage of Mexican Americans to qualify for positions in the information technology sector. Low educational attainment in general continues to place them consistently at entry-level positions and makes progress to higher rank or pay more difficult. The plant closings of many manufacturing industries in the southwest, and specifically in Southern California in the early 1990s, have forced many thousands of Mexican Americans to look for jobs in other lines of work, but again, low levels of education or technical training limit the alternatives open to these individuals.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Political participation by Mexican Americans historically has been limited by discrimination. In the early Southwest before 1910, small numbers of Mexican Americans held offices in territorial and state legislatures in California, Colorado, and New Mexico. However, they were usually handpicked by the dominant Anglo Americans of these regions. In other cases, Anglo American businessmen who

controlled the railroads, mines, and large ranches dominated the state and local politics of the Southwest. The existing political structure was manipulated to benefit these interests. During the first decades of the twentieth century—to insure Anglo American political control—participation in the voting process for Mexican Americans was maintained at a minimum with the use of various discriminatory devices. Restrictive policies included the poll tax, literacy tests, all-white primaries, and coercion. In this atmosphere it is not surprising that few Mexican Americans voted (Feagin and Feagin, p. 274).

While political participation was limited, Miguel Tirado points out that during the early part of the twentieth century Mexican Americans formed protective organizations—*mutualistas* (mutual aid societies)—which were quite similar to those that developed among European immigrant groups. Members of these organizations found that by pooling their resources they could provide each other with funeral and insurance benefits as well as other forms of assistance. For example, the Lázaro Cardenas Society was formed in Los Angeles soon after World War I to improve municipal facilities available to Mexican Americans (*Aztlán*, 1970, p. 55). By the 1920s it became evident to Mexican Americans that if their interests were to be protected political power was essential.

However, even as Mexican Americans began to adapt to the political and social traditions of the United States they were still viewed as “foreigners” by the larger society. Thus, they set out to demonstrate that they were true Americans. This orientation was reflected in the goals of the emerging organizations of the early twentieth century. The *Orden Hijos de América* (Order of the Sons of America), established in 1921 in San Antonio, Texas, by members of a small emerging middle class, restricted its goals to that of “training members for citizenship.” Membership was consequently limited to “citizens of the United States of Mexican or Spanish extraction” (Moore and Cuellar, 1970, p. 41). According to Moore and Cuellar, this orientation strongly suggested that Mexican Americans “were more trustworthy to Anglos than Mexican nationals, and also more deserving of the benefits of American life.” Thus, as an organization consisting of upwardly mobile individuals, OSA attempted to demonstrate to the larger community that they were people to be respected. To understand the group’s motives, the OSA must be placed within the social climate of the era. Their orientation was a reflection of the social and economic vulnerability of Mexican Americans during the 1920s.

The OSA functioned for approximately ten years. Disagreements about the goals and direction of the group soon led to schisms. However, the splintering of OSA led to the development of a new organization—the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC). The theme of unity and the need to provide a united front to the Anglo American community guided the group’s decision to call itself LULAC. It also limited its membership to U.S. citizens. LULAC gained power among the Mexican American middle class and it ultimately became their strongest advocate (Moore and Cuellar, p. 41).

THE POLITICIZATION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

The events of World War II would prove to be a turning point in the Mexican American’s bid for expanded political participation. This confrontation profoundly affected Mexican Americans, first by exposing those who served in the armed services to social climates where they were regarded as equals. Secondly, the needs of the industrial wartime economy drew many Mexican Americans into the nation’s urban centers seeking employment, thus fostering a greater participation in larger society. In essence, their participation in the war effort at home and abroad served as a solidifying force, setting the stage for political activism (Moore and Pachón, p. 178).

Many political groups organized by returning Mexican American veterans emerged to challenge segregation and other forms of discriminatory practices in American life. The Community Service Organization (CSO) is one example. It was founded in 1947 to promote social change within the Mexican American communities of Los Angeles. The founding members set out to improve social conditions by promoting participation in the political process. CSO was determined to elect individuals responsive to the needs of the Mexican American community. It met with some success. Through the efforts of CSO, the East Los Angeles community elected the first Mexican American to the city council since 1881 (Tirado, pp. 62-66).

The political activism of this period is also exemplified by the actions of the G.I. Forum, the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), and the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO). Established in 1948, the G.I. Forum emerged to protest the refusal of cemeteries and mortuaries in Three Rivers, Texas, to bury the body of a Mexican American World War II veteran. This incident focused national attention on the discriminatory conditions of Mexican Americans in Texas. The Forum later turned its attention

to mainstream politics by organizing voter registration drives and get-out-the-vote campaigns (C. F. García and R. O. de la Garza, *The Chicano Political Experience: Three Perspectives*, p. 29).

Created in 1960, MAPA marks yet another stage of political activism. It was one of the first organizations to clearly articulate ethnic political goals. According to the MAPA Fourth Annual Convention Program, "An organization was needed that would be proudly Mexican American, openly political, and necessarily bipartisan" (Moore and Pachón, p. 179). MAPA met with success. It helped elect several Mexican Americans to office (García and de la Garza, p. 31). PASSO, created a few years earlier in Texas, and MAPA were political groups organized essentially to lobby at the party level for Mexican American interests. Both organizations carried out voter education and registration drives; however, they were primarily oriented toward winning concessions for Mexican Americans at the party level (Moore and Cuellar, p. 45).

In the 1970s, unhappy with both the Democratic and Republican parties, some Mexican Americans opted for an entirely different political strategy. They set out to create an alternative political party—La Raza Unida (LRU). Established in Texas in 1970, the LRU had remarkable successes. Most notable were the party's achievements in Crystal City, Texas, a community of approximately 10,000 where many LRU candidates won control of the city council and the school board. These newly elected officials in turn hired more Mexican American teachers, staff, and administrators. They also instituted bilingual programs and added Mexican American history to the school curriculum. The newly elected officials also made changes throughout the city government, including the police department, to rectify years of neglect by city officials (John Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*).

The LRU then sent organizers throughout the Southwest in efforts to duplicate their success in South Texas. LRU candidates were placed on many local and statewide ballots, but they were unable to generate the type of support that led to their success in Crystal City. After the mid-1970s, the LRU rapidly declined. Its decline was the result of several factors. Internal ideological splintering and personality conflicts played a part, but harassment and repression of the party was the most significant force (Carlos Muñoz, *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, 1989).

The LRU is but one of many groups that contributed to the growth of the Chicano Movement during the 1960s and 1970s. Mexican Americans became much more vocal and militant in their

demands for social change. Many groups emerged to address such issues as the rights of farmworkers, inferior education, employment opportunities, health care, women's rights, reform within the welfare system and the Catholic church, police brutality, and community self-determination.

National attention during this period focused on the actions of La Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) and the United Farmworkers of America (UFW). Reies López Tijerina and the members of La Alianza demanded the return of stolen lands to the indigenous peoples of northern New Mexico. In 1966 La Alianza occupied a part of the Kit Carson National Forest in New Mexico. Arrested for trespassing, Tijerina spent the next few years awaiting trial. In 1975 the land dispute was partially resolved when about 1,000 acres of the forest were transferred to 75 Mexican American families (Shaefer, p. 283).

The notable organizing efforts of César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and the UFW brought the plight of the farmworker to national attention and served as a mobilizing force for many Americans of all walks of life. The UFW's first success was the grape boycott beginning in 1965, which carried the struggle of the farmworkers into the households of many Americans. With the overwhelming refusal to buy table grapes by many American households, the UFW was able to negotiate its first union contract with California growers (the first union contract in the history of California farm labor). During the late 1980s, the UFW altered its labor unionizing strategies by addressing the issue of pesticide use in agricultural production.

From the Mexican American communities of Denver, Colorado, emerged the Crusade for Justice led by Corky Gonzales. This organization was primarily concerned with civil rights issues of urban Mexican Americans; however, it was also one of the first groups to advocate and promote issues of cultural diversity. During 1969 and 1970, the Crusade for Justice was instrumental in organizing a series of Chicano youth liberation conferences, bringing together hundreds of young Chicanos from throughout the nation and generating a series of discussions concerning the question of ethnic identity (Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America*, pp. 241-43).

By the late 1960s high school and college students were calling for social change within the educational system. The high school "blowouts" of East Los Angeles in 1968 galvanized student discontent. Chicano high school students walked out of their classes in mass, demanding quality education and local community control of their schools. In several other communities students staged similar events.

High school students abandoned their classes in Riverside, California; Denver, Colorado; Crystal City and San Antonio, Texas; and several other cities with high concentrations of Mexican Americans. College students also mobilized. In the Los Angeles area, college students came together to support the high school walkouts and the students' demands for a quality education. Throughout the Southwest, college students were instrumental in establishing the first Chicano studies programs and educational opportunities programs on many college campuses (Acuña, p. 243).

In 1968 the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) was established by several Mexican American lawyers to protect the constitutional rights of Mexican Americans. Although it does not endorse political candidates, it has made itself felt in the political sphere much like the NAACP has for African Americans. In addition to providing legal advocacy, MALDEF has been involved in litigation involving illegal employment practices, immigrant's rights, biased testing in school settings, educational segregation, inequalities in school financing, and voting rights issues. As of the 1990s, MALDEF has emerged as the primary civil rights group advocating on behalf of Mexican Americans.

VOTING PATTERNS AND ELECTED OFFICIALS

Mexican American voting behavior has traditionally been Democratic, especially at the presidential level. According to the Latino National Political Survey (1992), 59.6 percent of all Mexican Americans identify themselves as Democrats, 16 percent as Republican, and 24.4 as belonging to independent parties. As members of the Democratic Party, they have played a significant role in several elections. In 1960 John F. Kennedy won an estimated 85 percent of the Mexican American vote, which allowed him to win the states of New Mexico and Texas. To insure Kennedy's victory, "Viva Kennedy" clubs were formed throughout the Southwest, promoting voter education and registration drives. In 1964 Lyndon B. Johnson won an estimated 90 percent, and in 1968 Herbert Humphrey won 87 percent of the Mexican American vote (Feagin and Feagin, p. 275).

While Mexican Americans played a significant role in the above elections, there are several factors that have worked against the growth of Mexican American participation in the political process. First, they are a young population, which means that many are below the voting age. Second, a relatively large segment of the population is ineligible

to vote because they are not citizens. Even among those who are eligible to vote, the turnout of 46 percent (for all Hispanics) in the November 1988 elections was 15 percent lower than for non-Hispanics. Third, lower socioeconomic status serves as an obstacle for many Mexican Americans. The educational attainment of Mexican Americans is still far below the general population and the poverty rates are much higher for Mexican Americans than the general population. Thus, many Mexican Americans have not had the opportunity to develop the skills necessary to participate in the voting process. Consequently, Mexican Americans are presented with formidable obstacles that prevent the development of political strength and greatly hinder the election of Mexican American officials (Maurilio Vigil, *The Handbook ... Sociology*, pp. 81-82).

While the percentage of Mexican American elected officials is not representative of their total U.S. population, significant changes have taken place since the mid-1960s. The number of state legislators in 1950 with Spanish surnames totaled 20. By the late 1980s the number had increased to 90. In 1991 the National Roster of Hispanic Elected Officials reported 3,754 elected officials in the five southwestern states, mostly of Mexican American ancestry, and 4,202 Latino elected officials nationwide. The increase in Mexican American officials is due in part to the Twenty-fourth Amendment, which banned the poll tax and eliminated the English-only literacy requirements for voting in some states. Redistricting following the 1980 census, as well as a substantial growth in the Mexican American population, have also contributed to the rise in the number of Mexican American elected officials (Feagin and Feagin, p. 274).

FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND NATIONAL POLICY

With the slow yet steadily increasing number of Mexican American elected officials, significant pieces of federal legislation have been introduced and enacted into law. During the recent past, Mexican American lawmakers have supported the creation of the federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the subsequent series of civil rights and affirmative action legislation. In 1968 the Bilingual Education Act was passed into federal law; in 1974 subsequent amendments were sponsored by New Mexico Congressman Joseph Montoya. That same year, Congress, with the urging of many Hispanic and non-Hispanic elected officials alike, encouraged the adoption of bilingual or multilingual ballots where census data documented a substantial number of non-English-speaking people.

In 1976 the Congressional Hispanic Caucus was created with the election of several Hispanics to the House of Representatives. Since then, the caucus has acted as a viable force within Congress, consistently supporting legislation on behalf of Mexican Americans and other disadvantaged groups (Vigil, pp. 91-92). Two of the most prominent public policies affecting Mexican Americans and Hispanics in general are immigration reform and the "English as Official Language" policy. Although the members of the caucus did not agree with each other on the specific initiatives of the policies, both of these issues were and continue to be a high priority for the caucus.

MILITARY STATUS

According to the 1990 census, there are 59,631 Mexican American men over the age of 16 serving in the armed forces, 7,924 of whom are naturalized citizens, while the remainder are native-born. The number of Mexican American women in the armed services is significantly lower; 5,025 native-born Chicanas are active members of the military.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Mexican Americans have made significant and lasting contributions to virtually every element of American culture and society. The following individuals represent merely a sample of this growing community's achievements.

BUSINESS

Born to undocumented Mexican parents in Miami, Arizona, Romana Acosta Bañuelos (1925–) was deported at the age six during the Repatriation Program of the 1930s. After returning to the United States at age 19, she converted a small tortilla factory into Romana's Mexican Food Products, a multimillion-dollar firm. In 1971 she became the first Mexican American to serve as treasurer of the United States.

EDUCATION

Born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, George I. Sánchez (1906-1972) directed his energies to improving the quality of education available to Mexican Americans as well as defending their civil rights. *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexico* (1940), one of his many publications, revealed the

inadequacies of the educational system for Mexican Americans in his home state. Sánchez served as president of LULAC and, in 1956, founded the American Council of Spanish-Speaking People, a civil rights organization.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Mexican American dancer and choreographer José Arcadia Limón (1908-1972) was a pioneer of modern dance and choreography. Edward James Olmos (1947–), received critical acclaim for his portrayal of the *pachuco* in the stage and film version of Luis Valdez's *Zoot Suit* and for his role as Jaime Escalante in the film *Stand and Deliver*. In addition to his appearances in other movies of merit, Olmos starred in "Miami Vice," a popular television series of the 1980s. Paul Rodríguez, who has worked in a number of television series and movies, is perhaps the most popular and widely recognized comedian of Mexican descent in the United States. The head of his own company, Paul Rodríguez Productions, in 1986 he released his first comedy album entitled "You're in America Now, Speak Spanish." The son of Mexican migrant farmworkers, Luis Valdez (1940–) is the founding director of the Teatro Campesino, an acting troupe that was originally organized to dramatize the oppressive existence of the migrant worker. In addition to directing the stage and film version of *Zoot Suit*, he wrote and directed the film *La Bamba*, about the Mexican American rock star Ritchie Valens.

FOLKLORE

Born in Brownsville, Texas, Americo Paredes (1915–) achieved national and international recognition for his research and scholarship in the area of folklore and Mexican American popular culture and served as president of the American Folklore Society. Among his many noteworthy publications are *Folktales in Mexico* (1970) and *A Texas Mexican Cancionero* (1976).

LABOR

César Chávez (1927-1993) was born in Yuma, Arizona, to a farmworking family. Chávez attended over 30 schools as a youth because of the mobile pattern of existence of migrant agriculture. In 1962, after working as a community organizer in the CSO, he moved to Delano, California, and soon became the head of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO. From the mid-1960s to his death, Chavez dedicated his life to improving the living

conditions, wages, and bargaining power of Mexican and Mexican American farmworkers by means of organized work stoppages, demonstrations, hunger strikes, and boycotts.

LITERATURE

Lucha Corpi (1945–) is a notable poet and novelist whose works often address the struggles of women in contemporary society. Primarily known as a poet, she is perhaps best known for her series “The Mariana Poems,” which appear in her *Palabras de mediodía/Noon Words* (1980). Rolando Hinojosa (1929–) was one of the first Chicano writers to achieve national as well as international fame. His *Estampas del valle y otras obras: Sketches of the Valley and Other Works*, a series of “sketches” that portrayed Mexican American life in a fictional town in Texas, won the Premio Quinto Sol for Chicano literature. Another of his works on the same theme, *Klail City y sus alrededores*, won the prestigious international award, Premio Casa de las Americas, in 1976. Born in Linares, Mexico, in 1907, literary critic Luis Leal is one of the most productive, most respected, and most honored scholars of Latin American and Chicano literature. In addition to teaching at numerous universities, he has written some 16 books and edited dozens of others.

MUSIC

Eduardo Mata (1942–) is among the most respected conductors in the world. The former director and conductor emeritus of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, he was awarded the White House Hispanic Heritage Award in 1991. Singer and musician Lydia Mendoza (1916–) was the first interpreter of rural popular Tejano and border music to acquire star status through her many recordings. Grammy award-winning Tejano singer and entertainer Selena Quintanilla Perez (1971-1995), best known as Selena, had achieved international fame at the time of her murder in April 1995.

POLITICS

After her election as a state assemblywoman in California in 1982, Gloria Molina (1948–) was voted into the Los Angeles City Council in 1987. In 1991 she was elected to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, thus becoming the first Hispanic in California to be selected by voters to serve at these three levels of government.

RELIGION

The first Mexican American to be named as a bishop of the Catholic church in the United States, Patrick F. Flores (1929–) worked in the diocese of Galveston-Houston and became the director of the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking. He has been a strong defender of the civil rights of Hispanics in the United States for over four decades and has won many honors for these efforts, including the Ellis Island Medal of Honor in 1986.

SCIENCE

A renowned physicist and educator, Mexican American Alberto Vinicio Baez (1912–) and his co-researcher, Paul Kirkpatrick, developed the Kirkpatrick-Baez Lamar X-ray telescope, which was later approved for flight on the Freedom Space Station. A pioneer in X-ray radiation, optics, and microscopy, Baez has also made noteworthy achievements in the field of environmental education; he has served as chairman of the Committee on Teaching Sciences of the International Council of Science Unions and as chairman emeritus of Community Education, International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, Glantz, Switzerland. Chemist Mario Molina (1943–) earned national prominence by theorizing, with fellow chemist F. Sherwood Rowland, that chlorofluorocarbons deplete the Earth's ozone layer.

MEDIA

PRINT

El Chicano.

Contact: Gloria Marcias Harrison, Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 6247, San Bernadino, California 92412-6247.

Telephone: (909) 381-9898.

Fax: (909) 384-0406.

E-mail: iecn@gte.net.

Mexican American Sun.

Contact: Rose Soto, Editor.

Address: 2500 South Atlantic Boulevard, Building B, Los Angeles, California 90040-2004.

Telephone: (213) 263-5743.

Fax: (213) 263-9169.

El Mundo.

Contact: William Fonseca, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 1350, Oakland, California 94604-1350.

Telephone: (510) 763-1120.
Fax: (510) 763-9670

Saludos Hispanos.

Contact: Maureen Herring, Editor.
Address: 73121 Fred Waring Drive, #100,
Palm Desert, California 92260.
Telephone: (619) 776-1206.
Fax: (619) 776-1214.
Online: <http://www.saludos.com>.

El Sol.

Contact: Christine Flores, Editor.
Address: 750 Northwest Grand Avenue,
Phoenix, Arizona 85007.
Telephone: (602) 257-1746.

RADIO

KQTL-AM (1210).

Covers Southern Arizona and Northern Mexico.
Contact: Bertha Gallego, Director of Operations;
Raul B. Gamez, General Manager.
Address: P.O. Box 1511, Tucson,
Arizona 85702-1511.
Telephone: (602) 628-1200.
Fax: (602) 326-4927.

KXKS-AM.

Founded in 1969, went to all-Spanish format in 1982. 10,000 watts, covers 150 miles out from center of Albuquerque.
Contact: Bertha Gallego, Director of Operations;
Kelly Cunningham, General Manager.
Address: 6320 Zuni S.E., Albuquerque,
New Mexico 87108.
Telephone: (505) 265-8331.

WIND-AM (560).

Contact: Lucy Diaz.
Address: 625 North Michigan, Suite 300,
Chicago, Illinois 60611-3110.
Telephone: (312) 751-5560.
Fax: (312) 664-2472.

TELEVISION

KDB-59 (Telemundo Affiliate).

Contact: Kelly Cunningham-Muson,
General Manager.
Address: 6320 Zuni S.E., Albuquerque,
New Mexico 87108.

Telephone: (505) 265-8331.
Fax: (505) 266-3836.

KHRR-40 (Telemundo Affiliate).

Contact: Jay S. Zucker.
Address: 2919 East Broadway, Tucson,
Arizona 85716.
Telephone: (602) 322-6888.
Fax: (602) 881-7926.

KINT-26 (Univision Affiliate).

Contact: Silvia Martínez, Director of Operations.
Address: 5426 North Mesa, El Paso, Texas 79912.
Telephone: (915) 581-1126.
Fax: (915) 581-1393.

KLUZ-41 (Univision Affiliate).

Contact: Marcela Medina, Director of Operations.
Address: 2725-F Broadbent Parkway, N.E.,
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87107.
Telephone: (505) 342-4141.
Fax: (505) 344-8714.
E-mail: kluztv41@aol.com.

KMEX-34 (Univision Affiliate).

Contact: Jorge Belón, Director of Operations.
Address: 6701 Center Drive West, 15th Floor,
Los Angeles, California 90045.
Telephone: (310) 216-3434.
Fax: (310) 348-3597.

KSTS-48 (Telemundo).

Contact: Enrique Pérez, Director of Operations.
Address: 2349 Bering Drive, San Jose,
California 95131.
Telephone: (408) 285-8848.
Fax: (408) 433-5921.

KTMD-48 (Telemundo).

Contact: Darlene Stephens, Director of
Operations.
Address: 3903 Stoneybrooke, Houston,
Texas 77063.
Telephone: (713) 974-4848.
Fax: (713) 974-5875.

KWEX-41 (Univision Affiliate).

Contact: Lillian Almendarez, Director of
Operations.
Address: 411 East Durango, San Antonio,
Texas 78204.
Telephone: (210) 227-4141.
Fax: (210) 227-0469.

WGBO-66 (Univision Affiliate).

Contact: Paul Yewowsski, Director of Operations.
Address: 541 North Fairbanks, 11th Floor,
Chicago, Illinois 60611.
Telephone: (312) 670-1000.
Fax: (312) 494-6492.

WSNS-44 (Telemundo Affiliate).

Contact: David Cordoba, Director of Operations.
Address: 431 Grant Place, Chicago,
Illinois 60614.
Telephone: (312) 929-1200.
Fax: (312) 929-8153.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

**Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Inc.
(National Mexican Women's Commission)**

Founded in 1970. Current membership: 5,000, in 23 chapters. Supports increased rights and opportunities for Hispanic women in education, politics and labor. Publication: *La Mujer* ("The Woman") semiannual.

Contact: Nina Aguayo Sorcin, President.
Address: 379 South Loma Drive, Los Angeles,
California 90017.
Telephone: (213) 484-1515.
Fax: (213) 484-0880.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Founded in San Antonio in 1968 in response to a historical pattern of discrimination against Mexican Americans. Protects and promotes the rights of over 25 million Latinos in the United States in employment, education, immigration, political access, and language through litigation and community education.

Contact: Antonia Hernández, President.
Address: 634 South Spring Street, 11th Floor, Los Angeles, California 90014.
Telephone: (213) 629-2512.
Fax: (213) 629-0266.

National Association for Chicano and Chicana Studies, NACCS National Office.

Founded in 1971. Membership of over 300 consists of college professors, graduate and undergraduate students, and diverse others whose professional or personal interests center on sociological, historical, political or literary themes or concerns pertaining

to Mexican Americans. Sponsors annual conference and publishes selected proceedings.

Contact: Dr. Carlos Maldonado, Director.
Address: Chicano Education Program, Eastern Washington University, Monroe Hall 202, MS 170, Cheney, Washington 99004.
Telephone: (509) 359-2404.
Fax: (509) 359-2310.

National Council of La Raza.

The nation's largest constituency-based Hispanic organization. Exists to reduce poverty and discrimination and improve life opportunities for all Hispanics nationally. Nearly 200 formal affiliates serve 37 states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. Programmatic efforts focus on civil rights, education, health, housing and community development, employment and training, immigration and poverty.

Contact: Raul Yzaguirre, President.
Address: 1111 19th Street N.W., Suite 1000, Washington, D.C. 20036.
Telephone: (202) 785-1670.

Southwest Voter Registration Education Project.

Founded in 1975. Conducts nonpartisan voter registration drives, compiles research on Hispanic and native American voting patterns and works to eliminate gerrymandered voting districts. Publication: *National Hispanic Voter Registration Campaign*. Regional planning committees publish newsletters.

Contact: Antonio Gonzalez, President.
Address: 403 East Commerce Street, Suite 220, San Antonio, Texas 78205.
Telephone: (800) 404-VOTE; or (210) 222-0224.
Fax: (210) 222-8474.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Center for Chicano Studies.

Part of University of California, Santa Barbara. Supports and conducts research on historical and contemporary issues related to Mexican-origin population of the United States. Encourages and facilitates academic investigations and training of minority students. Sponsors events that increase public awareness and appreciation of Mexican and Mexican American culture.

Contact: Dr. Denise Segura, Director.
Address: Room 4518, South Hall, Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California 93106-6040.
Telephone: (805) 893-3895.

Fax: (805) 893-4446.

Online: <http://omni.ucsb.edu/ccs/>.

Center for Mexican American Studies.

Part of the University of Texas at Austin. Provides financial and technical support for research by faculty and graduate students. Offers courses as part of Ethnic Studies curriculum of College of Liberal Arts. Publication: *Monograph Series*.

Contact: David Montejano, Director.

Address: F 9200, Austin, Texas 78712.

Telephone: (512) 471-4557.

Fax: (512) 471-9639.

E-mail: cmason@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Online: <http://www.utexas.edu/depts/cmas>.

Chicano Studies Research Center.

Part of the University of California, Los Angeles. Promotes the study and dissemination of knowledge on the experience of people of Mexican descent and other Latinos in the United States. Publication: *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*.

Contact: Dr. Guillermo Hernández, Director.

Address: 180 Haines, Los Angeles,
California 90095.

Telephone: (310) 825-2363.

Fax: (310) 206-1784.

E-mail: gmo@csrc.ucla.edu.

Online: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/cscc>.

Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center.

Latino arts and cultural institution. Sponsors instructional programming and presentations.

Contact: Pedro A. Rodríguez, Executive Director.

Address: 1300 Guadalupe Street, San Antonio,
Texas 78207.

Telephone: (210) 271-3151.

Mexic-Arte Multicultural Works.

Exhibits include work of Mexican artists, pre-Cortez implements, and photographs of the Mexican Revolution.

Contact: Herlinda Zamora, Director.

Address: 419 Congress Avenue, Austin,
Texas 78701.

Telephone: (512) 480-9373.

Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum.

Collections of Mexican art as well as presentations of current and past Mexican literary works.

Contact: Carlos Tortellero, Director.

Address: 1852 West 19th Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60608.

Telephone: (312) 738-1503.

Mexican Museum.

Pre-Hispanic, colonial, folk, Mexican, and Mexican American fine arts. Permanent collection as well as temporary exhibits.

Contact: Marie Acosta-Colón, Executive Director.

Address: Fort Mason Building D., Laguna and
Marina Boulevard, San Francisco,
California 94123.

Telephone: (415) 441-0404.

Plaza de La Raza.

Offers instruction in theater, dance, music, visual and communication arts. Exhibits include Mexican American folk art of surrounding region.

Contact: Rose Cano, Executive Director.

Address: 3540 North Mission Road, Los Angeles,
California 90031.

Telephone: (213) 223-2475.

**Southwest Hispanic Research Institute/
Chicano Studies.**

Part of University of New Mexico. Established in 1980. Coordinates and conducts investigations of interdisciplinary scope. Visiting Scholars Program funded by Rockefeller Foundation provides economic support to scholarly research of regional focus. Sponsors colloquium series that allows faculty to present findings of research to academic and local community. Publications: *Working Paper Series*.

Contact: Dr. Felipe Gonzales, Director.

Address: 1829 Sigma Chi, Albuquerque,
New Mexico 87131.

Telephone: (505) 277-2965.

Fax: (505) 277-3343.

E-mail: gonzales@unm.edu.

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MONGOLIAN AMERICANS

by
Baatar Tsend

The Mongolian American community still retains its Mongolian culture. Most Mongolian American families strive to preserve traditional Mongolian values and transmit these to their children.

OVERVIEW

Mongolia is a large landlocked country, 604,100 sq. miles (1,566,000 sq km.), in area about three times the size of France, over twice the size of the state of Texas, and almost as large as Queensland, Australia. It is located in Northeastern Asia, south of Siberia and north of China and borders with Russia on the north and the People's Republic of China on the south. Mongolia is a land of extremes. It is so far inland that no sea moderates the climate. Only in summer does cloud cover shield the sky. There is very little humidity in Mongolia, but the sunshine is intense. With over 260 sunny days a year, Mongolia is justifiably known as the "Land of Blue Sky." It is also known as the "Land of Chinggis Khan." Until the twentieth century, Mongolia was about twice its present size. A large portion of Siberia was once part of Mongolia but is now securely controlled by Russia, and Inner Mongolia is now firmly a part of China.

Mongols are people with an ancient and glorious history. They constitute one of the principal ethnic divisions of the Asian peoples. In fact, the race of the Asian peoples is known as "mongoloid." Throughout the world there is a birth mark famous as the "Mongolian spot." It is a blue birthmark on the buttock, and it shows up right after a child is born.

Mongolia, the only independent state of Mongolians, has a population of 2.4 million. The great majority (about 85 percent) of Mongolians are

Khalkh Mongols. About 10 percent are members of other Mongol confederations and tribes (Barga, Bayad, Buriad, Dariganga, Darkhad, Khoton, Myan-gad, Oold, Torguud, Tsaatan, Tuva, Uriankhai, Uzemchin, Zakhchin), and 5 percent are of Kazakh, Russian, Chinese, Korean, or other descent.

More Mongolians live outside of Mongolia than in it—about 3.5 million in China, while in Russia Kalmyk Mongolians number about 175,000 and Buriat Mongolians about 425,000. Many people of Mongolian origin also live in Central Asia, India, some parts of Canada, Europe and in the United States.

The country's capital is Ulaanbaatar; the Mongolian flag is red and blue with a golden soyombo. The Golden Soyombo, the national symbol of Mongolia which dates back at least to the 14th century, signifies freedom and independence. The national language is Mongolian.

HISTORY

Mongolia is one of the world's oldest nomadic civilizations. Archeological digs have uncovered human remains in the Gobi and other regions dating back nearly 500,000 years. Agriculture seems to have preceded nomadic herding of animals, and despite Mongolia's short summers, wheat growing has co-existed with nomadic life for thousands of years. It was only after the Mongols tamed horses, yaks and camels that they took to a nomadic herding lifestyle.

Early Chinese manuscripts refer to 'Turkic-speaking peoples' living in what we now call Mongolia as early as the fourth or fifth century B.C. The name 'Mongol' was first recorded by the Chinese during the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). At that time, Mongolia was dominated by the Uighurs. The Uighurs continued to control most of Mongolia until 840 A.D. The defeat of the Uighurs created a vacuum, which was filled by the Kitans, a Mongol tribe from what is now north-east China. By the tenth century, the Kitans had control of most of Manchuria, eastern Mongolia and much of China north of the Yellow River. The Kitans continued warring with other Mongol tribes, most significantly with the western Xi, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Kitan empire was finally defeated in 1122 A.D.

The Mongols and other nomadic peoples of northern Asia seldom united and had little inclination to do so; they preferred to be nomadic, widely scattered over great areas, frequently on the move with their animals in search of pasture. They wanted to live as separate clans, united only in the face of a common threat.

Until the end of the twelfth century, the Mongols were little more than a loose confederation of rival clans. In 1182, a 20-year-old Mongol named Temujin rose to power to become the leader of the Borjigin Mongol clan, and later managed to unite all the Mongol tribes and founded a united Mongol state. In 1206 he was given the honorary name of Chinggis Khan, meaning 'universal (or oceanic) king'. He would soon conquer adjacent lands and later set up a vast empire that covered most of Asia and Europe. By the time of his death in 1227, the Mongol empire extended from Beijing to the Caspian Sea. Power passed into the hands of Chinggis' favorite son, Ogedei, who continued this program of military conquest. His generals pushed as far west as Hungary and were all set to invade Western Europe when Ogedei died. Mongol custom dictated that all noble defendants of Chinggis had to return to Mongolia to democratically elect a new Khan (king). Chinggis' grandson, Khubilai Khan (circa 1216-1294), completed the subjugation of China, effectively ending the Song dynasty (960-1269). He became the emperor in China, the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). Khubilai established his winter capital in Tatu ('great capital', M. Khan Balgasun), today's Beijing. After Kublai Khan died in 1294, the Mongols became increasingly dependent on the people they ruled. The Mongol empire not only strongly influenced the emergence of a united Russian state but it also contributed to reversing the disintegration process in China and laying the foundations of a united China. By the 1350s, Mongol rule began to disintegrate. They were expelled from Beijing by the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). A major civil war occurred from 1400 to 1450 between two main groups, the Khalkha in the east and the Oirad in the west. A revival of sorts occurred under Altan Khan (1507-83), who united the Khalkha, defeated the Oirad and brought most of Mongolia under his control. After the death of Altan Khan, Mongolia reverted to a collection of tiny tribal domains. Meanwhile, the Manchus, ancient enemies of the Mongols, established the Qing dynasty (1644-1911).

In 1911 China's last dynasty, the Qing, crumbled. Mongolian independence from China was declared on 1 December 1911. On 25 May 1915, the Treaty of Kyakhta, granting Mongolia limited autonomy, was signed by Mongolia, China and Russia. In July 1921, the People's Government of Mongolia was declared. Until 1990, Mongolia was a satellite state of the Soviet Union. It had Soviet style political and economic institutions. In 1990, Mongolia became a free and democratic country with a multi-party parliamentary system under a president.

THE FIRST MONGOLIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

Few Mongolians came to the United States between 1948 and 1949. Those who did were immigrants from Inner Mongolia. The first Mongolians to come to the United States were Gombojob Hangin and Urgunge Onon. Hangin was a native of Tsakhar, Inner Mongolia and Onon was a native of Daguur, also Inner Mongolia. They came with their families in 1948 to join Owen Lattimore's program in East Asian Affairs at Johns Hopkins University. The Mongolian immigration to the United States continued following the arrests of high-ranking lamas, a purge which began in 1935. At that time some lamas left Mongolia for India. The first Mongolian lama to immigrate to the United States was the living Buddha, Dilowa Gegen Khutukhtu. He was a Khalkha Mongol, who formerly headed a ministry in Mongolia. He came to the United States in 1949 as a political refugee, and also joined Owen Lattimore's the Mongolia Project.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Mongolians from Europe began to immigrate to the United States in 1951-1952. This large group was the Kalmyk Mongols. The Kalmyks (Western Mongolian), who took up residence on the East Coast of the U.S., had been living in Europe, more precisely, in the Don-Volga region, where they have had state structure since the beginning of the seventeenth century, around 370 years. The Russian Revolution in 1917 brought further changes. During that time, close to 2,000 Kalmyks fled from Russia by way of the Black Sea ports. After debarking in Turkey, they traveled to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and some further dispersed into Czechoslovakia and France. In 1945, after the capitulation of Germany, during the years of her political and economical bankruptcy and anarchy, Kalmyk immigrants went through the most difficult times in their lives. After five years of living in the refugee camps, old (since 1920) and new (since 1943-1945) Kalmyk immigrants were in a desperate situation.

In 1950 and 1951, with the help of American friends, the Kalmyk representation was able to found the "Special Committee on the Kalmyk Immigration Affairs." On August 31, 1951, the U.S. Congress passed a law granting Kalmyks the rights to immigrate as Europeans. Between December of 1951 and March of 1952, 571 Kalmyks arrived in the United States. Additional families and individuals arrived later. There are approximately 1000 Kalmyks in the United States, of which 300 are from the Astrakhan area. They are primarily from the Dorvet clan with a few Torgut—and the remainder are Buzava.

The third Mongolian wave to immigrate to this country came in small numbers (between 150-200). In 1965 the United States accorded an equal quota to Asian immigrants via the Immigration and Naturalization Act Amendments. Those from Mongolia and Inner Mongolia as well as western Mongols from Sinkiang and Khukhe-Nuur and those in exile in India and Taiwan came at this time (between 1965 and 1975). For example, among those Mongols immigrating to the United States at this time were the professors, Jagchid Sechen, a Kharcin Mongol and Unen Sechen, a Khorchin Mongol, both of whom had fled to Taiwan. There were also famous lamas who came from India. Jambaldorj, Choijo, Yondonjamps, Gombojab and Jamps, for example. They came from Dharmasala, India, and were nominated by the Dalai Lama.

The most recent Mongol immigrants, those from Mongolia, the Republic of Kalmykia and Buriat, came after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. They came to study and for economic reasons. There are no accurate immigration statistics on the most recent wave of immigration. Numbering about 1,500-2000, this group includes both family units and single individuals covering a full range of ages. According to the census, the total population of Mongols in the United States now stands at about 3,500.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The first Mongolian immigrants settled around Baltimore, Maryland, and New York City and then moved to the other cities. Kalmyk Mongol immigrants settled in Lakewood and Freewood Acres, New Jersey in a section of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The International Refugee Organization made a special grant to several social service groups, notably the Tolstoy Foundation and the Church World Service, on behalf of the Kalmyk Mongolians, to jointly sponsor efforts to help them find a home. The other group is located in an older section of north central Philadelphia, where successive waves of first-generation immigrants have settled from colonial times until the present day. There are also several families living in New Brunswick and Paterson, New Jersey, and in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Since the time they immigrated, the Kalmyk Mongol community has not risen too much. Today there are still only about 1,000 Kalmyks in the United States. Some continue to live in Lakewood and Freewood Acres, New Jersey and in sections of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Many of them have moved away. This was started in the 1970s. They are now settled in New York, Washington D.C., West Virginia, Florida, Arizona, Texas, New Mexi-

co and California. Mongol-American communities of recent immigrants are settled in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Washington D.C., Philadelphia, and New Jersey.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Mongolian American community still retains its heritage. Most Mongolian American families strive to preserve traditional Mongolian values and transmit these to their children. The social interaction that does occur with the host culture is primarily a result of the necessary participation of Mongolians in economic and politico-administrative institutions. In essence, these communities mitigate the shock of transition into a foreign culture, and they also prolong the period of acculturation. The younger generation has been educated in American schools, exposed daily to the media, and interact more frequently than their parents and grandparents with Americans. Young Mongolians are increasingly abandoning many aspects of their ethnic heritage and are adopting more Americanized attitudes and behavior. This can be seen in the greater frequency of interracial dating and marriage, the adoption of Americanized standards of beauty and fashion, and the gradual disintegration of Mongolian families and communities. This, however, is not a simple process of exchanging one heritage for another, nor is it a process which is common to all second and third generation Mongolians. The price exacted from these young people for the transition often entails a high level of disorganization and the complete abandonment of their own cultural heritages.

Mongolian Americans are professionals, others own small businesses, do construction or are employed as semi- or non-skilled workers. Mongolians enjoy relatively high standards of living, attain levels of education, and are well employed. However, most Mongolians are willing to work within a American framework.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Assimilation for Mongolian American immigrants has been difficult, often causing them to become more attached to the traditions of their homeland. The Mongolian Americans' sense of art is closely related to their mystic sense of identity with nature. Humanity, nature, and art constitute an unbroken continuity. Artistic expression in Mongolian art is particularly evident in their dress. Traditionally,

Mongolian Americans believe in astrology and consider certain days in the year more conducive to the conclusion of business deals or to the purchase of new houses or cars and marriage. They turn to astrology on important days like the beginning of a new job, the commencement of college, or birth of a child. Mongolians use a lunar calendar and have adopted the Chinese zodiac with its 12 animal signs. This is also a very important thing in Mongolian Americans' lives. The beautiful Mongolian landscape abounds with an ecological wonder that is expressed in song and dance, which expresses the varied lives on the Mongolian steppes. Many Mongolians practice Western arts, from oil painting to metal sculpture, the subjects of which are often inspired by Mongolian life and traditions. The literary arts are also popular. Early Mongolian literature consisted largely of local folk tales and traditional religious stories. *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Mongolia's most famous book has no known author. This heroic epic of the Mongols—historic texts of war and feuding, myths of origin, administrative manuals of empire, diplomatic histories of hordes and dynasties and biographies of great Khans—were all first committed to writing over 760 years ago.

The greatest scholar on Mongolian studies, professor Francis W. Cleaves said "*The Secret History of Mongols* is not only the capital monument of thirteenth century Mongolian Literature, but it is one of the great literary monuments of the world."

The Mongols' most famous epic is *Djangan*. This heroic oral-epic literature was found about 560 years ago in Western Mongolia. Also, all Mongolian people, no matter what their tribal affiliation or where they came from, know and admire the writings of the modern Mongolian authors D. Natsagdorg and Ch. Chimid, especially their most famous works, *Minii Nutag* (My Native Land) and *Bi Mongol Khung* (I am Mongolian).

CUISINE

Most of the Mongols' traditional dishes continue to be part of Mongolian Americans' cuisine today although in many instances they are served only on ceremonial occasions. The most popular food continues to be Mongolian tea, which is now made from an infusion of tea, evaporated milk, nutmeg and butter. It is used as a ceremonial drink as well, and it is served at most rites. *Boortsag* or *borts'k*, the small cakes made of flour, water and yeast and fried in oil, are still made, but primarily for use at various ceremonials and rites. *Makhan*, made from lamb in the traditional way—that is boiled in water, cut up into pieces and mixed with fresh cut onions and a

little *shulen* (the lamb stock) and rewarmed—is also prepared on festive occasions. *Guriltai shul* or *budan*, a stew of lamb meat or beef, water and flour, and *bulmuk*, a gravy like dish of broth and flour, are also still prepared. *Tarag* or *chigan*—fermented cow’s milk—is at present made and drunk primarily by the older people. It is felt to have great therapeutic value and is believed to insure a long life. Another most popular dish is *Buuz* or *varenk*, made from beef and flour especially steamed mutton dumplings. *Khuushuur*, made from beef and flour and fried in oil, are still made but also primarily for use at various ceremonies and rites. These dietary customs are usually observed by Mongolian Americans during holidays and special events in the United States. For everyday meals, Mongols have readily adapted American food and drink.

HOLIDAYS AND CULTURAL EVENTS

Despite their ethnic diversity, there are several major holidays that virtually all Mongolian Americans observe. Mongolians have been celebrating *Tsagaan Sar* (White Month) for thousands of years, although it may have been held during the summer (possibly in August) when Chinggis Khaan was roaming the steppes. Now held over three days at the start of the lunar new year (in end of January or start of February), *Tsagaan Sar* celebrates the end of winter and the start of spring. During the *Tsagaan Sar*, *Zolgokh* is the traditional greeting. Rather like shaking hands in the West, the younger person places his or her forearms under those of the elder person.

The next group-wide ceremony in the annual cycle is the combined celebration of *Urus-Ova*, which is now celebrated for convenience on the first weekend after the commencement of the first month of summer to permit greater lay participation. This ceremony commemorates *Shagja-muni* or the Buddha, and the yearly celebration which took place at the oboo, or shrines, to placate malicious spirits.

The third major ceremony celebrated in much in the same manner as it was traditionally celebrated is the ritual of *Zul* or *Zula* (Lamp), which takes place in the middle of winter on the 25th day of the month of *Ukher* (cow). People still recall that it marks the passing on to the next world of *Tsong-Kha-Pa*, the great religious reformer.

The Kalmyk Mongolians have proclaimed “Kalmyk Day,” a day in which all are invited to come and see on exhibit all types of artifacts, literature, movies and Kalmyk song and dance performances, to see first hand Kalmyk Mongolian culture



Ondar, is a Mongolian “throat singer.” The khoomy singing of Mongolia, in which carefully trained male voices produce a whole harmonic from deep in the throat, gives the impression of several notes coming at once from one mouth.

and history. Mongolian Americans have to celebrate annual “Chinggis Khan Ceremony.” It was the wish of the founders of the Mongol-American Cultural Association to celebrate this ancient ceremony, so that the current and future generations of Mongolian Americans would have the opportunity to observe and participate in this ancient tradition. Also Mongolian Americans were celebrated at the Mongolian Cultural Celebration. Another Mongolian national holiday is Naadam Festival, which is from July 11 to July 13. It is also known as the *eriin gurban naadam*, after the three ‘manly’ sports of wrestling, archery and horse racing. On this day, along with officials in the Mongolian Embassy and Mongolians in the United States, all people are invited to celebrate along with Mongolian officials in a ceremony and reception.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Mongolian Americans wear western-style clothes, but on some special celebration days they wear traditional Mongolian clothes. The main garment is the *del*, a long, one-piece gown made from wool. The *del* has a high collar, is often brightly colored, comes with a multipurpose sash. Mongolians, but not untrained westerners, can differentiate ethnic groups by the color, the design and shape of their *del*. The *gutul* is a high boot made from thin leather. They are easy to fit, as both the left and right boot are the same shape. The Mongolian traditional hat is known as the decorative *toortsog* and *loovuz*. The *loovuz* is made from fox skins.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Traditional music involves a wide range of instruments and uses the human voice in a way found almost nowhere else. The *khoomi* singing of Mongolia, in which carefully trained male voices produce a whole harmonic from deep in the throat, gives the impression of several notes coming at once from one mouth. It is often sung solo, but when combined with fiddles, lutes, zithers, drums and other python-skin, bamboo, metal, stone and clay instruments, one begins to understand the centrality of music in Mongolian life. The instrument most identified with Mongolia is arguably the horse-head fiddle, known as the *morin khuur*. It has two strings, made from horse hair, with the distinctive and decorative carving of a horse's head on top. Traditionally, the morin khuur often accompanies the unique long songs which regale the beauty of the countryside and relive tales of nomadism.

Some Mongolian music, particularly instrumental music, is intended specifically to accompany dancing. Mongolian dance includes a number of kinds of group folk dance similar to round dancing and square dancing; these might be performed by groups of men, groups of women, or groups of mixed couples. These dances are called *bujig*. The most typical Mongolian dance form, however, is the *bii* or *biyelgee*, "upper-body dance," a dance normally performed by women. Accordingly, leg movements are restricted or entirely absent; some forms of *biyelgee* are performed in a sitting or kneeling position. The dance consists of intricate, rhythmic movements of the head, shoulders, arms, and upper torso; some dancers display their skill by dancing with bowls of tea or a rag balanced on their wrists, elbows, and heads. Today, the Kalmyk American Dance Ensemble is held in Howell, New Jersey.

MONGOLIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

In recent years Mongolian young people have immigrated to the United States to attend American colleges or graduate schools. Afterward, many choose to apply for permanent residency or for citizenship. Presently, about 80 percent of the Mongolians residing in the United States are between the ages of 18 and 35. The number of Mongolian students in the United States has grown steadily since 1990. Recent numbers show Mongolian students are attending colleges and universities in about 30 states. The successful personal adjustments and academic achievements of these students are decided by mainly two factors: language efficiency and the ability to adjust to American society. While some of them return to Mongolia, many choose to continue

their professional pursuits. Mongolian students pursue careers in medicine, business, computer sciences, bio-technology, engineering, administration, law, and social sciences. Young people from Kalmykia, Buriat and Inner Mongolia have also immigrated to the United States to attend American colleges and graduate schools. The American Government, Mongol-American Cultural Association, and family already settled in the United States help Mongolian students get scholarships and to get adjusted to their new country.

HEALTH ISSUES

Most Mongolian Americans accept the role of modern medicine and pay careful attention to health matters. Nevertheless, as noted below in connection with the religious aspects of medical treatment, the services of the Tibetan-trained religious medical practitioners (the *emch*) and of the other clerics are often utilized in concert with western medical science, or sometimes as a last resort. The *emch's* herbal remedies are still employed by some, primarily the elderly. The dietary advice, blessed water and special prayers of the other clerics is also sought. Diagnosis and treatment is based on the five vital elements of earth, water, fire, wind and wood. Medicines are often made from herbs, plants, mineral water and organs from unfortunate animals, and administered according to the weather, season and individual's metabolism. Acupuncture, massage and blood-letting, as well as prayers, are also important factors. All Mongolian Americans know Cheojey lama from Sunud, Mongolia. He is a famous practitioner of folk medicine. He has approximately 30 people practicing the art of folk medicine in America. He died in 1990, but his students continue to practice.

LANGUAGE

Mongolian is not a single language, but rather a group of closely related languages spoken by the various tribes that make up the Mongolian people. The Mongolian languages are usually considered to belong to four groups: 1) Central Mongolian, including Khalkha (Mongolia), Ordos, Chakhar (Inner Mongolia); 2) Eastern Mongolian, including various Khorchin, Kharchin, Jalaid, Gorlos, Ar Khorchin, Baarin, Naiman, and Onniud. Eastern Mongolian dialects are popular in Inner Mongolia; 3) Northern Mongolian, including various Buriat, Barga, Khamnigan, and Soloon (Mongolian, Russian, Inner Mongolian); 4) Southern Mongolian, including various Mongolian Oirad (Durvet, Bayad, Zakhchin, Torgu-

ud, Uriankhai, Uuld), Kirgiz, Xinjiangian Torguud, Khoshuud, Uuld, Uriankhai and Russian Kalmyks (Torguud, Buzava, Durvet), American and France Kalmyk (Buzava, Torguud, Durvet), Chinese Alasha (province), Torguud, Kheisi, Khenanian (province), Khoshuud, Kheisi, Qinkhai (province) Tsoros, Gangsu, Khenianian (province), and Uuld.

The Mongolian languages belong to the Uralic- Altaic language family, named for the Ural Mountains of Russia and the Altai Mountains of western Mongolia. Spread by ancient migrations and the conquests of the Mongol Empire itself, the Uralic- Altaic language family is large and diverse; it includes among others Korean and Japanese, Turkish, Finish, and Hungarian. All of these languages are characterized by a highly inflected grammar, meaning that grammatical structure is indicated by prefixes, suffixes, vowel shifts, and other changes of words within a sentence. In the early thirteenth century the Mongols adopted a script from the Turik Uighurs which is used by many of the Mongolians even today. In 1941 the Government of Mongolia adopted a phonetic alphabet derived from a modified Cyrillic script. Today both scripts can be used. Kalmyk Mongolians are versed in the Zaya Pandita script (Todo Mongol) and Mongolian script.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some common expressions in the Mongolian language include: *Tiim* ("Yes"); *Ugui* ("No"); *Bayarlaa/Gyalailaa* ("Thanks"); *Uuchlaarai* ("I'm sorry/ Excuse me"); *Yuu genee?* ("Sorry?" or "What did you say?"); *Khum guai!* ("Excuse me, sir/madam!"); *Sain baina uu?* (literally, "How are you?"); *Sain ta sain baina uu?* ("Fine"); *Bayartai* ("Goodbye"); and *Za* ("Okay").

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Mongolian Americans family ties are very strong, and it is considered the responsibility of more prosperous members to look after their less well-to-do relatives. Mongolian parents tend to frown upon the practice of dating, although they are slowly yielding to their offspring's demands to be allowed to do so. The preference is still the selection of a marriage partner from within the origin of the Mongolian community and with the full approval and consent of the parents. Family or community members are often involved in the selection of a suitable mate. The family and educational backgrounds of the potential partner are thoroughly examined before

introductions are made. Although intermarriage is not uncommon between Mongolians and Americans, many Mongolian Americans believe that their children will be happier if they are married to someone who shares the same history, tradition, religion, and social customs and who will be able to impart these values to their children, thus ensuring the continuity of the community. They believe that such marriages made within the community tend to be more stable and longer lasting than those that cross community borders. The traditional Mongolian American household is a patriarchy in which the head of the household is the eldest male. The principal roles of the wife are to keep house and raise the children. The children have a duty to honor their parents and respect their wishes.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Traditionally, Mongolian American women have the responsibility of preserving the memories, customs, and traditions of the Mongolian homeland. A women's first obligation is to be a good wife and raise a family. Girls have not been allowed as much freedom as boys and were not encouraged "to go out." Instead, girls have been kept at home and taught domestic skills. Girls were sent through high school and encouraged to pursue higher education and a career. After graduation and before marriage, women have often helped with the family business. Mongolian women are usually married between the ages of 22 and 26. Today many Mongolian American women feel caught between worlds. They often feel obligated to conform to the standards and mores of their community but, at the same time, are pressured to "Americanize." However, many Mongolian American women have pursued higher education and careers outside the home.

WEDDINGS

Traditionally, before marriage the most important thing is accounts. Accounts of the Mongolians from their earliest period to the recent past contain a great deal of information regarding the marriage institution. Even the small fragments of the ancient Tsaadiin Bichik (Ugiin Bichig), which has come down to us from the period of the first Oirad federation in the fifteenth century contains, of its eighth provisions, four provisions relating to the fines to be exacted when adultery was committed with the wife of a prince, with an ordinary man's wife, with a female slave and with the concubine of a priest. Marriage, with its rites and ceremonies, provides a second but non-cyclical focal point for the intensification of social interaction among the Mongolians

This is an example
of a traditional
Mongolian
wedding gown.



in America today. It involves a complex series of formal visits and gift exchanges extending over a period of time and leading up to the marriage rite and beyond. It provides a continuing focus of activity not only for the two families directly involved but also to close and distant relations, and certain events may involve practically the entire Mongolian group. The date which will be presented will show the historical depth and continuity of many of the aspects of this institution as well as its continuing and central importance in Mongolian American life. The account of the rites and ceremonies that are involved in marriage today will also provide examples of the way in which changes and accommodations have been made, particularly in the realm of material objects—new items being equated with and replacing old ones and new content being injected into the traditional patterns which maintain their continuity.

RELIGION

Mongolian Americans have always followed Buddhism of the Tibetan (Lama) variety faithfully.

Shortly after their arrival in the United States, the Kalmyk Mongols began the reconstruction of their religious system. Only 20 priests, a few less than the total number who had emigrated from Russia during the first and second waves of immigration, came to settle in America. All of these priests were over 60 years of age and represented primarily the higher ranks in the traditional ecclesiastical hierarchy. Until his death, the highest ranking cleric was not a Kalmyk but rather a Khalkha Mongol, the Living Buddha, Dilowa Gegen Khutukhtu, who was deferred to in all religious matters and was the final authority in religious decisions. Through he lived in Baltimore, he participated frequently in rituals and ceremonies in Freewood Acres and in Philadelphia and had a residence in one of the religious establishments in Freewood Acres and also in New York. However, several priests have been sent from India by the Dalai Lama to augment the dwindling number of priests. The physical plans of these religious establishments are essentially similar and include a place of worship which is furnished with a multitude of *thankas* or Tibetan religious pictures, flowers, satin banners, prayer flags and several small tables

flanked opposite the door which serve as the altar and on and around it are placed incense and offerings of various types. Along the left side, facing the altar, are the low seats or divans and tables of the clergy, arranged in the order of their hierarchical standing—the highest being closest to the altar. The religious precinct also includes a place of residence for its priests. In effect, the unity is a reconstruction of the traditional monastic establishment. The whole is referred to by the Mongolians in English as the temple and in Mongolian as *Khurul* (Assembly of monks) or *olna gazar* (holy ground). Today American Mongolians have five temples in the United States. Three of them are in Howell, New Jersey, another one is in Philadelphia, and one is in New York. At the various temples in the United States, lamas work to prepare tangkas, forge idols, and build stupas. The most important of these people familiar in the ways of Buddhist practice are Gyamcho and Jambaldorj, a Khalkha Mongol, who was the disciple of the Living Buddha, Dilowa Gegen Khutughtu.

The Mongolian American community in America also includes small numbers, especially young people who are Christian, but their numbers are few.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Mongolians who came to the United States were from rural backgrounds and worked as farmers, while others in most cases have skilled and semi-skilled factory jobs in various soft goods industries and mechanical trades, and lots of people are employed in the house building trades. Most of the working women are employed as seamstresses in the dressmaking industry.

Mongolians have opened their own businesses. The most successful Kalmyk Mongolian businesses are the house building trade and small businesses. Today Mongolian Americans are employed in a variety of professional enterprises. About 45 percent of the Mongolian Americans who live the United States are employed in white-collar work.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Mongolian Americans have always felt a strong attachment to Mongolia and have supported events that occur in the homeland. During the deportation period of the Kalmyk people to Siberia, the Kalmyk Committee in the USA played an important historical role. One of the leaders of this committee is the well-known Kalmyk human rights activist, Djab

Naminov Burchinov, who also played an important historical role, in returning Russian Kalmyks to their native land. His place in the fight for the national interests and in defense of human rights is not modest but great.

Burchinov sent several memoranda with the request to accept Mongolia into the UN membership. He assisted in solving this problem positively. Burchinov fights not only for the human rights of Kalmyk Mongols but also the rights of the Tibetans and Inner Mongols. During the time of the AIDS epidemic in Kalmykia he obtained donations from the big American companies.

The Mongol-American Association press has played an important role in Mongolian nationalism in the United States. Since 1990, Mongolian Americans have shown an increasing interest in American government policy decisions concerning Mongolia. Well-known professor John Gombojab Hangin was instrumental in the establishment of normal political relations between Mongolia and the United States.

The United States supports Mongolia's reforms and renders it technical and humanitarian assistance. United States Congress has adopted a resolution in support of the reforms in Mongolia. The United States declared in 1995 that independent, democratic, prosperous and secure Mongolia is in their interests. Mongolia's strategic location is important not only geo-politically, but also geo-economically, since it has abundant mineral resources, educated and motivated people and is located between two large, emerging markets with millions of consumers. Despite the long distance, peoples of both countries are interested in developing trade, economic, cultural and people-to-people relations. Bilateral trade in 1997 reached \$51 million. Both countries have granted each other most favored nation (MFN) status. Both sides believe that there is enormous potential for developing trade and economic relations.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Djab Nominov Burchinov is a well-known Kalmyk Mongol human right activist, and is the author of *The Struggle for Civil Rights of the Kalmyk People* (1997). Arash Bormanshinov is the author of *Kalmyk Manual* (1961), which is considered to be the first work in English on Kalmyk Mongol written by an Kalmyk Mongolian. John Gombojab Hangin was Professor of Mongolian studies at Indiana University at the time of his death. He was a principal founder of both the

Mongolia Society and the Mongol-American Cultural Association. He is a author of *A Mongol Reader* (1956), *A Concise English-Mongolian Dictionary* (1970), and *A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary* (1986). Professor Jagchid Sechin wrote *Essays in Mongolian Studies* (1988), *Mongolian Living Buddha: Biography of the Kanjurwa Khutukhtu* (1983), *Mongolian Cultural and Society* (1979), and *Peace, War, and Trade Along the Great Wall: Nomadic Chinese Interaction Through Two Millenia* (1989). Dr. Sanj Altan is well-known Mongolian American Cultural activist; Lee Urubshurow is well-known Kalmyk Mongolian cultural activist; she was a principal founder both of the Kalmyk-American Cultural Association, and the Kalmyk-American Dance Ensemble.

MEDIA

The Mongol Tolbo Newsletter.

The Mongol-American Cultural Association's newsletter Mongol Tolbo is a quarterly publication enjoys the distribution among its kind. It provides commentary and analysis on the subject of the Mongol culture and news of its economic, political, and social development of Northern and Southern Mongolia, Tuva, Sinjiang, Buryatia and Kalmykia.

Contact: Chinggelto Borjigid, Editor.

Address: Mongol-American Cultural Association Inc., 50 Louis Street, New Brunswick New Jersey 08901.

Telephone: (732) 297-1140.

E-Mail: MONGOL@COMPUBELL.COM.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Mongol-American Cultural Association, Inc.

The Mongol-American Cultural Association serves as the central point of networking for all Mongolian tribes residing in the United States. Culture, heritage, and customs are shared between all Mongolian Americans no matter what their tribal affiliation or history. The goal of the association is to promote cultural exchange between all of the Mongolian ethnic groups, Khalkha, Buriat, Kalmyk, and Inner Mongolian. They also provide support to Mongolian youth, scholarships to students, aid to the poor, homeless, or handicapped.

Contact: Dr. Sanj Altan, President.

Address: Mongol-American Cultural Association, Inc., 50 Louis Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901.

Telephone: (732) 297-1140.

Asian American Heritage Council of New Jersey.

The Asian American Heritage Council of New Jersey has been of exemplary service to the Asian American citizens of this state, working diligently to assist and integrate Asian culture.

Contact: Shashi K. Agarwal, President.

Address: 290 Central Ave, Orange, New Jersey 07050-3414.

Telephone: (973) 676-1234.

Fax: (973) 676-5858.

Kalmyk-American Cultural Association.

The association has formed classes to teach the Kalmyk Mongolian culture and the language. This organization has not only brought together the young people but has shown them that they have inherited a rich cultural heritage.

Contact: Lee Urubshurow, President.

Address: 55 Schank Road Suite A-1, Freehold, New Jersey 07728.

Telephone: (732) 576-5614.

Mongolia Society.

The Mongolia Society has several hundred members and is concerned with presenting information dealing with the history and culture of this area of Inner Asia. Four separate series devoted to Mongolian topics are published. These are Mongolian Studies; Journal of the Mongolia Society; Mongolia Survey; Occasional Papers; and Special Papers. The society is the only importer of Mongolian books in the United States. It also sells Mongolian dictionaries and a wide variety of items that pertain to Mongolia. An annual scholarship is presented to a person of Mongolian heritage.

Contact: Henry Scharz, President.

Address: Indiana University, 321 Goodbody Hall, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

Telephone: (812) 855-4078.

Fax: (812) 855-7500.

U.S.-Mongolia Business Council.

Contact: Steven R. Saunders, Executive Director.

Address: 1015 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314-3551.

Telephone: (703) 549-8444.

Fax: (703) 549-6526.

E-Mail: Mongolia@erols.com.

US-Mongolia Advisory Group.

Contact: Dr. Alica Campi, President.

Address: 6002 Ticonderoga Court, Burke Virginia 22015.

E-Mail: usmagcampi@aol.com.

World Mongolian Association.

The association serves as the central point of networking World Mongolian tribes, culture and heritage.

Contact: Giga Andreyev, President.

Address: 55 Schank Road, Suite A-1,
Freehold, New Jersey 07728.

Telephone: (732) 409-3511.

Fax: (732) 409-6298.

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Mormons believe
that through
marriages performed
in the temple,
families are sealed
for eternity. While
most American
Mormon families live
with just the nuclear
family, they value
the extended family,
living and dead.

MORMONS

by
Jessie L. Embry

OVERVIEW

Scholars disagree on whether Mormons, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), can rightly be considered an ethnic group. Using survey results, sociologist Armand Mauss shows that Mormons are typical Americans. Canadian anthropologist Keith Parry, however, contends that Mormons have a distinctive lifestyle and language that set them apart from mainstream America. Much of the Mormon identity comes from its history. Members accept the Book of Mormon as a religious history of a people who saw the United States as a land of promise where Christ's church could be restored before His second coming. As historian Dean May explains, "The Mormons have been influenced subsequently by ritual tales of privation, wandering, and delivery under God's hand, precisely as the Jews have been influenced by their stories of the Exodus. A significant consequence of this tradition has been the development of an enduring sense of territoriality that has given a distinctive cast to Mormon group consciousness. It differentiates the Mormons from members of other sects and lends support to the judgment of [Catholic] sociologist Thomas F. O'Dea that the Mormons 'represent the clearest example to be found in our national history of the evolution of a native and indigenously developed ethnic minority'" (*The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 1980).

The Mormon church has grown to be more than an American religious denomination. Its 8,000,000-person membership in 1991 nearly covered the world and only half (4,336,000) lived in the United States. Of the one million converts in 1988 and 1989, 60 percent of them were from Mexico and Central and South America. Still, Utah is 77 percent Mormon, but only about one-eighth of the church members (1,363,000) live there.

HISTORY

The founder of the Mormon church in the United States, Joseph Smith, Jr., was the third son of a New England farming family. When he was a teenager, he attended a religious revival where his family lived in upstate New York. Confused by the different religions, Smith prayed for direction in 1820 and over the next few years recorded several personal revelations. He organized his first church on April 6, 1830. Members accepted him as a prophet who could speak the will of the Lord. As the church grew and developed, he received additional revelations that the Mormons view as scripture; these teachings are recorded in the *Doctrine and Covenants*.

From his New York base, Smith sent his followers out to seek converts; the majority of growth during this period occurred in Ohio. One of the first groups went to share the *Book of Mormon* with the Native Americans. When there were more Mormons in Ohio than in New York, Smith received a revelation that the church should move west. The first group arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, a few miles east of Cleveland, early in 1831. For the next seven years, Kirtland served as the church headquarters, and the Latter-day Saints built their first temple there.

But Smith made it clear that Kirtland was only a temporary home. In time, he predicted, God would ask Mormons to establish "Zion," a "New Jerusalem" to prepare for the millennium—the return of the Savior who would usher in a 1,000-year reign of peace. During the summer of 1831 Smith declared that this Zion would be established in Jackson County, Missouri. So Mormons started to gather there. However, tension arose between the Mormons, who opposed slavery, and slaveholding immigrants from Tennessee and Kentucky. The Mormons' claims that the territory was their promised land, their voting together as a bloc, and their communal living posed a threat to the Missourians' lifestyle, and the Mormons were eventually forced from the state.

The Mormons moved to Illinois and settled on undeveloped land along the Mississippi River known as Commerce. They renamed the area Nau-

voo and started building a city. The Mormons received a liberal charter from the state that allowed them to have their own militia and courts. From here Smith continued to send out missionaries. Those sent to England were very successful, and soon immigrants from there as well as Canada and other areas of the United States arrived and helped establish what became the second largest city in Illinois. The Saints again started to build a temple. Smith continued to receive revelations.

One of Smith's revelations, plural marriage, caused special problems for the Mormons. Historians do not know when Smith received this revelation; there is some evidence that he married his first plural wife, Fanny Alger, in 1831. He did not write down the revelation until 1843, when he attempted to convince his first wife, Emma Hales Smith, of the principle. Although Smith and some of his closest followers practiced polygamy in Nauvoo, the church did not publicly announce the doctrine until 1852, after the Mormons moved to Utah. Some Mormons who knew of the doctrine opposed the practice and in June 1844 published a newspaper expressing their views of Smith as a fallen prophet. Using the powers granted by Nauvoo's charter, Smith destroyed not only the newspaper but also the press. The city courts released him, but the state arrested him for treason. As Smith, his brother Hyrum, and other church leaders were held in jail awaiting trial, a mob broke into the jail and killed Joseph and Hyrum Smith on June 27, 1844.

Following the death of their leader, Brigham Young (1801-1877), the president of the Council of Twelve Apostles, gained the trust of most of Smith's followers. Some Mormons reported that when Young spoke to them he sounded like Smith. These people saw this as a heavenly manifestation that Young was to be the next leader. Eventually, he became church president. Young led the work to complete the temple in Nauvoo and continued to give the members the ordinances he learned from Smith.

Problems between the Mormons and the local residents continued, and by February 1846, the Mormons began to leave Illinois, heading first for Nebraska and then to Salt Lake Valley. Isolated from the rest of the nation, Brigham Young and the Mormons set out to establish "Zion in the tops of the mountains," following Smith's visions. He planned Salt Lake City and other communities using Smith's Plat of Zion, a grid system. He encouraged the Mormons to be self-sufficient and created an independent commonwealth. He sent settlers to southern Utah, where they attempted to raise cotton and manufacture iron so they would not have to

Many settlers made their way to Utah by wagon train in search of an uninhabited land to start their own way of life.



depend on outsiders for these goods. He asked communities to live the “United Order,” wherein people shared resources. Communities had varying success for several years, but eventually most communal attempts failed because most Mormons supported the American ideal of free enterprise. Eventually the church adopted free-enterprise policies. The Mormons completed the first temple in the area in St. George, Utah, in 1877. The Salt Lake Temple, which has become a symbol of Mormonism, took 40 years—from ground breaking to dedication—to complete. It was dedicated on April 6, 1893.

Young also announced for the first time publicly that the church endorsed plural marriage. In 1852 Apostle Orson Pratt delivered a discourse on the virtues of plural marriage. While church members now knew the church sanctioned polygamy, most of the Latter-day Saints did not practice it. The practice of polygamy varied by community, apparently based on how strongly local leaders encouraged it. Current research suggests that around 20 percent of the Mormons belonged to plural families.

Because of the Mormons’ practice of polygamy and their political and economical isolation, many

Americans questioned their loyalty to the nation. In 1857 the U.S. government sent an army to Utah with a federal appointee, Alfred Cumming of Georgia, to replace Brigham Young as governor of the territory. Although the groups resolved the problem peacefully and Cumming took office, the Mormons still contended with the U.S. government. In 1862 Congress passed the Morrill Act, the first legislation against polygamy, and continued to strengthen those laws for the next 25 years. The Edmunds Act (1882) was a series of amendments that strengthened the Morrill Act. It made cohabitation illegal; federal officials only had to prove that husband and wives were living together and not that multiple marriages had been performed for the law to have been broken. Polygamists were disenfranchised and could not hold political office. When the Edmunds Act did not control polygamy, Congress passed the Edmund-Tucker Act (1887), which abolished women’s suffrage, required plural wives to testify against their husbands, and allowed the federal government to acquire all church property. The government began plans to confiscate the property, including the temples, in 1890. Church President Wilford Woodruff

then issued a “Manifesto” stating that the church would no longer practice polygamy. In 1904 church President Joseph F. Smith presented a second manifesto that disciplined those who continued to practice polygamy or perform plural marriages.

SETTLEMENT

As Mormons arrived in Utah’s Great Basin, Brigham Young sent them throughout the West. Although some colonies were short lived, Mormon communities extended from southern Idaho to San Bernardino, California. During the years when the federal government arrested polygamists, Mormons also moved into northern Mexico and southern Alberta, Canada. Young and the presidents who followed him also sent missionaries throughout the United States and northern Europe. The church encouraged the new converts to “gather to Zion.” Church-sponsored ships carried emigrants across the Atlantic. Once in the United States, converts traveled by rail as far as possible and then continued by wagon. Some groups who could not afford wagons pulled two-wheeled handcars. The church established an endowment, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, to help the new arrivals.

The church encouraged the newcomers to assimilate as quickly as possible. They learned English and the Mormon way of life. Brigham Young proposed an alphabet that spelled English phonetically. Although it was never adopted, the alphabet demonstrated the church’s attempt to assimilate newcomers. European immigrants were allowed at first to attend congregations speaking their native languages but were encouraged also to attend the congregation in which they lived, which usually spoke English. In 1903, when a disagreement developed over the celebration of a Swedish holiday, the First Presidency emphasized, “The counsel of the church to all Saints of foreign birth who come here is that they should learn to speak English when possible, adopt the manners and customs of the American people, fit themselves to become good and loyal citizens of this country, and by their good works show that they are true and faithful Latter-day Saints.”

Additional factors worked for assimilation in Mormon society; those already in Utah understood the desire of the newcomers to be in Zion and felt a religious obligation to accept and love their brothers and sisters in the gospel. With all groups working together, European immigrants often married out of their cultural groups. So while Salt Lake City’s foreign-born population during the 1880s ran as high as 80 percent, there were very few conflicts. Mormon

immigrants assimilated into the mainstream of Mormonism’s unique culture in one generation.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mormons remained concentrated in the inter-mountain west. The agricultural and mining depression of the 1920s and the nationwide depression of the 1930s forced some Mormons to leave the area looking for employment. During World War II, Utah’s population increased as the government developed military bases and supported wartime industries. In the 1990s, while Mormons can be found throughout the United States, there is still a high concentration in the inter-mountain west.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHERS

During the nineteenth century, most Americans saw the Mormon church as an eccentric religion that practiced polygamy, voted as a bloc, and lived together. Following the issuing of the Manifesto, though, Mormons not only abandoned polygamy but also gave up many of their unique economic and political practices. In order for Utah to become a state, the federal government required the church to dissolve its political arm, the People’s Party. Most Mormons became Republicans and Democrats like the rest of the nation. The church gave up its communal and cooperative efforts and embraced the capitalist economy.

As time passed Mormonism became, as historian Jan Shipps described, “the Reader’s Digest church” because members seemed to fit the American ideal. While there are still some misgivings about the church’s claims to be the only true church, most Americans now see Mormons as law abiding, peaceful people who embrace all aspects of American life. This image improved in 1978 when the church abandoned its policy that blacks could not hold its lay priesthood.

FUTURE OF THE MORMON CHURCH

One major problem facing the Mormon church is its growing international membership, both worldwide and in American ethnic communities. Church leaders face the dilemma of separating gospel values from the American secular traditions that they have interwoven into Mormon culture. Before the priesthood revelation, there was an informal rule in many missions that they should not recruit blacks. As a result, only a limited number of African Americans joined. After 1978, missionaries actively ministered among blacks, and increasing numbers of African Americans are joining the religion. Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans are also becoming

members. Polynesian Americans who joined the church in the islands are immigrating to the United States and bringing extended family members. Not all of them are Mormons, but some join after they have arrived. The church has also continued its efforts, although on a lesser scale, to convert Native Americans.

While the northern European immigrants assimilated in one generation, these new members maintain their language and much of their cultural identity. The Mormon church has tried various approaches to help these members, including establishing separate congregations, integrating them into existing congregations without translation support, and facilitating partial integration—allowing them to “fuse” their culture with the Mormon lifestyle. In the 1960s, for example, church President Spencer W. Kimball (1895-1985) actively organized Indian congregations (generally called Lamanite branches), and congregations of other ethnic groups, including a Chinese branch and a German-speaking ward in Salt Lake City, were formed. In the early 1970s, church leaders again questioned the utility of sponsoring separate branches and urged the integration of ethnic members into the church. However, before the end of the decade, a Basic Unit plan encouraged ethnic branches again. In practice the church’s policy has vacillated because neither ethnic branches nor integrated wards have met the needs of all church members. Language and cultural barriers often weaken the ties of religion. Questions about how to resolve these issues still face the Mormon leadership.

In addition, church leaders uphold family values and gender roles that some Americans question. Many see the Mormon church as a conservative voice similar to the South’s Bible Belt, and even some Mormons question these conservative stands. In 1993 and 1994 the church excommunicated intellectuals who questioned some basic tenets such as not ordaining women to the priesthood, the historicity of the *Book of Mormon*, and the role of church leaders.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Mormons believe that through marriages performed in the temple, families are sealed for eternity. While most American Mormon families live with just the nuclear family, they value the extended family, living and dead. They feel that the temple “saving ordinances” such as baptism, a special “endowment” session, and marriages are also essential for family

members who have died. Since these ordinances can only be performed on earth, living Mormons perform them as proxies for deceased relatives. To facilitate this, church leaders encourage Mormons to research their genealogies and collect the names of their deceased relatives.

The LDS church has emphasized family worship, including family scripture reading and weekly family meetings (now called family home evenings) for decades. The practice of family gatherings started in the Granite Stake in the Salt Lake Valley in 1909. Church leaders instructed families to set aside time to learn the gospel, participate in activities, sing songs, read the scriptures together, play games, and enjoy refreshments. Six years later in 1915, the First Presidency of the church announced its official endorsement of the church program. They asked “presidents of stakes and bishops throughout the church [to] set aside one evening each month for a “Home Evening” where “fathers and mothers may gather their boys and girls about them in the home and teach them the word of the Lord.” The church formalized the program in 1965 as the “family home evening” program. General church leaders encouraged local leaders to set aside Monday for the weekly meeting, prohibited ward or stake meetings that night, and provided lesson and activity manuals to assist families in their time together.

Mormons also encourage daily family prayer. In a survey of Utah adults by sociologist Stan Albrecht, 42 percent of lifetime Mormons reported having “daily” family prayer, with another 27 percent specifying “often.” The comparable figures for converts were 45 percent and 23 percent respectively. While the number of those answering “never” or “only on special occasions” were higher (31 percent for lifetime members and 32 percent for converts), Utah Mormons prayed as families more often than Utah Catholics and Protestants, who collectively reported that 16 percent had daily family prayer, 13 percent less frequently, and 71 percent “never” or “only for special occasions.”

Church leaders encourage Mormons to be self-sufficient. Since 1930, the church has operated its own welfare system to help members in need. Leaders ask members to fast once a month and donate the money they would have spent on those meals to help the needy. However, leaders also encourage members to use their own resources and seek their extended families’ assistance before coming to the church for aid. To help in times of emergency, leaders ask members to maintain a year’s supply of food and other necessities. During the 1930s, the church claimed that it could support its own members, but studies showed that members depended on the federal pro-

grams to a greater extent than other Americans. Church members continue to use federal and church programs, but the goal of self-reliance endures.

Church policy discourages teenagers from dating until they are 16 years old. Leaders also encourage no serious dating until after young men serve a two-year full-time mission when they are 19. Leaders stress that young people should marry other Mormons within their own racial group. The 1978 issue of the *Church News* that announced the change in policy toward blacks holding the priesthood included an article restating that the church still discouraged interracial marriages. It pointed out that marriage is always difficult and even more so when the partners come from different backgrounds. While the topic is not discussed as much in the general church, single Mormons from ethnic groups are frequently confused by the church's counsel to marry within the church and to marry someone from their ethnic groups when they do not find potential marriage partners who are Mormons and who belong to their cultural backgrounds.

The church teaches that sexual intercourse outside marriage is a sin. As a result, Mormon women marry at slightly younger ages than other Americans, while men marry at about the same age as the national average. Most Mormons marry rather than cohabit. As divorce has become more acceptable in the United States, more Mormons are separating. Utah has a higher divorce rate than the national average. Some studies show Mormons are more likely to separate in the first five years and less likely to divorce after five years of marriage.

Mormons believe all people existed as spirits before they were born and that to progress they needed to come to this earth to receive a body and to be tested. Many believe that the spirits on the other side need to be provided bodies. For that reason, the church discourages birth control and suggests that Mormons have large families; Latter-day Saints have families larger than the U.S. average. Mormon church leaders also speak against abortion. They view ending a pregnancy as "one of the most ... sinful practices of this day." The only allowable exceptions are where "incest or rape was involved, or where competent medical authorities certify that the life of the mother is in jeopardy, or that a severely defective fetus cannot survive birth."

Mormons value children and provide training for them in the home and in the church. Traditional Mormon gender roles have changed along with overall American values as society has evolved in the twentieth century. But there are still differences in the training of boys and girls. Boys receive the priesthood when they are 12 years old and progress

through priesthood offices. Church leaders ask all young men to serve a two-year mission when they are 19 years old. They receive the temple endowment before leaving on their missions. Girls, however, do not have the same advancement. They are allowed but not encouraged to go on missions, and they do not go until they are 21. Young women who serve missions receive the temple ordinances before they leave. Most women attend the temple for the first time just before their marriages. In marriage, a woman is sealed to her husband, and the church teaches that the man, the priesthood holder, is the head of the home; leaders discourage women from working outside the home. While many women work, studies show that women in Utah are more likely to work part time and many Mormon Utah women stay at home.

Despite rather conservative family status for women, however, Utah was the second state (after Wyoming) to give women the right to vote. Although Congress took suffrage away with the Edmunds-Tucker Act, some women continued to campaign for suffrage and were active in the national suffrage movements. The Utah State Constitution gave women back the vote in 1896. Some women, especially those involved in suffrage, became active in political parties. Historically Mormon women have been involved in community health, social welfare, and adoption programs; the best known of these is the Relief Society.

EDUCATION

Mormons place a high value on education. Joseph Smith established a School of the Prophets and stressed the importance of learning, and Mormon scripture encourages members to "seek learning even by study and also by faith." Once the Mormons arrived in Utah, they established and sponsored the first schools on all levels in the state. Formal statehood brought public education, and gradually the church closed or transferred to the state most of its high schools (or academies). Weber State University in Ogden, Utah; Snow College in Ephraim, Utah; and Dixie College in St. George, Utah, are examples of state-sponsored institutions that were first established as Mormon academies. The church did not abandon all of its educational facilities, however. It still sponsors Brigham Young University, a four-year college with a large campus in Provo, Utah, as well as a smaller campus in Laie, Hawaii. It also operates a two-year junior college in Rexburg, Idaho, LDS Business College in Salt Lake City, and high schools and smaller colleges throughout the world in areas with limited public education.

These Mormon women are tacking a quilt out in the yard.



With the closing of its academies, the church feared the loss of religious instruction. To provide the spiritual training other than that provided at Sunday activities, the church established seminaries at high schools and institutes at universities. The first seminary was established at Granite High School in Salt Lake City in 1912; the first institute was created at the University of Idaho in Moscow in 1926.

The Mormons' emphasis on education has led to an educated Mormon populace in the United States. In 1984 sociologists Stan L. Albrecht and Tim B. Heaton found that over half Mormon men (53.5 percent) had some post high school education as compared to 36.7 percent of American men; 44.3 percent of Mormon women had similar training, contrasting with only 27.7 percent of American women overall.

HOLIDAYS

For the most part, American Mormons observe only the national holidays that other Americans celebrate. The exception is July 24, Pioneer Day, in

honor of the day that Brigham Young entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. This date is a state holiday in Utah, and residents celebrate with parades and fireworks. With the emphasis Mormons place on their history, members throughout the United States celebrate Pioneer Day on a smaller scale.

HEALTH ISSUES

Mormons consider the Word of Wisdom, a revelation received by Joseph Smith, to be a commandment from God. According to Mormon tradition, in 1833 Emma Smith questioned male church leaders using chewing tobacco and spitting in her home. As a result, Joseph Smith asked the Lord for guidance and received Section 89 of the Doctrine and Covenants. It cautioned against "wine and strong drinks," tobacco, and "hot drinks." It also said meat should be "used sparingly" and urged the use of grains, especially "wheat for man," and herbs. When the revelation was first received, the church considered it only advice; violation did not restrict church membership. During the 1890s, though, church leaders started emphasizing the Word of Wisdom

more. They led the prohibition fight in Utah and discouraged the use of alcoholic drinks. In 1921 church president Heber J. Grant made obeying the Word of Wisdom a requirement to enter the temple. The church interpreted the revelation to forbid coffee, tea, tobacco, and alcohol, but it does not stress other elements of the teaching, including guidelines about the use of meat and grains.

Strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom has led to greater health among Mormons. Studies have found that Mormons in Utah have fewer cases of diseases, especially cancers, and suggest this may be because they do not use tobacco or alcohol. One study declared that Mormons showed that one-third of the cancers in the United States could be prevented by avoiding these substances. Mormons also helped in cancer research through their high birth rate and the keeping of genealogical records. University of Utah professors have encoded this information and identified high-risk cancer patients. In addition, information provided by the Mormons helped lead to the identification of a gene that frequently occurs in colon cancer patients.

Nineteenth-century Mormon health practices and problems were similar to those of other Americans at the time. Mormons suffered a high rate of infant mortality and death from infectious diseases. Their initial mistrust of the medical profession was also common. Some early Mormons believed in herbal treatments. Many practiced faith healing. Leaders encouraged members to depend more on the power of God than on doctors. In the church's early days, men and women gave blessings as a way of healing. Usually women blessed other women at the time of childbirth. Now the church only authorizes men holding the priesthood to give blessings.

Mormon health practices have changed over the years. Some modifications developed in response to changes in American views. After the Mormons moved to Utah, Brigham Young encouraged members to go to doctors for medical treatment. His suggestion slightly preceded the general American shift to greater support of the medical profession. Young asked second-generation Mormons to return to the East to study medicine, and men and women responded. While leaders still stressed faith healing, they also encouraged members to seek the assistance of secular medicine.

Around the turn of the century, Mormons participated in public health programs that were popular throughout the United States. Church leaders encouraged voluntary vaccination programs and supported quarantines. The women's organization, the Relief Society, sponsored maternal and child health programs. It also held milk clinics and orga-

nized "Swat the Fly" campaigns. The women worked closely with the state government to implement the services Congress provided through the 1920s Shepherd-Towner Act. Under this law, the stake Relief Society in Cottonwood opened a maternity hospital and other church groups provided layettes and promoted pregnancy and well-baby care.

The Mormon church also sponsored hospitals in Utah to provide assistance to the sick. The Relief Society started the Deseret Hospital in 1882. When that hospital closed 10 years later, members worked to raise money for the W. H. Grover Latter-day Saint Hospital that opened in 1905. The Mormon church owned and operated hospitals in Utah and Idaho until the 1980s, when the leaders turned these hospitals over to a newly created private institution, the Intermountain Health Corporation.

By the end of the twentieth century, Mormons depended as much on doctors as on other members. While blessings at the time of illness continue, leaders recommend that members seek medical advice. Physician and historian Lester Bush concludes, "With regard to most aspects of medical practice, Mormons are indeed no longer a 'peculiar people'" (*Health and Medicine Among the Mormons: Science, Sense, and Scripture*, 1993). There are some minor differences though. Early in the century the Utah state legislature voted against compulsory vaccinations. Later that decision was reversed, but for years Utah had higher cases of smallpox than the rest of the nation because vaccinations were not required. Utah has also resisted water fluoridation. In 1972 the First Presidency asked members to study the issue and make their own decision, but they did not express support. As a result, much of Utah's water is not fluoridated, and children have more cavities.

RELIGION

Though Mormons are found throughout the world, the church is thoroughly American. That is true especially of its leadership. While the church has appointed local leaders that represent its worldwide membership, the most influential, the First Presidency and the Council of Twelve, are all white American males. When a president dies, the senior member of the Council of Twelve replaces him, so future church leaders will come from this group. The two Quorums of Seventies are also General Authorities in the church. The First Quorum is appointed for life and in 1993 included 35 men. Only eight of its members are not from the United States. The Second Quorum is appointed for a five-year term. Of 43 men in 1993, only 14 are not Americans. Since nearly all the General Authori-

ties are Americans, the body tends to represent that perspective.

Mormons attend geographically structured congregations known as wards. In Utah a ward might include only a few blocks; in other areas, wards might encompass an entire middle-sized or metropolitan city. In Utah boundaries frequently split neighborhoods, and there is very little contact outside assigned wards. Wards support religious and social life by sponsoring athletic events, parties, and other activities for all age groups. Five to six wards form a unit known as a stake, which is similar to a diocese.

The importance of “going to church” has changed for Mormons over time. Historian Jan Shipps described the changes in Mormon religious practice: “Hypothetical Saints [travelling to the nineteenth century] ... in a time machine would have been astonished to find so few Saints at sacrament meeting because the twentieth century sacrament meeting is a visible worship sign, whereas in the pioneer era more expressive worship signs were irrigation canals or neatly built or nicely decorated houses or good crops of sugar beets. More significant, living in the nineteenth century was the sign of citizenship in God’s elect nation” (*Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*, 1985). As the Mormons gave up such distinctive practices as polygamy and the United Orders, the responsibility of “boundary maintenance” shifted from the church to the individual. According to Shipps, “The LDS dietary, behavior, and dress codes” are now important boundary markers, while correspondingly, “worship activity ... seems almost mandatory.”

The importance of attending worship services is reflected in contemporary Mormon church statistics. For example, a 1980-1981 study shows that 68 percent of lifetime Mormons in Utah attend church on a weekly basis. Converts are even more devout: 74 percent attend weekly. Sociologist Armand Mauss’ study of general U.S. surveys found that 58 percent of Mormons go to church weekly compared to only 29 percent of other Americans. On Sundays Mormons attend a three-hour block of meetings that includes a general worship service—known as the sacrament meeting—for everyone. Adults and teenagers attend Sunday School classes. Men and women then split; women attend Relief Society and men attend priesthood meeting. Teenage girls attend Young Women, and teenage boys attend priesthood classes. Children between the ages of three and twelve go to Primary. A nursery serves those between eighteen months and three years of age. Before 1981, Mormons scattered meetings throughout the week. Partly because of the gasoline

shortage of the late 1970s, these meetings were consolidated into today’s Sunday block. The church leaders hoped this would not only cut down travel time, but allow families more time to be together.

Mormons also develop a sense of community by working together in the wards. The only paid full-time clergy in the church are the General Authorities. Ward and stake leaders accept positions to serve as bishop (similar to a pastor or priest), stake president (similar to a bishop in the Catholic church), and staff for other church organizations. Catholic sociologist Thomas F. O’Dea in his extensive study of the Mormons observed that the church’s lay ministry means “the church has provided a job for everyone to do and, perhaps more important, has provided a formal context in which it is to be done. The result is a wide distribution of activity, responsibility, and prestige” (*The Mormons*, 1957). O’Dea explained lay structure has historical roots. Mormonism came into being “when lay responsibility in church government was widespread and developed in circumstances that demanded lay participation for the survival of the group and the carrying-out of the program.... If western conditions caused older and established churches to make use of laymen, a new and struggling religious movement had all the more reason to do so, and no inhibiting traditions.” Mormonism’s already expansive definition of priesthood continued to broaden, becoming universal for men after 1978.

TEMPLES

Early Mormon meeting houses and temples were works of art. The architecture was often similar to Gothic chapels and represented the feeling that the Saints were giving the best to the Lord. The Salt Lake Temple, often seen as the symbol of Mormonism, is a classic example; but the church has had a mixed record of preserving these historic treasures. In the late 1960s local residents along with state citizens fought to prevent the church from tearing down the Heber City, Utah, tabernacle that had served as a meeting place for the Wasatch Stake. Just a few years later similar groups were unable to preserve the Coalville, Utah, tabernacle. In the late 1970s the church preserved the outside of the Logan Temple but gutted the interior. It maintained the original murals in the Salt Lake and Manti temples. In 1994 the church announced plans to convert the tabernacle in Vernal, Utah, into a temple.

Mormon temples provide a special worship atmosphere for members; meeting houses are more practical. They include a chapel for worship, a cul-

tural hall for sports and theater, classrooms, a kitchen, and a library. In the early days the buildings were still decorative; now there is more emphasis on utilitarianism. The church provides standard architectural plans that can be adapted for individual needs. New temples are built to serve functional needs. A good contrast that shows the changes is to compare the Salt Lake Temple with its granite towers and symbolism with the simple concrete design of the Provo, Utah, and Ogden, Utah, temples.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Mormons have a variety of occupations. Sociologist Wade Dewey Roof and theologian William McKinney examined religious “streams” in the “circulation of the saints.” The “upward movement” from one social and economic class to another is one of these streams. They concluded that the Mormon church moved from the bottom of the lowest scale in the 1940s, based on education, family income, occupational prestige, and perceived social class, to the highest in the middle category by the 1980s.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since the breakup of the People’s Party, the Mormon church leaders claim to speak out only on political issues that they consider to be of moral concern. In 1968 the church opposed the sale of liquor by the drink, supported Sunday closing laws, and favored right-to-work laws. The Mormon church also took a stand opposing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in the 1970s. While LDS women were split, the church’s Relief Society came out against the amendment and in October 1976 a First Presidency statement opposed the ERA. The church’s stand influenced the vote in Utah, Florida, Virginia, and Illinois and affected states such as Idaho that attempted to reverse their ratification of the amendment.

Besides opposing the ERA, Mormons attended state activities for the International Women’s Year. Mormons tended to vote as a bloc against what they saw as liberal proposals. The Mormon church also made national news when an outspoken supporter of the ERA, Sonia Johnson, was excommunicated from the Mormon church. The Mormon Women’s Forum, a group of Mormon feminists seeking to reform the church, looks at what its members see as the suppressive influence of the church on Mormon women and examines such issues as the ordination of women to the priesthood.

The First Presidency also spoke out against the location of the MX missile system in Utah and Nevada in 1981. The church issued a statement declaring, “Our fathers came to this western area to establish a base from which to carry the gospel of peace to the peoples of the earth.” It continued, “It is ironic, and a denial of the very essentials of that gospel, that in this same general area there should be a mammoth weapons system potentially capable of destroying much of civilization.” The federal government then suggested moving the project to Wyoming and later abandoned the project altogether.

The Mormon church also spoke out on other issues. Leaders came out strongly against abortion. Utah passed one of the most pro-life legislation packages in the United States in 1991. In 1992 the LDS church opposed a pari-mutuel betting proposal in the state of Utah; several general authorities mentioned this subject in the October General Conference just before the election. The measure was defeated.

Other than speaking out on issues and encouraging members to vote and be involved in the political process, Mormon leaders do not officially support any political party. Almost half of the American Mormon population are Republicans. The rest are independents, Democrats, and small political party members. Mormons tend to be conservative no matter which political party they belong to.

MILITARY

One of Joseph Smith’s Articles of Faith, a 13-statement creed of belief, says that Mormons believe in being “subject” to governments and “honoring” the laws of the land. Church leaders asked members to participate in the armed forces of their countries, even when that meant that Mormons fought against each other. During World War II and the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts, Mormon leaders restricted the missionary efforts and discouraged draft dodgers and conscientious objectors. Mormons have changed the way that they view wars. In the early church, Latter-day Saints looked for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. They viewed the Civil War as the beginning of the “wars and rumors of wars” that were prophesied would proceed the millennium. Mormons saw the Spanish American War that came immediately after Utah received statehood as a chance to prove their loyalty to America. Like other Americans, Mormons saw World War I as a “just war” to end all wars. World War II was seen as a necessary battle to save democracy and remove dictators.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich won the Pulitzer Prize for nonfiction for her book *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. Ulrich is a professor of history at the University of New Hampshire. Mormons also publish scholarly journals that deal with various aspects of LDS life. The first journal addressed to the intellectual community was *Brigham Young University Studies* (1959). In 1966 scholars formed *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, an independent voice, despite disapproval from many in the church's hierarchy. Other autonomous periodicals followed including the *Journal of Mormon History* (1974), *Exponent II* (1974), and *Sunstone* (1975). The Mormon History Association publishes the *Journal of Mormon History*. The rest are published by small groups devoted to the need for an independent organ for Mormon scholars.

ART AND MUSIC

President Spencer W. Kimball (1895-1985) encouraged Mormons to develop an art form of their own. Mormons have attempted to do this throughout the church's history. They formed musical groups, especially bands, during the nineteenth century. They also participated in choral singing on a local and church-wide basis. Several Mormon regional choirs are very successful. The best-known choir is the Mormon Tabernacle Choir that presents a weekly program on CBS Radio and Television. Equally well-known is the Osmond family, which has had many different successful music groups, whether it was the Osmond Brothers, or brother and sister act Donny and Marie. Mormons have also encouraged plays and theatrical productions. In 1861 the church built the Salt Lake Theater that was the center of drama in the Rocky Mountain West for years. Dramas have continued on a local and churchwide basis over the years. The church also sponsors pageants depicting the Mormon past at historic sites throughout the United States. The most noted is the Hill Cumorah Pageant near Palmyra, New York, which enacts the history of the *Book of Mormon* and Joseph Smith's early life.

Mormons have used motion pictures as missionary and teaching tools. One of the first was *Man's Search for Happiness*, produced for the 1967 World's Fair in New York City. Since then, the church has produced television specials and other motion pictures. In 1993, for example, the church

started showing *Legacy*, a dramatic presentation of early Mormon history, in the restored Hotel Utah, now known as the Joseph Smith Memorial Building.

Mormon artists have used their talents to express church messages. During the 1880s and 1890s, Mormon painters went as missionaries to Paris to learn the impressionist art. They returned to paint murals for the Salt Lake Temple. Other Mormon painters contributed stained glass windows and other paintings to chapels. As the church has grown worldwide, artists from many countries have adapted their native art forms to portray Mormon themes. The church-owned Museum of Church History and Art sponsors art competitions to help collect and display the art produced from around the world. Brigham Young University has a large collection of painting and sculpture in its Museum of Art.

CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

Amy Brown Lyman (1872-1959) served on the Relief Society general board and as president of that organization from 1940 to 1944. Lyman was active in church and state welfare programs. James O. Mason (1930-) worked in the LDS church welfare services and then in the Utah Department of Health. In 1989 he was appointed head of the U.S. Public Health Service. He retired from the federal government in 1992 and was called to be a member of the Second Quorum of Seventy in the LDS church. Eliza R. Snow (1804-1887) served as secretary of the Relief Society in Nauvoo, Illinois, and president in Utah. Snow wrote poems; some are LDS hymns. She was a plural wife of Joseph Smith, and after Smith's death, she became a plural wife of Brigham Young. Emmaline Blanche Wells (1828-1921) was editor of the *Women's Exponent* for nearly four decades and general president of the Relief Society for over a decade. Active in women's suffrage, she was a friend of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

JOURNALISM

Since the early church, Mormons have published newspapers and magazines. Some important U.S. publications include the *Evening and Morning Star* (Independence, Missouri, 1832-1833; Kirtland, Ohio, 1833-1834), the *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois, 1839-1946); and the *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, Iowa, 1849-1852). Once in Utah the Mormons started a newspaper, the *Desert News* (1850-) that is ongoing. Women established a quasi-Mormon women's paper, the *Woman's Exponent* (1872-1914). It was replaced by an official

magazine, the *Relief Society Magazine* (1914-1970). The church also sponsored a Sunday School magazine, the *Juvenile Instructor*, a young women's magazine, and the *Children's Friend*. The general church magazine was the *Improvement Era* (1897-1970). In 1970 the church started three new magazines, the *Ensign* for adults, the *New Era* for teenagers, and the *Friend* for children.

LITERATURE

Mormons have also written novels, stories, and poems about the LDS experience. Vardis Fisher (1895-1968) wrote from a Mormon background. Others with Latter-day Saint backgrounds who wrote about Mormon themes include Samuel Taylor (1906-), Virginia Sorsensen (1912-1992), and Maurine Whipple (1904-1993). Another contemporary Mormon author is Levi Peterson (1933-), who writes novels (*Backslider*) and short stories (*Canyons of Grace*). Mormon authors formed the Association of Mormon Letters to promote literary study.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Mormons have also been involved in technological inventions, although most of these innovations have had little to do with their Mormon past. One exception is the development of irrigation. The community-minded Mormons worked out a system to share water in the arid west. They developed irrigation companies and ways to share the limited water resources. Later other Mormons improved these methods and shared them throughout the United States and the world. John A. Widstoe (1872-1952) was among the first Mormons who went east in the 1890s to study science at secular universities. Widstoe directed the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station and was a professor of chemistry at the Utah State Agricultural College. He developed dry farming and irrigation methods. Henry Eyring (1901-1981), a chemist, developed the absolute rate theory of chemical reactions and received the National Medal of Science. He served as president of several leading scientific organizations. Harvey Fletcher (1884-1981), a physicist, worked for Bell Labs and helped develop stereophonic reproduction. James Chipman Fletcher (1919-1992) was the director of NASA from 1971 to 1977. He was asked to return to that position after the Challenger disaster and remained from 1986 to 1989.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Terrell H. Bell (1921-) was the secretary of education in the early 1980s under President Ronald Reagan. Ezra Taft Benson (1899-1994) served as president of the LDS church. Benson also served as secretary of agriculture under President Dwight D. Eisenhower and was active in farm organizations. David M. Kennedy (1925-), a banker, was the secretary of the treasury under president Richard Nixon from 1969-1971, an ambassador-at-large from 1971-1973, and the ambassador to NATO from 1972-1973. He later became an ambassador-at-large for the LDS church. Rex Lee (1935-) was U.S. solicitor general. In 1989 he has become president of Brigham Young University. George Romney (1912-) was president and general manager of American Motors (1954-1962), governor of the state of Michigan (1963-1967), and a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Stewart L. Udall (1920-) served as secretary of the interior in the 1960s under president John F. Kennedy.

SPORTS

Many Mormons have achieved fame in athletics. These include professional baseball players such as Dale Murphy, basketball players such as Danny Ainge, football players such as Steve Young, and golfers such as Johnny Miller. Mormons have also excelled in amateur sports, including athletes Henry Marsh, Doug Padilla, Ed Eyestone, and Jay Silvester in track and field.

MEDIA

PRINT

Affinity.

Monthly publication of the Affirmation/Gay and Lesbian Mormons. Promotes understanding, tolerance, and acceptance of gay men and lesbians as full, equal, and worthy members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and society. Provides a forum for dialogue between members and church leaders and examines the consistency of homosexual behavior and the Gospel. Studies ways of reconciling sexual orientation with traditional Mormon beliefs.

Contact: James Kent, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 46022, Los Angeles,
California 90046.

Telephone: (213) 255-7251.

Church News.

A weekly publication that includes the activities of Mormons worldwide. It is published as an insert in the Mormon-owned *Deseret News*.

Contact: Dell Van Orden, Editor.

Address: 40 E. South Temple, P.O. Box 30178,
Salt Lake City, Utah 84130.

Telephone: (800) 453-3876; or (801) 534-1515.

Fax: (801) 578-3338.

Online: <http://www.deseretnews.com/cn-home.htm>.

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.

Quarterly scholarly journal examining the relevance of religion to secular life and expressing Mormon culture.

Contact: Martha Bradley, Co-Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 658, Salt Lake City,
Utah 84110-0658.

Telephone: (801) 363-9988.

Ensign.

A monthly magazine published by the Mormon church for its adult English-speaking members. It includes a message from the First Presidency and articles concerning LDS life and members. A section includes "News of the Church."

Contact: Jay M. Todd, Managing Editor.

Address: 50 East North Temple, 23rd Floor,
Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

Telephone: (800) 453-3860; or (801) 240-2950.

Fax: (801) 240-5997.

E-mail: majones@chg.byu.edu.

Exponent II.

Quarterly newspaper for Mormon women.

Contact: Susan L. Paxman, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 37, Arlington,
Massachusetts 02174.

Telephone: (617) 862-1928.

Fax: (617) 868-3464.

Friend.

An LDS church magazine for children. Its stories and articles provide information for youth ages three to 12.

Contact: Vivian Paulsen, Editor.

Address: 50 East North Temple, 23rd Floor,
Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

New Era.

A Mormon publication for teenagers and young adults. Its articles focus on the concerns of young people.

Contact: Richard M. Romney, Editor.

Address: 50 East North Temple, 23rd Floor,
Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

Sunstone: Mormon Experience, Scholarship, Issues, and Art.

Magazine published by Sunstone Foundation, which also sponsors symposiums in the United States. (In 1992 the Mormon church's First Presidency and Council of Twelve issued a statement cautioning against Mormons participating in symposiums, and many felt this referred to Sunstone.)

Contact: Elbert Peck, Editor.

Address: 343 North 300 West, Salt Lake City,
Utah, 84103-1215.

Telephone: (801) 355-5926.

Fax: (801) 355-4043.

This People: Exploring LDS Issues and Personalities.

Quarterly magazine for members of the LDS church.

Contact: Jim Bell, Editor.

Address: Utah Alliance Publishing, P.O. Box
50748, Provo, Utah 84605.

Telephone: (801) 375-1700.

Fax: (801) 375-1703.

RADIO**Bonneville LDS Radio Network.**

The media corporation owned by the LDS church; provides a 24-hour radio service that is sent by satellite to church members who own satellite receivers. It is also repeated by a few stations across the nation as an FM sideband service.

Contact: Richard Linford.

Address: P.O. Box 1160, Salt Lake City,
Utah 84110-1160.

Telephone: (801) 575-7505.

Bonneville International also operates radio stations throughout the United States: KIDR-AM (740) in Phoenix, Arizona; KIRO-AM (710) and KWMX-FM (101) in Seattle, Washington; KOIT-FM (96.5) and KOIT-AM (1260) in San Francisco, California; KZLA-FM (93.9) and KBIG-FM (104.3) in Los Angeles, California; KSL-AM (1160) in Salt Lake City, Utah; KHTC-FM (96.9) and KIDR-AM (740) in Phoenix, Arizona; KMBZ-AM (980) in Westwood, Kansas; KLDE-FM (94.5)

in Houston, Texas; KZPS-FM (92.5) and KAAM-AM (1310) in Dallas, Texas; WDBZ-FM (105.1) in New York City; WGMS-AM (103.5) in Washington, D.C.; and WLUP-FM (97.9) and WNND-FM (100.3) in Chicago, Illinois. These are commercial stations. At least one station in each operating area carries the CBS broadcast "Music and the Spoken Word," and some carry one or more sessions of the LDS General Conference.

LDS Public Communications.

Produces a weekly "News of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" and other public affairs programs that are packaged and sent to radio stations.

Contact: Gerry Pond, Producer.

Address: LDS Church Headquarters, 50 East North Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

TELEVISION, BROADCAST, AND CABLE SERVICES

Bonneville International Corporation.

Operates two television stations, KIRO-TV, Channel 7 in Seattle, Washington, and KSL-TV in Salt Lake City, Utah. These operate as commercial stations and do not regularly carry unique Mormon programming. The LDS church Public Communications airs shows on the cable system religious station VISIONS.

Address: LDS Church Headquarters, 50 East North Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Affirmation/Gay and Lesbian Mormons.

Members of the Mormon church; friends, relatives, and interested individuals whose purpose is to promote understanding, tolerance, and acceptance of gay men and lesbians as full, equal, and worthy members of the church and society. Studies ways of reconciling sexual orientation with traditional Mormon beliefs.

Contact: Tianna Owens, Executive Director.

Address: P.O. Box 46022, Los Angeles, California 90046.

Telephone: (213) 255-7251.

Online: <http://www.affirmation.org/affadmin>.

Mormon History Association.

Promotes the study of the Mormon past. It publishes the *Journal of Mormon History*, a biannual scholarly publication.

Contact: Craig and Suzanne Foster, Executive Secretaries.

Address: 2470 North 1000 West, Layton, Utah.

Telephone: (801) 773-4620.

Fax: (801) 779-1348.

E-Mail: suzannefoster@bigplanet.com.

Mormon Social Science Association.

Encourages the study of Mormon life.

Contact: Lynn Payne, Secretary-Treasurer.

Address: Sociology Department, A 800 SWKT, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

Young Women of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (YW).

Founded in 1869. Description: Girls between the ages of 12 and 18. Seeks to strengthen the spiritual life of young women through Christian values and experiences. Reinforces the values of faith, divine nature, individual worth, knowledge, choice and accountability, good works, and integrity. Works to develop leadership attributes in young women through service in the community. Bestows Young Womanhood Medallion for special achievement.

Contact: Margaret D. Nadauld, President.

Address: 76 North Main, Salt Lake City, Utah 84150.

Telephone: (801) 240-2141.

Fax: (801) 240-5458.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Charles Redd Center for Western Studies

Integral unit of Brigham Young University. History, anthropology, economic development, literature, folklore, social development, politics, and other activities relating to western development, including studies on Mormon history.

Contact: Dr. Edward A. Geary, Director.

Address: 5042 Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah 84602.

Telephone: (801) 378-4048.

Fax: (801) 378-6708.

E-mail: gearye@jkhbhrc-byu.edu.

Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History.

Integral unit of Brigham Young University. History of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its followers (Mormons).

Contact: Dr. Ronald K. Esplin, Director.
Address: 127 Knight Mangum Building, Provo,
Utah 84602.
Telephone: (801) 378-4023.
Fax: (801) 378-4049.
E-mail: jfsi@byu.edu.

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MOROCCAN AMERICANS

by
Elizabeth Shostak

OVERVIEW

Morocco, a country slightly larger than the state of California, is situated in northwestern Africa and is the African nation closest in location to Europe. It is bordered on the east by Algeria and to the south by Western Sahara. To its north is the Mediterranean Sea and to its west is the Atlantic Ocean. Morocco's two coasts are separated by the Strait of Gibraltar, a strategic point that guards entry to the Mediterranean from the west. Only 10 miles across the Strait to the north lies Spain. Morocco's total land area is 177,117 square miles (458,730 square kilometers), of which only 21 percent is farmable land. Two northeast-southwest mountain ranges, the Rif and the Atlas Mountains, bisect the country and occupy more than a third of its total area. Morocco's maximum north-south dimension is 825 miles, and its maximum east-west dimension is 475 miles. Its capital city is Rabat, on the Atlantic coast. Its principal economic and cultural center is Casablanca, also on the Atlantic coast.

Morocco's population in 1998 was estimated at 29,114,497. Of this number, the majority of Moroccans—approximately 75 percent—are of Berber ancestry. Arabs make up the second largest group, and smaller numbers of black Africans and French are also represented. Ninety-eight percent of the population is Muslim. Christians comprise only 1.1 percent of the population, and Jews only 0.2 percent. Arabic is the official language of Morocco,

Evidence indicates that Azemmuri, a Moroccan boat pilot from Azemmour, landed in America before Columbus. It is also possible that a few Sephardic Jews from Morocco made their way to the United States early in the twentieth century by way of South America.

although French continues to be used frequently in business and government matters; Spanish is also used. Berber dialects are also spoken, particularly in rural areas. Morocco is a constitutional monarchy; its chief of state is King Mohamed VI (since July 24, 1999). The country is governed by a bicameral Parliament and follows a legal system based on Islamic law and French and Spanish civil law. Morocco's flag consists of a red field with a green five-pointed star—known as Solomon's seal—in its center.

Morocco has relatively high birth and population growth rates, which exacerbate housing shortages and a high level of unemployment. The lack of health care and social services are also significant issues. The country has a mixed economy, but continues to have a relatively low GNP and a surplus of unskilled labor.

HISTORY

Morocco's early history was shaped by pre-Arabic, Arabic, and Jewish influences. The Berbers, a group of non-Arabic tribes scattered throughout North Africa, inhabited Morocco by the end of the second millennium B.C. Many Berbers were settled farmers, though some groups were nomadic. They raised crops and pastured their flocks in Morocco's mountainous inland regions. Phoenician merchants established trading ports along Morocco's Mediterranean coast in the twelfth century B.C. Their presence brought increased commerce to the region and introduced new skills to the Berbers, including weaving, masonry, and iron and metal work. By the fifth century B.C., the Phoenicians had expanded their ports along Morocco's Atlantic coast, as well. After the Roman Empire defeated Carthage, Morocco's Berber King Juba (25 B.C.-24 A.D.) encouraged his country to ally itself with Rome. In 46 A.D. Morocco was annexed as part of the province of Mauretania to the Roman Empire. It is believed that during the period of Roman rule, the province was almost entirely converted to Christianity.

The Jewish presence in Morocco was established before the country became a Roman colony. Small groups of Jews entered the area in the first century A.D. after they had been forced out of their ancestral land. From 1391 through the last decades of the fifteenth century, *Sephardim*, Jews who had settled in Spain and Portugal, fled to Morocco and other North African countries to escape the Inquisition. There they engaged in small crafts or trades, such as silversmithing, and often moved from town to town. By 1438 the Jews in Fez were forced to live in special quarters called *mellahs*. This term derived from the Arabic word for salt, and referred to the

fact that Jews were given the job of salting the heads of executed prisoners to prepare them for public exhibition.

In the late seventh century, the Arab conquest brought Islam to Morocco. Though the Berbers fiercely resisted Arab control, and in 740 staged a successful revolt against Damascus rule, Arab religious, social, and linguistic traditions remained a central part of Moroccan culture. After regaining their independence from the Arabs, various Berber factions vied for control in the area, leading to a series of local wars that spanned almost 300 years. Finally, around the middle of the eleventh century, a confederation of tribes called the Almoravids conquered all of Morocco, as well as much of Spain. Early in the twelfth century the Almohads, another clan, overthrew the Almoravid dynasty and assumed rule. By the thirteenth century, the Almohads were expelled from Spain; in 1269 they were defeated in Morocco by the Marinids. Marinid rule lasted until the mid-fifteenth century, after which the country was partitioned into small independent states. Around 1550, the Sa'dis took control and remained in power for the next century. The North African tribes who conquered Spain were commonly known as Moors.

MODERN ERA

During the 1800s, European interest in North Africa increased, with France and Spain vying for power in the region. France invaded Algeria in 1830, and eventually became the dominant colonial power in the area. The Treaty of Fez, signed in 1912, made Morocco a French protectorate. This new status resulted in improved conditions for Moroccan Jews, who were given equality and religious autonomy. However, when the official French government at Vichy cooperated with Nazi rule during World War II, the situation became more precarious. Although King Muhammed V prevented the deportation of Jews from Morocco during World War II, thereby saving them from almost certain death in Nazi concentration camps, they faced increasingly harsh conditions in Morocco. By 1948 most of the estimated 270,000 Jews in Morocco left its poverty and discrimination for new opportunities in Israel, France, Canada, and the United States. The vast majority of these emigrants settled in Israel.

In the years following World War II, anti-colonial agitation increased throughout Asia and Africa. Morocco pushed for independence from France, which was negotiated in 1956, when Sultan Sidi Muhammad formed a constitutional government. A series of attempted military coups, howev-

er, prevented the new parliamentary government from assuming its duties until 1977. Morocco's constitution, signed in 1972 and revised in 1980 and 1992, gives supreme executive power to the hereditary king, who appoints a prime minister. The constitution also created a House of Representatives and an independent judiciary.

Although modern Morocco has instituted land reforms and economic modernization initiatives, and has strenuously developed its tourism industry, by the late 1990s the country was still experiencing problems typical of developing nations: high government spending and inflation, a huge external debt, limited access to health care, poor housing and living conditions, and high unemployment. With an estimated birth rate of 26.37 births per 1,000 people—resulting chiefly from Muslim opposition to family planning measures—Morocco is faced with a relatively high rate of population growth (estimated at 1.89 percent). Moreover, approximately two-fifths of the country's population is younger than 15 years of age. Morocco's high unemployment rate, estimated between 16 and 20 percent, particularly affects this segment of the population. Migration has emerged as a significant means of relieving unemployment, which, according to a 1999 article in *The Economist*, brings about \$2 billion a year into Morocco, providing the country with its second-largest source of hard currency.

With average wages in nearby Europe about 20 times higher than that in North Africa, migrants have increasingly attempted to enter Spain, France, and Italy from Morocco to obtain work. But by the end of the 1990s, the European Union began limiting visas for North Africans and barring illegal migrants from entering Europe. The elimination of access to European jobs caused significant problems in Morocco. Some Moroccan workers sought illegal entry to Spain—a practice fraught with dangers: *The Economist* reported in 1999 that, during the preceding five years alone, 3,000 Moroccans had drowned in illegal attempts to cross the Strait of Gibraltar to enter Spain. This situation affected mostly unskilled workers; those Moroccans with higher levels of education and job skills were able to consider emigration to the United States.

THE FIRST MOROCCANS IN AMERICA

Moroccan presence in America was quite rare until the middle of the twentieth century, but it is believed that Moroccans may have been present in the country from the earliest years of European exploration. Evidence indicates that Azemmuri, a Moroccan boat pilot from Azemmour, landed in America before

Columbus. It is also possible that a few Sephardic Jews from Morocco made their way to the United States early in the twentieth century by way of South America. In the early 1800s, large numbers of young Moroccan Jewish men, seeking to escape crowded conditions and poverty in their native country, went to the Amazon region in South America. They settled in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, and Belem, where they established a synagogue in 1824. These young men were instrumental in developing the Amazon's rubber trade, and enjoyed substantial business success. Many returned home after making their fortunes, but others remained in South America. In 1910, however, the South American rubber industry collapsed, and the Moroccan Jews left the area, either returning to North Africa or moving on going to other opportunities in the western hemisphere. Although little documentation exists to trace their various routes, it is possible that some of them entered the United States.

Though the Moroccan American community is relatively new, America's relationship with Morocco dates from the very beginning of U.S. history. Morocco was the first country to grant official recognition to the newly formed United States of America after the country obtained independence from Great Britain.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Although the vast majority of Sephardic Jews who left Morocco after World War II went to Israel, sporadic waves entered the United States. Motivated by the desire to escape difficult social and economic conditions in North Africa, they tended to settle in areas where earlier Sephardic immigrants from Spain, Turkey, or the Balkans had established communities. Arabized Moroccans, however, did not begin to enter the United States in significant numbers until much later in the century, after American immigration laws lifted national quotas, based on data from the 1920 census, that had favored the entry of immigrants from northern and western Europe. Another factor that inhibited earlier Moroccan migration to the United States was the relative proximity of Europe. Until very late in the 1990s, Spain and France welcomed unskilled migrants from Morocco and other North African countries. It was easy, inexpensive, and quick to go back and forth across the Strait of Gibraltar, making this option attractive for workers who hoped to improve their earnings but then return to their homes and families. Furthermore, Spain's Moorish heritage and France's colonial dominance of the Maghreb had established strong cultural and linguistic connections between these countries and

Morocco. This undoubtedly eased the transition for migrants who sought opportunities there.

While Moroccans who migrated to European countries were typically unskilled workers hoping to escape their country's high unemployment rate, those who came to the United States from approximately the late 1970s through the 1990s tended to have more education and better job skills. They settled in urban areas, especially in New York City, New England, the District of Columbia, California, and Texas, where they often established small businesses or entered professional fields. By the late 1990s, a large proportion of Moroccans in the United States were students or recent university graduates. In general, the number of Moroccan immigrants remains relatively low. The 1990 U.S. census counted only 21,529 foreign-born Moroccans residing in the United States; 15,004 census respondents listed Moroccan as their first ancestry, while 4,074 listed it as their second ancestry.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Sephardic Jews who immigrated to the United States from Morocco were generally attracted to areas where other Sephardim lived. Within these communities, they shared religious, linguistic, and cultural traditions that both united them with the country's larger Jewish community but also set them apart. The vast majority of American Jews are of *Ashkenazi* descent, meaning that their ancestors had settled in Germany and Eastern Europe. These groups developed cultural traditions that differed from those observed by the Sephardim. Sephardic Jews, for example, spoke Ladino and Arabic rather than Yiddish or German, pronounced Hebrew words differently from the Ashkenazim, used different melodies in religious services, and served North African or Iberian versions of kosher foods during holidays. Some Sephardic Jews in America have felt that their culture is little appreciated, and resent the fact that Ashkenazi traditions have largely determined American conceptions of Jewishness. In addition, some have felt that their relatively dark skin has caused them to be treated with prejudice. Yet their shared Jewish identity still connected Sephardic immigrants with those of Ashkenazi descent and helped them adapt to life in the United States, where the Jewish community has worked hard to combat anti-Semitic attitudes and to achieve social and economic success.

Arabs in the United States have also had to deal with prejudice. Americans have been less

exposed to Islam than to Judaism or Christianity, and have sometimes been suspicious of Muslims. In addition, the country's strong political ties to Israel have also fostered mistrust of Arabic groups—in particular the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which for decades perpetrated terrorist acts against Israel. The activities of other extremist Islamic groups, such as the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, have created negative stereotypes of Arabs in the United States. Although Moroccans' history has differed dramatically from that of Middle Eastern Arabs, Americans have tended to view all Arabs as a monolithic group. Because Moroccans typically entered the United States with high levels of education and job skills, however, the Moroccan American community has generally encountered a positive environment.

CUISINE

Situated on the route of the Arabia-North Africa spice trade, Morocco developed traditional foods enhanced by such exotic flavorings as cinnamon, ginger, turmeric, saffron, cumin, cayenne, anise, and sesame seed. Native crops of mint, olives, oranges, lemons, prickly pear, pomegranates, almonds, dates, walnuts, chestnuts, barley, melons, and cherries further increased available ingredients. Fish was plentiful along the Atlantic coast, whereas inland areas produced lamb and poultry as well as honey.

In Morocco, the main meal is eaten at mid-day (except during the holy month of *Ramadan*, in which the Muslim faithful fast until sundown). A typical main meal begins with hot and cold salads. Among the most commonly served are a tomato and green pepper salad, similar to Spanish *gazpacho*. Other popular salads are made with mixed herbs, with eggplant, or with greens and oranges. *Tabbouleh*, a cracked wheat salad flavored with parsley and popular throughout North Africa and the Middle East, is commonly served in Morocco, as are *hummus*, a spicy chick-pea pate, and *falafel*, spicy fried fava bean patties.

Following the salad course, Moroccan cooks typically serve main dishes that include meat and vegetables, followed by *couscous*. One of the most familiar Moroccan foods in American supermarkets, *couscous* is made from grains of very fine semolina (wheat) and is steamed until barely soft. It has a delicate, rather bland taste that sets off the spicier flavors in the dishes that accompany it.

Other dishes include chicken with lemon and olives, a traditional Moroccan favorite. Another popular dish is chicken *tagine*, which includes butter, onions, pepper, saffron, chick peas, almonds, and



The wide and varied tastes that Americans have developed for foreign cuisine has sparked many different ethnic restaurants all around the country. This Moroccan restaurant is newly opened in New York City.

lemon. Chicken is also stuffed with raisins, almonds, rice, or eggs. Moroccans often use fish in stews, but also serve it fried or stuffed. A popular recipe that suggests a strong Spanish influence combines fish with tomatoes, green peppers, and potatoes. Lamb, which has been called the “king of the Moroccan table,” is served in a variety of ways. *Mechoui* is a holiday dish in which lamb is seasoned with paprika, cumin, butter and salt and then roasted. Lamb is also roasted on skewers as *shish kebab*, or can be braised, browned, or steamed. *Kefta* is a mixture of spicy lamb or beef that is rolled into a sausage shape and then cooked on a skewer or broiled. It is also rolled into meatballs that are used in tagines.

Other traditional Moroccan dishes include *bis-teeeya*, a savory pastry with possible Persian or Chinese origins. In this dish, layers of shredded chicken, eggs curdled in lemon-onion sauce, and sweetened almonds are wrapped in a paper-thin pastry called *warka*, then sprinkled with cinnamon and sugar. Moroccans also enjoy both Arab-style bread and pita bread. Though desserts are not frequently served, sweetened green tea flavored with fresh mint traditionally ends the meal on a sweet note.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The *kaftan*, a long, loose-fitting long robe, is still worn throughout much of Morocco in both rural and urban areas. It is a garment well suited to Morocco’s climate, protecting wearers from the harsh sun and allowing for ventilation, but also providing warmth for chilly nights. The traditional headgear for Moroccan men is the *fez*, named after the Moroccan city of the same name. It is a close-fitting red felt hat with a flattened top and a tassel worn to the side. The *fez* became common throughout much of the Islamic world but is thought to have originated in Morocco. In earlier years, Moroccan women, like those in other Islamic countries, wore veils to cover their faces in public. Although this custom has largely disappeared in urban parts of the country, women in rural areas sometimes still wear full or partial veils.

DANCES AND SONGS

An Arabic dance tradition that has become familiar to many Americans is belly dancing. The term refers to the closely-controlled abdominal move-

ments the female dancers make to achieve a rapid rhythmic swaying of the belly and hips. Belly dancers wear a tight garment similar to a brassiere, and wide, flowing trousers gathered at the ankle. They use coordinating long scarves or shawls to accentuate their graceful arm and hand movements, and often ornament their brows with headbands decorated with jewels or old coins. Belly dancing is often offered as entertainment at Moroccan American restaurants. During the 1970s and 1980s, many non-Arabic American women became interested in learning how to do belly dancing. They noted that it requires a surprising degree of athleticism and artistic skill.

Moroccan music reflects the country's hybrid culture, blending Arabic, African, and European influences. *Gnaoua* music, which includes strenuous acrobatic dancing, combines religious Arabic songs with African rhythms. *Andaloussi* music is traced to Abu Hassan Ali Ben Nafi, who fled Baghdad in the ninth century to settle in Cordoba, in the part of Spain then ruled by Morocco. More popular, or folk, music is called *Chaabi*. Many contemporary Moroccan singers record in this style. Instruments used in traditional Moroccan music include the *tbal*, a double-headed drum, and the *querqbat*, or metal castanets. Others are the *tambour* (tambourine); the *oudh*, or lute; the *buzuq*, a larger and deep-toned stringed instrument; the *rebab*, a stringed instrument something like a dulcimer and played with a bow; the *tablah*, a small hand drum; and the *qanun*, similar to a zither. Two reed instruments are also used: the *ney*, a single reed pipe; and the *maqrum*, a double-reed clarinet.

HOLIDAYS

Moroccan Americans who are Muslims celebrate the Islamic holy month of Ramadan. Occurring late in the calendar year, Ramadan is a period of fasting and purification. During the 30 days of Ramadan, nothing—no food, drink, or cigarette smoke—is allowed to pass the lips from daybreak to sunset. This 12-hour fast is then broken each night with the *iftar*, a celebratory family meal. During Ramadan, the faithful donate food and money to the needy, and spend time in prayer. Although non-Muslims might consider Ramadan a period of hardship, for many Muslims it is the favorite time of year. They enjoy the sense of community it brings, and note that it heightens their awareness of the plight of others. They point out that the fast provides physical benefits and helps focus mental attitudes. Ramadan ends with the *Eid el-Fitr*, a special feast during which holiday foods are served and presents are given.

LANGUAGE

Arabic is the official language of Morocco, although French is still widely used in business. Spanish is also frequently spoken, particularly in the northern regions of the country. Standard Arabic, used in newspapers and broadcasts, speeches, and correspondence, is the language of the *Qur'an* (or Koran, the sacred book of Islam), and is understood throughout the contemporary Arab world. There are, however, many different dialects of the language spoken in Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. Spoken Arabic contains sounds and patterns that differ significantly from those of English or other European languages.

Words in Arabic are composed of the root, usually made up of three consonants which establish the word's basic lexical meaning, and the pattern, which adds the vowels that give the word its grammatical sense. There are three short and three long vowels (a, I, u; a, I, u). The vowel pattern –I-a, for example, makes the root *ktb* into the word *kitab*, or book; the pattern –a-I creates the word *katib*, meaning “one who writes.” Arabic verbs are always regular. There are two tenses: the perfect, which expresses past time by adding suffixes; and the imperfect, which expresses present or future time by adding prefixes.

After the Latin alphabet, the Arabic alphabet is the most widely used writing system in the world. It was created for writing the Arabic language, but has been adapted to such diverse languages as Persian, Turkish, Spanish, Hebrew, Urdu, Berber, Malay, and Swahili. The Arabic alphabet, which was likely derived from Aramaic and Nabataean scripts, probably originated in the fourth century AD. Arabic is written from right to left and contains 28 letters, all of which represent consonants. The letters alif, waw, and ya (representing glottal stop, w, and y) represent the long vowels a, u, and i. The shapes of letters depend on whether they are placed at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. Another form is used for each letter when it is written alone.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

In Moroccan Arabic, the word for “hello” is *ahlan*. “Goodbye” is *beslama*. “How are you?” is “*Labass alaik*”? “Please” and “thank you” are *affak* and *shoukran*, respectively.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Islamic cultures, family dynamics were strictly patriarchal, with the husband accorded power and

the wife relegated to a subordinate status. Families tended to be large because of Muslim opposition to birth control. However, Berber attitudes tended to mitigate some of Islam's more misogynistic qualities in Morocco, and as the country modernized, family dynamics also changed. Divorce laws in Morocco, for example, still generally favor husbands but have been used with increasing effectiveness by wives who seek better material conditions or who wish to convince their husbands to agree to divorce. Statistics show that divorce is more common among Moroccan families of lower income than of higher income. Certainly, access to education has changed family relationships throughout much of the country as women have entered the workforce and gained more autonomy. Among Moroccan families in the United States, many women work outside the home and balance careers with family obligations.

The Moroccan American community has adapted relatively easily to America's secular urban society. But their small numbers and their dispersal throughout cities across the country have presented challenges to the maintenance of ethnic unity. Moroccans in the United States, who are scattered across the country in many different urban areas or college towns, have increasingly used the Internet to share information about themselves and keep in touch with others who share their background.

EDUCATION

Schooling in Morocco is compulsory for both girls and boys from ages seven through 15, but the country's literacy rate is only 50 percent. The figure is closer to 60 percent for males, and just above 30 percent for females. Moroccans who have settled in the United States, though, generally had relatively levels of education and skills. Many arrived as students and furthered their education at American colleges and universities. The Moroccan American community values education as an important means of acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in a commercial and high-tech economy.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Although Moroccan culture was heavily influenced by Arabic traditions, Berber customs generally accorded women more freedoms than they enjoyed in Middle Eastern Arab countries. Moroccan American women, who enjoy a relatively high level of education, are likely to work outside the home. Though women tend to enter traditionally "feminine" professions, such as teaching, increasing numbers are training in more competitive fields, such as computer science or business.

BAPTISMS

Muslim children are not baptized, although male children are circumcised. Among Arab cultures, this custom predated the arrival of Islam, but later became incorporated into Islamic tradition. There are varying opinions among different schools of Islam on the proper importance of ritual circumcision (*khitan*). Some consider it obligatory, while others consider it recommendable but not required. The age at which it is performed varies from country to country.

WEDDINGS

Weddings in Morocco are festive affairs, and often last for several days. Special garments are painstakingly woven and embroidered for the bride and groom. So important are these costumes that wedding garments from the city of Fez are exhibited on poles during parades on national holidays. Often, the bride orders several garments to be worn during the course of a long wedding. For the ceremony itself, the groom wears a long, loose-fitting garment called a *jellaba* and the bride wears the traditional long head shawl and kaftan. Special textiles are also used during the bride's henna ceremony, in which intricate patterns are traced on her hands with henna, a red dye. Traditionally, a set of velvet gold-thread embroidered accessories is used for this custom. The *mendil*, a large rectangular cloth, is placed on the bride's lap while two pillows support her arms. Two special mitts protect her decorated hands. A special domed canopy, also decorated with gold thread, is used to cover the bride and groom while they are carried on trays above their guests.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

The experience of Arabized Berbers who came to the United States from Morocco has been similar in some ways to that of Moroccan Jews. Arriving in the country much later than the Sephardim, who made their way here after World War II, Moroccan immigrants found only limited common ground with the existing Arab American community, which, until the influx of Palestinians and other Middle Eastern Arabs after the creation of Israel, had been overwhelmingly Christian. These earliest groups of Arab Americans were the descendants of Syrian Christians, mostly merchants and traders, who had moved to the United States in the late 1800s. The newer Palestinian immigrants, however, were Muslim. Moroccans shared a linguistic tradition with both these groups, and shared a religious affiliation with the Palestinians, but much in

Moroccan history and culture differed from the Middle Eastern Arab experience. Moroccan Americans have not been excluded from the many Arab American associations that emerged to counteract prejudice and advocate for better access to jobs and social services in the United States. However, few Moroccan immigrants have allied themselves with such organizations because their focus is emphatically on the conditions that affect Arab immigrants from the Middle East.

RELIGION

Islam was founded in the seventh century A.D. by the Arabian prophet Muhammed and is the religion of the overwhelming majority of Moroccans. The faith quickly spread throughout the Middle East and North Africa, and was established in Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Balkan Peninsula, Turkey, and Malaysia. By the late twentieth century, Islam was the second largest religion in the world (after Christianity), with approximately 950,726,000 followers worldwide. Those who practice Islam are known as Muslims. The principal sects of Islam include the *Sunni*, *Shi'ah*, *Sufi*, and *Ismaili* Muslims. Most Moroccans are Sunni Muslims of the Malakite order.

Islam, which is Arabic for “submission to the will of God,” is based on the *Qur'an* (also spelled Koran), the holy book considered God’s revelation to humankind. Muslims believe that the Qur’an confirms and replaces earlier books of revelation, such as the Bible, and that the Prophet Muhammed is the last and most perfect of several prophets sent by God, including Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Though Muslims consider Jesus a prophet, they reject the Christian belief that he is the Messiah. Muslims believe in one omnipotent God (Allah), angels, revealed books (sacred texts handed down to people from Allah), the prophets, and the Day of Judgment. Muslims also believe strongly in predetermination—sometimes interpreted as fatalism.

Muslims are expected to practice the Five Pillars of Islam: to recite the profession of faith (“There is no God but God, and Muhammed is the prophet of God”); to observe public and collective prayers five times a day; to pay a purification tax (*zakat*) to help support the poor; to abstain from food from sunup to sundown every day during the holy month of Ramadan; and to perform the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca. The most important religious concept of Islam is the *Shari'ah*, or the Law. The *Shari'ah* was formulated by Muslim theologians during the eighth and ninth centuries,

and encompasses teachings that address the entire way of life as commanded by God. These include such things as dietary restrictions, sexual mores, and other matters of conduct. Though some traditional Islamic countries have adhered to a very strict interpretation of these laws, such as those requiring women to cover and veil themselves in public or punishing adultery by death, more secular Islamic countries tolerate a broader range of behaviors. Morocco has historically allowed women a degree of freedom relatively high in the Islamic world.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

During the 1980s and 1990s, many Moroccans entered the United States to attend colleges, universities, graduate schools, and medical schools. After completing their education, some remained to begin careers in such professions as banking, engineering, computer science, medicine, architecture, journalism, research, and teaching. Other Moroccan immigrants have set up small businesses such as retail establishments or restaurants. Shops dealing in textiles (especially rugs), pottery, jewelry, and other handcrafts from Morocco have found a receptive clientele in the United States, as have restaurants featuring traditional Moroccan foods and entertainment.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Moroccan citizens enjoy universal adult suffrage and are familiar with the principles and processes of representative government. The Moroccan American community is still relatively new, however, and has not had sufficient time to develop extensive political networks or to lobby for particular legislation or programs in this country.

RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO

Many Moroccan Americans who have founded retail establishments maintain close business ties with Morocco, from which they obtain many goods for sale in the United States (these include rugs, other textiles, and crafts). Such trade is favorable to Morocco, and organizations in both Morocco and the United States facilitate increased reciprocal business between the two countries. In addition, many Moroccan Americans have close family members in Morocco and maintain frequent contact with them.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Because Moroccan Americans have had such a brief history in the United States, it is not yet possible to provide a comprehensive list of their achievements in various fields. The following limited list represents only the beginning of their contributions to American culture:

LITERATURE

Ruth Knafo Setton, a Sephardic Jew born in Said, Morocco, has established herself as a significant voice in American letters. Her short fiction and essays have appeared in numerous publications. Setton has received a National Endowment for the Arts fellowship and two Pennsylvania Council of Arts fellowships. She is the author of *Suleika*, and teaches at Lafayette College. Ahimsa Timoteo Bodhran, editor of two anthologies of writing by men of color, is of mixed North African Sephardic and Arab descent. His book *Yerbabuena/Mala Yerba (All My Roots Need Rain: Mixed Blood Poetry and Prose)* is forthcoming. Born in New York City, he now lives in Oakland, California.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Moroccan Forum.

The American Moroccan Forum was established to serve the Moroccan American community. The organization maintains a website with useful links to news and other information.

Address: 4200 Cathedral Ave N.W. Suite 408,
Washington, DC 20016.

Telephone: (202) 686-1171.

E-mail: Amfor@amfor.com.

Online: <http://www.amfor.com>.

Association of Moroccans in America.

Contact: Majid Fentas, Acting President.

Address: 1448 Boston Post Road, Larchmont,
New York 10538.

Telephone: (914) 833-0329.

Friends of Morocco (FOM).

Established in 1988 with the intention of "promoting educational, cultural, charitable, social, literary and scientific exchange between Morocco and the

United States of America." Maintains a "yellow pages" of organizations of interest to Moroccan Americans.

Contact: Tim Resch, President.

Address: P.O. Box 2579, Washington,
DC 20013-2579.

Telephone: (703) 660-9292.

Fax: (202) 219-0509.

E-mail: tresch@worldnet.att.net.

Online: <http://home.att.net/~morocco/index.htm>.

Moroccan American Business Council Ltd. (MABC).

MABC was created to strengthen business ties and friendly relations between Morocco and the United States.

Contact: Ron Leavell, Executive Director.

Address: 1085 Commonwealth Ave., Boston,
Massachusetts 02215.

Telephone: (617) 439-5658.

Fax: (617) 923-3725.

Moroccan American National Association (MANA).

Contact: Aziz Abbassi, President.

Address: P.O. Box 2189, Washington, DC 20013.

Telephone: (512) 258-1573.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Museum of Moroccan Art.

Address: P.O. Box 50472, Tucson,
Arizona 85703-0472.

Telephone: (602) 529-0232

Fax: (602) 529-2791.

Moroccan Studies Society.

Contact: c/o Dr. Harvey Munson, Jr.

Address: Anthropology Dept., Stevens Hall South,
University of Maine, Orono, ME 04469.

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NAVAJOS

by
D. L. Birchfield

OVERVIEW

The Navajo Nation covers a territory larger than the combined states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. It is the largest reservation-based Indian nation within the United States, both in land area and population. More than 200,000 Navajos live on the 24,000 square miles of the Navajo Nation. The Navajos' name for themselves is *Diné*, meaning "the people." The Spanish and Mexicans called them "Apaches de Navajo": "Navajo" is a modified Tewa word meaning "planted fields" and "Apache" is the Spanish version of the Zúñi word for "enemies." In 1969 the Navajo Tribal Council officially designated the nation the "Navajo Nation."

HISTORY

In the early nineteenth century, Navajos lived in what is now New Mexico in an area that was under Spanish colonial rule. Navajos lived too far from the colonists, who were concentrated in the upper Rio Grande Valley, to be subjected to the disruption of their lives that the Pueblos suffered at the hands of the Spanish. At times the Navajos were allied with the Spanish against other Indians, principally the Utes; other times the Spanish joined forces with the Utes and fought the Navajos. For the Navajos, the most important by-product of Spanish colonization in New Mexico was the introduction of horses and

Because they have remained relatively isolated from the centers of European population, because they have been able to hold onto a large part of their ancestral homeland, and because of the great distances and poor roads within the region, Navajos have been more successful than most Native Americans in retaining their culture, language, and customs.

sheep; the smooth, long-staple, non-oily wool of the Spanish churro sheep would prove ideal for weaving. When the United States claimed that it had acquired an interest in Navajo land by virtue of having won a war with Mexico in 1848, the Navajos were not particularly impressed. But when the U.S. Army arrived in force at the conclusion of the American Civil War, matters took a grim turn for the Navajo. In the army's scorched-earth campaign, led by Colonel Kit Carson, the Navajo homeland was devastated. Half of the Navajos, demoralized and starving, surrendered to the army and were marched 370 miles to the Bosque Redondo concentration camp on the Pecos River, where many of them died—2,000 of them in one year alone from smallpox. After four years of imprisonment they were allowed to return to their homeland in 1868, now reduced to one-tenth its original size by treaty that same year. They began rebuilding their lives and their herds, virtually unnoticed in an area that most Americans considered worthless desert wasteland.

MODERN ERA

Modern Navajos remain in their ancestral homelands in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. In both the 1980 and 1990 census, Arizona and New Mexico ranked third and fourth, respectively, for the largest number of Native American residents within each state. The contemporary government of the Navajos is the Navajo Nation in Window Rock, Arizona. The Navajo Nation comprises approximately 16 million acres, mostly in northeastern Arizona, but including portions of northwestern New Mexico and southeastern Utah. It is a land of vast spaces and only a few all-weather roads. Eighty-eight percent of the reservation is without telephone service and many areas do not have electricity.

The local unit of Navajo government is called the Chapter. There are more than one hundred Chapter Houses throughout the nation, which serve as local administrative centers for geographical regions. Before the 1990 tribal elections, the tribal council system of government was reorganized into executive, legislative, and judicial branches. In 1990 Navajos elected a tribal president for the first time, rather than a tribal chairman. The tribal budget exceeds \$100 million annually, with much of the revenue coming from mineral leases.

The Navajo reservation, as created by treaty in 1868, encompassed only about ten percent of the ancestral Navajo homeland. The land base soon tripled in size, largely by the addition of large blocks of land by executive orders of presidents of the United States during the late nineteenth century,

when Americans still considered most of the desert Southwest to be undesirable land. Dozens of small increments were also added by various methods until the middle of the twentieth century.

Navajos of the mid-1990s were still adjusting the boundaries of their nation, especially by trading land in an attempt to create contiguous blocks in an area called the Checkerboard, which lies along the eastern boundary of the Navajo Nation. More than 30,000 Navajos live in this 7,000 square-mile area of northwestern New Mexico. They are interspersed with Anglo and New Mexican stock raisers and involved in a nightmare of legal tangles regarding title to the land, where there are 14 different kinds of land ownership. The problems originated in the nineteenth century, when railroad companies were granted rights of way consisting of alternating sections of land. They were complicated by partial allotments of 160-acre parcels of land to some individual Navajos, the reacquisition of some parcels by the federal government as public domain land, and other factors. Crownpoint is the home of the Eastern Navajo Agency, the Navajo administrative headquarters for the Checkerboard. As recently as 1991 the Navajos were still attempting to consolidate the Checkerboard, exchanging 20,000 acres in order to achieve 80,000 acres of consolidation.

There are three isolated portions of the nation in New Mexico—satellite reservations known as the Ramah Navajo, the Cañoncito Navajo, and the Alamo Navajo. Canoncito was first settled around 1818. Ramah and Alamo had their origins in the late 1860s when some Navajos settled in these areas on their way back toward the Navajo homeland from imprisonment at the U.S. Army concentration camp at Bosque Redondo; approximately half the Navajos had been incarcerated there. Ramah is rural and is a bastion of traditional Navajo life. More than 1,500 Navajos live at Ramah, which is between the pueblos of Zuñi and Acoma, near the El Malpais National Monument. More than 1,700 Navajos live at Canoncito, which is to the east of Mt. Taylor near the pueblos of Laguna and Isleta, and more than 2,000 live at Alamo, which is south of the pueblos of Acoma and Laguna.

THE FIRST NAVAJOS IN AMERICA

Navajos and Apaches, as members of the Athapaskan language family, are generally believed to have been among the last peoples to have crossed the land bridge from Siberia to Alaska thousands of years ago during the last Ice Age. The Athapaskan language family is one of the most widely dispersed language families in North America, and most of

Members of the Navajo tribe sit together in this 1939 photograph.



its members still reside in the far north in Alaska and Canada.

SETTLEMENT

It is not known, and will probably never be known, exactly when the Navajos and Apaches (Southwestern Athapaskans) began migrating from the far north to the Southwest or what route they took. Linguists who study changes in language and then estimate how long related languages have been separated have offered the year 1000 A.D. as an approximate date for the beginning of the migration. It is clear, however, that the Southwestern Athapaskan did not arrive in the Southwest until at least the end of the fourteenth century. Until that time what is now known as the Navajo homeland was inhabited by one of the most remarkable civilizations of ancient people in North America, the Ancestral Puebloans. Ancestral Puebloan ruins are among the most spectacular ruins in North America—especially their elaborate cliff dwellings, such as the ones at Mesa Verde National Park, and such communities as Chaco Canyon, where multistory stone masonry

apartment buildings and large underground kivas can still be seen today.

Scholars originally thought that the arrival of the Southern Athapaskan in the Southwest was a factor in the collapse of the Ancestral Puebloan civilization. It is now known that the Ancestral Puebloans expanded to a point where they had stretched the delicate balance of existence in their fragile, arid environment to where it could not withstand the severe, prolonged droughts that occurred at the end of the fourteenth century. In all likelihood, the Ancestral Puebloans had moved close to the more dependable sources of water along the watershed of the upper Rio Grande River and had reestablished themselves as the Pueblo peoples by the time the Navajos entered the Southwest. The Navajos then claimed this empty land as their own. They first settled in what they call *Dimetah*, which means “homeland of the Diné,” in the far northwestern corner of what is now New Mexico. After they acquired sheep and horses from the Spanish—which revolutionized their lives—and acquired cultural and material attributes from the Pueblos—which further enhanced their ability to adjust to the environment

of the Southwest—the Navajos then spread out into all of *Diné Bikeyah*, “the Navajo country.”

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Because they have remained relatively isolated from the centers of European population, because they have been able to hold onto a large part of their ancestral homeland, and because of the great distances and poor roads within the region, Navajos have been more successful than most Native Americans in retaining their culture, language, and customs. Until early in the twentieth century Navajos were also able to carry out their traditional way of life and support themselves with their livestock, remaining relatively unnoticed by the dominant culture. Boarding schools, the proliferation of automobiles and roads, and federal land management policies—especially regarding traditional Navajo grazing practices—have all made the reservation a different place than what it was in the late nineteenth century. As late as 1950 paved roads ended at the fringes of the reservation at Shiprock, Cameron, and Window Rock. Even wagons were not widely used until the early 1930s. By 1974, however, almost two-thirds of all Navajo households owned an automobile. Navajos are finding ways to use some changes to support traditional culture, such as the adult education program at Navajo Community College, which assists in teaching the skills that new Navajo medicine men must acquire in order to serve their communities. Bilingual education programs and broadcast and publishing programs in the Navajo language are also using the tools of change to preserve and strengthen traditional cultural values and language.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Navajo traditional life has remained strong. In 1941 an anthropologist interviewed an entire community of several hundred Navajos and could not find even one adult over the age of 35 who had not received traditional medical care from a “singer,” a Navajo medicine man called a *Hataali*. Today, when a new health care facility is built on the reservation it includes a room for the traditional practice of medicine by members of the Navajo Medicine Man’s Association. Virtually all of the 3,600 Navajos who served in World War II underwent the cleansing of the Enemyway ceremony upon their return from the war. There are 24 chantway ceremonies performed by singers. Some last up to nine days and require the assistance of dozens of helpers, especially dancers.

Twelve hundred different sandpainting designs are available to the medicine men for the chantways.

Large numbers of Navajos also tend to identify themselves as Christians, with most of them mixing elements of both traditional belief and Christianity. In a 1976 survey, between 25 and 50 percent called themselves Christians, the percentage varying widely by region and gender. Twenty-five thousand Navajos belong to the Native American Church, and thousands more attend its peyote ceremonies but do not belong to the church. In the late 1960s the tribal council approved the religious use of peyote, ending 27 years of persecution. The Native American Church had originally gained a stronghold on the Ute Mountain Reservation, which adjoins the Navajo Nation on the northeast. In 1936 the church began to spread to the south into the Navajo Nation, and it grew strong among the Navajos in the 1940s.

HOLIDAYS

The premier annual events open to visitors are the Navajo Fairs. One of the largest is the Northern Navajo Fair, ordinarily held on the first weekend in October, at Shiprock, New Mexico. The dance competition powwow draws dancers from throughout the continent. Another large Navajo Fair is held annually at Window Rock, usually during the first week in July. Other Navajo fairs are also held at other times during the year. All-Indian Rodeos are also popular, as are competition powwows.

NAVAJO DANCES AND SONGS

Except for powwow competition dances and singing, most Navajo traditional dances and songs are a part of healing ceremonies, at which visitors are allowed only with the permission of the family. Photography and video or tape recording of the ceremonies are not permitted without the express authorization of the healers. Charlotte Heth of the Department of Ethnomusicology, University of California, Los Angeles, noted in a chapter of *Native America: Portrait of the Peoples*, that “Apache and Navajo song style are similar: tense, nasal voices; rhythmic pulsation; clear articulation of words in alternating sections with vocables. Both Apache Crown Dancers and Navajo Yeibichei (Night Chant) dancers wear masks and sing partially in falsetto or in voices imitating the supernaturals.”

HEALTH ISSUES

The suicide rate among Navajos is 30 percent higher than the national average. Another severe prob-

lem is alcoholism. Both of these problems are exacerbated by poverty: more than half of all Navajos live below the poverty line.

Four full-service Indian hospitals are located in northwestern New Mexico. The one at Gallup is the largest in the region. The others are at Crownpoint, Shiprock, and Zuñi. In northern Arizona, full-service Indian hospitals are located at Fort Defiance, Winslow, Tuba City, and Keams Canyon. Indian Health Centers (facilities staffed by health professionals, open at least 40 hours per week, and catering to the general public) are located at Ft. Wingate and Tohatchi in northwestern New Mexico and at Greasewood, Toyei, Dilkon, Shonto, Kayenta, Many Farms, Teec Nos Pos, and Chinle in Arizona. Indian Health Stations (facilities staffed by health professionals and catering to the general public, but open only limited hours, often only one day per week) are located at Toadlena, Naschitti, Navajo, Pinedale, Pueblo Pintado, Ojo Encino, Torreón, Rincon, and Bacca in northwestern New Mexico and at Gray Mountain, Pinon, Dinnebito Dam, Red Lake, Page, Coppermine, Kaibito, Dinnehotso, Rock Point, Rough Rock, and Lukachukai in Arizona. Indian School Health Centers (facilities meeting the same criteria as Indian Health Centers, but catering primarily to school populations) are located at Crownpoint, Sanostee, and Shiprock in northwestern New Mexico and at Leupp, Tuba City, Holbrook, and Chinle in Arizona. Additionally, non-Indian hospitals are located in Flagstaff, Winslow, and Holbrook in Arizona, in Gallup, Rehoboth, Grants, and Farmington in New Mexico, in Durango and Cortez in Colorado, and in Goulding, Utah. In keeping with the recent trend throughout the United States, Navajos are now administering many of their own health care facilities, taking over their operation from the Public Health Service. The Navajo Tribal Health Authority also plans to develop an American Indian medical school at Shiprock, New Mexico.

Traditional Navajo healers are called *Hataali*, or “singers”. Traditional Navajo medical practice treats the whole person, not just the illness, and is not conducted in isolation but in a ceremony that includes the patient’s relatives. The ceremony can last from three to nine days depending upon the illness being treated and the ceremony to be performed. Illness to the Navajos means that there is disharmony in the universe. Proper order is restored with sand paintings in a cleansing and healing ceremony. There are approximately 1,200 designs that can be used; most can be created within the size of the average hogan floor, about six feet by six feet, though some are as large as 12 feet in diameter and some as small as one foot in diameter. The *Hataali*

may have several helpers in the creation of the intricate patterns. Dancers also assist them. In some ceremonies, such as the nine-day Yei-Bei-Chei, 15 or 16 teams of 11 members each dance throughout the night while the singer and his helpers chant prayers. When the painting is ready the patient sits in the middle of it. The singer then transforms the orderliness of the painting, symbolic of its cleanliness, goodness, and harmony, into the patient and puts the illness from the patient into the painting. The sand painting is then discarded. Many years of apprenticeship are required to learn the designs of the sand paintings and the songs that accompany them, skills that have been passed down through many generations. Most *Hataali* are able to perform only a few of the many ceremonies practiced by the Navajos, because each ceremony takes so long to learn. Sand painting is now also done for commercial purposes at public displays, but the paintings are not the same ones used in the healing rituals.

LANGUAGE

The Athapaskan language family has four branches: Northern Athapaskan; Southwestern Athapaskan; Pacific Coast Athapaskan; and Eyak, a southeast Alaska isolate. The Athapaskan language family is one of three families within the *Na-Dene* language phylum. (The other two, the Tlingit family and the Haida family, are language isolates in the far north, Tlingit in southeast Alaska, and Haida in British Columbia.) *Na-Dene* is one of the most widely distributed language phyla in North America. The Southwestern Athapaskan language, sometimes called Apachean, has seven dialects: Navajo, Western Apache, Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache. In 1987 approximately 125,000 Navajos on the reservation still spoke Navajo fluently.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

No tribe in North America has been more vigorously studied by anthropologists than the Navajos. When a man marries, he moves into the household of the wife’s extended family. The Navajos joke that a Navajo family consists of a grandmother, her married daughters and their husbands, her daughters’ children, and an anthropologist. A Navajo is “born to” the mother’s clan and “born for” the father’s clan. The importance of clans, the membership of which is dispersed throughout the nation for each clan, has gradually diminished in favor of the increasingly

important role of the Chapter House, the significance of which is based on the geographical proximity of its members. Traditional prohibitions against marrying within one's own clan are beginning to break down. The girl's puberty ceremony, her *kinaalda*, is a major event in Navajo family life. Navajos maintain strong ties with relatives, even when they leave the reservation. It is not uncommon for Navajos working in urban centers to send money home to relatives. On the reservation, an extended family may have only one wage-earning worker. Other family members busy themselves with traditional endeavors, from stock tending to weaving.

From the late 1860s until the 1960s, the local trading post was the preeminent financial and commercial institution for most Navajos, serving as a local bank (where silver and turquoise could be pawned), a post office, and a store. One of the most famous, Hubbell's Trading Post, is now a national monument. Traders served the community as interpreters, business managers, funeral directors, grave diggers, and gossip columnists. The automobile and big discount stores in the urban centers at the fringes of the nation have greatly diminished the role of the trading posts.

TRADITIONAL CRAFTS

Navajo jewelry, especially work done in silver and turquoise, is internationally famous. Navajo silversmithing dates from 1853, when a Mexican silversmith arrived at Fort Defiance in what is now Arizona. The Navajo 'Atsidi Sani learned the craft from him and taught it to others. By 1867 several Navajos were working with silver, and by 1880 they had begun to combine turquoise with their designs. At the turn of the century the Fred Harvey Company asked Navajo silversmiths to make lighter pieces for the tourist trade and guaranteed them a sales outlet. Today silversmithing is a widespread craft practiced by many Navajos.

Weaving is also an important economic activity throughout the nation. Navajo weaving has undergone many changes in designs. Navajos are continually creating new ones, and various locations within the nation have become famous for particular types of rugs and patterns. Weaving underwent a revival in the 1920s, when Chinle weavers introduced the multicolored Wide Ruins, Crystal, and Pine Springs patterns. The rug weavers auction at Crownpoint is known worldwide. The Navajo Nation owns the Navajo Nation Arts and Crafts Enterprise at Window Rock, where customers can be assured of purchasing authentic Indian crafts made by Indian people.

EDUCATION

An 1868 treaty provided for schools for Navajo children. The number of schools increased greatly after compulsory school attendance was mandated in 1887. In 1907 a Navajo headman in Utah was imprisoned without trial for a year and a half for speaking out against forced removal of local children to the Shiprock Boarding School. Others were strongly in favor of schools, especially after 19 influential Navajo headmen were exposed to the outside world at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Until 1896 Navajo schools were operated by missionaries, who were frequently more interested in attempting to eradicate the Navajo religion, culture, and language than in educating their charges. The establishment of boarding schools far from Navajo homes, subjected Navajo children to the trauma of being removed from their families and their cultures for extended periods of time. Instruction was conducted only in English. With the secularization of the federally maintained Navajo public school system in 1896 civil servants replaced the missionaries, but lack of understanding and appreciation of Navajo culture—and instruction only in English—continued to be the norm. Some religious-affiliated schools continue to the present day, but they display a greater appreciation for Navajo culture and traditions than their nineteenth-century predecessors. By 1958, 93 percent of Navajo children were in school.

In the 1960s Navajos began to exercise much stronger management of their children's education with the establishment of community-controlled contract schools. The Rough Rock Demonstration School was the first of these schools. It introduced bilingual education for young children, the adult training of Navajo medicine men, and other innovative programs based on the perceived needs of the local community. It should be pointed out that the bilingual education introduced was, and is, to teach Navajo language, not to transition into English. This is not an additional tool of assimilation, but rather a reinforcement of traditional language and culture.

In 1969 the Navajo established Navajo Community College, the first college operated by Indians. At first located at Many Farms High School, it moved to Tsaile, Arizona, with the opening of its new campus in 1974; there is a branch campus in Shiprock, New Mexico. In 1972 the College of Ganado, a junior college in Ganado, Arizona, was incorporated as a successor to the Ganado Mission School. Following the lead of the Navajos, there are now a total of 29 Indian institutions of higher edu-



The Coalition of Navajo Liberation is a strong voice for Navajo affairs. Over 350 Navajo protestors marched on Window Rock, Arkansas to present grievances to tribal officials in 1976.

cation in the United States, all members of an American Indian higher education consortium. Navajo Community College Press is a leading native-owned academic press. A number of state supported baccalaureate institutions are located near the Navajo Nation. These include branch campuses of the University of New Mexico at Gallup and Farmington, Northern Arizona University at Flagstaff, and Ft. Lewis College in Durango, Colorado. In 1987 more than 4,000 Navajos were attending college.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Nearly every Navajo extended family has members who engage in silversmithing and weaving as a matter of occasional economic enterprise. Farming and stock raising are still important in the economic life of the nation. But the largest employers of Navajo people are the federal and tribal governments. The Navajos have their own parks and recreation department, fish and wildlife department, police department, educational programs, and health service, as well as many other jobs in tribal government and administration. Many federal agencies have offices either on or near the reservation. Other Navajos are employed at the tribally operated electronics plant at Fort Defiance, Arizona, and at the Navajo Forest Products Industry, an \$11 million sawmill also run by the tribe. It is located at Navajo, New Mexico, the only industrial town on the reservation, which was created and planned to serve the needs of its industry.

Until the early twentieth century Navajos were able to continue deriving their livelihood from their traditional practices of stockraising. Since the 1920s fewer and fewer Navajos have been able to maintain themselves in this manner. Chronic high rates of unemployment and dependency on governmental assistance have gradually replaced the traditional way of life. In 1941 Navajos had earned only \$150,000 from industry, but World War II was a boom time for the economy, giving the Navajos a taste for money and what it could buy. More than half the Navajos 19 and older had wartime jobs; in 1943 they earned \$5 million. After the war in the late 1940s the annual family income averaged \$400.

By 1973 a study released by the Navajo Office of Program Development found that only 20,000 people were employed on the reservation, of which 71 percent were Navajos. Nine communities were found to account for 84 percent of the jobs held by Navajo people: Shiprock, 3,616; Chinle, 2,284; Window Rock, 2,100; Ft. Defiance, 1,925; Tuba City, 1,762; Crownpoint, 1,149; Navajo, 697; Kayenta, 571; and Ganado, 311. Public service jobs—health, education, and government—were found to account for nearly three-fourths of all employment on the reservation. In 1975 the Navajo unemployment rate was 67 percent. Median Navajo annual household income declined during the 1970s, standing at \$2,520 in 1979. In 1991 the unemployment rate was 36 percent and remained at about that level in 1999.

Since the late 1960s, developing projects have been diversifying employment within the Navajo

Nation. The Navajo Indian Irrigation Project (NIIP) is projected to irrigate 110,000 acres of cropland from water impounded in the upper San Juan River basin, using open canals, pipelines, lift stations, and overhead sprinkler systems. The Navajo Agricultural Products Industry (NAPI), a tribal enterprise, manages the program. It includes agribusiness plant sites, grazing lands and a feedlot for cattle production, and an experimental research station. Instituted by act of Congress in 1962, the first 10,000 acres were brought into irrigation in 1976, producing crops of barley and cabbage. By 1981 the total irrigated acreage had increased to 40,000 acres, and crop diversification had added alfalfa, pinto beans, corn, and milo. In 1982 a cattle feedlot operation began to make use of grain and forage crop production. NAPI showed its first profit in 1986. By 1991 more than half of the projected acreage had been brought under irrigation. A coal-gasification plant near Burnham and Navajo-Exxon uranium leases, along with the irrigation project, are making northwestern New Mexico and the eastern portion of the Navajo reservation the focus of new economic activity. Uranium mining, however, has produced health risks, including alarmingly high rates of cancer. In 1979 a broken tailings dam belonging to United Nuclear Corporation at Church Rock, New Mexico, discharged 100 million gallons of radioactive water into the Puerco River—the largest release of radioactivity in United States history.

Because of their legal status, Navajo businesspeople must deal with state and federal agencies as well as Navajo officials and must pay both state and Navajo taxes. In addition, complicated paperwork requirements for obtaining business licenses and land leases for businesses hamper start-up. IINA (which means “life” in Navajo), an initiative started by Navajo Duane “Chili” Yazzi, is currently underway, and is aimed at reducing red tape by delegating control to local tribal chapters. Another objective is to use part of the nation’s assets, some \$1.2 billion, as venture capital for Navajo entrepreneurs.

The Navajo people’s biggest economic ventures have been coal leases. By 1970 the Navajo Nation had the largest coal mine in the world. The 1964 and 1966 Black Mesa coal leases to Peabody Coal Company have become a source of controversy within the nation, as more and more Navajos decry the scouring of their land, the displacement of families for the sake of mining activity, and the threat to sacred places posed by mining operations.

Little has been done to develop tourism, despite its potential as a source of income. Only four motels exist on the reservation, in contrast with neighboring

Gallup, New Mexico, which has more than 35. The Navajo Nation maintains four campgrounds: Monument Valley, Four Corners, Tsaile South Shore south of Lukachukai, and Little Colorado River. Other economic ventures under way include shopping centers and motels. Hunting and fishing provide economic activity and jobs in the portion of the reservation lying in northwestern New Mexico, where 16 lakes offer fishing for trout, channel catfish, bass, northern pike, and bluegill. Hunting permits may be obtained for deer, turkey, bear, and small game.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The basic unit of local government in the Navajo Nation is the Chapter, each with its own Chapter House. The Chapter system was created in 1922 as a means of addressing agricultural problems at a local level. Before the 1920s, the nation had no centrally organized tribal government. Like many other Indian nations, the tribe was forced to create a central authority by the United States. For the Navajos, the seminal event was the discovery of oil on the reservation in 1921, after which the United States desired some centralized governmental authority for the Navajos for the purpose of executing oil leases, largely for the benefit of non-Navajos. At first the Bureau of Indian Affairs appointed three Navajos to execute mineral leases. In 1923 this arrangement gave way to a plan for each of several Navajo agencies to provide representatives for the Navajo government. After World War II the Navajo Tribal Council became recognized as the Navajo government.

MILITARY

Navajos have served with distinction in the armed forces of the United States in every war in the twentieth century, including World War I, even though they—and other reservation Indians—did not become citizens of the United States until citizenship was extended to them by an act of Congress in 1924. Their most heralded service, however, came during World War II in the U.S. Marine Corps, when they employed the Navajo language for military communication in the field as the Marines stormed Japanese-held islands in the Pacific. They have become known to posterity as the Navajo Code Talkers.

Philip Johnson, born to missionaries and raised on the Navajo reservation, is credited with a leading role in the formation of the Navajo Code Talkers. As a child he learned fluent Navajo, as well as Navajo culture and traditions. At the age of nine he

served as interpreter for a Navajo delegation that traveled to Washington, D.C., to present Navajo grievances to President Theodore Roosevelt. After serving in World War I, Johnson was a civil engineer in California. When war broke out with Japan in 1941, Johnson learned that the military hoped to develop a code using American Indians as signalmen. He met with Marine Corps and Army Signal Corps officers and arranged a demonstration of Navajo as a code language. The demonstration took place on February 28, 1942, at Camp Elliott with the cooperation of four Navajos from Los Angeles and one who was in the Navy in San Diego.

Within a year the Marine Corps authorized the program, which at first was classified as top secret. Johnson, though over age, was allowed to enlist in the Corps and was assigned to help supervise the establishment of the program at Camp Pendleton in Oceanside, California. In May 1942 the Marine Corps, with the approval of the Navajo Tribal Council, began recruiting Navajo men at Window Rock, Arizona, for the program. The first group to receive training consisted of 29 Navajos who underwent basic boot camp training at the San Diego Marine Corps Recruit Depot. They were then sent for four weeks to the Field Signal Battalion Training Center at Camp Pendleton, where they received 176 hours of instruction in basic communications procedures and equipment. They were later deployed to Guadalcanal, where their use of the Navajo language for radio communication in the field proved so effective that recruitment for the program was expanded. Eventually, approximately 400 Navajo Code Talkers saw duty in the Pacific in the Marine Corps. By the end of the war they had been assigned to all six Marine divisions in the Pacific and had taken part in every assault—from Guadalcanal in 1943 to Okinawa in 1945. Today the surviving Navajo Code Talkers maintain an active veterans' organization. In 1969, at the Fourth Marine Division Association reunion in Chicago, they were presented with a medallion specially minted in commemoration of their services.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Much friction has resulted between the Navajos and the United States over the management of Navajo livestock grazing. The original Navajo Reservation in 1868 encompassed only a small portion of the ancestral Navajo rangelands. The size of the reservation tripled between 1868 and the mid-1930s by 14 additions of blocks of land from 1878 to 1934. This would give the appearance of a rapidly expanding amount of rangeland available to the Navajos. In fact, just the opposite was true.

When the Navajos returned to their homeland from the Bosque Redondo in 1869, the government issued them 1,000 goats and 14,000 sheep to begin replacing the herds that the U.S. Army and New Mexico militia had either slaughtered or confiscated. In 1870 the Navajos were issued an additional 10,000 sheep. With practically no Anglo encroachment on their ancestral rangeland, reservation boundaries had little meaning. The Navajos spread out over their old estate and their herds began increasing. The Bureau of Indian Affairs forbade the selling of breeding stock, eager to see the Navajos regain self-sufficiency. The Navajo population increased steadily, from an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 in 1868 to nearly 40,000 by 1930, and their herds increased accordingly, though there were large fluctuations in the numbers year by year due to occasional drought and disease. At the same time the appropriation of the ancestral rangelands outside the reservation boundaries by Anglo cattle operations and other interests had accelerated, forc-

“On the wind-beaten plains once lived my ancestors. / In the days of peaceful moods, / they wandered and hunted.... / Now, from the wind-beaten plains, only their dust rises.”

From the poem “Ancestors” by Grey Cohoe, on the rising consciousness of the American Indian.

ing the Navajos onto an ever smaller amount of range. By the 1920s a serious soil erosion problem on the reservation was being blamed on overgrazing. The Navajos tried to alleviate the problem by seeking more land and renewed access to the ancestral rangelands from which they had gradually been forced off. The United States believed that a solution to the problem was to force Navajo livestock reductions by killing the animals it deemed to be unnecessary. Thus began a 20-year conflict between the Navajos and the United States, in which the U.S. government, in attempting to implement its policies, found itself disrupting traditional Navajo economic, social, and political life to a far greater extent than at any time in the past.

The tool of the government in this matter was the creation of land management districts, first established in 1936 and adjusted to their preset boundaries in 1955. In attempting to change Navajo livestock practices, the U.S. government subverted and altered Navajo culture in the process. Today the federal land management districts on the reservation are still important factors in Navajo live-

stock practices. The grazing committees of the Navajo Chapter Houses must work closely with the districts to set the herd size for each range. The extreme turmoil that the stock reduction crisis caused in traditional Navajo life—and the tactics used by the U.S. government to subvert traditional Navajo culture and government during the height of the crisis in the 1930s and 1940s—are the subject of an extensive, detailed study by Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos*.

Indians in Arizona and New Mexico were not allowed to vote in state and national elections until 1948. In 1957 Utah finally allowed Indians living on reservations to vote—the last remaining state to do so. It required a 1976 U.S. Supreme Court ruling to force Apache County, Arizona, where the population was 70 percent Navajo, to allow Navajos to serve on its board of supervisors. As of 1984 no Native American had ever been elected to public office in Utah. In that year the U.S. Department of Justice ordered San Juan County, Utah, where the population was 50 percent Navajo, to redistrict. The next year a Navajo was elected county commissioner.

The most divisive issue among the Navajos in recent years, and the cause of the greatest strain in relations with the United States, has been the so-called “Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute,” in which thousands of Navajos have been forced to relocate from lands that were jointly held by the two tribes since 1882. Many prominent Navajos and some prominent Hopis believe that the relocation of the Navajos and the division of the 1882 Joint Use Area has been undertaken by the U.S. government for the benefit of the American extraction industry, so that valuable mineral deposits within the area can be strip-mined.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Among the first Navajos to earn a Ph.D., Ned Hatathli (1923-1972) was the first president of the Navajo Community College—the first college owned and operated by the Navajo people. Annie Dodge Wauneka (1910–) is a public health educator responsible for largely eliminating tuberculosis among the Navajo Indians. Wauneka was later elected to the Navajo Tribal Council and was the first Native American to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Peterson Zah (1937–) is an edu-

cator and leader who has devoted his life to serving the Navajo people and retaining Navajo culture, especially among young people. In 1990 Zah was elected the first president of the Navajo people; he was later awarded the Humanitarian Award from the City of Albuquerque and an honorary doctorate from Santa Fe College.

ART

Harrison Begay (1917–) is one of the most famous of all Navajo painters. Noted for their sinuous delicacy of line, meticulous detail, restrained palette, and elegance of composition, his watercolors and silkscreen prints have won 13 major awards. Carl Nelson Gorman (1907–) is a prominent Navajo artist whose oil paintings and silk screening have won acclaim for their divergence from traditional Indian art forms. His contributions to Navajo and Native American art and culture inspired the dedication of the Carl Gorman Museum at Tecumseh Center at the University of California at Davis. Rudolph Carl Gorman (1931–) is one of the most prominent contemporary Native American artists of the twentieth century. His art combines the traditional with the nontraditional in style and form.

LITERATURE

Navajo author Vee Browne has achieved national recognition with her retellings of Navajo creation stories. Her books have included *Monster Slayer* and *Monster Birds*, a children's biography of Osage international ballet star Maria Tallchief, and a volume in a new series of Native American animal stories from Scholastic books. Her honors include the prestigious Western Heritage Award from the Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center in 1990. A guidance counselor by training, Browne is active in helping emerging Native American writers hone their skills and find outlets for their work, serving as a mentor in the Wordcraft Circle of Native American Mentor and Apprentice Writers. She has also served on the 1994-1996 National Advisory Caucus for Wordcraft Circle.

Elizabeth Woody (1959–), born on the Navajo Nation but raised mostly in the Pacific Northwest, has been influenced by the Pacific Northwest tribes as well as her Navajo heritage. She returned to the Southwest to study poetry and art at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Her first volume of poetry, *Hand Into Stone*, published in 1988, won the American Book Award. Her other books include *Luminaries of the Humble* and *Seven Hands, Seven Hearts*. Woody's

poetry has been anthologized in *Returning the Gift* and *Durable Breath*; her short fiction, "Home Cooking," has been anthologized in *Talking Leaves*; her nonfiction, "Warm Springs," has been anthologized in *Native America*. Woody now teaches at the Institute of American Indian Arts. Her illustrations can be found in Sherman Alexie's *Old Shirts & New Skins*, and her art has been the subject of a five-week exhibit at the Tula Foundation Gallery in Atlanta, Georgia.

Actress/writer Geraldine Keams has appeared in several films, including *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, and has been published in *Sun Tracks* and *The Remembered Earth*. Jean Natoni has published her work in *The Remembered Earth*, as have Aaron Yava, a Navajo/Hopi, and Genevieve Yazzie. Yava's drawing have appeared in *Border Towns of the Navajo Nation*, *Man to Send Rain Clouds*, and *A Good Journey*. Yazzie's work is also featured in *New America*, and she worked on the Navajo-English dictionary project.

Rex Jim, a highly regarded medicine man, is the first author to have published a volume of poetry in Navajo, with no translation, with a major university press (*Ahi'Ni'Nikisheegizh*, Princeton University Press). Jim's fiction and nonfiction have also been published by Rock Point Community School in the Navajo Nation and include such works as "Naakai-iahgoo Tazhdiya" and "Living from Livestock."

Laura Tohe's volume of poetry, *Making Friends with Water*, was published by Nosila Press, and her poetry and nonfiction have appeared in such publications as *Nebraska Humanities*, *Blue Mesa Review*, and *Platte Valley Review*. Tohe received her Ph.D. in English literature from the University of Nebraska and teaches at the University of Arizona. Tohe's latest project is a children's play for the Omaha Emmy Gifford Children's theater. Like Vee Browne, Tohe is a mentor in the Wordcraft Circle program and is also a member of its 1994-1996 National Advisory Caucus.

Lucy Tapahonso (1953–) is the author of four books of poetry, including *Saanii Dahataa*. She is an assistant professor at the University of Kansas at Lawrence. Della Frank lives and works on the Navajo Nation. Her poetry has appeared in such publications as *Blue Mesa Review* and *Studies in American Indian Literature* and has been anthologized in *Neon Powwow* and *Returning the Gift*. She is co-author of *Duststorms: Poems From Two Navajo Women*. Rachael Arviso (Navajo and Zuñi) lives and works on the Navajo Reservation; her short fiction has been anthologized in *Neon Powwow*. Esther G. Belini's poetry also appeared in *Neon Powwow*; she received her B.A. degree from the University of California at Berkeley.

Other Navajos whose work has been anthologized in *Neon Powwow* include Dan L. Crank, Nancy Maryboy, Irvin Morris, Patroclus Eugene Savino, Brent Toadlena, Gertrude Walters, and Floyd D. Yazzie. Aaron Carr (Navajo and Laguna Pueblo) has published poetry and short stories in *The Remembered Earth* anthology, in *Sun Tracks*, and in *Planet Quarterly*. Bernadette Chato's work has appeared in *New America* and *The Remembered Earth*. Grey Cohoe's work has appeared in several anthologies, including *Whispering Wind*, *The Remembered Earth*, and *The American Indian Speaks*. Larry Emerson's column "Red Dawn" appeared in a number of Indian newspapers, and his work has been anthologized in *New America* and *The Remembered Earth*. Nia Francisco, who has taught at the Navajo Community College, has been published in *Southwest: A Contemporary Anthology*, *College English*, *The Remembered Earth*, *Cafe Solo*, *New America*, and *Southwest Women's Poetry Exchange*.

SCIENCE

Nuclear physicist and educator Fred Begay (1932–) has served as a member of the technical staff at the Los Alamos National Laboratory since 1971. His research is directed primarily toward the use of laser, electron, and ion beams to demonstrate the application of thermonuclear fusion; this technique will provide future economical and environmentally safe and clean power sources.

MEDIA

PRINT

Bear Track.

Address: 1202 West Thomas Road, Phoenix, Arizona 85013.

Diné Baa-Hani'.

Address: Box 527, Ft. Defiance, Arizona 86504.

Dinehligai News.

Address: P.O. Box 1835, Tuba City, Arizona 86045.

DNA in Action.

Address: DNA Legal Services, Window Rock, Arizona 86515.

Four Directions.

Address: 1812 Las Lomas N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131.

Indian Arizona.

Address: 4560 North 19th Avenue, Suite 200,
Phoenix, Arizona 85015-4113.

Kachina Messenger.

Address: P.O. Box 1210, Gallup,
New Mexico 87301.

Navajo.

Covers history, art, culture, events, and people relevant to the Navajo Indians.

Contact: Michael Benson, Editor.

Address: Box 1245, Window Rock, Arizona
86515.

Telephone: (602) 729-2233.

Navajo Assistance.

Address: P.O. Box 96, Gallup, New Mexico 87301.

Navajo-Hopi Observer.

Weekly newspaper in English. Founded in 1981.

Contact: Jay Lape, Publisher; Tanya Lee, Editor.

Address: 2608 North Stevens Boulevard, Flagstaff,
Arizona 86004.

Telephone: (520) 526-3115.

E-mail: observer@infomagic.com.

Online: <http://www.navajohopiobserver.com>.

Navajo Nation Enquiry.

Address: P.O. Box 490, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.

Navajo Times.

Weekly newspaper that contains articles of interest to the American Indian community and the Navajo people.

Contact: Tom Arviso Jr., Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 310, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515-0310.

Telephone: (602) 871-6641.

Fax: (602) 871-6409.

Tsa'aszi'.

Address: P.O. Box 12, Pine Hill,
New Mexico 87321.

Uts'ittisctaan'i.

Address: Northern Arizona University, Campus
Box 5630, Flagstaff, Arizona 86011.

RADIO

The following radio stations are owned by the Navajo Broadcasting Company: KDJI-AM (1270); KZUA-FM (92.1); KTNN-AM (660); KNMI-FM (88.9); KPCL-FM (95.7); KABR-AM (1500); and KTDB-FM (89.7).

TELEVISION

KOBF-TV (Channel 12).

Broadcasts "Voice of the Navajo" on Sunday mornings.

Address: 825 W. Broadway, Box 1620,
Farmington, New Mexico 87401.

Telephone: (505) 326-1141.

Fax: (505) 327-5196.

E-mail: shkobf@cyberport.com.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Arizona Commission for Indian Affairs.

Contact: Eleanor Descheeny-Joe, Executive
Director

Address: 1400 West Washington, Suite 300,
Phoenix, Arizona 85007.

Telephone: (602) 542-3123.

Fax: (602) 542-3223.

**Diné CARE Citizens Against Ruining
our Environment.**

Environmental activism group.

Address: 10A Town Plaza, Suite 138, Durango,
Colorado 81301.

Telephone: (970) 259-0199.

Navajo Code Talkers Association.

Contact: Dr. Samuel Billison, President.

Address: 1182, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515-1182.

Telephone: (520) 871-5468.

Navajo Nation.

Address: P.O. Box 308, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.

Telephone: (602) 871-6352.

Fax: (602) 871-4025.

Online: <http://www.navajo.org>.

Navajo Tourism Office.

Address: P.O. Box 663, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.

Telephone: (602) 871-6436.
Fax: (602) 871-7381.

Navajo Way, Inc.
United Way for the Navajo Nation.

Address: P.O. Box 309, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.

Telephone: (520) 871-6661.

Fax: (520) 871-6663.

New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs.

Address: 330 East Palace Avenue, Santa Fe,
New Mexico 87501.

New Mexico Indian Advisory Commission.

Address: Box 1667, Albuquerque,
New Mexico 87107.

Tseyi Heritage Culture Center.

Contact: Jim Claw Sr., President.

Address: P.O. Box 1952, Chinle, Navajo Nation,
Arizona 86503.

Telephone: (520) 674-5664.

Fax: (520) 674-5944.

Online: <http://www.navajoland.com/nn/Tseyi/>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Albuquerque Museum and Maxwell Museum in Albuquerque, New Mexico; American Research Museum, Ethnology Museum, Fine Arts Museum, Hall of the Modern Indian, Institute of American Indian Arts, and Navajo Ceremonial Arts Museum in Santa Fe, New Mexico; Art Center in Roswell, New Mexico; Black Water Draw Museum in Portales, New Mexico; Coronado Monument in Bernalillo, New Mexico; Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site in Ganado, Arizona; Heard Museum of Anthropology in Phoenix, Arizona; Milicent Rogers Museum in Taos, New Mexico; Navajo National Monument in Tonalea, Arizona; Navajo Tribal Museum in Window Rock, Arizona; Northern Arizona Museum in Flagstaff; and the State Museum of Arizona in Tempe.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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Simonelli, Jeanne M. *Crossing Between Worlds: The Navajos of Canyon De Chelly*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1997.

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Trimble, Stephen. *The People: Indians of the American Southwest*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Sar Press, 1993.

Warriors: Navajo Code Talkers, photographs by Kenji Kawano, foreword by Carl Gorman, introduction by Benis M. Frank. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Publishing, 1990.

White, Richard. *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Nepalese music
combines whimsical
and rhythmical
sounds of melodies
with a characteristic
sharp twang.
Traditional Nepalese
folk tunes sung in
the remote villages
of Nepal celebrate
religious and
agricultural life.

N E P A L E S E

by
Olivia Miller

A M E R I C A N S

OVERVIEW

The Kingdom of Nepal is a landlocked country in southern Asia. It occupies an area of 56,136 square miles and is roughly the size of Tennessee. Located between China and India, Nepal is known for its majestic Himalayas and is the home of Mount Everest and Annapurna. Nepal is also the birthplace of Buddha and is the only official Hindu kingdom in the world. The national capital is Kathmandu.

Nepal has a population of over 23.6 million people. It is one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world, with more than half of its population living below the poverty line. Nepal has 60 ethnic groups, 11 major languages and 70 dialects. Caste and ethnicity are often used interchangeably. The major ethnic groups include Newars, Indians, Tibetans, Gurungs, Magars, Tamangs, Bhotias, Rais, Limbus, and Sherpas. The Rai make up 64 percent of the population; the Singawa (Bhotias), 18 percent; the Sherpa, eight percent; the Brahmin and the Chhetri, four percent; and other ethnic/caste groups, six percent. Nepali is the official language, but Rai and Tibetan are also spoken. Ninety percent of the population is Hindu, five percent is Buddhist, three percent is Muslim, and two percent are listed as "other." The country's flag is red with a blue border around the unique shape of two overlapping right triangles; the smaller, upper triangle bears a white stylized moon and the larger, lower triangle bears a white 12-

pointed sun. Nepal is governed by a constitutional monarchy, with a judicial system that blends Hindu and Western legal traditions. Nepal was admitted to the United Nations in 1955.

HISTORY

Nepal has been a kingdom for at least 1,500 years and its history has been shaped by Tibetan, Chinese, India, and British influences. In 563 B.C., Siddhartha Gautama, a prince who rejected the world to search for the meaning of existence and became known as the Buddha, or the Enlightened One, was born in Nepal. Since the fourth century, the Nepalese civilization has been based on Buddhism and Hinduism. In the late fifth century, rulers calling themselves *Licchavis* recorded details concerning the politics, society, and economics of Nepal. The *Licchavis* ruled from the fourth to the eighth century, and the Malla kings ruled from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. In the sixteenth century, there were dozens of kingdoms throughout the Himalayan region. Gorkha, a small kingdom, conquered and united the entire nation in the late eighteenth century. The armies of Nepal conquered territories far to the west and east and challenged the Chinese in Tibet and the British in India. The Anglo-Nepalese War (1814-1816) was disastrous for Nepal. According to the Treaty of Sagauli, which was signed in 1816, Nepal lost its territories west of the Kali River and most of its lands in the Tarai. By the 1850s, a dynasty of prime ministers known as the *Rana* created a dictatorship that lasted 100 years, during which Nepal remained a primitive nation with little interest in modern science or technology.

MODERN ERA

In the mid-nineteenth century, Nepal's prime ministers usurped complete control of the government and reduced the kings to puppets. Following a revolt that overthrew the *Ranas* in 1950, Nepal struggled to overcome its long legacy of underdevelopment and to incorporate its varied ethnic populations into a single nation. During the rule of the *Ranas*, only two percent of the adult population was literate, the infant mortality rate was more than 60 percent, and average life expectancy was only 35 years. Less than one percent of the population was engaged in modern industrial occupations, and 85 percent of employment and income came from agriculture. The entire nation had approximately 100 kilometers of railroad tracks and a few kilometers of paved roads. Telephones, electricity, and postal services served only one percent of the population. Government expenditures were

focused solely on salaries and benefits for the army, the police, and civil servants. Health and education received less than one percent of the government's expenditures. The nation still contained autonomous principalities (*rajya*), based on deals with former local kings, and landlords acted as small dictators on their own lands.

Between November 1951 and February 1959, a succession of short-lived governments ruled under an interim constitution or under the direct command of the king. In 1959, Nepal held the first national elections in its history. Nepal has two legislative houses: an Upper House (*Maha Sabha*) of 36 members, half elected by the lower house and half nominated by the king; and a Lower House (*Pratinidhi Sabha*) of 109 members, all elected by universal adult suffrage. The leader of the majority party in the Lower House is named prime minister and governs with a cabinet of ministers. The king is allowed to act without consulting the prime minister and has the power to dismiss him. The king also conducts foreign affairs and controls the army. He also has the power to suspend all or part of the constitution and can declare a state of emergency.

In 1960, the Nepalese government established diplomatic relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and Pakistan. On December 15, 1960, the king used his emergency powers to dismiss the cabinet and arrest its leaders. This move effectively ended Nepal's experiment with liberal socialism and democracy. Pro-democracy movements in Eastern Europe during the early 1990s led to the formation of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in Nepal, and the ban on political parties was lifted. During 1994 and 1995, political turmoil halted democratic reforms. Today, the Nepalese Congress and the United Marxists/Leninists are the two main parties in the government. However, the king reserves the right to name one-fifth of the members of the legislature, and Nepal continues to have a strong monarchy.

THE FIRST NEPALESE IN AMERICA

The first Nepalese to enter the United States were classified as "other Asian." Immigration records show that between 1881 and 1890 1,910 "other Asians" were admitted to the United States. However, it is not likely that many of these were from Nepal. The first time that the Nepalese were classified as a separate group occurred in 1975, when 56 Nepalese immigrated to the United States. The number of immigrants from Nepal remained below 100 per year through 1996.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Nepalese people make up only a small number of the United States' immigrant population. For example, in 1995 only 55 Nepalese became American citizens and 312 received lawful permanent-resident status. Only 686 Nepalese entered the United States on student visas in 1996. In 1998, 226 Nepalese were winners in the DV-99 diversity lottery. The diversity lottery is conducted under the terms of Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and makes available 50,000 permanent resident visas annually to persons from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.

“Their culture and Tibetan Buddhist religion have long attracted intense interest in the United States. ‘I think Americans have always been interested in the Tibetan peoples – you know, the land of Shangri-La,’ said Dawa Tsering, the United States representatives of the Dalai Lama. ‘But the ‘Everest’ film and the recent books, and movies like ‘Kundun’ and ‘Sevens Year in Tibet,’ have created a new wave of interest in the culture and traditions.”

Glenn Collins, *Looking for a Sherpa in Nepal? Try New York*, (New York Times, April 3, 1998).

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there were 2,616 Americans with Nepalese ancestry. Fewer than 100 Nepalese immigrants become U.S. citizens each year, but the number of Nepalese who become legal residents has grown steadily from 78 in 1987 to 431 in 1996. Significant communities of Nepalese Americans exist in large metropolitan areas such as New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver, Dallas, Portland, Gainesville, and St. Paul. Sizable numbers also live in various cities of California.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Many Nepalese immigrate to the United States in search of educational and employment opportunities. Because of Nepal's inadequate educational system, wealthy Nepalese send their children to the West for schooling. Many Nepalese students apply for work permits and eventually become citizens of the United States. However, acclimation to life in the United States is often a difficult process. This process was illustrated in *Ista-Mitra* or “Relative-Friends,” the first Nepalese feature film produced in the United States. Produced in 1999 by writer and

director Hari Siwakoti, the film chronicles Siwakoti's life from his arrival in America through the assimilation process. Siwakoti described the Nepalese immigrant experience as difficult. “The Nepali culture helps each other,” he said. “This is a different culture, a different life.”

Second-generation Nepalese Americans continue their family's religious heritage. They often embrace and interpret American culture through the filter of family beliefs and traditions. For example, a recent paper by Mr. Rajan Rajbhandari, a second-generation Nepalese American and a consultant software engineer in Chicago, compared Hindu mythology to that in the movie series *Star Wars*.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Many Nepalese customs and beliefs are heavily influenced by Buddhist or Hindu values. Many Nepalese American women continue to wear the *Tika*, a red sandalwood dot pasted on the forehead, as an indication of marriage. Although most Nepalese eat with their right hand, Nepalese American diners have adopted silverware. In Nepal, many people believe that metal spoons ruin the flavor of food and make a person thinner. Food may be served in a *thaali*, a metal plate divided into separate compartments.

PROVERBS

Just as there are many different cultures and tribes within the Nepalese population, there are also various proverbs, including the following: The crow does not care for the cow's wound; You don't get smoke without a fire; A person with money has no wisdom and a person with wisdom has no money; The discontented are always unhappy and the contented are always happy; The person who works does not get credit; The country you hear about is always nice, and the country you live in is unhappy; You may talk about everything, but don't talk about your household; No one sees the cat stealing the milk, but everyone sees the cat get beaten; Even a monkey can dance if he is taught; A barking dog never bites; and A dog can't fight with a group of monkeys.

CUISINE

Like Indian food, Nepalese food is full of spice and flavor. The Nepalese use spices such as cumin, chili, turmeric, fennel, fenugreek, mustard seed, coriander, and the mixed-spice masala. *Besaar*, a bright orange spice, gives Nepalese curries their characteristic golden tint. Mustard oil is used for cooking, as well

as for oil lamps, temple offerings, and massage. Food is fried in mustard oil and liberally seasoned with garlic, onions, and fresh ginger. Authentic Nepalese food is not overwhelmingly spicy, but it does have a definite flavor of *koorsani*, or chili pepper.

The national dish of Nepal is *daal bhaat*, which consists of boiled rice (*bhaat* with a thin lentil sauce (*daal*), accompanied by curried vegetables (*tarkaari*) and a pungent pickle (*achaar*). Daal bhaat is eaten twice a day in the rice-growing regions of Nepal. The first meal is served around 10:30 a.m. and the second shortly after sunset.

Roasted flour, known as *sattu* or *tsampa* is a staple food made from local grains: maize, wheat, millet, barley, or buckwheat. Sweet, milky tea, beaten or popped rice, flat bread, or curried potatoes are popular snack foods.

Regional foods within Nepal are distinct. The principal food of most hill families is *dhiro*, a cooked mush of maize or millet flour. It can be eaten alone, with fried vegetables, or with a thin soup. The staple food among the highland Bhotia people is Tibetan *tsampa*, which is ground roasted barley flour. In highland mountain regions like the Sherpa homeland of Khumbu, the main dish is boiled potatoes, peeled and eaten with salt and a relish of pounded chilis and garlic. Sherpa women often make *nigi kur*, delicious crispy potato pancakes served with yak butter.

Chiura is made by pounding soaked, uncooked rice. It is served with yogurt, vegetable curry, and fried meat (*chuela*) at Newar ritual feasts. *Bhuja*, or popped rice, resemble puffed rice crisps, and are popped in a pan. Other favorite snacks include curried potatoes (*alu daam*), dried peas in sauce (*kerau*), chewy dried meat (*sukuti*), and deep-fried triangular dumplings (*samosa*). Breads vary from fried rings of rice-flour (*sel roti*), to Gurung corn cakes, to the Indian flat, thin wheat-flour disks (*chapaati*) and the smaller, fried *puri*. Yogurt, called “curd,” has a smoky taste from the wood fire it is cooked on. Bhaktapur’s thick, creamy *juju dahu*, or “King of Curd,” is known as the best. *Chhurpi* is a cheese made from the solids of mahi or yogurt, which is dried in the sun and then cut into squares and strung on cords of yak hair. The chhurpi is very hard when it is first made, but slowly softens when boiled in a soup or stew.

MUSIC

Nepalese music combines whimsical and rhythmic sounds of melodies with a characteristic sharp twang. Traditional folk tunes sung in the remote villages of Nepal celebrate religious and agricultural

life. A music group popular with Nepalese Americans is Sur Sudha, a trio of three musicians performing Nepalese music on the flute, sitar and tabla. Performances and recordings by Sur Sudha have received rave reviews around the world. Sur Sudha has performed more than 2000 concerts in Europe, India, Japan, and the United States.

Three of the most popular traditional musical instruments in Nepal are the *bansuri*, the *madal*, and the *sarangi*. The sarangi is the most widely played musical instrument in Nepal. The madal is a double-headed drum made from a hollow tree-trunk and animal skin. Both ends of this drum are played, with each end having its own distinct tone. The madal is traditionally played by hanging the drum over the shoulders or around the neck. The madal drum is an ancient folk instrument that is frequently played during festivals and celebrations in the Kathmandu Valley and surrounding areas. The sarangi is a violin-like, four-stringed wooden instrument, the lower part of which is hollow and wrapped with thin leather. It is played vertically. The bansuri is a flute made of bamboo and is played horizontally. All of these instruments are handmade and they are played in both traditional and modern Nepalese music.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The clothing of Nepal varies according to tribes and regions. Nepal is known internationally for its wool garments, which are made from the fur of the *pashmina*, a mountain goat that scales the snow-capped mountains. Pashmina shawls are usually bright red, green, muted beige, or oatmeal in color. Some pashmina garments are also embellished with embroidery. The intricate stitching on a pashmina can take five years to complete. Wealthy families are expected to include pashminas in a marriage dowry.

Nepalese women wear *saris*, which consist of unstitched cloth wrapped in a variety of ways. The saris are made of silk and cotton and can be either simple in design or brilliantly adorned. Buddhist monks wear yak-hair boots and beautiful brocade robes in bright colors with wide sleeves. At the annual *Tiji* festival, celebrants wear traditional white silk *khatas* (scarves).

The nomadic Chepang do not have a distinct tribal costume. The men wear loincloths and vest-like clothes called *bhotos*, while the women wear saris and *cholos* (full sleeved blouses). Bangles made of glass and plastic, along with various hair ornaments, are worn by women to show their marital status. In modern Nepal, all Nepalese officials are required to wear black caps, called *topi*, when for-

Gelmu Sherpa rubs
a “singing bowl”
which resonates
with a soft hum in
her shop on New
York’s Upper
West Side.



mally dressed. The traditional Nepalese coat, which is often made from maroon velvet, overlaps at the front and is closed with four ties. The *chuba* is a long woolen coat worn by Sherpas.

DANCES AND SONGS

Tharu, the indigenous people of Nepal, perform a stick dance known as the *phejaiti*. The dance has been an important part of Tharu culture and is popular among the Tharu communities in Chitwan, Bardiya, Dang and Nawalparasi. A circle is created by more than a dozen dancers, each with a stick in hand, and in the center is the group leader with a madal. The group leader signals participants to dance, making a circular movement on the ground. As the group leader plays the madal, others dance swinging their sticks in the air, while either standing or sitting. A combination of music and song accompanies the movement of the dancers.

A *jhilli* dance, a version of the stick dance, is also popular in the Tharu society. The *jhilli* is a musical instrument made of copper that produces an alarming sound. The *jhilli* dance originated when the cowboys went to the forest to look after their domestic animals and encountered wild animals. To protect themselves and their cows, the herdsmen used the *jhilli* to scare predators. Twelve to fifteen people participate in the dance and are accompanied by a group of four singers. During the month of September, mask dancing is popular in Kathmandu. Papier-maché masks are used in festivals to frighten evil spirits. Dances are rituals learned at an early age and performed in exact sequences.

HOLIDAYS

Nepalese Americans celebrate Hindu and Buddhist holidays set by an ancient lunar calendar. The one national holiday celebrated by Nepalese Americans is the December 28 birthday of King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev. In Nepal, calendars are printed each spring at the beginning of the Nepalese year showing dates from all three calendars—the lunar, the Nepalese (a solar calendar) and the Gregorian. Major holidays include *Buddha Jayanti*, a celebration of Buddha’s birth, in May; *Janai Purnima* (also called *Rakchshya Bandhan*), a celebration of the changing of the protective thread worn by all, in August; *Gai Jatra* (the cow festival), in August; *Krishnaastami*, a Hindu celebration, in September; *Teej*, a festival for women, in September; *Indra Jatra*, a Hindu festival, in September; *Ghatasthapana-Bada Dashain*, a national harvest-type festival, in September and October; *Tihar*, a Hindu animal worship festival, in October and November; and *Maha Shivaratri*, a festival honoring the Hindu god Shiva, in February.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no known health or medical problems specific to Nepalese Americans. However, in Nepal, goiter, a disease directly associated with iodine deficiency, was endemic in certain villages in the hills and mountains. In most of the villages surveyed, more than half of the population had goiter. In these same villages, the incidence of deafness and mental retardation was much higher than in other villages. Leprosy also was a serious problem. Foreign assistance, specifically through Christian missions, has led to the creation of leprosy treatment centers in different parts of the country. “Wasting,” a condition in which a child has very low weight for his or her height, is also evident in hill and mountain regions of Nepal.

LANGUAGE

Nepal’s ethnic groups can be roughly divided between the Tibeto-Nepalese, who are related to the Chinese and Mongolians to the north and speak Tibet-Burman languages, and the Indo-Nepalese who are related to the Indians of the south and use Indo-Aryan languages. The Newars, who are thought to be the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, speak a Tibeto-Burman language known as Newari.

Since the creation of a national educational program in Nepal during the 1950s, the majority of Nepalese, 58.3 percent, speak Nepali. Nepali has

twelve vowel sounds and 36 consonants. The vowels are “a,” “aa,” “i,” “ii,” “u,” “uu,” “e,” “ai,” “o,” “au,” “an,” and “ah.”

Even though Nepali is the national language and is the mother tongue of approximately 58 percent of the population, there are several other languages and dialects in Nepal. Other languages include Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Tamang, Newari, and Abadhi. Non-Nepali languages and dialects are rarely spoken outside their ethnic enclaves.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

The word *Namaste* is a common expression. It is used for greetings such as “hello,” “good morning,” and “good night.” *Namaskaar* is another form of greeting and is mostly used on formal occasions. The fundamental role of rice in Nepalese culture is evident in the language. *Daal bhaat* is *khaanaa*, “food,” and a common Nepalese greeting is “*Bhaat khaayo?*” meaning literally, “Have you eaten rice?”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Nepal, ethnic identity is distinguished primarily by language and dress, and limits the selection of a spouse, friends, and career. This is evident in social organization, occupation, and religious observances. Nepalese Americans are not limited in this way because caste limitations are abandoned for the most part once a Nepalese immigrant becomes an American citizen.

In most areas of Nepal, the basic social unit in a village is the family, or *paribar*. According to the 1990 Nepalese census, the *paribar* consisted of a patrilineally extended household made up of 5.8 persons. This extended family system does not continue once Nepalese immigrate to the United States. Although Nepalese Americans may offer living assistance for a time to newly arrived relatives, they live mostly in single family units.

One integral part of Nepalese society is the Hindu caste system. The fourfold caste divisions are the *Brahman* (priests and scholars), the *Kshatriya* or *Chhetri* (rulers and warriors), the *Vaisya* (merchants and traders), and the *Sudra* (farmers, artisans, and laborers). The only way to change caste status was to undergo *Sanskritization*. Sanskritization is achieved by migrating to a new area and by changing one’s caste status and/or marrying across the caste line. This can lead to the upgrading or downgrading of caste, depending on the spouse’s caste. However, given the rigidity of the caste system,

inter-caste marriage carries a social stigma, especially when it takes place between members of castes from opposite ends of the social spectrum.

Social status in Nepal is measured by economic standing. Land ownership is both a measure of status and a source of income. Women occupy a secondary position, particularly in business and the civil service, although the constitution guarantees equality between men and women. Nepalese tribal and communal customs dictate women’s lesser role in society, but their status differs from one ethnic group to another and is usually determined by caste. In 1962, a law was passed making it illegal to discriminate against the untouchable castes.

Today, Brahmins have land, work in the fields, and are involved in government service. Some members of the Baisya and Sudra castes are teachers, high officials, and successful politicians. All castes are not equally treated by the law. Historically, Brahmins were not subject to the death penalty and were given the same revered status as cows in the Hindu religion. However, education is free and open to all castes.

EDUCATION

Nepal’s literacy rate in 1998 was 27.5 percent. Before the 1950-51 revolution, Nepal had 310 primary and middle schools, eleven high schools, two colleges, one normal school, and one special technical school. In the early 1950s, the average literacy rate was five percent. Literacy among males was ten percent and less than one percent among females. Only one child in 100 attended school. Serious educational system revisions occurred after the revolution in 1951. In 1975, the government took responsibility for providing school facilities, teachers, and educational materials free of charge. Primary schooling was compulsory. It began at age six and lasted for five years. Curriculum was greatly influenced by American models, and it was developed with assistance from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. However, in the early 1980s, approximately 60 percent of the primary school teachers and 35 percent of secondary school teachers were untrained, and there was only one university in Nepal. Foreign educational degrees, especially those obtained from American and West European institutions, carried greater prestige than degrees from Nepal. Higher-caste families sent their children to study abroad.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Nepal is a rigidly patriarchal society. In virtually every aspect of life, women were subordinate to

men. However, a woman's status varies from one ethnic group to another. The status of women in Tibeto-Nepalese communities was generally better than that of Pahari and Newari women. Women from the low-caste groups also enjoyed relatively more autonomy and freedom than Pahari and Newari women.

The senior female within the family played an important role by controlling resources, making crucial planting and harvesting decisions, and determining the expenses and budget allocations. Nonetheless, women's lives remained centered on their traditional roles of household chores, including childrearing. Statistics from 1985 showed that on average, women had 6.3 children. Moreover, their standing in society depended on their husbands' and parents' social and economic positions.

Women had limited access to markets, reproductive services, education, health care, and local government. In 1981, 35 percent of the male population was literate compared with only 11.5 percent of the female population. Women faced malnutrition and poverty. Female children usually were given less food than male children, especially when the family experienced food shortages. Women generally worked harder and longer than men. By contrast, women from high-class families had maids to take care of most household chores and other menial work and thus worked far less than men or women in lower socioeconomic groups. When women were employed, their wages normally were 25 percent less than those paid to men. In most rural areas, their employment outside the household generally was limited to planting, weeding, and harvesting. In urban areas, they were employed in domestic and traditional jobs, as well as in the government sector, mostly in low-level positions.

Although the Nepalese constitution offers women equal educational opportunities, many social, economic, and cultural factors contribute to lower enrollment and higher dropout rates for girls. Although the female literacy rate improved noticeably by the early 1990s, it was still far short of the level of male literacy. The level of education among female children of wealthy and educated families was much higher than that of female children from poor families. In the early 1990s, a direct correlation existed between the level of education and status. Educated women had access to relatively high-profile positions in the government and private service sectors, and they had a much higher status than their uneducated counterparts. However, within the family, an educated woman did not necessarily hold a higher status than her uneducated counterpart. A woman's status, especially as a

daughter-in-law, was more closely tied to her husband's authority and to her parental family's wealth and status than to any other factor.

WEDDINGS

Saipata is the name given to both the official engagement announcement and the wedding day. Among Nepalese Americans, *saipata* is performed only for symbolic purposes. In this ceremony, the eldest family member from the groom's family, excluding his father and mother, formally requests the bride's hand in marriage while presenting the bride with food, gifts, and clothing. Traditional gifts include fruits, pastries, fish, and sweets. Other presents include clothing, make-up sets, shoes, and jewelry. *Saipata* is designed to showcase the groom's family wealth. The bride places the red *tika* on her forehead and is given a ceremonial blessing. The *jaanti* is the procession to the bride's home for the *swaymber*, the main wedding ceremony. Traditionally, a marching band performs. In the United States, however, friends of the bride or groom improvise with a few drums and other instruments. The procession arrives at the bride's house. The groom's family circles the bride's car three times, symbolic in Hinduism, to welcome the bride, who wears red, and her family. The bride is welcomed with garlands, and the bride and groom exchange garlands. The families join hands to accept the couple. The bride and groom take turns feeding each other. They exchange rings and wedding vows, which is a Western adaptation of the traditional ceremony, in witness of the eternal *agni*, the ceremonial fire of existence. They circle the *agni* seven times. Then the groom applies a red powder to the bride's head, which is symbolic of marriage. The husband is the first person to apply this powder to the bride. The groom also gives *pothey* (beads) and *toka* and *churi* (bangles), which are accessories worn by a married woman. The couple then receives a blessing from *Suyra*, the sun god, by standing together in the sun with their arms out in front and their hands cupped to receive the sun.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

First-generation Nepalese Americans interacted peaceably with many ethnic groups in Nepal. Nepalese Americans who share Hindu and Buddhist beliefs form a ready bond with other Hindu and Buddhists of other nationalities. There are no major ethnic conflicts traditional to Nepalese that would affect how Nepalese Americans interact with other groups.

RELIGION

Nepal is the only official Hindu country in world. Hindu and Buddhist beliefs intermingle without conflict. About 89.5 percent of the population is Hindu; 5.3 percent is Buddhist; and 2.7 percent embrace other religions, including Christianity. Hinduism generally is regarded as the oldest formal religion in the world. The origins of Hinduism go back to the pastoral Aryan tribes from inner Asia. Unlike other world religions, Hinduism had no single founder and has never been missionary in orientation. It is believed that about 1200 B.C., or even earlier by some accounts, the *Vedas*, a body of hymns originating in northern India were produced. These texts form the theological and philosophical precepts of Hinduism. Hindus believe that the absolute (the totality of existence, including God, man, and the universe) is too vast to be contained within a single set of beliefs. Hinduism embraces six philosophical doctrines (*darshanas*). Individuals select one of these doctrines, or conduct their worship simply on a convenient level of morality and observance. Religious practices differ from group to group. The average Hindu does not need any formal creed in order to practice his or her religion, complying instead with the customs of their family and social groups. Because of this, Hindus can assimilate easily by adding new customs and beliefs according to personal needs.

One basic concept in Hinduism is that of *dharma*, or natural law, and the social and religious obligations it imposes. Dharma holds that individuals should play their proper and determined role in society. The caste system is an integral part of dharma. Each person is born into a particular caste, whose traditional occupation is graded according to the degree of purity and impurity inherent in it. Other fundamental ideas common to all Hindus concern the nature and destiny of the soul and the basic forces of the universe. Hinduism is polytheistic, incorporating many gods and goddesses with different functions and powers. The religion's three major gods are Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.

One part of *karma* (universal justice) is the belief that the consequence of every good or bad action must be fully realized. Another basic concept is that of *samsara*, the transmigration of souls. An individual's role throughout life is fixed by his or her good and evil deeds in a previous existence. Veneration for the cow has come to be intimately associated with all orthodox Hindu sects. Because the cow is regarded as the symbol of motherhood and fruitfulness, the killing of a cow, even accidentally, is regarded as one of the most serious of religious transgressions.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

According to the 1984 U.S. Census, of the 75 Nepalese immigrants admitted to the United States, 33 had professional specialties, and 42 had no occupation. Five were in farming and forestry. In the 1980s, a significant number of college-educated people living in cities within the Kathmandu valley created new firms to meet the needs of foreign donors looking to hire Nepalese consultants. Throughout Kathmandu, a number of consulting firms and associated services emerged. However, in the early 1990s, the Nepalese economy was still 90 percent rural-agricultural.

About 70 percent of the total Nepalese population is of working age, that is, between the ages of 15 and 59 years. More than 65 percent of this segment of the population was considered economically active in 1981. In terms of employment structure, more than 91 percent of the economically active population is engaged in agriculture and allied activities, and the rest in the industrial and service sectors, including government employment.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Nepalese Americans who participate in lobbying efforts for Nepal are typically in medical and humanitarian assistance projects. Their political activity generally does not involve foreign policy or attempt to influence U.S. relations with Nepal in other arenas.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

America-Nepal Medical Foundation.

Aims to meet current medical needs in Nepal through programs, studies, research and medical education in Nepal.

Contact: Arjun Karki, M.D.

Address: Division of Pulmonary and Critical Care,
Roger Williams Medical Center, 825
Chalkstone Ave., Providence, RI 02908-4735.

Telephone: (401) 456-2000.

America-Nepal Society of California, Inc.

Formed in 1973 to promote harmonious relations between the United States and Nepal and to promote educational opportunity for economically and/or disadvantaged persons.

Address: 22814 S. Berendo Ave., Torrance,
CA 90502.
E-mail: vbjoshi@aol.com.

Association of Nepalese in Midwest.

Promotes Nepalese culture to second-generation Nepalese Americans and provides community for new immigrants.

Contact: Mrs. Bindu Panth.
Address: 2367 Springdale Road, Cincinnati,
OH 45231.

Association of Nepalese in Midwest America (ANMA).

Promotes the Nepali culture and language and is concerned about what is being done to keep the Nepali cultural heritage alive in Nepal. Has published a newsletter, *Viewpoint*, since 1982. On May 25-26, 1991, ANMA organized the First National Convention of Nepalese and Friends of Nepal in North America at the University of Maryland. The convention was co-sponsored by six other Nepalese and Nepal-related associations.

Contact: Mr. Dhruva Shrestha.
Address: 3535 Wheeler Road, Bay City, MI 48706.
Telephone: (517) 684-8314.
Online: <http://www.anmausa.org/index.html>.

Association of Nepalis in the Americas.

An organization of people of Nepali origin in the Americas and international friends of Nepal. ANA was founded on July 1983 in New York and incorporated in Washington, DC, in 1983 as a non-profit, tax-exempt organization.

Address: 11605 Gainsborough Road, Potomac,
MD 20854.
Telephone: (301) 299-8045.

Empower Nepal Foundation (ENF).

Non-profit organization of individuals of Nepali ethnicity promoting Nepalese culture and relations with Nepal.

Address: 2000 Como Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55108.

Florida-Nepal Association.

Non-profit organization of individuals of Nepali ethnicity promoting Nepalese culture in the Florida area, and relations with Nepal.

Contact: President: Tirtha Mali.
Address: 6320 NW 33rd Terrace, Gainesville,
FL 32606.

Greater Boston Nepali Community.

Non-profit organization of individuals of Nepali ethnicity promoting Nepalese culture in the Boston area.

Contact: Raju Pradhan.
Address: P.O. Box 893, Watertown, MA 02272. .
Telephone: (617) 924-8852.

International Nepali Literary Society.

Address: 2926 Wetherburn Ct. ,Woodbridge,
VA 22191.
Telephone: (703) 221-2656.

Nepal Association of Northern California.

Non-profit organization of individuals of Nepali ethnicity promoting Nepalese culture in Northern California.

Contact: President: Gopal Khadgi.
Address: P.O. Box 170253, San Francisco,
CA 94117.

The Nepal Digest Foundation.

A global non-profit information and resource center committed to promoting issues concerning Nepal, Nepalis, and friends of Nepal.

Address: P.O. Box 8206, White Plains, NY 10601.
E-mail: tnd@nepal.org.

Nepal Human Rights Committee—USA .

A non-profit organization lobbying for humane treatment of all ethnic groups in Nepal. Incorporated in Washington DC.

Address: P.O. Box 53253, Washington, DC 20009.
Telephone: (301) 587-0454.

Nepalese Embassy.

Assists Nepalese citizens living in the United States and maintains diplomatic relations with the United States.

Address: 2131 Leroy Place NW, Washington,
DC 20008.
Telephone: (202) 667-4550.

Nepali Youth Organization.

Non-profit group for preserving and transferring Nepalese culture to second- and third-generation Nepalese Americans.

Address: P.O. Box 10422, Arlington, VA 22210. .

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Lowe Art Museum at the University of Miami.

A permanent collection of Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese sculptures and paintings, "Gods And Goddesses, Myths And Legends In Asian Art," examines the development of myth, legend, and religion in south and east Asia.

Address: P.O. Box 248105, Coral Gables, FL 33124-4020.

Telephone: (305) 284-5500.

Nepal Studies Association

Association of scholars, scientists, development planners, and libraries.

Address: Northern Kentucky University,
Department of History & Geography,
Nunn Drive, Highland Heights,
Kentucky 41099-2205.

Contact: John Metz, President.

Telephone: (606) 572-5461.

Fax: (606) 572-6088.

E-mail: metz@nku.edu.

Online: <http://www.maca1str.edu/~guneratn/>.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

The Nepalese galleries showcases collections of opaque watercolors on cloth or palm leaf.

Address: 2800 Grove Avenue, Richmond, VA 23221-2466.

Telephone: (804) 367-0844.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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Raj, Prakash A. *Kathmandu & the Kingdom of Nepal*. South Yarra, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1985.

Savada, Andrea Matles. *Nepal: A Country Study*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress Federal Research Division, 1993.

Weir, Richard. "Neighborhood Project: Woodside; His Film, Real-Life Misadventures," *New York Times*, February 14, 1999, Sec. 14. page 8.

The Seven Drums
Religion, considered
a direct descendant
of the Prophet
Dance, has long
been a focal point in
the revitalization of
Nez Percé traditional
religious practices.
The religion is a
blend of vision
quests seeking
personal spirit pow-
ers and some Christ-
ian elements in a
Native communal
worship framework.

NEZ PERCÉ

by
Laurie Collier Hillstrom
and Richard C. Hanes

OVERVIEW

The Nez Percé (nez-PURSE or nay-per-SAY) tribe's traditional territory includes the interior Pacific Northwest areas of north-central Idaho, northeastern Oregon, and southeastern Washington. The Nez Percé call themselves Nee-Me-Poo or Nimipu, which means "our people." The name Nez Percé is French for "pierced nose" and was applied to the tribe by early French Canadian fur traders, who apparently observed a few individuals in the region with pendants in their noses. Nose piercing, however, is not a common Nez Percé custom.

Despite maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with non-native peoples for most of their history—such as the celebrated assistance they gave to Lewis and Clark when the famous American explorers were near starvation in 1805—the Nez Percé are perhaps best known for their battles with the U.S. Army during the Nez Percé War of 1877. The 750-member Wallowa band of Nez Percé kept more than 2,000 highly-trained American troops at bay during a four-month, 1,600-mile trek through the rugged high country of Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. The band was finally forced to surrender only 30 miles short of reaching safety in Canada. At the time, the dramatic "Flight of the Nez Percé" was front-page news in the United States and is still studied by military historians.

The Nez Percé were one of the most numerous and powerful tribes of the Plateau Culture area, liv-

ing a semi-sedentary existence as fishermen, hunters, and gatherers. They speak a Sahaptian dialect of the Penutian language family, which is common among other Plateau groups in the mid-Columbia River region. According to Michael G. Johnson in *The Native Tribes of North America*, the Nez Percé population was estimated at about 6,000 in 1800. By the beginning of the next century, their numbers had declined to about 1,500 due to newly introduced diseases, the loss of tribal lands, and a reduction of economic resources. Many of the almost 4,000 descendants of the tribe live on the Nez Percé reservation near Lapwai, Idaho, except for the Joseph band, which resides on the Colville reservation of north-central Washington.

HISTORY

Before the Nez Percé acquired horses in the early 1700s, they lived in semi-subterranean pit houses covered with branches and earth. They spent most of their time fishing, hunting, or gathering wild plants for food. The use of horses rapidly changed the lifestyle of the Nez Percé, allowing them to trade with neighboring tribes and make annual trips to the Great Plains to hunt buffalo. The increased contact with tribes of the Great Plains and the Pacific Coast also led to the advent of more decorative Nez Percé clothing styles and new forms of housing, such as hide-covered tepees and pit-tepees. The rich grasslands of the Nez Percé territory enabled the tribe to raise some of the largest horse herds of any Native American group. Skilled horse breeders and trainers, the Nez Percé became particularly well known for breeding the sturdy, spotted horses now called Appaloosas.

Typical of many native groups in the West, the Nez Percé lacked an overall tribal organization, living instead in bands composed of families and extended kinship groups. Each autonomous village or band had a headman who could speak only for his own followers. When a major decision needed to be made, the headmen of the various bands, along with respected shamans, elders, and hunting and war leaders, would meet in a combined council and attempt to reach a consensus.

The first contact between the Nez Percé and non-native people occurred in the fall of 1805, when the Lewis and Clark expedition wandered into western Idaho. The American explorers were cold, tired, and running low on food when they encountered the Nez Percé. The tribe provided assistance that may have prevented members of the expedition from starving. They also helped the explorers build boats and guided them toward the

Pacific Coast. Over the next few decades, the Nez Percé similarly established friendly relations with French Canadian and American fur traders, missionaries, and settlers. At the request of the Nez Percé, a Methodist minister named Henry Spalding established a mission near Lapwai in 1836. Three years later, Asa Smith established another mission at Kamiah. The Nez Percé consulted these ministers for the special powers they seemingly held.

As the number of white settlers in the Northwest increased through the mid-1800s, the Nez Percé avoided many of the conflicts that plagued other tribes. At the Walla Walla Council of 1855, the Nez Percé signed a treaty ceding most of their 13 million acre ancestral territory to the government in exchange for money and a guarantee that 7.5 million acres of their lands would remain intact as a reservation. Immediately after the governor of Washington Territory, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, had signed treaties with several Plateau tribes, he wrote a letter to an eastern newspaper proclaiming the Northwest open for settlement. Other area tribes reacted violently to his duplicity by attacking settlers arriving in the territory. This violence led to the Plateau Indian, or Yakima, War of 1855-1858. Although the Nez Percé remained neutral in the conflict, the treaty signing had split the tribe. The Christianized Nez Percé led by Lawyer (Hallalhotsoot), who signed the treaty, supported the agreement, but many of the tribe's traditionalists balked at signing away their lands.

In the early 1860s, gold was discovered on Nez Percé lands. In violation of the 1855 treaty, settlers rushed in and laid claim to the land. They soon began pressuring the U.S. government to open more tribal territory for mining and settlement. In 1863, Governor Stevens again approached the Nez Percé about relinquishing more tribal lands. Although many leaders, including Chief Joseph (Heinmot Tooyalakekt) and White Bird, refused to negotiate, Lawyer and several others signed a new treaty with Stevens. This treaty reduced the Nez Percé reservation to 780,000 acres. In what came to be known among tribal members as the Thief Treaty, the Nez Percé had lost their claim to many important areas, including Joseph's home territory in the Wallowa Valley of northeastern Oregon. Upon hearing this news, Old Chief Joseph (Tukakas), the peaceful leader of the Wallowa band who had converted to Christianity some years earlier, destroyed his Bible. Despite the anger and resentment caused by this treaty, the Nez Percé remained peaceful in their relations with whites and expressed their discontent through passive noncompliance.

Upon the death of Old Chief Joseph in 1871 his son, Young Chief Joseph, took over leadership of the Wallowa band. In 1873 the government tried to create a Wallowa reservation for Joseph's band, but abandoned the attempt two years later under pressure from the white settlers. Representing his people in a meeting with General Oliver Howard at the Lapwai Council of 1876, Chief Joseph firmly refused to honor the 1863 treaty and give up the tribe's ancestral valley. The following year, however, the government gave the tribe 30 days to vacate Wallowa Valley and move to a reservation near Lapwai, Idaho. When it became clear that war would result if the Wallowa band continued to resist, Chief Joseph agreed to relocate. He stated, "I would give up everything rather than have the blood of my people on my hands."

Before the move could begin, young rebels within the tribe attacked a group of whites in retribution for previous mistreatment of the Nez Percé. Three men were killed and another wounded. Panic spread quickly on both sides, and the U.S. cavalry was mobilized. When the Nez Percé did not leave the Wallowa Valley as ordered, the cavalry attacked Chief Joseph's village. Joseph and the rest of the Wallowa band, which consisted of 250 men and 500 women, children, and elderly, fled into the surrounding mountains. About 2,000 U.S. Army troops under General Howard followed, marking the beginning of the Nez Percé War of 1877. In the *Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes*, this war is described as "one of the most remarkable stories of pursuit and escape in military history." Over the next four months, the Nez Percé traveled 1,600 miles through the rugged wilderness of Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. During this time, they fought 14 battles against a larger and better-equipped enemy. Until the last battle, Waldman noted, the Nez Percé "consistently outsmarted, outflanked, and outfought the larger white forces."

In one of the more embarrassing moments of the war, the U.S. troops built a barricade across Lolo Pass in the Bitterroot Mountains to prevent the Nez Percé from entering Montana. After the tribe avoided the barricade by leading their horses along the face of a cliff, the ineffective structure came to be known as Fort Fizzle. The final battle between the U.S. cavalry and the Nez Percé took place near Snake Creek in the Bear Paw Mountains of Montana, just 30 miles from the Canadian border. For six days the Nez Percé fought off troops led by Colonel Nelson Miles, who had been dispatched to prevent the Nez Percé from reaching Canada before General Howard's troops could catch up and surround them. After fighting bravely for so long, the Nez Percé finally decided to surrender. An exhaust-

ed Chief Joseph delivered his famous surrender speech to his people, in which he stated: "Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever." Following their surrender, Joseph and other tribal leaders such as White Bird, Lean Elk, and Joseph's brother Ollokot, were not allowed to go to the Nez Percé reservation. Instead, they were taken to Indian Country, first in Kansas, then in Oklahoma. They eventually returned to the Northwest at the Colville reservation in north-central Washington, despite Joseph's repeated attempts to reclaim their home.

For the rest of the Nez Percé, the late nineteenth century was a period of great difficulty. Members of the tribe were forced to attend Christian churches and government schools, which was an attempt to destroy the Nez Percé culture. Under the General Allotment Act of 1887, the U.S. government divided the reservation into relatively small allotments and assigned them to individual tribal members. By 1893, reservation lands not allotted were deemed excess and sold to non-Indians. In all, 90 percent of tribal lands within reservation boundaries were lost. Those retained amounted to 90,000 acres scattered in a checkerboard pattern of ownership. In spite of this, Nez Percé tribal traditions persisted into the twentieth century.

MODERN ERA

In recent times, the Nez Percé have been involved in several fishing rights cases affecting the entire Columbia River Basin. As active sponsors of the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, they have taken a number of steps to revitalize salmon and steelhead runs in the region. In addition, they have been negotiating water rights to the Snake River and trying to reacquire ancestral lands. The Nez Percé of Idaho reached an agreement with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which had built dams on the Columbia and Snake Rivers, that will provide the tribe access to traditional fishing stations. In 1996, the Nez Percé regained 10,000 acres of their homeland in northeastern Oregon from the U.S. Bonneville Power Administration. This land is managed as a wildlife preserve. Additional reacquisitions were also being pursued at the time.

The Nez Percé honor their unique and tragic tribal history. In 1996, descendants of the Wallowa band held their twentieth annual ceremony commemorating the members of the tribe who died in the Bear Paw Mountains during the Nez Percé War of 1877. They gathered to smoke pipes, sing, pray, and conduct an empty saddle ceremony, in which

horses are led around without riders in order to appease the spirits of the dead.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Following their surrender to the U.S. cavalry, the Wallowa band of Nez Percé was sent to reservations in Oklahoma and Kansas before finally settling on the Colville reservation near Nespelem, Washington. The remainder of the Joseph band members and other Nez Percé live on the Nez Percé reservation in north-central Idaho. Many also live in various urban areas where better employment opportunities exist. On the Idaho reservation, most of the Nez Percé live in the principal communities of Lapwai, Kamiah, Cottonwood, Nez Percé, Orofino, Culdesac, and Winchester. Some descendants of the Joseph band remained in Oklahoma and others live in Canada.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Before acquiring horses, the Nez Percé lived in houses covered with plant material. In the summer, they moved often in search of food, living in lean-tos consisting of a pole framework covered with woven mats of plant fibers. In the winter, they built pole-framed structures over large pits and covered them with layers of cedar bark, sagebrush, packed grass, and earth. Each dwelling usually housed several families, and a village might consist of five or six such pit houses. As horses increased their mobility and contact with other tribes, Nez Percé buildings grew larger and more sophisticated. Their winter pit houses sometimes extended up to 100 feet in length and housed many families. They also adopted the use of hide-covered tepees during summer fishing and hunting trips.

As with many Native American groups in the United States, the Nez Percé began an era of cultural revitalization in the 1960s involving religion, dance, and arts and crafts. In 1978 Phil Lucas produced *Nez Percé—Portrait of a People*, a film documenting the rich history of the Nez Percé. The film uses archival photographs, traditional stories, and scenes of Nez Percé country to tell of their interaction with the Lewis and Clark expedition and the loss of their lands later in the nineteenth century.

CUISINE

In the dry, rugged high country where the Nez Percé lived, gathering food was a time-consuming prospect. They subsisted primarily by fishing, hunting, and gathering vegetables from spring through fall. Surplus food was stored for winter use. During the spring, when large numbers of salmon swam upstream to spawn, the Nez Percé used a variety of methods to catch them, including spears, hand-held and weighted nets, small brush traps, and large enclosures. They also used bows and arrows to hunt elk, deer, and mountain sheep, although hunting was often difficult on the hot, open plateaus of their homeland. The Nez Percé sometimes disguised themselves in animal furs or worked together to surround a herd of animals so that they could be killed more easily.

In the spring, Nez Percé women used sharp digging sticks to turn up cornlike roots called *kouse* on the grassy hillsides. These roots were ground, then boiled to make soup or shaped into cakes and stored for later use. During the summer, the Nez Percé gathered a wide variety of plants, including wild onions and carrots, bitterroots, blackberries, strawberries, huckleberries, and nuts. In late summer, the various Nez Percé bands came together to gather sweet-tasting camas lily bulbs. These were steamed and made into a dough or gruel. Many of these traditional foods are still shared today as key elements of important celebrations.

MUSIC

Music among the Nez Percé was traditionally a dynamic medium of celebration and ritual, marked by improvisation. It involved not only musical instruments and verse, but also improvised vocalizations of sounds, such as sighs, mimicked animal sounds, moans, and yelps. Flutes made from elderberry stems were one of the preferred musical instruments used by the Nez Percé. It usually had six finger holes. For protection in war, men played wing bone whistles to call guardian spirits. The rasp, which involved scraping a serrated stick with a bone, was standard for war dances prior to the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth century, hand drums replaced the rasp. Larger drums associated with Washat ceremonies began to be used in the 1860s. By the 1890s, some drums were large enough to accommodate up to eight drummers. For traditional ceremonies, a shaman used rattles composed of deer hooves on a stick. After the Nez Percé came into contact with white settlers, bells were used instead of hooves. A simple wooden rod beaten rhythmically on a plank was also used as an instrument.

This Nez Percé man is dressed in traditional ceremonial costume.



TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Nez Percé clothing was made of shredded cedar bark, deerskin, or rabbitskin. Men wore breechcloths and capes in warm weather, adding fur robes and leggings when it turned cold. Nez Percé women were known for the large basket hats they wove out of dried leaves and plant fibers. By the early 1700s, when horses expanded the tribe's hunting range and brought them into contact with tribes of the Pacific Coast and Great Plains, the Nez Percé began wearing tailored skin garments decorated with shells, elk teeth, and beads. As they prepared to make war, Nez Percé men wore only breechcloths and moccasins and applied brightly colored paint to their faces and bodies. Red paint was applied to the part in a warrior's hair and across his forehead, while other colors were applied to his body in special, individual patterns. The warriors also adorned themselves with animal feathers, fur, teeth, and claws representing their connection to their guardian spirits. Elaborate adornments for the horses are characteristic of Nez Percé society, including brightly colored beaded collars and saddlebags, appliquéd with brass tacks and bells added for decorative purposes.

DANCES AND SONGS

Among the Nez Percé, song is considered essentially the same as prayer. Song accompanied most daily activities from morning to night, and most life events. Individuals often had their own personal songs that others might sing to indicate support. Songs and dance still serve to instill community pride and convey tribal heritage, in addition to providing a forum for socialization. Through special songs and dances, the Nez Percé honored the spirit of Hanyawat and Mother Earth in an effort to maintain a balance with nature and express thanks to fish, birds, plants, and animals.

Song and dance focused on guardian spirits, prophet visions, winter ceremonies, and shamanic rituals; seasonal food thanksgivings for first roots, first fruits, first salmon and first game; and for important rites of passage, including birth, naming, puberty, marriage, and death. For instance, each year during the winter traditional Nez Percé hold the Guardian Spirit Dance, or *Wee'kwetset*. In this ceremony, young people who had recently acquired a *wyakin*, a guardian spirit, would dance and sing in prescribed ways in order to become

one with their guardian spirits. By watching and participating, other tribal members can often discover the identity of a young people's *wyakin*. The ceremony sometimes involves contests to see who has received the greatest powers from his or her *wyakin*. This Winter Dance was meant to ensure a desirable life, with safety, health, wealth, skill and strength.

The war dance complex consisted of a set of dances focused on various aspects of war-related activities. A five-day Scalp Dance would conclude the sequence upon the return of the warriors. After acquisition of horses in the mid-eighteenth century, the Nez Percé began journeying annually to the northern Plains to hunt buffalo, some staying for years at a time. There they encountered Plains customs and brought some back with them, including certain war dance styles and drumming. New religions also brought new songs and dance. When Smohalla of the Wanapums of central Washington introduced the Washat religion, he also introduced a new dance and song that sought restoration of traditional life and removal of white influence. Later, worship at the Indian Shaker Church consisted of stomp dances with loud vocalizations and bells. In addition, a number of Anglican hymns introduced by the Presbyterian church were translated into Nez Percé language and printed in the later 1830s.

Dance and song continues its importance to Nez Percé life today. Annual festivals consist of powwows and celebrations. Powwows include the Four Nation Pow Wow at Nez Percé County Fair Grounds in Lewiston, Idaho, in the fall; the Chief Joseph and Warriors Memorial Pow Wow at the Nez Percé Reservation in Lapwai, Idaho, in June; the Pendleton Roundup at Pendleton, Oregon; the Nee-Mee-Poo Sapatqayn and Cultural Days at the Nez Percé Reservation in Spalding, Idaho, in late August; and the Chief Looking Glass Pow Wow at the Nez Percé Reservation in Kamiah, Idaho, the third weekend in August. These events commonly include horse parades, cultural demonstrations, speakers, stick games, arts and crafts, and drumming and dancing, including war dances and social and contest dancing. Other celebrations include the Root Festival the first week of May and the Talmaks celebration, which consists of an early summer camp meeting sponsored by the Presbyterian church. Many of the celebrations are an integral part of the process of cultural rejuvenation still occurring. By observing these celebrations, the Nez Percé maintain connections with the earth, their ancestors, and their historic symbols.

HOLIDAYS

The Nez Percé regularly participate at the Celico Wy-Am Salmon Feast at Celilo Village in Oregon each spring. Also in north-central Oregon is the All-Indian Rodeo held in spring at Tygh Valley, sponsored by the Western States Indian Rodeo Association. The event includes Western dances, a fun run, arts and crafts, and baseball tournament. Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year are also celebrated.

LANGUAGE

The Nez Percé spoke a Sahaptian dialect of the Penutian language family. According to Alvin M. Josephy Jr. in *The Nez Percé Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, the Nez Percé belonged to one of the oldest known language stocks in North America. Their language was closely related to that of the Walla Walla, Yakima, and other Plateau tribes. The traditional territory of the Sahaptian speakers extended for almost 400 miles from the Bitterroot Mountains of Idaho westward to the Cascade Mountains of Oregon. However, Deward E. Walker Jr. explains in *Native America in the Twentieth Century* the Nez Percé language was rarely spoken by tribal members under the age of 30 in the late 1990s.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some Washat-related sayings include: *wa-láhsat*—jumping up and *ipnú-cililpt*—turning around while chanting. Other words or expressions are: *tiwe-t*—male medicine doctor; *tiwata a-t*—female medicine doctor; *Aiiiii*—an amen-like utterance at the end of a series of Washat songs; and *á-šapatwana'aš wíwmu-na*—I mixed huckleberries with salmon flour.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Traditionally, the extended family raised the children, with grandparents teaching many of life's basic lessons. The first non-native schools were introduced by the Presbyterian missionaries who settled in Nez Percé country at the tribe's invitation in 1836. Catholic missionaries followed later. By the late nineteenth century, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established on-reservation elementary schools operated by Indian agents, designed to "civilize" the Nez Percé. Students were discouraged

Despite the use of modern technology, the Nez Percé family tradition has stayed very much the same over the years.



from practicing long-standing tribal traditions and speaking the Nez Percé language. Reflecting the biases of white society, emphasis was placed on educating the boys. Though many of the basics of U.S. elementary schools were taught, including English, vocational training was emphasised. Older children were sent off-reservation, frequently long distances away from their families, to BIA-operated boarding schools such as Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Haskell in Oklahoma. These forced education policies posed dramatic changes to Nez Percé life.

An increasing number of Nez Percé tribal members earned college degrees in the late twentieth century. A number of Nez Percé attend University of Idaho, Washington State University, and University of Washington, among others. Many returned to the tribe to serve the reservation in various capacities including that of wildlife management and administration.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

During pregnancy, women were encouraged to exercise vigorously and take a number of medicinal

herbs. Nez Percé custom dictated that deformed animals and humans should not be ridiculed for fear of causing similar deformities in the baby. The tying of knots was also avoided because they represented the obstruction of the umbilical cord. Babies were delivered in small separate houses with the help of midwives and female relatives. Shamans were called if major problems arose. The baby's head and feet were shaped immediately upon birth. For good luck the umbilical cord was sown into a small hide pouch and attached to the cradleboard. Feasts and gifts were given to the mother and baby, especially for firstborn children, and at adolescence a formal naming ceremony was held.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

As in many indigenous societies, Nez Percé women held a prominent role in food acquisition and preparation. Although men were mainly in charge of the fishing, women assisted in gutting, drying, and storing the large volumes of fish that were caught. Women assumed leadership in food and medicinal plant collecting, using digging sticks to

collect various types of roots, or tubers. The bulb of the camas lily, which grows primarily in wet meadows, was a principal plant food. With the absence of a pottery tradition, baskets were used for numerous tasks, including food storage and even cooking, which was accomplished by placing heated stones in a basket full of water to boil foods.

Nez Percé women were given more respect within the tribe than women in other American Indian tribes. Nez Percé women were eligible to be shamans, who were believed to have miraculous powers, able to cure the sick by singing sacred songs and prescribing herbal remedies. During tribal council meetings, the women could speak up, although they could not lead the meetings. Women's roles in powwows have changed in the late twentieth century, with increased participation in drumming and war dancing, both prohibited to Nez Percé women several generations earlier.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Heads of families often arranged marriages in traditional Nez Percé society, sometimes during childhood. The relative prestige of both families was weighed in making selections. Kin relationships, even distant ones, were avoided; on the other hand, commonly several sons and daughters of two families might marry. In cases where marriage was not arranged, when a male found a female he wanted as a wife, an older female relative of the male initiated negotiations with the female's family. The woman might be observed by the elder relative over a period of time to determine if she was acceptable. The couple might then live together for a while to determine compatibility. Once the couple decided to marry, a ceremony and somewhat competitive gift exchange was held. Relatives of the groom might give horses, equipment for hunting and fishing, and skins. The bride's relatives would give baskets, root bags, digging sticks, and beaded bags. When two prestigious families were involved in an exchange ceremony, many people participated. After a second exchange ceremony, the wedding was considered complete. Since the 1960s, wedding ceremonies are often conducted in traditional longhouses.

FUNERALS

The death of a leader or highly respected elder is a major event in Nez Percé society. Traditional funerals were elaborate and consisted of many components. Close female relatives of the deceased immediately began wailing as criers announced the death in the area. The deceased's face was traditionally

painted red, and the body was washed, dressed in new clothes, wrapped in a robe, and buried the following day. A number of the deceased's favorite valuables were placed in the grave. A favorite horse might even be killed and left in the vicinity. The grave was placed on a prominent hill overlooking a valley or in a rocky talus slope. A shaman would perform rituals to prevent the deceased ghost from returning, and individuals who had tended to the body ritually purified themselves. Following burial, a feast was held and the remaining items of the deceased disbursed. For the following year, the surviving spouse cut his or her hair short, wore old clothes, did not smile in public, and was prohibited from remarrying. At the end of the yearlong mourning period, relatives supplied a new set of clothes, and a new spouse if a brother or sister of the deceased spouse was available.

Various religions are still practiced by the Nez Percé and other natives in the region, including Washat, Feather, and Shaker sects. In some instances, a modern-day funeral may include more than 20 Washat songs performed during a night-long wake. Graveside Washat songs may also be performed at the burial.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

The Nez Percé maintained friendly relations with most tribes of the Plateau area, including the Walla Walla, Yakima, Palouse, and Cayuse as well as other tribes to their north. The Nez Percé were traditionally part of a large trading network, trading directly with other Columbia River basin tribes to the west, and native groups to the east in western Montana, and even onto the Great Plains. A variety of raw materials and goods passed through this network. The main enemies of the Nez Percé were the Great Basin groups to the south, including the Shoshone, Northern Paiute, and Bannock. Raids motivated by revenge regularly occurred back and forth between the Nez Percé and these groups.

One of the strongest present-day forums for interaction with other tribes is the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fisheries Commission (CRITFC). The CRITFC was formed to facilitate the restoration of salmon and steelhead runs in the Snake River system, an issue of primary importance in the latter years of the twentieth century. The Nez Percé, the Yakima, Warm Springs, and Umatilla tribes are CRITFC members. The commission developed its own comprehensive restoration plan for the region in the mid-1990s and is a key player with various federal agencies and several states in the major restoration effort.

RELIGION

The Nez Percé felt a deep spiritual connection with the earth and sought to live in harmony with nature. They believed all living things and all features of the natural environment were closely related to each other and to people. Every member of the Nez Percé tribe had a personal link with nature in the form of a guardian spirit, or *wyakin*, that protected him or her from harm and provided assistance during his or her life. For example, a person might pray to his or her *wyakin* for success in war or for help in crossing a dangerous river. A small medicine bundle containing materials that represented one's *wyakin* was often carried.

Around the onset of puberty, a young Nez Percé would leave the village in hopes of acquiring a *wyakin* through a sacred experience. The youth traveled alone to an isolated place, often at a high mountain or along a river, without food or weapons, and sat upon a pile of stones and waited for the *wyakin* to reveal itself. The *wyakin* might appear as something material, such as an elk illuminated in a flash of lightning, or as a hallucination or dream. After returning to the village, the young person did not tell others of the experience but interpreted the power of the *wyakin* privately. From that point on, there were certain rules to follow in order to avoid bad fortune, but one could also appeal to the *wyakin* in times of need.

Until the 1863 treaty, the Nez Percé were generally open to white settlement and Christian missions in the region. However, with the continued loss of tribal lands Christianity became a major issue causing factionalism. The white culture not only introduced new technologies to the Nez Percé in the nineteenth century, but also brought epidemics, guns, whiskey, impacts on traditional food resources, and loss of land. Over time, pronounced despair led to the rise of various prophetic movements focused on restoring traditional ways and ridding the area of whites. These movements arrived in cycles as interest would grow, then wane, only to rise again. The first was the Prophet Dance in the 1820s, followed by the Washat or Seven Drum Religion in the 1850s, an Earth-lodge cult of the late nineteenth century, and the Feather cult of 1905. A series of prophets were among the Nez Percé, including Nez Percé Ellis, Wiskaynatowat-sanmay, and Tawis-waikt. The Prophet Dance, the oldest of the series of prophetic movements, generally involved dancing in a circle with a leader making vision-inspired prophecies in a trance-like state. The messages were deeply religious in tone and emphasized a renewal of life.

The Seven Drums Religion, considered a direct descendant of the Prophet Dance, has long been a focal point in the revitalization of Nez Percé traditional religious practices. The religion is a blend of vision quests seeking personal spirit powers and some Christian elements in a native communal worship framework. It is also known as the Longhouse Religion, as it was performed in traditional longhouses throughout the Columbia Plateau region and led by highly charismatic individuals. The first roots feasts in spring, a first salmon feast slightly later, and a berry feast toward summer's end as well as funerals and memorials are commonly celebrated in the Washat format.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The traditional Nez Percé economy was based on fishing, gathering, hunting, and, later, raising large herds of horses. Prior to incursions by white settlers, a number of major villages existed along the lower courses of the Snake, Salmon, and Clearwater Rivers and their tributaries. Having rich fisheries on these watercourses, including seasonal runs of a variety of salmon and steelhead trout, annual fish consumption in the traditional economy was estimated at more than 500 pounds per person. The traditional territory contains a diversity of landscapes with rugged mountains and numerous valleys and high prairies, primarily within the Snake River drainage system. Each area offered something different in terms of resources.

The loss of a viable land base greatly undermined both the traditional Nez Percé economy and the ability to join the burgeoning market economy of the non-Indians. The tribe won several Indian Claims Commission monetary awards in the latter half of the twentieth century in payment for lost lands. They received \$3.5 million for lands ceded in the 1855 treaty and more than \$5 million for lands lost in the 1863 treaty and 1893 allotments. Along with several other tribes, the Nez Percé also received compensation for the flooding of a key fishery location on the Columbia River in the 1950s by reservoir construction. The Nez Percé share was almost \$3 million.

The Nez Percé tribe has occasionally leased approximately 80 percent of its lands to non-Indians. Tribal economy has been largely based on funding from these leases and a timber program. Reacquisition of tribal lands is a key goal of the tribe. In the mid-1990s, as Wallowa Valley encountered difficult economic times with declines in the timber

and cattle markets, residents made plans to invite the Nez Percé back to the area. Residents began raising money to build an interpretive center and purchase 160 acres of land for the tribe to use for cultural events. Though valley residents viewed the return of the Nez Percé as an opportunity to promote tourism, most members of the tribe were pleased to recover some of their ancestral territory. "The whites may look at it as an economic plus, but we look at it as a homecoming," tribal member Soy Redthunder informed journalist Timothy Egan. The Nee-Me-Poo National Historic Trail, the Nez Percé National Historical Park, and the burial site of Old Chief Joseph have become major tourist attractions. One tourism-related Nez Percé-owned business enterprise is Old West Enterprises Textiles and Tipis in Lapwai, Idaho.

The Nez Percé received approval in 1992 from the Northwest Power Planning Council for an ambitious \$14 million Clearwater River hatchery plan to restore chinook, steelhead and eventually other salmon, trout, and sturgeon to the tribe's fishing sites scattered over two million acres of central Idaho. (Project funding from the Bonneville Power Administration proved more elusive.) Project plans included a central hatchery and rearing facility, an auxiliary hatchery, and a number of satellite monitoring facilities. One goal was to return fish to traditional spawning grounds in the upper reaches of the Clearwater tributaries, strengthening natural fish runs. The long-term goal of the project is to restore salmon to 13 million acres of ceded lands in Oregon and Washington.

The Nez Percé are not reluctant to enter mainstream society. The Nez Percé are receptive to the United States educational system and their members thrive in academics. Nez Percé members are doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, and teachers. The Nez Percé tribe operates a printing plant and a marina. The unemployment rate of the Nez Percé is lower than that of most other Native American tribes.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In 1923, the non-traditionalists of the tribe, seeking an elective form of government, formed the Nez Percé Home and Farm Association, with James Stuart as the first president. The Nez Percé rejected the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the Indian New Deal, instead establishing their own tribal constitution in 1948. Under the constitution, Tribal Executive Committee, whose members are elected at large, governs the tribe. The committee oversees the tribe's economic development, including the use of natural resources and the investment of trib-

al income. It is also responsible to the General Council, which consists of all enrolled tribal members. By the 1990s, with an annual budget of \$2 million, the tribe employed over 250 people and provided many social services to tribal members.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMICS

Nez Percé anthropologist and activist Archie Phinney (1903-1949) played a significant role in preserving the traditional language and folklore of the tribe. Phinney was born on the Nez Percé reservation and raised in a traditional manner, including speaking the language. He attended the University of Kansas, where he became the first Native American to receive a degree from that school. Phinney then attended Columbia University and earned a graduate degree. Returning to the Nez Percé reservation, he began a project of preserving the Nez Percé language and folklore. Phinney authored two books and several journal articles. One book, the 1934 *Nez Percé Texts*, contained traditional stories of the tribe and was published by the prestigious Columbia University Press. Phinney demonstrated that folklore was a legitimate academic field of study. Promoting Native American causes nationwide, Phinney held leadership positions with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, including that of superintendent of the Northern Idaho Agency, and in the National Congress of American Indians. Phinney lobbied the U.S. Congress regarding education issues and land claims. Internationally recognized, Phinney received an honorary degree from the Russian Academy of Science in Leningrad as well as the Indian Council Fire Award in 1946. In 1973 the Nez Percé published its own history, *Noon Nee-Me-Poo: We, the Nez Percés* co-authored by Nez Percé historian Allen P. Slickpoo Sr.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Hattie Kauffman, winner of four Emmy Awards, has been a national correspondent for CBS *This Morning* and a former feature reporter for ABC's *Good Morning America*.

LITERATURE

The works of Phil George (b. 1946), a Wallowa Nez Percé poet, have been published in several anthologies, including *The Remembered Earth* (1979) and *Dancing on the Rim of the World* (1990). His poetry has

even been read on popular television shows, such as the *Tonight Show* and the *Dick Cavett Show*. Born in Seattle, Washington, George attended Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington, and the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He is also a champion Traditional Plateau dancer. George wrote, produced, and narrated the program *A Season for Grandmothers* for the Public Broadcasting Service. His work is showcased at the Nez Percé National Historical Park in Spaulding, Idaho.

POLITICAL LEADERS

The Nez Percé have been blessed with a number of influential leaders. These leaders are not only recognized by Native Americans but have also an integral part of American history. Old Chief Joseph (1790?-1871), also known as Tuekakas and Wellaamotkin, was the primary leader of the Wallowa band of Nez Percé in the northeastern Oregon during the period of substantial encroachment of white settlers. Peacefully accepting non-Indians into Nez Percé territory, Joseph was one of the first Nez Percé baptized by the Presbyterian minister Henry Spalding. Joseph reluctantly signed the 1855 treaty with territorial governor Isaac Stevens, since it reserved the Wallowa Valley lands for his band. However, the continued influx of non-Indians into his band's territory led his angry disavowal of Christianity and a stronger alignment with the more militant, anti-treaty Nez Percés. In 1886, nine years after his death, whites opened his grave and displayed his skull in a dental office. In 1926 he was reinterred in his homeland valley.

Lawyer (1796-1876), also known as Aleiya, was the son of Twisted Hair, the Nez Percé leader who welcomed and aided Lewis and Clark in 1805. Following his father's tradition, Lawyer became leader of the band of Nez Percé living along the Clearwater River of north-central Idaho. He also sought friendship with the non-Indians entering the area, serving as guide and interpreter for early explorers and trappers in the region. In addition, Lawyer served as a teacher for Presbyterian missionary Asa Smith at Kamiah. Lawyer was known for his oratorical skills and mastery of English. He became leader of the treaty faction of the Nez Percé, signing both the 1855 and 1863 treaties with territorial governor Isaac Stevens, and even protecting Stevens from attacks by natives. In his latter years, Lawyer traveled to Washington, D.C., to protest the breaking of treaty terms by the United States. He died the year before the Nez Percé War.

Looking Glass (1823?-1877) was born Allalmya Takanin. His father, also known as Looking

Glass, was leader of the Asotin band of Nez Percé living in the Clearwater River drainage of north-central Idaho. He was also recognized as leader of the non-treaty Nez Percé in general. Takanin inherited the band leadership and the name. Young Looking Glass was appointed a war leader for the Nez Percé in 1848. Like a number of his contemporary Nez Percé leaders, Looking Glass followed a path of passive resistance to white encroachment into Nez Percé territory. However, as war broke out in northeast Oregon between the Joseph band and the United States, Looking Glass was drawn into the conflict when his own village was attacked by a combined volunteer militia and U.S. Army force. Looking Glass became the initial leader of the fleeing force of Nez Percé attempting to join Sitting Bull's Sioux, already exiled in Canada after the Battle of Little Bighorn the previous year. However, Looking Glass's consistent underestimation of the U.S. determination to track down the Nez Percé lost him his leadership role to others, including Chief Joseph. Looking Glass was killed as the Nez Percé fought their last battle just short of the Canadian border.

Also known as Hin-mut-too-yah-lat-kekht, or Thunder-Traveling-Across-Lake-and-Fading-on-Mountainside, Chief Joseph (c.1840-1904) and other tribal leaders led a large band of Nez Percé in the most successful, sustained resistance to the U.S. cavalry ever achieved by Native American fighters. The Nez Percé War of 1877 broke out after the tribe had suffered years of abuse from white settlers living on their land and unreasonable demands by the federal government for the Indians to confine their living space and accommodate the settlers' demands. Chief Joseph, whose father (also named Joseph) was a prominent leader of the Wallowa band, took charge upon his father's death in 1871. After several years of passive noncompliance with the Treaty of 1863, he prepared to lead his band out of Wallowa Valley in Idaho in 1877 under the threat of war with the United States. When rebels from the band attacked and killed a group of white settlers, however, Chief Joseph and his whole band (men, women, children, the elderly, and their horse herd) began a 1,600-mile trek through Idaho and Montana toward Canada with the army in pursuit. After outsmarting the American troops numerous times and engaging in 14 separate battles, the Nez Percé were finally forced to surrender just 30 miles short of their goal. At that time Chief Joseph uttered the famous words, "I will fight no more forever." He continued to be a respected leader during the early reservation years, as he eloquently pleaded the tribe's case before government representatives. In 1879 he gave a famous interview that was published in the *North American Review* under the title "An

Indian's View of Indian Affairs," which brought national attention to the Nez Percé. He died in 1904 on the Colville reservation in Washington. Other leaders of the period included Timothy, White Bird, Yellow Wolf, and Ollikut.

MEDIA

Indian Art Northwest.

Dedicated to enhancing public awareness and appreciation of Native American arts and culture in the Pacific Northwest. Publishes information related to Native American arts and educational events and products.

Address: 911 Northeast 11th Avenue, Portland, Oregon 97232.

Telephone: (503) 230-7005.

Nez Percé Tribal Newspaper.

Address: Box 305, Lapwai, Idaho 85341.

Wana Chinook Tymoo.

A publication of the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission.

Address: 729 Northeast Oregon, Suite 200, Portland, Oregon 97232.

Telephone: (503) 238-0667.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians.

Address: 222 Northwest Davis, Suite 403, Portland, Oregon 97209.

Telephone: (503) 241-0070.

Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission.

Address: 729 Northeast Oregon, Suite 200, Portland, Oregon 97232.

Telephone: (503) 238-0667.

Nez Percé Arts and Crafts Guild.

A cooperative for Nez Percé craftspersons.

Address: P.O. Box 205, Lapwai, Idaho 83540.

Nez Percé Tribe.

Address: P.O. Box 305, Lapwai, Idaho 83540.

Telephone: (208) 843-2253.

Pi-Nee-Waus Community Center.

Provides information concerning contemporary Nez Percé artists.

Address: P.O. Box 305, Lapwai, Idaho 83540.

Telephone: (208) 843-2253.

White Eagle Trading Post.

Retail sales of Nez Percé arts and crafts, including beaded, feather, and leather pieces.

Address: Highway 1, Orofino, Idaho.

Telephone: (208) 476-7753.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Clearwater Historical Museum.

Holds Nez Percé artifacts, photographic file, and other papers.

Contact: Robert Spencer.

Address: 315 College Avenue, Orofino, Idaho 83544.

Telephone: (208) 476-5033.

Gonzaga University Archives.

Considerable information on traditional Plateau cultures from missionaries' journals and other unpublished archival documents are housed in this independent Catholic college founded in 1887 by Jesuits.

Address: East 502 Boone Avenue, Spokane, Washington 99258.

Telephone: (509) 328-4220.

Idaho State Historical Society Library.

Contains more than 200 volumes of Lapwai Agency records between 1871 and 1883 in addition to photo archives, diaries, and a library of published literature regarding the Nez Percé tribe.

Contact: Arthur A. Hart.

Address: 610 North Julia Davis Drive, Boise, Idaho 83702.

Telephone: (208).

Nez Percé National Historic Park and Museum.

Houses photo archives and exhibits relating to the Nez Percé cultural history.

Contact: Susan J. Buchel.

Address: P.O. Box 93, Spalding, Idaho 83551.

Telephone: (208) 843-2261.

University of Idaho Library Archives and Pacific Northwest Anthropological Archives.

Address: University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83844.

Telephone: (208) 885-6326.

Whitman College Library Archives.

This private college, founded in 1859, houses a collection of unpublished documents on Nez Percé culture.

Address: Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington 99362.

Telephone: (509) 527-5111.

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NICARAGUAN AMERICANS

by
Stefan Smagula

OVERVIEW

Bordered on the north by Honduras, on the south by Costa Rica, on the east by the Caribbean Sea, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean, Nicaragua is Central America's largest nation. Within its triangular borders there are 57,089 square miles (147,900 square kilometers), making Nicaragua the size of Iowa. Dividing the Caribbean lowlands from the Pacific coast is a range of volcanic mountains whose highest peak, Pico Mogoton, 6,913 feet above sea level, is near the Honduran border. The 3,000-square-mile Lake Nicaragua is the largest lake in Central America, and because it was once part of the Pacific Ocean, it is the only place in the world where freshwater sharks, swordfish, and sea horses live. The Caribbean lowlands, which extend inland from the Mosquito Coast, make up half the national territory, but most of Nicaragua's population has always been concentrated near the fertile Pacific coast.

In 1970 about two million people were living in Nicaragua. In 1995 the population could reach 4.5 million, and by 2025 the population could be over nine million, according to the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. The population grows 3.4 percent each year, according to the Inter-American Development Bank. *Mestizos*—people of mixed Spanish-indigenous ancestry—make up about 77 percent of Nicaragua's population. Another ten percent are of European descent, nine percent are of African

For Nicaraguan Americans, the central plazas of Nicaraguan towns may have been replaced by shopping centers and malls, but traditions do not change as easily as one's locale. Having only recently arrived in the United States, most Nicaraguan Americans have maintained their traditions and beliefs.

descent, and four percent are indigenous. However, these numbers oversimplify the complex racial, cultural, and ethnic makeup of a country where, before the Spanish conquest, there lived at least nine distinct indigenous peoples.

In the mid-1990s, the main cultural-racial groups are *mestizos*, *indígenas*, English- and Garífuna-speaking Afro-Karib people, and a small Caucasian elite class. Among the groups living on the Atlantic coast that are commonly defined as indigenous are the Miskito, Sumu, and Rama. The Miskito are not exactly an indigenous group, but a mixture of indigenous peoples and all the travellers who have passed through the Mosquito Coast over the last two centuries. The Sumu and Rama are indigenous people who probably originated in South America. The Garífuna, known historically as the “Black Karibs,” are the descendants of escaped African slaves and Karib Indians who intermarried on the island of St. Vincent, where they lived until the British transported them forcibly to the Caribbean coast of Central America in 1796. The Caucasian elite is formed by a small, but typically wealthy, group of people whose ancestors came from Europe—usually Spain, Germany, France, and England. There are minorities of Chinese, Arabs, Cubans, Russians, and others in Nicaragua today.

Indígena, or indigenous, is a cultural and linguistic designation, not merely a racial term. The term “indigenous” refers to people who not only have ancestors who came from Central or South America but who self-consciously identify themselves with a specific indigenous group or tribe, speak the language, and practice the customs of that group. It is possible to be entirely indigenous in the racial sense and to be *mestizo*. *Mestizos* are culturally, linguistically, and often racially mixed people. The word *mestizo* means “mixed race” in Spanish and refers to the race of people that has resulted from hundreds of years of assimilation and intermarriage between Spanish and indigenous people.

About 88 percent of the entire country is nominally Roman Catholic. Many Nicaraguans, especially in rural areas, practice a syncretist form of religion that combines indigenous religious beliefs with Catholicism. A small but growing percentage of the country belongs to evangelical, Pentecostal, and fundamentalist Protestant churches.

HISTORY

Archaeologists working in El Bosque, Estelí, Nicaragua unearthed a pile of Mastodon and Megatherium bones that suggest that prehistoric people used El Bosque as a slaughter site as many as

20,000 to 30,000 years ago. The bones at El Bosque are among the oldest known evidence of a prehistoric human presence in Central America. Archaeologists and others have theorized that the ancestors of the people who lived long ago at El Bosque—and of all indigenous people in the Americas—originally came from Asia across an ice- or land-bridge between Siberia and Alaska. Aside from archeological and geological evidence, there are also some genetic similarities between Asians and indigenous Americans that support the idea of the Asian origin of indigenous American peoples.

INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES

Many thousands of years after the first people arrived in North America between 5000 and 2000 B.C., the Mayan empire first began to develop along the Caribbean coast, and eventually its influence spread through a network of city-states that stretched from present-day southern Mexico into Honduras, just north of Nicaragua. The ancient Maya produced many intellectual and artistic accomplishments. They invented the first system of writing in the New World, developed a sophisticated knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, worshipped at brightly painted temples of stone, lived in large city-like centers, and sustained a rigid and highly structured society. The many Mayan temples and stone-paved roads that remain are testimony to the beauty, ingenuity, and durability of ancient Mayan architecture and engineering. But the Mayan culture that flowered so brilliantly was the same culture that waged the brutal civil wars that may have contributed to the sudden and mysterious downfall of the Mayan empire around 900 A.D. The descendants of the ancient Maya live today in Guatemala and the Yucatán Peninsula in southern Mexico. The influence of the ancient Maya is ubiquitous throughout Central America, and many Mayan-language words are present in the everyday Spanish spoken in modern Nicaragua.

After the fall of the Maya, the Aztecs, a Nahuatl-speaking group who originated in northern Mexico, came into full power. They eventually established a series of allegiances that spread from Mexico to El Salvador. The Nicarao and some of the other indigenous groups of Nicaragua may have originally fled south to Nicaragua in order to avoid subjugation by the aggressive Aztecs. These migrating groups of people brought with them the Aztec language and culture, both of which persist in various forms today in Nicaragua.

COLONIAL PERIOD

Before the Spanish conquest in the early 1520s, Nicaragua was inhabited by numerous competing indigenous groups that probably originally came from both the North and the South. Among them were the Niquiranos, the Nicarao (also known as the Nahual or Nagual), the Chorotega, the Chontales (or Mames), the Miskito, the Sumu (or Sumo), the Voto, the Suerre, and the Guetar. The invading Spaniards and the epidemics that followed the conquest all but eradicated the Nicarao, Chorotega, Chontales, Voto, Suerre, Guetar, and numerous other indigenous Nicaraguan peoples. Having been decimated by war and disease, their societies in shambles, the surviving indigenous people were often forced to learn Spanish, to convert to Catholicism, and to work under slavlike conditions for the benefit of the Spanish colonizers and missionary priests. Over the years, many of these indigenous people assimilated and intermarried into Spanish colonial society, forming the racial-cultural group called *mestizo*.

Although a few Nicarao persisted in Nicaragua until the mid-twentieth century, their descendants are now only vaguely aware of their ethnic identity. Unlike the Nicarao, whose culture has been subsumed by mestizo culture, some indigenous groups in Nicaragua have maintained their language, culture, and ethnic identity. Through a combination of fierce resistance to Hispanic control and isolation in the Caribbean lowlands, the Miskito, the Sumu, and the Rama have managed to survive and maintain their ethnic identity into the present.

INDEPENDENCE

From the time of the conquest until 1821, Spain controlled most of Nicaragua. British colonizers controlled some areas along the Caribbean coast. Nicaragua gained independence from Spain first in 1821 as part of the Mexican empire and later as part of the Central American Federation. By 1838 the Federation had collapsed, and rival conservative and liberal factions had begun violent struggles for power in Nicaragua. The rivalry was as much based on political differences as it was on *localismo*—the provincial hatred between Granada and Leon, the two oldest colonial cities in Nicaragua. In the mid-1800s the United States and Britain aggravated the liberal-conservative feud when the two nations competed for control over a potential transoceanic canal route that would have crossed Nicaragua via the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua.

In 1855 liberal leader General Francisco de Castellón invited a well-known Tennessee-born

adventurer named William Walker to come to Nicaragua as a peaceful “colonist” with the understanding that Walker was to be the defender of the liberals. However, when Walker arrived with a gang of 58 mercenaries named the “American Phalanx of Immortals,” he promptly ended the civil war and declared himself president of Nicaragua. The same day he took office, he issued four decrees: the first was an agreement to borrow money from abroad with the Nicaraguan territory as collateral; the second confiscated the property of the conservatives, for sale to U.S. citizens; the third made English the official language of the country; and the fourth reinstated slavery.

Walker next attempted to conquer the other four Central American republics, but a combined effort by the Central American armies eventually forced his retreat in May of 1857. Fortunately for Walker, there was a U.S. ship waiting to take him back to New Orleans, where he was given a hero’s welcome. Completely discredited by the Walker incident, the liberals lost control to the conservatives, who established the Nicaraguan capital in Managua. The conservative government was stable but not democratic. In November of 1857, Walker led another failed invasion of Nicaragua and once again was shipped safely back to the United States. Three years later Walker made his third attempt to achieve “manifest destiny,” but this time a British ship overcame him and turned him over to the Honduran government; a Honduran firing squad ended Walker’s life. It was just the beginning of a long era of U.S. intervention in Nicaraguan politics.

MODERN ERA

In recent years the people of Nicaragua have suffered many disasters, both natural and man-made. Hurricanes, severe earthquakes, dictatorships, revolution, counterrevolution, famines, epidemics, civil war, volcanic eruptions, and foreign machination have all besieged Nicaragua. In 1909 the U.S. government supported a revolution that ousted liberal General Jose Santos Zelaya and instated conservative rule. In 1912 popular revolt against the conservatives led to U.S. Marine intervention, and the Marines essentially did not leave Nicaragua until 1933, after fighting a guerrilla war against General Augusto Cesar Sandino and his followers. At the request of their commander, General Anastasio Somoza, the U.S.-trained Nicaraguan National Guard killed General Sandino.

Somoza seized control of Nicaragua in 1936 and was the country’s dictatorial ruler until his assassination by young poet Rigoberto Lopez in

1956. Somoza's sons, Luis Somoza Debayle and Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who both spoke English and were educated in the United States, assumed control of the country. When Luis, better known as Tachito, died a natural death in 1967, Anastasio became leader.

After a severe earthquake leveled Managua in 1972, Anastasio Somoza's detractors claimed that Somoza had embezzled many millions of dollars of earthquake-relief money. Popular dissatisfaction with the perceived widespread corruption and brutality of the Somoza regime, coupled with anger over what many believed was the Somoza-directed murder of opposition leader Pedro Joaquin Chamorro in 1978, prompted nationwide uprisings that led to civil war. The Marxist guerrillas of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led the anti-Somoza fighting. The Sandinistas, who take their name from General Sandino, took power on July 9, 1979 and set up a broad-based coalition government. On July 17, 1979 Somoza, along with many of the top-ranking government officials, fled with their families to Miami, Florida. The coalition government soon broke up when the leadership of the Roman Catholic church, industrialists, and moderate politicians all opposed the FSLN's Marxist elements. Somoza later moved from Miami to Paraguay, where he was assassinated.

POST-REVOLUTION U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN NICARAGUA

President Ronald Reagan imposed an economic embargo against Nicaragua, citing what he saw as the threat of Marxism and Communism in the "backyard" of the United States. Despite a thorough campaign of misinformation by the U.S. Department of State, which denied American support for anti-Sandinistas, the U.S. government secretly aided anti-Sandinista guerrillas, or "Contras." Exiled Nicaraguan Contra leaders who lived in Miami worked together with high-ranking officials in the Marines, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the National Security Council (NSC) to supply weapons and money to the Contras at a time when Congress had passed a law banning U.S. government support for the Contras. This affair was partially brought to light in 1986 when then-Attorney General Edwin Meese discovered that much of the money for the Contras came from a secret arms-for-hostages deal between the United States and Iran. Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North and other high-ranking officials in the CIA and NSC were later convicted of crimes ranging from perjury to conspiracy to defraud the U.S. government. Presidents Reagan and Bush denied prior knowledge of the Iran-Contra

affair, as the scandal came to be called. In 1992 President Bush pardoned all of the high-ranking officials who were involved with the scandal.

FLEDGLING DEMOCRACY

FSLN leader Daniel Ortega Saavedra was elected president of Nicaragua in 1984, but much of the opposition boycotted the election. As fighting against the U.S.-funded Contras began to grow more and more severe, economic and civil rights conditions continued to deteriorate in Nicaragua, prompting many former Sandinista supporters to flee to the United States and Costa Rica.

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, wife of slain anti-Somoza leader Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, was elected president in February 1990. She is a conservative who is moderately opposed to the Sandinistas. After Chamorro's election the U.S. trade embargo was lifted, and in November 1993, in response to Chamorro's pledge to place the army under non-Sandinista control, President Bill Clinton approved \$40 million in aid for Nicaragua. Chamorro attempted to achieve peace by giving amnesty to both sides for crimes committed during the civil war, but later clashes between the Sandinista-controlled army and "recontras" have revived old anxieties among Nicaraguans.

Sixteen years after the Sandinista revolution, Nicaragua was still in a desperate situation. There were an estimated 1,500 recontras, former right-wing rebels, fighting for land rights. The annual per capita income in 1994 was \$540, less than it was in 1960, according to the University of Central America. Some 60 percent of Nicaraguans were unemployed, and 70 percent lived in extreme poverty, according to United Nations estimates. The infant mortality rate was the highest in Central America: 81 deaths per 1,000 live births. Nicaragua had an external debt of about \$14 billion and suffered from inflation. In a mid-1990s poll in Nicaragua, 50 percent of the respondents said that Nicaragua was better off under the brutal Somoza regime, and only seven percent said that the country was better off under Chamorro, according to Canadian magazine *Maclean's*. In 1996, a conservative, Arnaldo Aleman, defeated Ortega in the presidential election.

THE FIRST NICARAGUANS IN AMERICA

Little is known about the first Nicaraguans to immigrate to the United States. One early visitor was Padre Augustín Vigil, a priest from Granada, Nicaragua, who served as William Walker's ambassador to the United States. Padre Vigil lived in

Washington, D.C., sometime between 1856 and 1857. The U.S. Census Bureau did not keep separate statistics for individual Central American countries until 1960. Pre-1960 census reports simply lumped Nicaraguans together with all Spanish-surnamed people. Estimates of the number of undocumented early immigrants are not available. Available statistics show a great deal of variation from decade to decade. Documented migration to the United States from Central America rose from 500 individuals entering between 1890 and 1900 to 8,000 individuals between 1900 and 1910. U.S. demand for labor increased during World War I, and 17,000 Central Americans entered the United States legally between 1910 and 1920. Due to 1920s legislation that restricted the flow of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, the number of Central American immigrants dropped to 6,000 during the 1930s (Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, "Central American Migration: A Framework Analysis," *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 26, No. 1; p. 81). In general, early migration from Nicaragua to the United States was facilitated by Nicaragua's political and economic dependency upon the United States.

Nicaragua's dependence upon the United States has fostered in the Nicaraguans a "perverse esteem" for the United States, according to Judith Thurman in an article written for the *New Yorker*. Esteem for the United States, whether perverse or not, is certainly one of the main factors that has attracted Nicaraguans to move North. Across Central America the United States is thought of as a *país de maravillas* or "country of marvels," where everyone is wealthy, or at least upwardly mobile.

Nearly 7,500 Nicaraguans immigrated legally into the United States between 1967 and 1976. In 1970, 28,620 Nicaraguans were living in the United States, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Over 90 percent of Nicaraguan immigrants self-reported as "white" on the 1970 census. Most Nicaraguan immigrants during the late 1960s were women: there were only 60 male Nicaraguan immigrants for every 100 female immigrants during this period (Ann Orlov and Reed Veda, "Central and South Americans," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980]; pp. 210-217). This male-to-female ratio may be explained by the large number of Central American women who came to the United States to work as domestic servants so that they could send money home to Nicaragua. Most immigrants during this period settled in urban areas, and many went to live in Los Angeles and San Francisco, California.

DOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION

The 1979 revolution triggered the largest waves of Nicaraguan immigrants. Documented immigration increased two to three times after the revolution, and undocumented immigration rose dramatically. Migration to the United States occurred in three waves. The first wave took place during the time of the revolution, when the wealthy families closely associated with the Somoza regime fled to Miami. Perhaps as many as 20,000 Nicaraguans immigrated to Miami during this period. After the revolution there was a period of repatriation, when people who had left Nicaragua to avoid the conflicts returned home. The second wave occurred during the early 1980s, when the Nicaraguan government was reorganized. Many non-Sandinista members of the coalition as well as industrialists whose companies had been seized by the state left the country—some ending up in the United States. In the mid-1980s, fighting between the Sandinistas and the U.S.-supported Contras became more severe, which caused the country's economic and civil rights conditions to worsen significantly. The real wage paid to workers, for example, declined by over 90 percent from 1981 to 1987, according to Sandinista figures, and the opposition newspaper was heavily censored. This economic chaos and social repression prompted the third and largest wave of immigrants to date. Over 62 percent of the total documented immigration from 1979 to 1988 occurred after 1984 (Edward Funkhouser, "Migration from Nicaragua: Some Recent Evidence," *World Development*, Volume 20, No. 8, 1992; p. 1210). The immigrants in the third wave tended to be young men of all classes fleeing the involuntary military draft and poorer families seeking to escape harsh economic conditions and violence.

The three waves together brought the documented population of all Nicaraguans in the United States to 202,658, with a large percentage of that number, 168,659, having been born in Nicaragua, according to the 1990 U.S. Census. However, some sources say that in the late 1980s there were probably about 175,000 documented and undocumented Nicaraguans in Miami alone.

Between 1982 and 1992, approximately ten percent to 12 percent of the population of Nicaragua left their native country. The largest numbers of people went to Costa Rica, but hundreds of thousands went to the United States, Honduras, and Guatemala. Between 1979 and 1988, 45,964 Nicaraguans emigrated to Costa Rica legally, and another 24,000 people were classified as refugees, as reported by the Nicaraguan Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos. During almost

the same period, 21,417 Nicaraguans entered the United States legally, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's *Statistical Yearbook*. In 1988 over 44,000 people, or 1.5 percent of the population of 3.6 million, left Nicaragua, according to the Nicaraguan Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos.

When the Sandinistas tried to relocate the Miskitos away from the war zones, thousands of Miskitos fled to Honduras and Costa Rica to avoid what they felt was mistreatment by the Hispanic Sandinistas. Large numbers of Miskitos also joined the Contras in Honduras. It is not known whether Miskitos traveled in large numbers to the United States, and the same is true of the Garífuna. There is reportedly a Garífuna community living in Houston, Texas, and some of them may be Nicaraguan.

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION

The majority of Nicaraguans have entered the United States without the knowledge of immigration authorities. Because most Nicaraguan immigrants are undocumented, and therefore deportable, collecting information about them is difficult. When the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 offered amnesty to all undocumented immigrants who could prove that they had entered the United States before 1982, 15,900 Nicaraguans applied for amnesty. This is more than double the number of Nicaraguans who entered the country legally between 1979 and 1982. According to several studies, the number of amnesty applicants suggests that there were about 200,000 Nicaraguans living in the United States during the mid-1980s (Funkhouser, p. 1210). The true number of Nicaraguan immigrants can only be estimated, but by 1995 it was probably over 250,000.

ENTERING THE UNITED STATES ILLEGALLY

Aimed at reducing the numbers of illegal immigrants to the United States, the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act had little effect on the numbers of immigrants who entered the United States—it just drove the flow of undocumented immigrants deeper underground and made it more difficult for them to find work once in the United States. Even before the law was passed, large numbers of Nicaraguans were forced to cross the Mexican-United States border illegally with the help of *coyotes*, a Spanish colloquial term for the people who illegally transport immigrants into the United States. After the law was passed, and border control was stepped up, the *coyotes* began to charge more money.

Undocumented Nicaraguans who enter the United States typically cross Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico before they reach the United States. *Coyotes*, so called because they often prey upon the people they are transporting, rob, rape, enslave, and sometimes even kill the immigrants they carry. The illegal immigrants are known colloquially as *mojados* or wetbacks, illegals, and *pollos*—Spanish for “chickens,” the prey of *coyotes*. Sometimes the *coyotes* recruit the *pollos* inside of Nicaragua, even offering to take the immigrant across the border on family credit; otherwise the immigrant gets to the Mexican-United States border on her or his own and then contacts and pays the *coyote*. Whatever the case, the journey is always dangerous and expensive. *Coyotes* charge from between \$400 to \$1,500 per person—depending upon the distance involved and the current demand—to take the *pollo* into the United States. The entire journey from Nicaragua to Los Angeles, for example, easily could cost \$2,000 to \$2,500, after paying the *mordidas*, or bribes to Mexican officials at control posts on Mexican highways, the *coyote's* fee, food, and transportation costs. This is an enormous sum of money for most people in Nicaragua, where the average person makes about \$540 dollars a year.

The border towns of Tijuana and El Paso are the crossing points favored by undocumented. These towns are notorious for drug cartels and prostitution rings in which many Central American immigrants, Nicaraguans among them, are forced to work. One chapter in *Miami: Secretos de un exilio*, a book written by a Nicaraguan who traveled in the United States, tells the tale of one woman and her four children who narrowly escaped tragedy when they tried to cross at El Paso. The family flew into Mexico City and then traveled to a border town where she claimed the Mexican police robbed her of all the money she had, \$970, and even took the clothes of her small children. Penniless, friendless, and homeless, the woman had almost given up hope when a family member living in Miami was able to help her and her children to reach Miami, where she filed a claim for political asylum. The INS allowed her to remain in the United States until her claim could be heard by the court—a process that could take years.

Not every woman who attempts to cross the border illegally has family in the United States and not every woman makes it across the border. Some must struggle to survive waiting on tables at bars or working as prostitutes in the rough bordertowns like Ciudad Juarez, Matamoros, and Nuevo Laredo, hoping to someday save enough to cross into *el norte*, or “the north,” as the United States is known. The number of Central American women

who are raped in transit to the United States is unknown because most women are too ashamed to tell even family or friends about the crime, but many estimate that rape, along with robbery, is common. On the U.S. side of the border, undocumented immigrants cannot report assault, rape, or exploitation in the cantinas, manual-labor jobs, or the sweatshops that employ them for fear of being deported by the *migra*, as the INS is known in California, Texas, and Florida.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Miami, the capital of the exile, is the center of Nicaraguan American life. The ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza was the first of about 175,000 Nicaraguans who overwhelmed Miami in the 1980s. A small city called Sweetwater, about 16 miles from Miami, has been dubbed “Little Managua” by the locals because of the large number of Nicaraguans who settled there. Nicaraguans have also created communities in other large urban centers where Hispanics live, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco. Smaller numbers of Nicaraguans live in large cities in Texas. All these cities have significant Spanish-speaking populations, and it is possible to work and live in areas where Spanish is spoken. This facilitates networking and the sense of community among the recent immigrants, many of whom speak little English. In 1990, soon after Chamorro was elected, a caravan of cars and buses left Miami headed for Nicaragua, according to several newspaper reports. But only a small portion of the total number of Nicaraguan Americans were repatriated.

REACTION TO NICARAGUAN IMMIGRANTS

Many Americans wished that more Nicaraguans would return to Nicaragua. In 1994, tensions between the haves and have-nots, and between the “legals,” and the “illegals,” led to the passage of Proposition 187 in California, which would prohibit undocumented immigrants from benefitting from publicly funded services like nonemergency health care and education. Similar legislation banning undocumented immigrant children from public schools was passed in Texas but was eventually overthrown by the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1999 several lawsuits against the enforcement of the law were settled by the state’s new governor greatly weakening the law.

The recent animosity toward immigrants in California is in contrast to the welcome that Nicaraguan immigrants received in the early days of the first wave after the revolution. President Reagan

painted the Nicaraguan revolution in stark cold-war tones: the Sandinistas were Marxists and Communists who were going to destabilize the Central American isthmus through their close alignment with Communist Cuba and the Soviet Union. According to this cold-war scenario, Nicaraguan immigrants were refugees and exiles who had escaped the Communist regime, and therefore deserved political asylum and assistance. Even though the political affiliation of the parent country is not supposed to enter into questions of asylum Nicaraguan applicants were granted political asylum about 50 percent of the time in 1987. Salvadoreans fleeing similar conditions received asylum only three percent of the time in 1987.

During the mid- to late 1980s, in an attempt to make up for what they saw as wrong-headed American immigration laws and foreign policy in Central America, some Americans banded together to support Central Americans and Central American refugees. Over 80 municipal governments created U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city agreements. The U.S. cities sent medical supplies, food, and farming materials to their counterpart cities in Nicaragua. Some churches created what were called “sanctuaries” for undocumented immigrants. The churches offered support and shelter to Central American immigrants. During this period Central American refugee centers appeared in nearly every large urban center in America.

Key issues facing Nicaraguans staying permanently in the United States are questions of identity. They wonder, for example, whether they are considered refugees or immigrants, or whether they are merely living in exile. CARACEN, one of the leading Central American assistance groups, reflected this shift in identity when it recently changed its name from Central American Refugee Center to Central American Resource Center. Another key issue is the return of millions of dollars’ worth of property seized by the Sandinistas under a law that gave the government the right to seize property if the owner was absent from Nicaragua for more than 60 days. Many of the former owners of the seized property are now citizens of the United States and are attempting to regain title through U.S. law.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

The most common myth pertaining to Nicaraguan Americans is that they are all former *Somocistas*, as the followers of Somoza are called. This is untrue. Despite significant cultural differences among Hispanics, Nicaraguans are often perceived to be no

These Nicaraguan American girls are participating in a Cinco de Mayo parade.



different from other Hispanics and are thus subject to the same prejudices and stereotypes as other Hispanics. Some common stereotypes are that Hispanics are docile, ignorant, and easily led. On the West Coast and in the Southwest, Mexican Americans and Central Americans have been called “greasers,” “beans,” “beaners,” and “spics” by people of other ethnic groups. According to one stereotype, Hispanics stay within their own group and always protect their own people. A phrase common in the schools and streets of California expresses this stereotype: “If you crush one bean, the whole burrito comes after you.”

Undocumented Hispanic immigrants are also portrayed as ignorant workers who enjoy being exploited. In an article about the Southwest’s dependence on undocumented workers published by the *Wall Street Journal* in 1985, the author wrote: “But Mexican nationals ... happily dangle in branches and power lines for the minimum wage” (*Wall Street Journal*, May 7, 1985; p. 10). Common among leftist American writers in the 1980s was the stereotype of the happy, friendly Nicaraguan: “But most of all I like the people—their friendliness,

their openness, their courage” (Rita Golden Gelman, *Inside Nicaragua: Young People’s Dreams and Fears* [New York: Franklin Watts, 1988], p. 128).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

For Nicaraguan Americans, the central plazas of Nicaraguan towns may have been replaced by shopping centers and malls, but traditions do not change as easily as one’s locale. Having only recently arrived in the United States, most Nicaraguan Americans have maintained their traditions and beliefs. Because the Nicaraguan American community in San Francisco, for instance, is relatively diffuse, Nicaraguan Americans there are assimilating into a pan-Latino culture more rapidly than they are assimilating into non-Latino culture.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Some of the Nicaraguan people’s beliefs and traditions date back to pre-Colombian times, and others

appeared during colonial times. Most are a mixture of both pre- and post-Colombian culture. *La Llorona* is the name of a legendary woman-spirit who walks along streets and paths on dark nights sighing and sobbing over the children she lost during the time of the Spanish conquest. One version of the legend has it that her children were killed by an earthquake; another says that the children's Spanish father stole them away from her. This may be related to the Mexican legend of La Malinche, the lover and assistant of conquistador Cortés.

There are many folk beliefs in Nicaraguan culture. One belief says that if a person who has walked in the sun for many hours looks at a child with sun-irritated eyes, that child will be "infected with the sun" and will suffer from fever and diarrhea. The treatment is difficult unless the person who has infected the child is known. If the person is known, the treatment is simple: wrap the child in a sweaty shirt that has been worn by the person who originally infected him or her, and hours later the child will be healthy.

LA PURÍSIMA

Until recently, *La Purísima* was a holiday celebrated only in Nicaragua. Now it is also celebrated in Los Angeles, Miami, and other Nicaraguan American communities. The holiday takes place from the last days in November until the night of the seventh of December, which is called the *Noche de Gritería*, or "Night of the Shouting." All through the week women make all sorts of intricate traditional sweets and drinks that are exchanged during the last night. The centerpiece of the holiday is a small statue of the Virgin Mary covered with decorations of flowers, fruits, lights, and candles. Each night the family prays together in front of the statue. Then on the last night, neighbors, friends, and families go traveling from house to house in a secular-religious celebration that takes its name from the shouts raised in honor of the Virgin Mary: "Long live the Conception of Mary!" and "Who causes so much joy? The Conception of Maria!" are heard in the streets. Groups of people also sing traditional religious songs in front of the statue of the Virgin. Typically, the *gritería* culminates at midnight with the explosions of bombs and the reports of thousands of pistols shot into the air.

SEMANA SANTA

In Nicaragua, *Semana Santa*, or Holy Week, a major summer holiday, is a time for relaxing at the beach or vacationing. This holiday may still be celebrated

by Nicaraguan Americans. On Easter Sunday villagers all over Nicaragua gather beneath bowers made of palm leaves decorated with fruits, vegetables, and flowers. Accompanied by a brass band, the villagers walk slowly around the town. At the head of the parade are people dressed as symbolic characters: Hebrew elders and Apostles. The Apostles carry a life-size statue of Christ. The procession usually ends up in a public square in front of the town's church, where there is food for sale and carnival-like concessions.

VELORIOS

The observation of a *velorio*, or funeral party, after a person's death is an old tradition with Hispanic origins. During the *velorio* the family and friends of the deceased gather to share their grief. The relatives and close friends sit in the same room as the deceased and maintain a silent prayer vigil throughout the night until morning. Others at the *velorio* talk in small groups to distract themselves from fatigue, tell picaresque stories, drink liquor, eat large amounts of food, and even gamble. Sometimes, after hours of drinking, the *velorio* ends in a raucous, drunken fight. Following the *velorio*, the body is taken to the cemetery in a funeral procession with a brass band. The mourners follow the casket on foot to the cemetery.

The *velorios de los santos*, or *velorios* of the saints are similar affairs in which small candles are lit on altars, festive decorations are hung, and prayers are made, accompanied by music and sometimes drunkenness. The most famous funeral procession of a saint is the procession of Managua's Saint Domingo. In this noisy and colorful parade, a tiny statue of the saint is carried to "sanctuary" in the hills of Managua. Marimbas, dancers, fireworks, and a carnival atmosphere mark the event.

SPORTS

The national sport of Nicaragua is baseball. The first organized baseball game in Nicaragua took place in 1892. For more than two decades in the early part of the twentieth century, U.S. Marines were stationed in Nicaragua. One result of the U.S. Marine occupation is Nicaragua's widespread fascination with baseball. In Nicaragua, the word for baseball is *béisbol* ("bays-bole"). Men and boys in small towns play baseball with whatever equipment they can muster—sometimes they use tough Nicaraguan grapefruits (for which the Nicaraguan word is *grapefruit*), or even an old sock rolled up around a rock, instead of a ball. There is also a pro-

fessional league. At least five Nicaraguans who may have started by playing with rolled up socks later played for the major leagues in the United States. Cock fighting, a sport in which two trained cocks fight each other, is also popular among Nicaraguans. Men gather around the fighting birds to cheer their favorites and to make bets on the animals, who fight sometimes to their death.

PROVERBS

Seemingly innocuous, the following Nicaraguan proverbs and sayings reveal quite a bit about Nicaragua and Nicaraguans: *Con eme-omo-de-odo, se consigue todo*—With manners, everything can be obtained; *Cada uno tiene su modo de matar pulgas*—Everyone has her or his manner of killing fleas; *De todos modos, moros son todos*—At any rate, moros are everyone (A “moro” is the color white with

“The Nicaraguan’s worst fear is not the fear of losing a job, but the fear of getting sick.”

A Nicaraguan American pediatrician in Miami (from Guillermo Corés Domínguez, *Miami: secretos de un exilio*. Managua: El Amanecer, 1986).

dark brown grease stains and may refer in a negative way to *mestizos*.); *El último mono se ahoga*—The last monkey drowns (Figuratively, the last in line will not receive her or his portion of food.); *No creer en santos que orinan*—Don’t believe in saints that urinate; *Voltearse la tortilla*—The tortilla is flipped (refers to the way that tortillas are cooked. This is said when one party has fallen and another is ruling.); *Tamal con queso, comida de preso*—Tamale with cheese, food of the prisoner (tamales are made of meat cornmeal wrapped in cornhusks or banana leaves).

CUISINE

The importance of corn to traditional Nicaraguan cuisine, religion, and folklore cannot be overstated. To a large extent, the traditional cuisine of Nicaragua consists of varied and imaginative ways of preparing corn, or *máiz*. Nearly every part of the plant is used—from the fungus that grows on the corn to the husk that covers the cob—and nearly every type of dish and beverage is made of corn. Breakfast cereals, breads, drinks that taste a bit like coffee, puddings, desserts, porridges, and even beer

are made from corn. Beans are also important. Unlike most of Central America, which prefers black beans, Nicaraguans tend to eat red beans. While everyday cuisine is based upon abundant corn and beans, the *criollo* (“cree-o-yo”), or Creole, cuisine is based more on meats and sauces that are Nicaraguan adaptations of Spanish and European dishes. The scarcity and high cost of meats in Nicaragua has put meats normally out of reach of everyone but the upper classes. In the United States, where meat is more abundant, Nicaraguans probably eat more meat dishes.

The small, round, unleavened *tortilla* (“*tor-tiya*”), made of ground and processed corn, is the daily staple of Nicaraguans. The *tortilla* is bread, spoon, and plate for Central Americans. Traditionally made at home by hand, *tortillas* are made by machines in the United States and sold in supermarkets all over California, the Southwest, and in southern Florida.

The *tamal* (“*tahmahl*”) is a bit of corn dough with seasoned meat, sweet chocolate or vegetables, wrapped inside of a corn husk or a banana leaf before it is steamed or boiled. The national *tamal* is called *nacatamal* (“*naca-tahmahl*”) and consists of pork, chicken, or turkey, various vegetables, mint, and hot peppers, all combined with a corn dough made with sour orange juice. A small amount of this mixture is put inside of an individual corn husk or banana leaf and then folded or rolled and sealed before cooking. Restaurants in Miami have signs in their windows that say: “Nacatamales and other Nicaraguan Foods.” According to Angélica Vivas, author of *Cocina Nica*, “The silent nacatamal says more about the history of Nicaragua than all the pages of don José Dolores Gámez” (Angélica Vivas, *Cocina Nica* [Managua: Ministerio de Cultura], p. 17). Gámez was a chronicler of Nicaraguan colonial history.

Red bean soup is the most typical soup of Nicaragua. It is made from red beans boiled with garlic, onion, pork, and sweet red pepper. The soup is poured into a bowl, and then an egg is cracked into the hot soup. The heat of the soup partially cooks the egg.

Desserts called *almibares* (“*almeebarays*”) consist of honey- and syrup-coated fruits such as mango, mamey, jocote, papaya, and marañón. *Almibares* are eaten all over the country during *Semana Santa*. Many corn-based desserts also exist. For example, *motlatl atol* (“*moetlahatel ahtol*”) is a yellow pudding-like dessert made from corn, milk, sugar and a fruit, which is also eaten during *Semana Santa*. Chocolate, which is native to Central America, is used not only in sweet drinks and desserts but as a flavoring for meat dishes.

HEALTH ISSUES

Because so many are undocumented immigrants, and so many work in clandestine jobs for low wages, many poorer Nicaraguan Americans have no health insurance. Those who have health insurance are either professionals who are covered through their employers or are successfully self-employed.

Nicaraguan-educated doctors came to the United States only to find out that without a U.S. medical degree, all those years of study and training were worth almost nothing. Those who had studied in the United States were more fortunate and could more easily transfer their experience to a job in the United States. Frustrated by their situation, some Nicaraguan-educated doctors in Miami founded clandestine clinics to serve the uninsured Nicaraguan American population. These clinics do not appear in telephone books and do not advertise. During the time of the Contra war, some of the medical supplies that were headed for the fighting in Honduras ended up in some of these clandestine clinics, according to a Nicaraguan journalist. Other Nicaraguan-educated doctors found illegal work in clinics that agreed to let them work at wages far below normal.

Nicaraguans, like all people native to the Americas and the Pacific Basin, are genetically prone to develop a small birthmark called a Mongoloid spot. The spot is a small, oval bluish mark found at the base of the spine on babies. Eventually this spot disappears, leaving no trace. In some cases a similar pigmentation, called Nevus of Ota, can appear on the cheeks or on the sclera of the eyes. Nevus of Ota is disfiguring, but usually not debilitating.

According to a study conducted in Los Angeles and published in 1992, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is common among Nicaraguan immigrant children who have witnessed or experienced violence. Fifteen of the 31 Central American children studied had witnessed violence. Of the children who both witnessed violence and lost contact with a caregiver, 100 percent suffered from some form of PTSD. The combined stress of living in guerrilla war conditions, forced emigration and impoverished living conditions in the United States cause many Nicaraguan refugee children to suffer from the symptoms of PTSD, including nightmares, nervousness, insomnia, loss of appetite, and tearfulness.

The indigenous medicine of Nicaragua is one part magical and one part rational. For every illness there is a specific therapy, usually of vegetal origin. Many potent botanical medicines are part of the traditional medicine—some of them, like the leaves of the coca plant, which are the source of cocaine, have been recognized as potent pharmaceuticals by

Western science and medicine. The various leaves, roots, berries, etc. are usually made into a tea that the ill person drinks or a poultice that is applied to the body. Certain foods, like *atol* made from corn, are also believed to have specific curative properties.

La Hechicería, or the belief that some people have supernatural powers, is common among Nicaraguans and stems from indigenous beliefs. Those who practice *hechicería* are known as *brujos* (“brew-hose”) or *brujas* (“brew-has”). *Brujos* are believed to have the power to transform themselves into animals, like tigers and dogs, and they are also believed to have the power to heal others.

LANGUAGE

Spanish is the language spoken by most Nicaraguans, but several indigenous groups speak their own languages, sometimes in addition to Spanish or English. The Miskito, Sumu, and Rama on the Atlantic coast all speak related, but distinct, languages. Many Garífuna also speak an Afro-Karib language of their own, sometimes in addition to Spanish and English. It is not known how many Garífuna or indigenous people have immigrated to the United States.

Nicaraguan Spanish has several distinguishing characteristics. The Nicaraguan accent dates back to the sixteenth century in Andalusia, and the relative isolation of Nicaragua meant that the accent did not change in the same ways that the Andalusian accent has. For example Nicaraguans have a tendency to replace the “s” sound with an “h” sound when speaking. Nicaraguans also tend to use grammatical constructions that are now rare in most other Spanish-speaking countries. For example: ¡Y quien sos vos!—And who are you! uses “vos,” an antiquated form of “you.” Some linguists have noted that onomatopoeic words are common in Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Spanish also has many indigenous influences. Until the nineteenth century a hybrid form of Nahuat-Spanish was the common language of Nicaragua. Today Nahuat, Mangué, and Maya words and syntax can be found in everyday speech. As the words for two tropical fruits, *mamey* and *papaya*, testify, Nicaraguan Spanish has some Caribbean influences. *Béisbol* and *daime* (“dime”) attest to Nicaragua’s long association with the United States. However, the greatest number of Nicaraguanisms come from Aztec and Nahuat languages. An example of a Spanish-Aztec hybrid word is *chibola*, the Nicaraguan word for bottled soda. It is formed from two words: *Chi*, meaning

small in Aztec, and *bola*, meaning ball in Spanish. Nicaraguan Americans and other Spanish-speaking newcomers in cities like Miami soon learn to speak “Spanglish”—a combination of Spanish and English. For example: “Have a nice day, *Señor*.” This type of language usage is so common that it can be heard on Spanish-language radio shows and television.

The most novel contribution Nicaragua has made to the Spanish language is the word *jodido* (“ho-dee-doe”) and its many variants. *Jodido* stems from the most vulgar and indecent of all verbs in Latin American use that describe the act of sexual intercourse. Strangely enough, *jodido* has been used so commonly in Nicaragua by all classes of people that the word has lost much of its original obscenity and now means something like “bothered” or “screwed.”

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Buenos días (Spanish), *Pain lalahurám* (Miskito), and *Buiti binafi* (Garífuna) mean “Good day.” *¿Qué tal, amiga?* (Spanish), *Naksá?* (Miskito), and *Numá* *¿Iida biñá gia* (Garífuna) are translated as “How’s it going, friend?” *Bendiga, mami* (Spanish) and *Busó da* (Miskito) mean “Bless you, mother.” *¿Como te llamas?* (Spanish) and *¿Ka gia biri?* (Garífuna) mean “What’s your name?” *Adios* (Spanish), *Asabé* (Miskito), and *Ayó* (Garífuna) all mean “Good-bye.”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Partly because of tradition, and partly because of the Catholic prohibition against birth control and abortion, Nicaraguan American families tend to be larger than is typical in the United States. The tradition of larger families may have its origin in Nicaragua’s agricultural economy, where more children meant more help to plant and harvest. In the 1960s and early 1970s, few families immigrated together—two-thirds of all Nicaraguan Americans were women. As the reasons for immigration changed over the years, single women gave way to more families and widowed women with children. Sometimes families spanning three generations immigrated together. When immigrants are fleeing from violence and economic problems, as Nicaraguans were in the 1980s, they want to take as many loved ones with them as they can. When the goal is to make money to send home, as it was in the late 1960s, immigrants tend to migrate alone. No records of the number of Nicaraguan American

families who receive public assistance exist, but the number is probably fairly small, because many Nicaraguans are undocumented and are not eligible for any public assistance.

INTERMARRIAGE

In a 1989 San Francisco study of birth records, out of 192 Nicaraguan-born mothers living in San Francisco, 12.5 percent had children with men born in the United States; 56 percent had children with men born in Nicaragua. Nicaraguan-born women were much more likely (28.1 percent) to have children with Mexican- or other Latin American-born men than they were with U.S.-born men. The same study showed that the degree of intermixing between Nicaraguan Americans and other groups is higher than the degree of intermixing between Mexican Americans and other groups. This implies that Nicaraguan Americans, in San Francisco at least, are less likely than Mexican Americans to retain a distinct nationality-based identity (Steven P. Wallace, “The New Urban Latinos, Central Americans in a Mexican Immigrant Environment,” *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Volume 25, No. 2, December 1989; pp. 252-255).

Divisions are deep among Nicaraguan American families and communities. The Sandinista revolution split sister from brother, mother from daughter, and friend from friend. Attitudes for or against the Sandinistas undermined efforts to create cohesive communities in cities like Los Angeles, where Casa Nicaragua, a Nicaraguan American social and political organization, was burned down in 1982, supposedly by Somocistas. However, as Nicaraguan Americans have become more assimilated, the political differences that have divided the community are dissipating. Relatives of the deposed dictator Somoza own a chain of Nicaraguan restaurants in Miami, and these restaurants have become gathering places for a diverse group of Nicaraguans. Speaking of the restaurant, one Nicaraguan American man said: “The Somozas own it and nobody cares. Everybody goes there—Somocistas, Sandinistas, Cubans, Americans. Because in Miami, the war is over. Our children are not even Nicaraguans” (Marc Fisher, “Home, Sweetwater, Home,” *Mother Jones*, Volume 13, No. 10, December 1988; p. 40).

EDUCATION

Many Nicaraguan families venture to the United States in order to improve their own or their children’s education. It has been common for the wealthier families in Nicaragua to send their chil-

dren to boarding schools and universities in the United States and Europe. There is no information on typical courses of study among Nicaraguan Americans.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Tension exists in Miami between Nicaraguan Americans and African Americans. African American resentment over what they saw as preferential treatment being given to the newly arrived Nicaraguans led, in part, to African American riots in Miami in 1989. African Americans perceived that the Cuban Americans, who have most of the political control in Miami, were looking after Nicaraguan American interests at the cost of African American interests.

RELIGION

Nicaraguan Americans are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, and Nicaragua's Catholicism is very much centered around the Virgin Mary. There are small numbers of evangelical, Pentecostal, and fundamentalist Protestants. Most, if not all, of Nicaragua's 60 or 70 Jewish families left the country during and after the Sandinista revolution. They cited anti-Semitic harassment by FSLN soldiers as the main reason for leaving. One Managuan synagogue was firebombed, reportedly by people who identified themselves as members of the FSLN. Some of these Nicaraguan Jewish families came to live in the United States. Changes in worshipping practices since Nicaraguans have begun arriving in the United States are not documented.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

As undocumented immigrants, most Nicaraguan Americans work in clandestine jobs with neither social security nor unemployment benefits. Over the years diverse groups of Nicaraguans have immigrated to the United States—some were doctors or bankers with university educations, and some were 15-year-old boys fleeing the draft. As a group, though, they all have one thing in common: the majority of them are undocumented. Regardless of degrees, experience, and prior social standing, the undocumented Nicaraguan American must take whatever job is available, and usually these jobs are unskilled manual or service-related jobs that, because they are clandestine, sometimes pay below the federally mandated minimum wage.

The Nicaraguans who left Nicaragua between 1979 and 1988 tended to be of working age and were more likely to have been employed in a white-collar occupation before leaving Nicaragua, according to a statistical study published in 1992. They also tended to be from wealthier, larger, better educated families compared to nonmigrating Nicaraguans: 64.2 percent of the immigrants had a secondary education, compared to 43.3 percent of all families surveyed in Managua. About 14 percent of the migrants had a university education, according to the same study (Funkhouser, p. 1211).

Nicaraguan Americans typically find work by word of mouth through family or friends who have established themselves in the community, and they tend to work in specific niches that are related to these unofficial word-of-mouth networks. In San Francisco between 1984 and 1985, for example, it was common for Nicaraguan American men to work as janitors. Nearly nineteen percent of Nicaraguan men worked as building cleaners, according to one San Francisco study that tallied the occupations of Nicaraguan-born men who listed their occupations on their children's birth certificates. Another 21.6 percent of Nicaraguan-born men worked in operations and fabrications, 10.8 percent worked at production and repair, and 1.1 percent worked as farmers, bringing the total percentage of Nicaraguan Americans who worked at blue-collar jobs to 33.5 percent. Nicaraguan Americans were also much less likely to work as food-service laborers than were other Central Americans. Only 6.5 percent of the Nicaraguan Americans worked in food service, compared to 34.5 percent of Guatemalan Americans. Nicaraguan Americans were much more likely to work in white-collar jobs: 36.3 percent held administrative or other white-collar positions, compared to 6.9 percent of the Guatemalan Americans. This discrepancy may be the result of differences in education between Nicaraguans and Guatemalans. Similar information about Nicaraguan American women in the workplace is not available, though many sources say that Central American women commonly work in textiles and housecleaning.

Each year, Nicaraguan Americans send millions of dollars home to their families in Nicaragua. Thirty-six percent of Managuan households with relatives abroad received an average of \$79 each month, according to a Sandinista government source. In 1988, Nicaraguan Americans sent somewhere between \$50 million and \$80 million to Nicaragua, making this nearly the second largest source of foreign exchange in Nicaragua. Coffee exports bring in the most money: \$84 million in 1988. The amount of money sent home to Nicaragua has probably increased since 1988.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Shortly after the revolution, Nicaraguan exiles living in America who were politically opposed to the Sandinistas organized an anti-Sandinista guerrilla army that had its base in Miami and Honduras. Many of the guerrillas and guerrilla leaders were former National Guardsmen or closely associated with the Somoza regime. The Somoza regime's long affiliation with the U.S. government meant that some Nicaraguan exiles already had well-placed U.S. government contacts and friends before they arrived in the United States. U.S.-government support of the Contras grew out of some of these relationships. Secret CIA involvement in the Contras' affairs dates back to at least 1981, according to Edgar Chamorro, former leader of the Contras, in his 1987 book *Packaging the Contras*. In a Senate subcommittee hearing in 1988, Octaviano Cesar, a Contra leader, admitted that the Contras had smuggled drugs into the United States for a profit, but he blamed it on the U.S. Congress, which cut off aid to the Contras in 1984. Notes taken by Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North suggest that North knew about the drug running and that the profits may have been as high as \$14 million.

In 1987, about 2,000 Nicaraguan Americans protested publicly against the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which they said prevented the majority of Nicaraguans from remaining in the United States. About two months later, Attorney General Edwin Meese signed an order that permitted Nicaraguans to stay in the United States "for the present." Two years later, in 1989, the INS changed its regulations in order to streamline its operations. The result was that fewer Nicaraguan refugees received working permits. Nicaraguans who applied for political asylum in the 1980s received preferential treatment. Up to 80 percent of the Nicaraguan asylum applicants were granted asylum in certain years. Only a few nationalities, like Poles and Armenians, received asylum at such a high rate.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

What follows is an eclectic listing of individuals who have contributed in various ways to American culture and society.

ACADEMIA

Author of "El mito de paraiso perdido en la literatura nicaraguense en los Estados Unidos" ("The

Myth of Paradise Lost in Nicaraguan Literature in the United States"), published in *El Pez y la Serpiente* in 1989, Nicasio Urbina is a writer and an assistant professor in the department of Spanish and Portuguese at Tulane University in Louisiana. Born in 1958 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, to parents of Nicaraguan ancestry, Urbina was educated at Florida International University and at Georgetown University. He has been a member of the Modern Language Association since 1984 and has received numerous scholarships and fellowships throughout his academic career.

Eddy O. Rios Olivares was born in Nicaragua in 1942 and educated in Minnesota and Puerto Rico. He has conducted microbiological research in Nicaragua and at the Universidad Central Del Caribe in Puerto Rico, where he is professor and chairman of the department of microbiology. He has received various grants and research awards for his antitumor research.

ARTS

Guillermo Ortega Chamorro (Gil Ortegacham), an actor and musician who lives in Brooklyn, New York, was born in 1909 in San Jorge, Rivas, Nicaragua. Chamorro performed in *The Blood Wedding* on off-off-Broadway in 1987 and 1988. Educated in Nicaragua and at New York University, Chamorro has made many contributions to New York City radio and drama.

HEALTH CARE

Born in Managua in 1940, Norma F. Wilson is an obstetrical/gynecological nurse practitioner who lives in Kansas City. Wilson belongs to many professional associations and organizations relating to public health, family planning, and minority health. The Seward County Republican Women named her one of the women of the year in 1988.

Born in Managua in 1937, Rolando Emilio Lacayo is a physician and surgeon who specializes in gynecology, infertility, and obstetrics. Lacayo was educated in Nicaragua, the United States, and Mexico. From 1970 to 1971 he was an instructor in gynecology and obstetrics at Baylor College in Houston, Texas. He is a member of the American Medical Association, and a junior fellow of the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology.

LITERATURE

Pancho Aguila was born Roberto Ignacio Zelaya in 1945 in Managua. Aguila immigrated to the United

States in 1947 and wrote and read in coffeehouses in San Francisco during the late 1960s until he was arrested and sentenced to life in prison in 1969. He escaped from prison in 1972 and was reapprehended five months later. While in prison, he has written five books of poetry and has contributed to several periodicals.

Horacio Aguirre is the publisher and editor of *Diario las Américas*, the leading conservative Spanish-language newspaper in Miami. In 1970 he was named man of the year by *Revista Conservadora del Pensamiento Centroamericano*. Horacio's brother, Francisco Aguirre, has been called the godfather of the Contras. Francisco is a former National Guard colonel and has lived in exile in Washington, D.C., since 1947. He is well known in CIA and U.S. Department of State circles.

POLITICS AND BUSINESS

President of the Nicaraguan American Banker's and Businessman's Association, educated at Notre Dame, and a commercial banker in Miami, Roberto Arguello is one of the most visible Nicaraguan Americans. In 1990 Arguello took time off from banking to lobby in Washington on behalf the Nicaraguan government. In the late 1980s, he was a vocal opponent of the U.S. refugee policy for Nicaraguans.

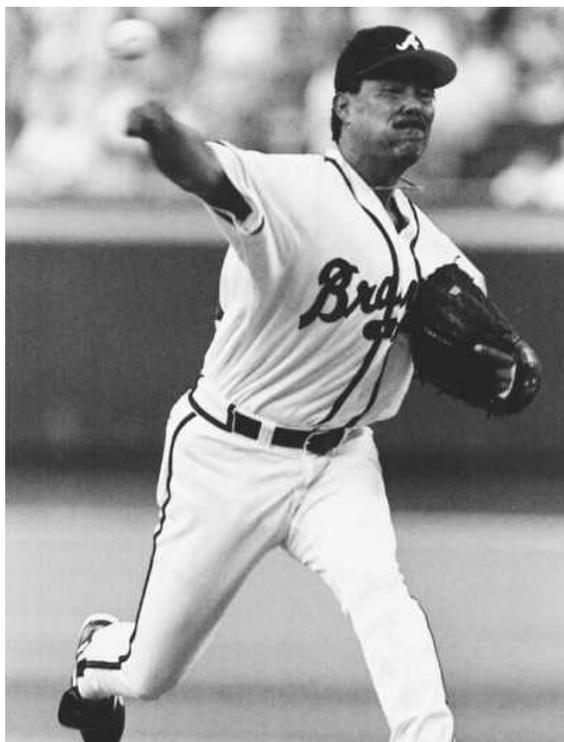
Nadia Pallais is a resident of Miami and in 1988 was the Dade County government's spokeswoman for the Hispanic media. Pallais immigrated to the United States from Nicaragua in 1979. She is the mother of four daughters.

SOCIAL WORK

Born in 1943 in Mexico to a Nicaraguan father and a Mexican mother, Carmela Gloria Lacayo has worked for many years to improve the lives of the poor and elderly. Lacayo established the National Association for Hispanic Elderly and founded Hispanas Organized for Political Equality. She has been appointed to a number of political positions, including vice-chair of the Democratic National Committee, member of the Census Bureau on Minority Populations, and an advisor on Social Security reform.

SPORTS

Nicaraguan American pitcher Dennis Martinez is a native of Grenada, Nicaragua. In 1976 Martinez became the first Nicaraguan ever to play in major league baseball. In 1990 he signed a three-year contract with the Montreal Expos that paid him more



Nicaraguan
American baseball
player Dennis
Martinez.

than \$3 million per season. In an interview with *Sports Illustrated*, Martinez said that when he broke into the big leagues and told people that he was from Nicaragua, they didn't know where it was. In 1991 he pitched a perfect game against the Los Angeles Dodgers. He has narrowly missed winning the Cy Young award several times. During his off-seasons in Miami, Martinez has put his celebrity among baseball-loving Nicaraguan Americans to good use by participating in drug-prevention programs for young Nicaraguan Americans in Miami. He retired following the 1998 season.

MEDIA

PRINT

Diario las Américas.

Leading conservative Spanish-language paper in Miami; printed in Spanish.

Contact: Horacio Aguirre, Editor.

Address: 2900 Northwest 39th Street, Miami, Florida 33142-5149.

Telephone: (305) 633-3341.

Fax: (305) 635-7668.

La Estrella de Nicaragua.

Newspaper published in Spanish by and for Nicaraguan Americans in Miami, Florida.

Telephone: (305) 386-6491.

Nicaragua Monitor.

Analyzes political and economic situations in Nicaragua, as well as U.S. government policies toward the country. Seeks to inform U.S. activists who support the gains of the Sandinista Revolution. Recurring features include news of research, book reviews, and a column titled "Month In Review."

Contact: Katherine Hoyt, Editor.

Address: Nicaragua Network Education Fund,
1247 E Street SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Telephone: (202) 544-9355.

E-mail: nicanet@igc.apc.org.

Nicaraguan Perspectives.

Quarterly political science journal of Nicaragua Information Center.

Address: Box 1004, Berkeley,
California 94701-1004.

Voz Summary.

Summary of Nicaraguan news from shortwave radio.

Address: Box 8151, Kansas City, Missouri 64112.

Telephone: (816) 561-0125.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Nicaraguan Foundation.

Provides health care to Nicaraguan people.

Address: 848 Brickell Avenue, Miami,
Florida 33131.

Telephone: (305) 375-9248.

**Nicaragua Center for Community Action
(NICCA).**

Publishes quarterly journal with news and analysis about Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan solidarity movement.

Address: 2140 Shattuck Avenue, Box 2063,
Berkeley, California 94704.

Telephone: (510) 704-5242.

Fax: (510) 654-8635.

E-mail: nicca@igc.org.

Nicaraguan American Women Civic Association.

Contact: Mauritzia Herrera.

Address: 961 Northwest Second Street, Miami,
Florida 33128.

Telephone: (305) 326-7700.

Nicaraguan Interfaith Committee for

Action (NICA).

NICA is concerned with the problems of Nicaragua and with taking action to alleviate them; the organization also sponsors Nicaraguans in the United States.

Contact: Janine Chayoga, Director.

Address: 833 Market Street, Room 812, San
Francisco, California 94103.

Telephone: (415) 495-6057.

Nicaragua Network Education Fund (NN).

Network of organizations and individuals united in opposition to U.S. intervention in the Central American/Caribbean region and in support of the Nicaraguan revolution. Seeks to create a peaceful and friendly relationship between the United States and Nicaragua through public education.

Contact: Chuck Kaufman, Co-coordinator.

Address: 1247 E Street SE, Washington,
D.C. 20003.

Telephone: (202) 544-9355.

Fax: (202) 544-9359.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Dallas Museum of Art.

The museum displays an extensive collection of pre-Columbian and eighteenth- to twentieth-century textiles, censers, and other art objects from the Nicaraguan area.

Contact: Karen Zelanka, Associate Registrar,
Permanent Collection.

Address: 1717 Harwood, Dallas, Texas 75201.

Telephone: (214) 922-1200.

Fax: (214) 954-0174.

Online: <http://www.dm-art.org/>.

Documentation Exchange.

Formerly known as the Central America Resource Center, the Documentation Exchange maintains a library of information on human rights and social conditions in many countries, including Nicaragua. Also produces biweekly compilations of current news articles on Central America called NewsPaks.

Contact: Charlotte McCann, Editor.

Address: 2520 Longview Street, #408, Austin,
Texas 78768.

Telephone: (512) 476-9841.

Fax: (512) 476-0130.

The Nattie Lee Benson Latin American Collection.

Located at the University of Texas at Austin, this renowned collection consists of Nicaraguan books, books about Nicaragua, and resources relating to Nicaraguan Americans. Excellent electronic information resources.

Contact: Laura Gutiérrez-Witt, Head Librarian.

Address: Sid Richardson Hall 1.109, General Libraries, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78713-7330.

Telephone: (512) 471-3818.

Nicaraguan Information Center.

Maintains a library of 100 volumes, videotapes, slides, magazines, newspapers and microfilms on Nicaragua.

Contact: Amanda Velazquez, President.

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While in their native country large families are common, Nigerian Americans have fewer children so that they will be able to give them the best education possible. The early immigrants were educated people and they instilled in their children the importance of education as a component of a successful life.

NIGERIAN AMERICANS

by Kwasi Sarkodie-Mensah

OVERVIEW

With an area of 356,669 square miles (923,768 square kilometers), Nigeria's size approximately equals the combined areas of New Mexico, Arizona and California. A coastal state on the shores of the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, Nigeria is bounded by Niger to the north, Benin to the west, Cameroon to the east and southeast, and Chad to the northeast.

The November 1991 population census put Nigeria's population at 88,514,501. Nigeria's population is extremely diverse—more than 250 ethnic groups are identified. Ten ethnic groups account for 80 percent of Nigeria's population. English is the official language; however, Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa represent the principal languages, joined by Kanuri, Fulani, Nupe, Tiv, Edo, Ijaw and Ibibio. Like many other African countries, the distribution of religion can be broken down into three major areas: Christians, Muslims, and animists. In Nigeria, 47 percent of the population practice Islam, while about 36 percent practice Christianity, and 17 percent practice animism or traditional African religion. Nigeria's national flag, believed to have been designed by Taiwo Akinkunmi—a Nigerian student in London, consists of a field of green, white, and green, divided into three equal parts. Green represents the agricultural richness of the nation, while the white stands for unity and peace.

HISTORY

The name Nigeria was coined by Lord Lugard's wife in 1897 in honor of the 2,600-mile-long Niger River. The first Europeans to reach Nigeria were the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. In 1553, the first English ships landed at the Bight of Benin, then known as the "Slave Coast." The present day Nigeria came into existence in 1914, when the Colony of Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria were amalgamated. Even before the arrival of Europeans, the many nationalities or ethnic groups were highly organized and had law and order. There were village groups, clans, emirates, states, kingdoms, and some empires. The Kanem-Bornu empire goes as far back as the tenth century. The Oyo Empire, founded in the late fourteenth century by Oranmiyan, a Prince of Ile-Ife, had a powerful army and maintained diplomatic contact with other kingdoms in the area. The Fulani Empire was established in 1803 by the *jihād*, or holy war against the rulers of the Hausa states by Usman Dan Fodio; it went on to become one of the most powerful kingdoms. Within two decades, parts of the Oyo Empire, Bornu, and Nupe were added by conquest to the Fulani Empire. Though there was no centralized governments, trade and commercial activities existed. Intermarriages flourished among the various groups.

One of the most prosperous trades even before the arrival of the Europeans was the slave trade. It was common practice in many African civilizations to sell war captives, delinquent children, and the handicapped; and Nigeria was no exception. With the arrival of the Europeans, slavery became more lucrative. Intertribal wars were encouraged by the Europeans so that more captured slaves could be sent to the New World. The British Parliament abolished slavery in 1807.

MODERN ERA

When the mouth of the Niger River was discovered in 1830, the British heightened their economic expansion into the interior of the country. Formal administration of any part of Nigeria goes back to 1861 when Lagos, a vital component of the lucrative palm oil trade, was ceded to the British Crown. At the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, geographical units and artificial borders were created in Africa by European powers without any consideration of cultural or ethnic homogeneity. Britain acquired what is now Nigeria as a result of this scramble for Africa. In 1914 the various protectorates were consolidated into one colony, the Protectorate of Nigeria.

After World War II, nationalism rose in Nigeria. Under the leadership of Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, and Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Nigerians began to ask for self-determination and increased participation in the governmental process on a regional level. On October 1, 1960, Nigeria became an independent country, but this independence brought about a series of political crises. Nigeria enjoyed civilian rule for six years until January 15, 1966 when, in one of the bloodiest coups in Africa, the military took over the government of Tafawa Balewa, assassinated him and replaced him with General J. Aguiyi-Ironsi. Later that month Ironsi was killed in a counter-coup, and replaced by General Yakubu Gowon. In early 1967 the distribution of petroleum revenues between the government and the Eastern Region, where the majority of Ibos come from, sparked a conflict. Gowon proposed to abolish the regions of Nigeria and replace them with 12 states. Colonel Ojukwu, a soldier from the Ibo tribe, announced the secession of the Eastern Region, and declared a Republic of Biafra. Events following this declaration resulted in the Biafra War, one of the most deadly civil wars in Africa, claiming the lives of over two million Nigerians.

Gowon was overthrown in a bloodless military coup on July 29, 1975, when he was attending a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. Brigadier General Murtala Ramat Muhammed became the leader of the government. He started a popular purging of the members of the previous government and announced a return of the country to civilian rule. On February 13, 1976 Muhammed was assassinated during a coup attempt. Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, chief-of-staff of the armed forces in Muhammed's government became the new head of state. In 1978 Nigeria produced a new constitution similar to that of the United States.

The country returned to civilian rule in 1979 when Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in as president on October 1. Shagari's government ended on New Year's Eve 1983 when he was ousted by a group of soldiers, led by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari. Buhari introduced stringent measures to curb corruption. He imprisoned many former government officials found guilty of corruption. Under Buhari's government, the death penalty was reintroduced in Nigeria and freedom of the press was rigorously restricted. Many newspapers were banned and many journalists were imprisoned or tortured.

On August 27, 1985, Major General Ibrahim Babaginda led a bloodless coup d'état, deposing Buhari as the head of state. Babaginda promised to restore human rights, establish a democratically

elected government, and eradicate corruption, which has always been a part of Nigerian politics. Babaginda not only violated his promises, but imprisoned journalists who stood up for the truth. After repeatedly postponing, altering, or scrapping timetables for a return to a democratically elected government, Babaginda annulled the results of the elections held in June 1993, which were won by his opponent Chief Moshood Abiola. Under pressure, Babaginda resigned and left power in the hands of a handpicked and widely opposed interim government headed by Ernest Shonekan, who was prominent in business and supported Babaginda. The military still retains control of the country under the leadership of Abdulsalom Abubakar, who has promised free elections in the future.

THE FIRST NIGERIANS IN AMERICA

Compared with other ethnic groups in America, the presence of Nigerian Americans in the United States does not date back very far. However if the slave trade is considered, then Nigerians have been part of the American society as far back as the eighteenth century. Even though Nigerian Americans of the modern era do not want to be associated with slavery and put in the same category as African Americans, history bears witness to the fact that the coastal regions of modern day Nigeria were referred to as the Slave Coast. Nigeria provided a vast percentage of the Africans who were bitterly separated from their families and forced into slavery by European entrepreneurs.

World War I expanded the horizons of many Africans. Though European colonial masters wanted Africans in their territories to receive an African-based education with emphasis on rural development, Africans wanted to go abroad to study. In the early parts of the twentieth century, it was traditional for Nigerians to travel to European countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany to receive an education and to return to their countries. Two dynamic programs emerged after the war: Marcus Garvey's military platform of Africa for Africans, and W. E. B. Dubois' Pan African movement. The colonial powers in Africa feared that the strong ideas of identity and freedom preached by both Garvey and Dubois would turn the Africans against their colonial masters.

The United States became a center of attraction for Nigerian nationalists who later became the revolutionary leaders. The Nigerians who came to the United States to study saw the white person in the same light as a black individual; white people were subjected to the same grandeur and malaise of

human nature and were in no way superior to black people. The most prominent Nigerian symbolizing the spirit of freedom and human respect was the late Chief Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, first President of Nigeria and first indigenous governor-general of Nigeria. Arriving in the United States by boat in 1925, Zik, as he was affectionately referred to, entered Storer College and later transferred to Lincoln University and Howard University. While in the United States, Zik experienced racial prejudice and worked as a dishwasher, a coal miner, and a boxer to survive the difficult times in America. However, he later became a professor at several prestigious American institutions. Two other Nigerians from the Eastern Region used their American education in the 1930s to bring change to their people. Professor Eyo Ita and Mbonu Ojike became influential leaders in Nigerian national politics.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In its 1935 annual report, the New York-based Institute of International Education indicated that in 1926 there were three documented Nigerian students in United States universities. In its subsequent reports, the number of students increased to 22 in 1944. A steady increase in Nigerians continued when the oil boom in the 1970s made Nigeria one of the wealthiest nations in Africa and many came to the United States to study. Most students were sponsored by their parents and relatives both in Nigeria and in the United States, while others obtained financial assistance from universities and colleges in the United States. In the late 1970s and 1980s Nigeria was among the top six countries in the number of students sent to study in the United States. While many returned home, in the 1980s when Nigeria's economy began to decline at a tragic rate, many Nigerians remained in the United States and obtained citizenship. After becoming citizens many Nigerian Americans brought their relatives into the United States. According to 1990 census figures, there were approximately 91,688 people of Nigerian ancestry living in the United States.

SETTLEMENT

Nigerian Americans, like many Africans migrating into the United States, are willing to settle almost anywhere. Family relations, colleges or universities previously attended by relatives and friends, and the weather are three major considerations for settlement by Nigerian Americans. Early Nigerians coming to the United States went to schools in the southern United States. Large metropolitan areas attract modern day Nigerian Americans, many of

whom hold prestigious professional jobs. Poor economic conditions have forced many highly educated Nigerian Americans to take up odd jobs. In many metropolitan areas, Nigerian Americans with one or several graduate degrees are taxi drivers or security officers. The heaviest concentrations of Nigerian Americans are found in Texas, California, New York, Maryland, Illinois, New Jersey, and Georgia.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Mention the name Nigeria, and the average American conjures up the image of the jungle and children living in squalor. This perception is largely due to the erroneous depiction of Africa by Hollywood and the tendency of the American media to publicize only catastrophic events in Nigeria. Nigeria as a country defies easy generalization because the people are as varied as the cultural differences that characterize them as a nation. Nigerian Americans come from a wide variety of rich backgrounds not only in financial terms but in societal values. Despite the negative stereotypes Nigerian Americans have maintained their pride and cultural identity, and contribute immensely to the American society at large.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Nigerians have a variety of traditions and lore dating back to antiquity. For example, peeking at the eggs on which a hen is sitting was believed to make you blind. Singing while bathing could result in a parent's death. A pregnant woman who ate pork could have a baby with a mouth like that of a pig. Among the Yoruba it was believed that there were spirits hidden in rivers and hills in various cities. Since these spirits were there to protect the people, they were not to be disturbed on certain days of the week. In almost all Nigerian societies, there is a strong belief that most disease and death are caused supernaturally, by witchcraft, curses, or charms. Witches are usually elderly women. For a long time the Ibos believed that twins were an abomination and killed them at birth. Among some of the Hausa people, it was believed that marrying a Yoruba woman could result in mystical dangers such as serious sickness or even death. As the immigrants became acculturated into the American society, these beliefs and superstitions were forgotten.

In many Nigerian cultures elders are supposed to be served first during a meal but leave food in the

bowl for the children to eat as leftovers. The proverb, "the elder who consumes all his food will wash his own dishes," attests to this belief. However, in many Nigerian American homes children are served before adults, an indication of the Western influence whereby the needs of the child come first.

PROVERBS

The following are some common Nigerian proverbs: The voyager must necessarily return home; Death does not recognize a king; A foreign land knows no celebrity; An elephant is a hare in another town; The race of life is never tiresome; The nocturnal toad does not run during the day in vain; A child who does not know the mother does not run out to welcome her; If birds do not seek a cause for quarrel, the sky is wide enough for them to fly without interference; It is not a problem to offer a drink of wine to a monkey, but the problem is to take away the cup from him; Many words do not fill a basket; Truth is better than money; If the elephant does not have enough to eat in the forest, it puts the forest to shame.

There is a mine of proverbs in Pidgin English: "Man wey fool na him loss" (It is the fool that loses); "Lion de sick no be say goat fit go salute am for house" (Just because the lion is sick does not mean the goat can go to the lion's house to greet him); "Monkey no fine but im mamma like am so" (The monkey may not look handsome, but his mother likes him as he is); "Cow wey no get tail na God dey drive him fly" (God drives away the flies from the cow without a tail).

CUISINE

Ask anyone who has tasted Nigerian cuisine, and one answer is almost guaranteed—hot. There is no typical Nigerian American dish. Among the Yoruba, a meal may consist of two dishes: a starch form of dough derived from corn or guinea corn, or mashed vegetables that may be served with stew. The stew is prepared in typical Yoruba way using palm oil, meat, chicken, or other game cooked with many spices and vegetables, flavored with onions or bitterleaf leaves. A common Yoruba food is *Garri*, made from the roots of *cassava* (manioc).

Among the Ibo people, *cassava*, *cocoyam* (taro), potato, corn, okra, beans, peanuts, and pumpkins are common foods. In the northern part of Nigeria, grains constitute a good component of the diet. *Tuo* ("tu-wo") is a common dish in the north, and is eaten with different types of soup and sauce made from onions, peppers, tomatoes, okra, meat, or fish.

Akara (“ah-ka-ra”), Nigerian bean cakes, are fried patties made with uncooked, pulverized black-eye peas ground into a batter with onion, tomatoes, eggs, and chili peppers. *Egusi* (“e-goo-she”) soup is a hot fiery soup made from *Egusi* seeds—pumpkin seeds can be substituted. Other ingredients required for a typical *Egusi* soup include okra, hot peppers, onions, any type of meat, poultry, or fish, palm oil, leafy greens, tomato paste, and salt. *Chinchin* (“chinchin”) are fried pastries made from flour mixed with baking powder, salt, nutmeg, butter, sugar, and eggs. *Kulikuli* (“cooley-cooley”), or peanut balls, are made from roasted peanuts (called ground nuts in Nigeria), peanut oil, onions, salt, and cayenne pepper. *Moi-moi* (“moy-moy”) is a savory pate made from black-eyed beans, onions, vegetable oil, tomato paste, parsley or fresh vegetables, salt, and pepper. Okra soup is based on meat, smoked fish, seafood and vegetables, and okra. This dish is similar to New Orleans gumbo. Pounded *Yam Fufu* is made from boiled yams pounded in a mortar with a pestle, and served with meat or fish stew and vegetable or okra soup.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Men from various Nigerian groups wear *Sokoto* (“show-kowtow”), a pair of loose-fitting trousers, a *buba* (“boo-bah”) or loose-fitting overshirt, and a cap. Yoruba men wear *agbada* (“ah-bah-dah”), which is flowing robe worn to the ankle. It covers an undervest with no sleeves, and a pair of baggy pants. The women wear a wide piece of cloth that goes from below the neck to the ankles. A blouse hanging to the waist is worn over it. A head tie and a thin veil are also worn. Nigerian Americans wear their traditional costumes on special occasions such as National Day, October 1.

DANCES AND SONGS

Nigerian Americans boast of a wealth of traditional and modern music and dances because dancing and music form a focal point in life. At birth and death, on happy and sad occasions, and in worship, dancing and music are present. Traditionally in many Nigerian societies, men and women did not dance together. Western education and influence have changed this tradition, though Nigerian Americans who want to recreate their culture retain this separation.

Drums form an integral part in Nigerian dances and music. Juju music, a very popular form of music from Yorubaland, is a slow, spaced, and very relaxed guitar-based music. Highlife music is popular in all parts of West Africa, including Nigeria. Highlife music usually consists of brass, vocals, percussion,

drums, double bass, and electric guitar. Nigerians from the North practicing Islam enjoy music that has origins in North Africa. Such music is varied, but the instruments commonly used include trumpets, flutes, long brass horns, percussion frame drums, cymbals, and kettle drums.

Nigerian Americans returning from visits to Nigeria bring back with them both contemporary and old music in various formats. Nigerian Americans enjoy music from all over the world. In addition to American and British music, reggae, calypso, and Zairian music are popular.

HOLIDAYS

The major public holidays in Nigeria are: New Year's Day; *Id al-Fitr*—end of Ramadan; Easter; *Id al-Kabir*—Feast of the Sacrifice; *Mouloud*—birth of the Prophet Mohammed; National or Independence Day—October 1; and Christmas. Nigerian Americans also celebrate the major public holidays in the United States.

National Day is one of the most important holidays for Nigerian Americans celebrating the independence of Nigeria from colonial rule. A whole week of cultural, educational, and political events are scheduled. Activities include lectures on Nigeria, traditional Nigerian dances and music, fashion shows, story telling, myths and legends from various Nigerian communities. Many Nigerian Americans volunteer to talk to neighborhood school children about Nigeria and the African continent at large. When the holiday proper falls on a weekday, parties and other festive celebrations are held on the weekend. The parties and festivities culminating in the celebration of Nigerian's independence are open invitations to Nigerians, people of other African descents, and others associated in one way or the other with Nigerian living in the United States. In New York, for example, the staff of the Nigerian Consulate attend these festivities.

For Moslem Nigerian Americans, *Id al-Fitr* or the end of the Moslem fasting season is the second most important holiday in the Islamic calendar. For the approximately 30 days of Ramadan, Moslems are expected to fast from dawn to sunset. They also abstain from sex, drink, tobacco, and other activities that result in physical pleasure. To celebrate *Id al-Fitr*, Moslems say the special feast prayer in a community format and give special alms to the poor. Nigerian American Moslems also share food and gifts with relatives and friends, and children receive gifts of all kinds.

There are many other holidays and festivities observed by Nigerian Americans to preserve their

cultural heritage. Ibos in large metropolitan areas make it a point to celebrate the New Yam Festival every year. Traditionally, the yam has been the symbol of the prowess of the Ibo man. Just before midnight, the *ezejis* or elders offer prayers of thanksgiving and break kola nuts. Drums are played while blessings are offered. Other participants perform libation using Scotch or other similar liquor by pouring from a ram's horn. During the ceremony, prayers are addressed to an almighty being, and to the ancestral gods who control the soil, through whose constant kindness and guidance yams and other foods of the land bear fruit. The ceremony also includes dancing, eating, and exchange of greetings.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems or medical conditions specific to Nigerian Americans. However, like all black people, Nigerian Americans are susceptible to sickle cell anemia, an abnormal hereditary variation in the structure of hemoglobin, a protein found in the red blood cell.

A 1994 deportation victory by a Nigerian immigrant brought the health issue of female circumcision to light. Lydia Oluroro won a deportation case in Portland, Oregon. If she had been sent home, her two children could have had their clitoris and part of their labia minora cut. Nigerian Americans reacted differently to this decision; some praised it, and others expressed concern that Americans might consider female circumcision a common practice in all of Nigeria. This issue is definitely going to be a future health concern among Nigerian Americans.

LANGUAGE

English is the official language in Nigeria, but it is estimated that there are between 250 and 400 distinct dialects. There are three major ethnic languages in Nigeria: Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa. Yoruba is spoken by over 15 million people, primarily in Southwestern Nigeria. Belonging to the Kwa group of languages, Yoruba is a tonal tongue. Depending on the tone used, the same combination of sounds may convey different meanings. Ibo is also spoken by over 15 million people in Nigeria. Formerly considered as a Kwa language, recent research has placed Ibo in the Benue-Congo family of languages. Hausa is spoken in the Northern part of Nigeria, and is considered to be the most widely spoken language in Africa. It is a member of the Chad group of languages frequently assigned to the Hamitic sub-

family of the Hamito-Semitic family of languages.

Pidgin English has become the unofficial language in many African countries and Nigeria is no exception. It can be loosely defined as a hybrid of exogenous and indigenous languages. It has become the most popular medium of intergroup communication in various heterogenous communities in Nigeria. Nigerian Americans from different tribal entities who may not communicate in English can communicate with each other in Pidgin English.

The first generation of Nigerian Americans speak their native languages at home and when interacting with people from the same tribal groups. English words have found their way into most of the traditional languages spoken by Nigerian Americans. Children born into Nigerian American homes speak English and may learn the native languages if their parents teach them or speak the languages at home. Since English is the official language in Nigeria, and is used for instruction in schools, many Nigerian Americans prefer to have their children learn English as well possible so that upon returning home, the children will be able to communicate with others or do better in schools. The American accent acquired by younger Nigerian Americans is of spectacular interest to people in their home country.

It has been proposed several times that Nigeria needs an African language as its official language. This laudable desire may never become a reality because there are too many languages and dialects to consider. The existence of the diverse tribal and cultural groups makes it hard to single out one native language as the national language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Yoruba expressions include: *Bawo ni?* ("baa wo knee")—Hi, how are things?; *Daadaa ni* ("daadaa knee")—Fine. Common Hausa expressions include: *Sannu* ("sa nu")—Hi; *Lafiya?* ("la fee ya")—Are you well? Common Ibo expressions include: *Ezigbo ututu*—Good morning; *Kedu ka imere?*—How do you do?; *Gini bu aha gi?*—What is your name? Popular expressions in Pidgin English are varied: "How now?"—How are you? or How is the going?; "Which thing you want?"—What do you want? "How body?"—How are you health-wise?

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The first Nigerians came to the United States for educational purposes. Since transportation costs were high, it was common for them to leave their family

behind. Painful as this separation was, it also afforded them the opportunity to concentrate on their studies. They saved money and later sent for their wives or children. In some cases, though, Nigerians sponsored by governmental agencies were accompanied by their families. In the modern era, Nigerians who migrated to America were sponsored by their families. Nigerian Americans have always had the reputation of living comfortable lives and maintaining high standards of living. Their industrious nature has made it possible for a great majority of them to purchase cars and houses, or rent nice apartments.

There is no typical Nigeria American household decoration. Depending on which region in Nigeria they come from, Nigerian Americans decorate their houses with various art forms. Many of them bring such artifacts when they travel home to visit. Other Nigerian Americans become so westernized that their households do not have any indication of their heritage.

“Don’t misunderstand me. I love America. The freedom, tolerance, and respect of differences that are a part of everyday public life are some of the first things a visitor to America notices. But I also saw a public school system disconnected from society’s most important institution—the family. In Nigeria, with all its political and social problems, the family remains strong, and by doing so helps to define the social and economic expectations of the nation.”

Jide Nzelibe, a graduate of St. John’s College in Annapolis and Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University (from “A Nigerian Immigrant Is Shocked by His U.S. High School,” *Policy Review*, Fall 1993, p. 43).

Africans in general have strong family commitments. It is traditional in Nigeria to have extended families. Unannounced visits are always welcome, and meals are shared even if no prior knowledge of the visit was given. Nigerian Americans continue this tradition. However, as a result of hectic work schedules and economic realities, it is common for Nigerian Americans to make a phone call before paying visits to relatives or friends.

Traditionally, in many Nigerian communities, a man marries as many wives as possible. However, Nigerian Americans marry only one wife. While in their native country large families are common, Nigerian Americans have fewer children so that they will be able to give them the best education possible. The early immigrants were educated peo-

ple and they instilled in their children the importance of education as a component of a successful life. Over half of Nigerian Americans between the age 18 and 24 go to four-year universities and obtain bachelor degrees. About 33 percent of Nigerian Americans 25 years and over who entered the United States between 1980 and 1990 received masters degree. Close to ten percent received doctoral degrees. About 50 percent of women aged 25 or older received their bachelor degrees. Masters and doctoral degrees for women in the same age group were 32 percent and 52 percent.

Years ago in Nigeria it was traditional for women to stay home and take care of children; however in modern times, both in the United States and at home, educational opportunities are opened equally to men and women. The areas of specialization are not delineated between the sexes.

Children are required by tradition to be obedient to their parents and other adults. For example, a child can never contradict his or her parents; and the left hand cannot be used to accept money from parents, or as a gesture of respectful communication. Nigerian Americans try to maintain these traditional values, but as a result of peer pressure in American society, young Nigerian Americans resist this type of strict discipline from their parents. Even though children are treated equally in Nigerian American families, girls are usually the center of attention for several reasons. With teenage pregnancies on the rise in the United States, many parents seem to keep a closer eye on their female children. As part of sex education, many Nigerian American parents alert their children to the problem of teenage pregnancy and its ensuing responsibilities.

WEDDINGS

Different groups in Nigeria have different types of weddings. Usually, marriages are a combination of the traditional and the modern. Even though the traditional marriage ceremonies seem to be fading, many Nigerian Americans continue to perform it at home and then perform a Western-type wedding in a church or a court of law.

Among the Yoruba for example, on the day of the traditional marriage, there is feasting, dancing, and merriment. At nightfall, the senior wives in the family of the groom go to the house of the bride’s family to ask for the bride. At the door, the senior wives in the house of the bride ask for a door opening fee before they are allowed in the house. In addition to this initial fee, there are several others to be paid—the children’s fee, the wives’ fee, and

the load-carrying fee. The family of the bride must be completely satisfied with the amount of monies given before the bride can be taken away. The senior members of the bride's family pray for and bless her, and then release her to the head of the delegation. A senior wife from the groom's family carries the bride on her back to the new husband's home. The feet of the new wife have to be cleaned before she can enter the house. This symbolizes that the new wife is clean and is on the threshold of a new life altogether.

When there are no close relatives of the bride and the groom in the United States, friends take on the roles of the various participants in the traditional wedding. After the traditional wedding, if the couple practices Christianity, the ceremony is performed according to the tradition of the church. Friends, relatives, and well-wishers from the home country and across the United States are invited to the ceremony. Though many guests may stay in hotels, according to the African tradition of hospitality, friends and relatives of the couple living in the immediate surroundings will house and feed the visitors free of charge. The accompanying wedding reception is a stupendous feast of African cuisine, traditional and modern music and dancing, and an ostentatious display of both African and American costumes.

CHILD NAMING CEREMONIES

In many Nigerian American homes the child naming ceremony is even more important than the baptism. Among the Ibos, when a child is born, the parents set a time for this ceremony to take place and friends, relatives, and well-wishers are invited to this event. Grandmothers traditionally prepare the dish that will be served, but in modern times all the women in the household take part in the preparation of the food. At the ceremony benches are arranged in a rectangular form with a lamp placed at the center, and guests are ushered in by the new mother. Kola nuts (the greatest symbol of Ibo hospitality) are served followed by palm wine. When the guests have had enough to drink, the new mother asks her mother to serve the food, which is usually a combination of rice, *garri*, yams, or *fufu*, and soup and stew made with stock-fish, ordinary fish, meat, and other types of game meat. After the meal, more palm wine is served. The host, usually the most senior man in the household, then repeats one or more proverbs, orders the baby to be brought, and places the baby in the lap. The grandmother gives a name, followed by the child's father, and then the baby's mother. Guests can also suggest names. After more drinking and celebration the

guests depart and the household gathers to review the suggested names and to select one, which becomes the name of the child. Possible Ibo names include: *Adachi* (the daughter of God); *Akachukwu* (God's hand); *Nwanyioma* (beautiful lady); and *Ndidikanma* (patience is the best).

The Yoruba naming ceremony takes place on the ninth day after birth for boys, and on the seventh day for girls. Twins are named on the eighth day. By tradition the mother and the child leave the house for the first time on the day the naming ceremony takes place. Relatives, friends and well-wishers join together to eat, drink, and make merry. Gifts are lavished on the newborn and the parents. An elder performs the naming ceremony using Kola nuts, a bowl of water, pepper, oil, salt, honey, and liquor. Each of these items stands for a special life symbol: Kola nuts are for good fortune; water symbolizes purity; oil symbolizes power and health; salt symbolizes intelligence and wisdom; honey symbolizes happiness, and liquor stands for wealth and prosperity. The baby tastes each of the above, as do all the people present. The name of the child is chosen before the ceremony. After dipping his hand in a bowl of water, the person officiating at the ceremony touches the forehead of the baby and whispers the name into the baby's ears, and then shouts it aloud for all around to hear. Some Yoruba names are: *Jumoke* (loved by all); *Amonke* (to know her is to pet her); *Modupe* (thanks); *Foluke* (in the hands of God); and *Ajayi* (born face downwards). Nigerian Americans preserve the traditional ceremonies, modifying as needed. For example, an older relative or friend plays the role of the grandmother when the real grandmother of the child is unable to be present.

After the traditional naming ceremony, if the family is Christian, another day is set aside for the child to be baptized in church. Hausa children born to Islamic parents are given personal names of Moslem origin. The Moslem name is often followed by the father's given name. Surnames have been adopted by a few Hausa people, especially those educated abroad. Some given Hausa names are: *Tanko* (a boy born after successive girls); *Labaran* (a boy born in the month of the Ramadan); *Gagare* (unconquerable); and *Afere* (a girl born tiny).

FUNERALS

The African concept of death is considered a transition, not an end. The Ibos, Yoruba, and the Hausa, including those practicing the Christian and Islamic religions, believe in reincarnation. Even though Western education and religion may have changed many traditional African beliefs,

many Nigerian Americans hold on to those beliefs. Thus, if a person dies, he is born into another life completely different from the one he had. In addition to our visible world, there is believed to be another world where ancestors dwell and exert influence on the daily activities of the living. In many Nigerian societies, when a person dies, the entire community becomes aware of the death almost immediately. Wailing and crying from family members and unrelated people fill the town or village where the death occurs.

Funeral traditions vary in Nigeria according to group. For example, at the funeral of the Kalabari people of Eastern Nigeria, unless a person dies from what are considered abominable causes such as witchcraft, drowning, or at childbirth, every adult receives an *Ede* funeral, which consists of laying the body in state and dressing the chief mourners. Traditionally the dead were buried the day after death. In the case of an older person, a whole week of ceremonial mourning was set aside. In modern times, the dead are kept in the mortuary up to eight weeks or more so that elaborate preparations can take place and relatives both local and abroad could come to the funeral. The initial wake is usually held on a Friday, and the burial takes place on a Saturday. After elaborate traditional burial ceremonies, those who practice Christianity are taken to the church for the established funeral rites before the corpses are taken to the cemetery. A week after that the final wake is held on a Friday, and the funeral dance and ceremonies on a Saturday. The day of the final funeral is filled with elaborate activities; relatives of the dead person dress up in expensive garments.

Many Nigerian Americans prefer to be buried in Nigeria when they die. For this reason they buy enough life insurance to cover the transportation of their bodies home. Bodies in the United States are usually kept in the funeral homes till the wake is done. When the body is flown home, in addition to the traditional burial ceremonies, Nigerian Americans who practice Christianity will be buried according to established rites. Nigerian American Moslems whose bodies are sent home are buried according to the Islamic tradition.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Nigerian Americans interact with other ethnic minorities and the community as a whole, though most Nigerian Americans will first seek out people from their own tribes. At one time, as a result of the Biafra War, Nigerian Americans from the Yoruba tribe would not interact with others from the Ibo tribe and vice versa; but this situation has improved

in contemporary times. Interaction exists between Nigerian Americans and people from other African countries such as Ghana, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. Most Africans see themselves as brothers and sisters in the United States since they all left their home countries to come here. There are some Nigerian Americans who prefer not to interact with people of their own heritage. There have been many cases of fraud, crime, and drug smuggling involving Nigerian Americans and some want to avoid any implication in such criminal cases.

RELIGION

As is the case in many African countries, Western religion was imposed on Nigeria. Traditionally, Nigerians believe that there are two types of divinities: the Supreme Being, and the subordinate deities. The Supreme Being can be likened to God and the subordinate deities to the saints and others through whose intercession people can communicate with the Supreme Being. The Ibos, for instance, refer to the Supreme Being in powerful terms, such as *Chukwu*—the Great Providence, and *Chineke*—Creator and Providence. The traditional religion of the Yorubas focuses on different gods, representing aspects of one almighty, all-encompassing God, *Olodumare*, *Oluwa*, *Olorun*—owner of heaven and earth, who is too sacred to be directly approached or worshipped.

Through commercial contacts and colonization, Islamic and European religions were introduced in Nigeria. The majority of Nigerian Americans hailing from the northern states in Nigeria are Moslems. Islamic groups in the northern part of Nigeria include the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuris, Kanemis, Bagirimis, and the Wadayans. About 40 percent of the Yoruba population also practice Islam. The majority of Nigerian Americans from the Ibo tribe are Catholics. While many Nigerians worship with the American community in places of worship, members of the Nigerian American community have their own groups in which they can worship together. For example, in Boston, the Igbo community has formed a group that worships in the Catholic tradition, using the native language in both prayers and songs. They inculcate traditional practices such as dancing and drumming into their worship.

A key development in religion in Nigeria was the establishment of *Aladura* or spiritual churches. *Aladura* is a Yoruba word meaning “one who prays.” The *Aladura* movement started among the Yoruba people in Nigeria during the first decades of the twentieth century and spread throughout Africa. Among the many practices of this movement, all participants put on white robes while they worship.

They may worship in a church building, along the beach, on top of hills, or by the mouth of rivers praying, confessing their sins, healing, singing and clapping. The *Aladura* movement can be likened to the charismatic movement in the United States. In many cities in the United States, Nigerian Americans have established their own *Aladura* churches where they gather to worship.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Early Nigerian Americans came to the United States to study, acquired terminal degrees, and returned home. This ambitious habit was copied by many Nigerian Americans settling in the United States. Through their status as American citizens or permanent residents Nigerian Americans were able to acquire prestigious jobs in academia and other professions. Other Nigerian Americans without the academic qualifications accept jobs in various sectors of society. Many Nigerian Americans establish their own businesses in the United States. For many, trading in Nigerian and other African costumes has become a profitable business. This requires travelling between Nigeria and the United States to arrange importation of items. In many American cities, it is not uncommon to find Nigerian and other African restaurants owned and operated by Nigerian Americans. Nigerian Americans have established their own small businesses, including travel agencies, parking lots, taxi stands, cultural exchange programs, and health and life insurance agencies. Even though they target the general population for their clientele, Nigerian Americans invest time in acquiring Nigerian and other African clientele.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Nigerian Americans as a group do not have political clout in the United States. They do work in small groups through established associations or where they reside to raise political consciousness when appropriate issues arise. When the press in the United States reports sensational stories that create stereotypical impressions about Nigeria, Nigerian Americans react in unison to correct such impressions.

RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA

Nigerian Americans maintain a high sense of pride for their country. They remain attached to Nigeria no matter how long they stay away from it. Many go home to visit occasionally while others make a visit to

the motherland an annual obligation. Basketball star Hakeem Olajuwon, who recently became a citizen of the United States, expresses the attachment Nigerians have for their country: "There's no place like home. I will always be from Nigeria" ("Hakeem Becomes U.S. Citizen," *The Houston Chronicle*, April 3, 1993).

When Nigerians first came to the United States, they would gather with other African students to promote nationalism and protest against colonial domination in their homeland. In contemporary times, Nigerian Americans have been vociferous in protesting against injustice and despotic rule in Nigeria. In 1989, when Nigeria's military leader Ibrahim Babaginda summarily dissolved several groups that aspired to be registered as political parties to compete in elections, Nigerian Americans throughout the United States held demonstrations to protest against this act of despotism.

In 1993, when Babaginda refused to accept the June elections and proposed a second election in August, Nigerian Americans added their voice to those of freedom-loving people around the world to protest against his disrespect for the choice of Nigerian voters, Chief Moshood Abiola. As the political situation in Nigeria remains in turmoil, Nigerian Americans constantly express themselves and gather to ensure that justice will prevail.

Nigerian Americans forge strong ties with their motherland. By working strongly with both private and governmental groups, Nigerian Americans have succeeded in organizing exchanges between business people in the United States and Nigeria. Individual organizations also pool their resources together to assist their motherland. A good example is the Network of Nigerian Engineers and Scientists whose members sometimes offer free services to the government of Nigeria. As a result of these efforts there has been a boost in trade between the United States and America and a boost of tourism in Nigeria. African American tourists visit Nigeria in huge numbers every year to explore their heritage.

By working closely with universities, other institutions of higher learning, and research centers, Nigerian Americans have ensured that prominent authors, artists, and other researchers visit the United States on a regular basis. Wole Soyinka, the Nobel prize winner from Nigeria, has been a regular visitor to many campuses and art centers in the United States. Chinua Achebe, renowned novelist and scholar comes to the United States to lecture on college campuses and at other literary and cultural events. Top known artists and musicians such as King Sunny Ade, Ebenezer Obey, Sonny Okosun, and Fela Anikulapo Kuti have been invited by Nigerian Americans to perform throughout the United States.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Nigerian Americans vividly portray the philosophy of life evident in all African societies: as long as God has given you the strength and power to live, you have to contribute to society as much as you can. Small in percentage as they are to the American population as a whole, Nigerian Americans distinguish themselves. The following is a sample of notable Nigerian Americans working in various arenas.

ACADEMIA

Known as one of the world's top three scientists in the fields of robotics, Bartholomew Nnaji (1957–), came to the United States on an athletic scholarship in 1977 and is currently a professor at the College of Engineering of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst; author of six books and editor in chief of the *International Journal of Design and Manufacturing*, Nnaji has won many awards including the 1988 Young Manufacturing Engineering Award.

JOURNALISM

Through the popular journal *African World*, Bartholomew Nnaji (1957–), professor of industrial engineering and operations research and past interim federal minister for science and technology in Nigeria, has been working with Okey Ndibe, former editor of *African Commentary* to educate Americans about the distortion of the history of Africans and others of African descent.

MUSIC

Titilayo Rachel Adedokun (1973–) was a finalist in the 1993 Miss America pageant and was the 1993 Miss Ohio. Adedokun graduated from the Cincinnati College Conservatory of Music.

O. J. (Orlando Julius) Ekemode (1942–) born in Ijebu-Ijesha in Nigeria, started playing drums at age eight. His combination of traditional African music with contemporary jazz, religious, reggae, Afro-beat, and soul music in the fashion of James Brown has made him one of the living legends of real African music in the United States.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

One of America's top engineers, Olusola Seriki, currently development director for the Rouse Company in Columbia, Maryland, has distinguished himself; born in Ibadan, Oyo, Nigeria, he is a Howard

University graduate who has worked on several large-scale international projects; the countless awards he has received include the prestigious African Business Executive of the Year in 1989; an accomplished author and scholar, Seriki is also active in various professional organizations.

SPORTS

According to George Karl, coach of the Seattle SuperSonics, Hakeem Olajuwon (1963–) is the second-best player in the world. Akeem, as he is affectionately known, led the University of Houston to three consecutive trips to the Final Four of the NCAA basketball tournament. Olajuwon led the Rockets to NBA titles in 1994 and 1995.

Donald Igwebuike (1961–), kicked five years for the Tampa Bay Buccaneers football team; when he was released in September 1990, he was picked up by the Minnesota Vikings for the 1990 football season; soon after he was arrested and charged with being an accomplice to heroin trafficking, but was later acquitted. Christian Okoye (1961–), known as the "Nigerian Nightmare" is a superior discus thrower and a great football player; his sports career in the United States started when he came on a track scholarship to the Azusa Pacific University in 1982; he is also a former Kansas City Chiefs running back who became the NFL's leading rusher in 1989.

MEDIA

PRINT

Because Nigeria's official language is English, publications regarding Nigerian Americans come out mainly in the English Language. The following are just a few of the available newspapers and similar types of publications on Nigeria.

Nigeria Trade Journal.

Published quarterly, this journal is an important resource for Nigerian Americans and others interested in establishing businesses in Nigeria.

Contact: Nigerian Consulate General.

Address: 828 Second Avenue, New York, New York, 10017-4301.

Telephone: (212) 752-1670.

Nigerian Journal.

Quarterly journal published by the Nigerian Consulate in New York. This English language publication provides a vast array of information on Nigeria, and issues of concern to Nigerians at home and those abroad, as well as non-Nigerians interested in Nigeria.

Contact: Nigerian Consulate General.
Address: 828 Second Avenue, 10th Floor, New York, New York, 10017-4301.
Telephone: (212) 850-2200; or (212) 808-0301.

Nigerian Students Union in the Americas Newsletter.

A monthly publication that provides information on Nigeria and the world at large to Nigerians and Nigerian students studying in the Americas.

Contact: Nigerian Consulate General.
Address: 828 Second Avenue, New York, New York, 10017-4301.
Telephone: (212) 752-1670.

Nigerian Times.

Formerly the *African Enquirer*.

Contact: Chika A. Onyeani, Editor.
Address: 368 Broadway, Suite 307, New York, New York 10013.
Telephone: (212) 791-0777.

RADIO

WABE-FM (90.1).

This is a daily evening music broadcast featuring music from all over the world, including Nigeria.

Contact: Lois Reitzes, Program Director.
Address: 740 Bismark Road, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30324-4102.
Telephone: (404) 827-8900.
Fax: (404) 827-8956.

WRFG-FM (89.3).

“African Experience” is a two-hour program from 12:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. on Saturdays with emphasis on music, opinions, interviews from Africa, including Nigeria.

Contact: B. Kai Aiyetoro.
Address: 1083 Austin Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30307.
Telephone: (404) 523-3471.
E-mail: wrfg@mindspring.com.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

League of Patriotic Nigerians (LPN).

Founded in 1985, the LPN has a membership of 10,000 Nigerian American professionals, including doctors, lawyers, accountants, and engineers. It promotes professional behavior, and the importance of

good citizenship, respect for the law, and community involvement.

Contact: Alex Taire, Vice President.

Nigerian American Alliance (NAA).

Formerly known as the Nigerian American Friendship Fund, the NAA was founded in 1988 and has a membership of 300 business people, government officials, and educators interested in Nigeria and American-Nigerian relations. The NAA promotes improved understanding between the two countries on political, social, and economic issues.

Contact: James E. Obi, Agency Manager.
Address: c/o James E. Obi, 1010 Washington Boulevard, Stamford, Connecticut 06901.

Nigerian American Chamber of Commerce (NACC).

The NACC is a trade group trying to develop closer economic ties between Nigeria and the United States.

Address: 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10021.
Telephone: (212) 715-7200.

Nigerian Students Union in the Americas (NSUA).

Disseminates information about Nigeria and Africa; cooperates with other African student unions in the Americas and with Nigerian student unions in Nigeria and other parts of the world.

Contact: Granville U. Osuji.
Address: 654 Girard Street, N.W., Apartment 512, Washington, D.C. 20001-2936.

Organization of Nigerian Citizens (ONC).

Founded in 1986, the ONC has a membership of 700 in 21 state groups; it is made up of people of Nigerian ancestry, and works to increase the understanding and awareness of Nigeria and its citizens by promoting educational programs. It also serves as a networking link for people interested in Nigeria. The ONC seeks solutions to problems encountered by Nigerian Americans.

Contact: Chuks Eleonu.
Address: P.O. Box 66220, Baltimore, Maryland 21239.
Telephone: (410) 637-5165.

World Union of Nigerians (WUN).

Promotes democratic principles of government, protection of civil liberties, and economic development within Nigeria.

Contact: Sonnie Braih, Executive Chair.
Address: 2147 University Avenue, W., Suite 101,
P.O. Box 14265, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.
Telephone: (612) 776-4997.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum.

Maintains a vast collection of African sculpture and artifacts relating to Africa and the slave trade. Nigeria is well represented in the collection.

Contact: Nannette A. Clark, Executive Director.
Address: 701 Arch Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19106-1557.
Telephone: (215) 574-0380.

Black Heritage Museum.

Holds a vast collection of art and artifacts of black heritage, including many tribal artifacts from Nigeria.

Contact: Priscilla G. Stephens Kruize, President.
Address: Miracle Center Mall, 3301 Coral Way,
Miami, Florida 33257.
Telephone: (305) 252-3535.

Museum for African Art.

Has an extensive collection of art from all over Africa, including Nigeria.

Contact: Susan M. Vogel, C.E.O and
Executive Director.
Address: 593 Broadway, New York,
New York, 10012.
Telephone: (212) 966-1313.

Museum of African American Art.

Has preserved a large collection of Arts of African and African descendant peoples, including Nigeria.

Contact: Belinda Fontenote-Jamerson, President.
Address: 4005 Crenshaw Boulevard, Third Floor,
Los Angeles, California 90008.
Telephone: (213) 294-7071.

National Museum of African Art.

Part of the Smithsonian Institution, the museum has over 6,000 objects of African art, wood, metal,

ceramic, ivory, and fiber. Its collection on Nigerian art is extensive.

Contact: Roslyn A. Walker, Director.
Address: 950 Independence Avenue, S.W.,
Washington, D.C., 20560.
Telephone: (202) 357-4600.
Fax: (202) 357-4879.
Online: <http://www.si.edu/organiza/museums/africart/start.htm>.

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NORWEGIAN AMERICANS

by
Odd S. Lovoll

OVERVIEW

Occupying the western part of the Scandinavian peninsula in northwestern Europe, and sharing borders with Sweden, Finland, and Russia, Norway is slightly larger than the state of New Mexico, measuring 125,181 square miles (323,878 square kilometers). The country measures 1,095 miles from south to north, and one-third of its land mass lies north of the Arctic Circle, extending farther north than any other European country.

Norway's population is 4,300,000. Save for an indigenous minority of Samis (estimated at no more than 40,000) confined mainly to the northern half of the country, Norway's population is ethnically and culturally homogeneous. Almost 90 percent of the inhabitants belong to the Evangelical Lutheran state church, five percent are members of other denominations and faiths, and only five percent have no religious affiliation. Norway's form of government is a hereditary constitutional monarchy. The capital city is Oslo. The national flag displays a central blue cross with a white border on a red field. Norwegian is the official language, rendered in two different literary forms, the predominant *bokmål* (Dano-Norwegian) and the rural dialect-based *nynorsk* (New Norse).

HISTORY

Norway (Old Norse: *Norvegr* or *Noregr*) designates the sea-lane—the north way—along the country's

The pioneers on the American frontier were the new Vikings of the West; Leif Ericson became the quintessential icon of a glorified Viking heritage. Norwegians found a second identifying quality by presenting themselves as an ethnic group with wholesome rural values and ideals. And, in fact, Norwegians were the most rural of any major nineteenth-century immigrant group.

extensive coastline as viewed from the south. Maritime connections west and south have, as a consequence of Norway's geography, characterized its history. During the Viking Age (800-1030) expansive forces moved the Norse Vikings onto the historical stage of Europe; their westward expansion extended to Iceland, Greenland, and even to the continent of North America. Some time before 890 Harald Finehair consolidated Norway under the Yngling dynasty. The martyrdom of King Olav II of this royal line on July 29, 1030, at the Battle of Stiklestad, made him Norway's patron saint, secured a national monarchy, and established the Christian church as a dominant institution.

Medieval Norway attained its political height under the reign of Haakon IV Haakonson (1217-1263), with territorial dominance to the western islands (the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and the Faroes), Iceland, and Greenland, and three districts in present-day Sweden. It was then that Norway entered fully into close diplomatic and commercial relations with other European states.

Norwegian national decline manifested itself in dynastic unions with the two other Scandinavian nations, Sweden and Denmark. The Bubonic Plague that ravaged Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century hit Norway, a country with greater poverty and fewer natural resources than the other Nordic lands, especially hard. Norway's population was devastated, resulting in a serious loss of income for the great landowners, the church, and the king. The last king of an independent and sovereign Norway died in 1380 and Norway united with Denmark. In 1397 the three Scandinavian states were joined under one ruler in the Kalmar Union; in the case of Norway the union with Denmark lasted until 1814. The Lutheran Reformation in 1537 resulted in Norway's reduction in administrative arrangements to a province within the Danish state. The idea of Norway as a kingdom, however, remained alive throughout the union period and was evidenced in the term "the twin realms."

MODERN ERA

The big power politics following the Napoleonic Wars yielded a national rebirth. Rejecting the terms of the Treaty of Kiel, which transferred Norway to the King of Sweden, a constituent assembly meeting north of Oslo at Eidsvoll on May 17, 1814, signed a constitution establishing a limited and hereditary monarchy, and declared Norway's independence. Mindful of their pledge to the Swedish throne, but also not wishing to quell Nor-

wegian moves toward independence, the European powers endorsed a compromise that established a union under the Swedish king. The union preserved the Eidsvoll constitution and was based on the will of the Norwegian people rather than the Treaty of Kiel.

The Act of Union signed in 1815 declared, in principle, an equal partnership in the double monarchy of Sweden and Norway. In reality, however, Norway held an inferior position. Politically Norway feared Swedish encroachment and sought full equality in the union. Culturally the new nation struggled against Danish hegemony—a result of the 400-year union—and engaged in a quest for national identity and cultural independence. There was a surge of nationalism, which was expressed in an idealized and romantic cultivation of the peasantry as the true carriers of the national spirit. Norway's ultimate goal was a separate and respected national status within the Nordic nations. In 1905 the union with Sweden ended after a dispute over foreign affairs, centering on Norway's demand for an independent consular service. The union was unnatural from the start with few, if any, positive elements linking the two countries.

Prince Carl of Denmark was elected King of Norway, taking the name Haakon VII, which linked him to the old Norwegian royal line. The first half-century of full independence witnessed a rapid transformation from mainly an agricultural society to an industrialized and commercial one. The laboring classes gained political influence and from the mid-1930s the Norwegian Labor Party formed the government. German occupation from 1940 to 1945 suspended the Party's political agenda, but in the postwar era it resumed power and transformed Norway into a prosperous social-democratic welfare state. In foreign affairs, the country abandoned its historically neutral stance and joined the western alliance in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1994 Norway completed negotiations for membership in the European Union. A pending national referendum will determine whether or not Norway actually becomes a member.

THE PIONEER IMMIGRATION

Norwegian overseas emigration began earlier than in the other Nordic lands, commencing dramatically on July 4, 1825, with the sailing of the tiny sloop *Restauration* from Stavanger on the southwestern coast of Norway. The initial emigration occurred in a district with historical ties to England where the idea of emigration as an alternative to staying at home originated. As early as 1821 the enigmatic

wanderer Cleng Peerson, “the pathfinder of Norwegian emigration,” traveled to America as an agent for the pioneer emigrants. Many Lutheran pietists and Quakers chose to emigrate as a result of persecution by the Lutheran clergy because of their defiance of ecclesiastical law. Religious oppression did not enter into the subsequent emigration. In 1824 Peerson returned briefly to Norway to advise the emigrants, but was back in the United States to meet “the Sloopers” (as they were called because they sailed on a sloop). The *Restauration* landed in New York on October 9, 1825, with a boatload of 53 immigrants—one of them a baby girl born during an adventurous voyage of 14 weeks.

Annual emigration did not commence until 1836, but a contact had been made with the New World. Individuals had gone to America in the intervening years and even visited Norway to report on life there. The Norwegian exodus rose in the 1840s; by 1865, nearly 80,000 Norwegians had entered the United States. From the southwestern coastal areas the “America fever” had moved along the west coast and inland to the central highland region. Even though no part of Norway was entirely untouched by the overseas exodus, the majority of emigrants in this founding phase of the movement came from the inner fjord districts in west Norway and the mountain valleys of east Norway. It was an emigration of rural folk with a strong family composition. Their move was permanent; they sought a new life in America for themselves and their descendants. As a result, the character of the immigrant community that evolved in America reflected traditions, mores, and religious as well as secular values of the people from their districts in the old country and conveyed a strong familial and communal bond.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The end of the Civil War brought about a great increase in Atlantic crossings. The number of Norwegian emigrants leaped from 4,000 in 1865 to 15,726 in 1866, heralding the era of mass migration. The migration occurred until 1873 when, in the course of only eight years, some 110,000 Norwegians left their homeland. The second, and also the greatest, period of emigration lasted 14 years from 1880 to 1893, when on the average 18,290 left annually—ten for every 1,000 Norwegians. During this time Norway’s emigration intensity was the second greatest in Europe, surpassed only by Ireland. Norway experienced a final mass exodus in the first decade of the twentieth century, although there was considerable emigration in the 1920s as well. Emigration from its beginning in 1825 until the present

has affected some 900,000 people. Of the total emigration, 87 percent, or 780,000 Norwegians, left in the period between 1865 and 1930.

In the nineteenth century, Norwegian emigrants headed almost exclusively for the United States. Only since 1900 have other overseas areas, especially Canada, attracted substantial number of Norwegians. Still, the United States remains the most popular destination. A rapid population growth in the last century and a slow industrial expansion left many young Norwegians unable to find gainful employment at home. Surplus labor was syphoned off through emigration. The United States on the other hand had a great need for people to develop its resources. In periods of expanding economy, American society offered seemingly unlimited possibilities. The response in Norway was a rise in emigration. The migration of families gradually changed in the last quarter of the century to an emigration of individuals. It was dominated by a movement of young male laborers who came from the cities as well as the countryside, though the rural exodus was by far the larger. From the 1880s, youths with education and technical training joined the masses who went to America.

Improved transportation facilitated by steam passenger liners, allowed people to move back and forth across the Atlantic, yielding a two-way migration. The Norwegian Bureau of Statistics has estimated that about 25 percent of the immigrants to North America between 1881 and 1930 have resettled in Norway. Still, as of 1990 there were 3,869,395 residents of Norwegian ancestry in the United States, nearly as many as in the home country.

SETTLEMENT

The majority of the pioneer immigrants, the so-called “Sloopers,” assisted by the kindly services of American Quakers, went to Orleans County in western New York state and settled in what became Kendall Township. In the mid-1830s the Kendall settlers gave impetus to the westward movement of Norwegians by founding a settlement in the Fox River area of Illinois. A small urban colony of Norwegians had its genesis in Chicago at about the same time.

Immigrant settlements now stood ready to welcome Norwegian newcomers, who, beginning in 1836, arrived annually. From Illinois, Norwegian pioneers followed the general spread of population northwestward into Wisconsin. Wisconsin remained the center of Norwegian American activity up until the Civil War. In the 1850s Norwegian landseekers began moving into both Iowa and Min-

nesota, and serious migration to the Dakotas was underway by the 1870s. The majority of Norwegian agrarian settlements developed in the northern region of the so-called Homestead Act Triangle between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. The upper Midwest became the home for most immigrants. In 1910 almost 80 percent of the one million or more Norwegian Americans—the immigrants and their children—lived in that part of the United States. In 1990, 51.7 percent of the Norwegian American population lived in the Midwest; Minnesota had the largest number. Minneapolis functioned as a Norwegian American “capital” for secular and religious activities.

In the Pacific Northwest, the Puget Sound region, and especially the city of Seattle, became another center of immigrant life. Enclaves of Norwegians emerged as well in greater Brooklyn, New York, in Alaska, and Texas. After Minnesota, Wisconsin had the most Norwegians in 1990, followed by California, Washington, and North Dakota.

In a letter from Chicago dated November 9, 1855, Elling Haaland from Stavanger, Norway, assured his relatives back home that “of all nations Norwegians are those who are most favored by

“A newcomer from Norway who arrives here will be surprised indeed to find in the heart of the country, more than a thousand miles from his landing place, a town where language and way of life so unmistakably remind him of his native land.”

Svein Nilsson, a Norwegian American journalist (in *Billed-Magazin*, May 14, 1870).

Americans.” This sentiment was expressed frequently as the immigrants attempted to seek acceptance and negotiate entrance into the new society. In their segregated farming communities, Norwegians were spared direct prejudice and might indeed have been viewed as a welcome ingredient in a region’s development. Still, a sense of inferiority was inherent in their position. The immigrants were occasionally referred to as “guests” in the United States and they were not immune to condescending and disparaging attitudes by old-stock Americans. Economic adaptation required a certain amount of interaction with a larger commercial environment, from working for an American farmer to doing business with the seed dealer, the banker, and the elevator operator. Products had to be grown and sold—all of which pulled Norwegian farmers into social contact with their American neighbors.

In places like Brooklyn, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Seattle, Norwegians interacted with the multicultural environment of the city while constructing a complex ethnic community that met the needs of its members. It might be said that a Scandinavian melting pot existed in the urban setting among Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, evidenced in residential and occupational patterns, in political mobilization, and in public commemoration. Inter-marriage promoted interethnic assimilation. There are no longer any Norwegian enclaves or neighborhoods in America’s great cities. Beginning in the 1920s, Norwegians increasingly became suburban, and one might claim, more American.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Norwegian history in America covers a period of 170 years, beginning with the pioneer immigrants in 1825. Viking ancestors had, however, established colonies in Greenland—outposts of European civilization—as early as 985 A.D. From there they found America, commonly associated with the voyages of the Norse adventurer Leif Ericson, around the year 1000 and formed colonies on Newfoundland. These had no impact on the later European settlement in the New World, but they provided Norwegians, and other Scandinavians, with a claim to a birthright in America and gave them their most expressive identifying ethnic symbols.

The pioneers on the American frontier were the new Vikings of the West; Leif Ericson became the quintessential icon of a glorified Viking heritage. Norwegians found a second identifying quality by presenting themselves as an ethnic group with wholesome rural values and ideals. And, in fact, Norwegians were the most rural of any major nineteenth-century immigrant group. In 1900, for instance, only a little more than a quarter of all Norwegian-born residents in the United States lived in towns with more than 25,000 inhabitants. It was the lowest percentage for any European immigrant population. It has been claimed that the Norwegian farmer in America passed on a special rural bond from one generation to the next. Perhaps the greatest contribution was a dedication to farming as a way of life; in 1900, 54.3 percent of the children of Norwegian immigrants were farmers.

In their farming communities Norwegians exhibited a nationalistic solidarity that had no counterpart among other Scandinavian groups. The homeland’s quest for a national identity created a patriotic fervor that was transplanted as immigrant

clannishness. Even today, as evidenced by the retention of their institutions, Norwegians appear more focused on culture retention than their Nordic neighbors in America. For example, a Norwegian-language Lutheran congregation survives in Chicago, whereas the Swedes, with a much larger population, have not maintained a Swedish-language church.

PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS

Norwegians' past in the United States was celebrated at the Norse American Centennial in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul in June 1925. A century had passed since the landing of the *Restauration* in New York harbor. President Calvin Coolidge came to honor the Norwegians for being good Americans and validated their claim of sharing nationality with the original discoverer of America as the Norwegian Americans reflected upon a successful 100 years as an immigrant people. The festivities displayed an attachment to traditional rural values and a cultivation of ancient and heroic Norse roots, but featured heroes from their American experience as well. An impressive pageant centered on the life of Colonel Hans Christian Heg, a hero from the Civil War. The hostilities between the North and the South gave Norwegian Americans a sense of a legitimate place in the United States, because Norwegian blood had been spilled in its defense.

The symbols and content of a Norwegian ethnic identity emerged among the more successful of their nationality in such urban centers as Chicago and Minneapolis. They were the ones who most eagerly sought acceptable ethnic credentials and gathered their compatriots around the celebration of such holidays as Norwegian Constitution Day on May 17, which became the most important identifying ethnic symbol. The day is still celebrated with a traditional parade featuring flags, banners, music, and speeches in Norwegian centers across America. The event, observed since the early days of settlement, communicates American patriotism as well as Norwegian memories; ethnic identities are firmly rooted in positive views of the group's place in America and images of the homeland's culture are equally prominent in the celebration.

There are numerous folk festivals in Norwegian centers. *Norsk Høstfest* in Minot, North Dakota (for information, contact [701] 852-2368), and Nordic Fest in Decorah, Iowa (for information, contact [800] 382-3378), annually assemble thousands of Norwegian Americans nationwide around a varied program focusing on a Norwegian American heritage.

At such events Norwegian stereotypes are regularly introduced to the amusement of those assem-



These Leikarring Norwegian Dancers are standing in front of a replica of the Valhalla Viking ship in Petersburg, Alaska.

bled. Invariably there are stories and jokes poking fun at the ignorance and foolishness of Norwegian types, such as the characters of Ole and Lena, who speak in broken English. New tales are constantly being created. A typical one might go as follows: "Ole and Lena invited a well-to-do Uncle for dinner. Little Ole looked him over and finally approached the old Uncle with a request. 'Uncle Knute ... vill you make a noise like a frog for me?' said Little Ole. 'Vy in the world do you vant me to make a noise like a frog?' exclaimed the Uncle. 'Because,' said Little Ole, 'Papa says ve are going to get a lot of money ven you croak!'" (Red Stangeland, *Ole & Lena Jokes*, Book 4 [Sioux Falls, South Dakota: Norse Press, 1989], p. 14).

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In 1879 a Norwegian Unitarian minister and author was amazed after a visit to Wisconsin at "how Norwegians have managed to isolate themselves together in colonies and maintain their Norwegian memories and customs." He had to ask himself if he was really in America. Adjustments were, however, made to American ways in clothing and food, although especially typical Norwegian dishes were retained. These became associated with Christmas celebrations, which in pioneer days were observed for the entire Twelfth-night period, as in Norway. Aaste Wilson of Wisconsin tells how transplanted Norwegians retained such old customs: "They invited one another for Christmas celebration and then they had home-brewed ale, made from malt or molasses or sugar cane.... Nearly everybody slaughtered for

Christmas so that they could have meat and sausages. Then they had potatoes and *flatbrød* (flatbread) and *smultringer* (doughnuts) and sauce made from dried apples. And most of them had *rømmegrøt* (cream porridge). We youngsters liked to stay and listen to the old folks and thought it good fun when they told about old things in Norway.” (Wilson, Aaste, “Live blant nybyggjarane.” *Telesoga*, September 1917.)

A gradual transition to American life weakened immigrant folkways. Some traditions and customs survived and were cultivated, others were reintroduced and given a heightened importance as a part of an ethnic heritage. Toward the end of the century *lutefisk*, dried Norwegian cod soaked in a lye solution, assumed a role as a characteristic Norwegian American dish. It was served at lodge meetings, festive banquets, and church suppers, most regularly during the Christmas season. The dish is served with *lefse*, a thin buttered pancake made from rolled dough. Madison, Minnesota, has erected a statue of a cod in its city park and advertises itself as the “*Lutefisk* Capital of America” because it reportedly consumes more *lutefisk* per capita than any other American city.

Old-country traditions in food, festive dress, folk arts, and entertainment were given a powerful boost with the establishment of *bygdelag*, or old-home societies, around the turn of the century. These groups were rooted in Norwegian locality and loyalties to the old-country home community. The annual reunions of the 50 or so such societies, each bearing the name of a specific Norwegian home district, became grand celebrations of a regional and rural Norwegian cultural heritage.

Women especially revived the use of the festive rural dress, the *bunad*, wearing specific costumes of their old-country districts. A love for jewelry was demonstrated in the use of heavy silver brooches (*sølje*). The peasant costume of Hardanger on Norway’s west coast, a favored region for national romantics, inspired the official dress of the Daughters of Norway organization. These colorful outfits are worn at Norwegian American public events.

There was also renewed interest in the traditional Norwegian Harding fiddle, and old rural dances. Even today, groups meet to practice the old figures and demonstrate their mastery of the country dances. The current popularity of the peasant arts of wood carving and *rosemaling* (rose painting) also grew out of the *bygdelag* tradition. Vesterheim, the Norwegian American Museum in Decorah, Iowa, has promoted the folk arts through instruction and exhibitions.

PROVERBS

Norwegians tend to integrate sayings and proverbs into daily conversations. Some common expressions are: All is not gold that glitters; A burnt child avoids the fire; A dear child has many names; All cats are gray in the dark; As we make our bed, so must we also lie; “Cleanliness is a virtue,” said the old woman, she turned her slip inside out every Christmas Eve; Crumbs are also bread; Empty barrels make the most noise; If it rains on the pastor it drips on the sexton; Many small brooks make a big river.

CUISINE

Norwegian cuisine is mainly limited to special occasions—family events like weddings and anniversaries, and such holidays as Christmas, when other customs are revived as well. The *kransekake* a cone-shaped cake of almond macaroon rings, is traditionally served at weddings and anniversaries. It is generally decorated with costumed figures and with flags, snappers, flowers, or medallions. The observance of the Christmas season begins on Christmas Eve, when a big meal is served, followed by the reading of the Christmas gospel and the opening of gifts. Hymns and carols are sung later, accompanied in some families by tradition of holding hands and circling the Christmas tree.

A typical old-country Christmas meal consists of *lutefisk*, *rømmegrøt*, pork or mutton spare ribs with pork sausages, as well as *fattigmann*, a deep-fried diamond-shaped cookie; *sandkake*, a cookie made of butter, flour, and almonds, baked in small metal molds; *krumkake*, a wafer baked in a special iron and rolled into a cylindrical shape while still warm; *julekake*, a sweet bread containing raisins, citron, and cardamon, and the essential *lefse*, which appears in many regional variations.

The Norwegian *koldt bord*, or cold table, is basically the same as the better known Swedish *smörgåsbord*; with selected hot dishes. Some of the traditional dishes of the Norwegian “cold table” include herring in many forms; sardines; smoked salmon and other fish; sliced cold ham, lamb, and beef; cheeses like Swiss, *geitost* (goat cheese), and *gammelost* (highly pungent sour milk cheese); *sylte* (pickled pork, pressed into loaf shape and sliced); pickles, cranberries, apple sauce, and spiced apples; and various types of bread, including flatbread. The meal is served with *akevitt* (strong distilled alcoholic drink) and beer.

HEALTH ISSUES

In his investigation of Norwegian immigrants in Minnesota, Ørnulv Ødegaard discovered a much



In this 1940 photograph, Norwegian Americans in New York City draw up a document to protest the German invasion of their homeland.

higher incidence of emotional and mental problems than among Norwegians in Norway (Ornolv Ódegaard, *Emigration and Insanity: A Study of Mental Disease among the Norwegian-born Population in Minnesota* [Copenhagen], 1932). The frequency was also much higher than among other ethnic groups in America. At present, no empirical evidence has identified any emotional or cultural causes unique to the Norwegian population.

LANGUAGE

The Norwegian language, along with Danish and Swedish, belongs to the mutually comprehensible northern branch of the Germanic family of languages. During the centuries-long union with Denmark, Norwegians accepted Danish as their written language. Following independence in 1814 efforts to provide a national written standard created conflict between those who worked for a gradual Norwegianization of Danish orthographic forms and those who wished to create a totally new written language. The Norwegian government officially recognizes the existence of the predominant *bokmål* (Dano-Norwegian), which continues the Danish written tradition greatly modified through a series of reforms under the influence of Norwegian speech habits, and *nynorsk* (New Norse), constructed on the basis of modern dialects which most faithfully preserved the forms of Old Norse. Because of the isolated nature of Norwegian rural communities, the local vernacular was distinct with marked dialectal differences from one district to the next.

The cultural baggage of Norwegian immigrants included their specific local dialect and a Danish literary language. The latter played a significant role in the immigrant community, attaining a nearly sacred quality. It was the language of their institutions, secular and religious, and of sacred and profane literature. The immigrants had little appreciation for the linguistic reforms in the homeland; often such changers were viewed as a betrayal to a common cultural heritage. Changes in the official written language in Norway made the older form even more difficult to retain in America. A newspaper such as *Decorah-Posten* in Decorah, Iowa, persisted in using a Dano-Norwegian orthographic tradition from the 1870s well into the 1950s. The situation created confusion among teachers of Norwegian at American high schools, colleges and universities, who felt obligations to the language of the immigrant community. Only just before World War II did they in principle agree to teach the written standard—generally the Dano-Norwegian *bokmål*—which at any one time was recognized as the official one in Norway.

English was another threat to the maintenance of the Norwegian language in America. Rural settlement patterns protected spoken Norwegian so it still can be heard in some Norwegian communities. According to researcher Joshua A. Fishman, about half of second generation Norwegians in the period 1940 to 1960 learned the language; and in 1960 there were as many as 40,000 of the third generation who had learned Norwegian. As of 1990, about 80,000 speakers of Norwegian remained in the United States. In Minnesota, Norwegian, with

16,000 speakers, is the second most common European language after German. Across the country there are still two bilingual newspapers, *Western Viking* in Seattle and *Nordic Times* in Brooklyn. The *bygdelag* promoted the use of rural vernaculars and, indeed, their annual reunions provided an environment where rural speech was honored and encouraged. It was, however, a mixed language with English words and phrases integrated.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some common Norwegian expressions are: *God dag* (“gooDAAG”)—Good Afternoon, How do you do?; *Adjø* (“adyur”)—Goodbye; *Hvordan står det til?* (“VOORdahn stawr deh til”)—How are you?; *Bare bra, takk* (“BAArer braa tahk”)—Just fine, thanks; *Takk* (“tahk”)—Thank you; *Mange takk* (“MAH-Nger tahk”)—Thank you very much; *Skål* (“skawl”)—Cheers; *God jul!* (“goo yewl”)—Merry Christmas; *Godt nyttår* (“got newt awr”)—Happy New Year; *Gratulerer!* (“grah tewLAYrer”)—Congratulations.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Early Norwegian immigration exhibited a pronounced family character. In a typical settlement like Spring Grove Township in Minnesota, for instance, there was in 1870 a near gender balance—107 men for each 100 women—as compared to 128 males to 100 females for all Minnesotans. An extended communal and familial network was encouraged by this circumstance. The regional composition of most rural settlements, so that immigrants from a specific Norwegian home community were preponderant, worked to the same end, recreating a familiar and comforting cultural and social environment.

But opportunities in America, where land was cheap and labor expensive, altered immigrant practices. The family farm, lacking the retinue of servants and landless agricultural workers common in Norway, encouraged greater marital fertility to produce needed labor. The immigrant families were large. The sexual division of labor changed as women moved further into domestic roles. Men took over such farm chores as milking, which had been women’s work in Norway.

Norwegian courting patterns were modified in part due to pietistic attitudes rooted in religious awakenings in Norway, but also because they were ridiculed by American neighbors. Greater wealth

allowed the immigrants to imitate urban middle-class practices in housing, dress, household amenities (such as pianos), and leisure activities. But the bourgeois lifestyle was colored both by the local Norwegian cultural background and by the dominant position of the immigrant Lutheran church.

The male-dominated youth migration toward the end of the century was also entrenched in kinship and community. Later immigrants traveled increasingly to urban centers to reunite with relatives in America. Carl G. O. Hansen, visiting an aunt in Minneapolis in the 1880s, described the Norwegian environment: “My aunt sent one of her children out to make some purchases. Some things were to be bought at Haugen’s, some at Tharaldsen’s and some at Olsen & Bakke’s. That surely sounded as if it were a Norwegian town.” (Carl G. O. Hansen, *My Minneapolis* [Minneapolis, Minnesota: Privately published, 1956], p.52.)

The many single men living as boarders in crowded quarters would foster marriage outside the Norwegian group. Yet, there was a strikingly high percentage of in-marriage only in both the immigrant generation and the American-born second generation. In Chicago in 1910, 77 percent of married first-generation Norwegians had wed another Norwegian, and 46 percent of the married second generation had chosen a mate within their ethnic group. When most Norwegian Americans married outside their nationality, their spouse was Scandinavian, or, if German, at least shared a Lutheran culture.

For most Norwegian families the “American Dream” was the security of a middle-class existence. Only a few Norwegians asserted themselves as financiers and captains of industry. Norwegians typically endorsed the American principle of equality and rejected American materialism. This attitude was reinforced by the Lutheran ethic of renouncing worldly pleasure. According to the census of 1990, 4.3 percent of Norwegian American households received public assistance and 5.1 percent lived under the poverty line.

Current specific data on in-marriage and divorce are not available. With regard to the latter, Norwegian Americans do not seem to deviate much from the average for the American population as a whole. Anecdotal evidence also suggests a continued high degree of in-marriage, attributable to community and church relations, and even to loyalty to an ethnic heritage. A persistent sense of family cohesion and values is evident in the common practice of arranging family reunions and the compilation of family histories. Such activities fortify ties to the past.

EDUCATION

Higher education in America is greatly indebted to religion. In the Norwegian immigrant community the Lutheran church recognized the salutary benefits of education in a Christian spirit. It emulated American denominations in establishing Lutheran church academies and colleges.

Norwegians placed themselves in a singular position among Scandinavian groups in America to question the religionless “common” school. The orthodox Lutheran clergy even dreamed of replacing the public schools with Lutheran parochial schools, but lacked the means to do so. The ability to read and write was common among Norwegian immigrants, and it improved greatly after 1860 when Norway enacted new laws to improve public education. The Norwegian Lutheran church in America did manage to operate congregational schools, some continuing into the 1930s. During the summer months these schools offered lessons on Lutheran faith and rudimentary instruction in the Norwegian language.

The academy movement flourished for a while, with approximately 70 such schools being established. They lasted until about World War I and assisted the immigrants in adjusting to American society. Inevitably they also strengthened a national Norwegian identity. Some academies were transformed into four-year liberal arts colleges. The college movement among Norwegians began in 1861 with the founding of Luther College, now located in Decorah, Iowa. The school was a facet of the church’s effort to train Lutheran ministers. As such it was a men’s school, with nearly half of the graduates entering the ministry. In the 1930s it began to admit women.

Five other Norwegian colleges have since been established. All were founded before 1900 mainly as academies. Three are in Minnesota: St. Olaf College in Northfield, which admitted female students from its inception; Augsburg College in Minneapolis; and Concordia College in Moorhead. Augustana College is located in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and Pacific Lutheran University is in Tacoma, Washington.

Norwegian women in America obtained higher education at a time when such studies were closed to women in the homeland. Some of these women were trained as physicians at the Women’s Medical School which opened in Chicago in 1870. As feminists and as professionals, they became leaders in the Norwegian community.

According to the 1990 census, of those who declared Norwegian as their primary ancestry, 21

percent of the women and 32 percent of the men 25 years or older had earned bachelor’s, master’s or doctor’s degrees. Most attended public institutions rather than one of the “Norwegian” colleges.

RELIGION

The Norwegian Lutheran church was a focal point and conservative force in rural settlements in the upper Midwest. The congregation became an all-encompassing institution for its members, creating a tight social network that touched all aspects of immigrant life. The force of tradition in religious practice made the church a central institution in the urban environment as well. The severe reality of urban life increased the social role of the church.

In the unbridled freedom of America, Norwegian Lutherans exhibited an extreme denominationalism and established a tradition of disharmony. The Church of Norway largely abandoned the immigrants and provided no guidance. As a consequence, no fewer than 14 Lutheran synods were founded by Norwegian immigrants between 1846 and 1900. In 1917 most of the warring Lutheran factions reconciled doctrinal differences and organized the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. It was one of the church bodies that in 1960 formed the American Lutheran Church, which in 1988 became a constituent part of the newly created Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Even though the terms Norwegian and Lutheran might seem synonymous to many, there were in fact substantial numbers of Methodists among Norwegian immigrants. They were concentrated especially in Chicago; a Norwegian Methodist theological seminary was established in Evanston. Some Norwegians converted to the Baptist faith. There were also groups of Quakers, relating back to “the Sloopers,” and Mormons who joined the trek to the “New Jerusalem” in Salt Lake City, Utah.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Norwegians succeeded in commercial agriculture in pioneer times—following frontier practice—as wheat farmers but soon diversified into other products as dictated by topography, soil, climate, and market. In Wisconsin such considerations drew some Norwegians to tobacco farming. In Iowa they grew corn or raised cattle and hogs; in parts of Minnesota dairy farming was prominent. In the northwestern part of the state Norwegian farmers engaged heavily in spring wheat cultivation. The hard spring wheat

region extended into South and North Dakota where Norwegians adapted to the demands of grassland wheat production on the semiarid northern plains.

In the urban economy, Norwegian men, along with other Scandinavians, found a special niche in construction and the building trades. It was a natural transfer of skills from home, as was their work as lumberjacks in the forests of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota. Norwegian men in Minneapolis earned a livelihood in the large flour mills. In the Pacific Northwest logging and employment in sawmills engaged many. Another significant transplanted skill was shipping. On the Great Lakes, Norwegian sailors and boat owners dominated as long as sailing vessels remained an important means of transportation. In 1870 approximately 65 percent of all sailors on Lake Michigan were Norwegian. Shipping was big on the eastern seaboard and the west coast as well. The coastal areas provided rich opportunity for fishing too. Norwegians on the west coast and Alaska began to develop the halibut industry at the turn of the twentieth century. By 1920 about 95 percent of all halibut fishermen and an even higher percentage of the owners of halibut schooners were of Norwegian birth or descent.

Traditional early employment for Norwegian women involved domestic and personal service. Accessibility to higher education gradually opened up new possibilities—especially for the American-born generations—in commerce, education, and in specialized professions. Looking at the occupational picture in 1950, there is a striking social advance both for women and men. Still Norwegians of both the first and second generation revealed a preference for farming, and men born in Norway were overrepresented in construction work.

The evidence provided in the 1990 census indicates little occupational concentration among Norwegian Americans. Of employed persons 16 years old and over, only 4.5 percent were occupied in farming, forestry, and fishery, and six percent in construction, while 15 percent were employed in manufacturing, and nearly 31 percent in a variety of managerial and specialty occupations. That year 4.4 percent of the civilian labor force was unemployed.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Norwegians in America have participated in the formation of several aspects of the political culture and are to be found in conservative and liberal camps of both prominent political parties.

Norwegians had a certain passion for the political arena. Familiarity with democratic reform and

local self-government in Norway, a dislike of officialdom, and a heightened assertion encouraged them to participate in local government in America. From the community, they made their way to state and even national politics. During the early decades of this century Norwegians in Minnesota and North Dakota were, for instance overrepresented in the state administrations as well as in the legislatures and Congress.

Political affiliation, as expressed in a flourishing Norwegian immigrant press, was strongly influenced by the Free-Soil party. In the late 1850s, this same press abandoned the Democrats for Abraham Lincoln's Republican party, supporting its antislavery stance and for free distribution of frontier land to serious settlers. The Homestead Act of 1862 and the heroic participation of Norwegian Americans in the Civil War assured a strong loyalty to the Republican party and its ideals.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, other issues came to the fore and weakened Republican loyalties. In regions suffering from agricultural depression and exploitation by outside financial interests, independent political thought brought Norwegians into the agricultural protest embodied in the Populist movement. This was especially the case in the wheat-growing regions of North Dakota and western Minnesota.

From around the turn of the century the Progressive movement gained a broad Norwegian following and Norwegians exhibited great faith in the benefits of legislative reform. The Nonpartisan League, organized in North Dakota in 1915, was further evidence of agrarian unrest. Norwegian farmers played a prominent role in its activities and advocacy, which included such socialist goals as public control and operation of grain silos, and the sale of wheat. This radical policy was, however, less a consequence of ethnic predispositions toward social reform than of economic self-interest and the problematic local conditions faced by wheat farmers.

Norwegians were also attracted to the Socialist party, joining local socialist clubs, which again became members of the Scandinavian Socialist Union formed in Chicago in 1910. But they did not do so in great numbers. Due to the high concentration of Norwegians in skilled occupations, especially in the building trades, they did, however, join labor unions in large numbers. The efforts of a Norwegian immigrant, Andrew Furuseth, to improve the working conditions for sailors, resulting in the Seamen's Act of 1915, is one example of the significant contributions made by immigrants to the American union movement.

In the 1920s Norwegians joined a national trend toward the Democratic party. The loyalty to the Republican party was significantly frayed as working class and reform-minded Norwegians took part in third-party movements, increasingly for Democrats, who seemed more committed to labor concerns and social justice than the Republicans. Republicanism remained common among middle- and upper-class Norwegian Americans, however.

Norwegian members of both parties were concerned with prohibition. Under the banner of temperance and local prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages, Norwegian politicians gained the support of their compatriots and were elected to public office. North Dakota, influenced by the agitation of the Norwegian American press, adopted a prohibition clause in its state constitution in 1889. National prohibition legislation, passed in 1919 as the Volstead Act, was named for Norwegian American Andrew J. Volstead, Republican congressman from Minnesota. Opposition to prohibition and the corruption and crime it yielded, paradoxically, strengthened the move toward the Democratic party, most especially among urban Norwegians.

MILITARY

Most Norwegians have viewed military service as an affirmation of American patriotism. The first fallen hero was a private in the war with Mexico who had Americanized his name to George Pilson. He had immigrated to Chicago and fell in 1847 in the bloody battle of Buena Vista, with Chicago newspapers claiming that “more patriotic blood does not enrich the field at Buena Vista than that of the Chicago Norwegian volunteer.” Norwegian acts of heroism, valor, and sacrifice constituted a watershed experience during the Civil War; Norwegian men have served in great numbers, suffered substantial casualties, and have established themselves in America. Norwegians supported the Spanish-American War and rallied around the American war objectives during World War I. In a patriotic spirit, Norwegian American societies and organizations published lists of “our boys” in the armed forces and memorialized the fallen of their nationality. Occupation of Norway by the Germans during World War II was a calamity that filled Norwegians in America with indignation and sorrow. During the summer of 1942 the U.S. Army established a Norwegian-speaking combat unit, the 99th Infantry Battalion, in case there should be an invasion of Norway. It consisted of immigrants and Norwegians born in America.

RELATIONS WITH NORWAY

Norwegian Americans cultivated bonds with Norway, sending gifts home often and offering aid during natural disasters and other hardships in Norway. Relief in the form of collected funds was forthcoming without delay. Only during conflicts within the Swedish-Norwegian union, however, did Norwegian Americans become involved directly in the political life of Norway. In the 1880s they formed societies to assist Norwegian liberals, collecting money to assist rifle clubs in Norway should the political conflict between liberals and conservatives call for arms. The ongoing tensions between Sweden and Norway and Norway's humiliating retreat in 1895 fueled nationalism and created anguish. Norwegians in America raised money to strengthen Norway's military defenses. The unilateral declaration by Norway on June 7, 1905, to dissolve its union with Sweden yielded a new holiday of patriotic celebration.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

As in any large population, certain members of the Norwegian American community have excelled in many disciplines. A sampling of group and individual achievements follows.

ACADEMIA

Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), a second-generation Norwegian, was a superb social critic. His best known work is *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), a savage attack on the wastefulness of American society. Einar Haugen (1906-) is a prominent linguist and professor emeritus at Harvard University. Marcus Lee Hansen (1892-1938), of Danish and Norwegian descent, was a pioneer immigration historian. Theodore C. Blegen (1891-1969) was also a prominent historian of Norwegians in America, and his book *Norwegian Migration: The American Transition* was published in 1940. Agnes Mathilde Wergeland (1857-1914) was a professor of history at the state university in Laramie, Wyoming, and the first Norwegian woman to earn a doctoral degree.

ARTS

Olive Fremstad (1868-1951) was an internationally renowned Wagnerian opera singer. Ole Bull (1810-1880) was a well-known concert violinist. F. Melius Christiansen (1871-1955) perfected *a capella* singing as director of the St. Olaf College choir. He has been called the “Music Master of the Middle

West.” Ole E. Rølvaag (1876-1931), the best-known Norwegian American author, wrote such books as *Giants In the Earth* (1927). Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848-1895), a realistic novelist, literary critic, and social Darwinist, taught at Cornell and Columbia universities. Kathryn Forbes (1909-1966) authored the best-selling *Mama’s Bank Account* (1943), a portrait of a Norwegian family in San Francisco. *As I Remember Mama*, Forbes’s work became a hit Broadway play, a motion picture, and a television series. Celeste Holm (1919-), versatile actress of stage and screen, appeared on Broadway and in numerous motion pictures. In 1950 she was an Academy Award nominee for Best Supporting Actress for her role in *All About Eve*.

INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

Nelson Olson Nelson (1844-1922) founded the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, which became one of the world’s largest building and plumbing supply companies. Ole Evinrude (1877-1934), a self-taught mechanical engineer, developed the idea of the outboard motor. He formed the Evinrude Company in 1909. Arthur Andersen (1885-1947) was the founder of the world-famous accounting firm that bears his name. Conrad Hilton (1887-1979), Norwegian on his father’s side, established one of the world’s largest hotel chains and at the time of his death, owned 260 first-class hotels worldwide.

JOURNALISM

Victor F. Lawson (1850-1925) was editor and publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, a philanthropist and a community leader. William T. Evjue (1882-1970) gained great influence as the editor of the progressive and reform-minded *Madison Capital Times*. Eric Sevareid (1912-1992), had a distinguished career in journalism and as a radio and television reporter and commentator.

MEDICINE

Ludvig Hektoen (1863-1951) made great progress in cancer research. The Hektoen Institute of Medical Research continues his work. Ingeborg Rasmussen (1854-1938) graduated from the Women’s Medical College in Evanston in 1892 and became a prominent physician, feminist, and cultural leader among the Norwegians in Chicago. Helga Ruud (1860-1956) graduated from the Women’s Medical College in 1889 and enjoyed a distinguished medical career at the Norwegian American Hospital in

Chicago. Ulrikka Feldtman Bruun (1854-1940) was an influential temperance worker among Danes and Norwegians for the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Knut Nelson (1843-1923) served as a Republican U.S. senator from Minnesota from 1895 to 1923. Andrew Furuseth (1854-1938) organized American commercial sailors. He was considered their liberator and was referred to as “the Abraham Lincoln of the Sea.” Earl Warren (1891-1974) served as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969. Henry Jackson (1912-1983), Democratic U.S. senator from Washington, served from 1953 to 1983. Hubert Humphrey (1911-1978) served for two terms as U.S. vice president under President Lyndon Johnson and was the Democratic presidential nominee in 1968, losing to Richard Nixon in the national election. Walter Mondale (1928-), served as a U.S. senator from Minnesota (1964-1977); U.S. vice president under President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981); and was the Democratic presidential nominee in 1984. Since 1993, Mondale has been U.S. Ambassador to Japan under the Clinton administration. Warren Christopher (1925-), whose great-grandparents emigrated from Norway in 1853, was named secretary of state in 1993.

SCIENCE

Ernest O. Lawrence (1901-1958), a professor of physics at Yale University, received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1939. Ivar Giaever (1929-), Norwegian-trained engineer and physicist, received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1973. Lars Onsager (1903-1976), received the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1968. Norman E. Borlaug (1914-), an agricultural scientist, received the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the “Green Revolution,” which helped to dispel the fear of famine in underdeveloped countries. Ole Singstad (1882-1969) was chief engineer for the construction of the Holland Tunnel under the Hudson River.

SPORTS

Norwegian immigrants brought skiing to America in the mid-1800s by introducing cross-country racing and ski jumping, and organizing local clubs, including the National Ski Association. They dominated the sport into the 1930s. Beginning in 1856, John A. “Snowshoe” Thompson (1827-1876) delivered mail on skis across the Sierra Nevada moun-

tains for nearly 20 years during the winter months, ensuring postal connection between Utah Territory and California. Sonja Henie (1912-1969) was an Olympic and World figure skating champion, movie star, and pioneer of ice shows. Torger Tokle (1920-1945), arrived in America in 1939 and was unrivaled by any U.S. ski jumper. Tokle won 42 of 48 competitions and, in so doing, set no fewer than 24 new hill records. He was killed in military action in the mountains of northern Italy while serving in the 86th Mountain Regiment—"The Ski Troops." Knute Rockne (1888-1931), head football coach at the University of Notre Dame from 1918 to 1931, revolutionized American collegiate football; his record consist of 105 wins, 12 losses, and five ties. Mildred "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias (1913-1956), a daughter of Norwegian immigrants, was a champion in basketball, track, and golf. Tommy Moe (1970-) won a gold medal for skiing in the 1994 Olympic Games.

MEDIA

PRINT

News of Norway.

Contact: Marianne Kirkebo, Editor.

Address: Royal Norwegian Embassy, 2720 34th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008-2714.

Telephone: (202) 333-6000.

Fax: (202) 337-0870.

E-mail: newsnor@interramp.com.

Online: <http://www.norway.org>.

Norway Times/Nordisk Tidende.

Contact: Tom Røren, Editor.

Address: 123 West 44th Street, Brooklyn, New York 11209.

Telephone: (718) 238-1100.

Western Viking.

Contact: Alf Lunder Knudsen, Editor and Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 70408, Seattle, Washington 98107.

Telephone: (206) 784-4617.

Fax: (206) 784-4856.

RADIO

KBLE-AM (1050).

"The Scandinavian Hour" every Saturday morning.

Contact: Ron Olsen.

Address: 1114 Lakeside Avenue, Seattle, Washington. 98122.

Telephone: (206) 324-2000.

Fax: (206) 322-4670.

E-mail: operations@kble.com.

WTHE-AM (1520).

"Scandinavian Echoes" every Saturday afternoon.

Contact: Jeanne Widman.

Address: 260 East 2nd Street, Mineola, New York 11501.

Telephone: (516) 742-1520.

Fax: (516) 742-2878.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF).

Promotes international understanding by means of educational and cultural exchange with Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. It has an extensive program of fellowships and grants, and publishes the *Scandinavian Review*.

Contact: Lena Bärck Kaplan, President of the Board of Trustees.

Address: 725 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

Telephone: (212) 879-9779.

The Norsemen's Federation (Nordmanns-Forbundet).

An international organization founded in Norway in 1907 to strengthen the ties between men and women of Norwegian heritage in and outside Norway. It functions as a cultural and social organization and has chapters throughout the United States.

Contact: Johan Fr. Heyerdahl, Secretary General.

Address: Rådhusgt. 23 B, 0158 Oslo, Norway.

Norwegian American Historical Association (NAHA).

Founded in 1925, is the main research center for Norwegian American history. It possesses large documentary archives and extensive library holdings. The Association publishes one to two volumes annually; so far more than 80 volumes of high scholarly merit on the Norwegian American experience have been released under its imprint.

Contact: Lloyd Hustvedt, Executive Secretary.

Address: St. Olaf College, 1510 St. Olaf Avenue, Northfield, Minnesota 55057-1097.

Telephone: (507) 646-3221.
Fax: (507) 646-3734.
E-mail: naha@stolaf.edu.

Sons of Norway.

An international order founded as a fraternal society in Minneapolis in 1895 with lodges throughout the United States as well as in Canada and in Norway. It provides insurance benefits for its members and publishes a monthly magazine, *The Viking*.

Contact: Lee A. Rowe, CEO.
Address: 1455 West Lake Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408.
Telephone: (612) 827-3611; or (800) 945-8851.
Fax: (612) 827-0658.
E-mail: fraternal@sofn.com.
Online: <http://www.sofn.com>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Little Norway.

Provides guided tours through a Norwegian pioneer homestead settled in 1856, featuring the Norway building patterned after a twelfth century stave church. It was built in Trondheim, Norway, to be exhibited at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

Contact: Scott Winner, Director.
Address: 3576 Highway JG North, Blue Mounds, Wisconsin 53517.
Telephone: (608) 437-8211.
Fax: (608) 437-7827.
E-mail: info@littlenorway.com.
Online: <http://www.littlenorway.com>.

Nordic Heritage Museum.

Opened in 1980 in Seattle, Washington. Its purpose is to collect, preserve, and present the Scandinavian heritage in the Pacific Northwest. It has an extensive collection of objects from Scandinavia and the Pacific Northwest.

Contact: Marianne Forssblad, Director.
Address: 3014 Northwest 67th Street, Seattle, Washington 98117.
Telephone: (206) 789-5707.

Norskedalen Heritage and Nature Center.

Features objects specific to Norwegian immigrants who settled in Vernon and LaCrosse counties, Wisconsin, before 1900, and two separate pioneer homesteads. It arranges an annual Midsummer Festival in late June.

Contact: James Nestingen, Director.
Address: P.O. Box 225, Coon Valley, Wisconsin 54623.
Telephone: (608) 452-3424.

Vesterheim, the Norwegian American Museum.

A major ethnic museum, it maintains high professional standards and supports an outdoor museum as well as a large collection of objects dealing with the Norwegian homeland and life in America. It also features a museum store with Norwegian American crafts and books. It conducts workshops in Norwegian folk crafts.

Contact: Darrell D. Henning, Director.
Address: 523 West Water Street, P.O. Box 379, Decorah, Iowa 52101.
Telephone: (319) 382-9681.
Fax: (319) 382-8828.
E-mail: vesterheim@vesterheim.org.
Online: <http://www.vesterheim.org/>.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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Gjerde, Jon. *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Haugen, Einar. *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*, two volumes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969.

Lovoll, Odd S. *A Century of Urban Life: The Norwegians in Chicago before 1930*. Northfield, Minnesota: NAHA, 1988.

———. *The Promise Fulfilled: A Portrait of Norwegian Americans Today*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

———. *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian American People*. Revised edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Schultz, April R. *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American Through Celebration*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.

OJIBWA

by
Lorene Roy

OVERVIEW

The Ojibwa (“oh-jib-wah”) are a woodland people of northeastern North America. In the mid-seventeenth century there were approximately 35,000 Ojibwa on the continent. According to the 1990 census, the Ojibwa were the third-largest Native group (with a population of 104,000), after the Cherokee (308,000) and the Navajo (219,000). Federally recognized Ojibwa reservations are found in Minnesota (Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, Nett Lake [Bois Forte Band], Red Lake, and White Earth), Michigan (Bay Mills Indian Community, Grande Traverse, Keweenaw Bay Indian Community, Saginaw, and Sault Sainte Marie), Wisconsin (Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Mole Lake or Sokaogan Chipewa Community, Red Cliff, and St. Croix), Montana (Rocky Boy’s), and North Dakota (Turtle Mountain). Others have petitioned for federal recognition. While Ojibwa reserves are also found in Ontario and Saskatchewan, this account stresses their history in the United States.

HISTORY

The Ojibwa call themselves the Anishinabeg (also spelled Anishinaabeg, or if singular, Anishinabe) for “first” or “original people.” In the eighteenth century the French called Ojibwa living near the eastern shore of Lake Superior Salteaux or Salteurs, “People

In traditional Ojibwa culture, an individual lived in a band and was a member of a clan. Most people from the same clan shared a common ancestor on their father’s side of the family. Some clans were matrilineal, and children were affiliated with their mother’s clan. People of the same clan claim a common totem, the symbol of a living creature.

of the Falls.” These terms now used only in Canada. The Anishinabe acquired the names Ojibwa and Chippewa from French traders. The English preferred to use Chippewa or Chippeway, names typically employed on the treaties with the British government and later with the U.S. government. In 1951, Inez Hilger noted that more than 70 different names were used for Ojibwa in written accounts (M. Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background* [originally published, 1951; reprinted, St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992], p. 2).

There are several explanations for the derivation of the word “Ojibwa.” Some say it is related to the word “puckered” and that it refers to a distinctive type of moccasin that high cuffs and a puckered seam. Others say that the French used the word *o-jib-i-weg* or “pictograph” because the Anishinabe employed a written language based on pictures or symbols. There is no standard spelling in English, and variations include: Ojibwa, Ojibway, Chippewa and Chippeway. Chippewa is the form used by many tribal organizations recognized by the United States. Ojibwa has become the common English language reference for encyclopedias and entries on this group of peoples. As previously noted, the people call themselves Anishinabe. This name, as with other names chosen by the peoples in question, is the preferred term.

MIGRATION TO THE GREAT LAKES

Early legends indicate that, 500 years ago, the Ojibwa lived near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River. About 1660 they migrated westward, guided by a vision of a floating seashell referred to as the sacred *mügis*. At the Straits of Mackinac, the channel of water connecting Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, the vision ended, and the Anishinabe divided into three groups. One group, the Potawatomi, moved south and settled in the area between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. A second group, the Ottawa, moved north of Lake Huron. A third group, the Ojibwa, settled along the eastern shore of Lake Superior. Because of this early association, the Potawatomi, the Ottawa, and the Ojibwa are known collectively as the Three Fires.

FIRST CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS

The Ojibwa met non-Native Americans in the 1600s, possibly hearing about Europeans through the Huron people. The first written European accounts about the Ojibwa appeared in Jesuit diaries, published in collected form as the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. The Jesuits were followed by

French explorers and fur traders, who were succeeded by British fur traders, explorers, and soldiers and later by U.S. government officials and citizens.

Fur trading, especially the exchange of beaver pelts for goods including firearms, flourished until the 1800s. The Ojibwa traded with representatives of fur companies or indirectly through salaried or independent traders called *coureurs des bois*. In addition to furs, the land around the Great Lakes was rich in copper and iron ore, lumber, and waterpower, all natural resources that were coveted by non-Native Americans. Competition in trading led to intertribal conflict. By the 1700s the Ojibwa, aided with guns, had succeeded in pushing the Fox south into Wisconsin. Ojibwa and Sioux fighting extended over a 100-year period until separate reservations were established.

By the mid-nineteenth century the Ojibwa had enlarged their geographic boundaries and had splintered into four main groups. The Southeastern Ojibwa lived southeast and north of Lake Huron, in present-day Michigan and southern Ontario. The Southwestern Ojibwa lived along the south and north shores of Lake Superior. The Northern Ojibwa lived in northern Ontario. The Plains Ojibwa or Bungi lived in the present-day states and provinces of Montana, North Dakota, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. The Plains Ojibwa adopted a lifestyle that resembled that of other Plains tribes, living in tepees, riding horses, and relying on buffalo for food and clothing.

RELATIONS WITH NON-NATIVE AMERICANS

The history of the contact between non-Native Americans and the Ojibwa dates back more than 350 years. While the Ojibwa did not engage in extended armed conflict with Europeans, the relationship was not always amicable. To the missionaries the Ojibwa were heathens to be converted to Christianity. To the fur traders they were commodities who could be purchased and indentured to company stores through watered-down alcohol and cheaply made goods. To the settlers they were wastrels who did not force the land to release its bounty. To ethnologists the Ojibwa were objects of study. To the government they were impressionable and recalcitrant wards. While there are many people who now value the Ojibwa culture, there are still others who regard the Ojibwa with disinterest or disdain, indicating that long-held stereotypes persist.

KEY ISSUES

Key issues facing the Ojibwa include economic development to reduce unemployment, the defense

of the wild rice industry from commercial growers, improved medical treatment to combat illnesses such as diabetes and alcoholism, better management of natural resources, protection of treaty rights and attainment of sovereignty, and increased emphasis on higher education to train specialists and renew cultural ties.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

The Ojibwa face the same misconceptions and stereotypes applied to other Native peoples. Because they refuse to strip the land of all its bounty, they have been considered lazy and unintelligent. Sports mascots and consumer product labels targeted at the general American public perpetuate Native American stereotypes. Ojibwa have also seen their sacred religious beliefs, such as vision quests, misinterpreted and sold by seekers of New Age thought. Misconceptions about sovereignty are common. Almost all early treaties promised the Ojibwa that they could continue to hunt and fish in ceded land. Yet when the Ojibwa attempt to enforce their treaty rights, conflicts arise with non-Native outdoors enthusiasts and tourists. From 1989 to 1991 anti-treaty organizations such as Stop Treaty Abuse staged protests against spearfishing that led to racial slurs, verbal threats, stoning, and gunfire aimed at Ojibwa. Two widely publicized antitreaty group slogans were, “Save a Deer, Shoot an Indian,” and “Save a Fish, Spear a Squaw.” The relationship between the Ojibwa and the federal government is often perceived not as a legal entitlement but as a special privilege; many non-Native Americans have been falsely persuaded that the Ojibwa receive extraordinary benefits.

TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Cultural values such as generosity, honesty, strength of character, endurance, and wisdom were instilled through education, religious practice, and by example within the tribe. The Ojibwa counted time by 24-hour intervals (nights), months (moons), and years (winters). Each month had a name, denoting some natural feature or event. For example, the month of September, when tribes harvested wild rice along the lake shores, was called *manoominike-giizis*, or “ricing moon.” October was “falling leaves moon.” Time was sometimes reckoned by making notches on sticks.

Precontact culture was heavily influenced by the natural terrain as the Ojibwa adapted their

lifestyle to survive in a heavily forested land traversed by a network of lakes and rivers. The Ojibwa lived a seminomadic life, moving a number of times each year in order to be close to food sources. Except for the Plains Ojibwa, who rode horses, they traveled on land by foot and wore snowshoes during the winter, transporting goods on dog sleds. The portability of Ojibwa lodging—the wigwam—enabled such moves to be made quickly and easily. Wigwams could be built in a day by bending peeled green ironwood saplings into arches; lashing the arches into a circular or oval shape with basswood fiber; and weaving birch bark strips or rush, cedar bark, or cattail mats around the saplings. The dwelling had two openings, a door and a hole on top to emit smoke from the cooking fire located directly below. When they moved to another camp, the Ojibwa left the frame, taking the lightweight birch bark strips and rush mats. During warm months the Ojibwa slept on cedar bough mattresses, each person wrapped in a bearskin or deerskin robe.

Ojibwa lived in hunting camps in late fall and winter. In winter, men trapped and hunted. Families could become isolated during the winter months, and women occupied their time by tanning hides and sewing, while families engaged in storytelling. Many tales centered on Nanabush, a half-human, half-spirit trickster, who was often entangled in humorous scrapes and brought innovations, such as medicine, to humankind from the spirits (Nanabush went by many other names: Naanabozho, Nanibush, Nenabozho, Manabozho, Minabozho, Waynaboozhoo, Wenabozho, Wenabozhoo, Wenebojo, Winabojo, or Winneboshoo). Gambling was another popular pastime. In the moccasin game, players on different teams guessed the location of a marked bullet or metal ball hidden under a moccasin. Gambling was a social event often accompanied by drumming and singing.

Before the Ojibwa began to trade with Europeans and Americans, they wore clothing made from animal hides, primarily from tanned deerskin. The women wore deerskin dresses, leggings, moccasins, and petticoats made of woven nettle or thistle fibers. The men wore leggings, breechcloths, and moccasins. Girls and women decorated the clothing in geometric designs with bones, feathers, dyed porcupine quills, shells, and stones, using bone or thorn needles and thread made from nettles or animal sinew. Jewelry was made from animal bones, claws, or teeth strung into necklaces. After European contact, the Ojibwa began to wear woven clothing. Europeans introduced the Ojibwa to glass beads inspired by the designs in calico cloth. Both men and women wove and mended fish nets.

Birch bark was a versatile natural product from which the Ojibwa created many items, including canoes, toboggans, and storage containers. The Ojibwa built canoe frames from wood and covered the frame with sewn birch bark strips, sealing the seams with pine or spruce gum. Each canoe weighed from 65 to 125 pounds and was typically 16 feet long, 18 inches deep, and three feet wide across the midpoint. Toboggans also had curved wooden frames covered with birch bark. The Ojibwa decorated birch bark baskets with porcupine quills, sweet grass, birch bark cutouts, or bitten designs that were created by folding thin pieces of birch bark in half and biting them. The dents made dark impressions on the light background. Birch bark torches were fashioned by rolling the bark into tubes and covering the tube with pitch. The Ojibwa also carved wooden objects such as arrows, bowls, boxes, drums, paddles, rattles, spoons, shuttles for weaving fish nets, and war clubs.

TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURE

Traditional life was altered through contact with non-Native Americans. Fur trading resulted in the Ojibwa becoming reliant on traded goods rather than the clothing, utensils, and weapons they had constructed. The establishment of reservations restricted Ojibwa seasonal travel, the formalized educational system removed children from their families, and the government's relocation policies dispersed tribe members. By the late 1880s many Ojibwa lived in one-room log cabins, frame cabins, or tar paper shacks rather than in wigwams. Wigwam construction incorporated new materials: other forms of tree bark were more easily available than long strips of birch bark; blankets covered wigwam doors instead of animal skins; calico, cardboard, and tar paper replaced the rush matting. The rate of acculturation varied by reservation. By the mid-1940s, only the elderly were bilingual, and most Ojibwa had adopted modern clothing. Birch bark canoes were largely replaced by wooden and later aluminum boats. Few Ojibwa practiced their traditional religion.

Ojibwa culture is currently experiencing a renaissance as natives and non-natives are studying Ojibwa botany, crafts, myths, and religion. Wild ricing by canoe is still a valued, even sacred, part of the culture, despite the fact that the once bountiful harvest has been reduced and the Ojibwa must now compete with commercial growers. Making maple sugar is still popular as well, although the sap may be collected in plastic bags rather than in birch bark baskets. Communal festivities such as the "Honor the Earth" powwows held every July at Lac Courte

Oreilles have become a focal point of modern day Ojibwa culture and hundreds of dancers of all ages participate.

Many Ojibwa are concerned about the degradation of the environment by industry and mismanagement. Wild rice harvesting has suffered from changing water levels, housing construction, water pollution, boat traffic, and the incursions of alien species of plants and animals. Logging enterprises have destroyed traditional maple sugar camps, and fish caught in freshwater lakes are contaminated with mercury. It is still common for Ojibwa to hunt, trap, and fish. The *Mide* religion has been revived as well, and traditional importance is still afforded to visions and dreams. Ojibwa gatherings often begin with a prayer and a ritual offering of tobacco as an expression of gratitude and respect to the Heavenly Spirit. Powwows, the modern equivalent of multi-band gatherings, are now elaborately staged competitions where costumed dancers perform to the accompaniment of vocalists who sing in Ojibwa while beating on bass drums with padded drumsticks. Clan and band affiliation still exists, and many Ojibwa seek to reclaim lands once tribally owned. If they are non-reservation dwellers, they often maintain ties to reservations, especially if they are enrolled or official members. Tribal newsletters are a means for members to stay abreast of local news, issues, and politics.

CUISINE

Native cuisine was closely influenced by the seasons, as the Ojibwa changed camps in seminomadic pattern to locate themselves closer to food sources. For example, because the Ojibwa used maple sugar or maple syrup as a seasoning, during the late spring they lived near maple sugar trees. Each family or group of families returned to a traditional location where they had stored utensils and had marked with an ax cut the trees they would tap. A typical sugar camp or sugar bush encompassed an area of some 900 taps or cuttings, with up to three taps made per tree. The Ojibwa collected maple sap in birch bark containers and poured it into vats made of moose hide, wood, or bark, and later into brass kettles, where it was boiled until it became syrup. The syrup was strained, reheated, thickened, and stirred in shallow troughs until it formed granulated sugar. Birch bark cones were packed with sugar, tied together, and hung from the ceiling of the wigwam or storage building. The Ojibwa also poured the sap into wooden molds or directly into snow to form maple sugar candy. Camps were moved in the summer to be close to gardens and wild berry patches. The Ojibwa cultivated gardens of corn, pumpkins,

and squash. Dried berries, vegetables, and seeds were stored in underground pits. They drank teas boiled from plants and herbs and sweetened with maple sugar. The Ojibwa fished throughout the year, using hooks, nets, spears, and traps. Fish and meat were dried and smoked so they could be stored.

In late summer the Ojibwa moved again to be near wild rice fields. Wild rice (in Ojibwa, *mahnomin*, *manomin*, or *manoomin*) is a grain that grows on long grasses in shallow lakes or along streams. As the edible rice seeds began to mature, families marked the area they would harvest by tying the rice stalks together, using knots or dyed rope that would distinguish their claim. The rice harvest was a time of community celebration, starting with the announcement by an annually appointed rice chief or elder that the fields were ready. One team member stood in the canoe pushing a long forked pole to guide the canoe through the grasses. The other team member sat in the canoe, reaching to bend the grass over the canoe and hitting the grass with wooden stocks called beaters in order to shake the wild rice seeds from the grass without permanently injuring the plant. On shore, the rice was dried in the sun, and then parched in a kettle to loosen the hull. A person in clean moccasins then “danced the rice” treading on it to remove the hull and then tossing it into the air to winnow the chaff. A medicine man blessed the first rice harvested, and each ricing pair donated rice to a communal fund to feed the poor. Rice was often boiled and sweetened with maple sugar or flavored with venison or duck broth. Up to one-third of the annual harvest was stored, usually in birch bark baskets. The rice season lasted from ten days to three weeks. Ricers often poled through their sections every few days as the rice seeds matured at differing rates. They were also deliberately inefficient, leaving plenty of rice to seed the beds for the following year.

HEALTH ISSUES

During their first contact with non-Native peoples, the Ojibwa were exposed to a number of diseases and suffered through epidemics of smallpox and other illnesses. The transition from traditional living to permanent settlement in villages led to a reduced lifestyle and to a high incidence of communicable diseases including tuberculosis and trachoma. When the Ojibwa ceded land they often did so in exchange for health care, indicating an early concern for health issues. These rights are still in effect, and Ojibwa living on or maintaining social ties with reservations may have access to federally funded programs including Indian Health Service clinics or hospitals. The Ojibwa, along with other



This woman is dressed in the manner of early Ojibwa mothers.

Native American groups, share concerns over poor health. There are high incidences of chemical dependency, diabetes, fetal alcohol syndrome, obesity, suicide, and accidental death.

Today the Ojibwa use a blend of traditional and modern treatment methods to improve health. Alcohol consumption and chemical dependency is discouraged. Alcohol and drugs are banned from powwow sites, and some powwows are organized to celebrate sobriety. Mash-Ka-Wisen (“Be strong, accept help”), the oldest Native-owned and operated chemical treatment center, on the Fond du Lac Reservation, incorporates elements of Ojibwa culture into its services for its clients. The Minneapolis American Indian Center provides an array of social services, including programs on chemical dependency, developmental disabilities, and rehabilitation.

Traditional herbal cures include sumac fruit made into tea with crushed roots to stop bleeding, blackberry roots boiled and drunk to stop diarrhea or prevent miscarriage, wild onions cooked and sweetened with maple sugar to treat children’s colds, yarrow roots mashed into creams for treating blemishes, strawberry roots boiled and eaten to treat stomach aches, and plantain leaves chopped and used as a poultice for bruises, rheumatism, and snake bites.

LANGUAGE

Spoken Ojibwa or Ojibwemowin is an Algonquin language with regional dialectical differences. It is related linguistically to the languages not only of

the Ottawa and Potawatomi but also of the Fox, Cree, and Menominee. Since it was a spoken rather than a written language, the spelling of Ojibwa words varies. The Ojibwa language is spoken by between 40,000 to 50,000 people. While once spoken only by elders, there is currently a resurgence of interest in and promotion of the language. Many Ojibwa demonstrate this interest in native identity by preferring to be called Anishinabe. Instruction is available in some public as well as in tribally directed educational settings. Classes and workshops offered at community colleges and state universities are sometimes broadcast to more distant locations. Language texts as well as instructional material in workbooks, bilingual texts, audiotapes, and multimedia formats have also been developed. Tribal newspapers carry regular Ojibwa-language columns.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Ojibwa expressions include: *Boozhoo* (“boo shoo”)—Hello, greetings; *Mügwewch* (“mee gwitch”)—Thank you; *Aaniin ezhi-ayaayan?* (“a neen a shay i an”)—How are you?; *Nimino-ayaa* (“nay mi no a yah”)—I am fine; *Mino-ayaag!* (“minnow a yog”)—All of you be well!

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In traditional Ojibwa culture, an individual lived in a band and was a member of a clan. Most people from the same clan shared a common ancestor on their father's side of the family. Some clans were matrilineal, and children were affiliated with their mother's clan. People of the same clan claim a common totem (*dodem*, *do daim*, or *do dam*), the symbol of a living creature. The seven original clans were the bear, bird, catfish, crane, deer, loon, and marten. Twenty or more clans with additional totems were added later. A totem could denote an attribute such as prowess, leadership, knowledge, healing power, or sustenance. Bands consisted of groups of five to 50 families, up to 400 people, and lived within the same village. Examples are the five large bands of Minnesota: the Superior, Mississippi, Pillager, Red Lake, and Pembina. Bands were formed of people from a number of clans.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES UNRELATED TO FOOD GATHERING

Traditionally, Ojibwa behavior was controlled by taboos that governed actions during pregnancy,

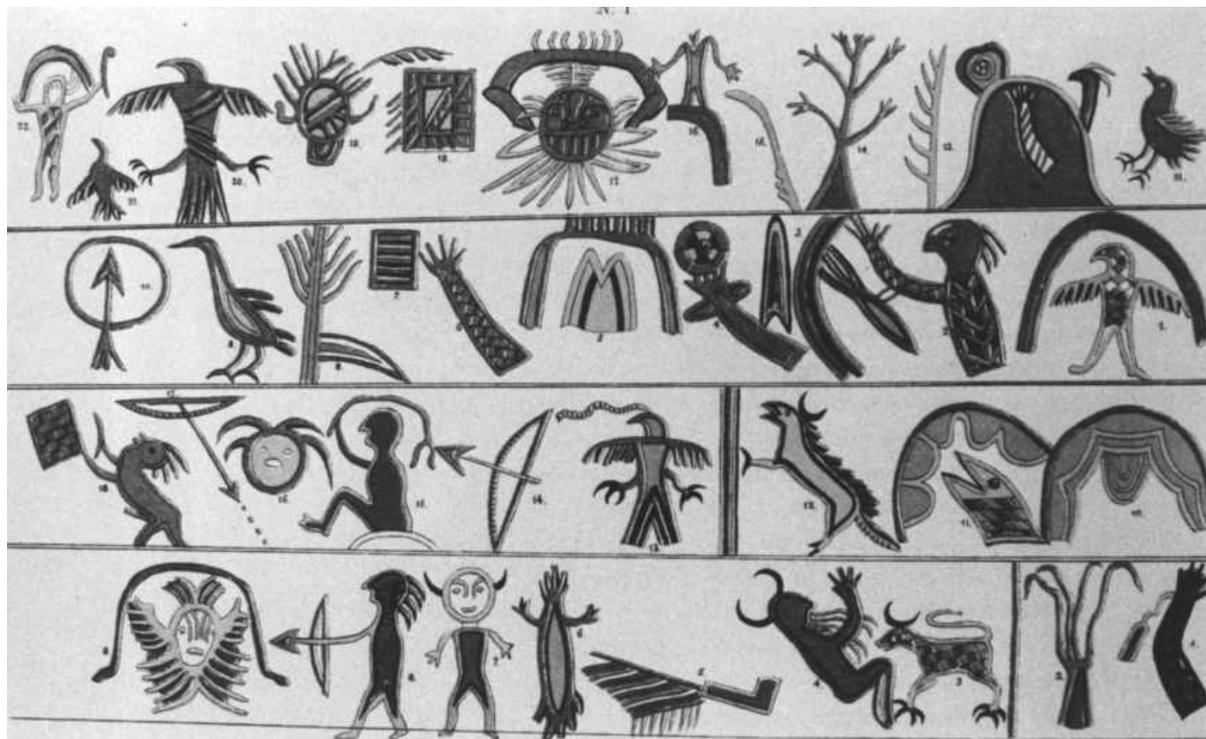
birth, illness, death, and mourning. For example, bereaved relatives were not allowed to participate in food gathering until someone fed them the first wild rice or maple sugar of the season. Within families, Ojibwa humor was expressed through teasing.

Before contact with non-Native Americans, the Ojibwa held annual spring and autumn celebrations at a central location, with singing, dancing, eating, sports competitions, and storytelling. In the early 1700s the celebrations took place in Bowating, near present-day Sault Sainte Marie. In the late 1700s they were held near Lake Superior's Chequamegon Bay and, by the early 1800s, at Fort La Pointe on Madeline Island. These celebrations commemorated significant events in an individual's lifetime: the naming of a child, a boy's first hunt, a girl's first menstrual period, marriage, and death. Music played a central part in these events, as “singers” would perform to the accompaniment of drums, rattles, or, flutes. At the gatherings, men showed off their skill at traditional, fancy, and grass dances, while women joined in the traditional dances and added shawl and jingle dances. Modern costumes for these dancing competitions, which still continue, have incorporated many novel elements; for example, jingle dancers may sew hundreds of snuff can covers onto dresses in place of traditional seashells or bones.

MARRIAGE

Women were allowed to marry soon after puberty, at age 14 or 15. During a woman's first menstrual period she fasted in a small wigwam from five to ten days. During this time the manitou or spirits were considered a strong spiritual presence in her life. Boys were allowed to marry as soon as they could demonstrate that they could support a family through hunting. During courtship the couple's contact was supervised. If both young people were found acceptable to each other and to their families, the man moved in with the wife's family for a year. There was no formal wedding ceremony. If the marriage proved to be disharmonious or if the wife failed to conceive, then the man returned to his parents. A couple that wished to continue living together after the year would build their own separate dwelling. Marital separation was allowed, and after separation people could remarry. Men who could support more than one family might have more than one wife. Inter-marriage was acceptable, and by 1900 most Ojibwa were of mixed heritage, typically French and Ojibwa.

This Ojibwa
chromolithograph
is called
"Meda Songs."



CHILDREARING

Parents appointed an elder to give the baby its sacred, or dream, name. The parents would also give the child one or more nicknames. Ojibwa babies were wrapped in swaddling until they were one year old, then kept in cradle boards—rectangular wooden frames with a backrest or curved headboard to protect the baby's head, and a footrest. Dream catchers—willow hoops encircling woven animal-sinew designs that resembled spider webs—and toys of bone, birch bark, shells, or feathers hung from the headboard. Dried moss, cattail down, and rabbit skins served as diapers. Grandparents typically had living with them at least one grandchild, including at least one granddaughter. Childhood was divided into two periods: the time before the child walked, and the time from walking to puberty.

Until girls and boys were around seven years of age, they were tended to and taught by their mothers, aunts, and elders. After that age, boys were taught hunting and fishing skills by the men, while girls continued to learn domestic skills from the women and elders. Moral values were taught by example and through storytelling.

FUNERALS

If a person died inside a wigwam, the body was removed through a hole made in the west-facing side of the dwelling. The body was wrapped in birch bark and buried with items of special significance. During the next four days the individual's spirit or ghost was said to be walking westward to a place where the

soul would dwell after death. Food and beverage were left at the grave site for the spirit's consumption during the walk. Grave sites were marked by erecting gabled wood houses over the length of the grave. Placed at the head of the grave was a wooden marker painted with a pictograph illustrating the individual's achievements and clan affiliation; the totem animal was painted upside down, denoting death. Families mourned for periods of up to one year, with some family members expressing grief by blackening their faces, chests, and hands with charcoal and maintaining an unkempt appearance. A Feast of the Dead service, scheduled each fall, was sponsored by families who had lost members over the previous year. Food continued to be left at the grave site at regular intervals over a period of many years.

EDUCATION

Federal policy toward Native education emphasized Native American assimilation into U.S. society. Consequently, instruction in vocational skills was promoted over the teaching of Native traditions. In fact, Native traditions and languages were forbidden in the educational context provided by the government and mission schools. From the 1870s until the 1940s, many Ojibwa children were sent to government day schools, mission schools, or boarding schools (grade schools located as far away as Kansas and Pennsylvania). School attendance for Ojibwa became compulsory in 1893.

A significant step toward Native American education occurred with the passage of the Johnson

O'Malley Act in 1934, authorizing states and territories to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for services including education. Public schools were encouraged to incorporate information on Native cultures into their curricula.

Today Ojibwa children living off reservations attend public or private schools. Private schools include those operated by Native American organizations, such as the Red School House in St. Paul and the Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis. Since 1989 public school curricula in Wisconsin are required by law to incorporate lessons on Native American cultures; by 1994 similar legislation was being considered in Minnesota. Ojibwa living on or near reservations may also be taught in tribally run schools or BIA contract schools. Some academic institutions offer degree programs specializing in Ojibwa culture. In addition, four of the 24 tribal colleges in the United States are located on Ojibwa reservations: Bay Mills Community College (Brimley, Michigan), Fond du Lac Community College (Cloquet, Minnesota), Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College (Hayward, Wisconsin), and Turtle Mountain Community College (Belcourt, North Dakota). These institutions offer associate degrees and, in their roles as community centers, serve as focal points of Ojibwa culture.

According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (Volume 60, No. 1, August 25, 1993, pp. 13, 15), as of fall 1992, 114,000 (0.8 percent) of 14,359,000 college students in the United States were Native Americans. As with other Native peoples, fewer Ojibwa complete high school and postsecondary education than do other population groups. The composite of Ojibwa students in higher education often differs significantly from that of non-Native American students: they generally are older, drop out or stop out at higher rates, take longer to complete their degrees, and often are married with children. These students face many obstacles including culturally rooted learning differences and homesickness if they relocate. Students requesting financial aid from their tribe may be channeled into certain fields of study such as education, social work, or medicine.

RELIGION

While some aspects of religious observance were communal, traditional Ojibwa religious practice was focused on inward personal experience. There was a belief in spirits, called *manitou* or *manidoo*. The creator was referred to as Gitche Manitou. Manjimanidoo or evil spirits existed; windigos were especially terrifying spirits who dwelled within lakes and practiced cannibalism. Animate and inanimate

objects possessed spiritual power, and the Ojibwa considered themselves one element of nature, no greater or less significant than any other living being. The cardinal directions were invested with sacred power and were associated with certain colors: white for the north, red or black for the south, yellow for the east, blue for the west. The Ojibwa recognized three additional directions: heaven, earth, and the position where an individual stands. Tobacco was considered sacred and was smoked in pipes or scattered on lakes to bless a crossing, a harvest, or a herd or to seal agreements between peoples of different tribes.

Dreams carried great significance and were sought through fasting or other purgative ceremonies. Dream catchers were used to capture good dreams. The name “dreamer” was reserved for tribal visionaries who would dream of certain powerful objects—such as stones—that they would then seek on waking. Dreamers might also experience prophetic dreams that they would convey to others to forestall danger. At an early age young boys and girls fasted in order to obtain a vision of how to conduct their future. Some visions provided complete messages and songs; others were incomplete and were revealed in their entirety only with the fullness of time. Visions could come during sleep. Since it was difficult to adhere to the advice imparted by visions, men and women went on annual fasts or retreats to renew the vision and reflect on their lives.

Sweat lodges were used to cure illness or to procure dreams. These were wigwams in which steam was created by pouring water over heated rocks and sealing the entrances. Bark and pine boughs might be added to the steam. Fasting was used to cure sickness and, like sweating, was thought to cleanse the body.

The Ojibwa developed a Grand Medicine Society or *Midewiwin* (*Mitewiwin*) religion. Abbreviated *Mide*, *Midewiwin* most likely means “good-hearted” or “resonant,” in reference to the belief that the *Mide* priest worked for the betterment of others and employed special sacred drums. The *Mide* culture is a hierarchical priesthood of four to eight degrees, or orders, with each level representing the attainment of certain skills or knowledge. Women as well as men, children as well as adults, could be priests (also referred to as medicine men or women). As many as 20 years of study might be required to progress to the highest degree. After one year of training, an apprentice was initiated as a first-level *Mide* priest and was allowed to perform certain duties. Initiations were held during an annual Grand Medicine Dance in the spring or early fall and lasted from one to five days. Conducted in large

wigwams, the ceremonies incorporated the use of a sacred drum and sacred pipe, both of which were guarded by caretakers. Initiates offered gifts such as blankets, cooking utensils, and wild rice. Feasting included wild rice, fresh or dried blueberries, maple sugar, and dog meat. Subsequent training required learning herbology for treating sickness or for acquiring personal power, a skill used much in the way that charms are used. *Mide* priests, therefore, acquired the role of healer. *Mide* members were also reputed to use “bad medicine” to cause sickness or death. *Mide* priests carried personal medicine bundles, cloth squares, or cloth or yarn bags enclosing one or more decorated animal skins called medicine bags. Specific types of skins were associated with each of the *Mide* degrees. At the first level, the *Mide* priest would have a medicine bag made from the skin of an otter, marten, mink, or weasel. Objects found in medicine bags included shells, bear claws decorated with ribbons, glass beads, *kinikinik* (native tobacco), carved figures, dried roots, and herbs. *Mide* songs and instructions were recorded on birch bark scrolls that were placed under the care of an appointed guardian priest.

In the early nineteenth century, many Ojibwa became followers of the Shawnee Prophet and his multitribe Shawano cult whose members advocated a return to traditional living and replacing *Mide* rites with new ceremonies. The Prophet was also known as Lalawethika (Laulewasika) or Tenskawatawa and was the brother of the Shawnee warrior Tecumseh. The Shawano cult lost favor and the *Mide* regained strength after the Prophet’s followers failed to defeat the U.S. Army troops in 1811 at the battle of Tippecanoe.

Christianity was adopted slowly, but most modern Ojibwa are Roman Catholics or Protestant Episcopalians. Conflict arose between full-blooded Ojibwa, who tended to follow a more traditional lifestyle focused on *Mide* or Episcopalian values, and the mixed-blood progressive Ojibwa, who typically were Roman Catholic and followed a more acculturated lifestyle. The BIA often settled disagreements between the two factions by siding with the progressives who promoted majority culture values such as agronomy and small business enterprises.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Ojibwa culture dictated that excess goods be shared with the less fortunate. With the arrival of the fur trade, the Ojibwa learned to barter for goods that generally could be consumed within a year. They

first earned money through the sale of land or timber rights. Since saving money was not a tradition and the amount they received was low, incomes were disposable and might be barely sufficient for a meager living. Often relocated to disadvantaged areas, the Ojibwa faced poverty and bare subsistence through living off the land and/or farming. Reservation life led to reliance on government assistance.

Modern Ojibwa live on reservations and in a variety of nonreservation areas, rural, suburban, and urban. Like other Native peoples, the Ojibwa, particularly those on reservations, have high rates of unemployment. They may support themselves through seasonal work, including forestry, farming, tourism, trapping, and wild ricing. Particularly since the 1970s reservations also support small businesses: bait shops, campgrounds, clothing manufacturing, construction, fish hatcheries, hotels, lumber stores, marinas, restaurants, and service stations.

With the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988, reservations were accorded new employment venues related to gaming, including bingo halls, casinos, and spin-off businesses such as gas stations, hotels, and restaurants. While there is some opposition to gaming, profits have contributed to higher employment levels and income. Tribes have invested gaming income in the purchase of ancestral lands, in road and home construction, and in building new social service buildings and/or extending social services. Some reservations have passed employment rights ordinances requiring employers on reservations to give preference to tribal members in hiring, training, and promotion.

Treaty rights allow modern Ojibwa to hunt, fish, and harvest rice on lands once belonging to their ancestors. The Ojibwa right to use the natural resources of reservation lands ceded to the government was reaffirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in the 1983 Voigt Decision. In 1987 federal judge James Doyle found that these rights extended to the use of traditional methods and that the Ojibwa had the right to use their natural resources to the extent that they could support a modest standard of living.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Federal policy emphasized the assimilation of the Ojibwa into U.S. society. This policy has taken the following forms: treaty making; establishment of reservations and removal; individual allotments; relocation; and self-determination and cultural affirmation.

TREATY MAKING

Until 1871 the Ojibwa tribes were viewed as sovereign nations. As such, the legal relationship between the Ojibwa and national governments and their citizens was largely defined by treaties. Treaties drew boundaries between Ojibwa lands and lands designated for other tribes and/or non-Native Americans, concentrated tribes on reservations, allowed the government to purchase Ojibwa land, or set regulations concerning commerce. A major treaty was signed by Lakota (Sioux) and Ojibwa representatives at Prairie du Chien (in present-day Wisconsin) in 1825 to stop fighting between the two nations and establish boundaries. In 1827 another treaty set the boundary between Ojibwa and Menominee land. The Ojibwa ceded or sold land rights in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to the federal government in a number of treaties, including one signed in 1854 that established permanent Ojibwa reservations in three states: Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Bands were dispersed geographically, with members spread out in different reservations. In exchange for land or natural resources, the Ojibwa received annuities or annual payments of goods, livestock, food staples, clearance of debt with fur traders or fur company stores, and the services of blacksmiths, physicians, saw millers, and teachers.

ESTABLISHMENT OF RESERVATIONS AND REMOVAL

Federal and state legislation replaced treaty making in 1871. Later some reservations were created by executive order or by public act. Some reservations closely followed traditional Ojibwa boundaries, while others were established in previously unsettled areas. In the 1860s non-Native Americans put forward a plan to move all Minnesotan Ojibwa to a new reservation in the northwest corner of the state. Members of the four bands living in Minnesota were eventually relocated to the White Earth Reservation, beginning in 1868. The history of White Earth is a particularly disruptive one, with much of the land initially designated for the Ojibwa lost through improper taxation and swindling.

INDIVIDUAL ALLOTMENTS

The General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, outlined national adherence to allotment, a policy of encouraging assimilation to white culture, primarily through the adoption of agriculture as a means of subsistence, and the allotment or parcelling out of land to individuals rather than to communities, bands, tribes or nations. States also passed their versions of the Dawes Act,

such as Minnesota's Nelson Act of 1889. After Ojibwa families took their allotments, unallotted land on reservations was then sold to the public. The Dawes Act not only severely restricted communal lands and traditional cultural patterns, it opened up huge tracts of native lands to white settlement and exploitation. Arguably, this was as much the reason for the Act as the desired assimilation of native peoples.

Rather than converting the Ojibwa to self-sufficient living, the allotment system resulted in the loss of Native-held land. There were also environmental and cultural reasons the Ojibwa did not succeed as farmers. In some reservation areas the land was sandy, rocky, swampy, or heavily wooded, and the weather limited the varieties of crops that could mature during the short growing season. Farming was also resisted by some Ojibwa who perceived gardening as women's work and disliked the permanency that farming required.

All Native Americans, including the Ojibwa, became U.S. citizens in 1924. Until this time, Ojibwa could attain citizenship through marriage to a non-Native American or by serving in World War I.

In 1934 the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act reversed the allotment system, and tribes held elections to decide whether to reorganize their governments. In 1936 six of the seven Minnesota reservations incorporated as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Red Lake, which elected not to join the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, is still known for its adherence to traditional culture. The Red Lake Reservation was excluded from the Nelson Act, and, while it did sell some land to the United States, the original tribal areas remained the property of the entire tribe. The six reservations in Wisconsin are governed separately, as are the westernmost Ojibwa in North Dakota and Montana. There are three Ojibwa tribal groups in Michigan. The Sault Sainte Marie band is governed separately as the Bay Mills Indian Community. The Keweenaw Bay Indian Community includes three bands: L'Anse, Lac Vieux Desert, and Ontonagon. The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe comprises the Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River bands.

In the 1930s Ojibwa men and women were employed in federal conservation, construction, and manufacturing projects organized under the Civil Works Administration and the Civil Conservation Corps, Indian Division. Ojibwa also received vocational training through Works Progress Administration programs. This brought some economic relief to reservation areas hit hard by the depression.

After World War II federal policy toward Native Americans once again promoted assimilation

and integration, a setback for the New Deal philosophy encouraging Native culture and autonomy.

RELOCATION

In the 1950s the BIA instituted the Indian Relocation Services campaign. Like the allotment system, relocation focused on individual Ojibwa rather than tribal group and Native culture. Ojibwa were encouraged to move off reservations to assimilate with non-Native culture in urban areas in order to reduce the need for federal support. Great Lakes Ojibwa moved to urban centers in Minnesota and Wisconsin, most notably Duluth, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis, St. Paul.

SELF-DETERMINATION AND CULTURAL AFFIRMATION

The policy of promoting Native self-sufficiency was termed “self-determination.” Under the Johnson administration, the Ojibwa qualified for Office of Economic Opportunity funds to open social programs, such as Head Start, and Native businesses and housing. Federal legislation in the 1970s, most notably the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1973, and the Education Assistance Act of 1975, provided funding for culturally based education and afforded tribes more direct control of programs once administered by the BIA.

During the late 1960s some urban Ojibwa in Minneapolis formed a Red Power Organization known as the American Indian Movement (AIM). A modern proponent of the Native warrior ethic, AIM supported tribal civil rights through enforced reform rather than legislation. Activism took a different form in the 1980s and the 1990s, with the Ojibwa seeking to enforce treaty rights and working in the legal arena.

Traditional Ojibwa governance followed a multitiered system of elders, civil chiefs, and when necessary war chiefs. Elders—older and respected tribe members—played vital roles in decision making and educating younger members of the band. Civil chiefs could inherit their position or be nominated. Elders met in councils to identify a potential civil chief who would manage day-to-day operations. The nominee, who could be female or male, could accept the invitation to serve as civil chief, though such acceptance was not mandatory. Chiefs had official assistants, including messengers and orators. Civil chiefs could also summon the council of elders to request assistance. Councils of chiefs and elders from a number of bands met to discuss major decisions

that would affect more than one band. War chiefs were self-appointed; a war chief was any man who could convince others to join him in battle. Adult men and women were part of the general council, and while votes were not tallied, each individual could join in the discussion at tribal meetings.

Late twentieth-century reservation areas are striving for home rule—the right to set and follow laws of their own making. Ojibwa reservations in Minnesota are each governed by a Reservation Business Council (RBC, also known as a Reservation Tribal Council). There are three districts on each reservation, each of which elects a representative to the RBC. The entire reservation also elects officials: a chairperson and a secretary-treasurer. Members of the RBC serve four-year terms. The RBC discusses approval of loans, petitions requesting enrollment of official membership in the tribe, and issues relating to economic development and sends reports to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. Two members from each of the six reservations comprising the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe also serve on the statewide Tribal Executive Committee (TEC), which meets every three months. While the RBC governs the reservation, the TEC governs the tribe, as constituted by its six member reservations.

The Red Lake Reservation has a tribal council consisting of three officers (chairperson, secretary, and treasurer) elected from the entire tribal membership and eight council members, two elected from each of four districts. Red Lake also maintains traditional governance through an advisory council of descendants of civil chiefs.

Modern versions of intertribal councils also exist. The Four-State Intertribal Assembly represents the interests of over 30 tribes in Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Representatives meet at annual conferences.

MILITARY

The Ojibwa culture has traditionally revered the warrior. The Ojibwa often engaged in battles with and against other Native peoples and joined non-Native Americans in their fighting. During the French and Indian Wars (1754-1763), the Ojibwa sided primarily with the French. Ojibwa also participated in Pontiac’s Rebellion (1763-1764), most notably in the capture of the British-held Fort Michilimackinac (in present-day Michigan). Their role during the Revolutionary War (1776-1783) was negligible. During the War of 1812, Ojibwa living west of Lake Superior sided with the Americans, while those living in present-day Michigan sided with the British. During World War I, the Ojibwa

responded to the war effort by buying war bonds and donating money to the Red Cross. Ojibwa men also served in active duty. Ojibwa men served during World War II (1941-1945), and both men and women moved to urban areas for employment in war industries. The grand entrance march at many powwows begins with an honor guard of Ojibwa war veterans. Ojibwa may still be awarded eagle feathers in recognition of extraordinary achievement.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

The Ojibwa have made a number of significant contributions to American life: they discovered maple sugar and wild rice and invented hammocks, snowshoes, canoeing, and lacrosse. The English language contains a number of Ojibwa words (moccasin, moose) and place-names (Mackinaw, Michigan, Mesabi). Many Ojibwa contributions evolved over centuries, before they could be acknowledged by written record. Notable Ojibwa men and women, primarily those living in the late twentieth century, and their achievements are identified below.

ACADEMIA

White Earth enrollee Will Antell (1935–) has served as an educational consultant on Native education for the State of Minnesota. Edward Benton-Banai (1934–) directs the Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis and has written a series of coloring books to teach Ojibwa culture to young people. Lester Jack Briggs, Jr., (1948–) is director of the Fond du Lac Community College, Cloquet, Minnesota. Duane Champagne (1951–) serves as director of UCLA's American Indian Studies Center where he is also the editor of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*. After completing her Ph.D. at the University of Minnesota, Ojibwa educator Rosemary Ackley Christensen (1939–) has continued to publish, lecture, and consult on topics related to Native education. Gwendolyn A. Hill (1952–), of mixed Ojibwa and Cree heritage, is president of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College, Sisseton, South Dakota. Modern scholars have increasingly turned to tribal elders, including Maude Kegg (1904–), for instruction in the Anishinabe culture and language.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Among those credited with organizing AIM are Dennis Banks (1932–) and Clyde Bellecourt

(1939–). Both were instrumental in organizing events such as the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties caravan to Washington, D.C., resulting in the takeover of the BIA offices. Banks's recent activities include lecturing and acting in the films *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) and *Thunderheart* (1992). Leonard Peltier (1944–) took part in the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Convicted of killing two FBI agents, he is imprisoned in Marion, Illinois. His controversial conviction is examined in the 1992 film *Incident at Oglala*. A number of foreign countries and organizations regard Peltier as a prisoner of conscience.

LITERATURE

Author and poet Louise Erdrich (1954–) is the best-known modern Ojibwa writer. The characters in Erdrich's fiction follow a rich genealogy of Pillager band Ojibwa and non-Native Americans from the nineteenth century to the modern reservation milieu of gaming and competition dancing. Her novels include: *Love Medicine* (1984), *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988), and *The Bingo Palace* (1995), *The Antelope Wife* (1998), and *The Crown of Columbus* (1999). Poet, novelist, and journalist, Jim Northrup, Jr., (1943–) writes about modern Anishinabe life on the Fond du Lac Reservation in northeastern Minnesota. A collection of his poems and short stories was published as *Walking the Rez Road* (1993), and his humorous and often biting commentary appears in a column, "Fond du Lac Follies," published in *The Circle* and *News from Indian Country*. Gerald Vizenor (1934–), a member of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, is a professor of Native American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. A poet and novelist, his writing centers on traditional culture and includes such works as *The Everlasting Sky: New Voices From the People Named Chippewa* (1972); *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* (1984); *Interior Landscapes: Autobiographical Myths and Metaphors* (1990); *The Heirs of Columbus* (1992); *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (1998); and *Postindian Conversations* (1999).

MEDIA

PRINT

The Circle.

Published by the Minneapolis American Indian Center, this monthly publication provides international, national, and local news relevant to Indian concerns and tracks issues of importance to the Ojibwa.

Contact: Joe Allen, Editor.
Address: 1530 East Franklin Avenue,
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404-2136.
Telephone: (612) 871-4749.
Fax: (612) 871-6878.

MASINAIGAN (Talking Paper).

Published by the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC). This 40-page quarterly publication reports on GLIFWC activities and on a broader range of issues of importance to the Ojibwa, including antitreaty activity, treaty support, Indian education, Native culture, Native rights, and major federal legislation.

Contact: Susan Erickson, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 9, Odanah, Wisconsin 54861.
Telephone: (715) 682-6619.
E-mail: pio@win.bright.net.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC).

Founded in 1983, the GLWIFC's mission is to assist 13 Ojibwa tribes in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to better manage their natural resources in off-reservation areas. The Commission comprises five divisions: Biological Services, Enforcement, Planning and Development, Intergovernmental Affairs, and Public Information. It publishes a free quarterly newsletter, *MASINAIGAN (Talking Paper)*.

Contact: James Schlender, Executive Director.
Address: P.O. Box 9, Odanah, Wisconsin 54861.
Telephone: (715) 682-6619.
Fax: (715) 682-9294.
E-mail: pio@win.bright.net.

Minnetrista Council for Great Lakes Native American Studies (MCGLNAS).

Founded in 1990, it is an organization with representatives from more than 20 tribes. MCGLNAS promotes the study and preservation of woodland tribal culture and sponsors annual powwows, conferences, and workshops.

Contact: Nicholas Clark, Chairman.
Address: P.O. Box 1527, Muncie,
Indiana 47308-1527.
Telephone: (317) 282-4848.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian.

Located within the Newberry Library, it provides access to scholarly material in the E. E. Ayer Collection; the Center sponsors seminars, exhibits, summer institutes, and fellowships, and publishes occasional papers, bibliographies, and monographs.

Address: 60 West Walton Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60610-3394.
Telephone: (312) 943-9090.

Minnesota History Center.

The headquarters of the Minnesota Historical Society, it includes an extensive research and archival collection on the Native peoples of the state. Among its vast and varied exhibits on the Ojibwa is a detailed exhibit on wild ricing.

Address: 345 Kellogg Boulevard West, St. Paul,
Minnesota 55102-1906.
Telephone: (651) 296-6126; or (800) 657-3773.

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O NEIDAS

by

Angela Washburn Heisey
and Richard C. Hanes

OVERVIEW

The name Oneida (oh-NI-duh), or Onyotaa:ka, as they call themselves, means “people of the stone set up.” The Oneida language belongs to the Iroquoian language family, which also includes the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tongues. The tribes formed a confederacy centuries ago known as the Five Nations, or *Ho’da’sho’ne*, “People of the Long House.” Each group lived in a distinct territory, with the Mohawk residing east of the Oneidas and the other three residing to the west. The confederacy became The Six Nations when the Oneidas granted shelter and later admission into the League of the linguistically and culturally related Tuscaroras. The Tuscaroras were fleeing north from war in the Carolinas in 1722. The Oneidas were once a strong and flourishing traditional native society living in what is now in modern-day central New York State, and their territory stretched from the St. Lawrence River in the north southward to the border of what is now Pennsylvania. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Oneidas suffered significant population losses from smallpox epidemics and warfare over fur trade territories. In 1677, the Oneida population was estimated at only about 1,000. The population has rebounded to more than 11,300 Oneidas in the 1990s. Many reside in the United States, living on Oneida reservations in Wisconsin and New York, and while another 600 live in Ontario, Canada.

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HISTORY

European contact with the Oneida people, who traditionally lived in a single principal village, occurred early in the seventeenth century, possibly as early as 1616. The Oneidas became fur traders to obtain European goods, which led to the abandonment and loss of many of their old skills. Jack Campisi in the *Handbook of North American Indians* reported that by 1640 two trade networks competed, one made up of the Algonquin, Huron, and French, and the other consisting of the Oneidas, Dutch, and English. These two trade networks warred up until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

During the American Revolutionary War, the Oneidas fought with the Continental army against the British and supplied George Washington's starving army with hundreds of bushels of corn during the winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge. Their alliance with the Americans did not bode well for their relationships with other Iroquois tribes who were sympathetic to the British. For that reason, many Iroquois moved to Canada following the war. However, in payment for their assistance, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784 offered the Oneidas a guarantee of their claim to their traditional lands. The treaty between the U.S. Continental Congress and the Oneida Nation provided that the Oneidas "shall be secure in the possession of the lands on which they are settled." This guarantee was again stated in the 1789 Treaty of Fort Harmar. However, between these two treaties, the state of New York forced tribal land cessions via the 1785 Treaty at Fort Herkimer and 1788 Treaty of Fort Schuyler. Through these two treaties, the Oneidas lost most of their ancestral lands, reducing the Oneida territory from the more than six million original acres to about 300,000 acres. In 1790, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Trade and Non-Intercourse Act, forbidding purchases of Indian land without prior federal consent. In 1794, the Treaty of Canandaigua and the Veterans' Treaty were signed to protect the then-present boundaries of the occupied Oneida lands. Nevertheless, the state of New York continued to ignore federal efforts to protect the Indian lands. State and local governments imposed a total of 26 treaties (all later ruled illegal) and the Oneida territory was further reduced to only a few hundred acres.

In 1822, Chief Shenandoah of the Oneidas purchased rights from the Menominee in the Wisconsin Territory to settle on their lands. Between 1823 and 1838, close to 700 Oneidas relocated to a four-million-acre tract in Wisconsin, which President James Monroe soon reduced to half a million acres. Then, in 1838, according to Jack Campisi, the Treaty of Buffalo Creek directed the removal of all

Iroquois from New York State while the Wisconsin land base was further decreasing to only 65,000 acres near Green Bay. In reaction, more than two hundred Oneidas sold their New York land in 1839 and jointly purchased 5,200 acres near London, Ontario. During the early 1840s, more than 400 Oneidas moved north into Ontario, reuniting with members of the Iroquois League who earlier had fled their traditional New York lands. Only about 200 Oneidas were left in New York. Some settled around the town of Oneida, while many moved onto the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse.

MODERN ERA

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the Oneidas of New York and Wisconsin lobbied the federal government and fought legal battles to regain land lost in previous centuries and to prevent further loss of land through land allotment and assimilationist policies. A significant blow to long-term tribal prosperity in Wisconsin was the allotment of reservation lands under authority of the General Allotment Act of 1887. By 1908, the entire reservation had been divided up among individual tribal members. Those over 18 years of age received 40 acres of land each; those under 18, 26 acres. Often the parcels of individual tribal families were not adjoining, further hampering farming efforts. Because the new tax burdens were too heavy, by the mid-1920s, most lands had passed out of tribal ownership through foreclosures, and only a few hundred acres remained. The tribal government ceased operation, and many Oneidas moved to urban areas for wage employment in factories. The federal government repurchased some of the lost lands after the tribe formed a new government in the 1930s. By the 1970s, the Wisconsin Oneidas owned 2,200 acres in scattered panels, interspersed with non-Indian ownership.

Following World War II, the United States adopted an Indian "termination," or assimilationist, policy. Proponents of the policy rationalized this scheme of taking tribal lands and eliminating government services as a way to forcibly assimilate Oneidas into mainstream American society. Despite prior internal political divisions, the Oneidas of Wisconsin united in the effort to resist the federal government's attempts to sell off what tribal lands they still held. Wisconsin Oneida leaders such as Dennison Hill, Irene Moore, Charles A. Hill, Mamie Smith, Oscar Archiquette, and Morris Wheelock united to battle against termination legislation of the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Oneidas also struggled to preserve the terms of the 1794 Canandaigua Treaty, which called for a gov-

ernment annuity to the Oneidas. The U.S. government attempted to pay it off in a lump sum. By 1956, government pressures began to lessen, and the threat passed. Two buildings in Oneida, Wisconsin, are named for two of the key figures of this period in Oneida land claims history: Irene Moore and Oscar Archiquette.

In 1974, and again in 1985, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act negated the earlier treaties between the Oneidas and New York state. The 1985 decision known as *County of Oneida v. Oneida Indian Nation* ruled that the 270,000 acres of Oneida lands that were transferred more than 175 years earlier had violated the Indian Non-Intercourse Act. In a landmark decision in American Indian law, the court's opinion found no applicable statute of limitations and no legal basis to deny the Oneidas' land claim. The Court had found that the Oneidas held a right to a large amount of land in central New York State in Oneida and Madison Counties. The case established an important legal precedent that potentially applies to all pending and future eastern Indian land claims.

Taking their case before the federal courts brought together the three separate groups of Oneidas. Beginning in 1987, the Oneidas and the state of New York attempted to negotiate a settlement following the Court decision, but with no success. Finally, in 1998, the Oneida Indian Nation, the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin, and the Oneida band of the Thames of Ontario filed a lawsuit against the state in an effort to end the case. To assert their right to repossess the lands illegally taken two centuries before, the suit named the thousands of landowners in the contested region as defendants. The U.S. government joined the suit on behalf of the tribes in late 1998. With the case still pending at the end of the twentieth century, the Oneidas in New York continued a policy of reacquiring lands as they became available on the open market. Their initial purchase was 42 acres of land near the city of Oneida.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The Oneidas today comprise three separately recognized groups, the Oneida Indian Nation of New York, the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin, and the Oneida Band of the Thames of Ontario, Canada. Each of the three groups has its own government independent of the others. By 1990 approximately 700 Oneidas lived on the 32-acre reservation in central New York, with a total tribal enrollment in the Oneida Nation of New York of 1,543. In Wisconsin more than 4,800 Oneidas lived on a 2,200-acre reservation, and overall tribal enrollment in the

Oneida tribe of Wisconsin was more than 10,000. The Ontario branch had approximately 4,000 members. The settlement pattern of the Oneidas in Wisconsin was largely based on religion. In eight small communities, the Anglicans settled on the northern portion of the reserve and Methodists to the south.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Through all of their moves and changes in economy, the Oneida were able to preserve certain traditions while others faded from use. The Iroquois traditionally lived in longhouses, impressively striking in appearance. According to William M. Fenton, a longhouse typically held from six to ten nuclear families, each of about five or six persons, and two families shared every fire. The size of the longhouses depended on the number of families they sheltered, but each was about 25 feet wide, and the average length was about 80 feet. For each fire, a two-apartment section added about 25 feet to the length of the longhouse. These apartment sections had low flat platforms walled off at both ends by a partition and open in the center, where a fire was shared with the opposite apartment. Food and personal items were stored on long shelves above the platforms, dried food and corn were stored in large bark bins between apartments, and firewood was stacked near the end doors.

Today the Oneida Nation of New York manages a housing program designed to eventually provide single-family homes on aboriginal lands for all the members who want them. Since September of 1994, single-family houses have been built ranging from two to four bedrooms, in addition to duplexes for tribal elders at the Village of the White Pines.

The Oneidas are a matrilineal society, and clan membership follows the mother's family line; however, the Wisconsin Oneida also trace patrilineal descent. Three clans compose Oneida society: the Turtle Clan, the Wolf Clan, and the Bear Clan. The Turtle teaches patience and endurance and represents strength and solidarity; he is old, wise, and well-respected. The Wolf demonstrates keen observation skills in listening and watching and illustrates strong sense of family. The Bear exemplifies gentleness and strength, displaying discipline and control. The Oneida culture also views the eagle as a protector, possessing great vision to watch over all the nations and warn them of danger. The Tree of Peace, a great white pine, is believed by the Iroquois

to have been planted by the Peacemaker, who originally inspired the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy centuries before. The roots of this great tree spread out in all four directions, and all the weapons of the Iroquois nations were buried there to create an everlasting peace.

The gift of a *wampum* belt traditionally accompanied a message of truth, importance, and great significance. A wampum of dark color signaled a serious purpose, sadness, or perhaps great political importance. The Two Row Wampum symbolizes the agreement and conditions under which the Iroquois welcomed the Europeans to this land. Its message: "You say that you are our Father and I am your son. We say, We will not be like father and son, but like Brothers. This wampum belt confirms our words. These two rows will symbolize two paths or two vessels, traveling down the same river side by side. One, a birch bark canoe, for the Indian People, their laws, their customs and their ways. We shall each travel the river together, side by side, but each foot in our own boat. Neither of us will make compulsory laws or interfere in the internal affairs of the other. Neither of us will try to steer the other's vessel."

In 1975, Northeast Wisconsin In-school Telecommunications at the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay produced *Forest Spirits*, a series of seven half-hour programs concerning various aspects of Oneida and Menominee cultural heritage.

TRADITIONAL FOODS

The interplanting of corn, pole beans, and squash, referred to as the "Three Sisters," was a key characteristic of Oneida and other Iroquois horticultural practices. The pole beans grew up the corn stalks, providing cover for the squash. Bacteria colonies on the bean roots capture nitrogen for the special needs of the corn. The Three Sisters were central to the spiritual well-being of the Oneidas, protected by Three Sister spirits. Considered special gifts, the three were grown and eaten together, and celebrated together in thanksgiving traditions. The Oneidas also grew some of their own tobacco for ceremonial smoking.

MUSIC

Percussion instruments were predominant in traditional music, which involved narrow melodic lines. Traditional musical instruments included rattles, which were prominent in ceremonies. Some were made from snapping turtles or hickory bark used for the Feather Dance. More commonly, cowhorn rattles with wooden handles and water drums were

used. Rasps were another commonly used traditional instrument in dances.

TRADITIONAL DRESS

Buckskin clothing, simple in design, was the traditional dress. Women wore a skirt and jacket, men a loincloth with leggings and shirts for cooler weather. Both wore moccasins, sometimes made from cornhusks. Clothing was at times decorated with paint or porcupine-quill embroidery. By the eighteenth century, many Iroquois had adapted European fabrics to their dress. The most common traditional dress of the Iroquois was the women's ribbon dress. Shorter ribbon shirts were worn by men, which were stitched out of printed fabrics and decorated with ribbons, across the upper chest and back, hanging loosely down the front. The Oneida ribbon shirt has become a Pan-Indian garment, worn particularly at pow-wows and other gatherings.

The *kostoweh* is the traditional Iroquois head-dress. Made from an ash splint frame, it is decorated with turkey feathers. Deer horns are mounted on top of a *kostoweh* worn by a leader.

The Oneidas also did a lot of beadwork. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Oneida women earned a good income by selling beadwork to non-natives at tourist centers. They began to make floral designs with their glass beads and applied these new shapes to many useful things, including pincushions, handbags, sewing cases, and clothing. Oneidas traditionally consider bead working a special gift to share and use often. Bead working, it is believed, came from the Creator to teach patience and humility.

DANCES AND SONGS

It was believed that ceremonial singing or dancing increased an individual's power. Medicine societies related to healing are prominent in the culture. Traditional dances include the Fish Dance, Women's Dance, and various stomp dances. A Personal Chant form of song, used more recently for thanksgiving, is reminiscent of warrior death songs of the past. The Condolence ceremony, for installing new leaders or for mourning, is also maintained. The Wisconsin Oneida hold the Oneida Powwow annually in July.

HEALTH ISSUES

Jack Campisi reported two Oneida medicine societies, the False Face and Little Water. To become part of one of these societies an individual either

had to be cured one of the societies or had to have dreamed of becoming a part of it. Dreaming was a large part of healing for the Oneidas; an ability to dream and know the future commanded respect. Dreamers were often asked and consulted on different cures for specific ailments. Some belief also existed in different types of witchcraft and magic potions for healing. The Wisconsin Oneida are now served by the Oneida Community Health Center. With revenues from Turning Stone Casino Resort, the New York Oneidas have established a Health Services Department, which treats all Native Americans from a six-county region in central New York State. A wide range of services and preventive care programs are offered.

LANGUAGE

According to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a linguistics forum of Wycliff Translators, in 1977, only 250 speakers of Oneidas remained out of a total population of 7,000. The native speakers included members of all three branches, the Oneidas of central New York, eastern Wisconsin, and Ontario. An Iroquoian language, Oneida is most closely related to Mohawk.

The Oneida people consider their language as one of their most precious traditions. Language programs among Oneida communities foster the passing of the language to young people by older members. The Oneidas have produced audio tapes, CD-ROMs, and booklets to teach the traditional language. The dream of many Oneidas is that one day most members will be able to speak the language fluently.

GREETINGS AND COMMON TERMS

Common Oneida and Iroquoian expressions include: *i-kê* —I am walking; *ikkehe*—I see it; *o-nyohsa* —squash; *oga-oh*—it tastes good; *kalo-ya* —sky or heaven; *ganoonyok*—thanksgiving speech; *onéo*—corn; *o'gyo-dyo-h*—It is snowing; *agatho-de*—I hear it; and, *o-ge-k*—I ate it.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Like many Native American groups in the late twentieth century, the Oneidas use educational programs as a primary means of maintaining or restoring traditional tribal customs. Gaming revenues in Wisconsin and New York provide substantial fund-

ing to support educational initiatives. In the late 1990s, the New York Oneidas established the goal for lifelong learning as a key to continued economic prosperity. Beginning with the Early Learning Center for young children, programs are available for tribal members throughout their lives, including educational programs as part of elders' services. Oneida culture and language are key aspects of the education offered, particularly for the youth programs. The Oneida Education Department sponsors programs for students and adults, including college and career counseling. In a unique partnership with the State University of New York at Morrisville, a degree program in casino management is offered to train future leaders of the Oneida resort. The old tribal bingo hall, replaced by Turning Stone Casino Resort, has been converted into an Educational Resource Center, housing a tribal library, language facility, career resource center, and an adult learning center. In Wisconsin, the Oneida Tribal School (for kindergarten through eighth grade), located in the town of Oneida, is operated under direction of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

“There is a matriarchal tradition at Oneida. Women are prominent. One of our first tribal chairpersons in the 1940s was a woman...”

Roberta Hill Whiteman, (from an interview on July 29, 1991).

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Oneida women primarily planted and gathered various plant species, while men cleared forests, constructed houses, hunted, or fought. The women gathered strawberries, huckleberries, blackberries, raspberries, greens, hickory nuts, walnuts, beechnuts, chestnuts, acorns, roots, skunk cabbage, poke, milkweed, and other edibles. Many berries were dried and packed for winter, and several of the nuts were used for their oils as well as for food. Women also gathered firewood and prepared skins and made clothing. A thin cornmeal soup was frequently made, to which pieces of meat, fish, or other foods could be added.

FUNERALS

The Condolence ceremony for mourning is an important event in Iroquois society and is influenced by the Hurons' Feast of the Dead. At its height, the Feast of the Dead was held once a decade and involved a ten-day feast. Traditionally, the dead were removed from individual graves and reburied at a common location. Much of the time was spent preparing the corpses for their final placement. Presents brought by friends of the dead were

redistributed among those in attendance. Taboos forbade the use of the deceased's name too soon for naming new family members. The modern Feast of the Dead is much less complex.

The Condolence ceremony focuses on deceased leaders and raising up their successors. The ceremony is still practiced where hereditary leaders still persist, such as the Oneidas of the Thames. In the late twentieth century, the ceremony lasts from early afternoon into the evening. A set of rites is performed, including the Condoling Song, which consisted of a hymn of farewell composed of six or more verses. The song is often followed by the Requickenning Address, symbolic for restoring life. Most of the ceremony is conducted in a longhouse.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

The Oneidas are members of the Iroquois Confederacy, also known as the League of the *Haudenosaunee*, or Six Nations. The other nations include the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. The confederacy acts through a combined legislative body, the Grand Council. The confederacy was formed centuries ago at the urging of an influential Native American, Peacemaker, who encouraged the union after a vision showing it to be the way to be secure from future threats. The nations also shared a common traditional religion known as the Longhouse Religion, introduced by Seneca prophet Handsome Lake, who died in 1815.

RELIGION

The Oneidas have been influenced by many different religious traditions. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Handsome Lake, an Iroquoian prophet, experienced visions that formed the basis of what became the Longhouse religion. This monotheistic Native American religion was strongly based on a Christian model, with some ancestral ceremonies included. The Christian influence in the Longhouse religion came from years of contact with neighboring Quakers, Catholics, and Protestants. According to Anthony F. C. Wallace in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Handsome Lake's visions were put into a moral code, which outlawed drunkenness, gambling, quarreling, sexual promiscuity, wife-beating, and witchcraft. Although Handsome Lake did not directly come to the Oneidas, some Wisconsin and Canadian Oneidas became believers. The prophet had more visions and kept advising the Iroquois, including on the continuation of celebrating the traditional Oneida religious ceremonies.

The Oneidas were also influenced strongly by Presbyterian minister Samuel Kirkland. The minister established a church among the Oneidas and lived with the tribe for more than 40 years, until his death in 1808. French entrepreneur Pierre Penet established a Catholic mission among the Oneidas. However, the governor of New York removed Penet and the Catholic mission shortly after.

Although many Wisconsin Oneidas have been members of Episcopal and Methodist churches throughout the twentieth century, others continue to adhere to the Longhouse Religion of Handsome Lake.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The traditional economy of the Oneidas included the cultivation of corn, beans, and squash; an extensive hunting territory; fishing stations on Oneida Lake; and the collection of various wild plants such as berries. The Oneidas seasonally hunted deer, bear, and nearly all small mammals, usually using a bow and arrow. They also utilized two kinds of traps, the deadfall and the twitch-up snare. The Iroquoian diet varied enormously, including every kind of mammal, fish, bird, or reptile. After the harvest, hunting parties with all the men and some women left the villages, set up camp, and hunted for days, drying and packing the meat for the upcoming winter.

The American Revolutionary War disrupted the Oneidas' existing economy significantly. Afterwards, communities and fields needed restoration. A massive influx of non-Indians onto Oneida lands also followed the war. Through a series of treaties and agreements, the tribal lands of the Oneidas of New York were reduced to a 32-acre parcel by the end of the nineteenth century. The Oneidas suffered from lack of improvements such as water and septic systems, unpaved narrow roads, and rundown housing.

After passage of the Indian Gaming Act of 1988, the Oneidas of Wisconsin opened a 2,000-slot-machine gambling complex outside Green Bay. They established the Oneida Nation Electronics (ONE) Corporation to manage the facility's electronics systems. The gaming income provided capital for other long-term business ventures. In 1997, the tribe through ONE signed an agreement with Plexus, an electronics manufacturing company, to build a \$22 million plant on reservation lands. The plant was to be owned and financed by the Oneidas but operated by Plexus, with the profits shared. The Wisconsin Oneidas have already invested and managed an industrial park, printing company, a bank, hotel, and

convenience stores on the reservation. The tribal government uses casino revenues to provide services to Oneida members, such as subsidized housing, health care, and student counseling. Valuing the education of its children, the tribe invested monies in building a day care facility and an elementary school in the shape of a turtle, namesake of an Oneida clan and a familiar character of Oneida oral literature. The tribe has also invested heavily in reviving its culture and language among its youth, through activities such as the creation of a new written form of the Oneida language and the production of a CD-ROM featuring oral literature told by Oneida elders.

In July 1993, the Oneida Indian Nation of New York opened the Turning Stone Casino, which employs nearly 2,000 people. The casino and resort is billed as a world-class tourist destination. It is the only legal casino in New York State. The resort includes a 285-room luxury hotel, five restaurants, several retail establishments known as the Shoppes At Turning Stone, and a recreational park. The addition of a golf course and convention center was planned. In 1998, the resort accommodated well over three million visitors. The resort has been credited with the stimulation of substantial economic growth in central New York.

Through the years the Oneidas have maintained a tenuous relationship with the U.S. government. One issue of continued conflict has been the obligation of the federal government to provide social services to the Oneidas, despite their very small land base. The resort enabled the Oneidas to begin providing long-overdue social programs for their people. Today, the Oneida Nation currently offers numerous programs to its members, including a housing project, Nation Elders' Program, health care, education scholarships and incentive programs, heating assistance, youth programs, and a job network to help members gain employment. The Elders' Program provides rides for elders to the Oneida Nation cookhouse for a luncheon three days a week as well as for museum visits, shopping excursions, and places to visit overnight. The Oneida Nation acquired several businesses in the 1990s, including a textile factory, a recreational vehicle park with a convenience and gift store, a newly built gas station, and a smoke shop. Oneida leaders sought diversity in their business interests as a means to maintain a healthy economy on the reservation, even if casino benefits were to wane or cease altogether. The nation created almost 3,000 jobs directly and claims to have stimulated the creation of another 2,000 jobs in the region. The nation's local payroll in 1998 was more than \$82 million. In lieu of paying local taxes due to their sovereign status, the Oneidas provide hundreds of

thousands of dollars in grants to local school districts and municipalities.

The pace of economic recovery for the New York Oneidas was staggering. Through the 1990s, the Oneida Indian Nation of New York progressed from employing only a handful of people in two businesses to becoming the largest employer in the Oneida and Madison counties of central New York. The Oneidas became a major tourism promoter for the region. In fact, the economic picture for the Oneidas in New York improved so significantly that the tribe requested the Bureau of Indian Affairs to allocate certain funds earmarked for services for their tribe to other more needy tribes in 1998 and 1999. By the late 1990s, the tribe was providing more than 60 programs and services for tribal members, including a new housing program, a child learning center, elder-care programs, community and development centers, and educational scholarship programs.

When the Oneidas of the Thames moved to Canada in the 1840s to the newly purchased reserve, they were allowed to claim as many acres as they could feasibly clear and farm. Several small communities grew up on the reserve. Through the nineteenth century, subsistence farming was the primary economic pursuit of the tribe, augmented by seasonal lumbering employment. By the twentieth century, however, farming had waned, and members sought wage-labor jobs in white communities. Less fortunate economically than the Oneidas in New York and Wisconsin, the Ontario group still relies on governmental support for basic services.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Forms of government vary considerably among the three Oneida branches. The Oneidas in Ontario, Canada, instituted a traditional form of government upon their arrival in the 1840s. A tribal council was established on the basis of the three traditional Oneida clans, Wolf, Bear, and Turtle. Each appointed a sachem and deputy to the tribal council. The council was coordinated with the Iroquois council at Six Nations Reserve in Canada. The Ontario Oneidas maintained this traditional system of hereditary leadership until 1934, when considerable internal tribal factionalism consumed the tribe, and the Canadian government imposed an elective form of government to resolve ongoing internal tribal conflict. The Ontario band became governed by a tribal leader and 12 council members elected at-large for two-year terms. The government manages tribal business and activities concerning housing, road maintenance, education, and welfare. The Handsome Lake Longhouse Religion continued to be a strong influence for

the Ontario group among the minority not accepting the elected form of government.

The Wisconsin Oneidas essentially dissolved their government following the loss of lands in the early twentieth century. With prospects of some lands being restored, the tribe organized an elected form of government in 1937 under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. They adopted an IRA constitution and established the Business Council to govern themselves. The tribe became available for certain federal grants and loans, setting the basis for future economic growth. The Business Council is composed of nine members elected every three years.

The New York Oneidas, based on the remaining small land base has experienced significant political strife in the later twentieth century between one faction favoring an elective form of government and the other favoring a more traditional form based on hereditary clans.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

EDUCATION

Educator Norbert S. Hill Jr. (b. 1946) was born in Warren, Michigan near Detroit. His father was an Oneida/Mohawk and his mother a Canadian Cree. His father, involved in Indian activism, founded the North American Indian Club, which provided support for urban Indians. While a youth, Hill with his family moved to the Wisconsin Oneida Reservation near Green Bay. Hill earned a B.A. from the University of Wisconsin–Oshkosh in 1969 and later an M.A. in guidance and counseling from the same institution. After serving as assistant to the dean of students at University of Wisconsin–Green Bay, Hill became director of the American Indian Education Opportunity Program at the University of Colorado, where he continued his graduate studies. Hill became chair of the Oneida education committee in the early 1970s, which led to a career of community service stressing the role of education in the improvement of tribal well-being. Hill started the noted magazine *Winds of Change* in 1986 and edited a book of historical and contemporary Indian quotes titled *Words of Power*. In the 1990s, Hill became board chairman for the proposed Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, overseeing its development. He also served as executive director of the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) from 1983 into the 1990s. Among the honors Hill has received are the Chancellor's Award at the University of Wisconsin–Oshkosh in 1988 and in 1994 a Rockefeller fel-

lowship and an honorary doctor of laws degree from Cumberland College in Kentucky. Hill's brother Robert, also a member of the Oneidas, served as chairman of the Oneida tribe, then as chairman of the National Indian Gaming Commission. His first cousin is noted poet Roberta Hill Whiteman.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Film actor Graham Greene (b. 1950) has found success in both Canada and the United States. Greene, a full-blooded Oneida, was born on the Iroquois Six Nations Reserve in southwestern Ontario. Before becoming an actor, Greene worked at a number of different jobs, including stints as a steelworker in high-rise construction, a civil technologist, and a draftsman. He also worked as an audio technician for rock 'n' roll bands and owned his own recording studio in Hamilton, Ontario. He began his career in television, film, and radio in 1976. Greene lived for a short time in Britain in the early 1980s, where he performed on stage. Upon his return to Canada, Greene was cast in the British film *Revolution*, starring Al Pacino and directed by Hugh Hudson. Greene is perhaps best known for his performance in *Dances with Wolves*, a 1991 film that won several Academy Awards, including the award for best picture. Greene portrayed Kicking Bird, an elder who strove to protect his people from attacks by American authorities. In addition, Greene has been cast in a number of television series and is known for his work in *The Campbells*, *Spirit Bay*, *Captain Power*, *Running Brave*, *Adderley*, *Night Heat*, and *Pow-Wow Highway*. His performances not restricted to film, Greene became active on the Toronto theater scene, receiving a Dora Mavor Moore Award for best actor for his performance in the acclaimed *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing*, a highly successful play written by Tomson Highway, a renowned Canadian Cree playwright.

Charlie Hill, a member of the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin, is a comedian who has performed across the United States and released an album, *Born Again Savage*. He has also appeared in the movie *Harold of Orange* in 1983.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Many early leaders of the Oneidas were active in maintaining the Oneida land base or recovering lost lands in all three areas of Ontario, Wisconsin, and New York. Their stories reflect Oneida history. Sally Ainsie (c. 1728–1823) led a colorful life in early Oneida history following contact with Euro-Americans. Born in the Susquehanna River region

of southern Oneida traditional territory, Ainse became a fur trader, landowner, and diplomat. Sally was a trader and landowner in the Fort Stanwix area near present-day Rome, New York, until the American Revolution. Then she moved westward to British-controlled lands in the Detroit region, where she continued trading goods to American Indians for furs. Ainse became an interpreter between warring tribes and the U.S. military in the 1790s. She soon moved again, acquiring extensive lands on the Thames River near present-day Chatham, Ontario. Ainse became involved in a lengthy land dispute with the Canadian government over native land claims.

Laura Cornelius Kellogg (1880–1947), known as Minnie, was a descendent of two earlier influential Oneida leaders. She also became noted for her own oratory skills. Kellogg attended finishing school, traveled in Europe, and attended several well-known institutions such as Stanford, Columbia, Cornell, and the University of Wisconsin. Minnie was a founder of the Society of American Indians in 1911 and became a national advocate for tribal self-sufficiency. Late in her life, Minnie focused on preservation of the Oneida language and the reacquisition of lost tribal lands.

Mary Cornelius Winder (1898–1954) was an activist for Oneida rights to lands lost in the nineteenth century. While living on the Onondaga Reservation with many other displaced Oneida families, Winder operated a small grocery store. She relentlessly lobbied the U.S. government to honor its 1794 treaty with the Oneidas and for the government to grant full federal recognition to the Oneida Nation. Beginning in the 1940s, she initiated what became a 30-year successful effort before the U.S. Land Claims Commission. She and other tribal members sought recognition that the lands were inappropriately taken. However, upon victory they discovered that monetary awards alone were being offered, not return of the land itself. The Oneidas won a \$3.3 million settlement, to be split between the three groups.

The second Native American appointed commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was Robert LaFollette Bennett (b. 1912), Oneida lawyer and administrator. Bennett was born on the Oneida Reservation near Green Bay, Wisconsin, and attended the BIA's boarding school at the Haskell Institute in Kansas. Afterwards he studied law at Southeastern University School of Law in Washington, D.C., earning his law degree in 1941. Bennett served in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II. For his legal work supporting native land claims, he received the Indian Achievement

Award in 1962 and Outstanding American Indian Citizen Award in 1966. In 1966 President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Bennett head of BIA. He left the BIA in 1969 and moved to Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he founded the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame. Bennett was director of the American Indian Law Center at the University of New Mexico Law School from 1970 to 1975. He was recognized as Outstanding Member of the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin in 1988.

JOURNALISM

Late in the 1990s, the New York Oneida Indian Nation purchased the prominent national weekly Indian newspaper *Indian Country Today*, produced in Rapid City, South Dakota. A new enterprise, Standing Stone Media, Inc., was founded by the tribe to operate the publication. A goal of the Oneidas was to further expand circulation and represent the diverse aspects of contemporary Indian life. The Oneidas essentially took over control from the Lakota/Dakota Sioux.

LITERATURE

Poet Roberta Hill Whiteman (b. 1947) earned a B.A. from the University of Wisconsin, an M.F.A. from University of Montana, and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota. A member of the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin, Whiteman is a noted poet whose work has been included in *Carriers of the Dream Wheel: Contemporary Native American Poetry* (1975) and *The Third Woman: Minority Women Writers of the United States* (1980). She published her own collections, *Star Quilt* in 1984 and *Philadelphia Flowers* in 1996. Her work also appeared in *Harper's Anthology of Twentieth-Century Native American Poetry* (1988). Whiteman is noted for a very humanistic style in her poetry, addressing personal and family relationships and the relation of humans to recurrent patterns of nature.

MUSIC

Joanne Shenandoah is an internationally respected recording artist and songwriter whose material often reflects her Oneida heritage. Her releases include *Loving Ways* on Canyon Records in 1991 and contributions to an album titled *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, dedicated to imprisoned Indian activist Leonard Peltier. Shenandoah, whose father was an Onondaga tribal leader and jazz guitarist, has performed in Europe as well as North America, including the 1991 American Music Festival in San Francisco. Shenan-

doah founded Round Dance Productions, a nonprofit organization dedicated to native cultural preservation. Shenandoah has also pursued an acting career and is a writer of musical scores and soundtracks.

SPORTS

Several Oneida tribal members have been inducted into the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame, established in 1972. Martin Wheelock played on the Carlisle football team from 1894 to 1902, earning All-American honors in 1901 and named on the "All University" team by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1902. Elijah Smith participated on the Haskell football, baseball, and track teams between 1923 and 1926, setting a national collegiate record for extra points kicked. He also played baseball and football at Davis & Elkins College between 1927 and 1929. Both Smith and Wheelock were inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1980. Wilson Charles participated in track, football, and basketball at Haskell and University of New Mexico from 1927 to 1931 before becoming a member of the U.S. Olympic decathlon team in 1932. Charles was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1972, the first year of its existence. Gordon House, of both Oneida and Navajo ancestry, was the All Armed Forces lightweight boxing champion in 1945 and became the state lightweight boxing champion in Arizona, Nevada, and Texas in 1948. House fought professionally from 1946 to 1949. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1985.

MEDIA

PRINT

Indian Country Today.

A prominent, nationally published weekly newspaper reporting on national news of relevance to Indian nations throughout the United States. Recently purchased and operated by Standing Stone Media, Inc. of the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin.

Address: 7831 N. Grindstone, Hayward,
Wisconsin 54843.
Telephone: (715) 634-9672.

Kali-?-Wisaks.

Newsletter for the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin.

Address: P.O. Box 98, Oneida, Wisconsin 54155.

The Oneida.

Oneida Nation newsletter that provides tribal reservation news for the Oneida Indian Nation of New York.

Address: 101 Canal St., Canastota,
New York 13032.

Telephone: (315) 697-8251.

Ontario Indian.

A monthly newsletter published by the Union of Ontario Indians.

Address: 27 Queen St., East, Toronto, M5C 1R5
Canada.

Telephone: (416) 366-3527.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Assembly of First Nations Resource Centre.

Extensive collection of materials on Ontario Indian tribes including tribal histories and legal histories.

Contact: Kelly Whiteduck.

Address: 47 Clarence St., 3rd Floor, Ottawa,
Ontario K1N 9K1 Canada.

Telephone: (613) 236-0673.

Oneida Indian Nation.

Address: Genesee Street, Ames Plaza, Oneida,
New York 13421.

Telephone: (315) 361-6300.

Online: <http://www.oneida-nation.net>.

Oneida of the Thames.

Address: RR#2, Southwold, Ontario N0L 2G0
Canada.

Telephone: (519) 652-3244.

Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin.

Address: P.O. Box 365, Oneida, Wisconsin 54155.

Telephone: (920) 869-2214.

Wisconsin Indian Lawyers League.

Contact: Gerald L. Hill.

Address: P.O. Box 365, Oneida, Wisconsin 54155.

Telephone: (414) 869-2345.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Iroquois Indian Museum and Library.

Houses and exhibits the material culture of the Oneidas and other Iroquois Confederacy tribes, exhibits modern craftwork, and offers an educational trail highlighting the ethnobotany of the region.

Contact: Christina B Johannsen or Stephanie E. Shultes.

Address: Box 7, Caverns Road, Howes Cave, New York 12092.

Telephone: (518) 296-8949.

Oneida Nation Museum.

Address: 886 Double E Road, DePere, Wisconsin 54115.

Telephone: (414) 869-2768.

Shako:wi Cultural Center.

Located on tribal lands east of Syracuse, the white pine log building houses Oneida arts and crafts and stories of the tribe's past. The Oneidas use the facility for community gatherings and public presentations.

Address: Rte. 46, New York.

Telephone: (315) 363-1424.

Six Nations Indian Museum and Library.

Houses collections of the material culture of the Oneidas and other tribes composing the Six Nations and research materials on their history.

Contact: Ray Fadden.

Address: Onchiota, New York 12968.

Telephone: (518) 891-0769.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library.

Excellent holdings on Indians of Wisconsin and of North America in general.

Contact: R. David Myers.

Address: 816 State St., Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

Telephone: (608) 264-6535.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800, edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987.

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Fenton, William M. "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns." *Handbook of the North American Indians. Vol. 15: Northeast*. Edited by Bruce G. Trigger. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

Halbritter, Ray. "The Truth About Land Claims." *The Oneida*. Vol. 7, No. 6. New York: Oneida Indian Nation, 1996.

The Oneida Indian Experience: Two Perspectives, edited by Jack Campisi and Laurence M. Hauptman. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988.

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Since Pacific

Islanders had no

form of written

language for

centuries, music

was a crucial means

of expression.

PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICANS

by
Liz Swain

OVERVIEW

The Pacific Islands region of the South Pacific Ocean is called Oceania when Australia and New Zealand are included. There are approximately 25,000 islands, atolls and islets in Oceania. Within the Pacific Islands region are the subregions of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. The islands of Tonga, Tahiti, and Fiji are located within two of these three areas.

Polynesia means “many islands,” and includes within its 5 million square miles the Kingdom of Tonga and the Territory of French Polynesia, where Tahiti is located. Samoa and Hawaii are also found in Polynesia. The region’s name comes from the Greek word *melas*, meaning black. It was so named because of the skin color of island natives.

Tonga is an archipelago of 170 islands. Its total land area is about four times the size of Washington, D.C., measuring 288 square miles (746 square kilometers). People live on 36 of Tonga’s islands. The population in July 1998 was approximately 108,207. The majority of Tongans are of Polynesian ethnic origin. About 300 Europeans also live on the islands. Christianity is the primary religion, with more than 30,000 people belonging to the Free Wesleyan Church. The monarch is the head of the church, which is the Methodist Church in the United States. Other Christian religions with significant membership include the Roman Catholic and Mormon churches. Tonga’s official languages

are Tongan and English. The national capital, Nuku'alofa, is located on the island of Tongatapu. The national flag is primarily red. On the upper left quadrant of the flag is a white rectangle with a bright red cross on it.

French Polynesia is a territory consisting of five archipelagos. French Polynesia's 118 islands and atolls span an area slightly less than one-third the size of the state of Connecticut. French Polynesia's total land area measures 1,544 square miles (4,000 square kilometers). Tahiti is the best known island in French Polynesia. The largest of the Society Islands, it measures 33 square miles (53 kilometers). French Polynesia had a population of approximately 237,844 people in July 1998. Seventy-eight percent of the population are of Polynesian ethnic origin, 12 percent are Chinese, and a small percentage are French. Fifty-four percent of French Polynesians are Protestant, 30 percent are Roman Catholic, and 16 percent belong to other denominations. French Polynesia's official languages are French and Tahitian. Papeete, the national capital and the territory's largest city, is located on Tahiti. French Polynesia's flag consists of two horizontal red bands, with a larger white band in the center. Pictured in the white section of the flag is a blue, white and red ship. The colors are those of the French flag, and France's tricolor is displayed in French Polynesia on special occasions.

At the eastern end of Melanesia, near Polynesia, is the Republic of Fiji. This proximity led to a Polynesian influence on the culture. Although Fiji is an archipelago of 332 islands, its total area is slightly smaller than the state of New Jersey. The country's total land area measures 7,055 square miles (18,272 square kilometers). Approximately 110 of Fiji's islands are inhabited, and the population in July 1998 was approximately 802,611. Of the population, 49 percent are of Fijian ethnic origin, 46 percent are Indian, and the remaining five percent includes other Pacific islanders, Europeans, and Chinese. Fifty-two percent of the population is Christian, with 37 percent belonging to the Methodist faith. Approximately nine percent of Fijians are Roman Catholic. Indians account for the 38 percent of the population who are Hindu. There is also a Muslim minority. English is the official language in Fiji, though Fijian and Hindustani are also spoken. The nation's capital is the port city of Suva. The national flag is light blue. The British flag is depicted in the upper left quadrant; the Fijian shield appears on the right half. A lion on the shield holds a cocoa pod. Also pictured are stalks of sugar cane, a palm tree, bananas, and a white dove.

HISTORY

The history of the Pacific Islands began thousands of years ago in Southeast Asia. From 3000 B.C. to 1000 B.C., peoples left the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago, migrating to islands across the Pacific Ocean. They sailed in massive double-hulled canoes that held up to 200 people. With no navigation instruments, the ancestors of modern Polynesians relied on *wayfinding*, the use of nature to navigate. The navigational course was determined by observing the stars, the sun, the wave currents, and the flight pattern of birds.

The Lapita people may have reached Tonga by 3000 B.C. Artifacts confirm they were living on Tonga around 1100 B.C. Polynesians are believed to have reached Fiji by at least 1500 B.C. They were joined by Melanesians in 500 B.C. According to archaeologists, Polynesians from Tonga and Samoa settled the Marquesas Islands 2,000 years ago. Polynesians in subsequent years migrated to other areas including New Zealand and Hawaii. Artifacts found on the Society Islands indicate that Polynesians settled in Tahiti around 850 A.D.

Polynesians established a hierarchical social structure, where children inherited their father's power and social status. A chief and his descendants ruled a territory that ranged in size from a village to a region. One indication of status was a person's size. Obesity was a sign of wealth or nobility in Tonga.

Within the hierarchical governing system were power struggles. These struggles sometimes resulted in war, forcing some islanders to flee and settle other islands. Cannibalism was another aspect of war, one dictated by Fijian and Tongan religions. Captured people were sacrificed to the warrior gods. The victors ate their enemies to absorb their power and to insult the deceased and his family.

A less gruesome Polynesian tradition involved family and community life. The family extended to grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other relatives, as well as the village. Family members looked after one another, respected their elders, and shared with the community. When fishermen returned with their catch, they took what they needed and left the rest for others.

Polynesians were noted craftspeople who built boats without nails. They had no system of writing. Instead, history and traditions were relayed through songs, dance, poems, and stories. For centuries, Pacific Islanders believed that gods controlled their lives.

Pacific Island life changed dramatically in the seventeenth century when European explorers discovered the islands. Dutch navigator Jakob LeMaire reached Tonga in 1616, the first European to visit

the islands. Another Dutch navigator, Abel Tasman, arrived in Fiji in 1643. English Captain Samuel Wallis reached Tahiti in 1767 and claimed it for England. A year later, French explorer Louis de Bougainville landed in Tahiti. He did not realize Wallis had been there and claimed the land for his country. France gained control of Tahiti in 1842 and made it a French colony in 1880. England gained control of Fiji, while Tonga remained an independent kingdom. In 1774, British Captain James Cook sailed through the islands, followed by British Captain William Bligh in 1789. In 1874, the Fiji islands were ceded to Britain.

Christian missionaries brought more change to the islands. In 1797, members of the London Missionary Society settled in Tonga and Tahiti. Missionaries eventually succeeded in converting Tahitians, but they left Tonga in 1799. Catholic and Wesleyan missionaries also attempted to convert the Pacific Islanders. Wesleyan ministers succeeded in converting Tonga to Christianity. The missionary influence was seen in the nineteenth century when members of royalty converted. Fijian King Cokobau converted to Christianity in 1854. Such conversions ended cannibalism in the Pacific Islands. Missionaries also developed written forms of Pacific Islander languages that were previously nonexistent in the predominantly oral culture.

MODERN ERA

Fiji remained a British colony for 96 years. The island nation achieved full independence on October 10, 1970. The country was designated a member of the British Commonwealth with Dominion status.

Tongans proudly declare that their country was the first Polynesian kingdom, the only kingdom still remaining in the South Pacific. While the monarchy existed since the tenth century, the current dynasty was established during the nineteenth century. Power struggles in the nineteenth century led to civil war. The victorious chief took the name George when he was baptized in the Wesleyan faith, in honor of the King of England. When proclaimed the king in 1845, he became George Tupou I. Known as the father of modern Tonga, the king outlawed the worship of old gods and established a constitutional monarchy. After his death in 1893, his great-grandson, George Tupou II, ruled until 1918. George Tupou II was succeeded by his 18-year-old daughter, Salote. Queen Salote was beloved by Tongans as an intelligent, compassionate woman concerned with issues like health and medicine. She was also well-regarded internationally. The Tongan queen died in 1965, and was succeeded by her son King Tupou IV.

France gained control of Tahiti in 1842, making it a colony in 1880. The tropical paradise attracted numerous artists and writers. French artist Paul Gauguin moved to Tahiti in 1891 and immortalized the French Polynesians in his vivid paintings. In 1946, French Polynesia became a French overseas territory. France's president is the chief of state.

THE FIRST PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN AMERICA

According to an article in *Pacific Tide*, the first known Tongan in the United States was a man who came to Utah in 1924 for additional education. The Tonga man accompanied a Mormon missionary returning to the United States. The missionary went back to Tonga and returned to Utah with another Tongan man in 1936. The first Tongan family came to Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1956. This marked the beginning of a small migration of Tongans, Tahitians and Fijians.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Historical accounts and church records sometimes provide a more detailed look at migration and settlement patterns than government documents. This is especially true for Tongans, Tahitians and Fijians. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records list immigrant admission by country of origin, with Tahiti classified as part of French Polynesia. Other government entities used the much broader classification of Asians and Pacific Islanders. This category covers people whose ancestors were the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands. By examining both official documents and less formal accounts, a picture emerges of the settlement patterns of Pacific Islanders of Tongan, Tahitian, and Fijian ethnic ancestry. While more information is available about the Tongan experience in America, some could apply to Fijians and Tahitians. Three Fijians were admitted to the country in 1953, according to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) records. An equal number were admitted in 1954, along with three French Polynesians and one Tongan.

Waves of Tongan immigrants arrived in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. More came during the 1970s, and there was a boom in the 1980s. According to INS records for the 1950s, the admissions records were: 71 Fijians in 1959, 14 French Polynesians in 1956, and 14 Tongans in 1958. During the 1960s, a record 368 Fijians were admitted in 1968. The low figure for annual immigration was 45 in 1967. French Polynesian immi-

gration never rose above the 49 admissions in 1965. Tongan migration ranged from four people admitted in 1960 to a record 119 in 1966.

During the 1970s, Fijian migration ranged from 132 admissions in 1976 to 1,000 in 1979. The record year for French Polynesian migration was 1975, when 47 people were admitted. Tongan migration ranged from 133 admissions in 1976 to 809 in 1979. Fijian migration jumped during the 1980s, when admission ranged from 712 people in 1983 to 1,205 in 1987. French Polynesian migration ranged from 19 admissions in 1986 to 59 in 1984.

In the next decade, a record 1,847 Fijians immigrated to the United States in 1996. The record year for the other groups was 1991 when 1,685 Tongans and 31 French Polynesians entered. During 1997, admission was granted to 1,549 Fijians, 21 French Polynesians and 303 Tongans.

Migration for some Pacific Islanders began when the Mormon church sent students to Hawaii for higher education, and then to the United States. Others were brought to this country to work on Mormon church construction projects. Military service after World War II also brought Pacific Islanders to the United States. They settled in California and Washington, especially Southern California cities like San Diego, Oceanside, and Long Beach.

Tongans lived in large west coast cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco until the 1970s, when the national recession crippled California's economy. Tongans began moving to North Texas during the 1970s and 1980s, seeking employment near Dallas-Fort Worth Airport. Approximately 1,800 Tongans lived in the area in 1993.

According to a 1996 report to the U.S. Catholic Conference, of the approximately 20,000 Tongans in the United States, 4,500 were Catholic. The report said significant populations lived in California in Sacramento San Francisco's Bay Area and in the Southern California cities of Los Angeles, Paramount, Anaheim, Upland, and San Bernardino.

In 1992, approximately 6,000 to 8,000 Tongan Americans lived in San Francisco's Bay Area. Washington State's Asian and Pacific Islander (API) population grew 59.1% in six years, from 215,454 in 1990 to more than 342,900 in 1996. In California, the API population rose from nine percent in 1990 to 11 percent in 1996, according to a 1998 state report. That increase primarily came from migration, with 452,000 Asian and Pacific Islanders migrating to the state between 1990 and 1996. Net migration averaged 71,000 from 1991 to 1996, while the natural increase (births minus deaths) averaged 46,600. From 1993 to 1996, this

was the only group to experience positive net migration to California.

There were 7,700 Pacific Islanders living in Utah in 1990, according a state report. The total consisted of 3,611 Samoans, 1,760 Samoan and 1,334 Hawaiians.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Language was the first barrier for Pacific Islanders who migrated to the United States. A limited knowledge of English caused problems when islanders sought housing, employment, health care, and legal representation. The Catholic Tongan Community of North Texas chronicled the language barrier in a 1993 report. That report was presented at a regional meeting that drew Catholic Tongans from locations ranging from San Francisco, California, to Sparks, Nevada. Those who attended concluded that bilingual educational programs were needed, along with youth-oriented programs to keep students in school and away from gangs and drugs.

Similar concerns were voiced at the 1998 Polynesian Summit conferences, organized by the state of Utah Office of Polynesian Affairs (OPA). That year, Tongans in Salt Lake City raised the issue of racism at a September meeting regarding ethnic fairness in the legal system. Some Polynesians said they were afraid to use the legal system, believing that it "works against them because of the color of their skin," according to a meeting report.

Although Pacific Islanders faced intimidating challenges to assimilation, their cultural concept of community provided valuable support. Just as the village used to help its members, assistance came from organizations such as the OPA, Catholic Tongan groups, and the Pacific American Foundation. In addition, Tongans, Tahitians and, Fijians participate in the Pacific Islander Festival, a weekend event held annually in Southern California since 1990.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Kava (pronounced "kah-vah"), a nonalcoholic drink made with the ground root of the pepper shrub, is a ceremonial beverage for Tongans and Fijians. Called *yaqona* ("yanggona") in Fiji, the mildly intoxicating beverage is consumed during important occasions like births, weddings, deaths, and the arrival of a dignitary. *Kava* is also drunk socially. Etiquette requires visitors to Fijian villages to bring it to the chief. Other etiquette includes the

wearing of shoes in the house. Also, it is considered rude to touch a Fijian on the head.

Centuries of island life are reflected in South Pacific legends that sometimes have some truth. According to an ancient Fijian myth, the sound of women singing lures massive turtles from the sea to hear their voices. The Calling of the Turtles is a reality that continues today. Turtles rise to the water surface to hear the singing of women villagers from Naumana on the island of Kaduva.

Another fact-based legend concerns firewalking. Fijians from the island of Bequa walk across hot rock without burning their feet. The firewalkers say the god Veli give them the power to do this. Another Fijian legend has to do with the presence of red prawns in cliff pools. Supposedly, the prawns were a gift to the daughter of a Vatulele chief. The red crustaceans disgusted her, and she had them thrown from a cliff.

Polynesian mythology traces the beginning of Tonga to the hero Maui. When Maui was fishing south of Samoa, he pulled up Tonga's islands one at a time. He walked across some islands and flattened them. The untouched islands remained mountainous.

PROVERBS

Tongan proverbs relate wisdom based on the island people's reliance on nature. The proverbs include: "There is a silver lining in every cloud"; "You will know the expert navigators when it comes to a rough time in the ocean"; and "Treat your plantation well for you are not the last person to use it".

CUISINE

While language and traditions changed as Polynesians migrated to other islands, Tongans, Tahitians, and Fijians still hold communal feasts. In an outdoor pit that Tongans call an *umu* ("oo-moo"), a whole pig is roasted with foods like chicken, fish, meat, sweet potatoes, fish and *taro* (a starchy tuber). Tongans cook the feast with taro leaves, while Tahitians and Fijians add banana leaves.

Pacific Islander cuisine includes numerous types of fish, fresh fruit like bananas and coconut, breadfruit, *cassava* (a starchy plant), and sweet potatoes. Corned beef is also popular and is cooked in Tonga with taro leaves. Tongans also combine taro with other meats, or serve it with onions or coconut milk. A favorite Tahitian dessert is *gateau a la banane* ("ga-tow a la bah-nan"), which is French for banana cake.

MUSIC

Since Pacific Islanders had no form of written language for centuries, music was a crucial means of expression. Musicians play the guitar and traditional Polynesian instruments like the *pahu* (a wood drum), *ukelele*, *uli uli* (small gourds), *ipu* (larger gourds), *puili* (split bamboo) and Tahitian drums made out of hollowed logs. Pacific Islander voices also unite in church choirs.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Tongans wear *ta'ovala* ("tah ah vah-la"), a woven-leaf mat worn around the waist. Women sometimes wear a smaller version called a *kiekie* ("key-ah key-ah"). Ta'ovalas come in everyday and fancier varieties for special occasions.

In Tahiti, people wear a *tiare* (a hibiscus blossom) behind one ear. A flower worn behind the right ear means the man or woman is available. When placed behind the left ear, the wearer is spoken for. The tiare is also added to a crown of braided palm fronds and greenery. Fijian dancers wear skirts of shredded leaves and paint their faces for war dances.

DANCES AND SONGS

Pacific Islanders' songs and dances commemorate major events or activities, like the beaching of a canoe. A highlight of a Fijian feast is the *meke*, which combines dance, song, and performance. The Tahitian *aparima* portrays the everyday life of a young woman. During the Fijian war ceremonial dance, men holding spears dance to the tempo of bamboo sticks tapped on the ground by seated musicians.

HOLIDAYS

Christian beliefs mean that Pacific Islander Americans celebrate feast days like Christmas and Easter. Tahitian Americans in the United States may also observe the French Polynesian celebration of Bastille Day on July 14. This date is known as France's independence day in French-speaking countries. July 4 is celebrated by Tongan Americans as King Taufa 'ahau Tupou IV's birthday and a national holiday.

HEALTH ISSUES

For centuries, Pacific Islanders regarded obesity as a sign of wealth or nobility. This excess weight can lead to diabetes. Hypertension is another concern

for Pacific Islanders. A 1998 California Department of Health Services report indicated that Pacific Islanders living in the state were “less likely to be aware of their hypertension [and] to be under treatment with medication” than people from other ethnic groups. The report concluded that Asians and Pacific Islanders were likely to rely on traditional remedies, perhaps because of the lack of health care providers of from their ethnic background.

Pacific Islanders face other health issues. Pacific Islander Americans have the highest mortality rates for most cancers and incidences of chronic diseases, smoking, and binge and chronic drinking. In addition, they have the lowest rate for prenatal care and immunization of children. The Oahlanā Lāulima project sought to address these concerns. The project’s goal is a national organization to serve Pacific Americans health concerns. This will be accomplished through “advice, education, information, service and volunteer efforts.” The foundation noted a connection between poor health and the cultural insensitivity of health care providers. That insensitivity would make people reluctant to seek preventive care. Economics also played a role, with access to care limited by lack of medical insurance, high costs of care, and medical treatment.

The first phase of Oahlanā Lāulima involved a one-year study of successful health care centers for underserved minority communities in California, Washington, Virginia, Hawaii and the District of Columbia. During the next phase, the “Family of Working Hands” in 1997 applied what they learned at the Carson Community Health Center in Carson, California.

LANGUAGE

Fijian, Tahitian and Tongan are part of the large Austronesian, or Malay-Polynesian, family of languages. Also included are languages such as Hawaiian and Samoan. During centuries of migration to other islands, the words changed. However, some similarities remain. The word for fish is *ika* in Fijian and Tongan. In Hawaiian, fish is *i’a*. Language varies within a country, too. Fiji has 300 dialects as well as the Standard Fijian language.

Fijian

In Standard Fijian, there is one sound per vowel. These are pronounced: “a” as in “father,” “e” in “get,” “i” in “police,” “o” in “most,” and “u” in “zoo.” When two vowels are together, the first one is pronounced. A long vowel is marked with a line called a macron over the top. Pronunciation is lengthened. Most Fijian consonants sound the same

as English. The exceptions are: “b” is pronounced “mb;” “d” is pronounced “nd;” “th” as in “that;” “g” as in “ring;” “k,” “p” and “t” are pronounced without a puff of breath; the “r” rolled as in Spanish; and “ng” as in “hunger.” Common Fijian greetings and expressions include: *Ni sa yadra*—good morning; *Ni sa bula*—hello; *sa moche*—good bye; *yalo vinaka*—please; and *vinaka*—thank you.

Tongan

Tongan vowels are pronounced as follows: “a” as in “can;” “e” as in “bet;” “i” as in “in;” “o” as in “not;” and “u” as in “put.” Consonants “f,” “h,” “l,” “m,” “n,” and “v” are pronounced as in English. However the “k” is pronounced like the “gh” in “gherkin;” the “ng” as in “singer;” the “p” is midway between “p” and “b;” the “s” has a slight “sh” sound; and the “t” is between “t” and “d.” Accent stress is usually on the last syllable. An apostrophe called a glottal stop (‘) represents a space and a slight pause. Common Tongan greetings and phrases include: *Malo ‘e lelei*—hello; *malo tau ma’ue pongipongi ni*—good morning; *faka molemole*—please; *malo*—thank you; *fefe hake*—how are you?; and *nofo*—Good bye.

Tahitian

Tahitians vowels are pronounced as follows: “a” as the vowel in “cut;” the “e” say; an “i” in “police;” “o” as in “old;” and “u” as in flute. The consonants “f,” “m,” “n,” and “v” are pronounced as in English. But “h” is pronounced as in “hat” unless it follows an “i” and comes before “o.” An “h” in “iho” has “sh” sound. In other consonants, the “p” as pronounced in “spoon” (shorter sound); the “r” is sometimes rolled; and the “t” as in “stop.” Common Tahitian greetings and phrases include: *Ia ora na*—good morning; *nana*—good bye; *maruru*—thank you; *Manuia*—cheers; *marite*—American; and *aita p’ape’a*—no problem.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The phrase, “It takes a village to raise a child” is not a cliché for Pacific Islanders. Children raised in Fiji, Tonga, and Tahiti are taught they are part of an extended family, one that works together for the good of the community. Tongans call this *nofo a’kainga*, which means everyone counts on one another. Cooperation starts in the home, continues at the village level and on through to the country. Children are taught to respect everyone, especially their elders. In the Tongan household, the father is head of family. Children usually remain at home until they marry.

Sometimes Pacific Islander immigrants are surprised by the differences between cultures. An 18-year-old Fijian American, Saul Brown, wrote in the 1997 Pacific Islander Festival program that growing in the United States was difficult. Growing up in Southern California, he wrote that he “felt a little embarrassed” when friends asked about the Fijian masks and other items in his home. However, Brown discovered the friends were interested in learning about his culture. Friends found the kava socials “strange but interesting.” He sometimes envied their junk food meals of pizza and hamburgers. Another shock was discovering that people at school were not raised the way he was. “I was taught to never answer back, to always use my manners and to show respect.”

EDUCATION

Parents who migrated from the Pacific Islands sometimes did not realize the importance of education in the United States. For example in the North Texas Tongan Catholic Community, one out of five students graduated from high school. Few of those went to colleges and universities. The high cost of an education was a factor, along with a lack of knowledge about financial aid.

During the 1990s, organizations such as the Utah Office of Polynesian Affairs (OPA) and The Pacific American Foundation developed programs to keep students in school. In Utah, 21.1% of Pacific Islanders dropped out of school. To lower that statistic, OPA director William Afeaki reinstated the Polynesian Young Achievers Award in 1997, which honored exceptional students. Similar programs were instituted in Southern California with tutoring and scholarships set up the Pacific American Foundation.

In San Diego, The Pacific American Foundation began concentrating on the educational needs of Pacific Islanders in Southern California, The foundation celebrated several successes in 1996. Volunteers tutored 10 students tutored for the Scholastic Aptitude Test; all enrolled in two and four-year educational institutions. A scholarship recipient graduated from Southwestern Law School. The foundation also founded a parent-student counseling program. Families of pre-teenagers learn about prerequisites and experience needed for higher education. Older students and their families learned about college financing, career counseling, grants, and loans. During 1999, the foundation worked to set up a learning center partnership program to assist the parents of Pacific American children between the ages of three and eight. The foun-

ation also worked on a program to help parents to obtain computers and software. By May of 1999, the foundation offered two scholarship programs and intensive SAT tutoring for high school juniors and seniors.

WEDDINGS

A traditional Tongan wedding is a family event. After the couple falls in love and decides to become married, the family plans and pays for the event. Special attention is paid to the elders' opinions.

A special ta'ovala is worn, made of a soft, silky *ngafi nagafi* (“gnaw-fee gnaw-fee”). This traditionally comes from Samoa to symbolize the connection with Polynesia. The *ngafi nagafi* is brownish-colored and decorated with feathers. Husband and wife wear the wedding ta'ovala again on the first Sunday after their marriage.

FUNERALS

For Tongan funerals, a dark brown ta'ovala is worn. The size of the ta'ovala indicates the mourner's relationship to the deceased. A larger ta'ovala signifies a closer relationship. When a relative or close friend dies, adults and children wear black. When a member of the royal family dies, Tongans wear black for a year. Families set the length of mourning times when a member dies. Tongan Americans carry on the tradition of the extended family preparing food and gathering for up to five days after the funeral.

RELIGION

The efforts of Christian missionaries in the Pacific Islands are reflected in the faiths of Pacific-Islander Americans. There are 8000 Pacific Islander members of the United Methodist Church in the United States. The church has 23 Pacific Island United Methodist congregations and 97 Pacific Island clergy. Catholics accounted for 4500 of the 20,000 Tongans living in the United States. Fijian-Americans and Tahitian-Americans are also adherents of both faiths.

While denominations vary, Pacific Islander tradition is interwoven with religious services. Worshipers value a service in their native language. Tongan-American ministers and congregation usually wear ta'ovalas.

In Tonga, where the king is the head of the church, religious observances affect the calendar. Government and shops close down for Good Friday. Tongans in the United States try to take that day

off. Tongans in both countries attend services leading up to the sunrise Easter service. Government also takes a vacation that extends from the week before Christmas until the first week in January. Tongan Americans know that this is the best time to visit family in the South Pacific.

Pacific Islanders of all faiths participate in outreach programs. The Catholic St. Joseph Women's Association in San Bruno, California, was formed in 1977 to raise funds for seminarians studying for the priesthood in Tonga. In 1984, the association began issuing scholarships and awards for educational and athletic accomplishments.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although the U.S. Department of Labor does not have specific employment information about Pacific Islanders, other accounts provide an economic picture that can be bleak. During the recession of the 1970s and early 1980s, Tongan-Americans began migrating to North Texas. Most who migrated found employment at the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport, primarily in food service and transportation. Others did cleaning work at the airport, office buildings, movie theaters, and restaurants. Most jobs paid minimum wage, so many Tongans worked two jobs or overtime to support their families. Children of working age were urged to find jobs to help support their families. In addition, Tongan-Americans performed yard work to supplement wages. These experiences were common to other Pacific Islanders living in the United States.

Language was often a barrier towards obtaining higher paying work. Another obstacle was the Pacific Islanders' centuries-old traditional values, which were at odds with the American idea of success. "In Tonga, people live in extended families in which everyone helps each other through agricultural gain. There are very few who hold professional jobs," Tongan Percival Leha'uli wrote in the program for the 1994 Pacific Islander Festival.

In Tonga, men are the providers, while women are the homemakers. People value the simplicity of their lives. "The idea of moving to a technological society is foreign to most Tongans," Leha'uli wrote. That situation isn't limited to Tongans. "While there is a growing number of Pacific Americans owning small businesses, it is a daily challenge just to stay afloat," David E.K. Cooper wrote in an essay on The Pacific American Foundation website. In 1999, he was president of the foundation, which strives to improve the economic outlook. The foun-

dation's Pacific American Leadership Center offered its first forum in Claremont, California, in April of 1998. The eight men and eight women who attended the two-day seminar learned how to develop leadership skills within a cultural context.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Pacific Island migration largely began after World War II. For some men, military service was the route to that migration. Although the U.S. government did not track active duty service by ethnic origin until decades later, an examination of the 1999 U.S. Department of Defense manpower records provides some information. However, these records don't provide the full picture. The military ethnic classification for active duty personnel places Tongans and Tahitians in the Polynesian category. Fijians are among the groups categorized as Melanesian.

As of March 31, 1999, the Army's ranks included 534 Polynesian men and 113 women. There were 34 male officers and five female officers. Also in that Army at that time were 102 Melanesian men and 14 women. Two men were officers. In the Navy on March 31, 1999, there were 251 Polynesian men and 46 women. Nine men and four women were officers. On duty at that time were 29 Melanesian men and 11 Melanesian women. Three Melanesian men and two women were serving as officers. On March 31, 1999, five male Polynesian officers, 56 enlisted men, and nine enlisted women were serving in the Marine Corps. Melanesians accounted for nine of the Marine Corps officers and 11 enlisted men. On duty with the Air Force on March 31, 1999 were 13 Polynesian men, and three were officers. Of the 11 Polynesian women serving, one was an officer.

A look at all branches of service indicated that the Coast Guard attracted the most Pacific Islanders, a people descended from wayfinder origins. On March 31, 1999, 795 Polynesian men served with the Coast Guard. Fifty-one were male officers. Of the 167 Polynesian women on duty, 10 were officers. At that time, 143 Melanesian men were on active duty with the Coast Guard, and six were officers. Also serving were two Melanesian women.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRIES

It has long been a practice for people who migrate to the United States to send money home to their families. This is called a remittance, and remittances were an important source of revenue for Tonga according to the *CIA 1998 World Fact Book*.

Tonga is an agricultural-based economy. The country exports copra, vanilla, and squash pumpkins. Sugar is Fiji's chief export. Tourism is an important industry. Approximately 250,000 people visit Fiji each year. Tourism accounts for 20% of French Polynesia's gross domestic product. France began stationing military personnel in French Polynesia in 1962. Since then, a majority of the work force is employed by the military or in tourism-related jobs.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART

Manisela "Monty" Fifita Sitake (1952–) was one of three founders of the Literature and Arts Heritage Guild of Polynesia in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was born in Nuku'alofa, Tonga, and graduated from Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, with a degree in English literature in 1984. He, Filoi Manuma'a Mataele, and Sione Ake Mokofisi started the guild in 1998 to help Polynesians with artistic talents and skills. Sitake has served as the guild president since its inception.

Sitake is also an author who writes in both Tongan and English. He prefers to write in his native tongue to preserve the Tongan language, and to encourage the importance of Polynesian literature. Sitake also plays guitar, ukulele, harmonica, and trumpet, and has recorded a compact disc mixing Tongan and western music.

Filoi Manuma'a Mataele (1968–) is vice president of the Literature and Arts Heritage Guild of Polynesia in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was born in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. He is also involved in small business and management.

JOURNALISM

Sione Ake Mokofisi (1951–) was editor in chief of *Polynesia Magazine*, the online magazine published by the Literature and Arts Heritage Guild of Polynesia. He was also a founder of the Literature and Arts Heritage guild. Born Nukunuku, Tongatapu, Tonga, he is a freelance writer/photographer and has served as the editor of *Ke Alaka'i* (on the Brigham Young University-Hawaii campus), *Alaska Sports*, and *Rugby* magazines. He worked as a reporter at Hawaii's *Northshore News*, *Anchorage Daily News*, *Alaskan Journal of Commerce*, *Alaskan Oil & Natural Resources News*, and *Tongan International*, a Tongan newspaper based in New Zealand.

He plays the guitar, ukulele, and was a member of the band, the Liahona Seven.

POLITICS

Filia (Phil) Uipi (1949–) was the first Polynesian to become a member of the Utah House of Representatives and the first Tongan to become a legislator outside of Tonga. He was born in Fotuha'a, Tonga. Upon graduating from the University of Utah Law School, Uipi was admitted to the state bar in 1986. A Republican, he was elected to two terms in the state legislature, representing District 36 from 1990 to 1994. He chaired the House Judiciary Committee during his second term. His voice was among those rallying for the establishment of the state Office of Polynesian Affairs (OPA). After leaving elected office, he served as the first chairman of the OPA's Polynesian Advisory Council. He served on other advisory boards, and by mid-1999, he was the only Tongan lawyer with a private practice in Utah.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Viliame Niumataiawalu is a longtime advocate of Fijian self-improvement and cultural awareness. He moved to Sacramento, California, in 1993 and became concerned about the plight of Fijians in America. In 1994, he founded the American Fiji Islanders Association, a nonprofit organization. Its goals included recognition of Fijian contributions and providing assistance in immigration, housing, employment, and language skills.

While working in Fiji and Australia during the 1960s, he became concerned about laborers in the business where he worked. Believing they were underpaid, he helped organize a Credit Club. Members made bi-monthly contributions into a fund that was used to provide low-interest loans for social and educational needs. When working in Utah from 1990 to 1992, he was active in the Asia and Pacific Islanders Association. He promoted education and social development for Pacific Islanders. He returned to Fiji in 1999.

MEDIA

KPOP-AM (1360).

"Ports of Paradise" is a weekly syndicated one-hour radio program featuring South Seas music from the 1920s to the present broadcast Sundays at 9 a.m. Pacific Standard Time. Syndicated broadcasts are heard in: Albany, New York, on WLAL-AM

(1190); Las Vegas, Nevada, on KLAV-AM (1230); and Anchorage, Alaska, on KK HAR-AM (590).

Contact: J Hal Hodgson, Executive Producer.

Address: P.O. Box 33648, San Diego,
California 92163.

Telephone: (619) 275-7357.

E-mail: aloharn@portparadise.com.

Online: <http://www.portparadise.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Literature and Arts Heritage Guild of Polynesia.

The nonprofit guild in Utah was founded in 1998 to develop and promote the literacy and artistic talents of Pacific Islanders. The organization's goals include providing opportunities for artists to market their work and youth programs in areas such as literacy and historical traditions.

Contact: Manisela "Monty" Fifita Sitake, President.

Address: P.O. box 57978, Murray,
Utah 84157-7978.

Telephone: (801) 495-3560.

The Pacific American Foundation.

The foundation was founded in 1993 as a national organization dedicated to improving Pacific Islanders' lives by helping them to help themselves. The foundation educates and provides information to decision-makers and leaders about areas of public and policies that affect Americans who trace their ancestry to the Pacific Islands.

Contact: Al Pauole, Executive Director.

Address: 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20036-3123.

Telephone: (206) 282-4993.

Online: <http://www.thepaf.org>.

Polynesia, Polynesia!.

Founded in 1996, this is a nonprofit cultural heritage society that focuses on Polynesia as a connective group. The group's purpose is to promote and preserve Polynesia's culture. The organization presently offers classes, seminars, workshops and meetings to enhance cultural understanding. It also is to provide support, counseling, and assistance to needy or troubled families.

Contact: Vern Chang, President.

Address: P.O. Box 365, Fremont, Californian
94537-0365.

Telephone: (408) 972-0107.

State of Utah Office of Polynesian Affairs.

One of four offices created in 1996 by Governor Michael O. Leavitt to advocate and promote cooperation and understanding between government agencies and ethnic citizens. The governor appointed William Afeaki as the first director.

Contact: William Afeaki, Director.

Address: 324 South State Street, Fifth Floor, Salt
Lake City, Utah 84111-2830.

Telephone: (801) 538-8678.

Tongan History Association.

Academic association founded in 1989. Main purpose is to study Tongan history up to the present.

Online: <http://sunsite.anu.edu.au/spin/PACASSOC/TONGHIST/tonghist.htm>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Center for Pacific Islands Studies.

Contact: Letitia Hickson, Editor.

Address: University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1890
East-West Rd., Honolulu, HI 96822.

Telephone: (808) 956-7700.

Fax: (808) 956-7053.

E-mail: ctisha@hawaii.edu.

Polynesian Cultural Center.

The 43-acre site has re-creations of the villages of Tonga, Tahiti, Fiji and four other Polynesian islands. An open-air shopping village features arts and crafts. Cultural demonstrations include dance performances.

Contact: Lester Moore, President.

Address: 55-370 Kamehameha Highway, Laie,
Hawaii 96762.

Telephone: (808) 293-3333.

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PAIUTES

by

Richard C. Hanes and
Laurie Collier Hillstrom

Though Paiute populations have traditionally been small compared to other Native North American groups, several Paiutes have made key contributions to education and the arts.

OVERVIEW

The Paiute (PY-yoot) tribe is actually many different bands distributed across a large part of the western United States. Paiute means “true Ute” or “water Ute.” The Paiutes call themselves Numu, meaning “People.” The vast desert area used by the Paiutes extends from central Oregon southward through Las Vegas Valley to land along the Colorado River in Arizona and Southern California and eastward to southwestern Idaho. According to Catherine Fowler in *Native America in the Twentieth Century*, the numerous Paiutes bands are often recognized in three main groups: (1) the Northern Paiutes of northwestern Nevada, northeastern California, southeastern Oregon, and southwestern Idaho, (2) the Owens Valley Paiutes, who traditionally inhabited the Owens River watershed of southeastern California, and, (3) the Southern Paiutes of southeastern California, southern Nevada, northwestern Arizona, and western Utah. Paiute peoples were also historically called Snakes and Bannocks by whites and were even confused with Northern Shoshone who shared many cultural and linguistic traits, as well as overlapping traditional territories. The three main Paiute groups spoke mutually unintelligible languages of the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

Human population numbers had always been small when compared to surrounding regions because of the widely distributed food and water

sources in this desert steppe environment. In *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, Catherine Fowler reported that the Paiute population totaled over 11,000 in 1992, including 7,323 Northern Paiutes, 2,266 Owens Valley Paiutes, and 1,456 Southern Paiutes. Nearly half of the Paiutes lived off-reservation, often in small, federally recognized “colonies” that blended into surrounding white settlements.

HISTORY

Prior to substantial contact with non-Native peoples, the Paiutes led a highly mobile nomadic lifestyle. They ranged from the forested highlands of the Rocky Mountains westward to the Sierra Nevada Range, including the desert lowlands in between. The lifestyles of the various bands across this expansive region were largely determined by the particular foods available in the area where they predominantly lived. Most subsisted by hunting small game and gathering roots, seeds, and berries. Some Southern and Owens Valley Paiute bands used irrigation techniques and grew corn, while some Northern Paiute bands were fishermen. The extended family was the main traditional unit of social organization. Bands were composed of loose affiliations of families led by a headman selected for his abilities.

According to Bertha P. Dutton in *American Indians of the Southwest*, the Southern Paiutes moved into the Southwestern region of what is now the United States around the year 1000 A.D. The Paiutes lived for many years near the ancient Pueblo peoples already settled in the area and adopted their techniques for raising corn. Eventually the Pueblo began to leave the area. Though their early contact with European hunters and trappers in the 1820s was friendly, hostilities between the Paiutes and non-Indian intruders grew over time. Epidemics of smallpox, cholera, and other diseases swept through Paiute communities in the 1830s and 1840s. The limited contact with Euro-American explorers, fur trappers, and settlers changed abruptly when large-scale migration over the Oregon Trail began in the mid-1840s. Conflicts increased as more and more of the Paiute territory was claimed by whites. To the south, Mormons arriving from northern Utah began settling the best lands of the Southern Paiutes, including the Las Vegas Valley. Also by the 1840s the Paiutes to the north and south had acquired horses and guns and began raiding white camps and settlements. The majority of conflicts with whites took place after 1848, when the discovery of gold in California brought a flood of settlers through the center of the tribe’s territory. In 1859 a major silver strike occurred at Virginia City in west-

ern Nevada. The rapid influx of miners and ranchers into the region led to hostilities with Northern Paiutes, which escalated to the Pyramid Lake War. Relatively large reservations for the Northern Paiutes were established at Pyramid Lake and Walker River in an attempt to maintain distance and peace between the Paiutes and the newcomers. However, in 1860 traders at a Pony Express station on the California Trail kidnapped and raped two Paiute girls. Tribal members responded by attacking the Pony Express station, killing five whites in the process of rescuing the girls. The Paiutes then killed 43 volunteers sent to avenge the killings. After several minor battles involving an 800-man volunteer army from California led by Colonel Jack Hays, peace with the Paiutes was restored. Most Paiutes returned to the Pyramid Lake Reservation while others withdrew further north to southeast Oregon. The military established Fort Churchill in 1860 in western Nevada to maintain peace.

During the U.S. Civil War years, when government troops were busy fighting in the East, the Paiutes continued numerous raids on ranches, farms, mining camps, and wagon trains. Following the Civil War, U.S. Army troops returned in force to the West. In Oregon, the United States established military posts in 1864 at Camp Alvord and in 1867 at Fort Harney. By 1866 the military took the offensive to end the Paiute resistance to white incursions. The escalating conflict became known as the Snake Indian War, since Northern Paiutes were often called Snake Indians by some settlers. Two war leaders, Paulina and Old Weawa, led the Paiutes in 40 skirmishes with the federal forces over a two year period before finally being forced to surrender in 1868. A treaty promising a reservation in Oregon was signed at Fort Harney with three Paiute bands, but it was never ratified by Congress. The Paiutes were forced to relocate to other reservations located elsewhere in the region. To the south, the United States and Southern Paiutes signed the 1865 Treaty of Spanish Forks. Also never ratified by Congress, the treaty was designed to place six Southern Paiute bands on the Uintah Reservation in northern Utah. The first reservation for Southern Paiutes, the Moapa Reservation, was finally created in 1872. That same year, the almost two million acre Malheur Reservation was established in central Oregon by presidential executive order for the “free-roaming” Northern Paiutes of southeastern Oregon. However, the Malheur Reservation was returned to public ownership in its entirety following renewed, but brief, hostilities called the Bannock War in 1878. The Northern Paiute population scattered to other reservations or small communities. Many Paiute bands refused to move to the

reservations already occupied by other bands. Instead, they established settlements on the outskirts of towns, where they worked as wage laborers. Two Paiute communities grew on military posts abandoned in the 1890s, Fort Bidwell and Fort McDermitt, in Oregon.

Though several large reservations (Moapa, Pyramid Lake, Walker River, Duck Valley, and Malheur) were established for the Paiutes in Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho between 1859 and 1891, by the turn of the century tribal lands had been reduced to less than 5 percent of their original territory. The government between 1910 and 1930 extended formal federal recognition and set aside modest acreage, usually 10 to 40 acres, for many of the non-reservation Paiute bands. Typical of many reservations throughout the nation, the General Allotment Act of 1887 carved up tribal lands on the larger Paiute reservations into small allotments allocated to individual tribal members and then sold the “excess” to non-Indians. The Walker River Reservation alone lost almost 290,000 acres of its best land in 1906. Around the turn of the century, many of the Owens Valley Paiutes were restricted to areas far too small to support their former way of life as the city of Los Angeles acquired former tribal lands to control water rights to the Owens River.

MODERN ERA

The Paiutes were impoverished through the loss of traditional economies, suffered population loss from disease and violent conflicts, and were removed from emerging market economies of non-Indian communities. They were also largely ignored by the U.S. government through the first three decades of the twentieth century. In the 1930s U.S. Indian policy dramatically changed again when Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Native groups began to form federally recognized tribes and gain access to grants and federal services. However, inter-governmental relations declined again after World War II. Federal recognition was terminated for four of the Southern Paiute bands in 1954. This changing status discontinued health and education services vital to their well-being, in addition to the collective loss of over 43,000 acres from their land base. In yet another swing in U.S. policy, federal recognition status, as well as services were restored in 1980. Economic and cultural recovery for the Paiutes was difficult under such vacillating federal Indian policies.

Due to their location in the arid West, many Paiute bands were involved in water rights disputes throughout the twentieth century. For example, the

Owens Valley Paiutes struggled to obtain enough water from the Owens River, a primary water source for the city of Los Angeles, to operate a fishery. The Paiutes of the Pyramid Lake suffered when the United States built Derby Dam as part of the Newlands Project in 1905 on the Truckee River, the primary water source for Pyramid Lake. The dam diverted almost half the river flow to a separate valley, the Carson Basin. As a result, the Pyramid Lake level dropped 78 feet by 1967, depriving cui-ui trout access to upstream spawning beds and significantly impacting tribal fisheries and waterfowl habitat on the Pyramid Lake Reservation. The cui-ui, which are central to Pyramid Lake Paiute identity, were listed under the Endangered Species Act in 1967. This helped the Paiutes regain control over their lake and fisheries. Similar water diversion plans by upstream non-Indian users severely degraded Walker River Reservation resources as well. Litigation over water rights persisted throughout much of the twentieth century with frequently unsuccessful results for the Paiutes.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The Paiute population is broadly scattered, living in numerous small communities and a few large reservations. The Northern Paiutes live in at least 14 communities including: Pyramid Lake, Walker River, Fort McDermott, Fallon, Reno-Sparks area, Yerington, Lovelock, Summit Lake, and Winnemucca in Nevada; Burns and Warm Springs in Oregon; and, Bridgeport, Cedarville, and Fort Bidwell in California. Tribal memberships ranged from less than 20 individuals with the Winnemucca in 1992 to almost 2,000 with the Pyramid Lake tribe. The Owens Valley Paiute communities include Bishop, Big Pine, Lone Pine, Fort Independence, and Benton in eastern California. Their memberships in 1991 ranged from 84 at Benton to 1,350 at Bishop. Ten Southern Paiute communities include the Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Cedar, Koosharem, Kanosh, Kaibab, Moapa, Las Vegas, and San Juan. Their memberships are also small and ranged from 71 at Las Vegas to almost 300 at Moapa in 1992.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Due to their nomadic existence, most traditional Paiute homes were small, temporary huts and were made of willow poles and covered with brush and reeds. These abodes were frequently constructed

near streams, where the Paiutes could fish or draw water for sustenance and irrigation.

Though marriage traditionally had no important associated rituals, the Paiutes did observe two related rituals. One was for young women at the time of their first menstrual period, and the other for young couples expecting their first child. In the menarche ritual, the young woman was isolated for four days. During this time, she observed taboos against touching her face or hair with her hands, eating animal-based foods, and drinking cold liquids. She also ran east at sunrise and west at sunset, and sat with older women of the tribe to learn about her responsibilities as a woman. After the four days of isolation, a series of rituals were performed to bring the menarche ceremony to a close. The young woman was bathed in cold water, her face was painted, the ends of her hair were singed or cut, and she had to eat animal foods and bitter herbs and to spit into a fire. The ritual for couples expecting their first child was very similar, but traditionally lasted 30 days. The pregnant woman observed the same taboos and received advice from older women, while the expectant father ran east at sunrise and west at sunset.

CUISINE

The Paiutes were a nomadic people, moving about the region to various food sources. The means of subsistence for specific Paiute bands depended to a large extent on their particular locations. In general, the Paiutes ate vegetables such as roots and rice grass, as well as berries and piñon pine nuts. Many used stones to grind seeds and nuts into flour for making bread. The Paiutes also hunted ducks, rabbits, and mountain sheep using bows and arrows or long nets. Some bands in mountainous regions fished, while others in arid desert regions dug for lizards, grubs, and insects, which were valuable protein sources. The Southern Paiutes adopted corn agriculture from the Pueblo peoples, and the Owens Valley Paiutes developed irrigation techniques to grow various crops. Many of the traditional foods are still key elements to tribal ceremonies, weddings, and other community events.

MUSIC

Typical of Native America, Paiute songs are performed by individuals or by groups in unison. A striking characteristic of Paiutes is the very limited traditional use of musical instruments. Drums, commonly used elsewhere by Native groups, were not used until after white contact. The primary tradi-

tional instruments were Shaman's rattles and sticks beaten during hand games. At Round Dances, the oldest music style in Paiute tradition, only the singer's voice is used for music. For some curing practices, healers use a small flute made of elderberry stems.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Paiute men and women traditionally wore a skin breechcloth or double-apron of skin or vegetable fiber such as sagebrush bark or rushes. The cloth was suspended from a belt made from cliffrose bark or antelope skin. They also typically wore animal-skin moccasins sometimes ankle high or woven yucca or sagebrush bark sandals on their feet. In the winter, they used robes of rabbit fur strips or skin capes. Southern Paiute men and women reportedly wore twined-bark leggings and Northern Paiute men wore simple buckskin shirts. Members of some Paiute bands wore hats decorated with bird, often quail, feathers. Except in Oregon, women wore basketry hats. Throughout Paiute country men wore tanned hide hats. By the mid-nineteenth century men's shirts and leggings and women's full-length dresses were made from fringed hide, which was most likely adopted from the Ute.

DANCES AND SONGS

Popular Paiute songs are associated with hand games, Round Dances, and doctor's curing. Variations on the Round, or Circle, Dance were traditionally the most common dance form and the oldest. The Northern Paiute Hump Dance represented one variation. In a Round Dance, the participants form a circle and dance around often in a clockwise direction to music made by a singer situated in the center. A Round Dance is commonly held three times a year, during the Spring fishing season, just before fall pine-nut harvest, and during the November rabbit drives. Such dances serve to periodically affirm social unity and focus participants on the particular subsistence tasks at hand.

In 1889 Wovoka, a Southern Paiute, founded the Ghost Dance religion. In a vision, he saw the earth reborn in a natural state and returned to the Indians and their ancestors, free from white man's control. Wovoka taught his followers that they could achieve this vision by dancing, chanting, and eliminating all traces of white influence from their lives. The Ghost Dance incorporated the earlier Round Dance elements, including the lack of a percussion accompaniment.



A revival of the traditional Ghost Dance performed by Paiute women.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to the popular holidays of American society, the tribes recognize special days important to their particular communities. For example, Reservation Day is celebrated by The Burns Paiute Tribe every June 13 in honor of the date the tribe received reservation lands.

HEALTH ISSUES

Until the 1930s, the Paiutes were healed by Native doctors known as *puagants*, believed to possess supernatural powers. The *puagants* each formed a magical relationship with one or more animal spirits, often using the fur or feathers of the animal to call upon the spirits to assist them in their work. By the late twentieth century, health care facilities were available to some Paiutes, often through the federal Indian Health Services (IHS). Examples of such facilities include the McDermitt Tribal Health Center in northern Nevada, the Fallon and Schurz Indian health centers in western Nevada, the Pyramid Lake Health Department in northwestern Nevada and the Owyhee Indian Health Service Hospital in southeastern Oregon.

In addition to economic development programs, projects addressing health care were a top priority among the bands. Compounded by poverty, the Paiutes suffered high rates of certain diseases, dysfunctional family relations, and substance abuse. Health screening programs were instituted where feasible. Care programs for the elderly were also implemented including regular monitoring of their well-being, in-home care, hot lunches, crafts, firewood supplies, and special housing.

LANGUAGE

The three main Paiute groups speak distinct languages of the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Northern Paiutes speak a Shoshonean language, while that spoken by the Owens Valley Paiutes is related to the language of the Mono peoples of California. Members of the different subgroups have maintained their Native languages to varying degrees. The San Juan Paiutes, a Southern Paiute band whose reservation is completely within the boundaries of the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, is one of the only groups that

continues to teach Paiute to children as a first language. Many other Paiute groups have actively taken steps to preserve their language. In the 1980s the Yerington Paiutes developed a dictionary and produced a series of story books and workbooks.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Examples of common Numa expressions and words include: *Ku'-na O-ho'-i-gi*—around the fire; *Mu-a Tva'-i-to-a*—moonlight; *Ta-shin'-ti-ai*—cold feet; *Au*—yes; *To-a-Mi-yok*—give me the pipe; *Pa-ha-vvuk-i-num Tik-er-ru*—I am hungry; *Ta'-kavv-yu'-mu-kim*—the snow falls; *Ku-na Ma-ko-to*—to light a fire; *Ni-Tik-er'-ro-wa*—I will eat; *Hainch Ki-tum-a-r_g*—Friend, talk out!; *Ya'-ni-kin*—to laugh; *To-ya'-pi*—mountain; *Pi'-av*—female; *Wan'-sits*—antelope; *Ta'-mun*—Spring; *To-namp*—chokecherries; *Pan-so-wa'-bits*—duck; *Pun-ko-U-nish Mi-er'-ro*—the horse goes fast.

“The grandmothers have the special care of the daughters just before and after they come to womanhood. The girls are not allowed to get married until they have come to womanhood; and that period is recognized as a very sacred thing, and is the subject of a festival, and has peculiar customs.”

Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, 1883.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

Educational services were inconsistently available to the Paiutes on the various reservations and colonies. Schools were established at the Pyramid Lake and Walker River reservations in the late 1870s and early 1880s. In 1897 Indian schools were opened at Bishop and Big Pine Paiute communities and shortly afterwards at Independence. Not until after the turn of the century did other Paiute communities establish schools, from Lovelock Paiutes in 1907 to the Burns Paiutes in 1931 for the Northern Paiutes, and at Las Vegas, Shivwits, Moapa, and Kaibab between 1900 and 1940 for the Southern Paiutes. The schools lasted from only a year to decades. When local schools were not available, children were sent away, sometimes great distances, to boarding schools. The Stewart Institute, a boarding school for Nevada Indians, was established in western Nevada in 1890 and well used by Paiutes until the 1970s.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The most enduring Paiute tradition through all the dramatic changes of the past two centuries has been maintenance of independent and extended families as the basic social unit. Consequently, as in most Native societies in North America, women play a crucial role. For instance, besides child rearing and managing home life, women are the principal gatherers of traditional plant foods. These foods continue to provide a spiritual focal point in traditional ceremonies and feasts.

FESTIVALS

From Spring through late Fall, a series of pow wows are held around the region. These intertribal festivals include the Shoshoni-Paiute Annual Pow Wow held in July, the Veteran's Day Pow Wow held annually in November at Owyhee, Nevada, the Snow Mountain Pow Wow held in May in Las Vegas, Nevada, the Mother's Day Pow Wow held in May at Burns, Oregon, and pow wows at Bishop and Big Pine in California. Such festivals include arts and crafts shows, hand game tournaments, dancing, and traditional foods. The Paiutes commonly attend similar events hosted by tribes in surrounding regions as well, largely spurred through kinship ties.

FUNERALS

Unlike marriage which had little ceremony, funerals received considerable emphasis. A traditional funeral observance known as the Cry ceremony was introduced to the Paiutes in the 1870s. Within the next 20 years, it became pervasive in the cultures of the Owens Valley Paiutes and Southern Paiutes. The Cry took place over one or two nights after a person's death prior to the funeral, and then was repeated a year or two later as a memorial. During the Cry ceremony, two groups of singers perform song cycles known as Salt Songs and Bird Songs. The Cry ceremony remained significant throughout the twentieth century. Between the singing, people close to the deceased offer emotional speeches and give away the person's valuables to guests.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

Though the three groups differed both culturally and linguistically, today most members refer to themselves simply as Paiutes. The name Paiute means “true Ute” or “water Ute,” reflecting the group's relationship to the Ute Indians of Utah. Though relations were generally good between Paiutes and Utes, in historic times the Utes became very active in



Many Native groups retain their ancient forms of completing tasks, such as this Paiute woman grinding seeds.

slave raids on the Paiutes, trading abducted Paiute slaves to Spanish colonists in the Southwest. The Paiutes were also closely related to the Shoshone peoples of the Northwest. Though the Owens Valley Paiutes were culturally similar to the Northern Paiutes, they spoke the language of the Mono (or Monache) peoples that lived west of the Sierra Nevada. The San Juan Paiutes, though living in fear of the Navajo to the east, actually adopted some Navajo customs regarding dress, housing, and some linguistic traits. Though generally considered Southern Paiutes, the Chemehuevi who lived along the lower Colorado River south of the Las Vegas Valley on the Arizona and California border actually shared more traits with Southern California tribes than with other Paiutes, such as floodplain farming and earthen house construction of the Mohave culture, than other Paiute cultural practices.

RELIGION

A fundamental aspect of Paiute religion is acquisition of “power,” or *buha* among Northern Paiutes. The Paiutes believed in many supernatural beings

that manifested themselves in elements of the natural world, such as water, thunder, and animals. *Buha* could be acquired in dreams or at cave or grave sites. Aside from healing, *buha* was sought to help control weather, sexual prowess, vulnerability in warfare, and gambling success. One powerful spirit was Thuwipu Unipugant, or “the One Who Made the Earth,” who was represented by the sun. The Paiutes prayed to the spirits in order to influence them and show their respect. For example, they might pray for rain or a successful hunt.

According to Bertha Dutton in *American Indians of the Southwest*, early efforts to convert the Paiutes to Christianity were relatively successful, particularly those Paiutes who lived among the Mormons in Utah. As Catherine Fowler noted in *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, most Paiutes attend religious services in some Christian denomination, though some also participate in Indian religious movements such as the Native American Church, the Sweat Lodge movement, and the Sun Dance.

The Paiutes made a direct contribution to one of the major nineteenth century Native American

religious movements. In 1889, when most Paiutes had been pushed off of their ancestral lands and forced to live on reservations, a Southern Paiute named Wovoka founded the Ghost Dance religion, which prophesied an end to white domination. The son of Tavibo, a mystic of the Walker River Paiute band, Wovoka experienced a powerful vision during a solar eclipse. In his vision, the earth was returned to a natural state, with unfenced plains full of buffalo, no more white men, and the Indians living in harmony. Wovoka preached that in order to achieve this vision of the future, the Indians needed to rid themselves of white influence, especially the use of alcohol. He also called upon the Native peoples to pray, meditate, and dance. Within a few years, the Ghost Dance religion had spread to angry and frustrated tribes all over the West. Some tribes, like the Sioux, interpreted the Ghost Dance as a call for renewed violence against whites. Though the Paiutes refrained from resorting to violence, they embraced the Ghost Dance for many years as a form of resistance to white culture.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Traditionally, the Paiutes lived on an economy of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Men hunted deer, mountain sheep, and antelope. Smaller mammals, particularly jackrabbits, were captured in communal activities using large nets. Waterfowl, such as American coots, at the various large lakes were also hunted. Fish were netted or speared. Women performed extensive plant gathering, including a wide variety of roots (tubers), berries, and seeds. Pine nuts were particularly important toward the south and camas bulbs to the north. To the furthest extent south, in the Las Vegas region, agave was a key food source. Also, in the far south of Paiute country, irrigation was used to grow corn, squash, melons, sunflowers, gourds, and beans.

The various natural food sources were gathered through the year in an annual cycle necessitating a good deal of mobility. Groups would break apart into families then rejoin again seasonally. Consequently, Paiute society consisted of economically self-sufficient and politically independent families who seasonally occupied “home” tracts. The families would unite semi-annually with other families forming a camp group of 2 or 3 families. The core family unit would continually expand or contract and the camp group also changed size and composition seasonally and through the years, often foraging together and pooling resources.

Like other Native American groups who could no longer continue traditional economies, the Paiutes experienced difficulties in securing sources of income for tribal members, as well as revenue for the tribes. After relocation to reservations, the Paiutes increasingly made a living by working for wages in nearby towns or ranches. In the Owens Valley, Paiutes worked as wage laborers in the local farming and ranching economy after the 1870s and later became involved in tourism and mining operations. Elsewhere, some Paiutes raised cattle. Pyramid Lake and Walker River Paiutes were able to keep fishing, selling fish in local town markets until the 1920s when loss of water due to river diversions lowered the lakes and disrupted fish runs upstream from the lakes.

The federal Indian allotment policies from the 1890s through 1910 hit some Paiutes particularly hard, carving up reservations and placing the more economically productive lands within reservation boundaries into non-Indian ownership. As examples, the Fallon Paiutes located on the original Stillwater Reservation lost 90 percent of its land base and the Pyramid Lake Paiutes lost a 20,000 acre timber reserve. Much of the retained Paiute lands suffered cattle trespassing and poaching of big game and fish resources.

In 1965, the Southern Paiutes received approximately \$7.2 million from the U.S. government in a lawsuit for almost 30 million acres of tribal lands wrongfully taken. Many bands, such as the Moapa and Kaibab, used the money as capital to improve living conditions and develop educational and employment opportunities. Also during the 1970s, five bands of Utah Paiutes formed a legal corporation, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, and received a government grant to build an industrial complex.

Passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act in 1974 stimulated economic development from the late 1970s into the 1990s. The act promoted Indian economic self-sufficiency through loan and grant programs. Monies from land claim settlements and federal loans led to various forms of development. Pyramid Lake, Walker River, Reno-Sparks, Las Vegas, and Fallon communities opened smoke-shops and mini-marts. At smoke-shops on tribal lands, tribes could sell cigarettes to the public without federal taxes added, making them lucrative when located near well-used routes. The Pyramid Lake Paiutes also built two commercial fish hatcheries and received revenue from issuing recreational fishing permits for the lake. Attempts at developments such as business parks, as at Big Pine, had limited success due to the isolation of tribal lands. Traditional crafts continued, such as among the



In earlier times, the
Paiute tribesmen
often hunted and
defended
themselves with
the bow and arrow.

Kaibab, and a few artisans became commercially successful. Some bands have relied on grazing livestock or issuing grazing leases, including Pyramid Lake, Walker River, Fort McDermitt, and the Utah Paiutes. However, many of the Paiute communities, including Fort Bidwell, Summit Lake, Burns, and Lovelock among others, have enjoyed few successes in establishing employment opportunities and revenue sources. Still, by the latter twentieth century, most Paiute communities had successfully installed electrical and telephone services, plumbing, paved streets and built better housing. Economic plight led two Paiute bands to consider controversial projects in the 1990s. The Northern Paiute of the Fort McDermitt Reservation in Nevada discussed the possibility of building a storage facility for high-level nuclear waste on their lands, while the Southern Paiute of the Kaibab Reservation in Arizona debated whether to construct a hazardous waste incinerator. The financial rewards these projects offered the bands made them appealing, but both projects were ultimately defeated due to environmental concerns.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Traditional Paiute leadership roles recognized leaders as spokespersons, not as autonomous decision-makers and figures of authority. Decisions were frequently made in a consensus-seeking manner among all adult band members. However, the loss of traditional economies and displacement to remote reservations and colonies led to concerns in the early twentieth century regarding health care, schools, law enforcement, sanitation, housing, and utilities. In order to qualify for federal assistance and establish intergovernmental relations with the U.S. government, most Paiute bands formally organized under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The IRA encouraged the formation of governments based on Western social models rather than traditional tribal arrangements. The model included tribal councils composed of elected individuals headed by a chairperson and written constitutions with by-laws. Though the IRA-formed governments became the focal point of intergovernmental relations with the United States and state governments and other non-Indian organizations, tradi-

tional leaders frequently influenced policy directions internally. In some cases the IRA stimulated factionalism within tribal politics by aligning traditional versus “progressive” elements of the membership. The contemporary councils commonly serve as business corporations, overseeing use of tribal funds and promoting economic self-sufficiency. Elections are held every two or three years. Committees of traditional leaders, including elders, often guide the course of the elected tribal council.

Four of the Southern Paiute governments in Utah (the Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Koosharem, and Kanosh) were targeted by the federal termination policies of the 1950s. The Utah bands later reorganized under the Paiute Restoration Act of 1980. The San Juan Paiutes were not able to organize in such a manner and did not gain federal recognition until 1990.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Though Paiute populations have traditionally been small compared to other Native North American groups, several Paiutes have made key contributions to education and the arts. The Paiutes and their accomplishments are described below.

EDUCATION

Nellie Shaw Harner (1905-1985) was born in Wadsworth, Nevada on the Pyramid Lake Reservation. After attending the Carson Indian School in Stewart, Nevada, Harner went on to attend the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas and later received a B.A. in elementary education from Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona, and an M.A. from the University of Nevada at Reno. Fluent in the Paiute language and keenly interested in traditional stories, histories, and lifestyles of Native Americans, Harner taught and counseled in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming. Her master's thesis, *The History of the Pyramid Lake Indians - 1842-1959*, was a key contribution to Paiute written history. Harner was named Nevada's Outstanding Woman of the Year in 1975 and spent her retirement years on the Pyramid Lake Reservation.

LITERATURE

Adrian C. Louis (b. 1945), a member of the Lovelock Paiute born and raised in Nevada, has published a number of collections of poems, including

Fire Water World (1989), *Among the Dog Eaters* (1992), *Blood Thirsty Savages* (1994), *Vortex of Indian Fevers* (1995), and *Ceremonies of the Damned* (1997). His other work includes the novel *Skins* (1995) and another book, *Wild Indians and Other Creatures* (1996). Louis received an M.A. from Brown University and has been an instructor at the Oglala Lakota College on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. His literary focus has been on the forced assimilation of Native culture into the dominant Western society and its ramifications, including poverty, alcohol and drug abuse, humiliation, and demoralization.

Annie Lowry (1866-1943) was also born in Lovelock, Nevada to a Paiute mother. Lowry became the subject of a book by Lalla Scott as part of the 1930 Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration. Through the project Lowry related many Paiute traditions and events of the late nineteenth century.

Clearly one of the better known Paiute is Sarah Winnemucca (1844-1891). Winnemucca published *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* in 1883. The book is considered to be the first autobiography by a Native American woman and one of the few Indian autobiographies in the later half of the nineteenth century. Born near Humboldt Lake in northern Nevada, Winnemucca was the daughter of Paiute leader Old Winnemucca. She served as an interpreter between Paiute raiding groups and the U.S. military in 1866 and again in 1878. She was a school teacher at the Malheur and Yakima reservations in the 1870s. Following the period of armed conflict, Winnemucca began touring first the West Coast in 1879 and then the East Coast through the early 1880s giving numerous eloquent lectures on the plight of Native Americans in the Great Basin region. In 1884 she gave testimony before a U.S. Senate subcommittee on the state of the reservation system. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, a noted education proponent in the East, met Winnemucca and encouraged her to publish her story to educate the public about governmental injustice against the Native population. The book is a blend of autobiography, ethnography, and history of the Paiute peoples between 1844 and 1883. Winnemucca also published an 1882 article on Paiute ethnography in *The Californian* journal. Winnemucca founded the Peabody Indian School in Nevada in 1884 and operated it until 1887. She was the first woman honored in Nevada with a historical marker. Her book was reprinted again in 1994 by the University of Nevada Press.

RELIGION

A Southern Paiute of the Walker River band, Wovoka (c.1856-1932) founded the Ghost Dance religion in 1889. He grew up in the area of Mason Valley, Nevada, near the present Walker Lake Reservation. His proper name means "The Cutter" in Paiute. At the time of his father's death, Wovoka was taken into the family of a white farmer named David Wilson and was given the name Jack Wilson, by which he was known among local American settlers.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Benton Paiute Reservation.

The reservation located in Owens Valley of eastern California is 160 acres in size with over 80 members in 1991.

Address: Star Route 4, Box 56-A, Benton, California 93512.

Telephone: (760) 933-2321.

Big Pine Reservation.

The reservation located in Owens Valley of eastern California is 279 acres in size with over 400 members in 1991.

Address: P.O. Box 700, Big Pine, California 93513.

Telephone: (760) 938-2003.

Bishop Reservation.

The reservation located in Owens Valley of eastern California is almost 900 acres in size with 1,350 members in 1991.

Address: 50 Tu Su Lane, Bishop, California 93514.

Telephone: (760) 873-3584.

Bridgeport Paiute Colony.

The colony holds 40 acres of land in rural southeastern California not far from the Nevada border.

Address: P.O. Box 37, Bridgeport, California 93517.

Telephone: (760) 932-7083.

Burns Paiute Tribe.

In 1897 homeless Northern Paiutes who had gathered around Burns, Oregon were provided 115 allotments of land. In 1972 Congress created a 750 acre reservation. The band gained federal recognition in 1968.

Address: HC-71 100 Pa-Si-Go Street, Burns, Oregon 97720.

Telephone: (541) 573-2088.

Cedarville Rancheria Community Council.

The small tribal community holds 17 acres of land in northeastern California near the Nevada boundary.

Address: P.O. Box 126, Cedarville, California 96104.

Telephone: (530) 279-2022.

Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribe.

Consisting of a 3,500 acre reservation and 70 acre colony in west-central Nevada, the lands were first set aside in 1907 and 1917, respectively.

Address: 8955 Mission Road, Fallon, Nevada 89406.

Telephone: (775) 423-6075.

Fort Bidwell Paiute.

Located in the far northeastern corner of California near the Oregon state boundary, the tribe holds over 3,300 acres of land established by executive order.

Address: P.O. Box 129, Fort Bidwell, California 96112.

Telephone: (530) 279-6310.

Fort Independence Reservation.

The reservation located in Owens Valley of eastern California is over 350 acres in size.

Address: P.O. Box 67, Independence, California 93526.

Telephone: (760) 878-2126.

Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone Tribe.

With the headquarters located four miles southeast of McDermitt, Humboldt County, Nevada, much of the 35,000 acres of tribal land also lies in Malheur County, Oregon. The first 20,000 acres were set aside in 1936.

Address: P.O. Box 457, McDermitt, Nevada 89421.

Telephone: (775) 532-8259.

Inter-Tribal Council (ITC) of Nevada.

The Council was formed in 1964 to give the small, scattered Indian communities in the state of Nevada a larger voice in socio-political issues and economic development. The ITC has managed housing, Public Health Service, and other programs for the tribes.

Address: 680 Greenbrae Drive, Suite 280, Sparks,
Nevada 89431.
Telephone: (775) 355-0600.

Kaibab Paiute Tribe.

The tribe holds a 120,000 acre reservation in the "Arizona Strip" area of Arizona north of Grand Canyon National Park.

Address: HC65, Box 2, Fredonia, Arizona 86022.
Telephone: (520) 643-7245.

Las Vegas Paiute Tribe.

The tribe holds 10 acres of land with the city limits of Las Vegas, Nevada set aside in 1912, and another 3,850 acres north of the city reserved by Congress in 1983.

Address: One Paiute Drive, Las Vegas,
Nevada 89106.
Telephone: (702) 386-3926.

Lone Pine Reservation.

The reservation located in Owens Valley of eastern California is over 230 acres in size.

Address: P.O. Box 747, Lone Pine,
California 93545.
Telephone: (76) 876-5414.

Lovelock Paiute Tribe.

The Tribe holds 20 acres in the town of Lovelock, Nevada in west-central Nevada, the lands were first set aside in 1907 and modestly expanded in 1910.

Address: P.O. Box 878, Lovelock, Nevada 89419.
Telephone: (775) 273-7861.

Moapa Paiute Band of the Moapa Indian Reservation.

Shortly after an 1873 Presidential Executive Order established a two million acre reservation, Congress severely reduced it to 1,000 acres in 1875. Since 1980, Congress added back slightly over 70,000 acres. The reserve is located approximately 55 miles northeast of Las Vegas, Nevada.

Address: P.O. Box 340, Moapa, Nevada 89025.
Telephone: (702) 865-2787.

Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Board of Trustees.

Though each of four Paiute bands in the Owens Valley region of southeastern California have their own governments, a common board oversees their activities on a regional basis. The four include

colonies of several hundred acres each totaling over 1,740 acres at Bishop, Big Pine, Lone Pine and Fort Independence, established between 1902 and 1915. Another Paiute colony located in Owens Valley but not under authority of the Board is a 160 acre colony at Benton. The Board has operated a cultural center, recreational and educational facilities, and the Toiyabe Indian Health Project serving the entire Owens Valley region.

Address: 2301 West Line Street, Bishop,
California 93514.
Telephone: (760) 873-4478.

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah.

Composed of five separate Paiute bands, the five hold a total of over 32,400 acres of land scattered in five parcels in southern Utah.

Address: 440 North Paiute Drive, Cedar City,
Utah 84720.
Telephone: (435) 586-1112.

Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe.

The 475,000 acre reservation fully contains a 112,000 acre desert lake, Pyramid Lake.

Address: P.O. Box 256, Nixon, Nevada 89424.
Telephone: (775) 574-1000.

Reno-Sparks Indian Colony.

First established with 20 acres located in Reno, Nevada, the colony now holds almost 2,000 acres, most of it located 10 miles north of the Reno-Sparks urban area in Hungry Valley.

Address: 98 Colony Road, Reno, Nevada 89502.
Telephone: (775) 329-2936.

San Juan Paiute Tribe.

Though holding no land of their own currently, they live on the traditional lands now in the western part of the Navajo Reservation.

Address: P.O. Box 2656, Tuba City, Arizona 86045.
Telephone: (520) 283-4589.

Shoshone-Paiute Tribes of the Duck Valley Reservation.

The reservation was established by executive order in 1877 and consisted of almost 300,000 acres in the 1990s almost equally split by the Nevada and Idaho state boundary.

Address: P.O. Box 219, Owyhee, Nevada 89832.
Telephone: (775) 757-3161.

Summit Lake Paiute Tribe.

Located in far northern Nevada in Humboldt County and first recognized in 1913, the Tribe holds slightly over 10,000 acres largely set by Congress in 1959.

Address: 655 Anderson Street, Winnemucca, Nevada 89445.

Telephone: (775) 623-5151.

Walker River Paiute Tribe.

The Walker River Reservation, first established by executive order in 1859, now includes over 313,000 acres of tribal lands located primarily in Mineral County but also Churchill and Lyon counties of south-central Nevada.

Address: P.O. Box 220, Schurz, Nevada 89427.

Telephone: (775) 773-2306.

Warm Springs Confederated Tribes.

The tribes, holding over 640,000 acres in north-central Oregon, are composed of three tribes of which the Paiute constitute a relatively small portion.

Address: P.O. Box C, Warm Springs, Oregon 97761.

Telephone: (541) 553-1161.

Winnemucca Colony.

First recognized in 1917 when 60 acres were set aside by Presidential executive order, the trip now holds 340 acres in the northwestern Nevada town of Winnemucca.

Address: P.O. Box 1370, Winnemucca, Nevada 89446.

Yerington Paiute Tribe Colony and Campbell Ranch.

The Tribe holds 22 acres of colony lands adjacent to Yerington, Nevada and over 1,600 acres of land ten miles north of the south-central Nevada lands.

Address: 171 Campbell Lane, Yerington, Nevada 89447.

Telephone: (775) 463-3301.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Eastern California Museum.

Extensive collections of the Owens Valley Paiute.

Contact: Bill Michael.

Address: 155 Grant Street, Box 206, Independence, California 93526.

Telephone: (619) 878-2411.

Museum of Peoples and Cultures.

Contact: Dr. Joel C. Janetski.

Address: 710 North 100 East, Allen Building, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

Telephone: (801) 378-6112.

Nevada Historical Society.

Address: 1650 North Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada 89503.

Telephone: (775) 688-1190.

Nevada State Museum.

Houses extensive archaeological collections from traditional Paiute territory and routinely has exhibits for the public on traditional Paiute life.

Address: 600 North Carson Street, Capitol Complex, Carson City, Nevada 89710.

Telephone: (775) 687-4810.

Stewart Indian Museum.

Established in 1982 after closure of the Stewart Indian Boarding School, the Museum assists research efforts of tribes and individuals and sponsors the Dat-So-La-Lee Basket Maker's Guild.

Address: 5366 Snyder Avenue, Carson City, Nevada 89701.

Telephone: (775) 882-1808.

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PAKISTANI AMERICANS

by
Tinaz Pavri

Religion figures prominently in the life of Pakistani American families, and the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet serve as the guidelines that Pakistani Muslims follow throughout their lives.

OVERVIEW

Pakistan received its independence from British India in 1947. It was created on the basis of religious identity, so that Muslims from British India, which had an overwhelming majority of followers of the Hindu religion, would have a nation to call their own. It is bordered by India on the east, Iran and Afghanistan on the west, the great Karakoram mountain range and China on the north, and the Arabian Sea on the south. Modern-day Pakistan is divided into four major geographic divisions known as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan. Each of these regions has its own language and ethnic groups. The capital of Pakistan is the modern city of Islamabad, although its cultural and economic centers continue to be Lahore and Karachi.

HISTORY

Pakistan boasts the site of the famed Indus valley civilization (B.C. 2500 to B.C. 1700), including prehistoric remains at Mohenjo-Daro, near the modern Pakistani city of Larkana, and at Harappa, near the city of Lahore. The Indus valley civilization has remained an interest for archaeologists because of the society's high level of sophistication and stability over several centuries.

Pakistan's ethnic and cultural diversity has been formed through legacies of advancing Persians, Turks, Arabs, Huns, Greeks, and Mongols,

most of whom practiced Islam. From about the eighth century until British dominance increased in the eighteenth century, Muslim rulers established kingdoms in northern India. As a result, many Pakistanis and others in British India converted to the religion of the new people.

When the struggle for independence from the British colonizers started in India at the beginning of the twentieth century, Hindus—followers of India's majority religion—and Muslims fought side by side for their freedom. The Indian National Congress, the political party that eventually led India to its independence, had many devoted Muslim members who were willing to give up their lives for the cause of India's freedom.

Mohandas K. Gandhi's movement of *satyagraha*, or non-violent passive resistance in the face of British oppression, formed the key to India's response to British colonization and gave shape to the drive for independence. Hundreds of thousands of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, refused to cooperate with their British colonizers on every level of daily life—from the social to the political to the economic. Finally, the British decided that they could no longer rule over India; they formally relinquished its Indian colony in 1947.

However, as the goal of independence appeared more likely to be achieved, a section of the Muslim leadership led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), who later became independent Pakistan's founder and first governor general, felt that Muslims would never be accorded equal treatment in a largely Hindu India. Because Jinnah feared political, social, and cultural subordination to the Hindu majority, he started a movement to establish a separate state based on Islam for the Indian Muslims. This group felt that in order to be truly free, Indian Muslims needed their own homeland. The independence leaders, both Hindus like Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi, and Muslims like Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, who later became Pakistan's first prime minister, worked together with the British to make the transition from British India into independent India and Pakistan a reality.

When the British finally left India in 1947, two independent states, India and Pakistan, were formed. The separation was a consequence of, and resulted in, feelings of some bitterness between the two nations. Hundreds of thousands of Hindus and Muslims died in the riots that followed independence, as Muslims from India migrated to Pakistan and Hindus who lived in the newly created Pakistan streamed into India. Refugee camps were created on both sides of the border between the two countries to deal with these mass migrations.

These difficult, even tragic, beginnings that marked the two countries at their inception continued to be reflected in the relationship that has developed between them in the post-independence era. India and Pakistan have fought three wars over the years and have been involved in many other confrontations, particularly over the disputed Kashmir region that lies between the two countries and is today the scene of a protracted, three-way conflict among the Indians, Pakistanis, and Kashmiris, who are seeking independence from both India and Pakistan. However, there are also ties of a shared history and culture that bind the people of the two countries. Many Muslims who chose to remain in India have close family members who moved to Pakistan and some Hindus remained behind in Pakistan, ensuring an intertwined destiny for the two countries.

After the death of Jinnah, Pakistan was ruled by a series of army chiefs under what were called martial law regimes. Pakistan's presidents in the 1950s and 1960s were army generals who assumed the highest political office. In 1971, Pakistan was divided again as a result of ethnic insurgency in its Eastern wing, which was populated mainly by Bengali-speaking Muslims, and the subsequent war with neighboring India. As a result of this division, a new sovereign country—Bangladesh—was created; Pakistan has since recognized Bangladesh and has established diplomatic and trading relations with the new nation.

An overwhelming 98 percent of the Pakistani population are followers of Islam. There are much smaller Hindu, Christian and Zoroastrian minority communities. Pakistan is not a secular state; the state religion is Islam, and religion enters many aspects of Pakistani political and social life. There are also several distinct ethnic and linguistic groups in Pakistan, including Pathans, Punjabis, Sindhis, and Baluchis. The Pathans, also known as the Push-toons or Pakhtoons, come from the region of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). They include tribes on the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan, although the community has become increasingly urbanized in recent years. The Punjabi community is the center of education and industry in Pakistan and includes both rural and urban segments within it. The Baluchis from Baluchistan were originally a semi-nomadic people; today, while many continue to follow ancient traditions, others have moved to the city of Karachi in search of employment. All these communities have their own languages. The Sindhis come from the region of Sind and are a mixture of several different ethnic groups but share a common language, Sindhi. These subcommunities, who are represented in the larger

Pakistani American community, have experienced some tension in recent times.

Pakistan has had four constitutions since 1947. Benazir Bhutto, the Harvard-educated daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's president from 1971 to 1977, was voted into power in 1988, in the country's first largely-free national elections. She led her father's political party, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to victory. She then lost the 1990 general election, but is today head of Pakistan's government once again. Under Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan has made significant strides towards the establishment of democracy, although it still faces internal threats of ethnic strife and religious fundamentalism.

EARLY IMMIGRATION

Since Pakistan only came into existence in 1947, any documentation of the life of Pakistani Americans can technically only commence from that year. However, it should be noted that Muslim immigrants from India and the region that is now Pakistan entered the United States as early as the eighteenth century, working alongside their Hindu or Sikh brethren in agriculture, logging, and mining in the western states of California, Oregon, and Washington.

In 1907, around 2,000 Indians, including Hindus and Muslims, worked alongside other immigrants from China, Japan, Korea, and Italy on the building of the Western Pacific railway in California. Other Indians worked on building bridges and tunnels for California's other railroad projects. As the demand for agricultural labor increased in California, Indians turned to the fields and orchards for employment. Muslim agricultural workers in California sometimes brought an Imam or learned man to the fields with them. The Imam proceeded to pray from the Holy Quran several times a day when the men took their breaks.

Muslims from the Indian subcontinent became successful as land tenants in the early part of the twentieth century, and leased or owned land in many California counties in order to grow rice. Many of these ventures were very successful, and many Indians, Hindu and Muslim, prospered financially as they increased their acreage and even bought small farms and orchards; however, heavy rains in 1920 devastated some rice crops and drove some Indians into bankruptcy.

Like Hindu and Sikh Indian immigrants, some Muslims chose to return to India after they had achieved some amount of financial prosperity. Many others, however, stayed, putting down firm roots in California and the adjoining western states and sometimes marrying Mexican women, since the

immigration of Muslim women from the subcontinent was nonexistent.

While all Indian immigrants faced racial prejudice, Muslims from the subcontinent were also subject to added prejudice against their religion, Islam. Among the common misconceptions of the Islamic faith that existed in America during that time were those that viewed Muslims as polygamists and therefore not suitable people to be allowed to enter America; there were also calls for the expulsion of Muslims already in the country. Expulsions of Indians from the communities within which they worked were also attempted by other Euro-American workers. The Asiatic Exclusion League (AEL) was organized in 1907 to encourage the expulsion of Asian workers, including Indian Hindus and Muslims.

The immigration of Indians, Hindu and Muslim, was tightly controlled by the American government during this time, and Indians applying for visas to travel to the United States were often rejected by U.S. diplomats in important Indian cities like Madras and Calcutta. In addition, legislation was introduced in the United States that attempted to legally restrict the entry of Indians and other Asians into America as well as to deny them residency and citizenship rights. Some of these pieces of legislation were defeated, while others were adopted. For instance, a literacy clause was added to a number of bills, requiring that immigrants pass a literacy test to be considered eligible for citizenship. This effectively ensured that most Indians would not be able to meet the requirements. It was only in 1947 that Congress passed a bill allowing naturalization for Indians. Between 1947 and 1965 there were only around 2,500 Pakistani immigrants in the United States according to reports from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVE

The largest numbers of Pakistani Americans have migrated to the United States since 1965, when the U.S. government lifted previously existing immigration restrictions and repealed quotas. Numbers of Pakistani immigrants swelled after 1970, with thousands of Pakistanis entering the United States each year since that time. Like their Asian Indian counterparts, they tended to be urban, well-educated, and professional. Many of them had come from cities like Karachi and Lahore, and were familiar with Western culture and ways of living. However, the dependents and relatives that they have since sponsored for permanent residence in and citizenship to the United States in the years after 1965 have tended to be characterized by lower levels of education.

Figures from the 1990 U.S. Census indicate that there are about 100,000 Pakistani Americans in the United States. The largest percentage, 32 percent, live in the Northeast, with 27 percent living in the South, 21 percent in the West, and 20 percent in the Midwest. States with the highest concentrations of Pakistani Americans are New York, California, and Illinois. Pakistani Americans tend to settle in large cities, in part a reflection of the large Pakistani cities of Lahore, Karachi, and Rawalpindi that a majority of the post-1965 immigrants came from, and in part a reflection of the availability of jobs. Accordingly, there are significant settlements of Pakistani immigrants in cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles.

Although subgroup differences within the larger community are salient, with Pakistani Americans choosing to spend most time with members of their own ethnic and linguistic groups like Sindhis, Punjabis, and Baluchis, the community is also fairly united on a broader level.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Very little has been written about the Pakistani American community. Many scholars writing about ethnic communities in the United States tend to lump the community together with the larger Asian Indian community, thereby glossing over the distinctiveness of the Pakistani Americans. For instance, in *Arab, Armenian, Syrian, Lebanese, East Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Americans: A Study and Source Book* (San Francisco: E&R Research Associates, 1977), Kananur Chandras offers little distinction between the Asian Indian, Pakistani American, and Bangladeshi American communities and hence cannot be relied upon for information on Pakistani Americans. Others tend to assume, incorrectly, that Pakistani Americans, because they are overwhelmingly Muslim, can be described as a part of America's Arab Muslim community. In addition, there is no comprehensive listing of Pakistani American organizations across the United States, or a listing of the communities newspapers or other media channels.

CUISINE

There is considerable similarity between the cuisine of northern India and that of Pakistan, the entire region having experienced the same foreign invasions and cultural influences over the centuries. It is hence common to see restaurants featuring Indian

and Pakistani cuisine under the same roof in the United States. However, Pakistani cuisine is quite distinctive and has many traditional dishes that are not necessarily shared with Asian Indians.

Although regional variations exist, Pakistani cuisine in general tends to be highly spiced. Spices such as cumin, turmeric, and chili powder are common with Asian Indian cuisine. In addition, Pakistani American cuisine also includes such spices as cloves, cinnamon, and cardamom, a result of Arab influence.

Meat dishes—lamb, goat, and beef—are common. It is also traditional for the meat to be kosher or *halaal*, cut in a way that ensures the slow draining of blood from the animal, for religious reasons. Also in keeping with Islamic tradition, pork is not eaten. Festive rice dishes include *pulao*, a fragrant dish of mildly spiced rice with peas or dried fruits, and *biryani*, which consists of rice and meat marinated in yogurt and spices. *Dals*, or lentils and split peas prepared in spicy sauces, are common. Whole peas like the chickpea, prepared in a flavorful sauce called *cholle* (“chollay”), are also popular. Vegetable dishes include *saag* (“sahg”) or spinach and *aloo-mattur*—potatoes and peas. Unleavened breads made with white and wheat flour are eaten with many meals; these include the robust *naan*, clay-baked *roti*, and *paratha*.

Traditional Pakistani sweets include *zarda* (“zahrda”), a sweet, yellow, rice dish, *jalebi* (“jahlaybee”), an orange-colored, fried sweet made of a sugary syrup and flour, *ladoo* (“lahdo”), a round ball of sweetened chick-pea flour embellished with pistachios or cashews and *ras malai* (“rahs mahlae”), a dessert made of heavy cream. Tea flavored with cinnamon and cardamom is also drunk frequently. Another way to round off a meal is to chew *paan*, which is the broad leaf of the betel plant sprinkled with a lime powder and *kaat* and can be mildly euphoric.

Most Pakistani American families eat at least one traditional meal a day, the main meal. It is prepared with fresh ingredients by the woman of the house. Although Western-style short cuts to food preparation like the use of canned or preserved substitutes are increasingly being used, cooking the main meal still remains quite a laborious chore. It is the woman who undertakes the task of cooking for the family, often with the help of daughters. It is still rare for male family members to be engaged in domestic chores like cooking and household cleaning. They would be more likely to work outdoors or be engaged in tasks like household repairs. Pakistani Americans regard the family meal as an important event in their daily lives. It is a time for the family to talk to each

other about what events have transpired during the day and a time to be together and maintain contact in the face of busy individual schedules.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Pakistani American men and women wear the traditional *salwar kameez* on festive occasions. The costume, consisting of a long tunic and tight or loose-fitting leggings or trousers and often including a diaphanous shawl or veil called the *dupatta* (“dooputtah”) for women, is commonly made of cotton or silk. Women’s costumes tend to be more colorful and intricate, often including exquisite embroidery or *zari*, a technique that involves the weaving of gold or silver thread into the cloth. It is more rare, but not unheard of, for some Pakistani women to wear the sari, the traditional costume of Asian Indian women.

Like their Asian Indian counterparts, Pakistani American women enjoy wearing gold ornaments or jewelry, including bangles, bracelets, rings, and necklaces. Simple ornaments are worn daily, while more opulent ones, with settings of precious stones, are worn at weddings and other celebrations. These precious ornaments are often passed down through the generations as family heirlooms. Often on festive occasions, *mehendi*, or the application of a paste made with henna that dries in delicate, intricate designs on the palms of the hands, is sported by some women and girls in the community.

DANCES AND SONGS

A common dance performed by women in the community on festive occasions like weddings and other celebrations is the *luddi* (“luhd-dee”). Women dance in circles while rhythmically clapping their hands. *Qawaali* (“kawalee”), a genre of music that traces its roots to Sufi Muslim devotional and mystical music and that is meant to encourage religious ecstasy among its listeners, has many adherents within the Pakistani American community, and is also drawing increasing numbers of other Americans into its fold of admirers. It generally encourages intense listener involvement and response. The best-known group performing this music that has toured America in recent times is the Pakistani group Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and Party. Groups performing the *Qawaali* generally include several singers and such instruments as harmoniums and *tablas* (“tublah”), a type of drum. The *ghazal*, a mellow, emotional style of ancient Persian lyric verse set to music and sung by both men and women, is also popular among members of the community.



This photograph shows traditional Pakistani costumes.

Film music, from both popular Pakistani films and Indian films in Hindi, also has many adherents within the community, particularly first-generation and recent immigrants. Pakistani bands that combine Western rock and pop tunes with Urdu lyrics are popular at celebrations.

HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS

The International New Year is widely celebrated among members of the community. In addition, Pakistani Americans celebrate the creation of Pakistan on August 14 as Independence Day. The birthday of Jinnah, the founder of the Pakistani nation is celebrated on December 25, and Pakistan Day on March 23. Religious celebrations include *Eid-ul-Fitr*, festivities that signify the end of the month of fasting during *Ramadan*, and *Eid-ul-Azha*, a joyous observance of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Pakistani Hindus celebrate *Diwali* (“deevalee”), the festival of lights and *Holi* (“hoelee”), the festival of color that traditionally welcomes the spring.

Celebrations on such days typically include visits to friends and family, the exchange of gifts and sweets, and invitations to feasts. Traditional costumes are worn. Celebratory parades in cities and towns where there are large Pakistani American communities are increasingly being held. *Qawaalis*, *ghazals*, *mushaira* (“mooshaeera”) or Urdu poetry readings, and Pakistani and Hindi films might be organized for community celebrations that might be held on festive days at the local community centers. Less common, but no less enjoyed in large cities

with great ethnic diversity like New York, is the occasional cricket match that will be organized within the community or across cricket-playing communities like the Asian Indian and West Indian on holidays.

HEALTH ISSUES

Pakistani Americans take health issues seriously and consult health-care providers regularly. Family physicians are often chosen from within the community. Traditional herbal remedies might be employed to battle minor illnesses. Ayurveda and homeopathy are also employed. Ayurveda focuses on spiritual healing as an essential part of physical healing and bases its cures on herbs and other natural ingredients such as raw ginger and garlic. It emphasizes preventive healing. Homeopathy attempts to cure by stimulating the body's own defenses against the illness.

Members of the community are less likely, however, to seek help for mental health issues, a reflection of the traditionally low levels of consciousness of the subject in Pakistan and the social stigmas and skepticism that continue to be attached to it. Members of the community generally believe that families rather than institutional settings are best suited to take care of the mentally ill.

LANGUAGE

Urdu is the official language of Pakistan, although only about ten percent of all Pakistanis speak it. The majority of the population speaks regional dialects, like Punjabi, Baluchi, and Sindhi, which are taught in the nation's schools along with Urdu. Urdu is a blend of four different languages—Hindi, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish—and is also spoken by Muslims in India. It conforms to a modified version of the Persian script and is therefore written from right to left, whereas Hindi, which utilizes Devanagari script, is written from left to right. English is also used in official interaction in Pakistan.

About 30 percent of Pakistani Americans speak Urdu. A larger percentage, perhaps 50 percent, speak Punjabi. Others might speak Sindhi or Gujrati, reflecting their ethnic heritage and the regions of Pakistan from which they trace their ancestry. As a result of the legacy of British colonization, most Pakistani Americans are also fluent in English. While many first-generation Pakistani Americans continue to speak their native languages at home, offspring generally speak only English but understand their parents' native tongue. Many

American words that have no easy translation like subways, cable-TV or microwave oven have inevitably entered everyday Pakistani American communication.

GREETINGS

Pakistani Americans salute each other with the traditional Islamic greeting *Salaam Aleikum* ("sahlaam alaykoom")—Peace be with you. The response to that greeting, conveying the same meaning, is *Aleikum Salaam*. Another common phrase is *Inshallah* ("insha-allah")—God willing.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Pakistani American families, like their Asian Indian counterparts, tend to be tightly knit and patriarchal. In the case of the early immigrants, often only males had formal educations, and they became the sole breadwinners. The nuclear family is most common, but members of the extended family like grandparents, aunts, and uncles visit frequently and for long periods of time. Siblings and close relatives are encouraged to visit America and are provided with financial and emotional support should they decide to eventually immigrate to the United States. The family, both immediate and extended, is the focus of existence for many Pakistani Americans. Many leisure activities for Pakistani Americans tend to be family and community oriented. Pakistani Americans prefer to reside in areas where there are other Pakistani American families who provide them with a sense of community. Since family ties are so strong, they also try to live close to relatives so that frequent visits are possible.

Most first-generation Pakistani American women continue to fulfill traditional female roles, choosing to take care of the home and family rather than pursuing demanding careers. Second-generation Pakistani American women tend to be more resistant to traditional roles, but the pressures for conformity within the Pakistani community are still quite strong. Some young women report that this results in their "doing it all"—pursuing a demanding career as well as taking on the major responsibility of running the house and caring for the daily needs of the family.

Traditional and religious values are very important to Pakistani Americans, and children are taught their history and culture at an early age. Special classes are held on weekends to teach children these aspects of their identity. Such classes include

religious and language education. As is the case with many Muslims, religion tends to provide the guidelines by which the lives of many Pakistani Americans are lived. Dating is discouraged, and marriage between Pakistani Americans within the larger community in general and within the ethnic subcommunities in particular, with parental approval, is actively encouraged. Family and community members are widely consulted in selecting prospective marriage partners for young people. In recent times, there has been some tension between Pakistani American immigrant parents and their American-born children, as children question the need for parental involvement in questions of partner selection and ask for the freedom to date individuals of their choice.

On the whole, education is highly valued among Pakistani Americans. Many first-generation males came to the United States with high levels of education and proceeded to study even further in the United States. The value of education was then transmitted to their children. Both girls and boys are encouraged to study hard, but it is often understood that it will finally be the male's responsibility to be the major financial provider for his family.

As is the case with Asian Indians, Pakistani Americans mingle with their American counterparts or with members of other immigrant ethnic groups in work situations, but often choose to spend their leisure time with members of their own community. Many Pakistani Americans report conflicting feelings about American culture and ways of life. While many aspects of American culture and society are admired, such as personal and political freedom, individualism, the country's achievement in science and technology, and American economic efficiency, other aspects, such as premarital relations, dating, and divorce, are shunned. Again, regional differences prevail, with the more urban immigrants from Karachi tending to be more receptive of American culture and values than the more traditional immigrants who trace their roots to the provinces and rural areas of Pakistan.

Members of the larger Pakistani community hold distinct perceptions of the different subcommunities that the community is composed of. For instance, Pakistanis tracing their roots to Lahore are generally considered to be more traditional and conservative than the more cosmopolitan, Westernized, and sophisticated immigrants from Karachi. The Sindhis and Baluchis are also considered traditional and conservative. Distinctions are also made between immigrants tracing their roots to rural Pakistan and those who have come from large urban centers.

There is some interaction with and overlap between members of the Asian Indian and Pakistani American communities. This is particularly the case with those members of both communities who have the common bond of Islam between them and who might share in prayers at the same mosques and celebrate the same religious festivals.

WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

A Pakistani wedding is a time for great celebration. Traditional Muslim rites are observed, and friends and relatives are invited to join festivities that might stretch over several days and that include feasting on traditional foods. The legal portion of the ceremony is accomplished with the signing of the *nikaah*, or marital agreement, by the bride and groom. A *moulvi* ("moolvee"), or knowledgeable one, is present at all ceremonies and formally asks the bride and groom whether they accept each other in matrimony. The wedding is held at party centers, not in mosques, and traditional Pakistani music is played before and after the ceremony. While gifts of money and jewelry are traditionally given at weddings in Pakistan, the community in America tends to also give as gifts appliances or other household items that would be of use to the young couple. Jewelry is still frequently passed down from mother to daughter or daughters-in-law at weddings. Pakistani Hindus, on the other hand, follow the traditional Hindu ceremony, with the bride and groom circling the holy fire from three to seven times, and the priest chanting prayers.

Pakistani Americans follow Islamic rites in burying their dead. No separate cemeteries exist for the community in America; rather, available cemeteries are used. In rare cases, the body might be flown to Pakistan for burial. Only males are allowed to participate in the actual burial ceremony. Pakistani Hindus are generally cremated according to Hindu religious tradition. In this ceremony also, males are given greater prominence. A death is a time for the Pakistani community to come together to provide emotional and sometimes financial support for the bereaved family.

RELIGION

Most Pakistani Americans are devout Muslims, who pray five times a day facing the direction of the holy city of Mecca. Religion figures prominently in the life of Pakistani American families, and the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet serve as the guidelines that Pakistani Muslims follow throughout their lives. Families often visit the

mosque once a week, usually on Friday afternoons, where the Imam leads the prayer. If it is not possible to visit the mosque for Friday prayers, Sunday prayers are another popular alternative. Children are encouraged to attend religious education classes held on weekends and during the summer vacation in substantially populated communities. Both men and women must keep their arms and legs covered while in the mosque, and covering the head is also encouraged. The sexes must sit either in separate rooms or in separate groups within the same room for the duration of the prayers.

The majority of Pakistanis belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, although a significant representation may also be found among the Shi'ite sect. Sunnis, or Orthodox Muslims, believe that the community is responsible for maintaining Islamic law. This law, or *shari'a*, is based on four sources, which in descending order of importance are: the Quran; the examples and teachings of the prophet; communal consensus (later the consensus of religious scholars) on Islamic principles and practices; and reasoning by analogy. Shi'ites, who are followers of Muhammad's cousin, Ali, believe that Muslim religious leadership descends through blood lines. They also differ from Sunnis through certain religious procedures.

In smaller towns in America where there may not be mosques within easy access, Pakistani Americans make special trips to attend the nearest one on major religious holidays and occasions. Pakistani Americans worship at mosques alongside other Muslims who might trace their ancestry to all parts of the Islamic world and to India; there are generally no separate Pakistani American mosques.

Pakistani Americans also participate in and contribute to the larger Islamic community, which includes Arab Americans and African Americans, in America. They are part of the larger community's efforts to educate the country about the ideals of Islam and the teachings of the prophet Mohammed. Pakistani Americans have played important roles in the association the Muslim Students of America (MSA), which caters to the needs of Islamic students across the United States.

Although the overwhelming majority of Pakistani Americans are Muslims, there are also Hindus, Christians, and Zoroastrians within the community. Some Hindus chose to remain in the newly created Pakistan after partition, and they form the core of the Pakistani Hindu community. Hindus are part of a religious tradition that is less structured and less formally organized than other religions like Islam and Christianity. Hinduism is a polytheistic religion, with Hindus generally worshipping many gods, including Brahma, the God of Creation, and

Surya, the Sun God. The Hindu community today has access to more than 100 temples all over America, with the oldest one being in San Francisco. It is also common for Hindus in the United States to worship at home, where a small room or portion of a room may be set aside for worship and meditation.

Pakistani Christians, like Asian Indian Christians, worship at churches all over the country and share in the religious life of the dominant Christian culture in America. Zoroastrians or Parsees trace their roots to ninth-century Persia, and form a minuscule religious minority in both India and Pakistan. They have prospered in trade and the professions in both these countries, as also in America, where reports of the earliest Zoroastrians were documented as early as the turn of the century. In recent times, Pakistani Zoroastrians have come to the United States mainly from the Pakistani cities of Lahore and Karachi.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The profile of the Pakistani American today is dramatically different from the earliest Muslims immigrants from the Indian subcontinent, who came to the United States as manual and agricultural workers with few skills and little or no education.

Many Pakistani American males who entered the United States after 1965 were highly educated, urban, and sophisticated, and soon found employment in a variety of professions such as law, medicine, and academia. In the post-1965 wave of immigration, many Pakistanis also came to America as students who earned graduate degrees that enabled them to pursue successful careers in a variety of fields. Some members of the community immigrated to the United States with specific educational backgrounds in fields like the law but failed to find positions within that specific field because their qualifications and experience did not transfer readily to the American context. They have either retrained themselves in other professions or fields, or have had to be satisfied with accepting positions that are meant for individuals with lesser educational qualifications than they have. This is the price that some of these immigrants have paid to settle in the United States.

Most of the community today lives a comfortable, middle-class and upper-middle-class existence, although there might be some incidence of poverty among newer uneducated immigrants. These immigrants tend to take low-paying jobs involving manual or unskilled labor and tend to live in big cities

where such jobs are readily available. Many Pakistani Americans also own their own businesses, including restaurants, groceries, clothing and appliance stores, newspaper booths, and travel agencies. It is common to include members of the extended and immediate family in the business.

Pakistani Americans tend to follow the residence pattern set by other Americans, in that they move to more affluent suburbs as their prosperity increases. Members of the community believe in the symbolic importance of owning homes; accordingly, Pakistani Americans tend to save and make other monetary sacrifices earlier on in order to purchase their own homes as soon as possible.

Members of the family and the larger community tend to take care of each other, and to assist in times of economic need. Hence, it would be more common to turn to a community member for economic assistance rather than to a government agency. Relatively low levels of the community are therefore on welfare and public assistance.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In the early part of this century, Muslim immigrants were actively involved, along with their Hindu Indian brethren, in the struggle for residence and citizenship rights in America. Since the second wave of immigration in 1965, the Pakistani American community has not been politically inclined, but this is now changing, with the community starting to contribute funds to their candidates of choice in both parties, and running for elected office in districts with large Pakistani American populations. In recent times, Pakistani American candidates have run for the state senate in districts of such city boroughs as Brooklyn in New York. Because the community is geographically dispersed, the formation of influential voting blocs has not generally been possible, making it difficult to for the community to make an impact on politics in this particular way. However, there are increasing efforts on the part of community leaders to ensure voter registration and involvement. Like the Asian Indians, Pakistani Americans tend to vote Democratic in larger numbers than Republican.

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

Most Pakistani Americans maintain close links with relatives and friends in Pakistan. First-generation Pakistani Americans travel to their native land at least once every few years, and tens of thousands of airplane tickets are sold to Pakistani Americans

every year. They often take back to Pakistan gifts of money, food, and clothing for friends and family, and donate generously to charities. Second-generation Pakistani Americans tend to travel to Pakistan less frequently as ties become attenuated. The relationship of the U.S. and Pakistani governments in the past few decades has been very close, and the Pakistani American community has benefitted from this American interest in the country of their origin.

Pakistani Americans maintain a deep interest in the society and politics of Pakistan. Funds are raised by the community in America for the different political parties and groups in Pakistan. Tensions among ethnic groups like the Sindhis, Punjabis, or Baluchis, in Pakistan tend to be reflected in interaction between these subgroups in America, but to a much lesser extent. Tensions between India and Pakistan also tend to be reflected in the relationships between Asian Indians and Pakistani Americans.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Pakistani Americans have achieved success in many fields, particularly in academia, where they hold positions of respect as faculty members in many prestigious universities. Mohammad Asad Khan (1940–), a geophysicist and educator, is on the faculty of the geophysics and geodesy department at the University of Hawaii. He has also been a visiting scientist at numerous institutions, including NASA's Goddard Space Center. Altaf Wani is an associate professor of Radiology at the Ohio State University. Mazhar Ali Khan Malik is a professor of economics and engineering and founder of the Pakistan League of America (PLA). Samuel Iftikhar (1923-1991) was an Asian scholar and reference librarian at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. for more than 25 years. He worked mainly in the Southern Asian section of the library.

ART

Samina Quraeshi (1946–) is the director of design arts at the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in Washington, D.C. She holds dual Pakistani and American citizenship and is a graduate of the Yale University School of Art and Architecture. She has been a design consultant who has run her own business.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Dr. Salam Shahidi (1933-1992) was a leading medical researcher in the department of health, New York City. He was also vice-chairman of the Pakistan League of America (PLA) and president of a cultural organization called the National Association of Pakistani Americans. Dr. Muhammad Akhtar is currently the commissioner of Public Health in Washington, D.C., a position he assumed in 1991. He was born in Lahore, Pakistan, and has held important posts in the health departments of the states of Michigan and Missouri during the 1970s and 1980s. Dr. Amanullah Khan (1940–), a physician, served on the faculty of West Pakistan Medical School. He was a fellow in hematology and oncology at the Wadley Institute of Molecular Medicine in Dallas, Texas, between 1966 and 1969, and has been the chair of the department of immunology from 1970. He is the author of several books and has written several articles in scholarly journals in his field. Dr. Shafi Bezar, a Manhattan surgeon, is also publisher of the community newspaper *Awan*, and president of the Pakistan League of America (PLA). Dr. Mohammed Sayeed Quraishi (1924–) holds a doctorate from the University of Massachusetts. He has served as a member of the United Nations WHO team to Bangladesh and has been an entomologist at the Malaria Institute of Pakistan. He has served at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland and the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. He is the author of many books and received the Recognition and Appreciation of Special Achievement Award by the National Institute of Health in 1988.

MEDIA

The news group bit.listserv.pakistan provides news of events in Pakistan.

PRINT

Jung.

Published in New Jersey in English and Urdu. Features articles of interest to the community and news from Pakistan.

The Minaret.

A community newspaper that features articles on community engagements, other topics of interest to the community in America and news from Pakistan. It is published in New York City.

New York Crescent.

Includes articles of interest to the community, news about social engagements involving the community in New York and the United States.

Pakistan Calling.

An English language weekly focusing on the Pakistani American community and on events in Pakistan. It is published in New York by Zafar Qureshi.

Pakistan News.

Description: Informs the general public of current political, economic, and cultural developments and events in Pakistan. Formerly *Pakistan Affairs*.

Address: Embassy of Pakistan, 2315 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 939-6227.

Fax: (202)265-5184.

TELEVISION

“TV Asia.”

A program often shown on international cable channels all over the United States, includes Pakistani soap operas, films, and plays. Cities like New York and Los Angeles with relatively large Pakistani American settlements have weekly Pakistani feature and news programs.

Address: TV Asia, c/o International Channel, 12401 West Olympic Boulevard, Bethesda, Maryland 20814.

Telephone: (310) 826-2429.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Many associations tend to be headquartered in big cities with significant Pakistani American populations. Some associations and organizations are restricted to the interests of particular ethnic and regional communities like Punjabis or Sindhis and subsets thereof. The list that follows are pan-Pakistani organizations—those that do not distinguish on the basis of ethnic or regional groups.

Association of Pakistani Physicians (APP).

APP is an organization of Pakistani American physicians and dentists. Focuses on how to better serve the health needs of the Pakistani American community and of all Americans.

Contact: Durdana Gilani, President.

Address: 6414 South Cast Avenue, Suite L2, Westmont, Illinois 60559.

Telephone: (630) 968-8585.

Fax: (630) 968-8677.

Online: <http://www.appna.org>.

Muslim Students of America (MSA).

Founded in 1963 to serve as a voice for Muslim students in American universities and today has chapters in most major cities in the United States and Canada. Pakistanis have played a leading role in the organization from its inception and have held key roles in its administration. Holds conferences annually on subjects relevant to the Muslim academic community.

Pakistan League of America (PLA).

Membership ranges in the thousands. Promotes Pakistani culture in America, holds national conventions and seminars on issues of interest to the community.

Pakistan Society of Atlanta.

Promotes Pakistani culture and heritage within the United States.

Address: 1035 Bridgewater Walk, Snellville, Georgia 30278-2050.

U.S.-Pakistan Economic Council (USPAK).

Promotes trade between the United States and Pakistan. Offers information on economic and social conditions in Pakistan.

Address: 500 Fifth Avenue, Suite 935, New York, New York 10110.

Telephone: (212) 221-7070.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Institute of Pakistan Studies

Integral unit of Middle East Center, University of Pennsylvania. Pakistan, including language and

political identity or ethnicity, ideology and culture, national integration, and cultural history.

Address: University Museum, 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-6398.

Contact: Dr. Brian Spooner, Director.

Telephone: (215) 898-7461.

Fax: (215) 573-2003.

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Though Palestinian Americans have generally had a smooth transition to a new culture, many still feel unsettled because of tensions in their homeland and specifically the lack of a Palestinian state.

P ALESTINIAN AMERICANS

by
Ken Kurson

OVERVIEW

Historical Palestine stretched from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea to lands east of the Jordan River, according to commentators, and was bordered by Syria on the north and Egypt on the south. Most of this land is now controlled by or part of the State of Israel. The majority of the six million people of Palestinian descent live in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon (a total of two and a half million), the autonomous territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (two million), Israel proper (approximately 750,000), or the United States (approximately 200,000).

The Middle East has long been the crossroads of major trade routes between East and West. The economic and political significance of these lands has made them the object of continual conquest by various armies since Biblical times. This has been particularly true for Palestine; the various peoples who inhabit the region today remain mired in a bitter and deadly conflict that is the direct legacy of the war and terror that proceeded almost without interruption during the first half of the twentieth century.

HISTORY

In addition to the region's significance in terms of trade and political conquest, ancient Palestine was the "Holy Land" and birthplace for two major

world religions—Judaism and Christianity—and later became very significant for Islam as well. Thus, Palestine has played a tremendous role in the world's religious and cultural history.

By 1500 b.c. the culture in ancient Palestine had developed to the point where the first known alphabetic writing system was invented. During the late Bronze Age (1500-1200 b.c.) Palestine was controlled by Egypt, and many of the major cities were used by the Egyptians as administrative centers for their rule. This was also a period of great religious activity, when many temples were built and the mythology of the Canaanite gods and goddesses was inscribed in tablets.

The ancient name for Palestine was “Canaan,” and the people living there before the arrival of the Israelites were known as “Canaanites.” The name “Palestine” resulted from the influx of a number of so-called sea peoples, who traveled east across the Aegean sea to settle in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean in about 1200 b.c. One of these groups, the Philistines, ended up in Palestine after Ramses III refused their entrance into Egypt, and by the eleventh century b.c. they dominated Palestine's Mediterranean coast. Also during this period, the Israelites, who were nomads and farmers from Egypt, moved to the more remote highlands of the central hilly region of Palestine where they settled small villages; the ruins of approximately 250 such villages have been discovered by modern archaeologists. By 1000 b.c. the size and strength of the Israelite tribes was sufficient for them to present a challenge to the Philistines. They wrested control from the Philistines and established a kingdom led by King Saul and his successors David and Solomon, who reigned from approximately 1020 b.c. to 920 b.c. Solomon's reign represented the zenith of this period, when the capital of Jerusalem was established and the Temple constructed. Historians claim that most of the Hebrew scriptures, or Old Testament of the Bible, were composed during this time in ancient Israel.

After Solomon's death the kingdom was divided into two Hebrew states—Israel in the north and Judah (from which the name “Jew” derives) in the south—which were at war for much of the next 400 years. Judah was defeated by the Babylonians in 586 b.c., and this period saw the ascendancy of the Kings Hezekiah and Josiah (who tried to use the teachings of the Deuteronomic writers to rule according to the laws of Moses) and the Hebrew prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Micah. However, the Babylonians were soon conquered by the Persians, and the whole of Palestine came under the Persian Empire.

The conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great in 332 b.c. ushered in the Hellenistic, or Greek, period in which Hebrew was supplanted by Greek and Aramaic as the dominant language. This influence remained even after Alexander's death (323 b.c.) during a period of Egyptian rule and subsequently under the Seleucid kings from Syria, who took actions to undermine Jewish customs and enforce the worship of Greek gods. The Jews rebelled under the leadership of the Maccabees in 167 b.c. and established a Jewish state, which, by the time of the Roman conquest in 63 b.c., controlled much of Palestine and had converted many to Judaism. Yet a revolt in 132 a.d. led the Romans to evict the Jews from Jerusalem and to establish the city of Aelia Capitolina on its ruins.

In 638 Muslim invaders built a mosque on the site of the ruins of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem. Some Christians remained in isolated towns on the Mediterranean coast (such as Ramla, Jaffa, and Lydda), and in 1099 Christian Crusaders from western Europe took Jerusalem and imposed a kingdom for nearly a century. For the most part, however, the inhabitants of Palestine became Arabized, converting to Islam and speaking Arabic.

Palestine was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1517, whose empire dominated the region for 400 years until its demise in World War I, after which the British controlled the region. There was a period of modernization in Palestine in the 1830s when Ibrahim Pasha established secular schooling and civil rights so that Christians and Jews could exist somewhat on a par with the Muslims. When the rural people rebelled against this secularism, the European powers forced Ibrahim out in 1840, and the Ottoman Empire regained control.

ISRAEL

In 1919 Jews represented ten percent of Palestine's population; by 1944 the number of Jews in Palestine had risen to 32 percent of the total population. Many of the Jewish immigrants came following Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and especially thereafter as refugees of the Holocaust. Their land acquisition during the mandate was aided by financial support from the Jewish National Fund, which allowed them to purchase land from Syrian absentee landholders as well as from Palestinian Arabs. The Arab farmers who had worked the land without owning it were suddenly dispossessed and forced to seek a living in the cities.

This spurred an Arab revolt, which led the British to explore the possibility of a partition of Palestine between a Jewish state and an Arab state.

Two commissions attempted fruitlessly to settle on a map that could be agreed upon, and fears that the Arabs would side with the Germans in the incipient war led the colonial government to issue a “white paper” in 1939 limiting Jewish migration to 75,000 over the next five years and guaranteeing an “independent Palestine state” within ten years. The Arabs rejected the delayed independence, and the Jews found the immigration quota unconscionable owing to the plight of the Jews in Europe. Paramilitary groups, the Irgun and the Stern Gang, carried out attacks against British installations and assassinated the British minister of state, Lord Moyne, in order to further Jewish interests.

In 1947 the U.N. General Assembly overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem to exist under international administration. Jewish leaders accepted the plan, though they hoped to expand the borders of their state; but the Arabs rejected it on the grounds that the Jewish minority did not deserve a state at their expense, notwithstanding the atrocities committed in Europe.

Jewish leaders declared the establishment of the state of Israel on May 14, 1948, setting the scene for the first of a series of Arab-Israeli wars and military conflicts. While the Palestinian Arabs were still suffering the effects of the British suppression of their revolts a decade earlier, the surrounding Arab countries of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq attempted a supporting invasion of Israel on May 15.

When armistices were signed between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria in early 1949, Israel had less than a third of the population of Palestine but controlled three-quarters of its territory. The prospect of further violence spurred a mass exodus of Arabs from their homes. More than half of the 1,300,000 Arabs were living in refugee camps at the end of the war, including about 400,000 from lands designated for the Jewish state by the U.N. partition plan.

MODERN ERA

By 1967 the process of urbanization had begun in Palestine, thus undermining the traditional social institutions that had been grounded in the village and clan. An increase in literacy (owing to six years of compulsory education provided by U.N. schools) and in higher education, and a shift from an agrarian economy to one of industrial, artisan, and white-collar jobs, also led to a change in the character of the Palestinian leadership. Where until 1948 the

Palestinians were generally represented by political and religious officials from the upper classes, the new movements were more populist.

Tensions over Israeli diversion of water from the Jordan River to the south of Israel led to the Arab formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which carried out attacks against the diversion project, prompting Israeli military reprisals against Jordan and Syria. Incidents of this kind escalated to the Six Day War in 1967, in which Israel defeated the Arab military forces and conquered the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt; East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan; and the Golan Heights from Syria. The U.N. issued Resolution 242, calling for Israeli withdrawal from these territories in exchange for peace, and this document remained central to the question of peace in Palestine for decades.

In the ensuing decades, the Israelis were generally willing to negotiate on the basis of 242 without any preconditions, though they insisted that Jordan represent the Palestinian people. Many of the more conservative Israelis argued that the lands in question were essential to the security and even existence of Israel as a buffer against the Arab's continued aggression. The Arabs refused to acknowledge Israel's right to exist and objected to the resolution's reference to the Palestinians as refugees rather than as a people with a right to a state of their own. They repeatedly called for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories before negotiations could begin.

The 1970s saw continued violence in Palestine, with the PLO committing terrorist acts against Israeli targets, and more radical factions targeting civilians worldwide in an effort to implicate and thus discredit the PLO. After being expelled from Jordan in 1970, the PLO established a base of operations in Lebanon from which to attack northern Israel, as well as a small state within a state, which provided various social welfare services to the Palestinians as well as the Lebanese before it was destroyed by Israeli invasions in 1982 and 1987.

In December of 1987 Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation, which had for some time expressed itself in demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts, coalesced into a popular uprising that has come to be known as the *intifada*, which literally means “shaking off” in Arabic. All sectors of society in the West Bank and Gaza Strip joined the acts of resistance, the most visible being the youths in the streets taking up rocks and gasoline bombs against Israeli forces. Though it was met with a brutal response, the *intifada* seemed to strengthen the Palestinian sense of resilience and self-reliance, as groups were formed in each locality to organize the

resistance activities and provide medical services, food, and education to those who were in need. As it continued into the early 1990s this uprising also seemed to increase world awareness of and sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians and their call for self-determination.

The United States pressured Israel to give up its insistence on recognizing only Jordan as the Palestinians' representative, and after much diplomacy Israel finally began negotiations with the PLO as well as with individual Arab countries. In September of 1993 Prime Minister Rabin of Israel and Yasser Arafat, representing the Palestinians, signed a peace agreement that called for a five-year period of limited autonomy for the occupied territories and further negotiations on a permanent solution after three years.

The limited autonomy commenced in July of 1994 as Arafat began his administration of Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho without an effective state apparatus or infrastructure. He also suffered from opposition by radical groups, such as the Hamas and the Islamic Holy War, which took the form of violent provocations that called into question the viability of Palestinian self-rule under present conditions. These serious questions were looming in the fall of 1994 when the Swedish Nobel committee awarded the prestigious peace prize jointly to Arafat, Prime Minister Rabin, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in an effort to bolster the fledgling struggle for peaceful coexistence between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Estimates of the number of Palestinian Americans range from 100,000 to 400,000, with a number of researchers settling on 200,000 as a reasonable guess. The difficulty in determining a more precise number results in part from the fact that there has never been an actual state of Palestine that immigrants could call their country of origin. In U.S. immigration and census records up to 1920 all Arabs, Turks, Armenians, and more were classified as coming from "Turkey in Asia," and not until recently did the Immigration and Naturalization Service recognize "Palestinian" as a nationality. Palestinian immigrants may have come from within Israel or the occupied territories; one of the Arab countries that received refugees from the Arab-Israeli wars, especially Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria; or a country to which Palestinians immigrated in search of economic opportunity.

Palestine's unique political history makes it difficult to determine exactly when the first Palestini-

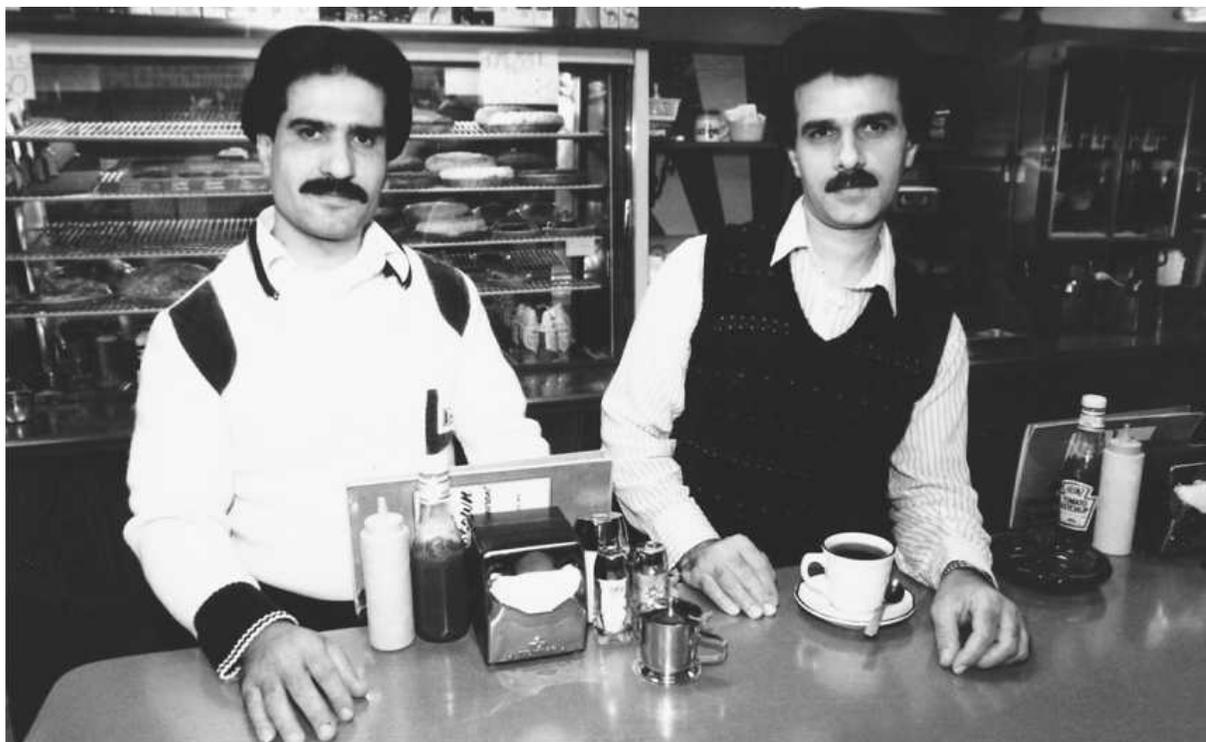
ans immigrated to the United States and how many came. Most sources refer to Arab immigrants generally and indicate that while a small number of Palestinians, mainly Christian, came to the United States before 1948, the vast majority have arrived since that year.

Some Middle Eastern Arabs immigrated to the United States after 1908, the year the Ottoman Empire began requiring military service of its subjects in certain areas. The majority of these individuals were Christians, because Muslims feared losing their Islamic culture in a Western, Christian society. Increased tensions during the British Mandate and continuing Jewish migration to Palestine from Europe, however, induced Muslim Palestinian migration. The pioneers were primarily young men, although married men and some families followed when positive reports were received or when individuals returned home and displayed their success. Unlike the Christian Palestinians who preceded them, many of these immigrants sought to make money in the United States in order to return and live a more comfortable life, and often a family pooled its resources to send a member over. Though they had not been peddlers in their homeland, the vast majority of the earliest immigrants (both Christian and Muslim) took up the occupation, with some traveling across the country selling jewelry and other small items. As their numbers grew, a network of services to bring new immigrants over as well as to organize and supply the peddlers added a new level of jobs for the more experienced.

The restrictive Immigration Act of 1924 reflected the isolationism prevalent in America between the World Wars. This, in addition to the Depression in the 1930s and World War II, served to reduce immigration greatly during the second quarter of the century. But the aftermath of World War II and the Arab-Israeli war following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 brought greater numbers of Palestinian immigrants, most of whom were refugees.

The greatest wave of Palestinian immigration began after the Six Day War in 1967 and has continued to the present, although it peaked in the 1980s. By 1985 the Palestinian American community was estimated at approximately 90,000; by the end of the decade, the community had nearly doubled. While some Palestinian immigrants came to the United States for political reasons, the vast majority immigrated for economic and educational opportunity. Unlike early immigrants from Palestine, those who came after 1967 were much better educated as a result of the U.N.-sponsored schools and increased attendance at universities in the Mid-

John (left) and
Jacob Rantisi pose
inside their
Kenosha,
Wisconsin,
restaurant.



dle East and abroad. Thus, many in this third wave of immigrants were professionals who met the requirements of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which contributed to a “brain drain” of many of the most educated in Palestine specifically and the Middle East in general.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

A majority of Palestinian immigrants initially settled on the East Coast, but industrial jobs before and especially after World War II drew the Palestinian immigrants, among many others, to urban industrial centers in the Midwest and later throughout the country. Today, the largest concentrations of Palestinian Americans are in New York and parts of New Jersey, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Jacksonville, Florida.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

One of the few studies of the Palestinian experience in the United States was published by Kathleen Christison in the *Journal of Palestine Studies* in 1989. It details how Palestinian Americans for the most part have adapted quickly and successfully to American society while retaining a remarkable level of awareness of and involvement in the culture and politics of the land from which they or their predecessors came. She argues that there is no correlation

between the extent of assimilation and the level of Palestinian nationalism: those who identify most strongly with their Palestinian roots are not necessarily the least American of the group.

Alienation seems to be rare among Palestinian Americans, though it does exist for certain segments of the population. Older Palestinians who come to the United States with grown children who support them tend to be the most alienated because they do not need to learn English to survive, they tend to socialize within the group, and they generally have the least amount of contact with the rest of American culture. Women more than men are more prone to feel alienated from American society because, in many cases, they are kept from the mainstream culture so that they may perform the primary role in imparting the Palestinian culture to their children.

Others are simply more tradition-bound and guard against the effects of the more open and liberal Western society. They oppose much that is common in the dominant culture, such as open sexuality, divorce, and drugs and alcohol, for religious and cultural reasons. They worry about raising their children here, especially girls, and some even resort to sending their children back to the Middle East for education during crucial teenage years.

Many Palestinian Americans, however, retain a Palestinian identity while identifying themselves as Americans first and foremost. Christison profiles an owner of a jewelry store in Albuquerque, New Mexico, who came to America from the West Bank when he was seven and is active in local business and politics. He married a woman from his home

village and is active in promoting the Palestinian cause through the American political system. He is on the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee's executive committee and was one of eight Palestinian American delegates at the 1988 Democratic convention.

Though Palestinian Americans have generally had a smooth transition to a new culture, many still feel unsettled because of tensions in their homeland and specifically the lack of a Palestinian state. Studies of Palestinian Americans report that few say they have been the subject of overt discrimination based on their ethnicity. However, many say that they are often made to feel foreign, or not fully American. Certain people they encounter want to classify them as "Arab," as if this were incompatible with being an American. Some Palestinian Americans also find that they are accepted personally but that a distinction is drawn between them and their people in the Middle East. Many Americans apparently identify Palestinians with the few extremists who commit terrorist acts to publicize the plight of Palestine or to discredit by association the moderate factions they oppose. The Palestinians in the United States resent this characterization, and they often fault the media coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which, in their view, does not do enough to educate the public about their history and the injustices they continue to suffer. On the other hand, the consensus is that seven years of the *intifada* and Israeli reaction to it has done a lot to dramatize the Palestinians' plight and turn public opinion toward a solution that includes a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

TRADITIONAL CLOTHING

Traditional clothing for men was fairly uniform throughout the Middle East because they did far more traveling than the women. There were various styles that characterized the villagers, townspeople, and Bedouins, but within each group the rich and poor were distinguished primarily by the quality of the fabrics. The male wardrobe generally consisted of pants, a tunic, an overgarment secured with a belt, and sometimes a vest. Both sexes covered their head as a sign of modesty and respect. Men wore a skullcap covered by a simple cloth wrapped around the head, a more elaborate turban, or a *kafiyeh*, the scarf secured by a cord. In the United States most Palestinian men wear Western dress, although they may sometimes wear the traditional *kafiyeh* during special occasions.

In Palestine, women traditionally wore an outfit comprising of pants, a dress, an overgarment, a jacket or vest, and a shoulder mantle. They often

wore a bonnet-like hat trimmed with coins on their head. In certain areas this was replaced by a *kafiyeh* held in place by a folded scarf. The dresses were very elaborate, at times having as many as 21 individual pieces sewn together. The colors and embroidered patterns differed from one locality to the next and evolved over time. Fine embroidered dress panels were considered works of art and as such were handed down from mother to daughter. Jewelry was also a very important part of costume in traditional Palestine, and its function went beyond that of adornment and display of wealth. Amulets were worn to ward off the dangers of the Evil Eye, which was believed to take the lives of half of the population. Usually, what the upper classes wore in gold, the lower classes reproduced with baser metals or with less elaboration, such as necklaces whose pendants did not completely encircle the neck. Many women continue to wear traditional clothing in the United States, although their most ornate garments are generally reserved for special occasions.

CUISINE

As in most Arab cultures, beans, chickpeas, lentils, and rice are the staple ingredients in a variety of Palestinian dishes. Water, oil, vegetables, and seasonings are often added to these to produce different kinds of pastes, which are usually scooped up with pita bread—a round, flat, bread with a pocket in it. Sesame seed paste or oil may be used to embellish a meal. Stews are very popular and may be made with a variety of different meats, especially lamb. Fish is also commonly eaten. Various kinds of salads and cooked vegetables complement these dishes, and one of a number of different kinds of yogurt often accompanies a meal. Desserts include such sweet pastries as *baklava*, which is made with honey and chopped nuts, as well as fresh and dried fruits. Coffee and tea are the most common beverages.

LANGUAGE

Though many Palestinians living and/or working in Israel speak Hebrew as a necessary second language, Arabic has been the language of the Palestinians since the seventh century. Arabic is the youngest of the Semitic languages. It developed a sophisticated oral tradition through the poetry of the nomadic Bedouins before it became the language of the Islamic religion and its holy text, the Koran, in the seventh century. As the Arab Empire grew, Arabic replaced the Aramaic, Coptic, Greek, and Latin languages and became the main instrument of Arab culture. The Koran, the *Arabian Nights*, and the *Muqaddama*, a fourteenth-

century history of the rise and fall of civilizations, are the great masterpieces of Arabic literature.

Arabic is the native language of virtually all Arabs, from northern Africa to the Arabian Peninsula. The dialects vary widely, though a common form of Arabic called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is a simplified version of the language in the Koran, facilitates communication. MSA is the main form of written Arabic throughout the Arab world, as well as the language used in radio and TV broadcasts and in most schools. Arabic has an alphabet with 28 letters.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common Arabic greetings include the following (in transliteration): *issálamu alékum*—peace be upon you; *wi alékuma salám*—and upon you; *nahárik saíd*—good day; *saíd mubáarak*—may your day be pleasant; *sabáh ilxér*—good morning; *sabáh innúr*—good morning of light; *misá ilxér*—good evening; *saída*—good-bye; *maássalama*—(go) with safety; *izzáy issíha*—how are you? (how is the health?); *alláh yisallímak*—may God keep you.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

As with many other immigrant groups coming from a more traditional society to a modern Western one, the Palestinian immigrants in the first half of this century experienced a breakdown in the nature of the hierarchical and patriarchal extended family. Whether the father was away from home as an itinerant peddler or just working long hours, his authority decreased, especially in families where the mother was also involved with the family business. The influence of education and economic opportunities and American culture generally led to more nuclear families with fewer children. Women's participation in the economic sphere of the family in time reduced the number of restrictive customs. Except for some families that remained highly traditional, most Muslim women shed their veils when they emigrated, and both Christian and Muslim women generally ceased to cover their heads as they had been required to do in their former culture.

By the time of World War II, women had become increasingly independent. They were more often allowed to remain single and there was much less family control over their choices. The segregation of the sexes was mostly limited to mosques, and marriages occurred later and were usually not arranged. Many saw marriage as the opportunity to

be liberated from parental control and to establish their own identity closer to that of the mainstream culture that they had grown up with through school and the media.

Evidence suggests that in the 1990s many families encourage marriage to other Palestinians either through community organizations that foster social contacts with others in the group or even by traveling to hometowns in the Middle East to find potential spouses. Despite these efforts some inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages take place, and in most cases this does not put insurmountable strain on relations between the generations. However, in the families that remain the most traditional, prohibitions on dating, limits on friendships with non-Palestinians, and even extensive restrictions on the style of dress are all used to limit the influence of American culture. When they exist, though, these conditions are much more likely to be applied, or more severely applied, to girls than to boys.

WEDDINGS

In Palestine, marriage required a gift to the bride's family, usually money but sometimes real estate. Weddings lasted from three days to a week, beginning with celebrations on Tuesday and followed by a procession to the groom's house on Thursday, which was accompanied by singing, drums, and the firing of guns. Islamic law permitted a man to have as many as four wives, but a second wife was usually only taken in cases where the first wife was ill or where male children were not forthcoming. In the United States, many Palestinian marriage traditions have changed somewhat in order to conform to American law. Palestinians are encouraged to marry within their ethnic community and are expected to respect their parents' wishes when choosing a spouse. The ceremony itself remains a festive event and celebrations may last several days.

FUNERALS

Upon death, ceremonies are performed within 24 hours. In Palestine, professional mourners were sometimes hired. A meal for the family is prepared after the funeral, and family members and friends bring food and give condolences in the days that follow. Mourning periods last up to a year, and women sometimes cover their dresses with dark cloth.

EDUCATION

Along with the Lebanese, Palestinians have the highest education rate in the Middle East. In the

United States approximately 35 percent of Palestinian men and 11 percent of women have at least a college degree. This compares with a rate of just over 20 percent for the American adult population in general. Though they have always been aware of the politics and history of their homeland, Palestinian American students are increasingly taking an interest in studying Arab language and culture more formally in college and graduate school. A number of Palestinian or Arab organizations are also making an effort to monitor and improve the teaching of Arab history and culture in the nation's schools.

RELIGION

Although most Arab Americans are Christian—representing Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant churches—the vast majority of Palestinian Americans are Muslim, i.e., followers of Islam. Islam is a religion based on the teachings of Mohammed (c. 570-632), who called on Arabs to surrender to the will of God (Allah) and to commit themselves anew each day. Muslims have five basic religious duties, which are known as the five pillars of Islam.

First, Muslims must repeat their creed, the *shahada*: “There is no God but the one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.” The second pillar, *salat*, consists of ritual prayers said five times each day while facing toward Mecca, Mohammed's birthplace. On Fridays Muslims attend a service at a mosque in which an *imam* leads the prayer and usually gives a sermon. *Zakat*, the giving of alms, is the third pillar. The fourth pillar requires the adherent to fast during the month of Ramadan, which means refraining from food, drink and sex during daylight hours. It is also customary to pray and recite the Koran at night during Ramadan. The final pillar entails a pilgrimage, or *hajj*, to the Kaaba, the holy shrine in Mecca, that is to be made at least once in one's lifetime.

The primary Muslim holiday commemorates Mohammed's birthday and involves speeches, meetings, and prayers. The sacred book of the Islamic religion is the Koran. It is believed to be the words of Allah as revealed to Mohammed at different times by the angel Gabriel. The words of previous, lesser prophets, including Moses and Jesus, were also given by Allah, but they were corrupted, and so the Koran was sent to purify the message. This message is known as the *sharia*, which provides guidance for all specific situations in life. Included are proscriptions against drinking wine, eating pork, usury, and gambling.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Many of the Palestinian immigrants early in the century became itinerant peddlers in the United States, selling jewelry and trinkets that could be carried easily in a suitcase. They quickly learned enough English to emphasize that their wares were authentic items from the Holy Land. As more Palestinians came over, new opportunities opened up for the more experienced to provide services related to bringing immigrants over and setting them up in business as peddlers.

The large percentage of Palestinian immigrants since the 1967 war who are educated is reflected in the increased numbers of professionals among their ranks. A study of Palestinian Arab immigrants from Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, published in 1994, used the 1980 census to look at socioeconomic characteristics. Among the 90 percent of Palestinian American men and 40 percent of women who are in the labor force, 40 percent and 31 percent, respectively, have either professional, technical, or managerial positions. There are also large numbers in sales: 26 percent of men, and 23 percent of women. The self-employment rate for men is a significant 36 percent (only 13 percent for women), compared to 11 percent for non-immigrant men. Of the self-employed, 64 percent are in retail trade, with half owning grocery stores. In terms of income, the mean for Palestinian families in 1979 was \$25,400, with 24 percent earning over \$35,000 and 20 percent earning less than \$10,000.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Christison's study found that while Palestinian Americans are typically not more politically active than the population at large they are very politically aware of their history and the issues facing their homeland. They are more active in social organizations, such as mosques, churches and local associations, than in political ones, though the former have strong political implications. In the absence of a Palestinian state, the unity and preservation of communities in the diaspora serve to maintain Palestinian identity.

For example, Jacksonville, Florida, has a large contingent of immigrants from the Christian town of Ramallah, in the West Bank just north of Jerusalem. This community was long a close-knit Palestinian social unit, and it was strengthened by the formation in 1958 of the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, which now has over 25,000

Palestinian
American Faras
Warde of Boston
marches carrying
leaflets and a
poster with
hundreds of
Palestinian
supporters.



members nationwide. Until the mid-1960s the community identified primarily with its roots in Ramallah, rather than Palestine generally. George Salem, who grew up in the community, says that in the 1950s and early 1960s, “We knew we were from Ramallah; we didn’t really know whether it was Jordan or Palestine or what.” But this changed after the PLO was formed and especially since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank. These events, culminating in the *intifada*, have heightened Palestinian American solidarity with those in their homeland and added a sense of urgency to finding a lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

In part owing to their small numbers, and perhaps also because of their tendency, as described above, to work more quietly behind the scenes, few Palestinian Americans are widely known. However, based on their educational and professional status there are undoubtedly many Palestinian Americans in positions of prominence in various fields, such as the business leaders and Democratic National Convention delegates mentioned above.

ACADEMIA

Edward Said is professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University in New York City; author of numerous scholarly and general interest books, including *The Question of Palestine*; he is a member of the Palestine National Council.

Born in Jerusalem in 1935, the son of Arab Christians who were Anglican, he was educated in Cairo after the family fled to that city in 1947. Regarding the politics of his homeland he has said, “My endless beef with the Palestinian leadership is that they’ve never grasped the importance of America as clearly and as early as the Jews. Most Palestinian leaders, like Arafat, grew up in tyrannical countries like Syria or Jordan, where there’s no democracy at all. They don’t understand the institutions of civil society, and that’s the most important thing!”

Mohamed Rabie is another of many Palestinian Americans in academia. He has a Ph.D. in economics and taught at Kuwait University and Georgetown University before moving to the University of Houston. He has authored many books on Middle East Affairs, including *The Other Side of the Arab Defeat*, *The Politics of Foreign Aid*, and *The Making of American Foreign Policy*. Rabie is the president of the Center for Educational Development and a member of various social and professional associations, including the Middle East Economics Association and the Middle East Studies Association.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

George Salem served as solicitor of labor in the Reagan administration. He grew up in the Jacksonville, Florida, Ramallah community described above. Even though the community had a strong identity and there were 13 Ramallah families within a three-block radius of his house, his parents discouraged him, unsuccessfully, from running for pres-

ident of the student council at his high school because they feared his becoming too Americanized. He credits youth clubs and other social organizations with upholding a distinct Ramallan identity long before the turbulent events of the 1960s forged a larger Palestinian one.

MEDIA

PRINT

The American-Arab Message.

A weekly Arabic and English language paper published on Friday with a circulation of 8,700. Founded in 1937.

Contact: Rev. Imam M.A. Hussein, Publisher.

Address: 17514 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48203.

Telephone: (313) 868-2266.

Fax: (313) 868-2267.

E-mail: imam4@juno.com.

Journal of Palestine Studies.

A publication of the Institute for Palestine Studies and the University of California Press, it was founded in 1971 and appears quarterly with information exclusively devoted to Palestinian affairs and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Contact: Philip Mattar, Editor.

Address: 3501 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Telephone: (800) 874-3614; or (202) 342-3990.

Fax: (202) 342-3927.

E-mail: ips@cais.com.

Middle East Monitor.

Monthly newsletter that focuses on political events in the Middle East and North Africa, paying particular attention to current political changes and economic development.

Contact: Amir N. Ghazaii, Editor.

Address: 402 Godwin, P.O. Box 236, Ridgewood, New Jersey 07450.

Telephone: (201) 670-9623.

The Other Israel.

Founded in 1983 and published four or five times per year, it seeks to promote peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Contact: Adam Keller, Editor.

Address: 405 Davis Court, Apartment 2106, San Francisco, California 94111.

Telephone: (415) 956-6377.

E-mail: aicipp@mcimail.com.

RADIO

WGPR-FM (107.5).

Weekly programming targeting Detroit's large Arab American population.

Address: 3140 East Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan.

Telephone: (313) 259-8862.

Fax: (313) 259-6662.

WKCR-FM (89.9).

A Sunday night program "In All Languages" periodically features Arabic and addresses concerns of New York's Arabic-speaking community.

Address: Columbia University, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

Telephone: (212) 854-9297.

Fax: (212) 854-9296.

E-mail: wkcr@columbia.edu.

WSOU-FM (89.5).

Approximately one hour per week of programming catering to Arab Americans.

Address: 400 South Orange Avenue, South Orange, New Jersey 07079.

Telephone: (800) 895-9768; or (201) 761-9768.

Fax: (201) 761-7593.

E-mail: wsou@lanmail.shu.edu.

Online: <http://icarus.shu.edu/wsou>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

The committee, founded in 1980, provides legal counseling and general assistance to victims of anti-Arab discrimination, and works to fight stereotypes of Arab Americans by educating the public, particularly through schools.

Contact: Albert Mokhiber, President.

Address: 4201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 244-2990.

Fax: (202) 244-3196.

E-Mail: adc@adc.org.

Online: <http://www.adc.org>.

American Arabic Association (AMARA).

Individuals interested in promoting a better understanding among Americans and Arabs through involvement in charitable and humanitarian causes; supports Palestinian and Lebanese charities that aid orphans, hospitals, and schools.

Contact: Dr. Said Abu Zahra, President.
Address: 29 Mackenzie Lane, Wakefield,
Massachusetts 01880.

Arab American Institute (AAI).

This organization was founded in 1985 to promote the interests of the Arab American community through the political system, as well as educate the public about the community's contributions to American society.

Contact: Dr. James Zogby, President.
Address: 918 16th Street, N.W., Suite 601,
Washington, D.C. 20006.
Telephone: (202) 429-9210.
Fax: (202) 429-9214.
E-Mail: aai@arab.aai.org.

Bethlehem Association.

Promotes understanding by the American public of the Arab people, and especially the Palestinian culture.

Contact: Dr. Hanna Canawati, President.
Address: 4115 Wilkens Avenue, Baltimore,
Maryland 21229-4725.

Palestine Aid Society of America (PAS).

Founded in 1978, the PAS works to raise American awareness of the Palestinian point of view on issues regarding the Middle East. It also provides financial aid to educational and community empowerment projects in the occupied territories.

Contact: Taleb Salhab, Executive Director.
Address: P.O. Box 130572, Ann Arbor, Michigan
48113-0572.

Palestine Arab Delegation (PAD).

Presents the views of Palestinian Arabs in the special political committee of the United Nations during the U.N. General Assembly.

Contact: Issa Nakhleh, Chair.
Address: P.O. Box 608, New York,
New York 10163.
Telephone: (212) 758-7411.
Fax: (212) 319-7663.

Union of Palestinian Women's Associations in North America (UPWA).

Promotes national and social self-determination and independence for Palestine; strives toward emancipation and empowerment of Palestinian and Arab women.

Contact: Maha Jarad.
Address: 3148 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois
60629-2750.
Telephone: (312) 436-6060.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Institute for Palestine Studies.

The institute was founded in 1963 to study the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the Palestinian cultural and economic life in the occupied territories, particularly in Gaza.

Contact: Dr. Philip Mattar, Executive Director.
Address: 3501 M Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20007.
Telephone: (202) 342-3990.
Fax: (202) 342-3927.
E-mail: ips-dc@ipsjps.org.
Online: <http://www.ipsjps.org>.

**Museum of the University of Chicago
Oriental Institute.**

Founded in 1919 in conjunction with university archaeological work in the ancient Near East, the institute's collection contains art from Palestine.

Address: 1155 East 58th Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60637.
Telephone: (773) 702-9521.
Fax: (773) 702-9853.
E-mail: oi-museum@uchicago.edu.

University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Founded in 1889, this museum contains materials regarding Syro-Palestinian anthropology and ethnology.

Address: 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19104.
Telephone: (215) 898-4001.
Fax: (215) 898-0657.
Online: <http://www.upenn.edu/museum/>.

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It is often assumed that the Panamanians of Central America and the South Americans share a common culture. Although the majority share a Spanish or Portuguese heritage, they represent very diverse peoples who have been incorporated into nation-states recently.

PANAMANIAN AMERICANS

by
Rosetta Sharp Dean

OVERVIEW

A country slightly smaller than the state of South Carolina, Panama is located in Central America. Its land mass measures 29,762 square miles (77,381 square kilometers), bounded by the Caribbean Sea to the north, Colombia to the east, the Pacific Ocean to the south, and Costa Rica to the west. The climate of the area is tropical with a dry season that extends from January to May and a rainy season from May to December. Rainfall varies from 130 inches on the Atlantic coast to 68 inches on the Pacific side. Temperatures generally range between 73 and 87 degrees Fahrenheit (23-31 degrees Celsius).

Panama has a population of slightly over 2.4 million people; 70 percent are of Mestizo origin (mixed Spanish, and Indian) or mixed Spanish, Indian, Chinese, and West Indian. The rest of the population comprises various ethnic minorities, including West Indian (14 percent), white (ten percent), Indian (six percent). Most of the population is Roman Catholic, however, there are several other denominations as well as Judaic and Islamic faiths represented. The country's official language is Spanish, and its capital city is Panama City. Panama's national flag consists of four rectangles arranged lower left, blue; upper right, red; upper left, white with blue star in the center; lower right, white with red star in the center.

HISTORY

Panama was the native name of a village on the Pacific Coast of the Gulf and Isthmus of Panama. Before its discovery by the Spanish, Panama was inhabited by a large number of Amerindians. The groups lived in organized chiefdoms, depending on the area's fish, birds, and sea turtles, and on starchy root crops for food. Numbering nearly one million when the Spanish arrived in 1501, the largest group was the Cuna. The country's name, which means "land of plenty fish," may also come from the Cuna words *panna mai*, or "far away," a reply to Spaniards who wondered where to find gold. The name Panama is also believed to be a Guarani Indian word meaning "a butterfly," and also signifying a mud fish, perhaps because the flaps of the mudfish resembled the wings of a butterfly.

Panama has been subjected to numerous occupations by foreign powers since the Renaissance period. Since 1513, when the Spanish explorer Vasco Nuñez de Balboa crossed a narrow strip of land and discovered the Pacific Ocean, the Isthmus of Panama has been a major crossroad of the world, linking two great continents and separating two great oceans. His discovery opened up a shorter route to Peru and the gold of the Incas. Fortune seekers from Europe could land at Colón, cross the narrow isthmus, and set sail on the Pacific for Peru. Shortly after his discovery, Balboa was condemned for treason and put to death with the help of a former aide, Juan Pizarro, who then used the route to conquer the Incas. Panama became an important travelway and supply post for the Spanish conquistadores (conquerors).

By 1519 Spanish settlements had been established, and the king's appointed governor, Pedro Arias de Avila, had settled in the village of Panama. Under his rule, Balboa's Indian allies were killed and other Indians were enslaved. Many fled to the jungle or to the swampland and isolated islands on the northeast coast. A priest, Bartolomé de la Casas, was outraged by the Indian enslavement and persuaded Spain's government to send African slaves in their stead. By this time, many Indians had died from disease and mistreatment, while those who escaped had become isolated in the forests and swamps. The separation of Indian groups from Panamanians remains today. African slaves became so important that the British were given a contract to deliver 4,800 slaves a year for 30 years. Slave revolts moved the Spanish king to interrupt the delivery for a time.

From the beginning, the narrowness of the land inspired the idea of a canal. The Spanish, however, were disinclined to build one, wanting to keep

rival fortune seekers away from the Pacific Ocean. So for 300 years the only route was a muddy jungle road from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Outsiders often attacked. British forces captured a fortress on the Atlantic, Portobello, several times, and buccaneers troubled the area in the 1600s. The Scottish attempted to begin a colony and open the land to trade in 1698, but failed due to disease and the resistant Spanish. Spain held on to the land and controlled its markets until 1740, then allowed Panamanians to trade with other countries. Panama, though, seldom had the freedom of self-rule. From 1718 to 1722 the Spanish government in Peru held authority over Panama. Spain's viceroy of Granada (who ruled Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela), assumed control in 1739. When this government was abandoned in 1819, the viceroy moved to Panama and ruled there for two years. Although Spanish occupation of Panama ended in 1821, close relations between the Spanish and Panamanians flourished; mixed marriages and the adoption of Spanish culture and language gradually molded the Spanish and Panamanians into a distinct ethnic entity. The ancestors of the modern Panamanian people managed to preserve their Spanish heritage despite governance by European and Colombian conquests. The Spanish language in Panama has survived as a member of the Romance language group. In 1821 Panama obtained independence from Spain, and joined the new republic of Greater Colombia. The French started a canal in 1879, but after 20 years of struggle with the jungle, disease, financial problems and the sheer enormity of the project, they were forced to abandon it.

The California gold rush in the 1840s renewed interest in travel between the oceans. In 1845, the United States helped build the first transcontinental railroad that crossed Panama. Meanwhile, France, Britain, and the United States explored the possibility of a canal to join the two oceans by way of either Panama or Nicaragua. In 1879 Ferdinand de Lesseps of France, and builder of the Suez Canal, began construction of a canal in Panama under a license from Colombia. However, disease (yellow fever, malaria), rain, and mud made him abandon the project. From 16,000 to 22,000 workers had died.

THE CANAL

In the early 1900s Colombians fought a civil war—the War of a Thousand Days. Colombian rebels operated from bases in Nicaragua, passing through Panama on their way to fight. The United States now had a growing interest in building a canal across Central America. In 1902, it intervened in the war and established a truce. In 1903 and 1904,

Panama declared its independence from Colombia, drew up its first constitution, and elected its first president. In 1903, the United States signed the Hay-Ban-Vanilla treaty in which the concession for a public maritime transportation service across the Isthmus was granted; the treaty also granted the United States control over strips of land five miles wide on either side of the canal. The United States did not own the Canal Zone, but the treaty of 1903 allowed it to lease the area "in perpetuity." In return the United States agreed to pay Panama \$10 million plus an annual rent of \$250,000, which was later increased to \$1.93 million.

In 1904, the United States purchased France's rights to the unfinished canal for \$40 million and began the Herculean task of carving a canal through the isthmus. Many able and dedicated men were involved in this venture. Among them were Colonel William C. Gorges, an army doctor who achieved a major triumph in wiping out yellow fever and reducing malaria. Colonel George W.

“Getting off Ellis Island, my mother was dressed up. She had been making this suit for a year to land in. And I was dressed up with hand-made lace and all. It was jampacked with mostly Europeans. And most of these people were dirty, actually dirty. I was terrified.”

Ayleen Watts James in 1923, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

Goethals, an army engineer who later became the first governor of the Canal Zone, was put in charge of the operation in 1907. The giant excavation through the mountains of the Continental Divide at Culebra Cut, later renamed Gaillard Cut, was directed by engineer David Gaillard. After seven years of digging and construction, and the expenditure of \$380 million, the Panama Canal was officially opened on August 15, 1914, and the U.S. cargo ship *Ancon* made the first transit.

After World War II, Panamanians opposed to U.S. presence in the Canal Zone demanded renegotiation of the 1903 treaty; however, the arrangement of the 1903 treaty between the United States and Panama continued until the 1960s when disputes arose over U.S. control of the canal and zone. The United States agreed to negotiate new treaties relating to the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. The treaties, which were accepted in 1977 and signed by General Omar Torrijos Herrera, head of the Panamanian Government, and U.S. President

Jimmy Carter, stipulated joint administration of the Canal starting in 1979, and the complete return of the Canal to Panama on December 31, 1999. The treaties, which replaced the treaty of 1903, turned over to Panama the government of the Canal Zone and the territory of the Canal Zone itself, except for areas needed to operate and defend the canal. The United States remains responsible for the operation and military defense of the canal until December 31, 1999, after which it will come under complete Panamanian control.

The presence of the Canal changed lifestyles in the country. A people that had primarily earned their living as subsistence farmers now gained most of their income from the Canal. The canal employs about 3,500 United States citizens and some 10,000 Panamanians. Among the available housing areas assigned to canal employees are Balboa and Ancon on the Pacific side and, on the Atlantic side, Cristobal, Coco Solo, and Margarita. Gatun and Gamboa are communities primarily for people who work at the locks or in dredging and hydroelectric operations.

MODERN ERA

In 1988 General Manuel Noriega used his military prominence to seize control of the Panamanian government, establishing a dictatorship, which brought him great personal wealth. Previously supported by the United States, Noriega became the object of condemnation, based on evidence linking him to drug trafficking, murder, and election fraud. In an attempt to squash Noriega, the United States imposed severe economic sanctions on Panama. Although the Panamanian working class suffered from these actions, Noriega himself was virtually unaffected. In December of 1989, a U.S. invasion of Panama led to the ousting of Noriega, who officially surrendered in January 1990. He was taken to the United States and was convicted on drug charges in 1992.

THE FIRST PANAMANIAN AMERICANS

Panamanians, among other Central Americans have a recorded presence of almost 175 years on American soil. More than one million immigrants from Central and South America have settled in the United States since 1820, but their role in the development of American society remains uncharted. The U.S. Census Bureau did not tabulate separate statistics for Panama, Central and South American nations until 1960. The number of Panamanian Americans in the United States increased slowly. In the 1830s, only 44 arrivals were recorded, but by the early twentieth century more

than 1,000 came annually. After World War I, immigration tapered off. The 1940 census listed only 7,000 Central Americans; many apparently had died or returned home.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

After World War II, the number of immigrants increased rapidly and by 1970 the Central Americans numbered 174,000. Paradoxically, the flow of emigrants from Panama was small for nearly the entire period in which there were no immigration restrictions on applicants from the Western Hemisphere, but increased dramatically after the 1965 Immigration Act, which imposed a ceiling of 120,000 admissions from the hemisphere. By 1970, Panamanians constituted one of the largest of the Central American groups in the United States. Most Panamanians were nonwhites. Women outnumbered men among Panamanian immigrants by about one-third. The number of immigrant males per 100 females was very low in the 1960s, falling to 51 for Panama. The percentage of immigrants under 20 years of age was higher for males than for females; most female immigrants were between 20 and 49, many of them service, domestic, or low-paid, white-collar workers who immigrated to earn money to send home. Since 1962 the percentage of employed newcomers who are domestic servants has remained high, ranging from 15 to 28 percent. The entry of homemakers and children after 1968 was eased by the immigration preference system favoring family reunions. As of 1990, there were approximately 86,000 people of Panamanian ancestry living in the United States.

SETTLEMENT

Most Panamanian immigrants live in New England, or on the Gulf Coast, or Pacific Coast, or in middle Atlantic or Great Lakes areas. New York City contains the largest urban population of Panamanians. A substantial number of Panamanians settled in Florida and California. Over 15,000 Panamanians lived in New York in 1970, with fewer than 600 in San Francisco. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Panamanians congregated in urban areas, especially in very large metropolitan cities. In 1920, for example, when 49 percent of the U.S. population lived in rural areas, 87 percent of the Panamanians were living in cities. They gravitated to urban centers because their education, occupational skills and lifestyles were suited to urban society. Mestizo, black, and Indian Panamanians are more numerous in New York than in any other U.S. city, numbering over 17,000 in 1970. But

the forces that have led these groups to one locale or another (employment opportunities, the nucleus of an ethnic community, transportation links with the homeland) are not well understood.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Little is known about the early Panamanians in the United States. Indeed, in the past, insufficient knowledge of Panamanian ethnic characteristics generated misconceptions in America. For example, the U.S. Census Bureau did not tabulate separate statistics for individual Central and South American nations until 1960—the characteristics of the individual national groups were buried in aggregated immigration and census statistics.

It is often assumed that the Panamanians of Central America and the South Americans share a common culture. Although the majority share a Spanish or Portuguese heritage, they represent very diverse peoples who have been incorporated into nation-states recently. In the newer version of acculturation and cultural pluralism, an immigrant does not surrender ethnic and cultural identity to become an American. With this approach, America is viewed more realistically, with many diverse ethnic and cultural groups. This view recognizes that one of America's strengths is in its cultural diversity and that this diversity should not be denied but highly valued.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In the city and country, Panamanians share certain values. One is *personalismo*, a belief in interpersonal trust and in individual honor. With this belief comes a distrust of organizations and a high sensitivity to praise or insult. The most valued unit is the extended family. Another universal is *machismo*, the belief in male dominance and an image of the man as strong and daring. Women are expected to be gentle, forgiving, and dedicated to their children.

Most Panamanians are Roman Catholic, but the church and state are separate and religious freedom is guaranteed by the constitution. The religious feeling of the Panamanians is reflected in their frequent celebrations of religious holidays.

HOLIDAYS

Besides Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and Easter, Panamanian Americans celebrate the Independence Day of Panama on November 3. Other holi-

days such as Good Friday, Mother's Day, Father's Day, Thanksgiving, and Valentine's Day are also celebrated.

FOLK DANCES

Panamanians love festivity, and during their celebrations one can see in their traditional costumes and folk dances some of the more colorful aspects of life in Panama. The national dance is the *tamborito*, in which a man and a woman, surrounded by a circle of other dancers, pretend to flirt with each other while they dance. Other couples take turns dancing in the circle. The dance is performed to the beat of the *caja* and *pujador*, drums that were originally used by slaves brought to Panama from Africa and the West Indies during the colonial period. During the dance the woman wears the *pollera*—a full long white dress decorated with embroidery, or the *montuna*—a long skirt with bright floral patterns worn with a white, embroidered, off-the-shoulder blouse. The man's costume, the *montuno*, is a long white cotton shirt, with fringe or embroidered decorations, and knee-length trousers. The *tamborito* is especially popular during Carnival, a four-day period of joyous festivity that precedes Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent. Lively salsa—a mixture of Latin American popular music, rhythm and blues, jazz, and rock, is a Panamanian specialty.

CUISINE

Panamanians enjoy a variety of international dishes. However, food is similar to that eaten throughout Central America. Two popular dishes are *sancocho*—a soup made with meat and vegetables, and *tazajo*—ox meat beaten thin and grilled and covered with a tomato sauce. Other favorites include *ceviche* (raw fish, cured, and mixed in lime juice, with onions, red peppers, and other spices), *empanadas*, *tortillas*, and *carimanolas* (each made with ground beef that is stuffed in a corn meal or flour dough), tamales (a mixture of chicken or pork, onions, olives, and other hot or mild spices stuffed in a corn meal mixture wrapped in banana leaves, tied with string, then steam cooked). Some nutritious vegetables enjoyed by Panamanians are plantain, yellow yam, yucca, and bread fruit.

Traditionally, every meal is accompanied with rice or a variation of rice and peas or beans. The most popular drinks are *chicha fuerte*, a liquor made with a corn base, beer that comes from the *guanabana* fruit (fruit of the soursop, a tropical American tree), and a beverage called palm wine.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems or medical conditions that are specific to Panamanian Americans. Many families have health insurance coverage underwritten by various ethnic organizations. Like most Americans, Panamanian American business owners and professionals in private practice are insured at their own expense, while employees benefit from their employers' health plans when available.

LANGUAGE

The Panamanian dialect is distinct to its native origin in Panama. For the first generation of immigrants, regardless of the period of arrival in America, Spanish was the primary language. Subsequent generations spoke Spanish less often, eventually switching to English as their principal language.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Panamanian American family underwent profound changes. The first immigrants were typically single males who had left their families behind temporarily to save enough money to send for them later. They settled first in apartments. Panamanians are among the one million immigrants from Central and South America to have settled in the United States since 1820. In most discussions, Panamanians are not considered apart from other Spanish-surnamed people, although they are not a homogeneous group. The number of African Panamanians, for example, can be inferred only from the count of nonwhites in the 1960 and the 1970 Census. The husband is the usual source of authority in the family.

Panamanians gather at social clubs, and organizations for the maintenance of ethnic ties; there they discuss social, political, economic problems and news from Panama. Since many Panamanian women work outside the home, economic conditions have gradually improved, and immigrants are able to purchase a home, cars, and modern appliances, or rent larger apartments in more prosperous neighborhoods.

The typical Panamanian household features Panamanian art such as the famous Cuna Indians textile *molas*, which generally depicts native wildlife and themes, the Panamanian flag, and other cultural icons displayed in a common area. Panamanians have always held the family in high esteem. Demo-

graphics show that Panamanian families usually have two or three children. In 1970, nearly 40 percent had one wage earner, 54 percent had two, and only six percent had no income earner.

WEDDINGS

Most wedding ceremonies involve two requirements: the man and woman must say that they want to become husband and wife; the ceremony must have witnesses, including the official who marries the couple. If the couple has a religious ceremony, it is conducted by a member of the clergy, such as a minister or priest. If a couple is marrying in a civil (nonreligious) ceremony, a judge or other authorized official performs it. Many couples prefer a traditional religious ceremony, though some Panamanians depart from custom. Some even write their own wedding service. The traditional wedding ceremony begins with the bridesmaids and ushers walking slowly down a center aisle to the altar. They stand on each side of the altar throughout the ceremony. The groom enters and waits for the bride at the altar. The bride then walks down the aisle with her father, another male relative, or a family friend. She wears a white dress and veil and carries a bouquet. At the altar, the bride and groom exchange marriage vows and accept each other as husband and wife. The groom puts a wedding ring on the ring finger of the bride's left hand, and the bride may also give the groom a ring. After the ceremony, the bride and groom kiss and then leave down the main aisle.

Many Panamanians follow the traditional wedding ceremonies, but certain religious groups add their own features to it. For example, different Protestant groups have their own versions of the ceremony. Many Roman Catholic weddings take place during a mass, and the bride and groom receive communion. The reception is held either at a private home, hotel, or restaurant. Guests give gifts or money at the reception or bridal shower. The reception is accompanied by music and dancing.

BAPTISMS

When a child is ready for baptism, the parents first select the godparents. The godfather—*padrino*, and godmother—*madrina*, are often the same couple who served as best man and matron of honor at the parents' wedding. The parents bring the child to the church, where the priest confers the grace of God by putting his hand on the child and then anoints the child on the forehead with blessed olive oil. The baptism is completed by sprinkling the child with

holy water. It is customary to have a large or small dinner after the baptism.

FUNERALS

A death in the family is followed by a funeral. The practices include public announcement of the death, preparation of the body, religious ceremonies or other services, a procession, a burial or other form of disposal, and mourning. The body typically is washed, embalmed, and then dressed in special garments before being placed into a coffin. Many people hold an all-night watch called a *velorio*. The funeral may include prayers, hymns, and other music, and speeches called *elogio* that recall and praise the dead person. Many funeral services take place at a funeral home with the embalmed body on display. After the funeral, the mourners return with the bereaved family to their house and share food.

EDUCATION

Law requires all Panamanian children aged six through 15 to attend school, but this rule is not rigidly enforced. Particularly in rural areas, enrollment drops greatly in the secondary years as teenagers seek employment to augment their family's income. About half the secondary-age population was enrolled in 1982. The early immigrants cared very much for the children, and instilled in their children the importance of education. Many first-wave immigrants managed to obtain or to hold jobs. Encouraged by their parents, the second generation of Panamanian Americans placed more emphasis on vocational training and college education. While most newcomers are domestic, very few are agricultural or industrial laborers. In the last two decades many Panamanians have embraced professional careers, and others have become white collar workers. Subsequent generations have progressed even further in their educational and professional pursuits. As a result, Panamanian Americans have been able to make many significant contributions to American society.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

Panamanian Americans' social relations with other ethnic groups in the United States defy generalization. Their ties with other Hispanic groups in the United States are not well developed; but similarity of religion, lifestyle, and language often draw them together despite country of origin. Although their ethnic group boundaries are permeable and flexible, they may be rigid with respect to class and race.

Panamanian workers generally came into contact with other ethnic groups in the workplace; they began to interact with other ethnic groups as they moved into better residential areas and suburbs. All these factors, including the proliferation of mixed marriages, have contributed to the integration of Panamanians into mainstream American society.

RELIGION

Approximately 93 percent of the population nominally belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, and six percent are Protestant (Evangelical). Other religious denominations represented in Panama include Seventh-Day Adventists, Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Unitarians, as well as the Judaic and Islamic faiths. Women are the ones who attend church with the children. In Panamanian Catholicism, much emphasis is given to the mother of Jesus, Mary, who serves as an example for the women

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Early Panamanian immigrants and their occupational characteristics have changed little in the latter decades of the twentieth century; 30 to 40 percent are professionals and white-collar workers—highly skilled and educated persons—with very few agricultural or industrial laborers. It is estimated that Panamanians and other Hispanics represent a consumer market of between \$140 billion and \$190 billion, and that market will be responsible for much of the consumer market growth in the United States in the future. In addition, revenues of owned businesses were estimated to be \$29.6 billion in 1990, up 48 percent from 1987. Many experts expect an upward surge in Panamanian and other Hispanic economic growth and development during the 1990s.

However, as a whole, Panamanian Americans and other Hispanics suffer from high poverty levels compared with non-Hispanics. For example, as determined by assets owned, income, employment status, education and other factors, the average net worth of a white household is about eight times that of a Hispanic household (\$43,279 as opposed to \$5,524).

In the private sector, Panamanian workers are active members in the nation's work force. Panamanians have had some degree of occupational upgrading during the past decade, but they are more likely than the overall work force to be employed in lower-skilled, lower-paid occupations. Most of the

increases in the employment of approximately 60 percent of Panamanian women were in mid-level occupations (technical, sales, and administrative support) and the generally lower-paid service occupations. Another 15 percent of Panamanian women were employed in management and professional positions. The occupational levels among Panamanian men have been stable in the managerial, professional, technical, sales, and administrative support positions. Occupational growth for Panamanian men has been concentrated in occupations requiring intermediate skills (operators, laborers, and fabricators), which has accounted for nearly one-third of their employment.

In the federal government, Panamanian presence is evidenced throughout all departments and agencies. No longer are Panamanian Americans limited to the social service sector of government—Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Housing and Urban Development. They are also in the Commerce, Labor, Interior, the State Departments, and the Pentagon, as well as the White House. During the last two decades, Panamanian Americans and other Hispanics have been ambassadors to numerous Central and South American countries.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Panamanian Americans are extremely aware that their increasing numbers translate to increased political influence, and they are exerting political power that complements their growing numbers and economic influence. In addition, they are carefully identifying issues that bring a measure of political unity to their diverse population.

Although each Hispanic group has its own identity, they are finding that their commonalities provide them with a more effective political voice. In recent years Hispanic politicians have been rallying around points of commonality as their political involvement increases. Panamanian Americans have also made significant political contributions to United States foreign policy in Latin America. Domestic issues such as civil rights, affirmative action, and bilingual education have often brought them together in a unified front.

Three million Panamanian and other Hispanic voters are concentrated in six states, which, when combined, account for 173 of the 270 electoral votes needed to win a presidential election. This underscores the importance of Hispanics as a voting bloc, particularly in the Southwest. There has been a significant increase in registered Hispanic voters

in recent years; and, as more young Hispanics reach voting age, Hispanic strength as a political force will increase even more significantly. Hispanic political influence is directed by such organizations as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education fund (PRLDEF), National Council of La Raza, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), American G.I. Forum, Cuban National Planning Council, Inc., National Image, Inc., Puerto Rican/Latinos Voting Rights Network, and many others.

MILITARY

The military history of Panamanians and other Hispanics contains a full scope of duty and dedication. No less than 37 Hispanic Americans have received the Medal of Honor, America's highest military decoration. During the Spanish-American War, Hispanic soldiers rode with Theodore Roosevelt's "Rough Riders." Military historians estimate that a quarter to a half million Hispanics served in the armed forces during World War II. Eight Hispanics received the Medal of Honor for actions during the Korean War, and 13 were decorated for actions in the Vietnam conflict. Panamanians played active roles during United States operations in Grenada, Panama, and Saudi Arabia. As of September 1990, Hispanics accounted for 2.1 percent of all active officers. The Army officer ranks had 1.9 percent Hispanic representation, the Navy had 2.4 percent, the Marine Corps 2.4 percent, the Air Force 2.0 percent, and the Coast Guard 1.7 percent.

RELATIONS WITH PANAMA

Panamanian Americans have always been proud of their homeland and have maintained ties beyond normal relations with family or friends left behind. Cultural ties between the two countries are strong, and many Panamanians come to the United States for higher education and advanced training. In cooperation with the United States government, many Panamanian Americans provide needed resources and training and joint operations with the Drug Enforcement Agency trying to fight illegal narcotics. In addition, Panamanian Americans supported the renewal of democracy and stability in Panama, and a fundamentally strong relationship with the United States, which became severely strained by the Noriega regime during the late 1980s. Presently, some Panamanian Americans are involved in developing business ventures in Panama. There is also a steady flow of scholarly exchanges between Panama and the United

States—via grants and scholarships—in which Panamanian Americans take an active role through academic organizations.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Panamanian Americans represent only 0.4 percent of America's total population, they have made significant contributions to American popular culture and to the arts and sciences. The following sections list Panamanian Americans and their achievements:

LITERATURE

Panamanian writers did not begin to make a significant contribution to world literature until the early twentieth century. Among the most notable of this group was the poet Ricardo Miró. Panama's best-known contemporary writers are Demetrio Korsi, a poet, and Rogelio Sinan, a poet and novelist. Korsi's works are sometimes critical of United States influence on Panamanian culture. Sinan's works have a cosmopolitan tone that reflects the author's extensive travels.

MUSIC AND FILM

Lucho Azcarraga, an internationally renowned organist and composer, is best known for Panamanian folklore music. Ruben Blades is an internationally renowned singer, actor, songwriter and producer of *Buscando America*; noted films are *Predator II* and *The Landlord*.

SPORTS

In boxing, Panama Al Brown was a bantamweight champion in 1929; Roberto Duran became a lightweight champion in 1972 and 1978, a welterweight champion (WBC) in 1980, and a light-middleweight champion (WBA) from 1983 to 1989; Ismael Laguna was a lightweight champion in 1965 and 1970; Jorge Lujan was a bantamweight champion from 1977 to 1980; Ernesto (Nato) Marcel was featherweight champion in 1972 and retired in 1973; Eusebio Pedroza was a featherweight champion from 1978 to 1985; Enrique Pinder was a bantamweight champion (WBC) in 1972; Rigoberto Riasco was a super bantamweight champion in 1976; Hilario Zapata was a flyweight champion in 1985. Famous jockeys include Braulio Baeza, Lafitte Pinca, Heliodoro Gustines, Jorge Velasques, and Jacinto Vasquez. These jockeys have ridden at race tracks

in Panama, Belmont, and Aqueduct. And in baseball, Rod Carew played in the American League.

MEDIA

PRINT

El Diario/La Prensa.

Published Monday through Friday, since 1913, this publication has focused on general news in Spanish.

Contact: Carlos D. Ramírez, Publisher.
Address: 143-155 Varick Street, New York,
New York 10013.
Telephone: (212) 807-4600.
Fax: (212) 807-4617.

Mundo Hispanico.

This publication was founded in 1979 and is published twice a month in Spanish with some English and distributed free or by subscription.

Address: P.O. Box 13808, Atlanta, Georgia
30324-0808.
Telephone: (404) 881-0441.
Fax: (404) 881-6085.
E-mail: mundohispanico@mundohispanico.com.

Que Pasa Panama!

Bi-monthly newsletter that updates information on Panama and the Panamanian communities in the United States and abroad.

Contact: Fulvia Jordan, Editor.
Address: 290 Lincoln Place, Suite D-2, Grand
Central Station, Brooklyn, New York 11238.
Telephone: (718) 638-0862.
Fax: (718) 638-0862.

RADIO

WAOS-AM (1460).

Operates sunrise to sunset.

Contact: Samuel Zamarron, President.
Address: c/o WAOS Radio, 5815 Westside Road,
P.O. Box 746, Austell, Georgia 30001.
Telephone: (770) 944-6684.
Fax: (770) 944-9794.

WHCR-FM (90.3).

City College of New York (National Public Radio).

Contact: Frank Allan or Linda Prout.
Address: 138th and Convent Avenue, New York,
New York 10031.
Telephone: (212) 650-7481.

WKAT-AM (1360).

This is a Latin-owned broadcast featuring community news as well as Hispanic music.

Contact: Julio Romero.
Address: 13499 Biscayne Boulevard, Suite 1,
North Miami, Florida 33181.
Telephone: (305) 949-9528.
Fax: (305) 944-4788.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Asociacion Panameno-Americana de Asistencia Social.

Address: 6081 North Kendall Drive, Miami,
Florida 33156-1966.

ASPIRA Association.

Grass roots organization working to provide leadership development and educational assistance to Latino persons, thus advancing the Hispanic community.

Contact: Ronald Blackburn-Moreno, National
Executive Director.
Address: 1444 I Street, N.W., Suite 800,
Washington, DC 20005-2210.
Telephone: (202) 835-3600.
Fax: (202) 835-3613.

Hispanic Institute.

Address: Columbia University, 612 West 116th
Street, New York, New York, 10027.
Telephone: (212) 854-4187.

Hispanic Organization of Professionals and Executives.

Address: 1625 K Street, N.W., Suite 103,
Washington, D.C. 20006.

National Council of La Raza.

Founded in 1968, this Pan-Hispanic organization provides assistance to local Hispanic groups, serves as an advocate for all Hispanic Americans, and is a national umbrella organization for 80 formal affiliates throughout the United States.

Address: 810 First Street, N.E., Suite 300,
Washington, D.C. 20002.
Telephone: (202) 289-1380.

Panamanian Association of the Sacramento Area.

Contact: Cecil D. Inniss.

Address: P.O. Box 1640, North Highlands, California 95660-1640.

Panamanian Social Appeal.

Contact: Lonnie M. Ritzer.

Address: 2000 Charles Center South, 36 South Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201-0000.

La Sociedad Panamena de Atlanta (Panamania Society).

Hosts a Panamanian Independence Day celebration and scholarship drive in November to provide high school scholarships for high school seniors who are Panamanian natives or of Panamanian descent.

Telephone: (404) 284-3434.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Circulo De Arte Latinoamericano (Latin American Art Circle).

Part of the Twentieth Century Arts Society of the High Museum of Art, it sponsors artist and events at the museum and a Latin American film festival in November.

Telephone: (404) 733-4200.

Panamanian Chamber of Commerce.

Offers membership services between the southeastern United States and Panama for commercial relationships, trade missions to Panama to meet with

business and government representatives, information center for trade and business development, cultural and educational exchanges, and networking opportunities for members meeting with distributors from Latin America through the Colon Free Zone.

Address: 260 Peachtree Street, N.W., Suite 1760, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

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For Paraguayans,
political parties are
not a matter of per-
sonal conviction.
Citizens become
Liberals or Colorado
at birth and alle-
giance is lifelong.
A person claiming
political neutrality is
suspected of hiding
true motivations.

P ARAGUAYAN AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

Paraguay is a landlocked country in South America slightly smaller than California. It is bordered by the countries of Brazil, Argentina, and Bolivia. The country is divided into two unequal portions by the Rio Paraguay, the third largest river in the western hemisphere and the one for which the country is named. Paraguay means the “Parrot river” (paragua-i). To the west of the river is the Chaco, an infertile and sparsely populated section that is 60 percent of the country’s land area. To the east, 95 percent of the 5.2 million Paraguayans live near the major cities. The major cities include Asuncion, the capital and a commercial city and port; Encarnacion, a railroad and agricultural center; Concepcion, a river port; Coronel Oviedo; and Caaguazu.

Paraguay’s government is a republic with legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Paraguay’s national flag consists of three large stripes (red, white, and blue) arranged horizontally, with a seal in the center of the white stripe. The seal contains the words *Paz y Justicia* (peace and justice) capped by the words *Republica Del Paraguay*, all within two circles.

The Eastern region comprises all of the national watershed systems along with the mountain ranges of Amambay, Mbaracayu, and Caaguazu, including Cerro San Rafael, Paraguay’s highest peak at 2,788 feet. The region between the Paraguay and the Parana Rivers was once covered

with rain forests. However, with the expansion of lumbering and farming activities, the forests are rapidly receding. At current rates of deforestation, virtually all of eastern Paraguay is expected to be stripped of its forestry cover by the year 2005.

Paraguay is home to a diverse wildlife population, including the Chocian peccary, which was thought to be extinct. Bird watchers are drawn from all over the world in search of species such as parrots, parakeets, hyacinth macaws, and wood storks. The western region, called the Chaco, is a vast, sparsely populated wildlife habitat with a plant and animal biodiversity comparable to the Amazon. The area has unlimited ecotourism potential. The Chaco population includes the Mennonites, a religious group of German and Canadian settlers.

The majority of Paraguayans are *mestizos*, descendants of the native Paraguayans (*Guaranis*) and the Spanish colonists. A bilingual county, Paraguay boasts that its citizens are the only national group in the Western Hemisphere that speaks an aboriginal language more widely than a European language. Continuing to speak *Guarani*, the native language, is the way Paraguayans distinguish themselves from the rest of South America.

HISTORY

Before the Europeans arrived, Guaranis lived in the southeastern part of the country in semi-nomadic tribes. Several hunter-gatherer groups, known as *Guaycuru*, lived in the western Chaco area. Native Paraguayans lived on fish and wild game, supplemented with a shifting agriculture of growing maize and mandioca. They named and knew the medicinal properties of more than a thousand species of plants. With the aid of Guaraní guides, Alejo García became the first European to cross Paraguay in 1524. The Spanish explorer Juan de Salazar founded Asuncion, the present-day capital, on the Feast Day of the Assumption, August 15, 1537. The Roman Catholic church of Spain sent Jesuit missionaries to subdue and civilize the Paraguayan natives.

In 1609, the Jesuits organized about 100,000 Guaranis into communal settlements called *reducciones* and for 150 years protected the native population from exploitation attempts by incoming colonial settlers. Between the middle of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Paraguay was ruled by a succession of governors. Conflicts with the Spanish resulted in a royal decree in 1767 that banished the Jesuits.

The native Indian population gradually absorbed the Spaniards, who in turn adopted Guaraní food, language and customs. Over time, a

Spanish-Guaraní society emerged, with Spaniards dominating politically, and the mestizo offspring adopting Spanish cultural values.

MODERN ERA

Paraguay declared its independence from Spain in 1811, and was ruled by José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, also known as “El Supremo.” He sealed the country’s borders and isolated Paraguay until his death in 1840. Francia’s successor, Carlos Antonio López, ended Paraguay’s isolation and began modernization. The first official U.S. notice of Paraguay occurred in 1845 when President James K. Polk appointed a special agent to Paraguay. Then in 1854, the United States sent a navel ship to conduct scientific research in local rivers, but Paraguayan gunners fired on it. The United States responded by sending 19 ships and 2,500 men to force Paraguayans to pay damages for the incident.

Paraguay suffered during the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870) against Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Paraguay lost territory as well as a quarter of its population. After the war, Paraguay’s agricultural sector was resuscitated by a new wave of European and Argentine immigrants, but political instability continued.

A succession of presidents governed Paraguay under the banner of the Colorado Party from 1880 until 1904, when the Liberal party seized control, ruling with only a brief interruption until 1940. In the 1930s and 1940s, Paraguayan politics were defined by the Chaco War against Bolivia, a civil war, dictatorships, and periods of extreme political instability. South America’s first Nazi Party branch formed in Paraguay in 1931. During World War II, Paraguay officially severed diplomatic relations with Axis countries in 1942, but did not declare war against Germany until February 1945. Paraguay joined the United Nations as a charter member in 1945.

General Alfredo Stroessner took power in May 1954, and during his 34-year reign, political freedoms were severely limited and opponents of the regime were systematically harassed and persecuted in the name of national security and anti-communism. Paraguay became progressively isolated from the world community and it remains one of the least industrialized countries in South America.

On May 9, 1993, Colorado Party presidential candidate Juan Carlos Wasmosy was elected as Paraguay’s first civilian president in almost 40 years. International observers deemed this election fair and free. In May 1998, the Colorado Party candidate Raul Cubas was elected president, but he was impeached in 1999, and the president of congress,

Luis Gonzalez Macchi, next in the line of succession, became president. In March 1999, Vice President Luis Argana was assassinated, underscoring the continued political instability of Paraguay.

THE FIRST PARAGUAYANS IN AMERICA

The first Paraguayans probably arrived in America between 1841 and 1850. Early records group Paraguayans as “other” South Americans coming from countries other than Brazil, Argentina, and Peru. During those years, 3,579 “other” immigrants arrived.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In the nineteenth century almost ten times as many South Americans as Central Americans immigrated to the United States. The first wave of immigrants came during a civil war in 1947 and continued arriving into the 1950s. By the 1960s, one-fourth of all Paraguayans were said to be living outside Paraguay, with the majority in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Around 11,000 Paraguayans immigrated to the United States in 1979, but the numbers steadily declined to 4,000 by 1982. While some Paraguayans immigrated for political reasons or to escape civil disturbance, many were young people seeking educational opportunities to develop professional knowledge and skills and to find better jobs. Females outnumbered male immigrants slightly, and more than half of immigrants had no occupation.

Many immigrants from Paraguay were infants adopted by American families. In 1989, 254 adoptions were completed in Paraguay. In 1993, U.S. citizens adopted 405 Paraguayan infants, and in 1995, they adopted 351.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The primary target residences for Paraguayan Americans included New York, Miami, and Los Angeles. Paraguayan Americans also settled in Dallas and Atlanta. Many unskilled Paraguayan Americans have taken jobs in the service industry in urban areas such as New York, Chicago, New Jersey, and Minneapolis. Paraguayan American women also accepted jobs in hotel housekeeping, for example, an employment opportunity that other Americans felt was less attractive. Others have found agricultural employment in California and in Kansas. The latter state has partnered with Paraguay in an exchange program through a non-profit volunteer organization called Partners of the Americas. Both Kansas and Paraguay are land-locked, grow cattle and wheat, and are roughly the same size and popu-

lation. A small number of Paraguayan American are professionals who immigrated in search of better pay and more stable social conditions.

Of the 80 Paraguayan Americans who became U.S. citizens in 1984, only one arrived that year. Most of these immigrants arrived eight to ten years earlier. Naturalization figures increased slightly each year from 1987 to 1996, when 420 Paraguayans became American citizens.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Since about 4,000 South Americans immigrated each year from 1910 to 1930, the U.S. population now includes third and fourth generation Paraguayan Americans. U.S. Census statistics indicate that by 1979, first and second generation South Americans numbered over 350,000, with settlements concentrated in cities of the Northeast including New York and Chicago. Paraguayan Americans gravitated toward urban areas because their education, occupation skills and lifestyles matched urban life. The 1990 U.S. Census stated that approximately 5,415 people of Paraguayan ancestry lived in the United States. Of those people, 1,886 were native to Paraguay.

The Spanish influence on Paraguayan culture has prepared Paraguayan Americans to be at home in American culture. Because 70 percent of Paraguayans speak Spanish, and because of the growth of the Hispanic ethnic group in America, many Paraguayan Americans are able to communicate with less difficulty. Newsstands offer publications in Spanish, banks provide literature and automated tellers in Spanish, even Walmart offers a Spanish translation check-out procedure. Many product labels and instructions include a Spanish version and grocers offer products known and consumed by the Hispanic community.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Because most Paraguayan Americans have a Roman Catholic heritage, their customs and traditions are similar to those of all Latin American groups, including the U.S. Hispanic community.

In general, attitudes toward community and family follow the traditional Hispanic heritage of emphasis on bonds of family loyalty. Paraguayan Americans establish kin-based mutual support by settling in communities where other Paraguayan Americans live.

Families of adopted Paraguayan children often join a local or state community of adoptive families

and meet several times yearly to allow their children to meet other Paraguayans. For example, the Ninos del Paraguay Picnic of Needham, Massachusetts, gathered 625 people for its picnic in 1997. Adoptive family networks also exist in northern California, Unionville, Connecticut, Brooklyn, New York, Princeton and Fairlawn New Jersey, and Silver Spring, Maryland.

CUISINE

Paraguayan foods are simple but tasty. The most popular dishes consist of corn, meat, milk and cheese. Manioc, a starchy tuber, is the main source of carbohydrates, and is added to just about everything. The main dishes are: *Puchero*, *Bori-Bori*, *Chipa*, *Asado*, *So'o-yosopy*, *Locro*, *Guiso*, *Mazamorra* and the famous and popular *Chipa*, a bread made from manioc flour. The dishes are described below.

Puchero, a meat stew, is made of boiled hominy and chopped parsley, pepper, squash, carrots or tomatoes. It is flavored with garlic or onion, and thickened with rice or cornmeal dumplings called *Bori*. Dumplings are often used in soup dishes in South America, and *Bori-Bori* is a Paraguayan Dumpling Soup.

Meat dishes as well as tropical and subtropical foodstuffs play an important role in the Paraguayan diet. The most typical Paraguayan meat is *Asado*, a grilled barbecue. Another favorite meat dish is *Guiso*, made with sausage or organ meat with rice browned in oil and flavored with tomato paste and onion. Main dishes are accompanied by chunks of toasted *Chipa*.

Grains, particularly maize, and manioc (cassava) are incorporated into almost all meals. A typical meal includes *Locro*, a maize stew, *mazamorra*, corn mush, *mbaipy so-ó*, a hot maize pudding with meat chunks, and *sooyo sopy*, a thick soup made of ground meat and served with rice or noodles. Desserts include *mbaipy he-é*, a delicious mix of corn, milk and molasses. For ceremonial occasions, *Sopa Paraguaya* is prepared using cornmeal cooked in oil with milk, eggs, cheese, onion and other ingredients. A green tea called *mate* is consumed in vast quantities while *mosto* (sugar-cane juice) is also enjoyed.

The drink preferred by Paraguayans is a locally produced dark rum called *caña*, an alcoholic beverage made from sugar cane, and *terere*, an infusion of *yerba mate* and cold water. This mixture is sometimes flavored with medicinal herbs. It is served in *guampas* or *mates* (gourd) and sipped through a *Bombilla*, which is a metal straw.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Clothing worn by Paraguayans is similar to that worn by other Latin American nations, though Paraguayan women favor brighter colors. Men and women wear the poncho, and women wear shawls called *rebozos*. There is no distinctive aboriginal costume. Working-class adults and children go barefoot. This is possible because the mineral-deficient soil is seldom hard or rocky. A colonial attire that is still seen on males in the rural areas is loose baggy pants called *bombachas*, and a short jacket with a neckerchief in place of a shirt. Broadbrim straw hats are worn by everyone.

Paraguayans produce and wear *Aho-poi*, fine linen cloth embroidered with threads of the same color, generally white. *Aho-poi* shirts, blouses, tablecloths and napkins are in great demand around the world.

DANCES AND SONGS

Fiestas always include dancing. In Paraguay, town halls and homes of the wealthy have outdoor tile or clay dance floors. Many Paraguayan dances resemble the polka as well as the waltz and the tango. Dances such as the bottle dance are much livelier. Several dancers appear on a stage while one dancer dances with a bottle on her head. During the dance, several bottles are stacked on top of each other until as many as fourteen bottles are added. Music is usually provided by a pair of guitars accompanied by the small native harp, the *arpa*.

HOLIDAYS

Prominent celebrations in addition to Christmas, New Year's Day and Easter include *Día de San Blas* (Patron Saint of Paraguay) in February, *Paz del Chaco* (End of the Chaco War) on June 12; and the *Fundación de Asunción* (Founding of Asunción) on August 15. Official holidays observed in Paraguay also include Labour Day on May 1, National Independence Day on May 15, and the Virgin of Caacupe celebration on December 8.

HEALTH ISSUES

Paraguayans have no documented health problems other than poor teeth, a problem attributed to the lack of calcium and iodine in the diet.

LANGUAGE

Guarani, the aboriginal language, is an oral language the Jesuits recorded as a written language. There are 33 signs, either single-letters or digraphs, in the

Guarani alphabet: “a,” “ ,” “ch,” “e,” “ê,” “g,” “g,” “~,” “h,” “i,” “î,” “j,” “k,” “l,” “m,” “mb,” “n,” “nd,” “ng,” “nt,” “ñ,” “o,” “ô,” “p,” “r,” “rr,” “s,” “t,” “u,” “û,” “v,” “y,” and “ÿ.” Vowel sounds are generated by a continuous, unrestricted flow of air through the mouth and nose. In Guaraní, 12 vowels are distinguished, six oral vowels and six nasal vowels. Oral vowels are generated by air flowing through the mouth, and nasal vowels are produced by air flowing through the nose. In modern Paraguayan orthography, the nasal vowels are represented with the nasal tilde (~) over the oral version of the vowel. The Guaraní language has 21 consonants. Consonants are produced by restricting or stopping the flow of air through the nose or mouth by putting both lips together or touching the tongue to the teeth.

While 90 percent of Paraguayans understand the aboriginal language Guaraní, the official language of Paraguay is Spanish, which is spoken by 70 percent of the population. The number of languages listed for Paraguay is 23. Of those, 21 are living languages. Paraguayan Americans can find their way through American culture using Spanish, but first-generation Paraguayan immigrants learn English. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 5,144 Paraguayan Americans speak a language other than English, while 2,903 Paraguayan Americans do not speak English very well.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Guaraní-speaking native Paraguayans express greetings with the word “Maitei.” For example, “Send my greeting to your mother” is “Maitei nde sipe.” Other forms of courtesy include “Mba eichapa neko’e?” which means “good morning, how are you?” The language of the Guaranis is oral and onomatopoeic and still preserves the sounds of the forest.

Hand shaking is the common greeting done on both arriving and departing. Men shake hands with other men and also with women. Women friends will embrace briefly and brush cheeks.

Two American gestures that cause offense are the “Good luck” sign made by crossing the middle finger over the index finger, and the “O.K.” gesture, with thumb and forefinger forming a circle. Tilting the head backward signifies “I forgot.” Winking is usually done only for romantic connotations.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Paraguayan Americans continue the ancient Guaraní custom of *minga*, which is the provision of mutual assistance in household and occupational

needs. Family and kin are the primary focus of an individual’s loyalties and identity. The family unit includes godchildren, godparents, and many other members of the extended family. Political alliances are reflected in families, while the community is of secondary importance to the family unit. Most Paraguayan Americans live in nuclear families consisting of spouses and children. These family units are smaller than those in Paraguay, where grandparents and other relatives may also live with the nuclear family. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there were 1,191 Paraguayan American married couples with children, and only 130 single-parent households. The majority of Paraguayan American families rent their homes, but 704 own their homes.

EDUCATION

Paraguayan Americans find schools in the United States to be superior to those in Paraguay, where only six years of attendance is required. The number of schools in Paraguay is also low, and about 20 percent of the adult population is illiterate. Many immigrants are students seeking educational opportunities, or young professionals seeking professional knowledge and skill development. The 1990 U.S. Census shows that of 4,132 Paraguayan American adults 25 years old and older, 997 were high school graduates, 700 attended school through 12th grade but have no diploma, 429 have a bachelor’s degree, and 653 have had some college experience. Of the 5,415 Paraguayan Americans in the U.S. population, 1,830 are enrolled in school.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Paraguayan women have not traditionally occupied significant positions in society outside of their family and household roles. Traditionally, women have been cast in the role of caretaker. If a marriage dissolves, the mother typically keeps the children. In Paraguay, abortion is illegal in all circumstances, even to save the life of the mother. Paraguayan women begin childbearing on average at the age of 20 years, and they average 4.4 children per household. Compared with other Latin American nations, Paraguay’s fertility rate is second only to Bolivia’s. According to a survey conducted by the National Demographic and Reproductive Health survey of Paraguay (known by its Spanish acronym, ENDSRO), Paraguayan women, on average, considered 3.6 children ideal. Paraguayan Americans tend to have fewer children than Paraguayans.

Women play an important role in keeping the family together. Women who seek employment outside the home do so in order to give their children

a better life. Many Paraguayan American women work in service related jobs such as hotel house-keeping and restaurant staff, though some have joined the entrepreneurial ranks as restaurant owners. Some women have also pursued educational and employment opportunities. Of the Paraguayan American labor force of 4,958 individuals, employed women number 1,537. Most of these women are private wage and salary workers.

BAPTISMS

Paraguayan Americans follow the baptism practice of the Roman Catholic church, which baptizes infants. Children are highly valued by Paraguayans, and so baptism into the Catholic faith is considered the appropriate cultural step for Paraguayan Americans. Baptism is the first ceremony for a child, and the time when a godparent is chosen. Godparents are then united with parents in the parenting role. The godparents chosen should be of good character and good standing in the community. Godparents are expected to raise the child if the parents are unable. Godparents assume the cost of the baptism and are expected to give gifts on the godchild's birthday and other significant occasions.

COURTSHIP

In the past, the Latin American and Roman Catholic traditions of courtship included the close supervision of young unmarried women. But such chaperonage does not take place for Paraguayan Americans, who often meet at community Catholic Church activities or through educational pursuits.

WEDDINGS

A formal church wedding in the traditional Roman Catholic practice or a civil wedding is the norm for most Paraguayan Americans. A church wedding in Paraguay represents a major expense for the families. A fiesta is an essential part of the ceremony, and customarily it is as large and expensive as the two families can possibly afford. For the civil wedding, the families meet for a much less expensive party and barbecue.

In the rural areas of Paraguay, common-law marriages are more prevalent than formal marriages. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, only 32 Paraguayan Americans live as unmarried partners in households.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

As a culture, Paraguayans have accepted other ethnic groups with minimal conflict. The majority of

Paraguayans are mestizos and the population is the most homogeneous of the countries of South America. Small numbers of Europeans, including German Mennonites and Italians, immigrated to Paraguay in the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, Asian and Middle Eastern people also immigrated to Paraguay. Of the 5.2 million Paraguayans today, about 8000 are Japanese or of Japanese descent.

Minorities became a significant presence during the 1970s and 1980s when thousands of Koreans and ethnic Chinese settled in urban Paraguay.

RELIGION

Roman Catholicism was established as the state religion in Paraguay in 1547 with the creation of the Bishopric of Asuncion. Jesuits propagated this faith among the Guaraní people in the centuries that followed, so that the country became 97 percent Roman Catholic and 3 percent Mennonite. Paraguayan law has required that the president must be a Roman Catholic, although the 1967 Constitution guarantees freedom of religion.

For Paraguayan American families, the role of religious instruction usually falls to the mother who functions as the family representative before the church. Children are exposed to the teachings of the church and are taken to mass by their mothers. By the age of ten, children are full participants of catechism classes, confessions, and communion. Teenage boys typically drift away from church, while girls are encouraged to continue religious devotion. Paraguayan men do not consider religious devotion to be the role of men. Although the majority of Paraguayan men are baptized, religious ardor is not significant to them, as they follow the Latin American macho ideal of manhood which leaves moral and spiritual concepts to women and children.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Paraguay has a predominantly agricultural economy. The work force in 1995 was 1.7 million, with agriculture representing 45 percent, industry and commerce representing 31 percent, services representing 19 percent and government representing 4 percent of the work force. The principal industries are those related to cattle, such as cold storage plants, tanneries, leather goods, and manufacturing. Other important industries include textiles, cotton oil, tung, soy bean, sourmills, construction materials, cement and lime, tobacco and sugar. Paraguay's labor code allows a 48-hour work week, and forbids work by children

under 12. Children from 15 to 18 years of age can be employed only with parental authorization and cannot be employed under unhealthy or dangerous conditions. Minors between 12 and 15 years old may be employed only in agriculture, family enterprises or apprenticeships. But in reality, several thousands of children, many under the age of 12, work in urban streets in informal employment.

The law also provides for a minimum wage of \$240 per month, an annual bonus of one month's salary and a minimum of six vacation days a year. However, enforcement of this law is lax. U.S. investors in Paraguay provide better working and pay conditions than their national counterparts, and Paraguayan Americans in the United States are more affluent than their national counterparts. The 1990 U.S. Census shows that the average household income for Paraguayan Americans is \$32,981. Additionally, 141 of the 1,773 households reported annual earnings of over \$100,000. Only 76 Paraguayan American households received public assistance.

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, three-fourths of Paraguayan Americans are employed. Employment is highest in service occupations, sales and clerical positions, followed by professionals and managerial positions, and precision production and repair work. Around ten percent are self-employed.

Paraguayan American attitudes toward work are fundamentally different from the typical American. Paraguayans regard employment as a way of establishing a personal relationship more than as a source of income. The individualistic, capitalist work-ethic is considered anti-social.

In January 1995, Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay became members of MERCOSUR, the "Southern Cone Common Market." With the elimination of internal tariffs on 85 percent of all goods produced by the member-countries, and total elimination scheduled for the year 2006, what may now be regarded as Paraguay's domestic market has effectively grown from some five million people to somewhere in excess of 200 million, the majority of them in the more affluent societies of Argentina and Brazil.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

For Paraguayans, political parties are not a matter of personal conviction. Citizens become Liberals or Colorado at birth and allegiance is lifelong. A person claiming political neutrality is suspected of hiding true motivations. American political party affiliation by personal conviction is a very different experience for the Paraguayan American. There is no record of Paraguayan American political activity on a national scale.

MILITARY

In Paraguay, military service is compulsory, and all 17-year-old males are liable for one year of active duty. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 14 Paraguayan Americans serve in the armed forces, 82 male civilians are veterans and 18 female civilians are veterans.

RELATIONS WITH PARAGUAY

The United States and Paraguay have an extensive relationship at the government, business, and personal level. The U.S. Government has assisted Paraguayan development since 1937. Although U.S. imports from Paraguay are only about \$40 million per year, U.S. exports to Paraguay approach \$1 billion per year, according to U.S. Customs data. More than a dozen U.S. multi-national firms have subsidiaries in Paraguay. These include firms in the computer, manufacturing, agri-industrial, banking, and other service industries. Some 75 U.S. businesses have agents or representatives in Paraguay, and over 3,000 U.S. citizens reside there.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) provided more than \$5 million in assistance per year for Fiscal Years 1997 and 1998 and anticipates a similar level in Fiscal Year 1999. The U.S. Department of Defense provides technical assistance and training to help modernize, professionalize, and democratize the military. The Peace Corps has about 170 volunteers working throughout Paraguay on projects ranging from agriculture and natural resources to education, rural health, and urban youth development. The U.S. Information Service (USIS) is also active in Paraguay, providing information on the United States to the press and public, as well as helping arrange educational and citizen exchanges to promote democracy.

Relations between the United States and Paraguay are not always smooth. In the late 1970s, the relationship between the United States and Paraguay faltered as a result of human rights abuses and the absence of political reform. Foreign relations were also adversely affected by the involvement of some members of Stroessner's government in narcotics trafficking. A U.S. State Department report in 1996 identified Paraguay as a regional distribution and assembly center for counterfeit merchandise. The re-export trade to Brazil, catering to consumer demand for such items as electronics, audio tapes and compact discs, designer clothing and footwear had encouraged widespread piracy. In November 1998, U.S. and Paraguayan officials signed a memorandum of understanding on steps to improve protection of intellectual property rights in Paraguay. Also in 1998, a Paraguayan national was executed by the State of Virginia. The Government of the United States con-

veyed its apologies to the Government and people of Paraguay because the execution violated the Vienna Convention. The Paraguayan national was not told of his right to request consular assistance.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Paraguayan Americans have not made significant contributions to American popular culture, or to the arts and sciences. Much of Paraguayan literature is historical or legal writing. Still, Paraguay has always attracted the attention of other cultural giants. For example, Voltaire mentions Paraguay in *Candide*, and English writers Thomas Carlyle and Richard Burton mention the isolationist policies of the country in the 19th century. America's own political humorist P. J. O'Rourke wrote that, "Paraguay is nowhere and famous for nothing," but then visited the country to cover elections, and fell in love with the country and its people.

MUSIC

Agustín Barrios (1885-1944), one of Latin America's most revered composers for the guitar. He often performed his music in full Guaraní costume, promoting himself as the Paganini of the guitar from the Paraguayan jungles. Berta Rojas, a Paraguayan guitarist and a student of Peabody Conservatory's Manuel Barruenco, performs Barrios' compositions, in the grand traditions of classical and Latin guitar, for American audiences.

MEDIA

The growing Hispanic media in the United States makes it possible for Spanish-speaking Paraguayans to enjoy television, radio, and printed publications in the Spanish language.

PRINT

Diario las Americas.

Daily newspaper serving Hispanics.

Address: 2900 Northwest 39th Street, Miami, Florida 33142-5193.

Telephone: (305) 633-3341.

Hispanic.

A monthly magazine with features on Hispanics in the fields of education, politics, business, and the arts.

Address: 111 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Suite 410, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Telephone: (202) 682-3000.

La Nacion.

Online Paraguayan newspaper.

Online: <http://www.diarionoticias.com.py/>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Asociacion Nacional por Personas Mayores (National Association for Hispanic Elderly).

Association providing employment training, health, housing and economic development for Hispanic families and a national directory of social service programs that provide support to Hispanic elderly.

Address: 3325 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 800, Los Angeles, California 90010.

Telephone: (213) 487-1922.

Friends of Paraguay.

Non-profit organization created in 1987 to establish a network of returned Peace Corps Volunteers and others interested in improving communication and information exchange in support of social, cultural, and economic development in Paraguay.

Address: P.O. Box 27028, Washington, D.C. 20038-7028.

Online: <http://www.pipeline.com/~ybycui/fop.htm>.

Latin American Parents Association (LAPA).

Non-profit organization in New Jersey, Connecticut, and New York. A volunteer association of adoptive parents committed to aiding people seeking to adopt children from Latin America, as well as assisting those who have already adopted. Membership is open to anyone interested in Latin American adoptions. Annual dues are \$40.

Addresses of independent chapters:

LAPA Connecticut, Inc., P.O. Box 523, Unionville, Connecticut 06085 .

LAPA Maryland, P.O. Box 4403, Silver Spring, Maryland 20914-4403.

LAPA New York, Inc., P.O. Box 339, Brooklyn, New York 11234.

LAPA NJ, P.O. Box 2666, Fairlawn, New Jersey 07411.

LAPA NJ State Chapter., P.O. Box 3125, Princeton, New Jersey 08543.

Minga.

Organization working for human rights and grassroots development in the Alto Paran region in Eastern Paraguay. Provides small grants to assist communities, emergency relief for displaced people, and seed grants for community-based sustainable development projects to fight poverty.

Members receive a newsletter and urgent action updates. Memberships are \$25 for individual membership or \$50 for contributing membership. Contributions are tax-deductible.

Address: 705 East Woodley Street, Northfield, Minnesota 55057.
Telephone: (507) 645-6435.

Paraguayan Embassy.

Paraguay maintains an embassy in the United States. Consulates are in Miami, New York, New Orleans, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

Address: 2400 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.
Telephone: (202) 483-6960.

Paraguay Hecho a Mano, Inc.

Non-profit organization meaning "Paraguay Made by Hand," focusing on the preservation of the native Paraguayan culture through education and sale and exhibition of Paraguayan crafts in the U.S.

Contact: Carol Pope.
Address: 2705 Brook View Court, Brookfield, Wisconsin 53005.
Telephone: (414) 784-7917; or (414) 790-1195.
E-mail: cpope@execpe.com.
Online: <http://www.data-direct.com/pham>.

Partners of the Americas: Kansas and Paraguay.

Non-profit, volunteer organization with headquarters in Washington DC. The state of Kansas and Paraguay are partnered. Program has developed exchanges in areas such as agriculture, citizen participation, cultural arts, international trade, emergency preparedness, health, natural resources, university linkage, and women in development and youth.

Address: 1424 K Street N.W., #700, Washington D.C. 20005.
Telephone: (202) 628-3300, (800)322-7844.

Project for the People of Paraguay.

This organization has delivered four shipments of medical, dental, educational, and personal supplies to non-profit organizations and schools in Paraguay.

Offers sponsorships of Paraguayan child living in the Chacarita, Puerto Pabla, areas or Asuncion. \$20 a month provides clothes, medical dental, and educational expenses for the sponsored child. Sponsors receive photos and information about the child and family they sponsor.

Address: P.O. Box 251, Avon, Minnesota 56310.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Denver Art Museum.

Collection of Paraguayan native art that includes textiles, jewelry, paintings, sculpture, furniture and silver.

Address: 100 West 14th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80204.
Telephone: (303) 640-4433.

Indiana University Main Library.

Outstanding collection of sound recordings of various Guarani groups.

Address: Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

Thomas Rivera Library.

Part of the University of California, Riverside. Possesses the best collection of Paraguayan primary materials on the West Coast.

Address: Riverside, California 92517.

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P ERUVIAN AMERICANS

by
John Packel

OVERVIEW

The third-largest country in South America, Peru borders Ecuador and Colombia to the north, Brazil and Bolivia to the east, and Chile to the south. At 496,222 square miles, it is larger than Spain, Portugal, and France combined. In 1993 Peru had a population of over 22 million, and its capital, Lima, was home to fully one-third. This picturesque land is divided into three main geographic regions: the *costa*, along the South Pacific; the *sierra*, or highlands of the Andes mountains; and the *selva*, or jungle, in the east.

The *costa* is a thin, mostly barren strip of desert between the ocean and the mountains. Except for a few valleys where mountain rivers have brought enough water to make farming possible, the Peruvian desert is the driest in the world, with some areas never having seen even an inch of rain in recorded history. This region is prone to earthquakes, such as the one in 1970 that killed 66,000 people. Every few years in late December a warm Pacific current called *El Niño* (the Christ child) brings serious weather conditions that have disastrous effects on Peru's fishing industry and, in turn, its economy.

The upland plateau known as the *sierra* represents about one-fourth of Peru's land and holds a majority of the country's population. Its average elevation is 13,000 feet, making the air rather thin and cold, and ten peaks top 20,000 feet. (The highest is

Peruvians are attracted to the political and economic stability of the United States, the work opportunities, and the chance for their children to go to school and have a better future. A majority of these immigrants have family or acquaintances established in the United States who serve as intermediaries in their transition to a new culture.

Mt. Huascarán at 22,334 feet.) Called the backbone of the continent, the Andes Mountains stretch from the Caribbean Sea all the way down the Pacific coast. Rivers flowing eastward to the Amazon Basin have cut scenic gorges as deep as 5,000 feet, at the bottom of which the climate becomes tropical. On Peru's southeast border with Bolivia, Lake Titicaca spans 3,200 square miles at an elevation of 12,507 feet, making it the world's highest navigable lake.

Peru's largest geographic area, the *selva* or *montaña* region, begins with the eastern slopes of the Andes and stretches eastward to include part of the Amazon River Basin's tropical rainforest. The lower elevations contain very dense vegetation and there are virtually no roads, with transportation taking place on the rivers.

HISTORY

Most anthropologists believe that the first inhabitants of the Americas crossed over from Asia during an ice age about 30,000 years ago across a land bridge connected to Alaska where the Bering Strait is now. Some of these people migrated down the Pacific coast and arrived in the Andean region about 20,000 years ago. Little is known about this time, but the first settlements were along the coast and relied mainly on fish and wild plants and animals. Agriculture probably began around 4000 b.c., and by 2000 b.c. civilization had advanced to the point where ceremonial centers were being built in coastal areas and the skill of making pottery had developed.

The early peoples of the *montaña* grew river valley plants such as peanuts, cucumbers, manioc, squash, beans, sweet potatoes, and chili peppers. Those in the tropical forests also grew cotton and plants used for medicinal purposes. The coastal peoples farmed the sea for fish, which they at times traded to those in the highlands for the grains and potatoes cultivated there. They probably did not use boats for fishing but rather cotton nets. Anchovy runs allowed for the collection of fresh fish which could be dried and ground into a meal that was preserved for months by covering it with earth. Beached whales provided the opportunity for an immediate feast, as the meat could not be stored.

Up to approximately 900 b.c. the Andean region saw a number of small states existing relatively independently. But advances in agriculture occasioned a growth in population and the first truly urban societies in Peru. These urban environments provided the structure and personnel required for a more specialized society. A measure of communication between neighbor societies helped

provide the right conditions for expansion to full-fledged empires, and a number of these rose and fell prior to the Inca empire.

The first known of these empires was the Chavín, which expanded to encompass much of northern Peru and the central coast and lasted perhaps 1500 years. In a narrow Andean valley there are the remains of Chavín de Huántar, a city with extensive architecture. The inhabitants' stone carvings, pottery, textiles, and metalwork feature a god in the form of a fierce puma, or jaguar. The Chavín people's Akaro language was the predecessor of Aymará, which is still spoken by a small minority of Peru's population today. The Chavín were also adept at farming in the mountains and cultivated maize up to elevations of 9,000 feet.

Roughly contemporary with the Chavín was the Paracas civilization in the south. Their elaborate fabrics, woven on looms from cotton and alpaca wool, are known today because they were used in a type of mummification process. The coastal heat created oven-like conditions in the tombs and dried the contents out, thus preserving them.

The Nazca people ruled to the south of the Paracas for over a thousand years beginning about 500 b.c. They also produced wondrous fabrics, but their finest work was colorful pottery featuring birds, fish, fruit, and mythological creatures. The Nazca era is best known, however, for the mysterious lines cut into the earth by scraping away sun-scorched brown rock to reveal the yellow sand underneath. These enormous patterns, some of which are five miles long, form outlines of birds, spiders, monkeys, and other unidentifiable shapes. Scientists speculate that the shapes may have had something to do with astrological studies or an ancient calendar.

The Moche River valley, on Peru's north coast, was home to the Mochicas from about 100 to 750 a.d. They were gifted engineers and developed irrigation systems employing canals and aqueducts. The Mochicas were among the first to build roads in Peru; this facilitated the movement of their armies and made possible a messenger network in which runners carried messages marked on beads. They also pioneered the use of guano—the droppings of coastal birds—as fertilizer, a practice still in use today. They harvested the guano by paddling rafts out to off-shore islands.

The Tiahuanaco culture was based near Lake Titicaca on the high plains of present-day Bolivia at an elevation of about 15,000 feet. Its capital featured a pyramid-shaped fortress called the Acapana and courts that consisted of huge platforms made from stones weighing as much as 100 tons. In about

500 a.d. the Tiahuanacans extended their influence up the coast, bringing a religion that portrayed a weeping god with bands of tears around his eyes. With the fading of this culture came a return to the rural village life of disparate tribes.

This tribal period ended around 1000 a.d. with the ascendance of the Chimu kingdom, which had grown out of the Mochica empire and spanned nearly 600 miles of coast from present-day Lima to Ecuador. The Chimu capital, Chanchan, was a meticulously laid out 14-square-mile city with 40-foot clay walls featuring intricate, repeated patterns of birds, fish, and geometrical shapes. The primary building material was large adobe brick, and huge pyramids towered above the city. The Chimu people's advanced irrigation systems included reservoirs lined with stones.

THE INCAN EMPIRE

The Incas of Peru were one of the most advanced civilizations in pre-Columbian America, rivalled only by the Mayans and the Aztecs of Mesoamerica. We know more about the Incas than their Andean predecessors because of their fateful contact with the Spanish conquistadors in the sixteenth century. Though the Incas never developed a written language, a number of Spaniards chronicled the Incan oral history and legends. One of these was Garcilasa de la Vega, who was born in Cuzco in 1540 to an Inca princess and a Spanish conquistador and governor.

One legend told of the sun-god, Inti, creating a brother and sister, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, on an island in Lake Titicaca. He gave them a golden staff and told them to wander until the staff sunk into the ground, at which point they would show humans how to build villages, cultivate the land, and appreciate the sun-god's wisdom. The brother and sister wandered northward through the mountains to a beautiful river valley, where Manco Capac threw the staff and it disappeared into the ground. They named the place Cuzco, "the navel of the world," and the Inca nation was born.

Manco Capac was the first of eight Incan rulers from approximately 1200 to 1400 a.d. who built a small state centered in Cuzco. The expansion to a mighty empire began after 1430, when the powerful Chanca nation to the west of Cuzco attacked the Incas. Prince Yupanqui, who had been exiled to a distant llama ranch by his father, returned and defeated the Chancas. He became the ninth Incan ruler in 1438, renamed himself Pachacuti—"he who transforms the earth"—and set about unifying the Andean tribes into a powerful empire. He expanded the empire to the point where it reached from

Lake Titicaca in the southeast to Lake Junin in the northwest.

Pachacuti and his successors would first send ambassadors to a rival tribe to try to persuade them to join the prosperous nation, which had storehouses to guarantee food in times of famine. If neither this nor the sight of the Inca army won the tribe over without a battle, the Incas used their superior weaponry. This included the bola, a series of thongs with stones attached which wrapped around an enemy's legs; rocks propelled by slings swung over the head; stone clubs and double-edged wooden swords; and protective gear such as helmets, shields, and huge spans of heavy cloth, which repelled sling-stone attacks.

Pachacuti's son, Topa Inca, expanded the empire northward almost to what is now Quito, Ecuador, and then turned west toward the coast. He persuaded the Chimu people to join in the empire and then continued southward down the coast beyond Lima into the northern territories of present-day Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina. His son, Huayna Capac, became the eleventh Lord Inca in 1493 and pushed the boundaries of Inca control into the highlands of Ecuador. At this point the Inca empire was at its peak, extending 2,500 miles north to south and covering 380,000 square miles. Close to 12 million people, speaking 20 languages and comprising at least 100 distinct tribes, had been unified under the all-important Inca ruler.

When a new tribe was brought into the empire—whether peacefully or through force—Inca soldiers were stationed in the land, and then government officials, called *curacas*, arrived to take a census, divide the land according to the Inca labor structure, and teach the Quechua ("KESH-wah") language. Members of the nobility were brought back to Cuzco to learn the Incan customs, and the tribe's religious idols were taken hostage to dissuade the local people from rebelling. When conflicts arose the Incas were likely to remove the troublesome element of the local population and replace it with loyal Inca *mitimaes*, whose purpose was to set the proper example.

Essential to the Inca empire building was their vast network of roads, which grew to an amazing length of 10,000 miles. The Royal Road was carved out of the mountain walls in the high Andes. Cutting switchbacks to climb mountainsides and at times tunneling through the mountain itself, the road was as narrow as 3 feet in places but stretched from one end of the empire to the other. The coast had a companion highway, wider and straighter, that ran from the southern city of Arequipa to Tumbes in the north. Shorter roads connected these

two main ones at periodic intervals spanning the empire. Rest houses called *tampus* dotted the highways and were spaced about a day's journey apart. Storage spaces were often nearby and contained supplies for the 25,000-member Incan army.

The Incas were also adept at engineering bridges over the many rivers and ravines of their mountainous land, as well as causeways over tracts of swampland. A number of the bridges continued to be used during the Spanish colonial era, including the 250-foot suspension bridge over the Apurimac River, which lasted from 1350 to 1890. The suspension bridges consisted of five braided cables, each a foot thick, made from the fibers of the maguey plant. Three of the cables formed the base of the walkway, the other two were the side rails, and all were attached to beams sunk into piles of rock and earth. Though they swayed in the wind, the bridges were crossed safely by people, pack-laden llamas, and later the Spaniards' horses. Other types of bridges included pontoons of reed boats strapped together and baskets suspended from cables which ferried people and supplies across a ravine.

These roads and bridges were used not only by the army and by pedestrians granted permission by the government, but also by those performing a function essential to maintaining the empire—the messengers known as *chasquis*. These runners carried oral messages, small packages, or *quipus* (Incan counting devices made from strings with a series of knots in them) from village to village and from the capital to all parts of the empire. Every mile or two there were two huts, one on either side of the road, which housed runners who would continue the relay on to the next station. This communication system could transmit a message 420 miles from Lima to Cuzco in just three days. This speed was critical for quelling rebellions by conquered peoples.

Also important for Incan military success was their network of fortresses, or *pucarás*. Constructed on hilltops with views of major valleys, the *pucarás* had barracks, houses, reservoirs, and a sun temple. When an enemy tribe approached, the Incas of a nearby city would flee to the fortress for protection. Machu Picchu, the most famous of these *pucarás*, was never found by the Spanish and was only rediscovered by modern explorers in 1911. Machu Picchu had terraces for farming, palaces, and an aqueduct that carried in water from a spring a mile away and channeled it down a series of 16 stone basins. Because the Incas did not use cement to hold their structures together the stones had to be cut with such precision that they would fit together snugly—so close, in fact, that even today a knife blade cannot penetrate the spaces between them.

The Incas relied on a high degree of social stratification and specialization to accomplish their military and organizational feats. Believed to be a direct descendant of the sun, the king was a divine ruler, and he had two classes of nobility serving him. The “Incas by birth,” who could claim descent from Manco Capac, made up the Incas' advisory Council of Nobles and were governors and administrators of the empire's provinces. The lower “Incas by privilege” held honorary titles and served as *curacas* responsible for a specific number of people. Military heroes and the leaders of vanquished tribes often had this status conferred upon them by the ruling Inca.

In 1525, the Inca Huayna Capac died in an epidemic that may have been smallpox or the measles, diseases introduced by the Spanish for which the native population had no immunity. Because the ruler had failed to designate his successor, two of his sons shared the role for a time—Atahualpa ruling the north from Quito and Huáscar the south from Cuzco. But soon tensions broke out between the two and Atahualpa sent his father's army against Huáscar, who was defeated and later killed. This civil war lasted a number of years and severely weakened the empire at an inopportune time, for reports of strange white-faced, bearded men in “sea houses” were brought to the Inca, who thought it best to ignore them and hope they would go away.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST

In May of 1532, Francisco Pizarro, a Spaniard seeking to conquer land and plunder gold for himself and his king, landed near the coastal city of Tumbes with a force of 180 cavalymen and foot soldiers. He was aware of the civil war and set out toward the mountain city of Cajamarca, where Atahualpa and 30,000 Incas waited. Apparently, the Inca thought that the foreigners were there to surrender. But when Atahualpa furiously rejected a Spanish priest's offer of a prayerbook and an explanation that Spain now ruled the land, a massacre ensued in which the Spaniards used crossbows, cannons, and muskets to slaughter 2,000 Incas and take their leader prisoner.

Atahualpa tried to ransom himself with the promise of enough gold and silver to fill his cell. For two months works of art made of the precious metals poured in from the surrounding areas and were melted into gold bars, 20 percent going to King Charles I and the remainder to Pizarro and his men. This did not help Atahualpa or the Incas, however, because the invaders feared a rebellion and thought it safer to have the ruler burned at the stake.

Atahualpa objected that this would deprive him of proper burial and an afterlife, and so he was given the option of being baptized a Christian and then strangled. The last king of the majestic Incan empire was killed in this manner on August 29, 1533. For a number of years Huáscar's half-brother and his sons battled the Spanish fruitlessly; the last resistor, Topa Amaru, was executed in Cuzco in 1572.

Spain ruled Peru as a viceroyalty for nearly 300 years after the conquest and regarded it more or less as a huge mine that existed to fill the crown's coffers. The Spaniards felt that as a superior culture their customs and particularly the church brought civilized society to the natives. The political and economic system they instituted to carry out their aims, called *encomienda*, granted soldiers and colonists land and mining permits, as well as the slave labor of the natives. Living and working conditions for the native Peruvians on the farms and especially in the mines were horrendous: hard labor, malnutrition (exacerbated by the Spaniards' introduction of European crops and the elimination of many native ones), and especially diseases wiped out an estimated 90 percent of the pre-conquest native population within a century.

During this colonial period Spain passed legislation attempting to protect the native population, but it was virtually ineffectual. Practices specifically outlawed—such as debt peonage, where subjects are trapped in an unending cycle of indebtedness for necessities of life which cannot be overcome through their labor—were in reality widespread. The influx of Spaniards taking advantage of these opportunities, as well as 100,000 African slaves, became part of a highly stratified society with European-born Spaniards at the top, Peruvian-born Spaniards (Creoles) next, and the urban working poor, the black slaves, and the indigenous population at the bottom.

In 1780 a descendant of the last Inca took the name Tupac Amaru and led a rebellion by the indigenous population. The rebellion began to gain wider support by condemning the corruption of colonial officials, but promptly lost it with indiscriminate attacks on Spaniards and Creoles. Ultimately, the campaign for independence resulted from conditions outside Peru and had to be led by outsiders. When Napoleon invaded Spain and imprisoned the king in 1808, the vacuum of authority allowed the Creoles in the colonial capitals set up autonomous regimes. Then between 1820 and 1824, José de San Martín and Simón de Bolívar, two generals who had liberated Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, and Colombia from Spanish rule, completed the process by adding Peru to the list. Elect-

ed president-for-life, Bolívar attempted to modernize the country by cutting taxes, funding schools, and lifting many of the worst abuses against the indigenous population, but conservative Creole opposition forced him to leave after only two years.

INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC INSTABILITY

After two decades of chaos, including wars lost to Bolivia, Colombia, and Chile, General Ramón Castilla brought a measure of stability and prosperity to Peru during his control of the country from 1845 to 1862. He exploited the economic benefits of guano, a bird dung collected from islands off the coast of Peru and sold to Europe for fertilizer, as well as desert deposits of sodium nitrate, which was used to make munitions and fertilizer. The general also organized a public school system, built the country's first railroad, ended the tribute tax paid by indigenous people, and abolished slavery, which led to the importation of Chinese laborers.

Peru's defeat by Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), fought over lands with rich nitrate deposits, was a humiliating experience that led many to call for an improvement in the lot of indigenous Peruvians so that they might contribute more fully to the society. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries showed evidence of efforts to modernize the society and economy. Public administration was improved, the armed forces were professionalized, public education was fostered, and modern labor legislation was enacted. These contributed to the conditions that encouraged foreign investment capital in the burgeoning sugar, cotton, copper, and rubber industries. This, in turn, created an urban industrial proletariat and strengthened the middle class.

In the 1930s the Great Depression had a crippling effect on the Peruvian economy as export markets collapsed and foreign loans dried up. This situation seems to have contributed to the rise of a political movement known as the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), which was anti-communist but borrowed from the ideologies of Marxism and Italian fascism and advocated agrarian reform, the nationalization of industry, and opposition to U.S. imperialism. APRA's leader, the formerly exiled student organizer Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, never won the presidency, but the party maintained a major presence in the political scene for over 40 years, both through bloody conflicts with the armed forces and through congressional coalitions in the years APRA was not banned.

The Peruvian military had long played a large role in the state, either through generals assuming

the presidency or by influencing elections. In 1962, for example, a slight plurality by APRA brought a nullification of the results and the election of Fernando Belaúnde Terry a year later. From 1968 to 1975 General Juan Velasco Alvarado and the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces ruled in an attempt to create a new and prosperous Peru that was “neither capitalist nor communist.” The general forged ties with socialist countries and made Peru a voice for third world interests. He nationalized most of the country’s banks, its railroads and utilities, and many foreign corporations.

Central to this effort to control the economy and increase social justice was Velasco’s land reform, which was among the most extensive in Latin America. Ninety percent of Peru’s farmland had been owned by a landed aristocracy comprising just two percent of the population, so the administration appropriated 25 million acres of this land and distributed it to worker-owned cooperatives and individual families. This failed to achieve the far-ranging effects hoped, however, in part because of the insufficient amount of arable land relative to the large number of people, and also because of the absence of policies giving the poor a greater share of the benefits.

Civilian rule returned with the reelection of Belaúnde Terry in 1980 after a constituent assembly had drawn up a new constitution. The presidency was transferred peacefully in 1985 to Alan García Pérez of the APRA and again in 1990 to Alberto Fujimori, a Peruvian university professor of Japanese descent who won in a run-off against the novelist Mario Vargas Llosa. Peru’s poor economic performance, including inflation that soared as high as 2800 percent annually, continued to wreak social havoc. After a period of accepting austerity measures as conditions for aid from the International Monetary Fund, under García, Peru declared a severe reduction in the debt payments it would make to foreign investors and nationalized an American oil company, which resulted in a cut-off of needed credit and U.S. aid.

In addition to these economic woes, Peru suffered from social disruption caused by leftist terrorist groups and the governmental response to them. A guerrilla organization founded by university professor Carlos Abimael Guzmán Reynoso and guided by the principles of the Chinese dictator Mao Zedong, the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), specialized in assassination and the use of violent intimidation against the peasants, such as cutting off their fingers to prevent them from voting. In a period of less than 20 years, 30,000 people were killed. The Tupac Amará movement was another

group carrying out equally vicious attacks in Peru’s urban areas. The coca harvests, which supplied much of the United States’ huge cocaine market, also brought violence as U.S. pressure to destroy crops led to terrorist attacks on local officials by those profiting from the drug trade. In the midst of these social woes, the country’s pride received a boost in 1981 when the United Nations elected a Peruvian, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, to a five-year term as Secretary General.

In 1992 President Fujimori responded to these economic and social crises by dissolving the congress and judiciary and consolidating power in a Government of Emergency and National Reconstruction, while promising to submit a revised constitution to a referendum and hold elections at some point in the future. Referred to as an *autogolpe*, or self-coup, Fujimori’s takeover also involved a suspension of civil liberties. These bold moves were well-received by the public, however, and his popularity increased further when Sendero leader Guzmán was captured and the movement’s stronghold on certain rural areas, such as Ayacucho, was broken. As of 1994 Fujimori was attempting to improve Peru’s standing with international creditors and lending agencies and to lure foreign investment back to the country, but the task remained a daunting one.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Peruvians began immigrating to the United States in small numbers early in the twentieth century, but the vast majority have come since World War II and especially in the last 20 years (when the United States has been the destination for more Peruvians than any other country). Official statistics show a Peruvian population of 162,000 in 1990, but other estimates put the number beyond 300,000. Some of the disparity may have to do with illegal immigrants who were not counted in the former number. It is more clear where the immigrants have settled. The largest concentration, over 80,000, reside in the New York metropolitan area—particularly in Paterson, New Jersey, and in the New York City borough of Queens. Peruvians are also clustered around the cities of Miami, Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.

Peru’s social and economic crises are at the root of internal migration from rural areas to the cities, as well as immigration to the United States. Unemployment rates of over 50 percent have left many without a means to earn the basic necessities of life,



This Peruvian American shepherd is inoculating the sheep in his small herd.

and others are chronically underemployed. An unstable political climate and especially political violence by terrorist groups have caused many to flee. Peruvians are attracted to the political and economic stability of the United States, the work opportunities, and the chance for their children to go to school and have a better future. A majority of these immigrants have family or acquaintances established in the United States who serve as intermediaries in their transition to a new culture.

In addition to the family, there are social institutions that aid the Peruvians' assimilation to American culture. The Catholic Church is important to newly arrived Peruvians because of its familiarity, the services it often extends in terms of finding work and applying for citizenship, and the opportunity it affords for meeting other Peruvians, including those of a higher social class. Also important is the broader Latino community. Peruvians benefit from sharing a language and many cultural traits with other more established groups. The travel, legal, and labor services that already exist in these communities assist newer immigrants. State social service programs are also available to the most indigent.

Peruvians from the upper class have benefitted economically from their immigration to the United States because on the whole they have been able to transfer their capital and business expertise. They range from owners of factories and large stores to accountants for major banks and corporations to agro-industrial managers. However, this group has faced major obstacles to its assimilation. Although

they are well off financially, these Peruvians do not have the economic or particularly the political power they had in Peru. Yet, because of their background, they tend not to identify with the middle-class Americans whose status they share. Many try to compensate by joining relatively exclusive associations that have social gatherings for holidays and weddings.

Middle-class Peruvian immigrants did not arrive in large numbers until the 1970s, when the exodus was led by doctors and engineers. Assimilation has been relatively easy for this group, and consequently they have been labelled the "children of success." Like those from the upper class, they had been familiar with American cultural practices before their arrival. The difference was that these middle-class Peruvians did not lose any prerogatives or privileges. This group tends to maintain a stronger cultural and religious identity through participation in church and other social activities.

Peru's lower classes were the last to take advantage of the opportunities in America and have immigrated in increasing numbers since the mid-1980s. These immigrants have come from positions ranging from low-level bureaucrats to manual laborers. They have had the most difficulty assimilating on account of their tendency to lack formal education, to have a greater difficulty learning English, and to cling more tightly to their home culture. They generally live in areas of urban poverty and have a lot of pressure to send money back to families in Peru. Many in this group have only recently made the transition from rural to urban life in Peru,

where they have learned or improved their Spanish in order to come here.

HEALTH ISSUES

As is the case with the nation's standard of living in general, there is a great disparity between rural and urban health care in Peru. Most health services are located in the cities; residents of Lima have the best access to health care and about 60 percent of the country's hospital beds. Only about one-third of the rural population sees a doctor even once a year. Part of this is owed to the fact that many in Peru's indigenous population are superstitious and reluctant to use Western medicine, preferring instead home remedies and in some cases even ritual magic. Respiratory diseases are common, and many diseases are spread through parasites and infection. The infant mortality rate in Peru is very high—84 per 1,000 live births—and the life expectancy of 61 for men and 65 for women is low.

A major medical catastrophe struck Peru in 1991 when an epidemic of cholera broke out. A result of dismal or nonexistent sanitation systems that left the vast majority of rural residents without clean drinking water, the cholera spread quickly to over 50,000 people and killed hundreds. Health officials estimate that only five percent of those living in rural areas have access to potable water, and in the cities the figure is a still dangerous 80 percent.

LANGUAGE

Spanish has been Peru's official language since the Spanish conquest. Approximately 80 percent of all Peruvians speak Spanish today, including some who also speak one of the indigenous languages, Quechua ("KESH-wah") or Aymará. A language that grew out of the Latin brought to Spain by conquering Romans, Spanish has a vocabulary and structure similar to other Romance languages, such as French and especially Italian. Its alphabet generally overlaps with that of English and contains 28 letters: "k" and "w" occur only in words of foreign origin, and additional letters are "ch" (as in "chest"), "ll" (generally pronounced like the English "y"), "ñ" (like the "ny" in "canyon," which comes from the Spanish *cañón*), and "rr" (a rolled "r" sound). The "b" and "v" are interchangeable in Spanish and are a bit softer than an English "b." The "h" is silent, and the "d" can have a soft "th" sound within a word. Spanish vowels have one primary sound, making spelling and pronunciation on sight much easier than in English: "i" (as in "feet"), "e" (as in "they"), "a" (as in "hot"), "o" (as in "low"), "u" (as in "rude"). Words ending in

a vowel, "n" or "s" are accented on the next-to-last syllable, those ending in other consonants have stress on the last syllable, and any exceptions require an accent mark.

Some common greetings and expressions include the following: *hola*—hello; *buenos días*—hello, good day; *buenas tardes*—good afternoon; *buenas noches*—good night; *como está usted*—how are you?; *adiós*—good-bye; *hasta mañana*—good-bye (literally "until tomorrow"); *hasta luego*—good-bye (literally "until later"); *por favor*—please; *gracias*—thank you; *feliz navidad*—Merry Christmas.

When San Martín issued proclamations declaring Peru's independence in 1821, he used both Spanish and Quechua (the Incan language, also known as Runasimi) and made both official languages. Bolívar, however, did not favor Quechua, and thereafter Peruvian governments ignored the language, hoping it would die out. This changed in 1975 when, in an effort to promote cultural pride among the indigenous population as a means to increasing their stake in Peruvian society, the military government declared Quechua an official language along with Spanish. Today Quechua is the most widely spoken of any Native American language, with perhaps seven million speakers in South America. Though there is a social stigma attached to the language because virtually all of its Peruvian speakers are members of the underclass, still the two million Peruvian highlanders who speak only Quechua are proud of their linguistic and cultural heritage and have resisted the forces of Europeanization.

These are a few Quechua expressions: *allilanchu* ("ah-yee-YAN-choo")—how are you?; *allinmi* ("ah-YEEN-me")—I'm fine; *maymantam* ("my-MON-tom")—where are you from?; *imatam sutyiki* ("ee-MAH-tom soo-TEE-kee")—what is your name? The English word "jerky" comes from the Quechua word for dried meat, *charki*, and the Spanish coca plant, which is the source of cocaine, gets its name from the Quechua word *kuka*.

A smaller number of Peru's indigenous highlanders, probably about half a million, speak Aymará, the language of a tribe conquered by the Incas. Also, in the rainforests of eastern Peru the 40 or so tribes speak a number of ancient tribal languages.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Approximately 45 percent of Peruvians today are descendants of Peru's indigenous population, often referred to as Indian, while about 43 percent are mestizos, people of mixed indigenous and Spanish

heritage. Another ten percent are of unmixed European ancestry, almost all Spanish. The blacks who are descendants of the slaves from Africa, and those whose ancestors were imported Chinese and Japanese laborers, together make up less than two percent of the population.

Spanish colonization left a legacy of social stratification that is for the most part unbroken today. Traditionally, the small Spanish upper class ruled the native and mestizo underclass. In the twentieth century a middle class of whites and some mestizos has developed, but most mestizos and almost all of the indigenous population belong to the underclass.

About half of Peru's whites belong to the elite class that runs the country's political and economic affairs. They speak Spanish and dress much like their counterparts in the rest of the Western world. Family ties are particularly important for this group because they help maintain their powerful status in the society. Whites seldom associate with people from other classes, and their children usually marry into other upper-class families. Most of these families live in the prosperous areas of Lima and the other major cities. Most of Peru's upper- and middle-class families have a varied diet consisting of meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, and cereal products. Main dishes are heavily seasoned with onions and hot peppers. Most main dishes are accompanied by rice, potatoes, and bread.

The mestizos also generally speak Spanish and dress according to Western styles. They are the group that has had the closest relations with the ruling elite, such as when they would be hired by the whites to supervise native workers in mines or on plantations. As the middle class has grown the mestizos have found other avenues for advancement, such as going to college and becoming involved in government, business, the military, and various other professions. These opportunities have not been enough, however, to raise a majority out of the underclass.

Peru's indigenous population lives predominantly in the rural highlands, the coast, and the *selva*. The people are nearly all poor and lack formal education. They subsist mainly through farming and cling tenaciously to their culture. While the young often wear Western-style clothing, the older Peruvians wear more traditional handwoven garments such as ponchos and sandals. Traditional costumes are increasingly saved for special ceremonial occasions. Rural Peruvians live mainly by agriculture. On the Pacific Coast they grow rice, cotton, sugar cane, and barley for sale. Maize and rice are the food crops along with grapes, olives, and

oranges. The coastal dwellers also catch pilchard and white fish. In the highlands the staple crops are maize, potatoes, barley, and wheat. The diet of the poorest Peruvians is a fairly monotonous one and often lacks complete nutritional value—potatoes, beans, corn, squash, wheat or barley soups, and occasionally fish. The highland population frequently chews the leaves of the coca plant to suppress appetite and fatigue.

All social classes and ethnicities in Peru place a great deal of emphasis on family, often extending it to include distant relatives and godparents. Frequently chosen from a superior social class, godparents are sponsors at baptisms and other rites of passage, and this relationship maintains bonds of mutual assistance between the sponsors and the child's family. Peruvian social life often revolves around the extended family, especially among the indigenous Peruvians, who may have few important social ties beyond the family. The extended family commonly serves an economic function, as well, with members working together and pooling their resources. The nuclear family tends to be male dominated, and fathers have great authority over the children even into adulthood.

Though the indigenous families tend to be less patriarchal than white and mestizo families, there, too, the husbands dominate the household. Particularly in the shantytowns around the large urban centers, known as the *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns), harsh economic conditions result in mestizo families that are more fragile than elsewhere. Many marriages among this population consist of consensual unions rather than legal marriages.

EDUCATION

Peru has made great strides this century in educating its people. Education's share of the national budget rose from three percent in 1900 to over 30 percent in the 1960s, and school enrollment increased at double the rate of population growth. The literacy rate of those over 15 years of age is 87 percent, one of the highest in Latin America. Education is free and compulsory between the ages of six and 15. However, the vast majority of the uneducated are those in rural areas where there often are not enough schools and teachers. Great disparities also exist between the sexes in terms of the quality and number of years of education. Most middle- and upper-class students attend private schools in the cities.

Peru has more than 30 national universities, though most of them are relatively new and of lesser quality. They also tend to be very political, engendering student radicals on campus. However,

San Marcos University in Lima is the country's most prestigious public university and South America's oldest, having been chartered in 1551. The National Engineering University, the National Agrarian University, and the Superior School for Business Administration are also highly regarded. The elite sectors of society tend to favor private universities, such as Lima's Catholic University, because they are less political. Peru's important research centers include the Institute of the Sea and the International Potato Center.

RELIGION

Peru's constitution guarantees freedom of religion. About 95 percent of Peru's population is at least nominally Roman Catholic, a legacy of the church's deep-rooted involvement in the country's affairs since the Spanish conquest. The state supports the church through an annual grant, and the president is involved in the selection of its hierarchy. There are also small numbers of Protestants, Jews, and Buddhists; they comprise only about one percent of the population.

There is a wide range of religious commitment, and women tend to be far more devout than men. Agnosticism is common in the cities, especially among intellectuals. Despite this, Catholicism is firmly woven into Peruvian culture. The Catholic religion is taught in public schools throughout the country, and fiestas corresponding to Church holidays are among the most important social events of the year, even in larger cities. A list of national holidays reveals religion's prominence: New Year's Day (January 1), Holy Thursday and Good Friday (variable), Labor Day (May 1), Day of the Peasant (June 24), St. Peter and St. Paul's Day (June 29), Independence Day (July 28 and 29), St. Rose of Lima, patroness of Peru (August 30), Battle of Anzamos (October 8), All Saints' Day (November 1), Immaculate Conception (December 8), and Christmas Day (December 25).

While middle-class Peruvians tend to be strict in their religious beliefs and adherence to ritual, further down the social scale one finds an increasing tendency to blend elements of superstition, folk religion (including the worship of Incan gods), and magic with formal Catholicism. Many of the beliefs and practices of ancient Peru persist in this form. A number of local shrines and icons that have survived earthquakes or other natural disasters are revered as evidence of miracles or divine intervention.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Peru's economy is hampered by the inefficiency and obsolescence of many of its structures. In each of the major areas of the economy there are a few productive modern enterprises outnumbered by inefficient traditional counterparts. The modern units of the economy employ about one-third of the work force but are responsible for about two-thirds of the nation's income. The modern sectors also support Peru's politically powerful middle class and its militant labor unions. Another duality in the economy exists between low-income subsistence agriculture in the sierra, and the wealth produced on the large, productive farms of the coast, in off-shore fisheries, and in the city of Lima. Few jobs are available to the more than 200,000 people who enter Peru's work force each year, with the result that fewer than half of the country's workers are fully employed.

Approximately 42 percent of the Peruvian work force is employed in agriculture, fishing, or forestry, though these sectors represent only 14 percent of the national income. Manufacturing, mining, and construction employ 18 percent of workers and generate 38 percent of the gross national product. The service sector (which includes Lima's 200,000 street vendors) employs 40 percent of Peru's workers and contributes 48 percent of the nation's income.

Peru is a net exporter of raw materials and unfinished products and a net importer of manufactured products. It also has to import much of its food because domestic production is inadequate and because transportation is severely limited by the small percentage of roads that are paved. The leading exports are petroleum, copper, silver, zinc, lead, fishmeal, and coffee. Cocaine exports are not part of official figures, but they are estimated to bring in as much foreign currency—almost all U.S. dollars—as petroleum and copper combined. The United States is Peru's largest trading partner, buying one-third of its legal exports and supplying about 40 percent of its imported goods. Japan and Germany are also major trading partners.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Peru's 1979 constitution was the first in its history to extend the right to vote to all citizens aged 18 and over without any literacy requirement, and voting was made obligatory up to age 60. The people elect the president and two vice-presidents to five-year terms, though the president may not be re-

ected to a consecutive term. Since 1985 a presidential candidate must get at least 50 percent of the vote or else a run-off ensues between the top three candidates. The president heads the executive department, which carries out government operations through a cabinet led by a presidentially appointed premier.

The Peruvian legislature is made up of a 60-member Senate and a 180-member Chamber of Deputies, all of whom are elected to five-year terms concurrent with the president's. The congress convenes twice a year, from April 1 to May 31 and from July 27 to December 15, and either house may initiate legislation. The president reviews legislation but has no veto power. The judicial branch consists of judges appointed by the president to terms that end at age 70. The 16 justices of Peru's highest court, the Supreme Court in Lima, are selected by the president from a list submitted by the National Justice Council.

Peru's governments have been highly centralized since Incan times, and this is still true today. There are 24 political departments plus the constitutional province of Callao. Each department is divided into provinces, which are further divided into districts. The departments and provinces are headed by prefects appointed by the president to carry out the policies dictated by the central government. The people elect local councils to govern their districts and municipalities.

At the end of 1994 President Alberto Fujimori still ruled with the virtually dictatorial powers assumed in his 1992 presidential coup, in which he suspended the congress and judiciary, ostensibly to deal more forcefully with Peru's economic and political instability. Elections were scheduled for 1995 to determine the status of the constitution and the future of the country.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Peruvian Americans have contributed to American society in various ways—from the large numbers of doctors and other medical specialists, to those in education and business, to those who provide manual labor or child care. The following is a sample of Peruvian Americans who have achieved recognition in their field.

ARTS

Carlos Llerena Aguirre (1952–) is an artist and educator born in Arequipa, Peru. He received a

bachelor of arts degree from the School of Visual Arts in New York City in 1979, a master's from Hunter College in 1982, and a master's of fine arts from the University of Illinois in 1994. He was an instructor at the School of Visual Arts and has been an associate professor at the University of Illinois since 1989. He is a member of the Society of Newspaper Designers and has had exhibitions of his woodcuts and engravings in Urbana, Illinois, Lima, Norway, and London.

Isaac Goldenberg (1945–) is a poet and novelist living in New York City. Born in Peru, he is the co-director of the Instituto de Escritores Latinoamericana in New York as well as the Latin American book fair. Isaac was a New York State Council of the Arts Writer in Residence in 1987-1988. His books include *La Vida Contado* (1992), *Tiempo al Tiempo* (1984), and *La Vida a Plazos de Jacobo Lerner* (1980).

Luis John Kong (1956–) maintains various roles as poet, arts administrator, and TV and radio producer. Born in Pisco, Peru, he attended college in California, receiving a B.A. in English and biology from Sonoma State University in 1982. He directed the university's intercultural center and was a producer/programmer for a bilingual public radio program. Most recently Kong has served as poet, teacher, and consultant for the California Poets in the Schools program. He received the Corporation for Public Broadcasting Silver Award for his production "En Camino" in 1989.

BUSINESS

Virginia Patricia Rebata (1953–) is a business executive with the Marriott Corporation. Born in Lima, she graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, with a B.A. in 1975 and received an M.P.A. from California State University, Hayward, in 1980. Virginia served as youth employment services director for the San Mateo (California) County Board of Education before going to work for Marriott as director of Human Resource Field Programs and Services in 1992. She established the first English as a Second Language program for Hispanics at Marriott's headquarters and received the National Alliance for Business President's Award in 1989.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Maria Azucena Arbulu (1956–) is an official in the Michigan state government. She was born in Pueblo, Colorado, and got her B.A. at Oberlin in 1978 and her M.A. in 1984 at the American Graduate School of International Management. She

worked for the Detroit Board of Education and the Motorola Corporation before taking a position as international trade specialist with the state of Michigan. She now serves as the state's trade officer for Canadian operations.

JOURNALISM

Pedro M. Valdivieso (1932–) is the editor of the paper *Actualidad* in Los Angeles. He was born in Piura, Peru, and studied journalism and public relations at San Marcos University and Lima University, respectively. He edited newspapers in Lima before moving to the United States and editing *Noticias del Mundo* (Los Angeles) and *El Diario de Los Angeles*. Valdivieso has reported for Channel 34 TV in Los Angeles and is a member of the Association of Journalists in the Spanish Language and the Federation of Journalists from Peru.

LIBRARY SCIENCE

César Rodríguez (1945–) is a university librarian born in Callao, Peru. He received a B.A. from Queens College in New York City in 1970 and an M.A. from Columbia University in 1983. He was the Yale University Social Science Library's acquisition librarian from 1976 to 1986, after which he became the curator of the library's Latin American collection. Rodríguez is a member of the Latin American Studies Association and a contributor to a number of Latin American bibliographies. He served as a corporal in the U.S. Marine Corps in Vietnam from 1965 to 1969 and received three medals.

MEDICINE AND HEALTH

Graciela Solís Alarcón (1942–) is a physician and educator originally from Chachapoyas, Peru. She earned her M.D. in Peru in 1967 and an M.P.H. from Johns Hopkins University in 1972. She did her residency in Baltimore and in Peru and has been a professor at the University of Alabama at Birmingham since 1980. She is a member of the American College of Rheumatology and the American College of Physicians and has authored a number of articles in her field.

Carlos Castaneda (sometimes Castañeda) is perhaps the best known Peruvian American. While attempting a thesis on medicinal plants for the University of California, Los Angeles, in the late 1960s, he met a Yaqui (Mexican) *brujo*, or medicine man, living in Arizona and became heavily influenced by his way of life. Carlos began a series of best-selling books based on these experiences, beginning with *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowl-*

edge in 1976. The books relate a hallucinogen-induced search for a non-rational reality and an attempt to become a Yaqui warrior. The author considered them anthropological field studies, and indeed they served as his master's and doctoral theses, though critics within the field of anthropology say they are more properly regarded as fiction. While Castaneda seems to be purposely elusive regarding his biographical details, he is thought to have been born in Cajamarca, Peru, in 1925. He received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from UCLA in 1962, 1964, and 1973, respectively.

SCIENCE

Jaime A. Fernandez-Baca (1954–) is a physicist at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. He earned his B.S. in Lima in 1977 before coming to the United States for a M.Sc. and Ph.D. at the University of Maryland (1982 and 1986). Fernandez-Baca has done his research at the Instituto de Energia Nuclear in Peru and at the University of Maryland. He was awarded a fellowship by the International Atomic Energy Agency in 1977 and has published numerous technical articles.

MEDIA

PRINT

Chasqui.

Scholarly journal covering Latin American literature.

Contact: David William Foster, Editor.

Address: College of William and Mary,
Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8795.

El Diario/La Prensa.

Founded in 1913, this Spanish-language daily has a circulation of 67,000 and includes coverage of Peru in its international pages.

Contact: Carlos D. Ramirez, Publisher.

Address: 143-155 Varick Street, New York,
New York 10013.

Telephone: (212) 807-4600.

Fax: (212) 807-4617.

El Nuevo Herald.

This Spanish-language daily includes Peru in its coverage of South America. It was founded in 1976 and has a circulation of 98,000.

Contact: Barbara Gutierrez, Editor.

Address: Hometown Herald, 1520 East Sunrise
Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33304.

Telephone: (954) 527-8940.

Fax: (954) 527-8955.

RADIO

WADO-AM (1280).

"Perú Cerca de Ti" (Peru Near You), a magazine type program featuring music, news, and tourism information related to Peru, airs on Saturdays from 7:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Address: 666 Third Avenue, New York,
New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 687-9236.

Fax: (212) 599-2161.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Great Lakes Peruvian Club.

Contact: Victor Figueroa.

Address: 8752 Lilac Lane, Berrien Springs,
Michigan 49103-1445.

Movimiento Popular Peru.

Founded in 1980. Provides research, informational, and educational programs. Publishes *The New Flag (La Nueva Bandera)*, a free bimonthly newsletter.

Address: 30-08 Broadway, Suite 159, Long Island
City, New York 11106.

E-mail: lquispe@nyxfer.blythe.org.

The Peruvian-American Medical Society.

This professional organization of Peruvian American doctors raises money for equipment needed by Peruvian hospitals.

Address: 313 Heathcote Avenue, Mamaroneck,
New York 10543.

Telephone: (914) 381-2001.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Museum of Natural History.

This New York City landmark museum has a wing dedicated to South American peoples that features Peruvian civilizations, especially the Incas.

Address: Central Park West at 79th Street,
New York, New York 10024.

Telephone: (212) 769-5100.

Online: <http://www.amnh.org/>.

University of California, Berkeley.

The Center for Latin American Studies, founded in 1956, incorporates social science and the humanities in its scope. It gives particular emphasis to the native populations of South America.

Contact: Harley Shaiken, Director.

Address: 2334 Bowditch, Berkeley, California
94720-2312.

Telephone: (510) 642-2088.

Fax: (510) 642-3260.

E-mail: hshaiken@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Online: <http://www.clas.berkeley.edu>.

University of California, Los Angeles.

Founded in 1959, the Latin American Center coordinates research on the region's socio-politics, environment, technology, literature, and arts.

Contact: Dr. Carlos Alberto Torres, Director.

Address: 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles,
California 90095-1447.

Telephone: (310) 825-4571.

Fax: (310) 206-6859.

E-mail: moss@isop.ucla.edu.

Online: <http://www.isop.ucla.edu/lac>.

University of Florida, Gainesville.

The Institute for Latin American Studies was founded in 1931. It features studies in the humanities and social sciences and has a project on Aymará language and culture.

Contact: Dr. Charles H. Wood, Director.

Address: 304 Grintner Hall, P.O. Box 115531,
Gainesville, Florida 32611-5531.

Telephone: (352) 392-6548.

Fax: (352) 392-7682.

E-mail: latam@nervm.nerdc.ufl.edu.

Online: <http://www.latam.ufl.edu>.

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POLISH AMERICANS

by
Syd Jones

Poles numbered among the earliest colonists in the New World and today, as their numbers exceed ten million, they represent the largest of the Slavic groups in America.

OVERVIEW

Poland, the seventh largest country in Europe, occupies an area of 120,727 square miles—some-what larger than the state of Nevada. Located in east-central Europe, it is bordered to the east by Russia and the Ukraine, the Czech Republic and Slovakia to the south, Germany to the west, and the Baltic Sea to the north. Drained by the Vistula and Oder Rivers, Poland is a land of varied landscape—from the central lowlands, to the sand dunes and swamps of the Baltic coast, to the mountains of the Carpathians to the south. Its 1990 population of just over 38 million is largely homogeneous ethnically, religiously, and linguistically. Minority groups in the country include Germans, Ukrainians and Belarusians. Ninety-five percent of the population is Roman Catholic, and Polish is the national language. Warsaw, located in the central lowlands, is the nation's capital. Poland's national flag is bicolor: divided in half horizontally, it has a white stripe on the top half and a red one on the bottom. Polish Americans often display a flag similar to this with a crowned eagle at its center.

HISTORY

The very name of Poland harkens back to its origins in the Slavic tribes that inhabited the Vistula valley as early as the second millennium B.C. Migrations of these tribes resulted in three distinct subgroups: the

West, East, and South Slavs. It was the West Slavs who became the ancestors of modern Poles, settling in and around the Oder and Vistula valleys. Highly clannish, these tribes were organized in tight kinship groups with commonly held property and a rough-and-ready sort of representative government regarding matters other than military. These West Slavs slowly joined in ever-larger units under the pressure of incursions by Avars and early Germans, ultimately being led by a tribe known as the Polanie. From that point on, these West Slavs, and increasingly the entire region, were referred to as Polania or later, Poland. Under the Polanian duke Mieszko and his Piast dynasty, further consolidation around what is modern Poznan created a true state; and in 966, Mieszko was converted to Christianity. It is this event that is commonly accepted as the founding date of Poland. It is doubly important because Mieszko's conversion to Christianity—Roman Catholicism—would link Poland's fortunes in the future to those of Western Europe. The East Slavs, centered at Kiev, were converted by missionaries from the Greek church, which in turn linked them to the Orthodox east.

Meanwhile, the South Slavs had been coalescing into larger units, forming what is known as Little Poland, as opposed to Great Poland of the Piasts. These South Slavs joined Great Poland under Casimir I and for several generations the new state thrived, checking the tide of German expansionism. But from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, the new kingdom became fragmented by a duchy system that created political chaos and civil war among rival princes of the Piast lineage. Following devastations caused by Tatar invasions in the early thirteenth century, Poland was defenseless against a further tide of German settlement. One of the last Piasts, Casimir III, succeeded in reunifying the kingdom in 1338, and in 1386 it came under the rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty when the grand duke of Lithuania married the crown princess of the Piasts, Jadwiga. Known as Poland's Golden Age, the next two centuries of Jagiellonian rule enabled Poland-Lithuania to become the dominant power in central Europe, encompassing Hungary and Bohemia in its sphere of influence and producing a rich cultural heritage for the nation, including the achievements of such individuals as Copernicus (Mikołaj Kopernik, 1473-1543). At the same time, Poland enjoyed one of the most representative governments of its day as well as the most tolerant religious climate in Europe.

But with the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty in 1572, the kingdom once again fell apart as the landed gentry increasingly assumed local control, sapping the strength of the central government in

Krakow. This state of affairs continued for two centuries until Poland was so weakened that it suffered three partitions: Austria took Galicia in 1772; Prussia acquired the northwestern section in 1793; and Tsarist Russia possessed the northeastern section in 1795). By the end of the three partitions, Poland had been completely wiped off the map of Europe. There would not be an independent Poland again for a century and a half, though a nominal Kingdom of Poland was established within the Russian Empire by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. In both Russia and Germany a strict policy of suppression of the Polish language and autonomous education was enforced.

After World War I, an independent Poland was once again re-established. With Josef Pilsudski (1867-1935) as its president and dictator from 1926 to 1935, Poland maintained an uneasy peace with the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. But with the onset of World War II, Poland was the first victim, and once again the nation was subsumed into other countries: Germany and the Soviet Union initially, and then solely under German rule. The Nazis used Poland as a killing ground to subdue and eradicate Polish culture by executing its intellectuals and nobles, and to "settle" the Jewish question once and for all by exterminating the Jews of Europe. In camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau this gruesome strategy was put into effect, and by the end of the war in 1945, Poland had lost a fifth of its population, half of which—over three million—were Jews.

Liberation, however, did not mean freedom, for after the war Poland fell under the Soviet sphere; a communist state was set up and Poland once again had become a fiefdom to a foreign power. In 1956 Poland's workers went on a general strike in protest to Moscow's heavy-handed domination. Though brutally suppressed, the strike did force Poland's new leader Władysław Gomułka to relax some of the totalitarian controls imposed by Warsaw and Moscow, and farms were decollectivized. Through successive leadership of Edward Gierek and General Wojciech Jaruzelski, however, the economic conditions worsened and the Poles struggled increasingly for more autonomy from Moscow. By 1980 three events had coincided that would be decisive for Poland's future: the Soviet Union was going bankrupt; Karol Cardinal Wojtyła became Pope John Paul II; and a new and illegal union, Solidarity, had been formed under Lech Wałęsa. These last two especially brought Poland into international focus. By 1989, Solidarity won concessions from the government including participation in free elections. After their overwhelming victory, which brought to power their leader Lech Wałęsa as President, Solidarity set up a coalition government with the com-

munists; and with the fall of the Soviet Union, Poland along with all of central Europe, regained new breathing room in its heartland. The difficult task now confronting the country is a transformation from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, one that causes enormous dislocations including unemployment and runaway inflation.

THE FIRST POLES IN AMERICA

Poles numbered among the earliest colonists in the New World and today, as their numbers exceed ten million, they represent the largest of the Slavic groups in America. Though claims have been made for Poles sailing with Viking ships exploring the New World before 1600, there is no hard evidence to support them. By 1609, however, Polish immigrants do appear in the annals of Jamestown, having been recruited by the colony as skilled craftsmen to create products for export. These immigrants were integral in the establishment of both the glassmaking and woodworking industries in the new colonies. An early Polish explorer, Anthony Sadowski, set up a trading post along the Mississippi River which later became the city of Sandusky, Ohio. Two other names of note occur in the early history of what would become the American republic: the noblemen Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746-1817) and Casimir Pułaski (1747-1779) both fought on the rebel side in the Revolutionary War. Pułaski, killed in the battle of Savannah, is still honored by Polish Americans—Polonia as the ethnic community is referred to—by annual marches on October 11, Pułaski Day.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Since the times of those earliest Polish settlers—romantics, adventurers and men simply seeking a better economic life—there have been four distinct waves of immigration to the United States from Poland. The first and smallest, occasioned by the partitioning of Poland, lasted from roughly 1800 to 1860 and was largely made up of political dissidents and those who fled after the dissolution of their national homeland. The second wave was far more significant and took place between 1860 and World War I. Immigrants during this time were in search of a better economic life and tended to be of the rural class, so-called *za chleben* (for bread) emigrants. A third wave lasted from the end of World War I through the end of the Cold War and again comprised dissidents and political refugees. Since the fall of the Soviet Union and Poland's democratic reforms, there has been yet a fourth wave of a seemingly more temporary immigrant group, the

wakacjusze, or those who come on tourists visas but find work and stay either illegally or legally. These economic immigrants generally plan to earn money and return to Poland.

The first wave of immigrants, from approximately 1800 to 1860, was largely made up of intellectuals and lesser nobility. Not only the partitioning of Poland, but insurrections in 1830 and 1863 also forced political dissidents from their Polish homeland. Many fled to London, Paris and Geneva, but at the same time New York and Chicago also received its share of such refugees from political oppression. Immigration figures are always a problematic issue, and those for Polish immigrants to the United States are no different. For much of the modern era there was no political entity such as Poland, so immigrants coming to America had an initial difficulty in describing their country of origin. Also, there was with Poles, more so than other ethnic immigrant groups, more back-and-forth travel between host country and home country. Poles have tended to save money and return to their native country in higher numbers than many other ethnic groups. Additionally, minorities within Poland who immigrated to the United States confuse the picture. Nonetheless, what numbers that exist from U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service records indicate that fewer than 2,000 Poles immigrated to the United States between 1800 and 1860.

The second wave of immigration was inaugurated in 1854 when about 800 Polish Catholics from Silesia founded Panna Maria, a farming colony in Texas. This symbolic opening of America to the Poles also opened the flood gates of immigration. The new arrivals tended to cluster in industrial cities and towns of the Midwest and Middle Atlantic States—New York, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis—where they became steelworkers, meatpackers, miners, and later autoworkers. These cities still retain their large contingents of Polish Americans. A lasting legacy of these Poles in America is the vital role they played in the growth and development of the U.S. labor movement, Joseph Yablonski of the United Mine Workers only one case in point.

Confusion over exact numbers of Polish immigrants again becomes a problem during this period, with large underreporting, especially during the 1890s when immigration was highest. Most agree, however, that between mid-nineteenth century and World War I, some 2.5 million Poles immigrated to the United States. This wave of immigration can be further broken down to two successive movements of Poles from different regions of their partitioned

This 1948 photograph was taken shortly after this Polish woman and her three children arrived in New York City; they settled in Rensselaer, Indiana.



country. The first to come were the German Poles, who tended to be better educated and more skilled craftsmen than the Russian and Austrian Poles. High birthrates, overpopulation, and large-scale farming methods in Prussia, which forced small farmers off the land, all combined to send German Poles into emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century. German policy vis-a-vis restricting the power of the Catholic church also played a part in this exodus. Those arriving in the United States totalled roughly a half million during this period, with numbers dwindling by the end of the century.

However, just as German Polish immigration to the United States was diminishing, that of Russian and Austrian Poles was just getting underway. Again, overpopulation and land hunger drove this emigration, as well as the enthusiastic letters home that new arrivals in the United States sent to their relatives and loved ones. Many young men also fled from military conscription, especially in the years of military build-up just prior to and including the onset of World War I. Moreover, the journey to America itself had become less arduous, with ship-

ping lines such as the North German Line and the Hamburg American Line now booking passage from point to point, combining overland as well as transatlantic passage and thereby simplifying border crossings. Numbers of Galician or Austrian Poles total approximately 800,000, and of Russian Poles—the last large immigration contingent—another 800,000. It has also been estimated that 30 percent of Galician and Russian Poles arriving between 1906 and 1914 returned to their homelands.

The influx of such large numbers of one ethnic group was sure to cause friction with the “established” Americans, and during the last half of the nineteenth century history witnesses intolerance toward many of the immigrants from divergent parts of Europe. That the Poles were strongly Catholic contributed to such friction, and thus Polonia or the Polish Americans formed even tighter links with each other, relying on ethnic cohesiveness not only for moral support, but financial, as well. Polish fraternal, national, and religious organizations such as the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Union, the Polish American Congress, and the Polish Roman

Catholic Union have been instrumental in not only maintaining a Polish identity for immigrants, but also in obtaining insurance and home loans to set the new arrivals on their own feet in their new country. Such friction abated as Poles assimilated in their host country, to be supplanted by new waves of immigrants from other countries. Polish Americans have, however, continued to maintain a strong ethnic identity into the late twentieth century.

With the end of World War I and the re-establishment of an independent Polish state, it was believed that there would be a huge exodus of Polish immigrants returning to their homeland. Such an exodus did not materialize, though immigration over the next generation greatly dropped off. U.S. immigration quotas imposed in the 1920s had much to do with this, as did the Great Depression. But political oppression in Europe between the wars, displaced persons brought on by World War II, and the flight of dissidents from the communist regime did account for a further half million immigrants—many of them refugees—from Poland between 1918 and the late 1980s and the fall of communism.

The fourth wave of Polish immigration is now underway. This is comprised mostly of younger people who grew up under communism. Though not significant in numbers because of immigration quotas, this newest wave of post-Cold War immigrants, whether they be the short-term workers, *wakacjusze*, or long-term residents, continue to add new blood to Polish Americans, ensuring that the ethnic community continues to have foreign-born Poles among its contingent. Estimates from the 1970 census placed the number of either foreign born Poles or native born with at least one Polish parent at near three million. Over eight million claimed Polish ancestry in their background in the 1980 census and 9.5 million did so in the 1990 census, 90 percent of whom were concentrated in urban areas. A large part of such identity and cohesiveness was the result of outside conditions. It has been noted that initial friction between Polish immigrants and “established” Americans played some part in this inward looking stance. Additionally, such commonly held beliefs as folk culture and Catholicism provided further incentives for communalism. Newly arrived Poles generally had their closest contacts outside Polish Americans with their former European neighbors: Czechs, Germans, and Lithuanians. Over the years there has been a degree of friction specifically between the Polish American community and Jews and African Americans. However, during the years of partition, Polish Americans kept alive the belief in a free Poland. Such cohesiveness was further heightened in the Polish American community during the Cold War,

when Poland was a satellite of the Soviet Union. But since the fall of the Soviet empire and with free elections in Poland, this outer threat to the homeland is no longer a factor in keeping Polish Americans together. The subsequent increase in immigration of the fourth wave of younger Poles escaping difficult transition times at home has added new numbers to immigrants in the United States, but it is yet to be seen what their effect will be on Polish Americans. As yet, these recent immigrants have played no part in the power structure—not being members of the fraternal organizations. What their effect in the future will be is unclear.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In a society so homogenized by the effects of mass media, such ethnic enclaves as the amorphous reaches of Polish Americans is clearly affected. Despite the recent emphasis on multiculturalism and a resurgent interest in ethnic roots, Polish Americans like other ethnic groups become assimilated more and more rapidly. Using language as a

“We wanted to be Americans so quickly that we were embarrassed if our parents couldn’t speak English. My father was reading a Polish paper. And somebody was supposed to come to the house. I remember sticking it under something. We were that ashamed of being foreign.”

Louise Nagy in 1913, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

measure, it can be seen how quickly such absorption occurs. In a 1960 survey of children of Polish ethnic leaders, 20 percent reported that they spoke Polish regularly. By 1990, however, the U.S. census reported that only 750,000 Polish Americans spoke Polish in the home.

As part of the European emigration, Polish immigrants have had an easier time racially than many other non-European groups in assimilating or blending into the American scene. But this is only a surface assimilation. Culturally, the Polish contingent has held tightly to its folk and national roots, making Polonia more than simply a name. It has been at times a country within a country, Poland in the New World. By and large, Poles have competed

In this photograph, taken in 1964, six-year-olds Leonard Sikorasky and Julia Wesoly are watching the Pulaski Day Parade in New York City, which commemorates the death of the Revolutionary War General Casimir Pulaski.



well and succeeded in their new homeland; they have thrived and built homes and raised families, and in that respect have participated in and added to the American dream. Yet this process of assimilation has been far from smooth as witnessed by one fact: the Polish joke. Such jokes have at their core a negative representation of the Poles as backward and uneducated simpletons. It is perhaps this stereotype that is hardest for Polish Americans to combat, and is a legacy of the second wave of immigrants, the largest contingent between 1860 and 1914 made up of mostly people from Galicia and Russia. Though recent studies have shown Polish Americans to have high income levels as compared to British, German, Italian, and Irish immigrant groups, the same studies demonstrate that they come in last in terms of occupation and education. For many generations, Polish Americans in general did not value higher education, though such a stance has changed radically in the late twentieth century. The professions are now heavily represented with Polish Americans as well as the blue collar world. Yet the Polish joke persists and Polish Americans have been actively fighting it in the past two

decades with not only educational programs but also law suits when necessary. The days of Polish Americans anglicizing their names seem to be over; along with other ethnic groups Polish Americans now talk of ethnic pride.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

It had been noted that clans and kinship communities were extremely important in the early formation of Slavic tribes. This early form of communalism has been translated into today's world by the plethora of Polish American fraternal organizations. By the same token, other traditions out of the Polish rural and agrarian past still hold today.

Gospodarz may well be one of the prettiest sounding words in the Polish language—to a Pole. It means a landowner, and it is the land that has always been important in Poland. Ownership of land was one of the things that brought the huge influx of Poles to the United States, but less than ten percent achieved that dream, and these were mainly the German Poles who came first when there was still a frontier to carve out. The remain-

ing Poles were stuck in the urban areas as wage-earners, though many of these managed to save the money to buy a small plot of land in the suburbs. Contrasted to this is the *Górale*, or mountaineer. To the lowlanders of Greater Poland, the stateless peoples of the southern Carpathians represented free human spirit, unbridled by convention and laws. Both of these impulses runs through the Polish peoples and informs their customs.

An agrarian people, many Poles have traditions and beliefs that revolve around the calendar year, the time for sowing and for reaping. And inextricably linked to this rhythm is that of the Catholic church whose saints' days mark the cycle of the year. A strong belief in good versus evil resulted in a corresponding belief in the devil: witches who could make milk cows go dry; the power of the evil eye, which both humans and animals could wield; the belief that if bees build a hive in one's house, the house will catch on fire; and the tradition that while goats are lucky animals, wolves, crows and pigeons all bring bad luck.

PROVERBS

Polish proverbs display the undercurrents of the Polish nature, its belief in simple pragmatism and honesty, and a cynical distrust of human nature: When misfortune knocks at the door, friends are asleep; the mistakes of the doctor are covered by the earth; the rich man has only two holes in his nose, the same as the poor man; listen much and speak little; he whose coach is drawn by hope has poverty for a coachman; if God wills, even a cock will lay an egg; he who lends to a friend makes an enemy; no fish without bones; no woman without a temper; where there is fire, a wind will soon be blowing.

CUISINE

The diet of Polish Americans has also changed over the years. One marked change from Poland is the increased consumption of meat. Polish sausages, especially the *kielbasa*—garlic-flavored pork sausage—have become all but synonymous with Polish cuisine. Other staples include cabbage in the form of sauerkraut or cabbage rolls, dark bread, potatoes, beets, barley, and oatmeal. Of course this traditional diet has been added to by usual American fare, but especially at festivities and celebrations such as Christmas and Easter, Polish Americans still serve their traditional food. Polish Americans have, in addition to the sausage, also contributed staples to American cuisine, including the breakfast roll, *bialys*, the *babka* coffeecake, and potato pancakes.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional clothing is worn less and less by Polish Americans, but such celebrations as Pulaski Day on October 11 of each year witness upwards of 100,000 Polish Americans parading between 26th Street and 52nd Street in New York, many of them wearing traditional dress. For women this means a combination blouse and petticoat covered by a full, brightly colored or embroidered skirt, an apron, and a jacket or bodice, also gaily decorated. Headdress ranges from a simple kerchief to more elaborate affairs made of feathers, flowers, beads, and ribbons decorating stiffened linen. Men also wear headdresses, though usually not as ornate as the women's—felt or straw hats or caps. Trousers are often white with red stripes, tucked into the boots or worn with mountaineering moccasins typical to the Carpathians. Vests or jackets cover white embroidered shirts, and the favorite colors replicate the flag: red and white.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to Pulaski Day, which President Harry Truman decreed an official remembrance day in 1946, Polish American celebrations consist mainly of the prominent liturgical holidays such as Christmas and Easter. The traditional Christmas Eve dinner, called *wigilia*, begins when the first star of the evening appears. The dinner, which is served upon a white tablecloth under which some straw has been placed, consists of 12 meatless courses—one for each of the apostles. There is also one empty chair kept at the table for a stranger who might chance by. This vigil supper begins with the breaking of a wafer, the *oplatek*, and the exchange of good wishes; it moves on to such traditional fare as apple pancakes, fish, *pierogi* or a type of filled dumpling, potato salad, sauerkraut and nut or poppy seed torte for dessert. To insure good luck in the coming year one must taste all courses, and there must also be an even number of people at the table to ensure good health. The singing of carols follows the supper. In Poland, between Christmas Eve and the Epiphany (January 6, or “Three Kings”) “caroling with the manger” takes place in which carolers bearing a manger visit neighbors and are rewarded with money or treats. In Poland, the Christmas season comes to a close with Candelmas day on February 2, when the candles are taken to church to be blessed. It is believed that these blessed candles will protect the home from sickness or bad fortune.

The Tuesday before Ash Wednesday is celebrated by much feasting. Poles traditionally fried *pał451czki* (fruit-filled doughnuts) in order to use the

sugar and fat in the house before the long fast of Lent. In the United States, especially in Polish communities, the day before Ash Wednesday has become popularized as Pączki Day; Poles and non-Poles alike wait in line at Polish bakeries for this pastry. Easter is an especially important holiday for Polish Americans. Originally an agrarian people, the Poles focussed on Easter as the time of rebirth and regeneration not only religiously, but for their fields as well. It marked the beginning of a farmer's year. Consequently, it is still celebrated with feasts which include meats and traditional cakes, butter molded into the shape of a lamb, and elaborately decorated eggs (*pisanki*), and a good deal of drinking and dancing.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems specific to Polish Americans. Initially skeptical of modern medicine and more likely to try traditional home cures, Polish Americans soon were converted to the more modern practices. The creation of fraternal and insurance societies such as the Polish National Alliance in 1880, the Polish Roman Catholic Union in 1873, and the Polish Women's Alliance in 1898, helped to bring life insurance to a larger segment of Polonia. As with the majority of Americans, Polish Americans acquire health insurance at their own expense, or as part of a benefits package at their place of employment.

LANGUAGE

Polish is a West Slavic language, part of the Lekhite subgroup, and is similar to Czech and Slovak. Modern Polish, written in the Roman alphabet, stems from the sixteenth century. It is still taught in Sunday schools and parochial schools for children. It is also taught in dozens of American universities and colleges. The first written examples of Polish are a list of names in a 1136 Papal Bull. Manuscripts in Polish exist from the fourteenth century. Its vocabulary is in part borrowed from Latin, German, Czech, Ukrainian, Belarusan, and English. Dialects include Great Polish, Pomeranian, Silesian and Mazovian. Spelling is phonetic with every letter pronounced. Consonants in particular have different pronunciation than in English. "Ch," for example is pronounced like "h" in horse; "j" is pronounced like "y" at the beginning of a word; "cz" is pronounced "ch" as in chair; "sz" is pronounced like "sh" as in shoe; "rz" and "z" are pronounced alike as the English "j" in jar; and "w" is pronounced like the English "v" in victory. Various diacriticals are also used in Polish: "ż," "ź," "ń," "ć," "ś," "ą," "ę," and "ł."

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Typical Polish greetings and other expressions include: *Dzień dobry* ("gyen dobry")—Good morning; *Dobry wieczor* ("dobry viechoor")—Good evening; *Dowidzenia* ("dovidzenyah")—Good-bye; *Dozobaczenia* ("dozobahchainya")—Till we meet again; *Dziękuję* ("gyen-kuyeh")—Thank you; *Przepraszam* ("psheprasham")—I beg your pardon; *Nie* ("nyeh")—No; *Tak* ("tahk")—Yes.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Typically, the Polish family structure is strongly nuclear and patriarchal. However, as with other ethnic groups coming to America, Poles too have adapted to the American way of life, which means a stronger role for the woman in the family and in the working world, with a subsequent loosening of the strong family tie. Initially, single or married men were likely to immigrate alone, living in crowded quarters or rooming houses, saving their money and sending large amounts back to Poland. That immigration trend changed over the years, to be replaced by family units immigrating together. In the 1990s, however, the immigration pattern has come full circle, with many single men and women coming to the United States in search of work.

Until recently, Polish Americans have tended to marry within the community of Poles, but this too has changed over the years. A strong ethnic identity is maintained now not so much through shared traditions or folk culture, but through national pride. As with many European immigrant groups, male children were looked upon as the breadwinners and females as future wives and mothers. This held true through the second wave of immigrants, but with the third wave and with second and third generation families, women in general took a more important role in extra-familial life.

As with many other immigrant groups, the Poles maintain traditions most closely in those ceremonies for which the community holds great value: weddings, christenings and funerals. Weddings are no longer the hugely staged events of Polish heritage, but they are often long and heavy-drinking affairs, involving several of the customary seven steps: inquiry and proposal; betrothal; maiden evening and the symbolic unbraiding of the virgin's hair; baking the wedding cake; marriage ceremony; putting to bed; and removal to the groom's house. Traditional dances such as the *krakowiak*, *oberek*, *mazur*, and the *zbojnicki* will be enjoyed at such occasions, as well as the polka, a popular dance



The Kanosky family of Illinois encountered many problems when the children went to school and learned English before the parents.

among Polish Americans. (The polka, however, is not a Polish creation.) Also to be enjoyed at such gatherings are the national drink, vodka, and such traditional fare as roast pork, sausages, *barszcs* or beet soup, cabbage rolls and poppy seed cakes.

Christenings generally take place within two weeks of the birth on a Sunday or holiday; and for the devoutly Catholic Poles, it is a vital ceremony. Godparents are chosen who present the baby with gifts, more commonly money now than the traditional linens or caps of rural Poland. The christening feast, once a multi-day affair, has been toned down in modern times, but still involves the panoply of holiday foods. The ceremony itself may include a purification rite for the mother as well as baby, a tradition that goes back to the pre-Christian past.

Funerals also retain some of the old traditions. The word death in Polish (*śmierć*) is a feminine noun, and is thought of as a tall woman draped in white. Once again, Catholic rites take over for the dead. Often the dead are accompanied in their coffins by strong shoes for the arduous journey ahead or by money as an entrance fee to heaven. The funeral itself is followed by a feast or *stypa* which may also include music and dancing.

EDUCATION

Education has also taken on more importance. Where a primary education was deemed sufficient for males in the early years of the twentieth century—much of it done in Catholic schools—the value of a university education for children of both sexes now

mirrors the trend for American society as a whole. A 1972 study from U.S. Census statistics showed that almost 90 percent of Polish Americans between the ages of 25 and 34 had graduated from high school, as compared to only 45 percent of those over age 35. Additionally, a full quarter of the younger generation, those between the ages 25 and 34, had completed at least a four-year university education. In general, it appears that the higher socio-economic class of the Polish American, the more rapid is the transition from Polish identity to that of the dominant culture. Such rapid change has resulted in generational conflict, as it has throughout American society as a whole in the twentieth century.

RELIGION

Poland is a largely Catholic nation, a religion that survived even under the anti-clerical reign of the communists. It is a deeply ingrained part of the Polish life, and thus immigrants to the United States brought the religion with them. Initially, Polish American parishes were established from simple meetings of the local religious in stores or hotels. These meetings soon became societies, taking on the name of a saint, and later developed into the parish itself, with priests arriving from various areas of Poland. The members of the parish were responsible for everything: financial support of their clergy as well as construction of a church and any other buildings needed by the priest. Polish American Catholics were responsible for the creation of seven religious orders, including the Resurrectionists and

the Felicians who in turn created schools and seminaries and brought nuns from Poland to help with orphanages and other social services.

Quickly the new arrivals turned their religious institution into both a parish and an *okolica*, a local area or neighborhood. There was rapid growth in the number of such ethnic parishes: from 17 in 1870 to 512 only 40 years later. The number peaked in 1935 at 800 and has tapered off since, with 760 in 1960. In the 1970s the level of church attendance was beginning to drop off sharply in the Polish American community, and the use of English in the mass was becoming commonplace. However, the newest contingent of Polish refugees has slowed this trend, raising attendance once again, and helping to restore masses in the Polish language at many churches.

All was not smooth for the Polish American Catholics. A largely Protestant nation in the nineteenth century, America proved somewhat intolerant of Catholics, a fact that only served to separate immigrant Poles from the mainstream even more. Also, within the church, there was dissension. Footing all the bills for the parish, still Polish American Catholics had little representation in the hierarchy. Such disputes ultimately led to the establishment of the Polish National Church in 1904. The founding bishop, Reverend Francis Hodur, built the institution to 34 churches and over 28,000 communicants in a dozen years' time.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

As has been noted, the Polish immigrants were largely agrarian except for those intellectuals who fled political persecution. By and large they came the United States hoping to find a plot of land, but instead found the frontier closed and were forced instead into urban areas of the Midwest and Middle Atlantic states where they worked in steel mills, coal mines, meatpacking plants, oil refineries and the garment industry. The pay was low for such work: the average annual income for Polish immigrants in 1910 was only \$325. The working day was long, as it was all across America at the time, averaging a ten-hour day. But still Polish Americans managed to save their money and by 1910 it is estimated that these immigrants had been able to send \$40 million back to their relatives and loved ones in Russian and Austrian Poland. The amount was so large in fact, that a federal commission was set up to investigate the damages to the U.S. economy that such an outflow of funds might create.

Families pulled together in Polonia, with education coming second to the need for young boys to contribute to the annual income. The need for such economies began to decline after World War I, however, and by 1920 only ten percent of Polish Americans families derived income from the labor of children, and two-thirds were supported by the head of family. Over the years of the twentieth century—except for the years of the Great Depression—the economic situation of Polish Americans has steadily improved, with education taking on increasing importance, creating a parallel rise in Polish Americans in the white collar labor market. By 1970 only four percent were laborers; 23 percent were craftsmen.

Polish Americans have also been important in the formation of labor unions, not only swelling the membership, but also providing leaders such as David Dubinsky of the CIO and, as has been noted, Joseph Yablonski of the United Mine Workers.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Though heavily concentrated in nine industrial states, Polish Americans did not, until the 1930s, begin to flex their political muscle. Language barriers played a part in this, but more important was the fact that earlier immigrants were too concerned with family and community issues to pay attention to the national political scene. Even in Chicago, where Polish Americans made up 12 percent of the population, they did not elect one of their own to the U.S. Congress until 1920. The first Polish American congressional representative was elected from Milwaukee in 1918.

Increasingly, however, Polish Americans have begun playing a more active role in domestic politics and have tended to vote in large numbers for the Democrats. Al Smith, a Democrat and Roman Catholic who was opposed to Prohibition, was one of the first beneficiaries of the Polish American block vote. Though he lost the election, Smith received an overwhelming majority of the Polish American vote. The Great Depression mobilized Polish Americans even more politically, organizing the Polish American Democratic Organization and supporting the New Deal policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. By 1944 this organization could throw large numbers of Polish American votes Roosevelt's way and were correspondingly compensated by federal patronage. Prominent Polish American members of congress have been Representatives Dan Rostenkowski and Roman Pucinski, both Democrats from Illinois, and Senator Barbara Mikulski, a Democrat from Maryland. Maine's Senator Edmund Muskie was also of Polish American heritage.

RELATIONS WITH POLAND

Internationally Polish Americans have been more active politically than domestically. The Polish National Alliance, founded in 1880, was—in addition to being a mutual aid society—a fervent proponent of a free Poland. Such a goal manifested itself in very pragmatic terms: during World War I, Polish Americans not only sent their young to fight, but also the \$250 million they subscribed in liberty bonds. Polish Americans also lobbied Washington with the objective of a free Poland in mind. The Polish American Congress (PAC) was created in 1944 to help secure independence for Poland, opposing the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which established Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. During this same time, Polish American socialists formed the Pro-Soviet Polish American Council, but its power waned in the early years of the Cold War. PAC, however, fought on into the 1980s, supporting Solidarity, the union movement in Poland largely responsible for the downfall of the communist government. Gifts of food, clothing and lobbying in Washington were all part of the PAC campaign for an independent Poland and the organization has been very active in the establishment of a free market system in Poland since the fall of the communist government.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Polish Americans comprised only 2.5 percent of the U.S. population according to the 1990 census, but they have influenced the nation's sciences and popular culture in greater proportion.

ACADEMIA

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), a pioneer of cultural anthropology, emphasized the concept of culture in meeting humankind's basic needs; he taught at Yale late in his life, after writing such important books as *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia*. Linguist Alfred Korzybski (1879-1950), born in Warsaw, came to the United States in 1918; his work in linguistics focussed on the power of the different value and meaning of words in different languages in an effort to reduce misunderstanding; he founded the Institute of General Semantics in 1938 in Chicago, and his research and books—including *Manhood and Humanity* and *Science and Sanity*—have been incorporated in modern psychology and philosophy curricula as well as linguistics.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Oleg Cassini, Polish Italian, also made a name in fashion. Ruth Handler (1917–), co-founder of Mattel toy company and creator of the Barbie doll, was born to Polish immigrant parents in Colorado. William Filene (1830-1901) was born in Posen and founded Boston's Filene department store. Iowa's largest department store, Younker's, was founded by three Polish immigrant brothers—Samuel, Marcus, and Lipma Younker—in 1850. The food industry in America has also had prominent Polish Americans among its ranks. Mrs. Paul's Fish is the creation of Polish American Edward J. Piszek (1917–). Leo Gerstenzang (1923–) was a Polish immigrant from Warsaw who invented the Q-Tip cotton swab.

ENTERTAINMENT

Hollywood has had its fair share of Polish-born men and women who have helped to shape that industry, including Harry and Jack Warner of Warner Bros. Entertainers and actors such as Sophie Tucker and Pola Negri also managed to hide their ethnic roots by changing their names. The pianist and performer Liberace (1919-1987), half-Polish and half-Italian, was born Władzie Valentino Liberace. More recently, the Polish-born Hollywood and international cinematographer Hubert Taczanowski has made outstanding contributions.

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

Jerzy Kosinski (1933-1991), the Polish-born novelist, came to the United States after World War II; his *Painted Bird* relates the experiences of a small boy in Nazi-occupied Poland and is one of the most stirring and troubling novels to come out of that time. The poet Czesław Miłosz (1911–), naturalized in 1970, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1980. Born in Lithuania of Polish parents, Miłosz studied law and served in the diplomatic corps as well as establishing a name for himself as a poet before immigrating in 1960; some of his best known works are *The Captive Mind*, *The Issa Valley*, and *The Usurpers*. The cartoonist Jules Feiffer (1929–), known for his offbeat and biting wit, was born to Polish immigrant parents in the United States.

MUSIC

Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977), is just one of the musical luminaries to carry on the Ignacy Paderewski tradition; born in London of Polish and Irish parents; Stokowski, a renowned conductor, became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1915; he was best known

as conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra for many years, and for popularizing classical music in America; his appearance in the 1940 Disney film, *Fantasia*, is an example of such popularizing efforts. The jazz drummer Gene Krupa (1909-1973), the measure for drummers long after, was also of Polish heritage; Krupa was born in Chicago and played with Benny Goodman's orchestra before forming his own band in 1943; he revolutionized the role of the drummer in a jazz band.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In addition to above-mentioned members of congress, two other recent Polish Americans have made their names in Washington. Leon Jaworski (1905-1982) was the prosecutor in the 1973 Watergate investigation of then President Richard Nixon; and Zbigniew Brzezinski, born in Warsaw in 1928 and naturalized in 1958, was an important advisor to President Carter from 1977 to 1980 on the National Security Council.

SCIENCE

The biochemist Casimir Funk (1884-1967) was, in 1912, the first to discover and use the term vitamin; his so-called vitamin hypothesis postulated that certain diseases such as scurvy and pellagra resulted from lack of crucial substance in the body; Funk also went on to do research in sex hormones and cancer; he lived in the United States from 1939 until his death. Dr. Stanley Dudrick developed the important new method of vein feeding termed IHV—intravenous hyperalimentation.

SPORTS

Many notable Polish Americans have made their names household words in baseball. Included among these are the pitcher Stan Coveleski (1888-1984) whose 17-year career from 1912-1928 earned him a place in the Hall of Fame in 1969; Stan Musial (1920–), right field, another member of the Baseball Hall of Fame, who played for St. Louis from 1941 to 1963; Carl Yastrzemski (1939–), left fielder for the Boston Red Sox, was voted to the Hall of Fame in 1989; and Al Simmons (1902-1956), born Aloysius Harry Szymanski, who played center field for the Philadelphia Athletics from 1924-1944. In football there have been numerous outstanding Polish American players and coaches, Chicago's Mike Ditka (1939–) a stand-out among these, playing as a tight end for the Bears from 1961 to 1972 and later coaching the team to a Super

Bowl championship in 1985; a Hall of Fame player, Ditka has most recently worked as a television sports commentator.

VISUAL ARTS

Korczak Ziolkowski (1909-1982), an assistant to Gutzon Borglum in the monumental Mount Rushmore project in South Dakota, continued that monumental style with a 500-foot by 640-foot statue of Chief Crazy Horse still being blasted out of solid rock in the Black Hills by his family.

MEDIA

PRINT

Dziennik Związkowy/Polish Daily News.

Published in Polish, it covers national and international news with a special emphasis on matters effecting the Polish American community.

Contact: Wojciech Bialasiewicz, Editor.

Address: 5711 North Milwaukee Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60646-6215.

Telephone: (773) 763-3343.

Fax: (773) 763-3825.

E-mail: polish@popmailinsnet.com

Gazeta Polska.

Polish-language newspaper.

Address: 5242 West Diversey Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60639.

Telephone: (312) 685-1281.

Fax: (312) 283-1675.

Glos.

Polish-language newspaper.

Contact: Andrzej Dobrowolski, Editor.

Address: 140 Greenpoint Avenue, Brooklyn,
New York 11222.

Glos Polek/Polish Women's Voice.

Biweekly publication of the Polish Women's Alliance of America.

Contact: Mary Mirecki-Piergies, Editor.

Address: 205 South Northwest Highway, Park
Ridge, Illinois 60068.

Fax: (708) 692-2675.

Gwiazda Polarna (Northern Star).

Published weekly in Polish, it provides national and international news for the Polish American com-

munity as well as information about Polish activities and organizations domestically.

Contact: Malgorzata Terentiew-Cwiklinski, Editor.
Address: 2619 Post Road, Stevens Point, Wisconsin 54481.
Telephone: (715) 345-0744.
Fax: (715) 345-1913.

Narod Polski.

Publication of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America.

Contact: Kathryn G. Rosypal, Editor.
Address: 984 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622-4101.
Telephone: (773) 278-3210 or (800) 772-8632.
Fax: (778) 278-4595.
Online: <http://www.prcua.org/narod.htm>.

New Horizon: Polish American Review.

Contains items of interest to the Polish community.

Contact: B. Wierzbianski, Editor.
Address: 333 West 38th Street, New York, New York 10018-2914.
Telephone: (212) 354-0490.

Nowy Dziennik/Polish Daily News.

Polish-language newspaper.

Contact: Boleslaw Wierzbianski, Editor.
Address: 333 West 38th Street, New York, New York 10018-2914.
Telephone: (212) 594-2266.
Fax: (212) 594-2383
E-mail: listy@dziennik.com or deptula@dziennik.com.

Perspectives.

A Polish American educational and cultural bi-monthly.

Contact: Krystyna Kusielewicz, Editor.
Address: c/o Marta Korwin Rhodes, 7300 Connecticut Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20815-4930.
Telephone: (202) 554-4267.

Polish American Journal.

Official organ of the Polish Union of the United States. Published monthly, it covers national, international, and regional news of interest to Polish Americans.

Contact: Mark Kohan, Editor.
Address: 1275 Harlem Road, Buffalo, New York 14206-1960.

Telephone: (716) 893-5771.

Fax: (716) 893-5783.

Polish American Studies.

A journal of the Polish American Historical Association devoted to Polish American history and culture.

Contact: James S. Pula, Editor.
Address: 984 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622.

Polish American World.

Published weekly, it reports on activities and events in the Polish American community and on life in Poland.

Contact: Thomas Poskropski, Editor.
Address: 3100 Grand Boulevard, Baldwin, New York 11510.
Telephone: (516) 223-6514.

Polish Digest.

Covers history of Poland, news from Poland, and Polish culture.

Contact: Leszek Zielinski, Editor.
Address: c/o Horyzonty, 1924 North Seventh Street, Sheboygan, Wisconsin 53081-2724.
Telephone: (715) 341-6959.
Fax: (715) 346-7516.

Polish Fest News.

Contact: Ray Trzesniewski, Jr., Editor.
Address: Polish Festivals, Inc., 7128 West Rawson Avenue, Franklin, Wisconsin 53132.
Telephone: (414) 529-2140.

Polish Heritage.

A quarterly review of the American Council for Polish Culture.

Contact: Wallace M. West, Editor.
Address: 6507 107th Terrace, Pinellas Park, Florida 34666-2432.
Telephone: (813) 541-7875.

Polish Heritage Society Biuletyn.

Monthly newsletter of the Polish Heritage Society; encourages the preservation and understanding of Polish and Polish American culture and history.

Contact: Pat McBride, Editor.
Address: P.O. Box 1844, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49501-1844.
Telephone: (616) 456-5353.
Fax: (616) 456-8929.

Polish Review.

Scholarly journal of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America devoted to the study of Polish history and culture.

Contact: Joseph W. Wiczerzak, Editor.
Address: 208 East 30th Street, New York,
New York 10016.
Telephone: (212) 686-4164.
Fax: (212) 545-1130.

Swiat Polski/Polish World.

Published weekly in Polish.

Contact: Ewa Matuszewski, Editor.
Address: 11903 Joseph Campau Street,
Hamtramck, Michigan 48212.
Telephone: (313) 365-1990.
Fax: (313) 365-0850.
E-mail: sszcze4594@aol.com.

Zgoda.

Published by the Polish National Alliance of North America, contains fraternal, cultural, sports, and general news in Polish and English.

Contact: Wojciech A. Wierzewski, Editor.
Address: 6100 North Cicero Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60646-4385.
Telephone: (773) 286-0500.
Fax: (773) 286-0842.
E-mail: pnazgoda@ais.net.

RADIO

WBRK-AM.

Polish American Programming.

Contact: Tom Wotjkowski.
Address: 100 North Street, Pittsfield,
Massachusetts 01201.
Telephone: (413) 442-1553.

WCSS-AM.

"Polka Party."

Contact: Dan Kielbasa.
Address: 6 Genessee Lane, Amsterdam, New York
12010.
Telephone: (518) 843-2500.

WEDC-AM.

"Polish Sunshine Hour."

Contact: Halina Gramza.
Address: 5475 North Milwaukee Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60630.
Telephone: (312) 631-0700.

TELEVISION

WCIU-TV.

"Polevision," a daily two-hour show airs between 7:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. with programs in both Polish and English.

Contact: Robert Lewandowski.
Address: Board of Trade Building, 141 West
Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60604.
Telephone: (312) 663-0260.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Council for Polish Culture (ACPC).

National federation of groups devoted to fostering and preserving Polish ethnic heritage in the United States.

Contact: Dr. Kaya Mirecka-Ploss,
Executive Director.
Address: 2025 O Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20036.
Telephone: (202) 785-2320.

American Institute of Polish Culture (AIPC).

Further knowledge of and appreciation for the history, science, art, and culture of Poland.

Contact: Blanka A. Rosenstiel, President.
Address: 1440 79th Street Causeway, Suite 117,
Miami, Florida 33141.
Telephone: (305) 864-2349.
Fax: (305) 865-5150.

Polish American Congress (PAC).

Umbrella organization for local and national Polish organizations in the United States with more than three million combined members. Promotes improved quality of life for Polish Americans and people in Poland.

Contact: Eugene Rosypal, Executive Director.
Address: 5711 North Milwaukee Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60646-6215.
Telephone: (773) 763-9944.
Fax: (773) 763-7114.
E-mail: pacchgo@mindspring.com.
Online: <http://www.polamcon.org>.

Polish American Historical Association (PAHA).

Concerned with Polish Americana and the history of Poles in the United States.

Address: 984 North Milwaukee Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60622.
Telephone: (773) 384-3352.
Fax: (773) 384-3799.

Polish Falcons of America.

Founded in 1887, the Polish Falcons have a membership of 31,000 in 143 groups or "nests." Established as a fraternal benefit insurance society for people of Polish or Slavic descent, the Falcons also took on a strong nationalist sentiment, demanding a free Poland. The society promotes athletic and educational events and provides a scholarship fund for those majoring in physical education. The Falcons also publish a bi-monthly publication in Polish, *Sokol Polski*.

Contact: Wallace Zielinski, President.
Address: 615 Iron City Drive, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania 15205.
Telephone: (412) 922-2244.
Fax: (412) 922-5029.
Online: <http://www.polishfalcons.org>.

Polish Genealogical Society of America (PGSA).

Promotes Polish genealogical study and establishes communication among researchers.

Contact: Stanley R. Schmidt, President.
Address: 984 North Milwaukee Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois 60622.
E-mail: PGSAmerica@aol.com.
Online: <http://www.pgsa.org>.

Polish National Alliance of the United States (PNA).

Founded in 1880, the PNA has a membership of 286,000 made up of nearly 1,000 regional groups. Originally founded as a fraternal life insurance society, PNA continues this original role while also sponsoring education and cultural affairs. It maintains a library of 14,000 volumes.

Contact: Edward Moskal, President.
Address: 6100 North Cicero, Chicago, Illinois
60646-4385.
Telephone: (773) 286-0500 or (800) 621-3723.
Fax: (773) 286-0842.
E-mail: pnazgoda@ais.net.
Online: <http://www.pna-znp.org/index.html>.

Polish Roman Catholic Union of America.

Founded in 1873, the Roman Catholic Union has a membership of 90,000 in 529 groups. Founded as a fraternal benefit life insurance society, the union sponsors sports and youth activities, and conducts

language school as well as dance and children's programs. It also has a library of 25,000 volumes.

Contact: Josephine Szarowicz, Secretary General.
Address: 984 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago
Illinois 60622.
Telephone: (773) 278-3210.
Fax: (773) 278-4595.

Polish Surname Network (PSN).

Collects and disseminates genealogical information on surnames of Polish heritage. Provides fee-based research, research analysis, and translation services.

Contact: Mary S. Hartig, Executive Officer.
Address: 158 South Walter Avenue, Newbury
Park, California 91320.

Polish Union of the United States.

Founded in 1890, the Polish Union has a membership of 12,000 in 100 groups. This fraternal benefit life insurance society bestows the Copernicus Award to a student excelling in astronomy. Publishes the monthly *Polish American Journal*.

Contact: Wallace S. Piotrowski, President.
Address: 4191 North Buffalo Street, Orchard
Park, New York 14127-0684.
Telephone: (716) 667-9782.

Polish Women's Alliance of America.

Founded in 1898, the Polish Women's Alliance has a membership of 65,000 in 775 groups or chapters. It is a fraternal benefit life insurance society administered by women and maintains a library of 7,500 volumes on Polish and American culture and history.

Contact: Delphine Lytell, Pres.
Address: 205 South Northwest Highway,
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068.
Telephone: (708) 384-1200.
Fax: (847) 384-1222.
E-mail: pres@pwaa.org.
Online: <http://www.pwaa.org>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Many public libraries, including the Los Angeles Public Library, New York Public Library/Donnell Library Center, Boston Public Library, Denver Public Library, Miami/Dade Public Library, and the Detroit Public Library, have extensive Polish language collections to serve the Polish American communities.

American Institute for Polish Culture.

Founded in 1972 to promote the appreciation for history, culture, science and art of Poland, the American Institute for Polish Culture sponsors exhibits, lectures, and research and maintains a 1,200-volume library and publishes books on history and biography.

Contact: Blank A. Rosenstiel, President.

Address: 1440 79th Street, Causeway, Suite 403,
Miami, Florida 33141.

Telephone: (305) 864-2349.

Center for Polish Studies and Culture.

Founded in 1970 at St. Mary's College, the Center for Polish Studies promotes research in the teaching of Polish and arranges educational exchanges. It also maintains a library, art gallery, and a museum of artifacts from Polish Americans.

Contact: Janusz Wrobel.

Address: St. Mary's College, Orchard Lake,
Michigan 48034.

Telephone: (810) 682-1885.

Kosciuszko Foundation.

Founded in 1925, the Kosciuszko Foundation is named after the Polish nobleman who fought in the American revolution. The foundation is a clearinghouse for information on Polish and American cultural affairs. Also known as the American Center for Polish Culture, the foundation has a reference library and arranges educational exchanges as well as administers scholarships and stipends.

Contact: Joseph E. Gore, President.

Address: 15 East 65th Street, New York,
New York 10021.

Telephone: (212) 734-2130.

Polish Museum of America.

Founded in 1937, the Polish Museum preserves artifacts of the Polish American experience and mounts displays of costumes, religious artifacts and

Polish art. It also maintains a 25,000-volume library for researchers and the Polish American Historical Association which is concerned with the history of Poles in America.

Contact: Dr. Christoph Kamyszew, Director
and Curator.

Address: 984 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60622.

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P ORTUGUESE AMERICANS

by
Ernest E. Norden

OVERVIEW

Portugal, officially called the Portuguese Republic, is the westernmost country of continental Europe. It is bordered on the east and north by Spain, with which it shares the Iberian Peninsula, and on the west and south by the Atlantic Ocean. It is about the size of Ohio, having an area of 35,553 square miles (92,082 square kilometers), and measuring 360 miles at its longest point and 140 miles at its widest. Portugal also includes the Azores (Açores) and the Madeira Islands in the North Atlantic Ocean and Macao, a tiny territory on the southern coast of China.

Portugal's current population of roughly 9.9 million people is decreasing. Major cities are the capital Lisbon, Porto, and Amadora. However, two-thirds of the people live in rural areas. Nearly 99 percent of the population is of Portuguese origin; the largest ethnic minorities include Cape Verdeans, Brazilians, the Spanish, British, and Americans. Although there is no official religion in Portugal, 94.5 percent of the people are Roman Catholic. Other Christian groups include Protestants, Apostolic Catholics, and Jehovah's Witnesses. There are small minorities of Jews and Muslims. The country's official language is Portuguese, and the national flag has a field of green on the left with a wider field of red on the right; the national emblem is centered on the line dividing the two colors. Portugal's chief products are grapes, pota-

Wherever they settled, Portuguese immigrants had to face many disconcerting changes in their new environment. Rather than living in the same town or even the same neighborhood as the rest of their family—grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins—upon whom they could depend for help when they needed it, they found themselves alone and without the support system that the extended family could provide.

toes, hogs, beef cattle, corn, sardines, tuna, textiles, paper products, electrical machinery, cork products, ceramics, and shoes.

EARLY HISTORY

The early history of Portugal saw occupation by Iberians from North Africa and then by Celts who migrated from France. Phoenicians and Carthaginians later established themselves in southern Portugal. After the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) the Roman domination of Portugal began. The Lusitanians, a warlike Celtic tribe under the leadership of Viriathus, fiercely opposed the Roman armies, but the latter triumphed. Roman contributions to Portugal included roads, buildings, and the Latin language, from which Portuguese developed. Portugal's name derives from *Portus Cale*, a pre-Roman or Roman settlement near the mouth of the Douro River, where Porto is now located. In the fifth century A.D., as Roman control of the peninsula weakened, the land was overrun by Suevi who were followed by the Visigoths. In 711 the Muslims invaded the peninsula, and Christian forces spent the next 500 years trying to expel them. To fight off the African Almoravids, King Alfonso VI of León and Castile enlisted the aid of Henry of Burgundy, whom he rewarded with the title of Count of Portucale and the hand in marriage of his illegitimate daughter Teresa. Henry's son, Alfonso Henriques, claimed the title Alfonso I, King of Portugal, in 1139. By 1179 his kingdom, occupying the northern third of present-day Portugal, was recognized as autonomous and separate from Castile.

Alfonso I and his son Sancho I reconquered the remaining Portuguese territory from the Muslims. When Sancho II died in 1248 without leaving an heir to the throne, the Count of Boulogne declared himself King Alfonso III. He was responsible for moving the capital from Coimbra to Lisbon, for lessening the power of the church in his land, and for convoking the Cortes at Leiria (1254) at which the commoners were represented for the first time.

Alfonso III's son Diniz, who ruled Portugal from 1279 to 1325, built a navy, founded the University of Coimbra (1290) which was first located in Lisbon, and showed interest in literature, shipbuilding, and agriculture, for which he came to be called the *rei lavrador* (farmer king). His wife, Elizabeth, who worked to maintain peace in Portugal, was known as the Holy Queen (*rainha santa*) and was later canonized as St. Elizabeth of Portugal. After the death of Ferdinand I in 1383, his wife Leonor Telles married their daughter Beatriz to the King of Castile. There was disagreement as to whether

Beatriz should be heiress to the throne, and in 1385 the Cortes chose John, an illegitimate son of Peter I (the Cruel), a former king of Portugal, to rule as John I. John was Master of a religious-military order, the Order of Aviz.

John's son, known as Prince Henry the Navigator, utilized the resources of geographers and navigators to launch a series of explorations beyond the frontiers of Portugal. With the peninsula now reconquered from the Muslims, the Portuguese drive for expansion continued out of a desire to explore unknown lands, to seek a trade route for transporting spices from India, and to spread the Christian religion. Henry financed the expeditions that discovered Madeira and the Azores; these islands were uninhabited but were quickly colonized, and they still belong to Portugal.

Under Manuel I (1495-1521) Vasco da Gama reached India and Pedro Álvares Cabral discovered Brazil. Manuel, who married Isabella, the eldest daughter of Spain's Ferdinand and Isabella, never realized his dream of uniting Spain and Portugal under his power. As part of his marriage contract with Isabella, he was required to rid Portugal of the Jews who had taken refuge there after being expelled from Spain. A few were allowed to emigrate, but most were forcibly converted to Christianity. Manuel's son, John III (1521-1557) established the Inquisition in Portugal. In 1580, when Portugal again found itself with no heir to the throne upon the death of Cardinal Henry, last of the House of Aviz, Philip II of Spain seized control as Philip I of Portugal (1580-1598). Portugal remained under Spain's control for 60 years until John, Duke of Bragança, defeated the Spanish and founded his own dynasty as John IV in 1640. The Portuguese had increasingly resented Spanish rule because of taxation and because the promises Philip had made to maintain Portugal's autonomy and to name only Portuguese to government posts were soon broken. Spain finally recognized Portuguese independence in 1668.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the eighteenth century, wealth from Brazil began to pour into the country. Gold was discovered in Minas Gerais in 1693, and Brazil became a source of diamonds beginning in 1728. Great wealth was extracted by the Portuguese, and a 20 percent tax on it maintained their monarchs. John V (1706-1750) sought to establish an absolute monarchy. His son Joseph (1750-1777) was weak and allowed his minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal, to run the government in a more enlight-

ened fashion. The latter is credited with the competent governmental response to the earthquake that leveled Lisbon in 1755. Pombal also ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 and the consequent reform of the educational system. In 1762 Spain invaded Portugal, and peace was not achieved until 1777 through the Treaty of San Ildefonso.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

When Napoleon declared war on England, Portugal, allied by treaties, was drawn into the struggle. In 1806 Napoleon issued a decree intended to close all continental ports to British ships, and he later invaded Portugal to ensure that his decree was carried out there. As the French army neared Lisbon, the royal family boarded British ships, which carried them to Rio de Janeiro where they remained for 14 years. Meanwhile, the Portuguese and British armies, under the Duke of Wellington, drove the French from the country. Portugal made peace with France in 1814. In 1815 Brazil's status was elevated to that of a kingdom united with Portugal. The royal family did not seem anxious to return to Portugal, and when William Carr Beresford, the British commander in charge in Portugal traveled to Brazil to convince John VI to return, the Portuguese drew up a national constitution and would not allow Beresford back into the country. John VI returned in 1821 and swore to uphold the constitution. His eldest son Peter declared Brazil independent from Portugal in 1822 and became its emperor. John VI recognized Brazil's independence in 1825. John's death in 1826 marked the beginning of a period of political strife that lasted until after mid-century, when party government was established. The main parties were the Historicals and the more moderate Regenerators. The latter part of the century was occupied with disputes over Portugal's claims to territories in Africa.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the early twentieth century, the republican movement grew in strength. In 1908, King Charles I and his heir, Louis Philip, were assassinated. King Manuel II (1908-1910) was to be the last monarch, for a republican revolution began on October 4, 1910, and Manuel was forced to seek refuge in England until his death in 1932. The revolutionary government gave the vote to adult males and drew up a constitution. It expelled religious orders from the country and disestablished the Roman Catholic church. It founded new universities in Lisbon and Porto. But the republicans were divided into many factions, and there was great political instability.

Within 15 years, 45 different regimes held the reins of government. Portugal's bad economic situation became even worse through joining the Allies in World War I (1914-1918). In 1926 the army overthrew the government and set up a dictatorship under General António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona who named António de Oliveira Salazar, an economics professor at the University of Coimbra, as his minister of finance. After his successful handling of the budget, Salazar was named prime minister in 1932. As dictator he managed to keep Portugal out of World War II; he improved the country's roads and its means of transportation; he promoted new industries and other development. However, his government was very conservative; the people enjoyed few rights and were under surveillance by the secret police. The rich enjoyed economic advantages under his regime, but the poor got poorer. Salazar suffered a stroke in mid-1968 and died two years later. Marcelo Caetano then became head of the government and liberalized many governmental policies, but he did not go far enough or fast enough for many Portuguese. Emigration increased, inflation grew, and the country faced a grave economic crisis.

In 1974 a group of military officers, under the leadership of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, overthrew Caetano's government; this is often called the "Captains' Revolution" because it was planned by military officers dissatisfied with Portugal's long wars to retain possession of her colonies in Africa. One of the first things accomplished by the new junta called the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas) was the granting of independence to Portuguese colonies in Africa. The government also reestablished democratic freedoms. General elections were held in 1976; the government became more stable but had to face the problems of rapid inflation and high unemployment. The constitution was revised in 1982 to limit the powers of the president. Portugal is a member of the United Nations and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1986 Portugal became a member of the European Common Market.

THE FIRST PORTUGUESE IN AMERICA

The Portuguese came to America very early. In fact, Portuguese explorers may have reached the Antilles before Columbus. João Rodrigues Cabrillo arrived in San Diego Bay on September 9, 1542, and was the first European to explore the land that is now California. Portuguese Jews emigrated early to America as well as to other countries to escape persecution in their native land. Mathias de Sousa is the first Portuguese immigrant on record; he arrived

in Maryland in 1634. Aaron Lopez, another Portuguese Jew, played an important role in introducing the sperm-oil industry to the Newport, Rhode Island, area in the eighteenth century, and Abraham de Lyon introduced the cultivation of grapes into Georgia in 1737. Portuguese from the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands manned New England's whaling ships. They signed on as low-paid laborers in order to avoid military service and to escape the poverty in which they lived at home. Many of them settled in New England, especially around New Bedford, Massachusetts.

IMMIGRATION TRENDS

Portugal has one of the highest rates of emigration in Europe; and until the middle of the twentieth century, most Portuguese emigrants (about 80 percent of them) went to Brazil. The Portuguese began to arrive in the United States in relatively large numbers around 1870. The majority of early Portuguese immigrants were men from the Azores, a group of islands and islets in the North Atlantic Ocean. These men were largely recruited to work on American whaling ships. There was also immigration to the Sandwich Islands (now the state of Hawaii), where the Portuguese went originally to labor on sugar plantations. The majority of the immigrants came to the United States seeking a higher standard of living; they were not drawn by educational opportunity or political or religious freedom. Besides wanting to escape poverty, high taxes, and the lack of economic advancement at home, many males emigrated to avoid eight years of service in Portugal's army. Natural disasters also stimulated many to seek opportunities to live and work elsewhere. The drought in the Cape Verde Islands in 1904 and the volcanic eruptions and earthquakes in the Azores in 1958 sent waves of people abroad. Most of the early Portuguese immigrants to the United States were from the Azores; continental Portuguese did not start arriving in large numbers until the beginning of this century.

Once substantial immigration to the United States started, it increased steadily, peaking between 1910 and 1920. In 1917 the United States government instituted a literacy test requiring that people over the age of 16 had to be able to read and write some language at a basic level in order to settle here. Since the literacy rate in Portugal was extremely low, this test effectively barred many Portuguese from entry; of the Portuguese immigrants admitted shortly before the literacy test was instated, nearly 70 percent were illiterate. In addition, the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 established a quota system that allowed only a small number of Portuguese

immigrants to enter per year. The Great Depression further discouraged immigration to the United States because economic advancement was the Portuguese's main goal. Emigration from the Azores increased in 1958, however, when the Azorean Refugee Act allowed 4,800 to emigrate after the volcanic destruction that took place there. Later, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the quota system and consequently spurred a sharp increase in Portuguese immigration. At that time the Portuguese began to enter this country at the rate of 11,000 to 12,000 per year. This rate started to decline in the early 1980s and has now stabilized at 3,000 to 4,000 per year. Some of these have returned to Portugal either because they preferred living there or because they were unable to adjust to their new environment. Of those who returned to live in the Azores, at least, the impressions of their life in this country, which they have related to their friends and families, have created a favorable attitude toward the United States. The many Portuguese immigrants who remained here have contributed substantially to American society.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

At first the Portuguese tended to settle near their ports of entry. The greatest number made their homes in New England (especially in Massachusetts and Rhode Island), New York, central California, and Hawaii. A small group settled in central Illinois. The Homestead Act encouraged some Portuguese to go west to obtain ownership of land. Those who settled on the East Coast also spread into Connecticut and New Jersey, and most recent immigrants find homes in Connecticut, New York, or New Jersey. The number of Portuguese immigrants now settling in California or Hawaii has been greatly reduced. Because so many Portuguese arrived without skills or education, they tended to remain for a long time in the lower middle class or middle class unless they attained the background necessary for advancement.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Portuguese who settled in Hawaii tended to lose their ethnic identity fastest. From the sugar plantations they moved to the large cities where they became involved in trades and service industries. Others went into farming. They tended to intermarry with other ethnic groups and quickly lost their feeling of Portuguese identity.

This Portuguese
American man
is fishing off the
coast of Newport,
Rhode Island.



In California there was a greater effort to maintain ethnicity. The Portuguese immigrants generally settled in rural areas where they farmed or operated dairies. They hired other Portuguese as hands on their farms, and under these semi-isolated conditions, it was easier to preserve their old customs. Fathers were the decision makers of the household.

They allowed their daughters to attend school only as long as the law required; after that they kept them at home. Boys enjoyed more freedom than girls, but they also tended to quit school as soon as possible to work on the farm or dairy; and they were expected to marry Portuguese girls. When the rate of arrival of new immigrants slowed and American-

born descendants far outnumbered the foreign-born Portuguese, assimilation began. Organizations such as the Cabrillo Civic Clubs, however, were formed to preserve pride in the Portuguese heritage.

The situation on the East Coast was different. There the Portuguese, mainly of rural origin, settled in urban areas. This change in environment forced family life and attitudes to change. When times were bad at the mills, women had to go to work to help support the family. In general, children were expected to leave school at the first opportunity to go to work to contribute to the family's maintenance as well. This tended to keep the Portuguese in the lower middle class, but it freed the women from their traditionally subordinate role and granted them more independence.

Wherever they settled, Portuguese immigrants had to face many disconcerting changes in their new environment. Rather than living in the same town or even the same neighborhood as the rest of their family—grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins—upon whom they could depend for help when they needed it, they found themselves alone and without the support system that the extended family could provide. Unlike the milieu to which they were accustomed, in the United States education was compulsory for children, women were more emancipated, young people were freer to select the mates of their choice, families were more democratic rather than being dominated by the father, and a generation gap often existed within families because the young had developed better language proficiency and had attended public schools where they were exposed to the attitudes of their American peers.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The Portuguese have a variety of folk beliefs, many of which coincide with those of other cultures. Some believe that certain people have the power of the evil eye, which endows them with the ability to cast evil spells on others by the use of their eyes. One may ward off the evil eye by making a gesture called “the fig” in which one closes the fist and sticks the thumb between the first and second fingers. For many the devil is real and has the power to work evil. The word “devil” (*diabo*) is avoided for fear of evoking him; he may also be kept away by making the sign of the cross. Fridays and the number 13 are considered bad luck. Some people trust their health to witch doctors called *curandeiros*, who attempt to cure illnesses with herbal medicines or magic. These beliefs disappear or are looked upon as superstitions as immigrants are absorbed into American society.

When people are far from their native countries, they long to preserve some of the customs from their youth that had special significance to them. Early in the twentieth century, Portuguese immigrants revived three celebrations from their homelands—the Festival of the Blessed Sacrament, the Festival of the Holy Ghost, and the Senhor da Pedra Festival.

FESTIVAL OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

This celebration from the island of Madeira was initiated in 1915 in New Bedford, Massachusetts. This four-day festival, which takes place the first weekend of August, has grown to be the largest Portuguese American celebration, attracting over 150,000 visitors to New Bedford each year. Throughout the festival there is entertainment, including Portuguese and American music, singing, dancing, and famous entertainers. Decorative arches are erected in the festival area and are covered with bundles of bayberry branches. Colored lights and banners are also used for decoration. Vendors sell American and Madeiran foods including *carne de espeto* (roasted meat on a skewer), *linguiça* (sausage), *cabra* (goat), *bacalhau* (codfish) in spicy Portuguese sauces, *favas* (beans), and Madeiran wine. Local groups perform Portuguese folk music and dances; fireworks and raffles add to the festivities. On Sunday, the final day of the festival, its organizers march with a band to the church for the 11:00 a.m. mass. At 2:00 p.m. there is a colorful parade that includes children in native costumes, bands, floats, and beauty queens. Although this festival includes a mass and a procession, it is basically a secular celebration meant for socializing and having fun.

FESTIVAL OF THE HOLY GHOST

This festival, celebrated in California and in New England, is modeled after an Azorean prototype. Depending on the location, it is celebrated on some weekend between Easter and the end of July. The celebration originated with Queen Elizabeth of Aragon, wife of Portugal's King Diniz, in 1296. As an act of humility, before a mass to which she had invited the poor, she gave the royal scepter to the most indigent and had the royal crown placed on his head. After the mass, the queen and other nobles served a sumptuous meal to the poor. In the modern celebration, the crown is kept in the church throughout the year. Details of the celebration vary from place to place, but sometimes a drawing is held to determine which families will have the honor of keeping the crown at their house for one of seven

weeks leading up to the festival. The child of the first winner is crowned as the child-emperor/empress. Amidst a week of feasting and celebration, he keeps the crown in a place of honor in his house, surrounded by candles and flowers, and at the end of the week, he walks in a procession to the house of the second winner, and the second child-emperor/empress is crowned. The crown passes through seven successive households. A few days before the final Sunday of the festival, the priest blesses the food that has been collected for the poor, although today this food is more commonly used for a community banquet. On the final weekend there may be a special mass, procession, and a carnival or fair that includes fireworks, charity auctions, music, ethnic food, and dancing the *chamarrita*, an Azorean folk square dance.

THE FESTA DE SENHOR DA PEDRA

This festival, begun in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1924, is celebrated the last Sunday of August. It is also based on an Azorean festival. Its promoters emphasize the religious aspect of this celebration. After mass the image of Senhor da Pedra and those of nine other church figures are carried in procession on floats through the streets on the shoulders of the faithful. They are accompanied by a band, other church members carrying crucifixes and banners, and children wearing their first-communion outfits or dressed as angels; children also carry six smaller floats topped by the images of saints. The priest marches in the procession carrying the sacrament. As the figure of Senhor da Pedra passes, onlookers attach money to his float. One neighborhood decorates its street with sand paintings and flower petals over which the procession will pass. A carnival with public entertainment, ethnic foods—*caçõila* (marinated pork), *bacalhau*, and *linguiça*, and raffles are also part of the festival.

Other regional celebrations include the Santo Cristo festival in Fall River, Massachusetts, the Festival of Our Lady of Fatima, which commemorates the reported appearance of the Virgin in Fatima, Portugal, in 1917, and the Festival of Our Lady of Good Voyage in Gloucester, Massachusetts, during which the fishing fleet is blessed.

PROVERBS

Proverbs are popular in Portuguese culture, and many have been passed on from one generation to the next:

Não ha rosas sem espinhos—You can't have roses without having thorns too; *Amar e saber não pôde*

ser—Love and prudence do not go together; *Mais quero asno que me leve, que caballo que me derrube*—I'd rather have an ass that carried me than a horse that threw me off; *A caridade bem entendida principia por casa*—Charity begins at home; *A Deus poderás mentir, mas não podes enganar a Deus*—You may lie to God, but you cannot deceive him; *Da ma mulher te guarda, e da boa não fies nada*—Beware of a bad woman, and don't trust a good one; *Aonde o ouro falla, tudo calla*—When money speaks, all else is silent; *Do mal o menos*—Of evils, choose the least.

CUISINE

Portugal's cuisine shows great variety because each of her provinces has its own specialties. Along the coast a shellfish *açorda* is popular. This is a type of soup made from soaking country bread in a broth used to boil shellfish. Just before serving, hot shellfish and chopped coriander are added, and the dish is topped off by the addition of raw eggs that poach in the hot liquid. The city of Porto is famous for its tripe recipes. Tripe stew, for example, contains tripe, beans, veal, *chouriço* or *linguiça*, *presunto* (mountain-cured ham similar to prosciutto), chicken, onion, carrots, and parsley. The city of Aveiro is known for its *caldeirada*, a fish and shellfish stew seasoned with cumin, parsley, and coriander. Around the city of Coimbra one might find *bife à portuguesa* (steak prepared in a seasoned wine sauce and covered with thin slices of *presunto* ham) and *sopa à portuguesa* (soup made of pork, veal, cabbage, white beans, carrots, and macaroni).

Cod is the most commonly served fish, perhaps as *bolinhos de bacalhau* (codfish cakes), or *bacalhau à Gomes de Sá* (fried with boiled potatoes, onions, eggs and olives). Indeed, since Portugal is surrounded on two sides by the ocean, seafood is fresh and plentiful throughout the country. *Escabeche* consists of fish pickled with carrots and onions and stored in the refrigerator for several days before serving.

The Portuguese, like the Spanish, use olive oil and garlic generously in their cuisine, but they use herbs and spices more widely, especially cumin, coriander, and paprika. *Caldo verde* (green soup) is made of fresh kale, potatoes, garlic-seasoned smoked pork sausage (either *linguiça* or *chouriço*), olive oil, and seasonings. It is served with *pão de broa* (rye bread) and red wine. Tender slices of lampry eel prepared in a spicy curry sauce is also a typical dish.

Cozido à portuguesa is a stew made of beef, chicken, and sausage boiled with chick-peas, potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbage, turnip greens and rice. Chicken, roasted suckling pig, lamb, and goat

These children are wearing traditional costumes for the Portuguese American Festival.



are also important in Portuguese cuisine. *Massa sovada*, a delicious Portuguese sweet bread, is even commercially available in parts of the United States.

Typical desserts and confections include *pudim flan* (a baked custard topped with a caramelized sugar sauce), *toucinho do céu* (“bacon of heaven” almond cake), and *ovos moles* (a sweet mixture of egg yolks and sugar syrup), which may be served as dessert or used as icing on a cake. *Figos recheados* (dried figs stuffed with almonds and chocolate) are often served after dinner accompanied by a glass of port wine.

Portuguese wines have a good reputation. Some of the best red wine comes from Colares, the only region that still produces grapes from native European root stock. The best white wines are from Carcavelos and Buçelas. Although they are really either red or white, the so-called green wines (*vinhos verdes*), made from grapes picked before they are fully ripe, are produced in the north. They are crackling wines and have an alcohol content of eight to 11 percent. Portugal is famous for its port wine (named for the city of Oporto); it is a fortified wine whose alcohol content is 20 percent. The best ports are aged for a minimum of ten years, but some are aged for as many as 50. Madeira wine, coming from the Madeira Islands, is similar to port.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The clothing worn in modern-day Portugal is similar to that worn in the United States. However, for

certain festivals, traditional costumes are worn. These vary from region to region, but men often wear black, close-fitting trousers with a white shirt and sometimes a bright-colored sash or vest. On their heads they might wear a long green and red stocking cap with a tassel on the end that hangs down to one side. Women wear colorful gathered skirts with aprons and cloth shawls over their shoulders. During the festival of *tabuleiros* in the region around Tomar, the harvest is celebrated by girls clad in ankle-length, long-sleeved white cotton dresses adorned by a wide colored ribbon that goes around the waist and over one shoulder. On their heads they wear a tall crown made of bread and weighing more than 30 pounds. The crown, which is at least as tall as the girl herself, is decorated with paper flowers and sprigs of wheat and is topped by a white dove or a Maltese cross.

DANCES AND SONGS

The *fado* is a melancholy type of song from Portugal. It is performed in certain bars of Lisbon late at night and in the early hours of the morning. These songs are believed to have originated among Portuguese sailors who had to spend months or even years at sea, away from their beloved homeland. The *fado*, meaning “fate,” praises the beauties of the country for which the singer is homesick or of the love that he left behind. Regional folk dances include the *chula*, the *corridinho* (a polka-like dance from southern Portugal), the *fandango*, the *tirana*, and the *vira*.

HOLIDAYS

The Portuguese celebrate the traditional Christian holidays. Their celebration of Christmas (*Dia do Natal*) includes attending midnight mass on Christmas Eve (*missa do galo*), getting together with the extended family to share a meal and converse, singing carols outside friends' homes, and displaying a manger scene. New Year's Eve is celebrated by picking and eating 12 grapes as the clock is striking midnight in order to assure 12 months of happiness in the new year. On January 6, *Dia de Reis* (Day of the Kings), gifts are exchanged. Families share a ring-shaped cake called a *bolo Rei* which contains toy figures that bring good luck if found in one's portion. During Holy Week there are processions through the streets carrying portrayals of the passion of Jesus. The most famous processions are in the cities of Covilhã and Vila do Conde. On Easter, after attending mass, the family enjoys a special meal. This may include *foliar*, a cake made of sweet dough and topped with hard-boiled eggs. On Pentecost (50 days after Easter) Holy Ghost societies in the Azores provide food for the poor in the community. *Véspera de São João* (Saint John's Eve), on June 23, is a celebration in honor of St. John the Baptist. The traditions associated with this festival have to do with fire and water. People build bonfires, dance around them, and leap over their flames. It is said that water possesses a miraculous quality that night, and that contact with it or dew can bring health, good fortune, protection to livestock, marriage, or good luck. On the thirteenth of May and October, people throng to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Fatima in search of miraculous cures or the granting of a prayer. In the United States, all these celebrations have become Americanized or have been abandoned for American equivalents (for example, the *Dia das Almas* has been replaced by Memorial Day), but certain traditions may be retained by some families out of ethnic pride.

HEALTH ISSUES

Portuguese Americans have no specific health problems or medical conditions that afflict them. They take pride in their sturdiness and longevity. They have a reputation for hard work and diligence. The birth rate of Portugal is high compared to the rest of Europe and to the United States, but it has dropped in recent years. Mutual aid societies are an established tradition among Portuguese Americans. Many workers have health insurance through their employer's benefits plan; the self-employed often insure themselves at their own expense.

LANGUAGE

Portuguese is a Romance language derived from Latin. Today it is spoken by people on five continents, including about 300,000 in the United States. Linguists see its development as consisting of two main periods. The language of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries is called Galician-Portuguese; it was essentially the same as that spoken in northwestern Spain. The language of central Portugal, between Coimbra and Lisbon, came to be considered the standard dialect, and this language, from the sixteenth century on, is called modern Portuguese.

Modern Portuguese is characterized by an abundance of sibilant and palatal consonants and a broad spectrum of vowel sounds (five nasal phonemes and eight to ten oral ones). Portuguese has an uvular "r" similar to the French "r." On occasion, unstressed vowels tend not to be pronounced, for example, *professor* is pronounced "prufsor." Portuguese has a northern and a southern dialect. The northern dialect is more conservative and has retained more traits of Galician-Portuguese; the southern one has evolved further. The Portuguese spoken in the Azores and in Madeira might be considered a third dialect. Brazilian Portuguese differs from continental Portuguese in sound (diphthongs in final positions are not nasalized, and unstressed vowels are not omitted in pronunciation), in vocabulary (words from indigenous languages have been incorporated), and in syntax.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Portuguese greetings and other expressions include: *Bom dia* ("bong DEE-uh")—Good morning; *Boa tarde* ("BOH-uh tard")—Good afternoon; *Boa noite* ("BOH-uh noyt")—Good night; *Por favor* ("poor fuh-VOR")—Please; *Obrigado* ("o-bree-GAH-doo")—Thank you; *Adeus* ("a-DEH-oosh")—Goodbye; *Desculpe!* ("dush-KOOLP")—Excuse me!; *Como esta?* ("KOH-moo shta")—How are you?; *Saúde!* ("sa-OOD")—Cheers!; *Feliz Natal* ("Fe-LEEZ na-TA-o")—Merry Christmas; *Próspero Ano Novo* ("PRAHS-pe-roo UN-new NO-voo")—Happy New Year.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In the earliest years of Portuguese immigration to the United States, most of the new arrivals were young, single males or married men hoping to bring their families over when their financial condition

allowed. Most Portuguese immigrants came from rural villages and were illiterate; those who settled in urban areas had great adjustments to make. Their poor educational background and their lack of marketable skills condemned them to unskilled labor. They brought with them an anti-intellectual attitude derived from their belief that the father ruled the household and the children worked under his supervision to contribute to the common good by working on the land that their family was farming. Allowing their children to spend time in school was a luxury that these immigrants could not afford. In their new environment they resisted compulsory education for the young. When they were required to send their children to school, they sent them to public schools rather than to parochial ones. After a generation or two, however, families were more financially able to allow their children to continue their education. As a result, Portuguese American families have produced many physicians, lawyers, and university professors.

Immigrants also had to make adjustments to their diets. Since many of the early arrivals lived in boarding houses, they had to acclimate quickly to American food which generally represented an improvement over the bread, codfish, beans, and wine that were staples in Portugal. On the negative side, it was more difficult and more expensive to obtain fresh fruit, vegetables, and fish in the United States than it had been in Portugal. Children had to adjust to cow's milk after having been used to goat's milk. Immigrants who settled in rural areas, however, were not subject to such sudden changes in diet and could preserve their traditional eating habits more easily.

Because they could no longer depend upon their extended family for support, Portuguese immigrants formed mutual aid societies in the United States. The first was founded around 1847. The early societies were established for men only. Each member would pay a monthly amount into the treasury of the society or periodically would be assessed; in turn he would receive benefits if he lost his job or was unable to work because of illness or disability. These societies sometimes afforded the opportunity to socialize with other Portuguese. Similar organizations for women began to appear about 20 years later.

Women, who traditionally held a subordinate position in the family and in society in Portugal, gained greater equality with men in the United States. Many of them had to leave the home to work in industries in order to help support the family. Their progress is reflected in their participation in organizations founded by Portuguese Americans. At first they did not participate at all; then they

established organizations for themselves. Later they served as auxiliaries for men's organizations, and now they enjoy equal membership with men in many of these clubs.

FRAGMENTATION OF PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANT GROUPS

Portuguese immigrants tended to differentiate themselves from other Portuguese-speaking immigrants of different geographical backgrounds. The continental Portuguese, the people from the Cape Verde Islands, those from Madeira, those from the Eastern Azores, and those from the Central Azores felt little affinity for the other groups, and often rivalry existed among them despite their common language. Except for the continentals, they did not think of themselves as Portuguese but as citizens of a particular island. And Azoreans often identified with a particular city rather than with the island as a whole. In the United States, each group tended to settle in clusters to be near others with whom they felt kinship and allegiance. The various groups did not know one another well, and prejudices grew among them. They wanted little to do with one another and even ridiculed each other's dialects. The groups with lighter skin looked down upon those with darker skin. Fraternal organizations founded by one group would not admit members of the other groups. The well-educated Portuguese who belonged to a higher social class felt little in common with those of the lower classes. This internal fragmentation has lessened with time but has inhibited Portuguese immigrants from presenting a united front for their own betterment.

RELIGION

Nearly all Portuguese immigrants to the United States are Roman Catholic. However, whereas the Roman Catholic church was protected by the Portuguese government for many years, church and state are separate in the United States. Immigrants came into conflict with the church because its laws made it difficult and frustrating to try to establish a Portuguese Catholic church in a community. The church, which had to be built with money contributed by the Portuguese immigrants, could be stripped of its Portuguese identity at the discretion of the bishop. Although none was ever built in Hawaii, the mainland United States has several Portuguese Catholic churches in California and about 30 in New England. There are also a few Portuguese Protestant churches in existence. The first was a Portuguese Presbyterian church established in

Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1850. It was founded by about 130 newly arrived Madeiran Protestants who left their native land because of religious persecution and settled in this region, after having spent several years in Trinidad. Within a few years, their numbers had grown to 400. There are Portuguese Protestant churches in New England, California, and Hawaii. Many people of Portuguese descent have found a church home in nonethnic Roman Catholic churches and in mainstream American Protestant churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Portuguese immigrants who settled on the East Coast tended to find work in factories, especially in the textile mills, in whaling and fishing, and in truck farming. Some found jobs as itinerant farm workers, picking cranberries and strawberries. Women worked as seamstresses in garment shops. In California, early Portuguese immigrants participated in gold mining as well as in whaling and fishing. Many there went into various types of farming. The first Portuguese in Hawaii worked on sugar plantations but soon moved to the urban centers to work in more skilled jobs. At first the Portuguese were assigned some of the most undesirable jobs, but as their proficiency in English and their work skills and educational level improved, they rose to higher, more responsible positions. Their success in farming is demonstrated by the fact that, by 1974, 34 percent of all market milk produced in California came from Portuguese American dairies. Many Portuguese American entrepreneurs went into business for themselves and opened restaurants, hotels, and banks. Others took advantage of educational opportunities in the United States and went into the professions. They now occupy a broad spectrum of jobs and careers and are found at all social and economic levels of society.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Portuguese Americans have assimilated quietly into American society; they have tended not to use politics as a means of promoting their own welfare. They have also tended to avoid political and social protest. They are self-reliant and avail themselves of welfare programs only as a last resort. They have organized themselves, however, through mutual aid societies as well as civic, educational, social, and fraternal organizations. Some of these include the Portuguese Union of the State of California, the

Portuguese American Civic League of Massachusetts, the Portuguese Civic League of Rhode Island, the Portuguese Educational Society of New Bedford, Massachusetts, the Luso-American Education Foundation, the Luso-American Federation, the League of Portuguese Fraternal Societies of California, and the Cabrillo Civic Clubs of California. They also have served in elected governmental positions. Their political influence began early in Hawaii; in 1894 three of the 18 elected delegates to the Constitutional Convention were Portuguese. In California the first Portuguese American was elected to the state legislature in 1900. This did not happen in Massachusetts until the early 1940s.

State governments have formally recognized the contributions that some Portuguese have made to the United States. Since 1935 California has celebrated Cabrillo Day on September 28, honoring the discoverer of that state. In 1967 the state of California further proclaimed the second week in March of each year Portuguese Immigrant Week. In 1974 Massachusetts set aside March 15 as Peter Francisco Day. Peter Francisco was a boy of Portuguese origin who, during the Revolutionary War, enlisted in the Continental Army at the age of 16; his courage and patriotism earned the respect of General George Washington. There is a Peter Francisco Park in the Ironbound district of Newark, New Jersey. Portuguese Americans have served with distinction in the United States armed services since the Revolution.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although most of the Portuguese who arrived on American shores lacked education and skills, and therefore had limited ability to make significant contributions to their new land's popular culture or to its arts and sciences, there have been exceptions. Descendants of Portuguese immigrants, having had greater educational opportunity in America, have gone on to make their mark on American society. In considering their contributions, it must be remembered that Portuguese Americans constitute only a fraction of one percent of the population of the United States, and that they have achieved success in areas besides those listed below, such as business and dairy farming.

ACADEMIA

Dr. Joaquim de Siqueira Coutinho (b. 1885) was a professor at George Washington University and at

the Catholic University of America. From 1910 to 1920 he was in charge of the Brazilian section of the Pan-American Union. Francis Mile Rogers (1914–) was professor of Portuguese at Harvard University where he chaired the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures. He also served as Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences and authored a number of books.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

William L. Pereira (1909–1985) is an internationally known architect and city planner. He designed or planned such complexes as Cape Canaveral, CBS Television City, the Los Angeles Museum of Art, the Crocker Citizens Bank in Los Angeles, the Central Library at the University of California (San Diego), and the Union Oil Center. Henrique Medina and Palmira Pimental were painters in the 1930s.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Harold José Pereira de Faria (Hal Peary) (1908–1985) achieved fame in the title role of the series “The Great Gildersleeve,” which he played for 16 years on radio and television. He also appeared in motion pictures. John Mendes (1919–1955) performed as a magician under the name of “Prince Mendes.” He was also a stage, screen, and television actor. Other Portuguese American motion picture actors include Rod de Medicis and Nestor Pavie. Carmen Miranda (1914–1955), although known as “the Brazilian bombshell,” actually was born in Portugal. She was a popular film star of the 1940s known for her humor, her singing, and her extravagant hats piled high with fruit. She popularized Latin American dance music in the United States. Henry da Sylva established a ballet school in Hollywood, acted in films and directed them as well.

GOVERNMENT

Joseph F. Francis and Mary L. Fonseca were senators in the Massachusetts State Legislature. João G. Mattos served in the state legislature of California. Helen L. C. Lawrence became chair of the City Council of San Leandro, California, in 1941. In that position she exercised the power of mayor. Clarence Azevedo was mayor of Sacramento, California. In 1979, Peter “Tony” Coelho of California was elected to the United States House of Representatives; he is probably the first Portuguese American to serve in the national congress. Ernest Ladeira served as President Richard M. Nixon’s advisor on social welfare. He was also an assistant to

John Volpe, Secretary of Transportation. John M. Arruda was mayor of Fall River, Massachusetts, for six years.

LITERATURE

Some Portuguese immigrants recorded their experiences in their adopted country: Laurinda C. Andrade (1899–) gives a young girl’s impressions in her autobiography, *The Open Door*; Lawrence Oliver (1887–1977) wrote an autobiography titled *Never Backward*; and Alfred Lewis (1902–1977) wrote an autobiographical novel, *Home Is an Island*, as well as poetry. Onésimo Almeida, who completed his university training in Portugal and then earned a Ph.D. at Brown University where he later served as professor, wrote *Da Vida Quotidiana na LUSAlândia* (1975), *Ah! Mõnim dum Corisco* (1978), and *(Sapa)teia Americana* (1983). Immigrants who tell of their experiences in poetry include Artur Ávila in his *Rimas de Um Imigrante* and José Brites in his *Poemas sem Poesia* and *Imigramante* (1984). John Roderigo Dos Passos (1896–1970) is the only American novelist of Portuguese descent who has an international reputation. His works include *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) and the trilogy *U.S.A.* (1937), for which he is best known. It comprises the novels *The 42nd Parallel* (1930), *1919* (1932), and *The Big Money* (1936). He published a second trilogy titled *District of Columbia* in 1952. Jorge de Sena (1919–1978) came to the United States from Portugal via Brazil. He was a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. At the University of California, Santa Barbara, he was chair of the comparative literature program. He was a well-known literary critic, poet, playwright, novelist and short-story writer. His works include the novels *O Físico Prodigioso* (translated into English as *The Wondrous Physician*) and *Sinais de fogo* as well as the short story collections *Génesis* and *Os grao-capitães*. English readers can obtain his work *By the Rivers of Babylon and Other Stories*. The novelist and short-story writer José Rodrigues Miguéis (1901–1980) wrote fiction such as *Saudades para Dena Genciana* and *Gente da Terceira Classe*.

MUSIC

John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) was director of the U.S. Marine Band from 1880 to 1892. He then founded his own Sousa Band in 1892 which, in its over 40-year existence, became the world’s most famous concert band. At the outbreak of World War I, Sousa, at the age of 62, joined the navy to train bands at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center. He is famous as the composer of such marches as

“Stars and Stripes Forever,” “Semper Fidelis,” “The Washington Post March,” and “Hands Across the Sea.” He also composed several operettas including *The Captain*, *The Charlatan*, and *The Queen of Hearts*, as well as several suites for piano. Ilda Sticchini and Maria Silveira were opera divas in the 1930s. Raul da Silva Pereira was a composer and conductor. Elmar de Oliveira (1950–) is a violinist who, in 1978, was the first American to win the gold medal in Moscow’s Tchaikovsky competition; he is now on the faculty of the Manhattan School of Music. In the field of popular music, the vocalist Tony Martin (1912–) produced many hit records between 1941 and 1957. He had his own radio show and also appeared in films. His best role was probably in *Casbah* (1948). He appeared in nightclubs in the 1970s. A general contribution the Portuguese people have made to American music is the ukulele, which originated in Madeira and is now popular in Hawaii.

RELIGION

The charismatic religious leader Marcelino Manoel de Graça (1882-1960), also known as “Sweet Daddy Grace,” founded the United House of Prayer for All People in the Harlem area of New York. His congregation, made up mainly of African Americans, included over three million people. Humberto Sousa Medeiros (1915-1983), who had been bishop of Brownsville, Texas, was named to succeed Cardinal Cushing as Archbishop of Boston in 1970. He was the first non-Irish American to fill that position in 124 years. He was elevated to the College of Cardinals in 1973.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

José de Sousa Bettencourt (1851-1931) earned degrees in both law and medicine. He practiced medicine and taught at the San Francisco Medical School. João Sérgio Alvares Cabral (d. 1909) practiced medicine in Oakland, California. He gave free consultations to the poor and ones at reduced rate to Portuguese. He also served as editor in chief of *A Pátria*, a Portuguese newspaper published in Oakland. Mathias Figueira (1853-1930) founded the American College of Surgeons. M. M. Enos (1875-) was head of the Portuguese Association of the Portuguese Hospital of Saint Anthony in Oakland, California. He was also director of the Portuguese American Bank and taught at the National Medical School of Chicago. Carlos Fernandes (d. 1977) was director of St. John’s Hospital in San Francisco.

SPORTS

Bernie de Viveiros played baseball with the Detroit Tigers and the Oakland Oaks. Manuel Gomes also was a baseball player as was Lew Fonseca (1899-1989) who played for the Cincinnati Reds, the Philadelphia Phillies, the Cleveland Indians, and coached the Chicago White Sox; he was a pioneer in the use of film to analyze players’ performance during a game. In boxing, Al Melo participated as a welterweight in the Olympics in 1924. George Araujo, Johnny Gonsalves, and Babe Herman were contenders for the world boxing championships. Justiano Silva was a professional wrestler. Henrique Santos won the United States fencing championship in 1942. Tony Lema (1934-1966), also known as “Champagne Tony,” was the winner of numerous professional golf tournaments. At the time of his death he ranked tenth in all-time earnings in the PGA. Tennis star Vic (E. Victor) Seixas, Jr. (1923–), won the U.S. Open Championship in 1954.

TECHNOLOGY

Abilio de Silva Greaves invented a fire-alarm system as well as devices used in aviation. In the field of textiles, Steve Abrantes invented a wool carding device, and José Pacheco Correia invented one for combing cotton. Sebastião Luiz Dias patented an irrigation control system. John C. Lobato developed a new type of army tank.

MEDIA

People who are interested in Portuguese cultural topics and would like to communicate with those having similar interests may do so through the USENET news group called soc.culture.portuguese. A game or pastime called “MOOsaico” can be played through Telnet by contacting moo.di.uminho.pt.7777. Participants explore a virtual world and talk to other players. The game may be played in Portuguese or English.

PRINT

Jornal Portugues/Portuguese Journal.

Published every Thursday in Portuguese and English; circulation of 2,500.

Contact: Maria Leal, Editor.

Address: 1912 Church Lane, San Pablo, California 94806.

Telephone: (800) 309-0233; or (510) 237-0888.

Fax: (510) 237-3790.

E-mail: portjournal@aol.com.

Luso-Americano.

Established 1928 and published every Wednesday and Friday with a circulation of 36,000—the largest outside Portugal and Brazil.

Contact: Antonio Matinho, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 88 Ferry, Newark, New Jersey 07105.

Telephone: (973) 589-4600.

Fax: (973) 589-3848.

E-mail: lusoamerican@earthlink.net.

The Portuguese Post.

Established 1986 and published every Monday; circulation 20,000.

Contact: George Valante, Editor.

Address: 283 East Kinney Street, Newark,
New Jersey 07105.

Telephone: (201) 344-5652.

Fax: (201) 344-0675.

E-Mail: Rtpusapost@earthlink.net.

Online: <http://www.uspn.com/post/>.

Portuguese Times, Inc.

Published every Thursday; circulation 15,000.

Contact: Manuel Ferreira, Editor.

Address: 1501 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford,
Massachusetts 02740.

Telephone: (508) 997-3118.

Fax: (508) 990-1231.

Online: <http://www.webx.ca/Ptimes/>.

Portuguese Tribune.

Published bi-monthly. Circulation: 1,800 subscriptions plus sales in more than 250 vending locations.

Contact: Armando Antunes, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 3477, San Jose, California
95156-3477.

Telephone: (408) 971-1615.

Fax: (408) 971-1966.

Portuguese-American Newspaper.

Semiweekly newspaper founded in 1928; for Portuguese Americans in Portuguese.

Address: 88 Ferry Street, Newark,
New Jersey 07105.

Telephone: (973) 589-4600.

Fax: (973) 589-3848.

Voz de Portugal/Voice of Portugal.

Semi-monthly magazine published in Portuguese.

Contact: Lourenco Costa Aguiar, Editor
and Publisher.

Address: 370 A Street, Hayward,
California 94541.

Telephone: (415) 537-9503.

RADIO

WINE-AM (940).

Radio Portugal.

Address: 1004 Federal Road, Brookfield,
Connecticut 06804-1123.

Telephone: (203) 775-1212.

Fax: (203) 775-6452.

WJFD-FM (97.3).

Radio Globo.

Address: 270 Union Street, New Bedford,
Massachusetts 02740.

Telephone: (617) 997-2929.

Fax: (508) 990-3893.

WRCP-AM (1290).

Radio Clube Portugues.

Contact: Anthony A. Cruz.

Address: 1110 Douglas Avenue, Providence,
Rhode Island 02904.

Telephone: (401) 273-7000.

Fax: (401) 273-7008.

TELEVISION

Full Channel.

Address: 57 Everett Street, Warren,
Rhode Island 02885.

Telephone: (401) 247-1250.

A Nossa Gente.

Address: Heritage Cable Vision, 1636 Alum Rock
Avenue, San Jose, California 95116.

Telephone: (408) 258-2800.

Portuguese American Hour.

Address: Channel 38, 46921 Warm Springs
Boulevard, Fremont, California.

Telephone: (415) 656-3232.

The Portuguese Channel.

Address: Channel 20, 1501 Acushnet Avenue,
New Bedford, Massachusetts 02740.

Telephone: (508) 997-3110.

Fax: (508) 996-2151.

Portuguese Television.

Address: Channel 38, P.O. Box 51, Fremont,
California 94541.

Telephone: (415) 797-4219

RTP.

This Portuguese television channel can be received from the Hughes Galaxy III satellite. This is a C-band satellite with a horizontal polarization. Its position is 93.5 degrees west, and its transponder number is five.

Address: R.T.P. USA, Adams Street, Newark,
New Jersey.

Telephone: (201) 344-8888.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Portuguese Society.

Founded in 1959. Promotes friendship, understanding, and cultural relations between Portugal and the United States through exhibits, seminars, and cultural exchanges. Publishes the *Journal of the American Portuguese Society* with articles in English about Portuguese culture.

Contact: Michael Teague, Director.

Address: c/o ISSI, 2 Wall Street, New York, New
York 10005.

Telephone: (212) 751-1992.

Fax: (212) 688-7082.

Luso-American Education Foundation.

Seeks to perpetuate the ethnic and national culture brought to America by emigrants from Portugal; assists qualified students and others in studying and understanding Portuguese culture. Develops high school and college courses for the teaching of Portuguese language, history, and culture.

Contact: S. Bettencourt, President.

Address: P.O. Box 2967, Dublin,
California 94568.

Telephone: (510) 828-3883.

Fax: (510) 828-3883.

Online: <http://www.Lusaweb.com/laef/>

Portuguese Continental Union USA.

Founded in 1925. A fraternal organization serving the Portuguese community.

Contact: Francisco Mendonca, Supreme
Secretary/CEO.

Address: 899 Boylston Street, Boston,
Massachusetts 02115.

Telephone: (617) 536-2916.

Fax: (617) 536-8301.

E-mail: upceua@aol.com.

Online: <http://members.aol.com/upceua>.

Portuguese Historical and Cultural Society.

Works to promote Portuguese history and culture.

Contact: Joe Souza, President.

Address: P.O. Box 161990, Sacramento,
California 95816.

Telephone: (916) 392-1048.

E-mail: portugal@juno.com.

**The União Portuguesa do Estado da
California (UPEC).**

Fraternal insurance society founded in 1880. Maintains the J. A. Freitas library with 8,000 volumes dealing with Portugal and Portuguese Americans.

Contact: Carlos Almeida.

Address: 1120 East 14th Street, San Leandro,
California 94577.

Telephone: (510) 483-7676.

Online: <http://www.upec.org/>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Oliveira Lima Library.

Located on the campus of The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., this is the oldest and most extensive library of materials specializing in Luso-Brazilian history and culture.

Contact: Maria Leal, Librarian; or Thomas
Cohen, Curator.

Address: 6 Mullen Library, Catholic University of
America, Washington, D.C. 20064.

Telephone: (202) 319-5059.

E-mail: leal@cua.edu.

**Society for Spanish and Portuguese
Historical Studies.**

Address: Department of History, SSB 215,
University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona
85721-0027.

Contact: Helen Nader.

Telephone: (520) 621-5860.

Fax: (520) 621-2422.

E-mail: naderh@u.arizona.edu.

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Cardozo, Manoel da Silveira. *The Portuguese in America: 590 B.C.-1974: A Chronology & Fact Book*.

Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1976.

Gilbert, Dorothy Ann. *Recent Portuguese Immigrants to Fall River, Massachusetts: An Analysis of Relative Economic Success*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1989.

Pap, Leo. *The Portuguese-Americans*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981.

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PUEBLOS

by

D. L. Birchfield

OVERVIEW

Pueblo peoples have lived in the American Southwest for thousands of years. Their ancient ruins, particularly Ancestral Puebloan cliff dwellings, are among the most spectacular ancient ruins in North America. By the end of the severe, prolonged droughts in the late fourteenth century they had relocated to the vicinity of their modern communities primarily located within the watershed of the upper Rio Grande River Valley in New Mexico and the watershed of the Little Colorado River in Arizona. The pueblo tribes represent several distantly related language families and dialects, and they have continued to maintain close contact with each other since the arrival of Europeans in the region in the sixteenth century. Today the 19 pueblos of New Mexico cooperate in a loose confederation called the All Indian Pueblo Council. Each pueblo is autonomous and has its own tribal government. The Pueblos have been able to retain a tribal land base, retain a strong sense of community, and maintain their languages and cultures. The name Pueblo is the same as the Spanish word for village and denotes both the people and their communal homes.

HISTORY

No one knows precisely when Pueblo peoples first arrived in the Southwest, but they are believed to be descended from Archaic desert culture peoples

No one knows when Pueblo peoples first arrived in the Southwest, but they are believed to be descended from Archaic desert culture peoples who had been in the region for thousands of years.

This celebration
amongst Santa
Clara Pueblo
occurs in New
Mexico.



who had been in the region for thousands of years. Archaeologists have developed eight classifications for Pueblo chronology. Basketmaker I spans the period prior to 100 B.C. The Basketmaker II period (100 B.C.-400 A.D.) featured beautifully woven baskets, the cultivation of corn and pumpkins, the first pit houses, and rare, crude gray pottery. The Basketmaker III period (400-700) featured the first cultivation of beans, the domestication of turkeys, the replacing of short spears and the *atlatl* with the bow and arrow, and the increased use of pottery (either gray, or with a black pattern on a white base). The Pueblo I period (700-900) featured the cultivation of cotton; pit houses became ceremonial kivas; houses were built above ground out of stone and set immediately against one another; cradle boards were introduced; and white, red, and orange ceremonial pottery was made with black or red decorations. The Pueblo II period (900-1100) featured multi-storied stone masonry apartments and an elaborate system of roads in a culture that is also known as the Ancestral Puebloan. The Pueblo III period (1100-1300) saw the Ancestral Puebloan culture reach its greatest height in communities

such as Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde; the period featured extensive trade with and the development of polychrome pottery and pots of diverse shapes. During the Pueblo IV period (1300-1540) glazing was used in pottery for the first time, but only for ornamentation, and paintings appeared on the walls of the kivas; the population centers shifted from the Colorado Plateau to the Little Colorado River and the upper Rio Grande River. The Pueblo V period (1540-present) featured the adjustments Pueblo peoples have had to make due to the arrival of Europeans in the region. By 1700 only Zuñi, Acoma, Taos, Picuris, and the Hopi had not moved their locations since the arrival of the Spanish.

The Pueblo people were visited by a number of large Spanish exploratory expeditions in the sixteenth century, beginning with Coronado in 1540. These expeditions brought diseases for which the Pueblos had no resistance and resulted in large population decreases before the Spanish finally colonized New Mexico with the expedition of Juan de Oñate in 1598. The Pueblo people suffered severe disruptions of their lives and cultures during the long Spanish colonization of New Mexico. During the

Spanish era the number of pueblos in New Mexico was reduced from somewhere between 70 and 100 pueblos to 19. The Spanish tried to force the Pueblos to convert to Christianity and exacted forced labor from them under the *encomienda* system. Many pueblos were moved or consolidated to benefit Spanish labor demands. In the mid-seventeenth century serious disputes developed between the civil and religious authorities in New Mexico, with the Pueblos caught in the middle. In 1680 the Pueblos revolted and successfully drove the Spanish out of New Mexico for more than a decade, but the Spanish returned in force and reconquered the region by 1694. The historic southward migration of the Comanches onto the Southern Plains, beginning about 1700, displaced the Eastern Apaches from the plains and greatly altered Spanish-Indian relations in New Mexico for the remainder of the Spanish colonial era. Pueblo auxiliaries were often required to fight with Spanish troops against either Apaches, Navajos, Utes, or Comanches, depending upon Spanish Indian policies and alliances at any given time. Pueblos became Mexican citizens in 1820 at the conclusion of the Mexican revolution, the only Indians in the Southwest to be granted Mexican citizenship. As Mexican citizens, Pueblos became citizens of the United States at the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848, the only Indians in the Southwest to gain U.S. citizenship in that manner. Most Indians in the Southwest did not become U.S. citizens until the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

MODERN ERA

Pueblo peoples today are still to be found in their ancestral homeland, primarily along the upper Rio Grande River Valley in the state of New Mexico, along with the Hopi in northeastern Arizona and the small community of Isleta del Sur near El Paso, Texas, just across the border from New Mexico. Census figures have sometimes shown great variation from census to census for some individual pueblos, as have population reports compiled by other federal agencies, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs Labor Force Report. In both the 1980 and 1990 census, Arizona and New Mexico ranked third and fourth, respectively, for the largest number of Indian residents within each state (Oklahoma and California have the largest Indian populations). Texas ranked eighth. The Pueblo peoples in these states and their modern tribal governments follow.

NEW MEXICO

The Acoma Pueblo is one of the 12 Southern Pueblos, located west of Albuquerque, and the oldest

continuously inhabited settlement within the United States, dating from the twelfth century. Called the Sky City, it sits atop a 350-foot mesa. Only about 50 people now inhabit the ancient town year-round. It has no electricity or running water. Most of the Acoma people live in the nearby communities of Acomita, Anzac, and McCartys.

Cochiti Pueblo, a Southern Pueblo, is located west of Santa Fe. Cochiti pueblo raises income from a variety of sources, including recreational leases of lands near Cochiti Lake, an Army Corps of Engineers project. Cochiti drums are well-known craft items made here, as well as pottery, jewelry, and storyteller figures. A portion of the original 1628 church can still be seen in the rebuilt structure.

Isleta Pueblo, a Southern Pueblo, is the largest Tiwa-speaking pueblo, composed of several communities on the Rio Grande River south of Albuquerque.

Jemez Pueblo, another Southern Pueblo, is located north of Albuquerque in an area of wilderness and is the last remaining Towa-speaking pueblo. It absorbed the Towa-speaking survivors of Pecos Pueblo when Pecos was abandoned in the 1830s. The pueblo is known historically for its baskets made of yucca fronds. While this is no longer an active art form at Jemez, some well-known jewelers, potters, and storyteller doll makers live there.

Laguna Pueblo, a Southern Pueblo located west of Albuquerque, is the largest Keresan-speaking pueblo, composed of six villages: Old Laguna, Pagate, Mesita, Paraje, Encinal, and Seama. Each town has its own fair and feast day. A rich uranium mine was located here. Now the Laguna Reclamation Project is attempting to restore the mining site.

Nambe Pueblo, is one of the eight Northern Pueblos, located north of Santa Fe in an area of scenic land formations.

Picuris Pueblo, a Northern Pueblo, located north of Santa Fe, is the smallest of the Tiwa-speaking pueblos. The original pueblo, built in the twelfth century, was abandoned after the Pueblo revolt of 1680 and was reestablished in the early eighteenth century.

Pojoaque Pueblo, the smallest of all the pueblos, is a Northern Pueblo located north of Santa Fe. A late nineteenth century smallpox epidemic almost destroyed this Tewa-speaking people. The present settlement dates from the 1930s, but ruins of the original pueblo are nearby. Also nearby are the ruins of several pueblos deserted after the Pueblo Revolt. Traditional dances were revived in 1973 after having been abandoned for about a century. Revenues from a commercial strip along the

These Pueblo children are performing in a ritual ceremonial dance.



highway makes Pojoaque one of the more affluent pueblos.

Sandia Pueblo, a small Southern Pueblo located north of Albuquerque, occupies about 26 acres near the center of the reservation. Its annual feast day is open to the public.

San Felipe Pueblo, a Keresan-speaking pueblo known for its ceremonies, is a Southern Pueblo located north of Albuquerque. Its Green Corn Dance involves hundreds of participants.

San Ildefonso Pueblo, a Northern Pueblo of Tewa-speaking pueblo famous for its pottery is located north of Santa Fe. San Ildefonso is host to the annual Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Artist and Craftsman Show.

San Juan Pueblo is the largest Tewa-speaking pueblo. A Northern Pueblo located north of Santa Fe, it was the site of the first Spanish capitol of New Mexico.

Santa Ana Pueblo, a Southern Pueblo, is located north of Albuquerque. This Keresan-speaking pueblo is often closed to the public except for several feast days during the year. Many of the residents live on farmland outside the pueblo.

Santa Clara Pueblo, is a Northern Pueblo, located north of Santa Fe. Traditional crafts are available, and tours are available for the ancient 740-room Puye Cliff Dwellings.

Santo Domingo Pueblo, a Southern Pueblo located north of Albuquerque and known for its turquoise and silver jewelry, is the largest of the eastern Keresan-speaking pueblos.

Taos Pueblo, a Northern Pueblo north of Santa Fe, is a Tiwa-speaking pueblo famous for its drums. A National Historic Site, the pueblo is heavily visited by tourists. Taos Pueblo and the nearby town of Taos were famous during the fur trapping era.

Tesuque Pueblo, a Northern Pueblo located north of Santa Fe, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 started here.

Zia Pueblo, a Southern Pueblo located north of Albuquerque, is a Keresan-speaking pueblo known for its orange-on-white pottery. The Zia sun symbol was adopted by the state of New Mexico and appears on the state flag. The pueblo overlooks the Jemez River.

Zuñi Pueblo is known for its jewelry, sold by the Zuñi Craftsmen Cooperative Association at the pueblo. There are restaurants and a tribal campground. The Hawikuh ruins, a Zuñi village abandoned after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, are nearby. The Zuñi Pueblo is a Southern Pueblo located south of Gallup.

ARIZONA

In northeastern Arizona, completely surrounded by the Navajo Nation, the villages of the Hopi occupy approximately 1.5 million acres of reservation land. The Hopi population exceeds 9,000, found primarily near the center of the nation, with the three ancient villages on top of First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa and the three modern communities at the foot of the mesas.

TEXAS

Just across the border from New Mexico, in Texas, is Isleta del Sur Pueblo. This pueblo was founded by Pueblo people from Isleta who fled New Mexico with the Spanish during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Pueblo people are at home in both their Native world and in the world of the dominant American culture. They have learned to be U.S. citizens while still remaining Pueblo. Changes, however, have been inevitable. Pueblo culture has long been multilingual. It is now rapidly becoming bilingual. In times past Pueblos might be fluent not only in the language of their pueblo, but also in one or more of the other Pueblo languages or dialects. With the arrival of the Spanish, Pueblos also learned the Spanish language. With the arrival of the Comanches in their vicinity, many Pueblos, especially those on the eastern frontier nearest the plains, learned Comanche, just as some northern Pueblos learned Jicarilla due to close relations with the Jicarilla Apache. Pueblos nearest the Navajos were apt to know Navajo. Spanish is still common among older Pueblo people. But increasingly, Pueblo young people are learning only the language of their pueblo and English. With English being a universal language within the region, and with its hold growing ever stronger by the profound linguistic influences of radio, television, print journalism, and public education, few Pueblos today learn other Native languages besides their own.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Ceremonial dances are at the heart of Pueblo culture. Pueblo traditional dance costumes are among the most striking of any Native peoples. Kachinas are masked male dancers who are said to actually be the personages they dance. These dancers perform ceremonial rituals in the plazas on feast days and other important occasions. Ritual clowns are also a part of some ceremonials. The clowns engage in funny, sexual, and absurd behavior. Despite their antics, which are often interpreted as a reminder of foolish human behavior, clowns are sacred figures whose actions possess more profound reasons and motivations. Some ceremonials, such as the Zuñi Shalakos, feature kachinas in ten-foot high costumes. Among the Hopi, the kachinas are said to live in the San Francisco peaks near Flagstaff. They come to the Hopi for six months each year, arriving during the February Bean Dance.

LANGUAGE

Zuñi is classified as a language isolate of the Penutian Phylum. All other Pueblo languages are classified within the Aztec-Tanoan Phylum: within the Kiowa-Tanoan family are three Tanoan languages, Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa; the Hopi language is an isolate within the Uto-Aztecan family; and Keresan is an unclassified language isolate not yet assigned to any family within the phylum. Zuñi is spoken only by the Zuñi. Tiwa is spoken by Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta. Tewa is spoken by San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Pojoaque. Towa is spoken only by the Jemez. Keresan is spoken by Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia. Language can be richly expressive and descriptive, as in these Tewa constructions for the lunar cycle: Moon of the cedar dust wind (February); Moon when the leaves break forth (March); Moon when the leaves are dark green (June); Moon when the corn is taken in (September); and Moon when all is gathered in (November).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Pueblo culture is matrilineal and matrilocal. Children are born into the mother's clan. Wife abuse is uncommon in functioning, matrilocal cultures because the wife is surrounded by the protection of her relatives. Child custody disputes are unknown because the child is a member of the mother's clan and remains with the mother or her relatives should a marriage not endure. In the matrilocal residence pattern, related women, and their husbands and children, live in clusters of apartments within a larger structure, which is a classic description of both Ancestral Puebloan and Pueblo building requirements. There is speculation that the development of this matrilocal system of residence accounts for the change from pit houses to above-ground masonry apartments. An aspect of life for which Pueblo Indians are perhaps best-known, Pueblo dwellings are interconnected multi-level apartment-like structures made of stone and plaster or adobe bricks. Only Taos Pueblo retain this feature. The ceiling of one "apartment" serves as floor and outside courtyard for the one above it. Pueblo structures sometimes reached five stories tall, with inhabitants moving from one floor to the next via ladders that led through holes in the ceilings instead of through outside doorways. This structural design served as a safeguard against outside attacks.

Pueblos held community gatherings in pit houses, which were dug into the ground in a central location in the pueblo. A remnant of the pit house survives as the kiva, an underground chamber that is built into the apartments of the southwest. In the kivas, related men, who do not live together in matrilineal communities, meet and hold ceremonies. These groups of related men constitute a clan. The clan affords an important opportunity for maintaining ties between related men in matrilineal cultures, even though the men trace their descent through the female line.

DANCES AND SONGS

Songs and dances are significant in Pueblo life. Masks, textiles, and body painting are important aspects of Pueblo ritual. The Pueblos use gourd rattles, wooden drums, and rawhide as musical instruments for their ceremonies and dances, which are unique to each tribe and have prescribed roles for the leaders, singers, dancers, and spectators. Many dances, performed usually by men who sing and dance in line formations or in procession, are held in honor of seasonal change and related duties, such as hunting in the winter, or harvest in the autumn. Many dances relate to the bringing of rain. Most of the Pueblos perform a version of the Corn Dance and the Matachine Dance—a dance with Spanish and Mexican roots—and many perform dances in honor of buffalo or deer. Pueblo dances are among the best-known Native American customs still practiced, and many of the Pueblos allow the public to come and watch them.

HOLIDAYS

On January 6 most pueblos celebrate the Day of the Three Kings and the installation of new governors and officials. The first week in February is the Governor's Feast at Acoma. April 19-20 is the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Spring Arts and Crafts Show at De Vargas Mall in Santa Fe. May 3 is Santa Cruz Day at Cochiti and Taos. June 13 is Grab Day at San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Taos, and Picuris. July 4 is the Nambe Falls Ceremonial at Nambe. July 4 is the Annual Popé Foot Race at San Juan. The last weekend in July is the Puye Cliff Ceremonial at Santa Clara. On August 5-10 all pueblos celebrate the Symbolic Relay Run. August 10 is Grab Day at Laguna and Cochiti. Mid-August is the Intertribal Indian Ceremonial in Gallup. December (date set annually) is the time for the Shalako Ceremonial at Zuñi.

To be Pueblo is a way of life, a world view, a part of a community, and perhaps one of the reasons that Pueblo religion is so entrenched is that there is no word for religion in the Pueblo languages. Religious beliefs are deeply interwoven in many aspects of Pueblo culture, including farming, storytelling, dances, art, architecture, and other everyday activities. Especially symbolic for the Hopi is agriculture, which carries a sacred significance and determines a great deal of their work cycles, ceremonies, and feasts. Much Hopi spirituality centers on the belief that when their ancestors emerged from the depths of the earth, they were offered their choice of foods. The Hopi chose an ear of short blue corn, symbolizing a life of hardship, humility, and hardiness, since the short blue corn is the most difficult to harvest successfully but is also the most durable. The planting and harvest of corn is in a real way the Hopi's connection to their earliest ancestors and the creation of the world. Pueblo religious ceremonies and rituals are often tied to the bringing of rain and a successful harvest; and the Pueblo still practice many of them today.

The Hopi story of the creation of the world is based on the concept of emergence, which is a common theme in Pueblo folklore and religion. The Hopi believe that their ancestors—spirit beings—migrated through three underground worlds before arriving on the earth above them—the fourth world. There they made a covenant with the spirit being Masau-u, who allowed them to remain on the land as long as they followed sacred rules that ensure harmony among people, maintain the land, and provide water needed to grow their crops. The Hopi still try to honor this sacred contract today.

Pueblos have also modified Christian teachings to make them compatible with traditional views. The result is a form of Christianity found nowhere else in the world. Pueblo Catholicism nevertheless has much in common with the experiences of Native peoples throughout Latin America who are nominally Catholics, but whose practice and beliefs are at great odds with official canon. The church is tolerant of this practice, having found, after exerting great effort, that it cannot uproot traditional Pueblo religious beliefs. The church made its greatest effort, with public hangings and whippings, in the 1660s and 1670s. In the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, 21 of the 33 Catholic priests in New Mexico were killed. The Catholic Christian influence has resulted in the creation and observance of a number of Christian holidays and feast days, which frequently coincide with traditional celebrations and the performance of traditional dances. Some pueblos observe feast days in honor of their patron saints.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Pueblo people are among the most successful dry farmers in the world. They are also skilled at irrigation farming. Today many Pueblos continue the agricultural traditions of their ancestors and continue to cultivate in the same time-honored manner. Many Pueblo people are also employed in the urban areas near their homes, and many of them who now live in these urban areas return to the pueblo frequently, sometimes as often as nearly every weekend. Traditional craftwork in pottery, weaving, jewelry, and drum making are also important sources of income.

Tribal enterprise also provides jobs. The Hopi Cultural Center, with its restaurant and motel, offers some employment opportunities. At Acoma the visitor center has a restaurant, crafts shop, and a museum, and a bingo hall is nearby. Cochiti provides services for Cochiti Lake, which leases its land from Cochiti Pueblo and has a commercial center, a marina, and an 18-hole golf course. The majority of Isleta's residents work in Albuquerque, but others operate the bingo hall, grocery stores, and the campgrounds at Isleta Lakes. Laguna Industries Inc. manufactures communications shelters for the U.S. Army and is only one of a number of Laguna tribal industries. Some Lagunas found employment in the uranium mining industry and others are now finding employment in the reclamation project that is attempting to restore the mined land.

Many of Nambe's residents work in Santa Fe, in Española, or at Los Alamos National Laboratory. Others are employed by the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council. Picuris Pueblo Enterprise Cultural Center houses a museum, a restaurant, and a store and operates guided tours. Pojoaque generates revenue by the development of a commercial strip fronting the highway, and the pueblo also operates an official state tourist center. The Sandia Indian Bingo Parlor is one of the largest in New Mexico. Sandia also operates Bien Mur Indian Market Center and Sandia Lakes Recreation Area. At San Ildefonso there is a museum, several trading posts, a visitor center, and the annual Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Artist and Craftsman Show. At San Juan there is the Oke Oweenge Crafts Cooperative. At Santa Ana there is the Ta Ma Myia crafts shop. Santo Domingo is developing commercial property along Interstate 25, where it also operates a museum. Taos operates a horseback riding and guided tour business as well as several trading posts. Tesuque operates a bingo parlor and Camel Rock Campground. Zúñi has been a model for tribal



This Pueblo mother is taking her children out of their above ground home to go for a walk.

enterprise, taking advantage of direct federal grants through the Community Action Programs to gain administrative control of almost all of the Bureau of Indian Affairs contract services on the reservation, which now run more efficiently and with much greater community commitment and participation.

Gaming casinos have become big business for many Native American tribes. Some Pueblos, such as the Taos Pueblos, have enthusiastically embraced casinos as a source of economic opportunity. Other Pueblos, such as the Nambe, resist gaming on traditional grounds that forbid gambling. In January of 1998, Navajo voters in New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah defeated a measure that would have opened five casinos on the Navajo reservation. The vote was 54 percent against the proposal and 46 percent in favor of it. The Taos Pueblos had to struggle through legal battles to gain the right to operate casinos. In 1996, U.S. Attorney General John Kelly was forced to order the Taos Pueblo and other Indian tribes to shut down their casino operations after state supreme court decisions voided the compacts that the governors had made with the tribes because the compacts had not received legislative approval. The Taos took the case to court and eventually won the right to operate casinos. Pueblos who chose to operate gambling enterprises do so with the goal of buying sacred lands back from the government.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, many Pueblos refused to allow their traditional form

of government to be replaced by a foreign system. The tribal council system is modeled somewhat after the U.S. government, but also has much in common with the way corporations are governed. Each tribe within the United States was given the option of reorganizing under the act, and many Pueblos refused to do so. Traditional Pueblo government features leadership from different sources of strength within each community. Clans are an important force in providing leadership, and among some Pueblos specific clans have traditional obligations to provide leaders. This is true of the Bear Clan among the Hopi, the Antelope Clan at Acoma, and the Bow Clan at Zuñi. The Tewa pueblos have dual village leaders, where the heads of the winter and summer moieties each exercise responsibility for half the year. In matters of traditional religion, which encompasses much of what white people associate with government, a *cacique* among the Pueblos and a *kikmongwi* among the Hopi have serious responsibilities to the people. Along with their assistants they not only perform ceremonies but also organize hunts and the planting of crops.

Today the Hopi in Arizona and six New Mexico pueblos (Isleta, Laguna, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Zuñi) elect their governors and councils. In New Mexico, the All Indian Pueblo Council had its first recorded meeting in 1598 when Juan de Oñate met with 38 Pueblo leaders at Santo Domingo. Pueblo oral history recounts that the various pueblos had been working together long before the arrival of the Spanish and that secret meetings of the council were a major factor in the successful planning of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The All Indian Pueblo Council was formed on November 5, 1922 when Pueblo leaders assembled at Santo Domingo to meet with U.S. government officials. Its present constitution was adopted on October 16, 1965. The council is a confederation of New Mexico pueblos that seeks to protect and advance their interests, particularly regarding relations with other governments.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Because Pueblos were granted full Mexican citizenship while under Mexican rule from 1821 to 1848, they automatically became U.S. citizens when the Southwest was annexed by the United States at the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848. The Pueblos were the only Indians in the Southwest to become U.S. citizens in that manner. Pueblos had to sue to have their status as Indians recognized by the United States, which was achieved by a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916. They are now federally recognized Indian tribes. By joining together to form the All Indian Pueblo Council in

the 1920s, after a congressional investigation had revealed that 12,000 non-Pueblo claimants were living on Pueblo land, they succeeded in getting the U.S. Congress to pass the Pueblo Lands Act of 1924, which secures some of their traditional land to them. The struggle for water rights has characterized much of their relations with United States in this century. In 1975, after a 30-year struggle, Taos Pueblo succeeded in regaining its sacred Blue Lake and 55,000 acres of surrounding land in the mountains above the pueblo. This marked one of the few times that the United States has returned a major sacred site to Indian control.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Ted Jojola (1951–), an educator and administrator of Isleta Pueblo descent, is known for his research on Native American culture. His numerous publications have dealt with subjects ranging from urban planning to teaching, architecture, and ethnography. He is currently a professor at the University of New Mexico. Edward P. Dozier (1916-1971) was a pioneering anthropologist, linguist, and educator who specialized in the study of the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. He spent much of his career at the University of Arizona and was also prominent as an activist for Indian rights.

Alfonso Ortiz (1939-1998) was a well-known anthropologist, scholar, and activist whose books on Southwest Indian tribes, including *American Indian Myths and Legends* (1984) and *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (1969), are considered classics in anthropological scholarship. In addition to his academic work, Ortiz was president of the Association of American Indian Affairs (AAIA) in the 1970s. During his term, the organization played a central role in the return of the sacred Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo people and the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act, which ensured that Indian orphans are placed in Indian foster homes, among other accomplishments. Ortiz was a professor in the University of New Mexico's anthropology department from 1974 until his death.

ART

Pueblo communities have produced a number of renowned artists, including Maria Montoya Martinez (c. 1887-1980), who has been called perhaps the most famous Native American artist of all time.

In her award-winning pottery, she revived and transformed indigenous pottery into high art. Martinez was a San Ildefonso Pueblo woman who spent much of her career producing pottery with her husband and other family members, including their son Popovi Da, who became a well-known artist in his own right. Martinez and her husband displayed and demonstrated their craft at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, Missouri, as well as in museums and art shows. Martinez was particularly respected for her black-on-black pottery designs, which came to be known as blackware pottery.

Helen Quintana Cordero (1915-1994) was a Cochiti Pueblo woman responsible for reviving the nearly lost art of clay dollmaking among her people. Clay dolls, typically embodying women singing to children, had been used by Southwest Indians for centuries for religious purposes and during harvest ceremonies, but this custom had declined with the arrival of white settlers in the region. Cordero specialized in what has come to be known as the "storyteller doll," drawn from her memories of her grandfather, who would gather the Pueblo children around him and tell them traditional Indian tales of the past. She was the first to use the male figure in her pioneering clay doll arrangements, which include the storyteller with up to 30 clay children dolls sitting in various positions around him.

Pablita Velarde (1918–) is a Tewa writer and artist living in Santa Clara Pueblo, and is best known for her paintings depicting numerous aspects of daily Pueblo life, including religious ceremonies, tribal government, arts and crafts, costumes, and farming. She painted murals at the Bandelier National Park in New Mexico and at the 1934 World's Fair in an authentic and detailed style that is drawn upon her knowledge and study of her ancestry. Her works are sometimes used as secondary source material for scholars researching the life of ancient Indians. Velarde was honored by the New Mexico Department of Agriculture in 1996 with its Rounders Award, which is given to "those who live, promote, or articulate the western way of life." Helen Hardin (1946-1984), a Tewa Pueblo known for her acrylic and casein designs, was a regarded as a premier artist of the Southwest. She used Native American patterns and geometric shapes in her award-winning paintings. One of the most renowned Pueblo potters is Acoma, New Mexico artist Marie Lewis-Garcia, who produces traditional Pueblo pots. Elizabeth Naranjo is also a widely recognized potter, based in Santa Clara, while Nora Naranjo-Morse of Santa Clara is a celebrated writer and potter. Among the San Ildefonso pueblo, the Martinez, Roybal, and Herrera families established strong painting and pottery traditions that

have influenced such modern artists as Maria Martinez, the famed San Ildefonso Blackware potter.

FILM

Hopi producer/director Victor Masayesva, Jr., has created a feature length film, *Imagining Indians*, that succeeds in conveying Native American resentment of the appropriation of its culture for commercial purposes. *Imagining Indians* is a 90-minute film that explores many facets of what happens when Native stories, rituals, and objects become commercial commodities. Masayesva is from Hotevilla, a village of about 500 people on Third Mesa. Hotevilla was constructed, hastily, in 1906 by Hopi women, whose men had been incarcerated by the United States and moved to Alcatraz Island to prevent them from moving to southern Utah. Masayesva had never been to a town larger than Winslow, Arizona, when he went to New York City at age 15. He studied still photography at Princeton University and then began working with video. For some of the editing techniques in *Imagining Indians* he gained access to state of the art equipment, a machine for which only three were available in the United States. Masayesva has screened *Imagining Indians* in Phoenix, Santa Fe, Houston, Boston, New York, and at the University of Oklahoma. A 60-minute version has been edited for television.

LITERATURE

Pueblos have produced some of the most outstanding contemporary Native literary writers. Two of the first three Lifetime Achievement honorees of the Native Writers' Circle of the Americas have been Pueblos: Simon J. Ortiz (Acoma) and Leslie Marmion Silko (Laguna). In the early 1970s Ortiz was editor of *Americans Before Columbus*, the newspaper of the Indian Youth Council. In the 1980s he held official tribal positions as Interpreter and First Lieutenant Governor of Acoma. He has taught at the Institute of American Indian Arts, the University of New Mexico, Navajo Community College, Sinte Gleska College, San Diego State University, the College of Marin, Lewis and Clark College, and Colorado College. He edited one of the most important collections of Native literature, *Earth Power Coming*, published by Navajo Community College Press, and has written many books, among them *From Sand Creek*; *Going for the Rain*; *A Good Journey*; *Fightin': New and Collected Stories*; *The People Shall Continue*; and *Woven Stone*.

Silko has also taught at a number of universities, including the University of Arizona and the

University of New Mexico. Her work has had a profound influence on the Native literary community. Her best known works are *Ceremony*, *Storyteller*, and *Almanac of the Dead*. Both Ortiz and Silko delivered plenary session speeches at the historic Returning the Gift conference of North American Native writers at the University of Oklahoma in 1992, a conference that drew nearly 400 native literary writers from throughout the upper Western hemisphere.

Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna) is another well-known Pueblo author. She edited the anthology *Spider Woman's Granddaughters*. She has published books of fiction, *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows*; poetry, *Shadow Country*, and *Skin and Bones*; and nonfiction, *The Sacred Hoop*, and *Studies in American Indian Literatures*. Laguna poet Carol Lee Sanchez has published *Excerpt From a Mountain Climber's Handbook*, *Message Bringer Woman*, and *Conversations From the Nightmare*. Hopi/Miwok writer Wendy Rose is coordinator of American Indian Studies at Fresno City College and has held positions with the Women's Literature Project of Oxford University Press, the Smithsonian Native Writers' Series, the Modern Language Association Commission on Languages and Literature of the Americas, and the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines. Her books include *Hopi Roadrunner Dancing*; *Long Division: A Tribal History*; *Academic Squaw: Reports to the World from the Ivory Tower*; *Lost Copper*; *What Happened When the Hopi Hit New York*; *The Halfbreed Chronicles*; *Going to War with All My Relations*; and *Bone Dance*.

Laguna educator Lee Francis, director of the American Indian Internship program at American University in Silver Springs, Maryland, is also national director of Wordcraft Circle of Native American Mentor and Apprentice Writers and is editor of its newsletter, *Moccasin Telegraph*, and of its quarterly journal. In 1994 Francis led a team of Native writers who guest edited a special Native American Literatures issue of *Callaloo* for the University of Virginia and Johns Hopkins University Press. Many other Pueblos are literary writers, including Aaron Carr, Joseph L. Concha, Harold Littlebird, Diane Reyna; Veronica Riley, Joe S. Sando, Laura Watchempino, and Aaron Yava. Some of their best early work appears in *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature*, published by the University of New Mexico Press in 1979. Some of the most recent work by a new generation of Pueblo literary figures, including Rachael Arviso, Rosemary Diaz, and Lorenzo Baca can be found in *Neon Powwow: New Native American Voices of the Southwest* (1993).

SCIENCE

Frank C. Dukepoo (1943–), a Hopi-Laguna geneticist, was the first Hopi to earn a doctorate degree. Born in Arizona, he earned a Ph.D. from Arizona State University in 1973 and has held teaching or research positions there and at San Diego State University, Palomar Junior College, and, beginning in 1980, at Northern State University. Dukepoo has also served as director of Indian education at Northern Arizona University, and held administrative positions with the National Science Foundation and the National Cancer Institute. In addition to founding and coordinating the National Native American Honor Society, which assists Native American students, Dukepoo has conducted extensive research on birth defects in Indians.

MEDIA

PRINT

Americans Before Columbus.

Address: 318 Elm Street, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87012.

Cochiti Lake Sun.

Address: P.O. Box 70, Cochiti, New Mexico 87014.

Eight Northern Pueblos News.

Address: Route 1, Box 71, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87528.

Four Directions.

Address: 1812 Las Lomas, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131.

Indian Arizona.

Address: 4560 North 19th Avenue, Suite 200, Phoenix, Arizona 85015-4113.

Indian Life.

Address: 1664 East Campo Bello Drive, Phoenix, Arizona 85022.

Indian Voice.

Address: 9169 Coors Road, N.W., Box 10146; Albuquerque, New Mexico 87184.

Isleta Eagle Pride.

Address: P.O. Box 312, Isleta, New Mexico 87022.

Kachina Messenger.

Address: P.O. Box 1210, Gallup,
New Mexico 87301.

Keresan.

Address: Box 3151 Laguna, New Mexico 87026.

Native Peoples Magazine.

Address: 1833 North Third Street, Phoenix,
Arizona 85004.

Pueblo Horizon.

Address: 2401 12th Street, N.W., Albuquerque,
New Mexico 87102.

Southwest Native News.

Address: P.O. Box 1990, Tuba City, Arizona 86045.

Southern Pueblos Bulletin.

Address: 1000 Indian School Road, N.W.,
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103.

Tsa'aszi'.

Address: P.O. Box 12, Pine Hill,
New Mexico 87321.

Uts'ittisctaan'i.

Address: Northern Arizona University, Campus
Box 5630, Flagstaff, Arizona 86011.

Zuñi Tribal Newsletter.

Address: P.O. Box 339, Zuñi, New Mexico 87327.

RADIO

KCIE-FM (90.5).

Address: P.O. Box 603, Dulce, New Mexico 87528.

KENN.

Address: P.O. Box 1558, Farmington, New
Mexico 87499-1558.

KGAK.

Address: 401 East Coal Road, Gallup, New
Mexico 87301-6099.

KGHR-FM (91.5).

Address: P.O. Box 160, Tuba City, Arizona 86045.

KHAC-AM (1110).

Address: Drawer F, Window Rock, Arizona 86515.

KNNB-FM (88.1).

Address: P.O. Box 310, Whitewater,
Arizona 85941.

KPGE.

Address: Box 00, Page, Arizona 80640-1969.

KPLZ.

Address: 816 Sixth Street, Parker,
Arizona 85344-4599.

KSHI—FM (90.9).

Address: P.O. Box 339, Zuñi, New Mexico 87327.

KTDB-FM (89.7).

Address: P.O. Box 89, Pine Hill,
New Mexico 87321.

KTNN-AM.

Address: P.O. Box 2569, Window Rock,
Arizona 86515.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

All Indian Pueblo Council (AIPC).

Serves as advocate on behalf of 19 Pueblo Indian tribes on education, health, social, and economic issues; lobbies on those issues before state and national legislatures. Activities are centered in New Mexico.

Contact: James Hena, Chair.

Address: 3939 San Pedro NE, Suite E,
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87190.

Telephone: (505) 883-7360.

Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs.

Contact: Eleanor Descheeny-Joe,
Executive Director.

Address: 1400 West Washington, Suite 300,
Phoenix, Arizona 85007.

Telephone: (602) 542-3123.

Fax: (602) 542-3223.

Center for Indian Education.

Address: Arizona State University, Box 871311,
Tempe, Arizona 85287-1311.

Online: <http://www.asu.edu/educ/cie/>.

New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs.
Address: 330 East Palace Avenue, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

New Mexico Indian Advisory Commission.
Address: Box 1667, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87107.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Albuquerque Museum and the Maxwell Museum in Albuquerque, New Mexico; American Research Museum, Ethnology Museum, Fine Arts Museum, Hall of the Modern Indian, and Institute of American Indian Arts, in Santa Fe, New Mexico; Art Center in Roswell, New Mexico; Black Water Draw Museum in Portales, New Mexico; Coronado Monument in Bernalillo, New Mexico; Heard Museum of Anthropology in Phoenix, Arizona; Milicent Rogers Museum in Taos, New Mexico; Northern Arizona Museum in Flagstaff, Arizona; and the State Museum of Arizona in Tempe.

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Bruggmann, Maximilien, and Sylvio Acatos. *Pueblos: Prehistoric Indian Cultures of the Southwest*, translated by Barbara Fritzemeier. New York: Facts On File, 1990.

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P UERTO RICAN AMERICANS

by
Derek Green

The history of Puerto

Rican American

assimilation has

been one of great

success mixed with

serious problems.

Overview

The island of Puerto Rico (formerly Porto Rico) is the most easterly of the Greater Antilles group of the West Indies island chain. Located more than a thousand miles southeast of Miami, Puerto Rico is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by the Virgin Passage (which separates it from the Virgin Islands), on the south by the Caribbean Sea, and on the west by the Mona Passage (which separates it from the Dominican Republic). Puerto Rico is 35 miles wide (from north to south), 95 miles long (from east to west) and has 311 miles of coastline. Its land mass measures 3,423 square miles—about two-thirds the area of the state of Connecticut. Although it is considered to be part of the Torrid Zone, the climate of Puerto Rico is more temperate than tropical. The average January temperature on the island is 73 degrees, while the average July temperature is 79 degrees. The record high and low temperatures recorded in San Juan, Puerto Rico's northeastern capital city, are 94 degrees and 64 degrees, respectively.

According to the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau report, the island of Puerto Rico has a population of 3,522,037. This represents a three-fold increase since 1899—and 810,000 of those new births occurred between the years of 1970 and 1990 alone. Most Puerto Ricans are of Spanish ancestry. Approximately 70 percent of the population is white and about 30 percent is of African or mixed descent. As in many Latin American cultures,

Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion, but Protestant faiths of various denominations have some Puerto Rican adherents as well.

Puerto Rico is unique in that it is an autonomous Commonwealth of the United States, and its people think of the island as *un estado libre asociado*, or a “free associate state” of the United States—a closer relationship than the territorial possessions of Guam and the Virgin Islands have to America. Puerto Ricans have their own constitution and elect their own bicameral legislature and governor but are subject to U.S executive authority. The island is represented in the U.S House of Representatives by a resident commissioner, which for many years was a nonvoting position. After the 1992 U.S. presidential election, however, the Puerto Rican delegate was granted the right to vote on the House floor. Because of the Puerto Rico’s commonwealth status, Puerto Ricans are born as natural American citizens. Therefore all Puerto Ricans, whether born on the island or the mainland, are Puerto Rican Americans.

Puerto Rico’s status as a semiautonomous Commonwealth of the United States has sparked considerable political debate. Historically, the main conflict has been between the nationalists, who support full Puerto Rican independence, and the statist, who advocate U.S. statehood for Puerto Rico. In November of 1992 an island-wide referendum was held on the issue of statehood versus continued Commonwealth status. In a narrow vote of 48 percent to 46 percent, Puerto Ricans opted to remain a Commonwealth.

HISTORY

Fifteenth-century Italian explorer and navigator Christopher Columbus, known in Spanish as Cristobál Colón, “discovered” Puerto Rico for Spain on November 19, 1493. The island was conquered for Spain in 1509 by Spanish nobleman Juan Ponce de León (1460-1521), who became Puerto Rico’s first colonial governor. The name Puerto Rico, meaning “rich port,” was given to the island by its Spanish *conquistadors* (or conquerors); according to tradition, the name comes from Ponce de León himself, who upon first seeing the port of San Juan is said to have exclaimed, “¡Ay que puerto rico!” (“What a rich port!”).

Puerto Rico’s indigenous name is *Borinquen* (“bo REEN ken”), a name given by its original inhabitants, members of a native Caribbean and South American people called the Arawaks. A peaceful agricultural people, the Arawaks on the island of Puerto Rico were enslaved and virtually

exterminated at the hands of their Spanish colonizers. Although Spanish heritage has been a matter of pride among islander and mainland Puerto Ricans for hundreds of years—Columbus Day is a traditional Puerto Rican holiday—recent historical revisions have placed the *conquistadors* in a darker light. Like many Latin American cultures, Puerto Ricans, especially younger generations living in the mainland United States, have become increasingly interested in their indigenous as well as their European ancestry. In fact, many Puerto Ricans prefer to use the terms *Boricua* (“bo REE qua”) or *Borriqueño* (“bo reen KEN yo”) when referring to each other.

Because of its location, Puerto Rico was a popular target of pirates and privateers during its early colonial period. For protection, the Spanish constructed forts along the shoreline, one of which, El Morro in Old San Juan, still survives. These fortifications also proved effective in repelling the attacks of other European imperial powers, including a 1595 assault from British general Sir Francis Drake. In the mid-1700s, African slaves were brought to Puerto Rico by the Spanish in great numbers. Slaves and native Puerto Ricans mounted rebellions against Spain throughout the early and mid-1800s. The Spanish were successful, however, in resisting these rebellions.

In 1873 Spain abolished slavery on the island of Puerto Rico, freeing black African slaves once and for all. By that time, West African cultural traditions had been deeply intertwined with those of the native Puerto Ricans and the Spanish conquerors. Inter-marriage had become a common practice among the three ethnic groups.

MODERN ERA

As a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898, Puerto Rico was ceded by Spain to the United States in the Treaty of Paris on December 19, 1898. In 1900 the U.S. Congress established a civil government on the island. Seventeen years later, in response to the pressure of Puerto Rican activists, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones Act, which granted American citizenship to all Puerto Ricans. Following this action, the U.S. government instituted measures to resolve the various economic and social problems of the island, which even then was suffering from overpopulation. Those measures included the introduction of American currency, health programs, hydroelectric power and irrigation programs, and economic policies designed to attract U.S. industry and provide more employment opportunities for native Puerto Ricans.

In the years following World War II, Puerto

Rico became a critical strategic location for the U.S. military. Naval bases were built in San Juan Harbor and on the nearby island of Culebra. In 1948 Puerto Ricans elected Luis Muñoz Marín governor of the island, the first native *puertorriqueño* to hold such a post. Marín favored Commonwealth status for Puerto Rico. The question of whether to continue the Commonwealth relationship with the United States, to push for U.S. statehood, or to rally for total independence has dominated Puerto Rican politics throughout the twentieth century.

Following the 1948 election of Governor Muñoz, there was an uprising of the Nationalist Party, or *independentistas*, whose official party platform included agitation for independence. On November 1, 1950, as part of the uprising, two Puerto Rican nationalists carried out an armed attack on Blair House, which was being used as a temporary residence by U.S. President Harry Truman. Although the president was unharmed in the melee, one of the assailants and one Secret Service presidential guard were killed by gunfire.

After the 1959 Communist revolution in Cuba, Puerto Rican nationalism lost much of its steam; the main political question facing Puerto Ricans in the mid-1990s was whether to seek full statehood or remain a Commonwealth.

EARLY MAINLANDER PUERTO RICANS

Since Puerto Ricans are American citizens, they are considered U.S. migrants as opposed to foreign immigrants. Early Puerto Rican residents on the mainland included Eugenio María de Hostos (b. 1839), a journalist, philosopher, and freedom fighter who arrived in New York in 1874 after being exiled from Spain (where he had studied law) because of his outspoken views on Puerto Rican independence. Among other pro-Puerto Rican activities, María de Hostos founded the League of Patriots to help set up the Puerto Rican civil government in 1900. He was aided by Julio J. Henna, a Puerto Rican physician and expatriate. Nineteenth-century Puerto Rican statesman Luis Muñoz Rivera—the father of Governor Luis Muñoz Marín—lived in Washington D.C., and served as Puerto Rico’s ambassador to the States.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Although Puerto Ricans began migrating to the United States almost immediately after the island became a U.S. protectorate, the scope of early migration was limited because of the severe poverty of average Puerto Ricans. As conditions on the

island improved and the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States grew closer, the number of Puerto Ricans who moved to the U.S. mainland increased. Still, by 1920, less than 5,000 Puerto Ricans were living in New York City. During World War I, as many as 1,000 Puerto Ricans—all newly naturalized American citizens—served in the U.S. Army. By World War II that number soared to over 100,000 soldiers. The hundred-fold increase reflected the deepening cooperation between Puerto Rico and the mainland States. World War II set the stage for the first major migration wave of Puerto Ricans to the mainland.

That wave, which spanned the decade between 1947 and 1957, was brought on largely by economic factors: Puerto Rico’s population had risen to nearly two million people by mid-century, but the standard of living had not followed suit. Unemployment was high on the island while opportunity was dwindling. On the mainland, however, jobs were widely available. According to Ronald Larsen, author of *The Puerto Ricans in America*, many of those jobs were in New York City’s garment district. Hard-working Puerto Rican women were especially welcomed in the garment district shops. The city also provided the sort of low-skilled service industry jobs that non-English speakers needed to make a living on the mainland.

New York City became a major focal point for Puerto Rican migration. Between 1951 and 1957 the average annual migration from Puerto Rico to New York was over 48,000. Many settled in East Harlem, located in upper Manhattan between 116th and 145th streets, east of Central Park. Because of its high Latino population, the district soon came to be known as Spanish Harlem. Among New York City *puertorriqueños*, the Latino-populated area was referred to as *el barrio*, or “the neighborhood.” Most first-generation migrants to the area were young men who later sent for their wives and children when finances allowed.

By the early 1960s the Puerto Rican migration rate slowed down, and a “revolving door” migratory pattern—a back-and-forth flow of people between the island and the mainland—developed. Since then, there have been occasional bursts of increased migration from the island, especially during the recessions of the late 1970s. In the late 1980s Puerto Rico became increasingly plagued by a number of social problems, including rising violent crime (especially drug-associated crime), increased overcrowding, and worsening unemployment. These conditions kept the flow of migration into the United States steady, even among professional classes, and caused many Puerto Ricans to remain on the

mainland permanently. According to U.S. Census Bureau statistics, more than 2.7 million Puerto Ricans were living in the mainland United States by 1990, making Puerto Ricans the second-largest Latino group in the nation, behind Mexican Americans, who number nearly 13.5 million.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Most early Puerto Rican migrants settled in New York City and, to a lesser degree, in other urban areas in the northeastern United States. This migration pattern was influenced by the wide availability of industrial and service-industry jobs in the eastern cities. New York remains the chief residence of Puerto Ricans living outside of the island: of the 2.7 million Puerto Ricans living on the mainland, over 900,000 reside in New York City, while another 200,000 live elsewhere in the state of New York.

That pattern has been changing since the 1990s, however. A new group of Puerto Ricans—most of them younger, wealthier, and more highly educated than the urban settlers—have increasingly begun migrating to other states, especially in the South and Midwest. In 1990 the Puerto Rican population of Chicago, for instance, was over 125,000. Cities in Texas, Florida, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts also have a significant number of Puerto Rican residents.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The history of Puerto Rican American assimilation has been one of great success mixed with serious problems. Many Puerto Rican mainlanders hold high-paying white collar jobs. Outside of New York City, Puerto Ricans often boast higher college graduation rates and higher per capita incomes than their counterparts in other Latino groups, even when those groups represent a much higher proportion of the local population.

However, U.S. Census Bureau reports indicate that for at least 25 percent of all Puerto Ricans living on the mainland (and 55 percent living on the island) poverty is a serious problem. Despite the presumed advantages of American citizenship, Puerto Ricans are—overall—the most economically disadvantaged Latino group in the United States. Puerto Rican communities in urban areas are plagued by problems such as crime, drug-use, poor educational opportunity, unemployment, and the breakdown of the traditionally strong Puerto Rican family structure. Since a great many Puerto Ricans

are of mixed Spanish and African descent, they have had to endure the same sort of racial discrimination often experienced by African Americans. And some Puerto Ricans are further handicapped by the Spanish-to-English language barrier in American cities.

Despite these problems, Puerto Ricans, like other Latino groups, are beginning to exert more political power and cultural influence on the mainstream population. This is especially true in cities like New York, where the significant Puerto Rican population can represent a major political force when properly organized. In many recent elections Puerto Ricans have found themselves in the position of holding an all-important “swing-vote”—often occupying the sociopolitical ground between African Americans and other minorities on the one hand and white Americans on the other. The pan-Latin sounds of Puerto Rican singers Ricky Martin, Jennifer Lopez, and Marc Anthony, and jazz musicians such as saxophonist David Sanchez, have not only brought a cultural revival, they have increased interest in Latin music in the late 1990s. Their popularity has also had a legitimizing effect on *Nuyorican*, a term coined by Miguel Algarin, founder of the Nuyorican Poet’s Café in New York, for the unique blend of Spanish and English used among young Puerto Ricans living in New York City.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

The traditions and beliefs of Puerto Rican islanders are heavily influenced by Puerto Rico’s Afro-Spanish history. Many Puerto Rican customs and superstitions blend the Catholic religious traditions of Spaniards and the pagan religious beliefs of the West African slaves who were brought to the island beginning in the sixteenth century. Though most Puerto Ricans are strict Roman Catholics, local customs have given a Caribbean flavor to some standard Catholic ceremonies. Among these are weddings, baptisms and funerals. And like other Caribbean islanders and Latin Americans, Puerto Ricans traditionally believe in *espiritismo*, the notion that the world is populated by spirits who can communicate with the living through dreams.

In addition to the holy days observed by the Catholic church, Puerto Ricans celebrate several other days that hold particular significance for them as a people. For instance, *El Día de las Candelarias*, or “candlemas,” is observed annually on the evening of February 2; people build a massive bonfire around which they drink and dance and



Puerto Rico's Progressive Party commemorates the 100-year anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico and supports statehood.

chant “¡Viva las candelarias!” or “Long live the flames!” And each December 27 is *El Día de los Inocentes* or the “Day of the Children.” On that day Puerto Rican men dress as women and women dress as men; the community then celebrates as one large group.

Many Puerto Rican customs revolve around the ritual significance of food and drink. As in other Latino cultures, it is considered an insult to turn down a drink offered by a friend or stranger. It is also customary for Puerto Ricans to offer food to any guest, whether invited or not, who might enter the household: failure to do so is said to bring hunger upon one’s own children. Puerto Ricans traditionally warn against eating in the presence of a pregnant woman without offering her food, for fear she might miscarry. Many Puerto Ricans also believe that marrying or starting a journey on a Tuesday is bad luck, and that dreams of water or tears are a sign of impending heartache or tragedy. Common centuries-old folk remedies include the avoidance of acidic food during menstruation and the consumption of *asopao* (“ah so POW”), or chicken stew, for minor ailments.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

Although awareness of Puerto Rican culture has increased within mainstream America, many common misconceptions still exist. For instance, many other Americans fail to realize that Puerto Ricans are natural-born American citizens or wrongly view their native island as a primitive tropical land of grass huts and grass skirts. Puerto Rican culture is often confused with other Latino American cultures, especially that of Mexican Americans. And because Puerto Rico is an island, some mainlanders have trouble distinguishing Pacific islanders of Polynesian descent from the Puerto Rican people, who have Euro-African and Caribbean ancestry.

CUISINE

Puerto Rican cuisine is tasty and nutritious and consists mainly of seafood and tropical island vegetables, fruits, and meats. Although herbs and spices are used in great abundance, Puerto Rican cuisine is not spicy in the sense of peppery Mexican cuisine. Native dishes are often inexpensive, though they require some skill in preparation. Puerto Rican

Three King's Day is a festive day of gift-giving in Spain and Latin American countries. This Three King's Day parade is being held in East Harlem in New York.



women are traditionally responsible for the cooking and take great pride in their role.

Many Puerto Rican dishes are seasoned with a savory mixture of spices known as *sofrito* (“so-FREE-toe”). This is made by grinding fresh garlic, seasoned salt, green peppers, and onions in a *pilón* (“pee-LONE”), a wooden bowl similar to a mortar and pestle, and then sautéing the mixture in hot oil. This serves as the spice base for many soups and dishes. Meat is often marinated in a seasoning mixture known as *adobo*, which is made from lemon, garlic, pepper, salt, and other spices. *Achiote* seeds are sautéed as the base for an oily sauce used in many dishes.

Bacalodo (“bah-kah-LAH-doe”), a staple of the Puerto Rican diet, is a flaky, salt-marinated cod fish. It is often eaten boiled with vegetables and rice or on bread with olive oil for breakfast. *Arroz con pollo*, or rice and chicken, another staple dish, is served with *abichuelas guisada* (“ah-bee-CHWE-lahs gee-SAH-dah”), marinated beans, or a native Puerto Rican pea known as *gandules* (“gahn-DOO-lays”). Other popular Puerto Rican foods include *asopao* (“ah-soe-POW”), a rice and chicken stew; *lechón asado* (“le-CHONE ah-SAH-doe”), slow-roasted pig; *pasteles* (“pah-STAY-lehs”), meat and vegetable patties rolled in dough made from crushed plantains (bananas); *empanadas dejueyes* (“em-pah-NAH-dahs deh WHE-jays”), Puerto Rican crab cakes; *relenos* (“reh-JEY-nohs”), meat and potato fritters; *griffo* (“GREE-foe”), chicken and potato stew; and *tostones*, battered and deep fried plantains, served with salt and lemon juice. These dishes are often

washed down with *cerveza rubia* (“ser-VEH-sa ROO-bee-ah”), “blond” or light-colored American lager beer, or *ron* (“RONE”) the world-famous, dark-colored Puerto Rican rum.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional dress in Puerto Rico is similar to other Caribbean islanders. Men wear baggy *pantalons* (trousers) and a loose cotton shirt known as a *guayaberra*. For certain celebrations, women wear colorful dresses or *trajes* that have African influence. Straw hats or Panama hats (*sombreros de jipijipa*) are often worn on Sundays or holidays by men. Spanish-influenced garb is worn by musicians and dancers during performances—often on holidays.

The traditional image of the *jibaro*, or peasant, has to some extent remained with Puerto Ricans. Often depicted as a wiry, swarthy man wearing a straw hat and holding a guitar in one hand and a *machete* (the long-bladed knife used for cutting sugarcane) in the other, the *jibaro* to some symbolizes the island’s culture and its people. To others, he is an object of derision, akin to the derogatory image of the American hillbilly.

DANCES AND SONGS

Puerto Rican people are famous for throwing big, elaborate parties—with music and dancing—to celebrate special events. Puerto Rican music is polyrhythmic, blending intricate and complex African percussion with melodic Spanish beats. The traditional Puerto Rican group is a trio, made up of a *qauttro* (an eight-stringed native Puerto Rican instrument similar to a mandolin); a *guitarra*, or guitar; and a *basso*, or bass. Larger bands have trumpets and strings as well as extensive percussion sections in which maracas, guiros, and bongos are primary instruments.

Although Puerto Rico has a rich folk music tradition, fast-tempoed *salsa* music is the most widely known indigenous Puerto Rican music. Also the name given to a two-step dance, *salsa* has gained popularity among non-Latin audiences. The *merengue*, another popular native Puerto Rican dance, is a fast step in which the dancers’ hips are in close contact. Both *salsa* and *merengue* are favorites in American barrios. *Bombas* are native Puerto Rican songs sung *a cappella* to African drum rhythms.

HOLIDAYS

Puerto Ricans celebrate most Christian holidays, including *La Navidad* (Christmas) and *Pasquas*

(Easter), as well as *El Año Nuevo* (New Year's Day). In addition, Puerto Ricans celebrate *El Día de Los Tres Reyes*, or "Three King's Day," each January 6. It is on this day that Puerto Rican children expect gifts, which are said to be delivered by *los tres reyes magos* ("the three wise men"). On the days leading up to January 6, Puerto Ricans have continuous celebrations. *Parrandiendo* (stopping by) is a practice similar to American and English caroling, in which neighbors go visiting house to house. Other major celebration days are *El Día de Las Raza* (The Day of the Race—Columbus Day) and *El Fiesta del Apostol Santiago* (St. James Day). Every June, Puerto Ricans in New York and other large cities celebrate Puerto Rican Day. The parades held on this day have come to rival St. Patrick's Day parades and celebrations in popularity.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems or mental health problems specific to Puerto Ricans. However, because of the low economic status of many Puerto Ricans, especially in mainland inner-city settings, the incidence of poverty-related health problems is a very real concern. AIDS, alcohol and drug dependency, and a lack of adequate health care coverage are the biggest health-related concerns facing the Puerto Rican community.

LANGUAGE

There is no such thing as a Puerto Rican language. Rather, Puerto Ricans speak proper Castillian Spanish, which is derived from ancient Latin. While Spanish uses the same Latin alphabet as English, the letters "k" and "w" occur only in foreign words. However, Spanish has three letters not found in English: "ch" ("chay"), "ll" ("EL-yay"), and "ñ" ("AYN-nyay"). Spanish uses word order, rather than noun and pronoun inflection, to encode meaning. In addition, the Spanish language tends to rely on diacritical markings such as the *tilda* (~) and the *accento* (´) much more than English.

The main difference between the Spanish spoken in Spain and the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico (and other Latin American locales) is pronunciation. Differences in pronunciation are similar to the regional variations between American English in the southern United States and New England. Many Puerto Ricans have a unique tendency among Latin Americans to drop the "s" sound in casual conversation. The word *usted* (the proper form of the pronoun "you"), for instance, may be pronounced as "oo TED" rather than "oo STED." Like-

wise, the participial suffix "-ado" is often changed by Puerto Ricans. The word *quemado* (meaning "burned") is thus pronounced "ke MOW" rather than "ke MA do."

Although English is taught to most elementary school children in Puerto Rican public schools, Spanish remains the primary language on the island of Puerto Rico. On the mainland, many first-generation Puerto Rican migrants are less than fluent in English. Subsequent generations are often fluently bilingual, speaking English outside of the home and Spanish in the home. Bilingualism is especially common among young, urbanized, professional Puerto Ricans.

Long exposure of Puerto Ricans to American society, culture, and language has also spawned a unique slang that has come to be known among many Puerto Ricans as "Spanglish." It is a dialect that does not yet have formal structure but its use in popular songs has helped spread terms as they are adopted. In New York itself the unique blend of languages is called *Nuyorican*. In this form of Spanglish, "New York" becomes *Nuevayork*, and many Puerto Ricans refer to themselves as *Nuevarriqueños*. Puerto Rican teenagers are as likely to attend *un pahry* (a party) as to attend a *fiesta*; children look forward to a visit from *Sahnta Close* on Christmas; and workers often have *un Beeg Mahk y una Coca-Cola* on their lunch breaks.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

For the most part, Puerto Rican greetings are standard Spanish greetings: *Hola* ("OH lah")—Hello; *¿Como está?* ("como eh-STAH")—How are you?; *¿Que tal?* ("kay TAHL")—What's up; *Adiós* ("ah DYOSE")—Good-bye; *Por favor* ("pore fahFORE")—Please; *Gracias* ("GRAH-syahs")—Thank you; *Buena suerte* ("BWE-na SWAYR-tay")—Good luck; *Feliz Año Nuevo* ("feh-LEEZ AHN-yoe NWAY-vo")—Happy New Year.

Some expressions, however, appear to be unique to Puerto Ricans. These include: *Mas enamorado que el cabro cupido* (More in love than a goat shot by Cupid's arrow; or, to be head over heels in love); *Sentado an el baúl* (Seated in a trunk; or, to be henpecked); and *Sacar el ratón* (Let the rat out of the bag; or, to get drunk).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Puerto Rican family and community dynamics have a strong Spanish influence and still tend to reflect

These enthusiastic spectators are watching the 1990 Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York City.



the intensely patriarchal social organization of European Spanish culture. Traditionally, husbands and fathers are heads of households and serve as community leaders. Older male children are expected to be responsible for younger siblings, especially females. *Machismo* (the Spanish conception of manhood) is traditionally a highly regarded virtue among Puerto Rican men. Women, in turn, are held responsible for the day-to-day running of the household.

Both Puerto Rican men and women care very much for their children and have strong roles in childrearing; children are expected to show *respeto* (respect) to parents and other elders, including older siblings. Traditionally, girls are raised to be quiet and diffident, and boys are raised to be more aggressive, though all children are expected to defer to elders and strangers. Young men initiate courtship, though dating rituals have for the most part become Americanized on the mainland. Puerto Ricans place a high value on the education of the young; on the island, Americanized public education is compulsory. And like most Latino groups, Puerto Ricans are traditionally opposed to divorce and birth out of wedlock.

Puerto Rican family structure is extensive; it is based on the Spanish system of *compadrazco* (literally “co-parenting”) in which many members—not just parents and siblings—are considered to be part of the immediate family. Thus *los abuelos* (grandparents), and *los tios y las tias* (uncles and aunts) and even *los primos y las primas* (cousins) are considered extremely close relatives in the Puerto Rican family structure. Likewise, *los padrinos* (godparents) have a

special role in the Puerto Rican conception of the family: godparents are friends of a child’s parents and serve as “second parents” to the child. Close friends often refer to each other as *compadre y comadre* to reinforce the familial bond.

Although the extended family remains standard among many Puerto Rican mainlanders and islanders, the family structure has suffered a serious breakdown in recent decades, especially among urban mainlander Puerto Ricans. This breakdown seems to have been precipitated by economic hardships among Puerto Ricans, as well as by the influence of America’s social organization, which de-emphasizes the extended family and accords greater autonomy to children and women.

For Puerto Ricans, the home has special significance, serving as the focal point for family life. Puerto Rican homes, even in the mainland United States, thus reflect Puerto Rican cultural heritage to a great extent. They tend to be ornate and colorful, with rugs and gilt-framed paintings that often reflect a religious theme. In addition, rosaries, busts of *La Virgen* (the Virgin Mary) and other religious icons have a prominent place in the household. For many Puerto Rican mothers and grandmothers, no home is complete without a representation of the suffering of Jesús Christo and the Last Supper. As young people increasingly move into mainstream American culture, these traditions and many others seem to be waning, but only slowly over the last few decades.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHERS

Because of the long history of intermarriage among Spanish, Indian, and African ancestry groups, Puerto Ricans are among the most ethnically and racially diverse people in Latin America. As a result, the relations between whites, blacks, and ethnic groups on the island—and to a somewhat lesser extent on the mainland—tend to be cordial.

This is not to say that Puerto Ricans fail to recognize racial variance. On the island of Puerto Rico, skin color ranges from black to fair, and there are many ways of describing a person’s color. Light-skinned persons are usually referred to as *blanco* (white) or *rúbio* (blond). Those with darker skin who have Native American features are referred to as *indio*, or “Indian.” A person with dark-colored skin, hair, and eyes—like the majority of the islanders—are referred to as *trigeño* (swarthy). Blacks have two designations: African Puerto Ricans are called people *de color* or people “of color,” while African Americans are referred to as *moreno*. The word *negro*, meaning “black,” is quite

common among Puerto Ricans, and is used today as a term of endearment for persons of any color.

RELIGION

Most Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholics. Catholicism on the island dates back to the earliest presence of the Spanish *conquistadors*, who brought Catholic missionaries to convert native Arawaks to Christianity and train them in Spanish customs and culture. For over 400 years, Catholicism was the island's dominant religion, with a negligible presence of Protestant Christians. That has changed over the last century. As recently as 1960, over 80 percent of Puerto Ricans identified themselves as Catholics. By the mid-1990s, according to U.S. Census Bureau statistics, that number had decreased to 70 percent. Nearly 30 percent of Puerto Ricans identify themselves as Protestants of various denominations, including Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Christian Scientist. The Protestant shift is about the same among mainland Puerto Ricans. Although this trend may be attributable to the overwhelming influence of American culture on the island and among mainland Puerto Ricans, similar changes have been observed throughout the Caribbean and into the rest of Latin America.

Puerto Ricans who practice Catholicism observe traditional church liturgy, rituals, and traditions. These include belief in the Creed of the Apostles and adherence to the doctrine of papal infallibility. Puerto Rican Catholics observe the seven Catholic sacraments: Baptism, Eucharist, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and Anointing of the Sick. According to the dispensations of Vatican II, Puerto Ricans celebrate mass in vernacular Spanish as opposed to ancient Latin. Catholic churches in Puerto Rico are ornate, rich with candles, paintings, and graphic imagery: like other Latin Americans, Puerto Ricans seem especially moved by the Passion of Christ and place particular emphasis on representations of the Crucifixion.

Among Puerto Rican Catholics, a small minority actively practice some version of *santería* (“sahn-teh-REE-ah”), an African American pagan religion with roots in the Yoruba religion of western Africa. (A *santo* is a saint of the Catholic church who also corresponds to a Yoruban deity.) *Santería* is prominent throughout the Caribbean and in many places in the southern United States and has had a strong influence on Catholic practices on the island.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Early Puerto Rican migrants to the mainland, especially those settling in New York City, found jobs in service and industry sectors. Among women, garment industry work was the leading form of employment. Men in urban areas most often worked in the service industry, often at restaurant jobs—bussing tables, bartending, or washing dishes. Men also found work in steel manufacturing, auto assembly, shipping, meat packing, and other related industries. In the early years of mainland migration, a sense of ethnic cohesion, especially in New York City, was created by Puerto Rican men who held jobs of community significance: Puerto Rican barbers, grocers, barmen, and others provided focal points for the Puerto Rican community to gather in the city. Since the 1960s, some Puerto Ricans have been journeying to the mainland as temporary contract laborers—working seasonally to harvest crop vegetables in various states and then returning to Puerto Rico after harvest.

As Puerto Ricans have assimilated into mainstream American culture, many of the younger generations have moved away from New York City and other eastern urban areas, taking high-paying white-collar and professional jobs. Still, less than two percent of Puerto Rican families have a median income above \$75,000.

In mainland urban areas, though, unemployment is rising among Puerto Ricans. According to 1990 U.S. Census Bureau statistics, 31 percent of all Puerto Rican men and 59 percent of all Puerto Rican women were not considered part of the American labor force. One reason for these alarming statistics may be the changing face of American employment options. The sort of manufacturing sector jobs that were traditionally held by Puerto Ricans, especially in the garment industry, have become increasingly scarce. Institutionalized racism and the rise in single-parent households in urban areas over the last two decades may also be factors in the employment crisis. Urban Puerto Rican unemployment—whatever its cause—has emerged as one of the greatest economic challenges facing Puerto Rican community leaders at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Throughout the twentieth century, Puerto Rican political activity has followed two distinct paths—one focusing on accepting the association with the

United States and working within the American political system, the other pushing for full Puerto Rican independence, often through radical means. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, most Puerto Rican leaders living in New York City fought for Caribbean freedom from Spain in general and Puerto Rican freedom in particular. When Spain ceded control of Puerto Rico to the United States following the Spanish-American War, those freedom fighters turned to working for Puerto Rican independence from the States. Eugenio María de Hostos founded the League of Patriots to help smooth the transition from U.S. control to independence. Although full independence was never achieved, groups like the League paved the way for Puerto Rico's special relationship with the United States. Still, Puerto Ricans were for the most part blocked from wide participation in the American political system.

In 1913 New York Puerto Ricans helped establish *La Prensa*, a Spanish-language daily newspaper, and over the next two decades a number of Puerto Rican and Latino political organizations and groups—some more radical than others—began to form. In 1937 Puerto Ricans elected Oscar García Rivera to a New York City Assembly seat, making him New York's first elected official of Puerto Rican descent. There was some Puerto Rican support in New York City of radical activist Albizu Campos, who staged a riot in the Puerto Rican city of Ponce on the issue of independence that same year; 19 were killed in the riot, and Campos's movement died out.

The 1950s saw wide proliferation of community organizations, called *ausentes*. Over 75 such hometown societies were organized under the umbrella of *El Congreso de Pueblo* (the "Council of Hometowns"). These organizations provided services for Puerto Ricans and served as a springboard for activity in city politics. In 1959 the first New York City Puerto Rican Day parade was held. Many commentators viewed this as a major cultural and political "coming out" party for the New York Puerto Rican community.

Low participation of Puerto Ricans in electoral politics—in New York and elsewhere in the country—has been a matter of concern for Puerto Rican leaders. This trend is partly attributable to a nationwide decline in American voter turnout. Still, some studies reveal that there is a substantially higher rate of voter participation among Puerto Ricans on the island than on the U.S. mainland. A number of reasons for this have been offered. Some point to the low turnout of other ethnic minorities in U.S. communities. Others suggest that Puerto Ricans

have never really been courted by either party in the American system. And still others suggest that the lack of opportunity and education for the migrant population has resulted in widespread political cynicism among Puerto Ricans. The fact remains, however, that the Puerto Rican population can be a major political force when organized.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Puerto Ricans have only had a major presence on the mainland since the mid-twentieth century, they have made significant contributions to American society. This is especially true in the areas of the arts, literature, and sports. The following is a selected list of individual Puerto Ricans and some of their achievements.

ACADEMIA

Frank Bonilla is a political scientist and a pioneer of Hispanic and Puerto Rican Studies in the United States. He is the director of the City University of New York's Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños and the author of numerous books and monographs. Author and educator Maria Teresa Babín (1910–) served as director of the University of Puerto Rico's Hispanic Studies Program. She also edited one of only two English anthologies of Puerto Rican literature.

ART

Olga Albizu (1924–) came to fame as a painter of Stan Getz's RCA record covers in the 1950s. She later became a leading figure in the New York City arts community. Other well-known contemporary and avant-garde visual artists of Puerto Rican descent include Rafael Ferre (1933–), Rafael Colón (1941–), and Ralph Ortíz (1934–).

MUSIC

Ricky Martin, born Enrique Martin Morales in Puerto Rico, began his career as a member of the teen singing group Menudo. He gained international fame at the 1999 Grammy Awards ceremony with his rousing performance of "La Copa de la Vida." His continued success, most notably with his single "La Vida Loca" was a major influence in the growing interest in new Latin beat styles among mainstream America in the late 1990s.

Marc Anthony (born Marco Antonio Muniz) gained renown both as an actor in films like *The Substitute* (1996), *Big Night* (1996), and *Bringing out*

the Dead (1999) and as a top selling Salsa song writer and performer. Anthony has contributed hit songs to albums by other singers and recorded his first album, *The Night Is Over*, in 1991 in Latin hip hop-style. Some of his other albums reflect more of his Salsa roots and include *Otra Nota* in 1995 and *Contra La Corriente* in 1996.

BUSINESS

Deborah Aguiar-Veléz (1955–) was trained as a chemical engineer but became one of the most famous female entrepreneurs in the United States. After working for Exxon and the New Jersey Department of Commerce, Aguiar-Veléz founded Sistema Corp. In 1990 she was named the Outstanding Woman of the Year in Economic Development. John Rodriguez (1958–) is the founder of AD-One, a Rochester, New York-based advertising and public relations firm whose clients include Eastman Kodak, Bausch and Lomb, and the Girl Scouts of America.

FILM AND THEATER

San Juan-born actor Raúl Juliá (1940-1994), best known for his work in film, was also a highly regarded figure in the theater. Among his many film credits are *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, based on South American writer Manuel Puig's novel of the same name, *Presumed Innocent*, and the *Addams Family* movies. Singer and dance Rita Moreno (1935–), born Rosita Dolores Alverco in Puerto Rico, began working on Broadway at the age of 13 and hit Hollywood at age 14. She has earned numerous awards for her work in theater, film, and television. Miriam Colón (1945–) is New York City's first lady of Hispanic theater. She has also worked widely in film and television. José Ferrer (1912–), one of cinema's most distinguished leading men, earned a 1950 Academy Award for best actor in the film *Cyrano de Bergerac*.

Jennifer Lopez, born July 24, 1970 in the Bronx, is a dancer, an actress, and a singer, and has gained fame successively in all three areas. She began her career as a dancer in stage musicals and music videos and in the Fox Network TV show *In Living Color*. After a string of supporting roles in movies such as *Mi Familia* (1995) and *Money Train* (1995), Jennifer Lopez became the highest paid Latina actress in films when she was selected for the title role in *Selena* in 1997. She went on to act in *Anaconda* (1997), *U-turn* (1997), *Antz* (1998) and *Out Of Sight* (1998). Her first solo album, *On the 6*, released in 1999, produced a hit single, "If You Had My Love."

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

Jesús Colón (1901-1974) was the first journalist and short story writer to receive wide attention in English-language literary circles. Born in the small Puerto Rican town of Cayey, Colón stowed away on a boat to New York City at the age of 16. After working as an unskilled laborer, he began writing newspaper articles and short fiction. Colón eventually became a columnist for the *Daily Worker*; some of his works were later collected in *A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches*. Nicholasa Mohr (1935–) is the only Hispanic American woman to write for major U.S. publishing houses, including Dell, Bantam, and Harper. Her books include *Nilda* (1973), *In Nueva York* (1977) and *Gone Home* (1986). Victor Hernández Cruz (1949–) is the most widely acclaimed of the Nuyorican poets, a group of Puerto Rican poets whose work focuses on the Latino world in New York City. His collections include *Mainland* (1973) and *Rhythm, Content, and Flavor* (1989). Tato Laviena (1950–), the best-selling Latino poet in the United States, gave a 1980 reading at the White House for U.S. President Jimmy Carter. Geraldo Rivera (1943–) has won ten Emmy Awards and a Peabody Award for his investigative journalism. Since 1987 this controversial media figure has hosted his own talk show, *Geraldo*.

POLITICS AND LAW

José Cabrenas (1949–) was the first Puerto Rican to be named to a federal court on the U.S. mainland. He graduated from Yale Law School in 1965 and received his LL.M. from England's Cambridge University in 1967. Cabrenas held a position in the Carter administration, and his name has since been raised for a possible U.S. Supreme Court nomination. Antonia Novello (1944–) was the first Hispanic woman to be named U.S. surgeon general. She served in the Bush administration from 1990 until 1993.

SPORTS

Roberto Walker Clemente (1934-1972) was born in Carolina, Puerto Rico, and played center field for the Pittsburgh Pirates from 1955 until his death in 1972. Clemente appeared in two World Series contests, was a four-time National League batting champion, earned MVP honors for the Pirates in 1966, racked up 12 Gold Glove awards for fielding, and was one of only 16 players in the history of the game to have over 3,000 hits. After his untimely death in a plane crash en route to aid earthquake victims in Central America, the Baseball Hall of

Fame waived the usual five-year waiting period and inducted Clemente immediately. Orlando Cepeda (1937–) was born in Ponce, Puerto Rico, but grew up in New York City, where he played sandlot baseball. He joined the New York Giants in 1958 and was named Rookie of the Year. Nine years later he was voted MVP for the St. Louis Cardinals. Angel Thomas Cordero (1942–), a famous name in the world of horseracing, is the fourth all-time leader in races won—and Number Three in the amount of money won in purses: \$109,958,510 as of 1986. Sixto Escobar (1913–) was the first Puerto Rican boxer to win a world championship, knocking out Tony Martino in 1936. Chi Chi Rodriguez (1935–) is one of the best-known American golfers in the world. In a classic rags-to-riches story, he started out as a caddie in his hometown of Rio Piedras and went on to become a millionaire player. The winner of numerous national and world tournaments, Rodriguez is also known for his philanthropy, including his establishment of the Chi Chi Rodriguez Youth Foundation in Florida.

MEDIA

More than 500 U.S. newspapers, periodicals, newsletters, and directories are published in Spanish or have a significant focus on Hispanic Americans. More than 325 radio and television stations air broadcasts in Spanish, providing music, entertainment, and information to the Hispanic community.

PRINT

El Diario/La Prensa.

Published Monday through Friday, since 1913, this publication has focused on general news in Spanish.

Contact: Carlos D. Ramirez, Publisher.

Address: 143-155 Varick Street, New York, New York 10013.

Telephone: (718) 807-4600.

Fax: (212) 807-4617.

Hispanic.

Established in 1988, it covers Hispanic interests and people in a general editorial magazine format on a monthly basis.

Address: 98 San Jacinto Boulevard, Suite 1150, Austin, Texas 78701.

Telephone: (512) 320-1942.

Hispanic Business.

Established in 1979, this is a monthly English-language business magazine that caters to Hispanic professionals.

Contact: Jesus Echevarria, Publisher.

Address: 425 Pine Avenue, Santa Barbara, California 93117-3709.

Telephone: (805) 682-5843.

Fax: (805) 964-5539.

Online: <http://www.hispanstar.com/hb/default.asp>.

Hispanic Link Weekly Report.

Established in 1983, this is a weekly bilingual community newspaper covering Hispanic interests.

Contact: Felix Perez, Editor.

Address: 1420 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 234-0280.

Noticias del Mundo.

Established in 1980, this is a daily general Spanish-language newspaper.

Contact: Bo Hi Pak, Editor.

Address: Philip Sanchez Inc., 401 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 684-5656.

Vista.

Established in September 1985, this monthly magazine supplement appears in major daily English-language newspapers.

Contact: Renato Perez, Editor.

Address: 999 Ponce de Leon Boulevard, Suite 600, Coral Gables, Florida 33134.

Telephone: (305) 442-2462.

RADIO

Caballero Radio Network.

Contact: Eduardo Caballero, President.

Address: 261 Madison Avenue, Suite 1800, New York, New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 697-4120.

CBS Hispanic Radio Network.

Contact: Gerardo Villacres, General Manager.

Address: 51 West 52nd Street, 18th Floor, New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 975-3005.

Lotus Hispanic Radio Network.

Contact: Richard B. Kraushaar, President.

Address: 50 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 697-7601.

WHCR-FM (90.3).

Public radio format, operating 18 hours daily with Hispanic news and contemporary programming.

Contact: Frank Allen, Program Director.

Address: City College of New York, 138th and Covenant Avenue, New York, New York 10031.

Telephone: (212) 650-7481.

WKDM-AM (1380).

Independent Hispanic hit radio format with continuous operation.

Contact: Geno Heinemeyer, General Manager.

Address: 570 Seventh Avenue, Suite 1406, New York, New York 10018.

Telephone: (212) 564-1380.

TELEVISION**Galavision.**

Hispanic television network.

Contact: Jamie Davila, Division President.

Address: 2121 Avenue of the Stars, Suite 2300, Los Angeles, California 90067.

Telephone: (310) 286-0122.

Telemundo Spanish Television Network.

Contact: Joaquin F. Blaya, President.

Address: 1740 Broadway, 18th Floor, New York, New York 10019-1740.

Telephone: (212) 492-5500.

Univision.

Spanish-language television network, offering news and entertainment programming.

Contact: Joaquin F. Blaya, President.

Address: 605 Third Avenue, 12th Floor, New York, New York 10158-0180.

Telephone: (212) 455-5200.

WCIU-TV, Channel 26.

Commercial television station affiliated with the Univision network.

Contact: Howard Shapiro, Station Manager.

Address: 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Telephone: (312) 663-0260.

WNJU-TV, Channel 47.

Commercial television station affiliated with Telemundo.

Contact: Stephen J. Levin, General Manager.

Address: 47 Industrial Avenue, Teterboro, New Jersey 07608.

Telephone: (201) 288-5550.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Association for Puerto Rican-Hispanic Culture.

Founded in 1965. Seeks to expose people of various ethnic backgrounds and nationalities to cultural values of Puerto Ricans and Hispanics. Focuses on music, poetry recitals, theatrical events, and art exhibits.

Contact: Peter Bloch.

Address: 83 Park Terrace West, New York, New York 10034.

Telephone: (212) 942-2338.

Council for Puerto Rico-U.S. Affairs.

Founded in 1987, the council was formed to help create a positive awareness of Puerto Rico in the United States and to forge new links between the mainland and the island.

Contact: Roberto Soto.

Address: 14 East 60th Street, Suite 605, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 832-0935.

National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights (NAPRCR).

Addresses civil rights issues concerning Puerto Ricans in legislative, labor, police, and legal and housing matters, especially in New York City.

Contact: Damaso Emeric, President.

Address: 2134 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10035.

Telephone: (212) 996-9661.

National Conference of Puerto Rican Women (NACOPRW).

Founded in 1972, the conference promotes the participation of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic women in social, political, and economic affairs in the United States and in Puerto Rico. Publishes the quarterly *Ecos Nacionales*.

Contact: Ana Fontana.

Address: 5 Thomas Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 387-4716.

National Council of La Raza.

Founded in 1968, this Pan-Hispanic organization provides assistance to local Hispanic groups, serves

as an advocate for all Hispanic Americans, and is a national umbrella organization for 80 formal affiliates throughout the United States.

Address: 810 First Street, N.E., Suite 300,
Washington, D.C. 20002.
Telephone: (202) 289-1380.

National Puerto Rican Coalition (NPRC).

Founded in 1977, the NPRC advances the social, economic, and political well-being of Puerto Ricans. It evaluates the potential impact of legislative and government proposals and policies affecting the Puerto Rican community and provides technical assistance and training to start-up Puerto Rican organizations. Publishes *National Directory of Puerto Rican Organizations*; *Bulletin*; *Annual Report*.

Contact: Louis Nuñez, President.
Address: 1700 K Street, N.W., Suite 500,
Washington, D.C. 20006.
Telephone: (202) 223-3915.
Fax: (202) 429-2223.

National Puerto Rican Forum (NPRF).

Concerned with the overall improvement of Puerto Rican and Hispanic communities throughout the United States

Contact: Kofi A. Boateng, Executive Director.
Address: 31 East 32nd Street, Fourth Floor,
New York, New York 10016-5536.
Telephone: (212) 685-2311.
Fax: (212) 685-2349.
Online: <http://www.nprf.org/>.

Puerto Rican Family Institute (PRFI).

Established for the preservation of the health, well-being, and integrity of Puerto Rican and Hispanic families in the United States.

Contact: Maria Elena Girone, Executive Director.
Address: 145 West 15th Street, New York,
New York 10011.
Telephone: (212) 924-6320.
Fax: (212) 691-5635.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Brooklyn College of the City University of New York Center for Latino Studies.

Research institute centered on the study of Puerto Ricans in New York and Puerto Rico. Focuses on history, politics, sociology, and anthropology.

Contact: Maria Sanchez.

Address: 1205 Boylen Hall, Bedford Avenue at
Avenue H, Brooklyn, New York 11210.

Telephone: (718) 780-5561.

**Hunter College of the City
University of New York Centro
de Estudios Puertorriqueños.**

Founded in 1973, it is the first university-based research center in New York City designed specifically to develop Puerto Rican perspectives on Puerto Rican problems and issues.

Contact: Juan Flores, Director.
Address: 695 Park Avenue, New York,
New York 10021.
Telephone: (212) 772-5689.
Fax: (212) 650-3673.
E-mail: hcordero@shiva.hunter.cuny.edu.

**Institute of Puerto Rican Culture,
Archivo General de Puerto Rico.**

Maintains extensive archival holdings relating to the history of Puerto Rico.

Contact: Carmen Davila.
Address: 500 Ponce de León, Suite 4184,
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00905.
Telephone: (787) 725-5137.
Fax: (787) 724-8393.

**PRLDEF Institute for Puerto
Rican Policy.**

The Institute for Puerto Rican Policy merged with the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund in 1999. In September of 1999 a website was in progress but unfinished.

Contact: Angelo Falcón, Director.
Address: 99 Hudson Street, 14th Floor, New York,
New York 10013-2815.
Telephone: (212) 219-3360 ext. 246.
Fax: (212) 431-4276.
E-mail: ipr@iprnet.org.

**Puerto Rican Culture Institute, Luis Muñoz
Rivera Library and Museum.**

Founded in 1960, it houses collections that emphasize literature and art; institute supports research into the cultural heritage of Puerto Rico.

Address: 10 Muñoz Rivera Street, Barranquitas,
Puerto Rico 00618.
Telephone: (787) 857-0230.

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R ROMANIAN AMERICANS

by
Vladimir F. Wertsman

OVERVIEW

Romania is a country slightly smaller than the state of Oregon, measuring 91,699 square miles (237,500 square kilometers). Located in southeastern Europe, it is bounded by the Ukraine and Slovakia to the north, Bulgaria to the south, Serbia to the southwest, Moldavia and the Black Sea to the east, and Hungary to the west. Although the majority of Romanian Americans immigrated from Romania, several thousand families also came from countries bordering or adjacent to Romania, such as Moldova and Albania.

Romania has a population of slightly over 23 million people. Eighty-eight percent are of Romanian ethnic origin while the rest consist of various ethnic minorities, including Hungarians, Germans, Serbians, Bulgarians, Gypsies, and Armenians. Eighty percent of the population nominally belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church, and approximately ten percent are Catholics of the Byzantine Rite. Other religious denominations represented in Romania include Seventh-Day Adventists, Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Unitarians, as well as the Judaic and Islamic faiths. The country's official language is Romanian, and its capital city is Bucharest. Romania's national flag consists of three large stripes (red, yellow, and blue) arranged vertically.

HISTORY

The name Romania, which means “New Rome” in Latin, was given by Roman colonists after Emperor Trajan (c.53-117 A.D.) and his legions crossed the Danube River and conquered Dacia (an ancient province located in present-day Transylvania and the Carpathian Mountain region) in 106 A.D. Although Roman occupation of Dacia ended in 271 A.D., the relationship between the Romans and Dacians flourished; mixed marriages and the adoption of Latin culture and language gradually molded the Romans and Dacians into a distinct ethnic entity. The ancestors of the modern Romanian people managed to preserve their Latin heritage despite Gothic, Slavic, Greek, Hungarian, and Turkish conquests, and the Romanian language has survived as a member of the Romance languages group.

Romania has been subjected to numerous occupations by foreign powers since the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, the Romanian principalities Moldavia and Wallachia became vassal states of the Ottoman Empire. Bukovina, Transylvania, and Banat were incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the 1700s. Czarist Russia occupied Bessarabia in 1812. In 1859 Moldavia and Wallachia became unified through the auspices of the Paris Peace Conference, and Romania became a national state. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Romania obtained full independence from the Ottoman Empire but lost Bessarabia to Russia. In 1881, Romania was proclaimed a kingdom and Carol I (1839-1914) was installed as its first monarch.

MODERN ERA

Following the death of Carol I, his nephew, Ferdinand (1865-1927), became king and led the country into World War I against the Central Powers. Romania regained Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina and other territories after the war. In 1940, Carol II (1893-1953) was named General Ion Antonescu (1882-1946) premier of Romania, who then forced the monarch to renounce his throne in favor of his son, Michael I (1921–). Under Antonescu’s influence, Romania became an ally of Nazi Germany during World War II and fought against the Soviet Union. In the last year of the war, however, Romania switched its alliance to the Soviets and, after the war ended, Antonescu was executed. In national elections held in 1947, members of the Communist party assumed many high-level positions in the new government, and King Michael I was forced to abdicate his throne. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-1965) of the Romanian Communist party

served as premier (1952-1955) and later as chief of state (1961-1965). Two years after Gheorghiu-Dej’s death, Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918-1989), a high-ranking Communist official, assumed the presidency of Romania.

On December 22, 1989, the Communist regime was overthrown and Ceaușescu was executed on Christmas Day. In the post-Communist years, various changes have occurred, including a free press, free elections, and a multi-party electorate bringing to power a democratic government (President Emil Constantinescu, 1996–). The pace of transforming Romania’s economy into a market economy accelerated, and improved relations with the United States, Canada and other Western countries were promoted. Romania also petitioned to become a member of NATO, and its candidacy will be considered in the year 2002.

THE FIRST ROMANIANS IN AMERICA

Romanians have a recorded presence of almost 250 years on American soil. In the late eighteenth century, a Transylvanian priest named Samuel Damian immigrated to America for scientific reasons. Damian conducted various experiments with electricity and even caught the attention of Benjamin Franklin (they met and had a conversation in Latin). After living in South Carolina for a few years, Damian left for Jamaica and disappeared from historical record. In 1849, a group of Romanians came to California during the Gold Rush but, being unsuccessful, migrated to Mexico. Romanians continued to immigrate to America during this period and some distinguished themselves in the Union Army during the Civil War. George Pomutz (1818-1882) joined the Fifteenth Volunteer Regiment of Iowa and fought at such battlefields as Shiloh, Corinth, and Vicksburg, and was later promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. Nicholas Dunca (1825-1862), a captain serving in the Ninth Volunteer Regiment of New York, died in the battle of Cross Keyes, Virginia. Another Romanian-born soldier, Eugen Teodoresco, died in the Spanish-American War in 1898.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first major wave of Romanian immigrants to the United States took place between 1895 and 1920, in which 145,000 Romanians entered the country. They came from various regions, including Wallachia and Moldavia. The majority of these immigrants—particularly those from Transylvania and Banat—were unskilled laborers who left their

native regions because of economic depression and forced assimilation, a policy practiced by Hungarian rulers. They were attracted to the economic stability of the United States, which promised better wages and improved working conditions. Many did not plan to establish permanent residency in America, intending instead to save enough money to return to Romania and purchase land. Consequently, tens of thousands of Romanian immigrants who achieved this goal left the United States within a few years, and by 1920 the Romanian American population was approximately 85,000.

Between 1921 and 1939, the number of Romanians entering the United States declined for several reasons. Following World War I, Transylvania, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and other regions under foreign rule officially became part of Romania, thus arresting emigration for a time. In addition, the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 established a quota system which allowed only 603 persons per year to immigrate from Romania. The Great Depression added to the decline of new Romanian immigrants to the United States; immigration figures reached their lowest level at the beginning of World War II. Romanians who did enter the country during this period, however, included students, professionals, and others who later made notable contributions to American society.

A new surge of immigrants to the United States was generated by the threat of Nazi occupation of Romania during World War II. When the Communists assumed control of the country in 1947 they imposed many political, economic, and social restrictions on the Romanian people. Refugees (who had left the country as a result of persecutions, arrests, or fear of being mistreated) and exiles (who were already abroad and chose not to return to Romania) were admitted into the United States through the auspices of the Displaced Persons Act of 1947 and other legislation passed to help absorb the flood of refugees and other immigrants from postwar Europe. Because of the abrupt and dramatic nature of their departure, the refugees and exiles (estimated at about 30,000) received special moral and financial support from various Romanian organizations—religious and secular—in America. These immigrants infused an important contingent of professionals, including doctors, lawyers, writers, and engineers into the Romanian American community, and were also more active politically. They established new organizations and churches, and fought against Communist rule in their homeland.

After the Revolution of December 1989, which brought an end to Communism in Romania,

thousands of new immigrants of all ages came to the United States, and new arrivals (legal and illegal) continue to enter the country. The elimination of Communist travel restrictions, the desire of thousands of people to be reunited with their American relatives and friends, and the precarious economic conditions in the new Romania were powerful incentives to come to America for a new start in life. Among the newcomers were professionals, former political prisoners, and others who were disenchanted with the new leadership in Romania. There were also many Romanian tourists who decided to remain in America. Many of these immigrants spoke English and adjusted relatively well, even if they took lower-paying jobs than those to which their credentials or experience entitled them. However, others found neither employment nor understood the job hunting process, and returned to Romania. Still others left the United States to try their luck in Canada or South America. Those who chose to return to Europe settled in Germany, France, or Italy. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there were approximately 365,544 people of Romanian ancestry living in the United States.

Because early Romanian immigrants were either peasants or laborers, they settled in the major industrial centers of the East and Midwest and took unskilled jobs in factories. The heaviest concentrations of Romanian Americans can be found in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana. A substantial number of Romanians also settled in Florida and California. Living near the factories where they worked, first-generation Romanian Americans established communities which often consisted of extended families or of those who had migrated from the same region in Romania. Second- and third-generation Romanian Americans, having achieved financial security and social status, gradually moved out of the old neighborhoods, settling either in suburban areas or in larger cities, or relocating to another state. Consequently, there are few Romanian American communities left that preserve the social fabric of the first-generation neighborhoods.

ROMANIANS FROM THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

While most Romanian-Americans immigrated from Romania, a significant number also arrived from countries adjacent to or bordering Romania. The Republic of Moldova, known as Bessarabia before World War II, is in fact a second Romanian country. Sandwiched between Romania and the Ukraine, it occupies an area of 13,010 square miles (33,700 square kilometers). Its capital is Chisinau

(pronounced Keesheenau) and the President of Moldova is Petru Lucinschi. The population of 4.5 million consists of 65% Romanians, 14% Ukrainians, 13% Russians, 4% Gagauz (Turks of Christian faith), and 2% Bulgarians. There are also smaller groups of Poles, Belorusans, Germans and Gypsies. While 98% of the population are Eastern Orthodox believers, some Moldavians are Protestant and Jewish. The official language of Moldova is Romanian (with a Moldavian dialect), and the second language is Russian. The country's flag is the same as Romania's: red, yellow, and blue vertical stripes.

During the Middle Ages, Bessarabia was an integral part of the Romanian principality of Moldavia, but it later became a tributary to the Ottoman Empire. In 1812, following the Russian-Turkish War (1806-1812), Bessarabia was annexed by Tsarist Russia until the 1917 October Revolution. In 1918, as a result of the Romanian population majority vote, Bessarabia was reunited with Romania, but in 1940, the Soviet Union, in a pact with Nazi Germany, gained control of the land. During 1941-1944, Romania recaptured the territory, but lost it one more time at the conclusion of World War II, when the Soviet Union incorporated Bessarabia under the name of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. After the fall of Communism, in 1991 the country became independent, and took the name of the Republic of Moldova. It underwent various changes (free elections, a multi-party system of government, economic reforms) before reaching an understanding in 1996 with separatist movements in two regions, Dnestr, and Gagauzia. There was also a movement for reunification with Romania, but the majority of the population opted for independence.

Immigrants from Moldova who came to America before World War II, as well as those who arrived later (about 5,000 in the 1990s) consider themselves members of the Romanian American community, using the same language, worshiping in the same Eastern Orthodox churches and preserving the same heritage. They are also fully integrated in Romanian American organizations and support the reunification of their land of origin with Romania.

MACEDO-ROMANIANS FROM BALCANIC COUNTRIES

Macedo-Romanians, also called Aromanians or Vlachs, live mostly in Albania, although they also live in Greece and Macedonia. In addition, they have lived in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria for over 2,000 years. Their history goes back to the first and second centuries A.D., when the Roman Empire included the territories of today's Romania and neighboring



Romanian and Jewish American Regina Kohn was permitted to enter the United States because her violin playing so impressed immigration authorities at Ellis Island that they deemed her an artist. This photograph was taken on December 28, 1923.

Balcanic countries. It is estimated that there are about 600,000 to 700,000 Macedo-Romanians in the above mentioned countries. They know the Romanian language, but they also use their own dialect consisting of many archaisms, characteristic regional expressions and foreign influences. Macedo-Romanians consider themselves Romanian, and belong to the same Eastern Orthodox Church. In the United States, there are about 5,000 Macedo-Romanians, settled mostly in the states of Connecticut, New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Missouri. The first wave of immigration took place at the beginning of the twentieth century, while a second wave was recorded after World War II, and family reunifications continue to this day.

Macedo-Romanians are characterized by their hard work, the high esteem in which they keep their families and the value they place on education. They adjusted well to American life, and preserved their cultural heritage via their own organizations, ranging from Perivolea (1905-) in New York, to the Congress of Romanian-Macedonian Culture (1985-) presided by Prof. Aureliu Ciufecu of Fairfield, CT, and the Armanimea/Aromainian-ship (1993-) led by poet Zahu Pana. Macedo-Romanians also have their own publishing house, "Cartea Aromana" (The Aromanian Book), editor: T. Cunia, in Fayetteville, New York. It reprints Macedo-Romanian authors before World War II, and also publishes new authors. Although the younger generation of Macedo-Romanians are proud of their heritage, they display strong trends of assimilation, and tend to use English more than the language of their ancestors.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

While researching data for her doctoral dissertation on Romanian Americans in 1929, Christine Galitzi Avghi, herself a Romanian, observed that “Romanians in the United States constitute a picturesque, sturdy group of newly made Americans of whom altogether too little is known” (Christine Galitzi Avghi, *A Study of Assimilation among the Romanians in the United States* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1929]; reprinted in 1969). Indeed, in the past, insufficient knowledge of Romanian ethnic characteristics generated various misconceptions in America. Some authors, such as Wayne Charles Miller, in his *A Comprehensive Bibliography for the Study of American Minorities* (1976), erroneously considered Romanians Slavs because Romania borders several Slavic countries. Other immigration

“I never really knew how much my ethnic background meant to me until the Romanian Revolution a few years ago. I was never ashamed of my background, I just never boldly stated it. I guess because I live in America I thought that I was just an American, period.”

Veronica Buza, “My Ethnic Experience” in *Romanian American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, September-October 1993.

studies, including Carl Wittke’s *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (1939; revised 1967) and Joseph Hutchmacher’s *A Nation of Newcomers* (1967) completely overlooked Romanians when discussing immigrants from Eastern Europe. In *American Fever: The Story of American Immigration* (1967), Barbara Kaye Greenleaf stereotyped Romanians as wearing sheepskin coats “during all seasons” even though such coats are worn by farmers and shepherds only in the winter. Romanians who had originally come from Transylvania with ethnic Hungarians (Transylvania was under Hungarian rule before World War I) were also greatly misunderstood. For some Americans, the mere mention of Transylvania and Romania evoked Hollywood images of vampires and werewolves as depicted in several film adaptations of Bram Stoker’s novel *Dracula* (1897). Such misconceptions did not deter Romanian ethnic pride, however, which reached its peak during World War II. Today, as other groups are reaffirming their cultural past, Romanian Americans are doing the same.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Romanians have a variety of traditions and lore dating back to antiquity. For example, on certain days some farmers would not cut anything with shears so that wolves will not injure their sheep. Tuesdays were considered unlucky days to start a journey or to initiate important business. A plague could be averted by burning a shirt which has been spun, woven, and sewn in less than 24 hours. Girls would not fill their pitchers with water from a well without breathing upon it first and pouring some of it on the ground (a libation to the nymph of the well). Before serving wine, drops were poured on the floor to honor the souls of the dead. A woman who did not want children would be tortured in hell. A black cat crossing in front of a pedestrian would bring bad luck. An owl seen on the roof of a house, in a courtyard, or in a tree was a sign of forthcoming bad luck, including death in the family. Such superstitions were gradually forgotten as Romanian immigrants became acculturated into American society.

PROVERBS

A wealth of proverbs from Romanian culture have survived through generations: “A good book can take place of a friend, but a friend cannot replace a good book”; “Whether homes are big or small, a child is a blessing to all”; “The cheapest article is advice, the most valuable is a good example”; “Do not leave an old good friend of yours just to please a new one”; “One thing for sure, each couple can tell, one’s home is both paradise and hell”; “Idleness is the biggest enemy of good luck”; “Knowledge is like a tower in which you test and build your power”; “Modesty is the dearest jewel of a man’s soul”; and “Enjoy drinking the wine, but do not become drunk by it.”

CUISINE

Romanian cuisine is savory, flavorful, and stimulating to the appetite. Herbs and vegetables are used in abundance, and one-dish meals occupy an important place in the repertoire of recipes. These dishes are very nourishing, inexpensive, and easy to prepare. Romanian Americans enjoy cooking, often modifying old country recipes or creating new dishes. *Mamaliga* (“mamaliga”), considered a national dish, is a corn mush eaten with butter, cheese, meats, and even with marmalade or fruit jelly as a dessert. *Ciorba* (“chiórbá”) is a popular sour soup, seasoned with sauerkraut or pickled cucumber juice. It contains onions, parsnip, parsley root, rice, and ground beef mixed with pork, and is served after the

boiled vegetables are removed. *Gratar* (“gratár”) is a steak (usually pork) accompanied by pickled cucumbers and tomatoes and combined with other grilled meats. Garlic is a major ingredient used in preparing the steak. *Mititei* (“meeteetáy”), which is similar to hamburgers, consists of ground beef rolled into cylindrical forms and seasoned with garlic, and is often served with *gratar*.

Sarmale (“sarmály”) is a stuffed cabbage dish prepared with pork shoulder, rice, black pepper, and chopped onion. *Ghiveci* (“gyvéch”) is a vegetable stew containing carrots, potatoes, tomatoes, green pepper, onions, celery roots, eggplant, squash, string-beans, fresh peas, cabbage, and cauliflower. *Cozonac* (“kozónák”) and *torte* (“tortáy”) are various forms of cakes served as desserts. *Țuica* (“tsúika”) is a brandy made from plums or wheat. *Vin* (“veen”) is wine and *bere* (“báyray”) is beer. Romanian hosts and hostesses usually serve salads in a variety of shapes and compositions as entre dishes. Christmas dinner often consists of ham, sausages, pastry, fruits, *bere*, *vin*, and a special bread called *colac* (“kolák”). At Easter, lamb, ham, sausages, breads, and painted Easter eggs are prepared, and *vin* and *bere* accompany the feast.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Romanian traditional, or peasant costumes, are made from handwoven linen. Women wear embroidered white blouses and black skirts (or another color, according to region) which cover the knees. The costume is completed with headscarves of various colors (older women usually wear black scarves) arranged according to age and regional traditions. The traditional costume for men consists of tight-fitting white pants, a white embroidered shirt worn over the pants that almost reaches the knees, and a wide leather or cotton belt. Men wear several types of hats according to season; black or grey elongated lambskin hats are customary during the winter and straw hats are usually worn during the summer. On festive occasions, men wear black or grey felt hats adorned with a flower or feather. Moccasins are traditional footwear for both men and women, while boots (with various adornments according to regional traditions) are worn by men. Romanian Americans wear their national costumes only on special occasions, either on national holidays celebrated in churches, at social gatherings, or while performing at local ethnic festivals.

DANCES AND SONGS

During special occasions, dancers perform the *hora* (“khóra”), a national dance in which men and

women hold hands in a circle; the *sírba* (“sýrba”), a quick, spirited dance; and the *invârtite* (“ynvyrtéetáy”), a pair dance. These dances are accompanied by popular shoutings (sometimes with humorous connotations) spoken by the leader of the dance who also invites members of the audience to join the dancers. The orchestra consists of fiddles, clarinets, trumpets, flutes, bagpipes and panpipes, drums, and the *cobza* (“kóbza”), an instrument resembling a guitar and mandolin. Popular songs are traditionally performed during social reunions both in America and Romania. The *doina* (“dóiyña”), for example, are multi-verse tunes evoking nostalgic emotions, from a shepherd’s loneliness in the mountains to patriotic sentiments. The *romanța* (“románțsa”) is a romantic melody expressing deep feelings of affection.

HOLIDAYS

In addition to Christmas Day, New Year’s Day, and Easter Day, Romanian Americans celebrate the birthday of the Romanian national state on January 24 and Transylvania’s reunification with Romania on December 1. Romanian Americans with pro-monarchist views also celebrate May 10, which marks the ascension of Carol I to the Romanian throne. During these festivities, celebrants sing the Romanian national anthem, “Awake Thee, Romanian,” written by Andrei Muresanu (1816-1863), a noted poet and patriot. Monarchists sing the Romanian royal anthem which begins with the words “Long live the king in peace and honor.” A semi-official holiday similar to Valentine’s Day is celebrated by lovers and friends on March 1, when a white or red silk flower (often hand-made) is presented as an expression of love.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented health problems or medical conditions that are specific to Romanian Americans. Many families have health insurance coverage underwritten by the Union and League of Romanian Societies in America or by other ethnic organizations. Like most Americans, Romanian American business owners and professionals in private practice are insured at their own expense, while employees benefit from their employers’ health plans when available.

LANGUAGE

The Romanian language is a Romance language derived from Latin that has survived despite foreign influences (Slavic, Turkish, Greek, and others). In

fact, it has many Latin words that are not found in other Romance languages, and is more grammatically complex. Although Romanian uses the Latin alphabet, the letters “k,” “q,” “w,” and “y” appear only in foreign words. In addition, Romanian has specific diacritical marks: “ă,” “â,” “î,” “ț,” “ș.” Romanians consider their language sweet and harmonious, bringing “honey to the mouth,” and are proud of its Latin origin.

For first-generation Romanian immigrants—regardless of the period they arrived in America—Romanian was the primary language. In a very short time, however, such American words as “supermarket,” “basement,” “streetcar,” “laundry,” “high school,” and “subway” became infused in daily speech; thus, Romanian has evolved into an “Americanized” Romanian. Subsequent generations generally have spoken Romanian less often, eventually switching to English as their principal language. Romanian church services (including Sunday school) are still conducted in Romanian. In several cities, radio programs are broadcast in Romanian, and there are numerous Romanian-language newspapers and periodicals in circulation.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Romanian greetings and other expressions include: *Bună seara* (“bóona seàra”)—Good evening; *Bună ziua* (“bóona zéeoóa”)—Good day; *Salut* (“salóot”)—Greetings, hello; *La revedere* (“la rayvaydáyray”)—Good-bye; *Noroc bun* (“norók bóon”)—Good luck; *Mulțumesc* (“moolt-sóomesk”)—Thank you; *Felicitări* (“feleechetáry”)—Congratulations; *La multzi ani* (“la múltzi ánee”)—Happy New Year; *Sărbători fericite* (“sarbatóry fayreechéetay”)—Happy Holidays (this greeting is used at Christmas time, for there is no expression like Merry Christmas in Romanian); *Hristos a înviat* (“Khristós a ynveeát”)—Christ has Risen (a greeting used at Easter), the reply is *Adevărat a înviat* (“adevarát a ynveeát”)—In truth He has risen; *Sănătate* (“sanatátay”)—To your health, (spoken when raising a toast).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Romanian American family underwent profound changes. The first immigrants were typically single males or married men who had left their families behind temporarily in order to save enough money to send for them later. They lived in crowd-

ed boarding houses and often slept on the floors. On Sundays and holidays, they congregated in saloons or restaurants and at church. Later, Romanian immigrants gathered at the headquarters of mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations where they discussed news from Romania, read or wrote letters, and sang religious or popular songs. Meanwhile, the boarding houses evolved into cooperatives in which a boarder provided his own bed and shared all operating expenses (rent, utilities, food, and laundry services) with the other residents.

As Romanian immigrants became better accustomed to the American way of life, they adopted higher standards of living, prepared more nutritious meals, and engaged in such recreational activities as sports and movie-going. Since most women worked outside the home, economic conditions gradually improved, and the immigrants were able to purchase a home, cars, and modern appliances, or were able to rent larger apartments in more prosperous neighborhoods. The typical Romanian household features Romanian embroidery or rugs, the Romanian flag, and other cultural icons, which are displayed in a common area.

Romanians have always held the family in high esteem and are generally opposed to divorce. Although the first wave of immigrants consisted of large families, subsequent generations chose to have fewer children, a trend that could be attributed to economic factors. Early immigrants cared very much for their children, did not permit child labor, and instilled in their children the importance of education. While approximately 33 percent of the Romanian immigrants who came to America before World War I were illiterate, many of them managed to learn English or improve their education to obtain or to hold jobs. Encouraged by their parents, second-generation Romanian Americans placed more emphasis on vocational training and college education.

While maintaining their place in the industries where their parents worked, second-generation Romanian Americans gradually switched from unskilled to skilled occupations. Others became white collar workers, and many embraced professional careers. Subsequent generations went even further in their educational and professional pursuits. Romanian Americans made such progress that for several decades few of the adult members of this group had less than a high school education. The professional ranks of Romanians (those educated at American universities) were substantially enlarged by the thousands of professionals who immigrated to the United States after World War II, and in the years following the Revolution of 1989. As a result,

Romanian Americans were able to make many significant contributions to American society.

WEDDINGS

The bridal shower, a social custom that was never practiced in Romania, has evolved into an often gala affair attended by both sexes. Prior to the wedding ceremony, bans are announced for three consecutive Sundays so that impediments to the marriage—if any—can be brought to the attention of the priest. After that, the couple selects the best man and maid (or matron) of honor, both of whom are called *nașii* (“nashée”), usually a husband and wife or a sister and brother. In most cases, the *nașii* later serve as godparents to the couple’s children.

On the day of the wedding, the bridal party meets in the bride’s home and leaves for the church, where the groom is waiting along with the best man. In the church there is no instrumental music, and the bridal procession is made in silence. The bride is brought to the altar by her father or another male member of the family, who then relinquishes her to the groom. The ceremony is begun by the priest, assisted by a cantor or church choir that sings the responses. After receiving affirmative answers from the couple about their intention to marry and their mutual commitment, the priest blesses the wedding rings and places them in the hands of the bride and groom. Then, metal or floral crowns are placed on the heads of the couple so that they can rule the family in peace, harmony, and purity of heart. The bride and groom then take three bites of a honey wafer or drink wine from a common cup, which symbolizes their bountiful life together. Finally, the hands of the couple are bound together with a ribbon to share all joys and sorrows together, and the couple walks three times around the tetrapod (a small stand displaying an icon), symbolizing the eternity of their union and obedience to the Holy Trinity. The crowns are removed with a blessing from the priest, who then concludes the ceremony with a few words of advice for the couple. The reception is held either at a private home, hotel, or restaurant. Instead of gifts, guests give money at the reception, which is collected by the *nașii* who publicly announce the amounts received. The reception is accompanied by music and dancing, including popular Romanian songs and folk dances.

BAPTISMS

When a child is ready for baptism, the parents first select the godparents, or *nașii*, who are often the same couple that served as best man and matron of

honor at the parents’ wedding. The *nașii* bring the child to the church, where the priest confers the grace of God by putting his hand on the child. Then, the priest exorcises the child by breathing on the child’s forehead, mouth, and breast. The godmother, or *nașa* (“násha”), renounces the service of Satan in the child’s name and promises to believe in Jesus Christ and serve only Him. In front of the altar, the priest anoints the child with the “oil of joy” (blessed olive oil) on the forehead, breast, shoulders, ears, hands, and feet. The baptism is completed by dipping the child three times in a font or by sprinkling with holy water. Immediately after the baptism follows confirmation, which consists of a new anointment of the child with *mîr* (pronounced “meer,” meaning holy chrism), a mixture of 33 spices blessed by the bishop, on the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, breast, ears, hands, and feet. It is customary to hold a dinner after the baptism, where guests usually bring gifts in the form of money.

FUNERALS

A death in the family is announced by the ringing of church bells three times a day (morning, noon, and evening) until the day of the funeral. Prayers for the dead are recited by the priest and the Gospel is read during the wake, called *saracusta* (“sarakóosta”). At the church, the funeral service consists entirely of singing; with the assistance of the cantor and choir, the priest sings hymns and prayers for the dead. The priest bids farewell to the family in the name of the deceased and asks for forgiveness of sins against family members or friends. At the cemetery prayers are recited and the Gospel is read. Before the coffin is lowered into the grave, the priest sprinkles soil on top of it and recites the following: “The earth is the Lord’s, and the fullness thereof.” Later, the deceased’s family offers a *pomana* (“pomána”), which is either a complete meal or sandwiches and beverages. The purpose of the funeral is to remember the dead, and to seek forgiveness of his or her sins. At least six weeks following the burial, a memorial service called *parastas* (“parastás”) is offered. During the *parastas*, the priest recites a few prayers for the deceased, and a large cake-like bread is then cut into small pieces and served with wine in the church’s vestibule. After being served, the mourners recite “May his (or her) soul rest in peace” and reminisce about the person who had passed away.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Romanian Americans began to interact with other ethnic groups as they moved into better residential areas and suburbs. Romanian Orthodox believers

In this 1992 photograph, Romanian priests lead a service outside the Romanian mission to the United Nations to commemorate the anniversary of the Romanian Revolution. In the foreground is the traditional sweet dish known as colvia.



established relationships with Orthodox Serbians, Greeks, Russians, and Ukrainians by attending their churches. Similarly, Romanian Catholics were drawn to Hungarian or Polish Catholics, while Romanian Baptists established friendly relations with Serbian, Croatian, and Bulgarian Baptists. Romanian workers came into contact with other ethnic groups in the workplace. All of these factors—including the proliferation of mixed marriages—contributed to the integration of Romanians into mainstream American society.

RELIGION

The first Romanian American churches, St. Mary's Orthodox Church (Cleveland, Ohio) and St. Helen's Catholic Byzantine Rite (East Cleveland, Ohio), were founded in 1904 and 1905, respectively. These churches also served as community centers where immigrants spent a good part of their social life. The vast majority of Romanian American churchgoers are Eastern Orthodox, with a membership of about 60,000 organized into 60 parishes under two canonical jurisdictions. Forty-five parishes are

subordinated to the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America, headed by Bishop Nathaniel Pop. Fifteen parishes—the majority of which are located in Canada—are under the Romanian Orthodox Missionary Episcopate of America, led by Archbishop Victorin Ursache (1912–). The Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite has 15 parishes, serving approximately 4,000 Romanian members. The church is led by Vasile Pușcaș, the first Byzantine Rite bishop in America. The number of Romanian Protestants is approximately 2,500; most of them are Baptists. The first Romanian Baptist church was founded in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1910; at present there are nine Romanian Baptist churches and smaller groups of Romanian Seventh-Day Adventists and Pentecostals under various jurisdictions.

The Romanian Orthodox church and the Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite are essentially sister churches with a common history, liturgy, customs, and traditions. Both follow the teachings of the Apostles but differ in their interpretation of the Pope's infallibility. Members of the Byzantine Rite church believe in the infallibility of the Pope when he speaks *ex cathedra* on faith and morality, while

Orthodox followers contend that any person or council in the church is not infallible. Those who embraced the dogma of papal infallibility switched allegiance from the Eastern Orthodox church to the Vatican in 1697 but have preserved all other features and disciplines of the Eastern church. Both churches adhere to the Nicene Creed, and the Liturgy is based on the text of Saint John Chrysostom (c.347-407 A.D.), modified by Saint Basil the Great (c.329-379 A.D.). There are seven Sacraments: Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and Anointing of the Sick. In the Romanian Orthodox church, the Anointing of the Sick is administered by three priests and may be given to the healthy to prevent illness. Services in both churches are conducted in Romanian accentuated by song and chants. The cathedrals are richly decorated with icons and images of the saints, although carved images are forbidden. The altar is located in the center of the sanctuary, and a screen or partition called an iconostasis separates the sanctuary from the rest of the church. Only priests and deacons can enter the sanctuary; other parishioners are not permitted to cross beyond the iconostasis.

Orthodox and Byzantine Rite priests usually wear black cassocks, but gray and brown are also permitted. During the Liturgy, vestments are colorful and ornate; while a priest's headdress is a cylindrical-shaped black hat, bishops wear a mitre, a crown made of stiff material adorned on top with a cross and various small pictures or icons. At the top of the pastoral scepter are two intertwined serpents surmounted by a cross or an image of a saint. Former liturgical colors (black, red, white) are not observed in modern times. Orthodox priests are permitted to marry before ordination, but only unmarried priests can become bishops. Deacons, subdeacons, and readers assist the priests during services. Clergy and laity (nonclergy) take part in the administration of the church and in the election of the clergy in Orthodox churches, while Byzantine Rite priests are appointed by their bishops.

Romanian Protestant churches conduct their services in the same manner as their American coreligionists, employing Romanian pastors who are subordinated to various local American jurisdictions. Their predecessors were trained by American missionaries in Romania during the nineteenth century.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Because early Romanian immigrants settled in the eastern and midwestern regions of the United

States, they found work in such industries as iron, rubber, and steel manufacturing, coal mining, meat packing, and automotive assembly. They were assigned the heaviest and dirtiest jobs, as was the custom with all newly arrived immigrants. After accumulating work experience and perfecting their English language skills, some Romanians advanced to more responsible positions. Immigrants who settled in California were employed as gardeners, fruit gatherers and packers, and in freight transporters, while Macedo-Romanians often held jobs as waiters in the hotel and restaurant industries. About nine percent of Romanian immigrants settled in Colorado, North and South Dakota, Idaho, and Wyoming; they became involved in agriculture and ranching either as farm owners or as managers. Romanians were also employed as tailors, bakers, carpenters, and barbers, establishing their own small businesses in Romanian American neighborhoods. Romanian women found employment in light industry, such as cigar and tobacco manufacturing, or as seamstresses. Younger women became clerks or office secretaries, while others worked as manicurists or hairdressers in beauty salons. Many Macedo-Romanian women took jobs in the textile industry. Some Romanians with entrepreneurial skills opened travel agencies, small banks, saloons, boarding houses, and restaurants.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The formation of the Union and League of Romanian Societies of America (ULRSA) in 1906 marked the beginning of Romanian political activity on a national scale. Founded in Cleveland, Ohio, ULRSA brought together dozens of mutual aid and cultural societies, clubs, fraternities, and other groups committed to preserving Romanian ethnicity. It provided insurance benefits, assisted thousands of Romanians in completing their education, and taught newly arrived immigrants how to handle their affairs in a democratic way. As ULRSA gained more power and prestige, its leaders were often "courted" by local and national politicians to enlist political support from the Romanian American community.

The leadership of ULRSA (with a few exceptions) has traditionally held a neutral and unbiased position in American politics. Despite this neutrality, however, many Romanians, especially those who immigrated to America prior to World War II, have pro-Democratic sentiments, while the majority of postwar immigrants and refugees with strong anti-Communist sentiments tilt more toward the Republican party. A small group of Romanian

American socialists—primarily workers from Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and New York—founded the Federation of the Romanian Socialist Workers of the United States in 1914 and later merged with the pro-Communist International Workers Order (IWO). Many Romanian Americans also joined local labor unions for the practical reason that they could not obtain work otherwise. Later, as employment opportunities improved, they participated in union activities according to their specific interests, benefits needs, and preferences.

MILITARY

During World War I, several hundred Romanian volunteers from Ohio and other states enrolled in the American Expeditionary Force in Europe on the French front. Many of these soldiers received commendations for bravery. Over 5,000 Romanian Americans served in the American Armed Forces during World War II and over 300 died in combat. Lieutenant Alex Vraciu of East Chicago, Indiana, destroyed 19 Japanese planes in 1944; Cornelius and Nicholas Chima, brothers from Akron, Ohio, were the only Romanian American team to fly a combat plane in 1944. Florea Busella of Glassport, Pennsylvania, was the first Romanian American woman to enroll in the Navy's WAVES in 1942, and Lieutenant Eleanor Popa, a registered nurse from Ohio, was one of the first American military women to enter Tokyo, Japan in 1945. Romanian Americans were also represented in significant numbers during the Korean and Vietnam Wars and many were promoted to officer ranks. Nicholas Daramus became the first Romanian American to be promoted to the rank of full commander in the U.S. Navy in 1977.

RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA

Romanian Americans have always been proud of their homeland and have maintained ties beyond normal relations with family or friends left behind. Before and during World War I, Romanian Americans exposed Hungarian persecution of Transylvanians in their newspapers and many organizations called for the unification of Transylvania and Romania. They also gave generous donations of money, food, and clothing for Romania's orphans, widows, and refugees. In 1919 Romanian Americans submitted a Four-Point Motion to the Peace Conference, calling for the reestablishment of Romania's territorial borders (including Transylvania and other regions formerly held by foreign powers), equal rights for ethnic minorities, and the establishment of a democracy based on principles adopted in the United States.

In the 1920s and 1930s many Romanian Americans actively supported the National Peasant Party founded in Transylvania against anti-democratic political forces. Prominent Romanians such as Queen Marie (1875-1938) visited Romanian American communities, and the Romanian government sent a group of students to complete their studies at various American universities. After World War II, Romanian Americans sent food, medicine, and clothing to refugees and other types of aid to help Romania's devastated economy.

During the years of Communist dictatorship, Romanian American groups sent a formal memorandum to President Harry Truman protesting the mass deportations of Romanians by Soviet troops in 1952, and in 1964 called upon President Lyndon B. Johnson to exert pressure on the Communists to release Romanian political prisoners and provide exit visas for individuals desiring to join relatives in the United States. Many Romanian Americans who held pro-monarchist views sought the restoration of Michael I, who was forced by the Communists to abdicate in December 1947. Romanian American Catholics vehemently opposed the suppression of their church in Romania beginning in 1948, when bishops and priests were arrested and murdered, and church property was confiscated. Many Romanian Catholics were deported.

Romanian Americans continue to aid their native country during difficult times through the auspices of the Union and League of Romanian Societies in America, the International Red Cross, and other philanthropic organizations. Presently, some Romanian Americans are involved in developing business ventures in Romania, given the precarious conditions of the country's economy and unfamiliarity with the capitalist system. There is also a steady flow of scholarly exchanges between Romania and United States—via grants and scholarships—in which Romanian Americans take an active role through the Romanian Studies Association of America, the American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences, and other academic organizations.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Romanian Americans represent only one-eighth of one percent of America's total population, they have made significant contributions to American popular culture and to the arts and sciences. The following sections list Romanian Americans and their achievements.

ACADEMIA

Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) was a renowned authority on religious studies, mythology, and folklore. His many publications include *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology* (1959) and *Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God: Comparative Studies in the Religions and Folklore of Dacia and Eastern Europe* (1972). Many of Eliade's works have been translated into several languages. Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen (1906-1994) pioneered mathematical economics and influenced many American economists through his *Analytical Economics: Issues and Problems* (1966). Georgescu-Roegen was considered by his peers "a scholar's scholar and an economist's economist." Mathematician Constantin Corduneanu edits *Libertas Mathematica*. Romance philologist Maria Manoliu-Manea served as president of the American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences for many years.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Jean Negulesco (1900–) directed *Singapore Woman* (1941), *Johnny Belinda* (1948), *Titanic* (1953), and *Three Coins in a Fountain* (1954), and was also known as a portrait artist. Television actor Adrian Zmed (c. 1954–) costarred with William Shatner in the police drama "T. J. Hooker" (1982-1986). In theater, Andrei Șerban (1943–) adapted and directed classical plays at LaMama Theater in New York City, while Liviu Ciulei (1923–) is best known for directing classical works.

JOURNALISM

Theodore Andrica (1900-1990) edited and published two successful periodicals, the *New Pioneer* during the 1940s, and the *American Romanian Review* during the 1970s and 1980s. Both publications featured articles on Romanian American life, traditions, customs, and cooking, and documented the achievements of Romanian Americans. Andrica also served as editor of the *Cleveland Press* for 20 years. The Reverend Vasile Hațegan (1915–) of the Romanian Orthodox Church wrote several articles on Romanians residing in New York City, while the Reverend Gheorghe Mureșan of the Romanian Catholic Byzantine Rite Church proved to be a gifted editor for Catholic publications. John Florea (1916–) of *Life* magazine and Ionel Iorgulescu (1918–) of *Redbook* magazine were outstanding photographers during the 1940s and 1950s. For 25 years, broadcaster Liviu Floda of Radio Free Europe hosted programs discussing human rights violations by the Communist regime in Romania. Floda interviewed hundreds of personalities, helped reunite

refugee families with American relatives, and wrote dozens of articles on various subjects for Romanian Americans and foreign-language journals.

LITERATURE

Peter Neagoe (1881-1960) was the first major Romanian American author. In such novels as *Easter Sun* (1934) and *There Is My Heart* (1936), he depicted the lives of Transylvanian peasants in realistic detail. Mircea Vasiliu (an illustrator) wrote *Which Way to the Melting Pot?* (1955) and *The Pleasure Is Mine* (1963), in which he humorously recounts his experiences as an immigrant. Eugene Theodorescu's *Merry Midwife* and Anișoara Stan's (1902-1954) *They Crossed Mountains and Oceans* (1947) also focus on immigrant life in America. Moreover, Stan published *The Romanian Cook Book*, which remains a prototype of Romanian cookery and cuisine. Eli Popa edited and translated *Romania Is a Song: A Sample of Verse in Translation* (1967), a bilingual collection of Romanian classical and folk poetry, and modern verse by Romanian American poets. Andrei Codrescu (1946–), a poet, novelist, and journalist, has added new dimensions to contemporary Romanian American literature through such books as *The Life and Times of an Involuntary Genius* (1975), *In America's Shoes* (1983), and several others which delineate anti-Communist sentiments in Romania and the immigrant experience in America. Silvia Cinca, leading author, published *Comrade Dracula* (1988), *Homo Spiritus: Journey of Our Magic*, as well as several other books both in Romanian and English. She is also President of Moonfall Press in the United States.

MUSIC

George Enesco (1881-1955) was a composer, violinist, and conductor who lived in the United States before and after World War II. Enesco conducted several symphony orchestras, taught at the Manhattan School of Music in New York City, and earned fame for his "Romanian Rhapsodies," which has since been performed by many American and foreign symphony orchestras. Ionel Perlea (1901-1970) served as musical conductor of the New York Metropolitan Opera for over 20 years despite the fact that his right hand was paralyzed; he also taught at the Manhattan School of Music. Stella Roman (1905-1992), an operatic soprano, performed at the Metropolitan Opera in New York during the 1940s and 1950s, specializing in Italian opera spinto roles. Other gifted performers include Christina Caroll (1920–) of the New York Metropolitan Opera; Iosif Cristea and Gloria Vasu, both

with the Boston Grand Opera Company; Yolanda Marculescu, soprano and music teacher at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee; Lisette Vereá, operetta singer and comedienne based in New York City; and Marioara Trifan, an internationally renowned pianist. In addition, the popular tune "And the Angels Sing," which was recorded by the legendary jazz musician Benny Goodman, is in fact a Romanian folk song brought to America by Romanian immigrants.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

George Palade (1912–) of the Yale University School of Medicine shared the 1974 Nobel Prize in medicine, for his contributions to research on the structure and function of the internal components of cells. Traian Leucutzia (1893-1970), who began his medical career in Detroit, Michigan, in the 1920s, was one of the first scientists to detect the radiation hazards of X-rays, and served as editor of the *American Journal of Roentgenology*, *Radium Therapy*, and *Nuclear Medicine* for several years. Valer Barbu (1892-1986) taught psychiatry and psychoanalysis at Cornell University, the New School of Social Research in New York City, and the American Institute of Psychoanalysis before and after World War II. A disciple of Karen Horney, Barbu was critical of Freudian analysis.

Constanin Barbulescu, an aeronautical engineer, devised methods of protecting aircraft flying in severe weather. He published his findings in *Electrical Engineering* and other technical journals during the 1940s. Alexandru Papana (1905-1946) tested gliders and other aircraft for Northrop Aircraft in California. Many of Papana's experiences as a test pilot were documented in *Flying* magazine.

SPORTS

Charlie Stanceu (1916-1969) was the first Romanian American to play baseball in the major leagues. A native of Canton, Ohio, Stanceu pitched for the New York Yankees and the Philadelphia Phillies during the 1940s. Stanceu was followed by Johnny Moldovan, who signed a contract with the Yankees in 1947. Gymnast Dominique Moceanu, now 18, has distinguished herself since she was 14, winning several United States' women's national gymnastics titles. Gheorghe Muresan, 7 feet, 7 inches tall, has become a famous basketball star playing for the Washington Bullets, and has appeared as an actor in the film *My Giant*, with Billy Crystal.

VISUAL ARTS

Constantin Brancuși (1856-1957) is considered by some art critics to be the father of modern sculpture. He first exhibited his works in America in 1913 at the International Exhibition of Modern Art. Many of Brancuși's pieces ("Miss Pogony," "The Kiss," "Bird in Space," "White Nigress") were acquired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Art Institute of Chicago. Sculptor George Zolnay (1867-1946) created the Sequoya Statue in the United States Capitol, the Edgar Allan Poe monument at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, and the War Memorial sculpture of Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee. Zolnay also served as art commissioner at the 1892 World Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, Illinois. Elie Cristo-Loveanu (c. 1893-1964) distinguished himself as a portrait artist and professor of painting at New York University during the 1940s and 1950s. His portrait of President Dwight Eisenhower is on display at Columbia University. Constantin Aramescu, a Floridian, is noted for paintings on Romanian subjects. Iosif Teodorescu and Eugene Mihaescu (1937–) are illustrators for the *New York Times*, while Mircea Vasiliu (1920–), a former diplomat, is a well known illustrator of children's books. Alexandru Seceni painted icons and saints in several Romanian Orthodox churches in America and also developed a special technique of wood etching for the Romanian Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair.

MEDIA

PRINT

America: Romanian News.

Organ of the Union and League of Romanian Societies in America (ULRSA). It is a monthly publication that focuses on organization activities and achievements of local ULRSA branches and features cultural news and book reviews written in English and Romanian. It is supplemented by an almanac listing important events in the Romanian American community.

Contact: Peter Lucaci, Editor.

Address: 23203 Lorain Road, North Olmstead, Ohio 44070-1625.

Telephone: (216) 779-9913.

Lumea Libera Romaneasca (Free Romanian World).

Weekly, focuses on political events in Romania, concerned with development of democracy, free

press, and elimination of Communist influences of the past. Independent orientation

Contact: Dan Costescu and Cornel Dumitrescu, Editors.

Address: P.O. Box 7640 Reko Park, New York, New York 11374.

Telephone and Fax: (718) 997-6314.

Meridianul Romanesc (The Romanian Meridian).

Weekly, news and articles concerning Romania and the Romanian American community, politics, culture, sports, tourism and other subjects. Independent orientation.

Contact: Marius Badea and George Rosianu, Editors.

Address: North State College Boulevard, Suite 107, Anaheim, California 92806.

Telephone: (908) 322-4903.

Fax: (714) 991-0364.

Romanian American Heritage Center Information Bulletin.

Organ of the Valerian Trifa Romanian-American Heritage Center (English language only). Bimonthly publication that contains articles on early Romanian American immigrants and their contributions to American society, and also features book reviews.

Contact: Eugene S. Raica, Editor.

Address: 2540 Grey Tower Road, Jackson, Michigan 49201.

Telephone: (517) 522-8260.

Fax: (517) 522-8236.

Solia (The Herald).

Published monthly in a bilingual format by the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America. Focuses on parish news and youth and women-auxiliary projects, but also features book reviews and produces an annual supplement listing important events and a religious calendar.

Contact: Manuela Cruga, English Language Editor.

Address: 2540 Grey Tower Road, Jackson, Michigan 49201-9120.

Telephone: (517) 522-8260.

Unirea (The Union).

Monthly bilingual publication of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Canton. Gathers news from various parishes, features a youth section, and prints book reviews. It also publishes an annual supplement listing important events, a religious calendar,

and other information.

Contact: Rev. John Skala, Editor.

Address: 1121 44th Street, NE, Canton, Ohio 44714-1297.

Telephone: (219) 980-0726.

RADIO

WCAR-AM (1900).

"Ethnic and Proud," is a weekly one-hour Romanian broadcast featuring religious and community news as well as Romanian music.

Contact: Jimmy Crucian.

Address: 2522 Grey Tower Road, Jackson, Michigan 49204.

Telephone: (517) 522-4800; or, (313) 527-1111.

WNZK-AM (1900).

Religious news.

Contact: Editor, Romanian Hour

Address: 21700 Northwestern Highway, Suite 1190, Southfield, Michigan 48075.

Telephone: (313) 365-0700.

TELEVISION

TVTV (Romanian Voice Television).

Transmits news from Romania and the Romanian American community, can be viewed on International Channel in various localities (East Coast, Middle West, West Coast) via local cable television stations.

Contact: Vasile Badaluta

Address: 45-51 39th Place, Sunnyside, New York 11104.

Telephone: (718) 482-9588 or (718) 472-9111.

Fax: (718) 472-9119.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences (ARA).

Founded in 1975, the ARA has a membership of 250 Romanian scholars who live in the United States. It focuses on research and publishing activities regarding Romanian art, culture, language, history, linguistics, sciences, and economics

Contact: Prof. Peter Gross.

Address: Department of Journalism, California State University, Chico, California 95929-0600.

Telephone: (916) 898-4779.

Fax: (916) 898-4839.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Romanian Orthodox Youth (AROY).

Founded in 1950, with approximately 2,000 members, AROY functions as an auxiliary of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America; cultivates religious education and Romanian culture through summer courses, retreats, sports, competitions, scholarships, and other activities.

Contact: David A. Zablo.

Address: 2522 Grey Tower Road, Jackson,
Michigan 49201-9120.

Telephone: (517) 522-4800.

Fax: (517) 522-5907.

Association of Romanian Catholics of America (ARCA).

Founded in 1948, the ARCA promotes religious education in the tradition of the Romanian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite and cultural preservation, and sponsors special programs designed for youths. The Association is also involved in publishing activities.

Contact: Dr. George T. Stroia.

Address: 1700 Dale Drive, Merrillville,
Indiana 46410.

Telephone: (219) 980-0726.

Society for Romanian Studies.

Founded in 1985, it promotes Romanian language and culture studies in American universities and colleges, cultural exchange programs between America and Romanian. Also publishes a newsletter.

Contact: Prof. Paul Michelson.

Address: Huntington College, Department of
History, Huntington, Indiana 46750.

Telephone: (219) 356-6000.

Fax: (219) 356-9448.

Union and League of Romanian Societies of America (ULRSA).

Founded in 1906, with approximately 5,000 members, ULRSA is the oldest and largest Romanian American organization. It has played an important role in organizing Romanian immigrants and in preserving Romanian culture. Presently, the ULRSA functions as a fraternal benefit insurance organization.

Contact: Georgeta Washington, President.

Address: 23203 Lorain Road, North Olmsted,
Ohio 44070.

Telephone: (216) 779-9913.

Iuliu Maniu American Romanian Relief Foundation (IMF).

Has a sizable collection of Romanian peasant costumes, paintings and folk art items. It also manages a library of Romanian books that can be borrowed by mail.

Contact: Justin Liuba, President.

Address: P.O. Box 1151 Gracie Square Station,
New York, New York 10128.

Telephone: (212) 535-8169.

Romanian Ethnic Art Museum.

Has preserved a large collection of Romanian national costumes, wood carvings, rugs, icons, furniture, paintings, and over 2,000 Romanian books, as well as English books related to Romania.

Contact: George Dobra.

Address: 3256 Warren Road, Cleveland, Ohio
44111.

Telephone: (216) 941-5550.

Fax: (216) 941-3068.

Romanian American Heritage Center.

Collects and preserves historical records relating to Romanian immigrants and their achievements. The collection consists of religious items, brochures, minutes, flyers, and reports donated by various Romanian American organizations, family and individual photographs, and other materials of interest to researchers.

Contact: Alexandru Nemoianu.

Address: 2540 Grey Tower Road, Jackson,
Michigan 49201.

Telephone: (517) 522-8260.

Fax: (517) 522-8236.

Romanian Cultural Center.

A Romanian government agency similar to the United States Information Agency (USIA), has a sizable collection of Romanian books published in Romania, and a collection of folk art items. The center organizes cultural programs and assists in providing contacts in Romania.

Contact: Coriolan Babeti, Director.

Address: 200 East 38th Street, New York, New
York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 687-0180.

Fax: (212) 687-0181.

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For the most part
Russian immigrants
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have succeeded
in assimilating
into mainstream
American life. There
are a few groups
that have avoided
acculturation and
maintained the
traditional lifestyle
they brought from
the homeland. Such
traditionalists include
the Orthodox
Christian Old
Believers and the
non-Orthodox
Molokan Christian
sect.

R RUSSIAN AMERICANS

by
Paul Robert Magocsi

OVERVIEW

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, Russia has been the largest country in the world, stretching from the plains of eastern Europe across Siberia as far as the shores of the Pacific Ocean. For centuries, Russia has straddled both Europe and Asia, two continents that are divided by the Ural Mountains.

In a sense, there are two Russian homelands. One is the present-day state of Russia, which coincides with territory inhabited by ethnic Russians. The other includes territories that are beyond Russia proper but were once part of the pre-World War I Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union. Americans who identify their heritage as Russian include first-generation immigrants and their descendants who came from Russia within its present-day border; people from the Baltic countries, Belarus, and Ukraine who have identified themselves as Russians; East Slavs from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire who have identified themselves as Russians once in the United States; and Jews from the Western regions of the former Russian Empire and the Soviet Union who, aside from their religious background, identify themselves as Russians.

Much of European Russia west of the Urals was part of a medieval state known as *Kievan Rus'*, which existed from the late ninth century to the thirteenth century. During the Kievan period,

Orthodox Christianity reached Russia and that religion remained intimately connected with whatever state or culture developed on Russian territory until the twentieth century. It was in a northern part of *Kievan Rus'*, the Duchy of Muscovy, that the birth of a specifically Russian state can be found. The state-building process began in the late thirteenth century, when the Duchy of Muscovy began to consolidate its power and expand its territory. The expansion proved to be phenomenal. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the growing state included lands along the Baltic Sea, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and large parts of Poland. The country's borders also moved beyond the Ural Mountains into Siberia, a vast land whose annexation together with Central Asia the Caucasus region were completed in the nineteenth century.

As the country grew, it also changed its name from the Duchy to the Tsardom of Muscovy and in 1721 it became the Russian Empire. Throughout the centuries, Muscovy/Russia functioned as a centralized state ruled by autocratic leaders whose titles changed as their power and influence grew. The grand dukes became the tsars of Muscovy, who in turn became emperors of the Russian Empire. Although the rulers of the empire were formally called emperors (*imperator*), they were still popularly referred to as tsars or tsarinas.

MODERN ERA

During World War I, Russia experienced a revolution, and in March 1917, the tsarist empire collapsed. In November 1917, a second revolution took place, led by the Bolsheviks and headed by a revolutionary named Vladimir Lenin. The Bolshevik Revolution was opposed by a significant portion of the population, and the result was a Civil War that began in 1918 and lasted until early 1921. In the end, the Bolsheviks were victorious, and in late 1922 they created a new state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union consisted of several national republics, the largest of which was called Russia. Beyond the Russian republic many inhabitants, especially in the western regions of the Soviet Union, continued to identify themselves as Russians.

The new Soviet state proclaimed the establishment of Communism worldwide as its goal. It intended to achieve that goal by promoting Bolshevik-style revolutions abroad. Since many countries feared such revolutions, they refused to recognize Bolshevik rule. Thus, the Soviet Union was isolated from the rest of the world community for nearly 20 years. That isolation came to an end during

World War II, when the Soviet Union, ruled by Lenin's successor Joseph Stalin, joined the Allied Powers in the struggle against Nazi Germany and Japan. Following the Allied victory, the Soviets emerged alongside the United States as one of the two most powerful countries in the world. For nearly the next half-century, the world was divided between two camps: the free or capitalist West led by the United States, and the revolutionary or communist East led by the Soviet Union.

By the 1980s, the centralized economic and political system of the Soviet Union was unable to function effectively. In 1985, a new communist leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, tried desperately to reform the system but failed. He did set in motion, however, a new revolution, bringing such enormous changes that by late 1991 the Soviet Union disappeared as a country. In its place, each of the former Soviet republics became an independent country, and among the new countries was Russia.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first Russians on U. S. territory were part of Russia's internal migration. During the eighteenth century, Russian traders and missionaries crossing Siberia reached Alaska, which became a colony of the Russian Empire. By 1784 the first permanent Russian settlement was founded on Kodiak, a large island off the Alaskan coast. Soon there were Russian colonies on the Alaskan mainland (Yakutat and Sitka), and by 1812 the Russians pushed as far south as Fort Ross in California, 100 miles north of San Francisco. In 1867 the Russian government sold Alaska to the United States, and most Russians in Alaska (whose numbers never exceeded 500) returned home. Russian influence persisted in Alaska, however, in the form of the Orthodox Church, which succeeded in converting as many as 12,000 of the native Inuit and Aleut people.

Large-scale emigration from Russia to the United States only began in the late nineteenth century. Since that time, four distinct periods of immigration can be identified: 1880s-1914; 1920-1939; 1945-1955; and 1970s-present. The reasons for emigration included economic hardship, political repression, religious discrimination, or a combination of those factors.

The pre-1914 Russian Empire was an economically underdeveloped country comprised primarily of poor peasants and a small but growing percentage of poorly paid or unemployed industrial workers. European Russia also encompassed the so-called Pale of Settlement (present-day Lithuania, Belarus, Moldova, and large parts of Poland, and Ukraine). The

Taken in 1947, this photograph demonstrates the influence of American fashion on traditional Russian dress. The lace shawls of these women are called *kascinkas*; their high-heeled shoes are American.



Pale was the only place Jews were allowed to reside. The vast majority lived in small towns and villages in their own communities known as the *shtetl*, which were made famous in America through the setting of the Broadway musical *Fiddler on the Roof*.

Between 1881 and 1914, over 3.2 million immigrants arrived from the Russian Empire. Nearly half were Jews; only 65,000 were ethnically Russian, while the remaining immigrants were Belarusians and Ukrainians. Regardless of their ethnoreligious background, their primary motive was to improve their economic status. Many of the 1.6 million Jews who also left did so because they feared *pogroms*—attacks on Jewish property and persons that occurred sporadically in the Russian Empire from the 1880s through the first decade of the twentieth century.

While many Jews from the Russian Empire did not identify themselves as Russians, another group of immigrants adopted a Russian identity in the United States. These were the Carpatho-Rusyns, or Ruthenians, from northeastern Hungary and Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (today far western Ukraine, eastern Slovakia, and southeastern Poland). Of the estimated 225,000 Carpatho-Rusyns who immigrated to the United States before World War I, perhaps 100,000 eventually joined the Orthodox Church, where they and their descendants still identify themselves as Americans of Russian background.

The second wave of immigration was less diverse in origin. It was directly related to the political upheaval in the former Russian Empire that was

brought about by the Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War that followed. Over two million persons fled Russia between 1920 and 1922. Whether they were demobilized soldiers from anti-Bolshevik armies, aristocrats, Orthodox clergy, professionals, businesspersons, artists, intellectuals, or peasants, and whether they were of non-Jewish (the majority) or Jewish background, all these refugees had one thing in common—a deep hatred for the new Bolshevik/communist regime in their homeland. Because they were opposed to the communist Reds, these refugees came to be known as the Whites.

The White Russians fled their homeland. They left from the southern Ukraine and the Crimea (the last stronghold of the anti-Bolshevik White Armies) and went first to Istanbul in Turkey before moving on to several countries in the Balkans (especially Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; other countries in east-central Europe; Germany; and France, especially Paris and the French Riviera (Nice and its environs). Others moved directly westward and settled in the newly independent Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia, or farther on to western Europe. A third outlet was in the Russian far east, from where the White émigrés crossed into China, settling in the Manchurian city of Kharbin. As many as 30,000 left the Old World altogether and settled in the United States. This wave of Russian immigration occurred during the early 1920s, although in the late 1930s several thousand more came, fleeing the advance of Nazi Germany and Japan's invasion of Manchuria. During this period, approximately 14,000 immigrants arrived in the United States.

The third wave of Russian immigration to the United States (1945-1955) was a direct outcome of World War II. Large portions of the former Soviet Union had been occupied by Germany, and hundreds of thousands of Russians had been captured or deported to work in Germany. After the war, many were forced to return home. Others lived in displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria until they were able to immigrate to the United States. During this period, approximately 20,000 of these Russian displaced persons, the so-called DPs, arrived.

Both the tsarist Russian and Soviet governments placed restrictions on emigration. In 1885 the imperial Russian government passed a decree that prohibited all emigration except that of Poles and Jews, which explains the small numbers of non-Jewish Russians in the United States before World War I. By the early 1920s, the Bolshevik/communist-led Soviet government implemented further controls that effectively banned all emigration. As for the second-wave White Russian refugees who fled between 1920 and 1922, they were stripped of their citizenship in absentia and could never legally return home. This situation was the same for the post-World War II DPs, who were viewed as Nazi collaborators and traitors by the Soviet authorities.

In contrast, the fourth wave of Russian immigration that began in late 1969 was legal. It was formally limited to Jews, who were allowed to leave the Soviet Union for Israel as part of the agreements reached between the United States and the Soviet Union during the era of *détente*. In return for allowing Jews to leave, the United States and other western powers expanded the economic, cultural, and intellectual ties with their communist rival. Although Jews leaving the Soviet Union were only granted permission to go to Israel, many had the United States as their true goal; and by 1985 nearly 300,000 had reached the United States.

After 1985 the more liberal policy of the Soviet government under Mikhail Gorbachev allowed anyone to leave the Soviet Union, and thousands more Jewish and non-Jewish Russians immigrated to the United States. Because Russia is an independent country with a democratically elected government, newcomers cannot justify their claim to emigrate on the grounds of political or religious persecution. This has resulted in a slowing of Russian emigration during the last decade of the twentieth century.

SETTLEMENT

Of the 2,953,000 Americans who in 1990 identified themselves wholly (71.6 percent) or partially (28.4 percent) of Russian ancestry, nearly 44 percent

reside in the Northeast. The Jews, in particular, went to New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and other large cities. The non-Jewish Russians from the Russian Empire and the Carpatho-Rusyns settled in these cities as well as Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and the coal mining towns of eastern Pennsylvania. Nearly 5,000 members of a Russian Christian religious sect known as the Molokans settled in California during the first decade of the twentieth century. They formed the nucleus of what has become a 20,000-member Russian Molokan community that is concentrated today in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Most White Russian soldiers, aristocrats, professionals, and intellectuals settled in New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago. But some moved into farming communities, such as a group of Don and Kuban Cossacks who established what are still vibrant rural centers in southern New Jersey. Those who left from the Russian far east and Chinese Manchuria settled in California, especially in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The fourth wave settled almost exclusively in cities where previous Russian immigrants had gone, especially New York City. Certain sections like Brighton Beach in Brooklyn were transformed into a vibrant Russian community by the 1980s.

While the basic settlement pattern established by the first two waves of immigrants may have been maintained, the past three decades have also witnessed migration toward the sun-belt states like Florida, as well as to California where the original Russian communities have been supplemented by newcomers from the northeast.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

For the most part Russian immigrants and their descendants have succeeded in assimilating into mainstream American life. There are a few groups that have avoided acculturation and maintained the traditional lifestyle they brought from the homeland. Such traditionalists include the Orthodox Christian Old Believers and the non-Orthodox Molokan Christian sect. Whether these people live in large cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Erie, Pennsylvania; in rural towns like Woodburn, Oregon; or in the backwoods of Alaska, they have continued to use the Russian language at home and sometimes succeeded in having it taught in public schools. The distinct dress and religious-based lifestyle of these groups keep them at a social distance from other Americans and distinguish them

This Russian
American vendor
sells handicrafts
from his booth
in Brooklyn,
New York.



from the rest of the community. A large number of White Russians, especially those of aristocratic background from the immediate post-World War I era, also found it difficult to adapt to an American society that lacked respect for the deference that Russian nobles, princes, princesses, and intellectuals otherwise had come to expect.

The Old Believers, Molokans, and White Russian aristocrats are only a small minority of the Russian American community today. But even among the vast majority who sought to assimilate, the goal was not always easy to accomplish. American society during the past 70 years has had a negative opinion of the Soviet Union and, therefore, of Russian

Americans. Russian Americans have frequently been suspected of being potential communist spies or socialists and anarchists intent on infiltrating and disrupting America's labor movement.

Even before the Soviet Union existed, immigrant workers from Russia, particularly Jews, played a leading role in organizations like the American branch of the International Workers' Organization. Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin, two of Lenin's closest associates, lived in New York City for a time where they edited a Russian-language socialist newspaper. And just before the American branch of the Red Cross was about to assist thousands of White Russians in finding refuge in the United States, authorities in places like New York led raids against the headquarters of the Union of Russian Workers and the Russian-dominated American Communist party. As a result, several thousand aliens were deported, nearly 90 percent of whom were returned to what by then had become Bolshevik-controlled Russia. It is a little known fact that as late as the 1970s some of these returnees and their descendants still maintained an identity as Americans even after living in the Soviet Union nearly half a century.

After World War II the United States was once again struck by a Red Scare, this time even more widely publicized as a result of the congressional investigations led during the 1950s by the demagogic Senator Joseph McCarthy. Again Russians and all things Russian were associated with Communism, so Russian Americans were forced to maintain a low profile, and some felt obligated to renounce their heritage.

Most recently, Russians in the United States have been linked to organized crime. With the break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, and the radical change in that country's economy, a number of speculators have tried to take advantage of the situation. Many of these new Russian businessmen have contacts or are themselves residents in Russian American communities like Brighton Beach where they carry out illegal transactions. It is common to find references in today's mainstream American media to the dangers of the Russian mafia and, by implication, of all Russians.

CUISINE

Russian Americans enjoy many traditional dishes. They prepare a variety of rich and tasty soups, which are almost always served with a dollop of sour cream, or *smetana*. Most famous is *borshch*, or borscht, made from beets, cabbage, and meat. In the summer, borscht is served cold. *Shchi*, also made

from cabbage, includes as well turnip, carrot, onion, or leek, and beef. Fish soups, such as *solianka*, that include onion, tomato, cucumber, lemon, butter, and sometimes beef, are popular. Many soups also include potatoes or dumplings. The traditional dark Russian bread is made from rye, though wheat is used increasingly. Russian meals are accompanied by vodka.

LANGUAGE

Russian is the largest of the Slavic languages and is spoken today by over 250 million people. For most first-generation immigrants the Russian language was used to communicate with one's family and friends until they attained a knowledge of English. For others the Russian language took on a symbolic function and was maintained to preserve a sense of Russian identity. For these reasons, the Russian language has never died out in the United States and, if anything, the number of native speakers and publications has expanded dramatically during the last two decades.

The appearance of newspapers, journals, and books in the United States and other countries where Russians lived helped keep traditional Russian culture alive throughout much of the twentieth century. Following the onset of Bolshevik rule in late 1917, the Soviet state eventually banned all forms of cultural and intellectual activity that did not conform to Stalin's version of Communism. Even the Russian language was transformed by the deletion of several letters from the Cyrillic alphabet and the infusion of new words that reflected the changes brought about by the Soviet system. Many of these new words were really abbreviations, such as *genssek* (general secretary), *gosplan* (state plan), *kolkhoz* (collective farm), *Komsomol* (Communist Youth League), *natsmen* (national minority), *vuzy* (colleges and universities), and *zarplata* (salary). At the same time many words were eliminated, such as *gorodovoi* (police officer), *gospodin* (gentleman, Mr.), *gospozha* (lady, Mrs.), and *gubernator* (governor).

Many Russians who emigrated after the Bolshevik Revolution felt they had a moral duty to preserve the old alphabet as the medium for the "true" Russian language. As a result, until the fall of the Soviet Union in late 1991, there existed two Russian literatures: Soviet Russian literature and Russian literature abroad. Schools were also created in an attempt to preserve the Russian language for the descendants of immigrants. Since the late nineteenth century many Orthodox church parishes have had their own Russian-language

Russian American immigrant Olesa Zaharova leads a game of hangman on the blackboard of her language class.



schools. This tradition is still practiced in some parishes and summer camps conducted by the Russian Scout movement. At a higher level various Orthodox churches operated Russian-language seminaries, and there were even Russian classes at university-level institutions such as the Russian Collegiate Institute in New York City (1918) and the Russian People's University in Chicago (1921). These efforts proved to be short-lived, although today there is no shortage of Russian language, literature, history, and culture courses taught at some high schools and numerous universities throughout the United States.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The Russian extended family structure of uncles, aunts, cousins, godparents, etc. that prevailed in villages and *shtetls* was difficult, if not impossible, to recreate in the United States. Therefore, families became more inner-directed and isolated than they had been in Russia.

There was also a decrease in the number of children. Among post-World War I White Russian émigrés, there were twice as many men as women. This meant there was a high percentage of unmarried men with no children or marriages with women of other backgrounds. Poverty and unstable economic conditions among émigrés also worked against having children. Even among the pre-World War I Russian Jewish immigration in which the number of males (56 percent) and females (44 percent) was more balanced, the number of children married couples bore was well below the American norm. Statistics from 1969 reveal that Russian American women of the first generation and their descendants had an average of 1.7 to 2.4 children, while women of comparable ages who were of English, German, Irish, or Italian backgrounds had between 2.1 and 3.3 children.

Initially, Russian immigrants strove to have their children choose marriage partners from among their own group. Among Russian Jews, the religious factor was of primary importance. Hence, descendants of pre-World War I Jewish immigrants from Russia largely intermarried with Jews or non-Jews

with non-Russian origins. Non-Jewish Russians were more concerned with maintaining a Russian identity within their family, but marriages with non-Russians soon became the norm.

EDUCATION

While their family units may have been smaller than those of other Americans on average, Russian immigrants tended to place greater emphasis on education. This was certainly the case among Jews who brought a strong tradition of learning that had characterized Jewish life for centuries. Non-Jewish White Russians were intent on providing their offspring with the highest possible education (in the Russian language, if possible) so that they could take an appropriate place in Russian society when the communist regime would collapse and they could return home. Even when it became obvious that returning to a non-communist Russia was impossible, higher education was still considered useful for adaptation to American society. It is not surprising, then, that by 1971, among Americans of nine different backgrounds (English, Scottish, Welsh, German, Italian, Irish, French, and Polish), Russians between 25 and 34 had on average 16 years of education, while all others had at most only 12.8 years.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

In traditional Russian society, women were legally dependent upon their husbands. The Bolshevik Revolution radically changed the status of women. Under communist rule, Russian women were offered equal economic and social responsibilities, which resulted in a high percentage of females in the labor force. The majority of physicians and health care workers in general are women. In the family, however, a woman is still expected to perform domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and shopping. Women have played a determining role in maintaining the cultural identity in the family, passing on knowledge of Russian language and culture to younger people and by participation in philanthropic work that affects the entire community. Among the oldest of such organizations was the Russian Children's Welfare Society Outside Russia founded in New York City in 1926 to help orphans and poor children. Today the best known is the Tolstoy Foundation, set up in 1939 by Alexandra Tolstoy (1884-1979), daughter of the famous nineteenth-century Russian novelist, Leo Tolstoy. With branches throughout the world, the Tolstoy Foundation still operates a Russian senior citizen's home and cultural center in Nyack, New York, which has

helped tens of thousands Russians and other refugees settle in the United States.

RELIGION

Based on religious criteria, Russian Americans are classified in three categories: Orthodox Christians, Jews, and nominal Jews. The large pre-World War I influx of Jews from the Russian Empire consisted mainly of individuals whose lives were governed by Jewish law and tradition in the thousands of *shtetls* throughout European Russia. Whether they were of the conservative Orthodox or Hassidic tradition, attendance at the synagogue; observance of the Sabbath (from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday); and deference to the rabbi as community leader, characterized Russian-Jewish life. While the authority of the rabbi over most aspects of daily Jewish life could not be fully maintained in the New World, the pre-World War I Russian-Jewish immigrants maintained their religious traditions within the confines of the home and synagogue. It was their Jewishness and not any association with Russia that made them indistinguishable from the larger Jewish-American society.

“I felt lost, as if there was nothing to hold onto ahead of us. But having my mother and my two brothers with me, we felt we were still a family, though our life would never be the same.”

Maria Oogjen in 1923, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

The arrival of Russian Jews since the early 1970s stands in stark contrast to their pre-World War I predecessors. For nearly 70 years, the Soviet system frowned on Judaism and other forms of religion. Therefore, by the time of their departure, the vast majority of Soviet Jews had no knowledge of Yiddish or Hebrew and had never been to a synagogue. Living in an officially atheistic Soviet Union, many found it politically and socially expedient to forget or even deny their Jewish heritage. When it became possible for Jews to emigrate legally from the Soviet Union, many quickly reclaimed their ancestral religious identity.

These Russian-speaking nominal Jews found it difficult to relate to English-speaking religious Jews when they arrived in the United States. While a small percentage of the newcomers learned and accepted the Jewish faith while in the United

States, most follow no particular religion and have remained simply Russians or Russian Americans who are Jews in name only.

The concept of being a Russian in America is often associated with the Orthodox Christian faith. The Russian Orthodox church traces its roots to the Eastern Christian world. After the Christian church split in 1054 between the western or Latin sphere (centered in Rome) and the eastern or Byzantine-Greek sphere (centered in Constantinople, present-day Istanbul), the Orthodox church in Russia maintained its spiritual allegiance to the Byzantine east. In the second half of the fifteenth century a jurisdictionally independent Russian Orthodox church, with its main seat in Moscow, was founded. At first the church was headed by a patriarch, but after 1721 it was led by a council of bishops known as the Synod.

Eastern Christianity, and thereby Russian Orthodoxy, differed from the western Christian churches in several ways. The Divine Liturgy (not Mass) was conducted in Church Slavonic instead of Latin; priests could marry; and the old Julian calendar was retained. This meant that by the twentieth century fixed feasts like Christmas (January 7) were two weeks behind the commonly used Gregorian calendar.

Russian Orthodox church architecture both in the homeland and in the United States also had distinctive features. Church structures are based on a square floor plan (the so-called Greek cross) covered by a high central dome and surrounded by four or more smaller domes. The domes are usually finished in gold and topped by three-bar crosses. Inside the dominant element is the *iconostasis*, a screen covered by icons that separates the altar from the congregation. Some traditional churches have no pews and there is never an organ because of the Orthodox belief that only the human voice is permitted in the worship of God. Russian Orthodox priests are often clad in colorful vestments laden with gold trim. Some priests also wear long beards, which according to tradition should not be cut. Easter is the most festive of holidays when churches are packed with worshippers at midnight services, which include candlelight processions, and are followed by the early morning blessing of Easter baskets filled with food delicacies and hand-painted eggs.

Throughout its history in the United States, the Russian Orthodox church has not only ministered to immigrants from Russia, but has also functioned as a missionary church attracting new adherents. Even before Alaska was purchased by the United States in 1867, the church converted over 12,000 Aleutians and some Eskimos to Orthodoxy.

Aside from his spiritual work, the Orthodox Russian Bishop Innokentii Veniaminov (1797-1879) was also the first person to codify a written Aleut language for which he published a dictionary, grammar guide, Bible, and prayer-books.

Nearly 50,000 converts were attracted to Russian Orthodoxy during the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century. These were Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants of the Greek or Byzantine Catholic faith living in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and other northeastern industrial states. One of their own priests, Father Alexis Toth (1853-1909), convinced many Greek Catholic parishioners to return to the Orthodox faith of their ancestors. For his work, Toth was hailed as the father of Orthodoxy in America, and in 1994 was made an Orthodox saint.

The Russian Orthodox Church also had problems with internal divisions. Some of those divisions had occurred decades or even centuries earlier in the Russian Empire. Consequently among Russian immigrants in the United States there were Old Believers, whose movement dates from the seventeenth century, and the Molokans, whose movement emerged in the nineteenth century. The Old Believers and Molokans have been most fervent in retaining a sense of Russian identity through an active use of the Russian language in their religious services and in their daily lives.

More significant are the splits that occurred in the Russian Orthodox Church after its establishment in the United States. The divisions were the result of developments in the homeland, in particular the reaction of Russians abroad to the Bolshevik Revolution and the existence of the officially atheist Soviet Union.

During the 1920s and 1930s, three factions had developed within Russian Orthodoxy. One faction consisted of the original Russian Orthodox Church that started in Alaska before moving to California and New York. It continued to recognize formally the patriarch, whose office as head of the mother church in Russia was restored in 1917. But as long as Russia was ruled by an uncompromising Soviet government, the American branch of the church governed itself as a distinct jurisdiction known as the *Metropolia*. The second faction consisted of the post-World War I White Russian émigrés, whose numbers included some clergy and laymembers of the church who rejected the idea of a patriarch, and favored a church governed by the Synod. Those who favored rule by the Synod came to be known as the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, or the Synod. A third group consisted of individual parishes that remained directly under the jurisdiction of

the patriarch in Moscow, even though he was living in a godless Soviet communist state and was subject to governmental pressure.

Each of the three factions of the Russian Orthodox church in the United States had its own bishops, clergy, cathedrals, churches, monasteries, seminaries, publications, and supporting lay organizations. Each of the three also often denounced the others so that much of Russian community life in the United States from the 1920s through the 1960s was characterized by fierce rivalry between competing Russian Orthodox churches.

In 1970 the *Metropolia* reached an agreement with the patriarch in Moscow, was released from its formal subordination to Moscow, and became an independent body known as the Orthodox Church of America. This church is the largest of the three Russian Orthodox churches in the United States. Since 1970 the Orthodox Church of America has conducted all its services in English. The patriarchal parishes have mostly been absorbed by the Orthodox Church of America. The Synod Abroad remains staunchly Russian in terms of religious tradition and language use, and was an enemy of the Soviet Union until that state's demise in 1991.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The majority of Russian Jews and other Russians who arrived in the United States between the 1880s and 1914 entered the industrial labor force in the northeastern United States. This was not a particularly difficult adjustment, since 88.7 percent of Jews in European Russia in 1897 had been in manufacturing, commerce, and the equivalent of a white-collar service trade. In contrast, 63.2 percent of non-Jewish Russians worked in agriculture.

Women immigrants of Russian-Jewish background dominated America's garment industry as seamstresses in the small clothing factories and sweatshops of New York City and other urban areas in the northeast. Other Russians, including Belarussians and Carpatho-Rusyns, worked in factories in the large northeastern cities as well as in the coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania, the iron and steel factories in the Pittsburgh area, and the slaughtering and meatpacking plants of Chicago. The Russian presence was so pronounced in certain trades that they established their own unions or branches of unions, such as the Russian branch of the Union of Men's and Women's Garment Workers, the Russian-Polish department of the Union of Cloakmakers, the Society of Russian Bootmakers, and the

Society of Russian Mechanics.

The White Russians who came after World War I had a much higher level of education than their predecessors. Although many took on menial jobs at first (there are countless legends of Russian aristocrats employed as waiters, taxi-drivers, or doormen at night clubs), they eventually found employment that took advantage of their skills. This was also the case among the post-World War II DPs, many of whom found their way into university teaching, federal government employment, publishing, and other jobs that reflected the Cold War interests of the United States in the Soviet Union.

The educational and skills level is highest among the most recent Russian-Jewish immigrants. As high as 46.8 percent have had a university education, and 57.6 percent have been employed in the Soviet Union as engineers, economists, skilled workers, or technicians. In the United States, most have been able to find similar jobs and improved their economic status. Among the best known, and highest paid, of the recent immigrants are several hockey players of Russian background from the former Soviet Olympic team who have become a dominant part of teams in the National Hockey League during the 1980s and 1990s.

The descendants of the large pre-World War I immigration have done very well economically. By the 1930s and 1940s, the American-born offspring of the older immigrants remained in the same industries as their parents (clothing, steel, meatpacking, etc.), although some moved into managerial or white-collar positions. The third generation began to enter professions and have become doctors, lawyers, engineers, and businesspeople in larger numbers. By 1970 the median family income for Russian Americans was nearly \$14,000, which was three to four thousand dollars higher on average than the median family income among Americans of English, Scottish, Welsh, German, Italian, Irish, and French background.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Aside from their active participation in the labor movement during the early decades of the twentieth century, Russians have generally not become involved in American political life. In a sense, their labor union activity acted as a deterrent to further political work, since many were accused of being socialists or communists. In general, Russians have never formed a strong voting bloc that would encourage American politicians to solicit their sup-

port. Only in the past decade, in places like the Brighton Beach area of New York City, have local politicians like U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz successfully courted the Russian vote.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

While Russians may have avoided American politics, they did not shy away from concern with the homeland. This was particularly the case among the White Russian immigrants. The very fact that they were designated White Russians was a political statement. As refugees and political émigrés, most White Russians felt that their stay abroad was only temporary, and that they must live a Russian life while in temporary exile until the inevitable fall of the Soviet Union would allow them to return to a democratic Russia. This was the basic ideology that held the post-World War I White Russians and the post-World War II DPs together, even though they represented a wide variety of political persuasions. At one extreme some believed in the return of the monarchy. This included a woman living in the New York City area who claimed she was Grand Duchess Anastasia (1901-1918), one of the daughters of the last tsar Nicholas II Romanov who somehow had miraculously survived the mass assassination of the royal family. The legitimacy of this woman's claims were never proved or disproved.

Many rejected the monarchy and awaited the creation of a parliamentary liberal democratic state. The leader of this group was Alexander Kerensky (1881-1970), the last prime minister of Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution. He immigrated to New York City on the eve of World War II to escape the Nazi occupation of Paris where he had been living in exile. There were also regional groups like the Don and Kuban Cossacks who argued for autonomy in a future Russia, several socialist and anarchist groups on the political left, and a Russian fascist organization based in Connecticut during the late 1930s on the far right. Among the post-World War II DPs there were also those who believed in Lenin's brand of socialism, which they felt had been undermined by his successor, Joseph Stalin.

Each of these political orientations had at least one organization and publication that was closely linked to or was a branch of the same or similar émigré organization based in western Europe. Despite their various social, propagandistic, and fund-raising activities, none of these Russian-American organizations ever achieved the abolition of Soviet rule in their Russian homeland. Realizing their inability to end communist rule in Russia, some Russian Americans turned their efforts to their

community in the United States and its relationship to American society as a whole. These people became concerned with the way they and their culture were perceived and depicted in America's media and public life. In response to those concerns lobbying groups, such as the Congress of Russian Americans and the Russian-American Congress, came into existence in the 1970s.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Several researchers from Russia have enriched our knowledge by writing studies about their native land. In fact, much of America's present-day understanding of Russia and the Soviet Union is in large part due to the work of immigrants like ancient historian Michael Rostovtsev (1870-1972); church historians Georges Florovsky (1893-1979), Alexander Schmemmann (1921-1983), and John Meyendorff (1926-1993); linguist Roman Jakobson (1896-1982); literary critic Gleb Struve (1898-1985); and historians Michael Florinsky (1894-1981), Michael Karpovich (1888-1959), Alexander Vasiliev (1867-1953), George Vernadsky (1887-1973), Aleksander Riasanovsky (1923–), and Marc Raeff (1923–).

ART

Influential Russian American artists include Gleb Derujinski, a noted sculptor, and Sergey Rossolovsky, a respected painter from Portland, Maine.

LITERATURE

Writers generally have the greatest difficulty adapting to and being accepted in a new environment, since their language is their instrument of creativity, and by its nature a foreign and inaccessible element. Nevertheless, a few Russian authors have flourished on American soil. These include Vladimir Nabokov (1889-1977), who switched from Russian to English in the late 1940s and produced many novels, including the very popular *Lolita* (1958), and the short story writer Nina Berberova. Two other authors, while continuing to write in Russian, have nonetheless enhanced their careers while in the United States. They are Josef Brodsky (1940–) and the historical novelist and social critic Aleksander Solzhenitzyn (1918–), both of whom were awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.

MILITARY

John Basil Turchin (born Ivan Vasilevich Turchinov) served in the Union army during the Civil War and was promoted to the rank of U.S. Brigadier General—the first Russian American to be elevated to such a high position.

MUSIC, DANCE, AND FILM

Classical music, opera, and ballet in the United States have been enriched for over a century by the presence of Russian composers and performers from Petr Illich Tchaikovsky and Sergei Prokofieff to Fritz Kreisler, Feodor Chaliapin, Sergei Diaghileff, Anna Pavlova, and Rudolf Nureyev, all of whom have graced America's stages for varying periods of time. Others came to stay permanently, including Serge Koussevitsky (1874-1951), conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1924 to 1949; composers Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873-1943) and Alexander Gretchaninov (1864-1956); cello virtuoso, conductor, and musical director since 1977 of the National Symphony Orchestra, Mstislav Rostropovich (1927–); choreographer, founder of the School of American Ballet, and from 1948 to his death, director of the New York City Ballet, George Balanchine (1904-1983); and ballet dancers Natalia Makarova (1940–) and Mikhail Baryshnikov (1948). But the most famous of all was Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), who settled permanently in New York City in 1939, from where he continued to enrich and influence profoundly the course of twentieth-century classical music. Dimitri Tiomkin was a noted composer and musical director and author of many musical scores for Hollywood films. Natalie Wood, who was born in San Francisco as Natasha Gurdin (1938-1981) was an actress in numerous American films.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vladimir Ipatieff (1867-1952) was a prominent research chemist; George Gamow (1904-1968) was a nuclear physicist who popularized the big-bang theory of the origin of the universe; Wassily Leontieff (1906–) is a Nobel Prize-winning economist who formulated the influential input-output system of economic analysis; Alexander Petrunkevitch (1875-1964) wrote numerous works in the field of zoology; Igor Sikorsky (1889-1972) was an aviation industrialist and inventor of the helicopter; Pitirim Sorokin (1889-1968) was a controversial sociologist who argued that western civilization was doomed unless it attained “creative altruism”; and Vladimir Zworykin (1889-1982) was a physicist and electronics engineer who is known as the father of television.

MEDIA

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Address: 7338 Dartford Drive, Suite 9, McLean, Virginia 22102.

Telephone: (703) 827-0414.

Fax: (703) 827-8923.

Online: <http://www.ng.ru/>.

Novoe Russkoe Slovo/New Russian Word.

This publication is the oldest Russian daily newspaper in the world.

Contact: Andrei Sedych, Publisher.

Address: 111 Fifth Avenue, 5th Floor, New York, New York 10003.

Telephone: (212) 387-0299.

Fax: (212) 387-9050.

E-mail: ads@nrs.com.

Novyi Zhurnal/New Review.

Scholarly publication covering Russian interests.

Contact: Professor Vadim Kreyd, Editor.

Address: 611 Broadway, Ste. 842, New York, New York 10012-2608.

Telephone: (212) 353-1478.

Fax: (212) 353-1478.

E-mail: nrview@village.los.com.

Pravoslavnaya Rus.

Religious newspaper on Russian Orthodox history and Eastern Orthodox spirituality in Russian.

Contact: Arch Bishop Laurus, Editor-in-Chief

Address: PO Box 36, Jordanville, New York 13361-0036.

Telephone: (315) 858-0940.

Fax: (315) 858-0505.

E-mail: orthrus@telenet.net.

RADIO

KTYM-AM (1460).

Operated by KMNB Media Group.

Address: 7060 Hollywood Boulevard, Suite 919, Los Angeles, California 90028.

Telephone: (323) 463-7007.

Fax: (323) 463-0917.

E-mail: webmaster@kmnb.com.

Online: <http://www.kmnb.com/>.

WMNB-FM (100.1).

Russian American Broadcasting Company.

Address: One Bridge Plaza, Suite 145, Fort Lee,
New Jersey 07024.

TELEVISION**KMNB-TV.**

Owned and operated by KMNB Media Group.

Address: 7060 Hollywood Boulevard, Suite 919,
Los Angeles, California 90028.

Telephone: (323) 463-7007.

Fax: (323) 463-0917.

E-mail: webmaster@kmnb.com.

Online: <http://www.kmnb.com/>.

RTN.

Russian Television Network.

Address: Box 3589, Stamford, Connecticut 06903.

Telephone: (800) 222-2786.

WMNB.

Russian American Broadcasting Company.

Address: One Bridge Plaza, Suite 145, Fort Lee,
New Jersey 07024.

Telephone: (800) 570-2778; or (800) 772-2080.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Congress of Russian Americans, Inc.

Political action umbrella group with branches throughout the country; seeks to promote Russian cultural heritage and to protect the legal, economic, and social interests of Russian Americans.

Contact: Katherine P. Lukin, Treasurer.

Address: P.O. Box 818, Nyack,
New York 10960-0818.

Telephone: (914) 358-7117.

Fax: (914) 353-5453.

E-mail: pnbkra@sprynet.com.

Online: <http://www.russian-americans.org>.

Orthodox Church in America.

The largest church with members of Russian background; 12 dioceses throughout North America.

Address: P.O. Box 675, Route 25A, Syosset,
New York 11791.

Telephone: (516) 922-0550.

Russian Children's Welfare Society.

Philanthropic group to help needy children of who are immigrants or refugees, especially from Russia.

Contact: Jennifer Kaplan, Executive Director.

Address: 349 West 86th Street, New York,
New York 10024.

Telephone: (212) 779-2815.

E-mail: main@rcws.org.

Online: <http://www.rcws.org>.

Russian Independent Mutual Aid Society.

Fraternal organization and insurance company to provide workers and other policy holders with security in old age.

Contact: Alexander G. Hook, Secretary.

Address: 917 North Wood Street, Chicago,
Illinois 60622-5005.

Telephone: (312) 421-2272.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Immigration History Research Center.

Contact: Joel Wurl, Curator.

Address: University of Minnesota, 826 Berry
Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

Telephone: (612) 373-5581.

Online: <http://www1.umn.edu/ihr/>.

Museum of Russian Culture.

Includes archival and published materials as well as artifacts pertaining to Russian American life, especially in California.

Address: 2450 Sutter Street, San Francisco,
California 94115.

Telephone: (415) 911-4082.

New York Public Library, Slavic and Baltic Division.

Aside from a rich collection of printed materials on the Russian and Soviet homeland, there is much material on Russians in the United States from the 1890s to the present.

Address: Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street,
New York, New York 10018.

Telephone: (212) 930-0714.

Orthodox Church in America Archives.

Includes archival and published materials on Russian Orthodox church life in North America from the late nineteenth century to the present.

Address: P.O. Box 675, Route 25A, Syosset,
New York 11791.

Telephone: (516) 922-0550.

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Salvadoran immigration to the United States is a fairly recent phenomenon. The movement is small in comparison with some of the great immigration waves of the past, but it has a profound significance for both countries.

SALVADORAN AMERICANS

by
Jeremy Mumford

OVERVIEW

The smallest of the Central American states, the Republic of El Salvador measures 21,041 square kilometers—about the size of the state of Massachusetts—and has a population of approximately five million. Situated near the northern end of the Central American isthmus, it is bordered by Guatemala to the northwest, Honduras to the northeast, and the Pacific Ocean to the south. A Spanish-speaking country, El Salvador was given its name—which means “the Savior,” referring to Jesus Christ—by the Spanish. Its flag consists of horizontal stripes, two blue and one white, with the national coat of arms in the center. This coat of arms contains branches, flags, green mountains, and the words “Republica de El Salvador en la America Central” and “Dios Union Libertad.” Also pictured in the center of the flag are a small red liberty cap and the date of El Salvador’s independence from Spain: September 15, 1821.

Two volcanic mountain ranges dominate El Salvador’s landscape; they run parallel to each other, east to west, along the length of the country. Just to the north of the southern range lies a broad central plain, the most fertile and populous region of El Salvador, which includes the nation’s capital city, San Salvador, and a handful of smaller cities. These urban areas have grown significantly in recent years and by the mid-1990s housed more than half the population of El Salvador. But

because El Salvador's economy is largely agricultural, a considerable portion of the population remains in the countryside to work the coffee plantations and other farms.

HISTORY

Before fifteenth-century explorer Christopher Columbus discovered the New World, the land now called El Salvador belonged to the Pipil, nomads of the Nahua language group who were related to the Aztecs of central Mexico. From the eleventh century A.D., the Pipil developed their country of Cuzcatlán ("Land of the Jewel") into an organized state and a sophisticated society, with a capital city located near modern San Salvador. But during the 1520s Spanish *conquistadors*, fresh from the conquest of Mexico, invaded the land of the Pipil. Led by a general named Atlacatl, the Pipil resisted the invasion with initial success, but ultimately succumbed to the Spanish forces.

As in Mexico and the rest of Central America, the *conquistadors* created a divided society in the province they named El Salvador. A small ruling class composed of people of Spanish birth or descent grew rich from the labor of the Indian population. Inter marriage gradually softened the racial division; today the majority of Salvadorans are *mestizos*, with both Spanish and Indian ancestors. But there remains in El Salvador an extreme disparity between the powerful and the powerless, between the wealthy landowners—according to legend, the "Fourteen Families"—and the multitudinous poor.

El Salvador became independent from Spain in 1821. The ex-colony initially joined with Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica to form the United Provinces of Central America. But the regional federation dissolved after 20 years. Then, threatened by Mexican and Guatemalan aggression, the Salvadoran government sought to make the country part of the United States. The request was turned down. El Salvador remained independent but gradually came under the influence of American banks, corporations, and government policies. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought considerable political turmoil to El Salvador, with the army and the plantation owners trading places in a series of unstable regimes.

One constant in Salvadoran history has been its economy of single-crop export agriculture. In the sixteenth century El Salvador produced cacao, from which chocolate is made; in the eighteenth century it grew the indigo plant, which yields a blue dye used in clothing. Since the late nineteenth century, El Salvador's great cash crop has been coffee,

although in recent decades the country has also grown cotton and sugar. El Salvador organized its economy with factory-like efficiency, consolidating land into huge plantations worked by landless peasants. As markets changed, cycles of boom and bust hit these people hard.

This unstable social order often became explosive. El Salvador has seen repeated rebellions, each one followed by massive, deadly retaliation against the poor. In 1833 an Indian named Anastasio Aquino led an unsuccessful peasant revolt. Nearly a century later, a Marxist landowner named Agustín Farabundo Martí led another. This was followed by the systematic government murder of rural Indians, leaving an estimated 35,000 dead—an event known as *la matanza*, or "the massacre."

MODERN ERA

Between 1979 and 1992, Salvadoran guerrillas waged a civil war against the government, fueled in part by the same inequities that motivated Aquino and Martí. The nation's army fought back with U.S. money, weapons, and training from American military advisors. An estimated 75,000 people died during the conflict, most of them civilians killed by the army or by clandestine death squads linked to the government (Elston Carr, "Pico-Union: 'Trial' Dramatizes Salvadoran Abuses," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1993). The guerrilla war and the "dirty war" that accompanied it were a national catastrophe. But in 1992, after more than a dozen years of fighting, the army signed a peace accord with the guerrillas' Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Peace has returned to El Salvador, which is now governed by a reasonably democratic constitution.

SALVADORANS IN AMERICA

Salvadoran immigration to the United States is a fairly recent phenomenon. The movement is small in comparison with some of the great immigration waves of the past, but it has a profound significance for both countries. The flight of Salvadorans from their own country was the most dramatic result of El Salvador's civil war, draining that country of between 20 and 30 percent of its population. Half or more of the refugees—between 500,000 and one million—immigrated to the United States, which was home to less than 10,000 Salvadorans before 1960 (Faren Bachelis, *The Central Americans* [New York: Chelsea House, 1990], p. 10; cited hereafter as Bachelis). El Salvador's exiled population is already changing life at home through its influence and its

dollars and will undoubtedly play an important role in its future history.

Salvadoran American immigration has changed the face of foreign affairs in the United States. The flood of refugees from a U.S.-supported government forced a national rethinking of foreign policy priorities. This in turn transformed the nature of American support for the Salvadoran government and may have helped to end the war in El Salvador. Salvadoran Americans are at the center of an ongoing national debate about U.S. responsibility toward the world's refugees and the future of immigration in general.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The exodus of Salvadorans from their homeland was prompted by both economic and political factors. Historically, El Salvador is a very poor and crowded country. Cyclical poverty and overcrowding have led to patterns of intra-Central American immigration in the past. During the 1960s many Salvadorans moved illegally to Honduras, which is less densely populated. Tension over these immigrants led to war between the nations in 1969, forcing the Salvadorans to return home. El Salvador's civil war from 1979 to 1992 created high unemployment and a crisis of survival for the poor. As in the 1960s, many Salvadorans responded by leaving their native land.

The fear of political persecution has led other Salvadorans to seek refuge in another country. During the 1980s, death squads—secretly connected with government security forces—murdered many suspected leftists. Operating mostly at night, these groups killed tens of thousands of people during the civil war (Bachelis, pp. 41-42). At the height of the death squad movement, 800 bodies were found each month. As the frenetic pace of assassination continued, the squads resorted to increasingly vague “profiles” by which to identify members of so-called “left-wing” groups—all women wearing blue jeans, for instance (Mark Danner, “The Truth of El Mozote,” *New Yorker*, December 6, 1993, p. 10). The bodies of some victims were never recovered; these people form the ranks of the “*desaparinicos*” (disappeared).

This climate of pervasive terror prompted many Salvadorans to flee their homeland. Some left after seeing friends or family members murdered or receiving a death threat; others fled violence by the guerrillas or the prospect of forced recruitment into the army. About half of the immigrants ended up in refugee camps in Honduras or in Salvadoran enclaves in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, or Mexico. The other half headed for *el Norte*—the United States.

Because they left quickly and quietly, without property or established connections in the United States, Salvadoran refugees could seldom obtain U.S. visas. They crossed borders illegally, first into Mexico, then into the United States. Refugees trekked through the desert, swam or rowed the Rio Grande, huddled in secret spaces in cars or trucks, or crawled through abandoned sewer tunnels in order to enter the United States. Many sought aid from professional alien smugglers, known as “coyotes,” and were sometimes robbed, abandoned in the desert, or kept in virtual slavery until they could buy their freedom.

Once in the United States, Salvadorans remained a secret population. U.S. law provides that aliens (including illegal ones) who can show they have a tenable fear of persecution can receive political asylum and become eligible for a green card. But according to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) figures, political asylum was granted to very few Salvadorans: in the 1980s only 2.1 percent of applications were approved. Those who were turned down faced possible deportation. Therefore, few Salvadorans made their presence known unless they were caught by the INS.

Salvadoran refugees did not at first see themselves as immigrants or Americans. Most hoped to go home as soon as they could do so safely. In the meantime, they clustered together to maintain the language and culture of their homeland. Dense Salvadoran enclaves sprang up in Latino neighborhoods in San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, Washington, D.C., and the New York suburb of Hempstead, Long Island. Wherever a few Salvadorans established themselves, that place became a magnet for friends and relatives; about three quarters of the Salvadoran town of Intipuca, for instance, moved to Washington, D.C. (Segundo Montes and Juan Jose García Vásquez, *Salvadoran Migration to the United States* [Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration and Refugee Assistance, Georgetown University, 1988], p. 15; cited hereafter as Montes and Vásquez). On Long Island, outreach workers reported that the population of Salvadorans ballooned from 5,000 before the civil war to over 100,000 in 1999. However, the greatest number of refugees settled in Los Angeles, where Salvadorans soon became the second-largest immigrant community. The Pico-Union and Westlake districts of Los Angeles became a virtual Salvadoran city—by some counts second only to San Salvador.

Salvadoran refugees during the 1980s were only one current in a broad stream of Central American refugees pouring into the United States. Guatemala and Nicaragua, like El Salvador,

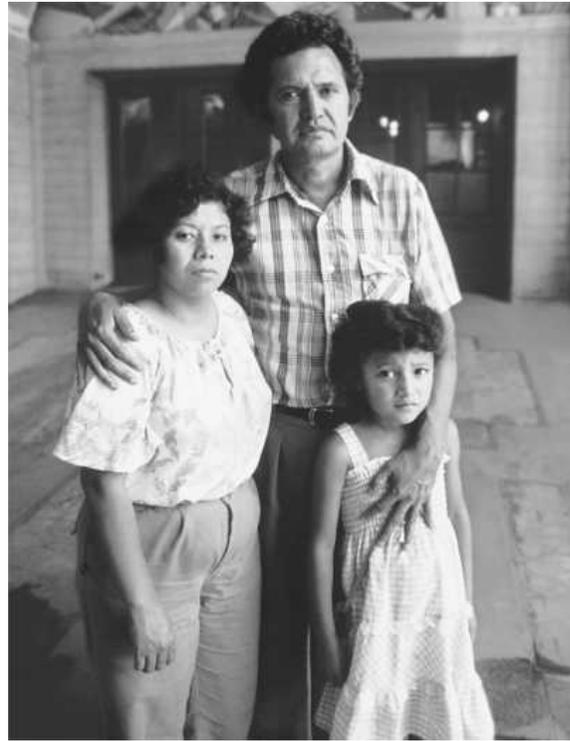
endured civil wars during this period. Many people from those countries joined the Salvadorans seeking refuge in the United States.

The Central American influx was secret and illegal, and much of mainstream America was at first ignorant of its magnitude. But the INS kept a close eye on the situation. Many Salvadorans who were denied asylum in the States exercised their right to appeal their cases, sometimes all the way up to the Supreme Court. (Until a final decision is reached, the applicant is entitled to temporary working papers.) INS agents suddenly found a huge new bureaucratic workload dropped in their laps, for which they had little experience or funding. Many agents tried to move immigration cases along by any means necessary: intimidating Salvadorans into signing papers in English which put them on the next plane to El Salvador, or refusing asylum applications after a ten-minute interview and deporting the applicants before they had a chance to appeal (Ann Crittenden, *Sanctuary: A Story of American Conscience and the Law in Collision* [New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1988]).

The deportation of Salvadoran refugees led many liberal American activists to take an interest in the Central American influx. Disheartened by the conservative trend in America in the 1980s, these activists found a rallying point in the plight of the refugees. Some saw the Central American refugee crisis as the great moral test of their generation. Likening the deaths in El Salvador and Guatemala to the Holocaust (the systematic slaughter of European Jews by German Nazis during World War II), human rights activists in the United States felt a moral imperative to petition their government for a change in foreign policy.

American activists established a loose network to aid the refugees. Operating in clear violation of federal laws, they took refugees into their houses, aided their travel across the border, hid them from the authorities, helped them find work, and even gave them legal help. Reviving the ancient custom that a fugitive might find sanctuary inside a church and be safe from capture, the activists often housed refugees in church basements and rectories, giving birth to what later became known as “the sanctuary movement.”

Throughout the 1980s the U.S. government extended very little sympathy to Salvadoran refugees. Ironically, the government only began to acknowledge the reality of Salvadoran oppression when persecution and war began to taper off in El Salvador. In 1990 a federal lawsuit brought against the INS by the American Baptist Churches (ABC) forced the agency to apply a more lenient standard



Senator Ricardo Zelada poses with two Salvadoran refugees that he is trying to make sure are receiving the aid they need, in Los Angeles, California.

to Central American asylum applications. The settlement prompted the INS to reopen many Salvadoran applications it had already denied and to approve new ones in greater numbers. By this time, however, many Salvadoran Americans had benefited from an amnesty passed in 1986, which “legalized” illegal immigrants who had entered the States before 1982.

In 1991, after years of debate on the issue, Congress awarded Temporary Protected Status to Salvadorans who had been in the United States since 1990. This status allowed qualifying Salvadorans to live and work in the States for a fixed period of time. Known as the Deferred Enforced Departure (DED), the special status was scheduled to expire at the end of 1994.

Although the war is over in El Salvador, many Salvadoran Americans are still afraid to return to their homeland. ARENA, the political party most closely associated with the death squads, was in power in the mid-1990s, and many of the conditions that brought about the war remained the same. Furthermore, Salvadoran Americans had established roots and a new livelihood in the United States. A 1990 poll found that 70 percent of Salvadorans surveyed did not intend to return to El Salvador, even if they knew they were safe (Robert Lopez, “Salvadorans Turn Eyes Homeward as War Ends,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 1992). However, Salvadoran Americans maintain close ties to friends and relatives at home. Within a year after the civil war ended, about 350,000 Salvadoran Americans visited El Salvador (Tracy Wilkinson,

“Returning to Reclaim a Dream,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1993).

Due to poor INS records and the low profile of undocumented immigrants, statistics regarding Salvadoran immigration are notoriously unreliable. As of 1995 the total number of Salvadorans in the United States was somewhere between 500,000 and 1 million. Approximately one-third of the immigrant population were green card holders, who could apply for U.S. citizenship after five years. Between one-fifth and one-third had some form of temporary legal status. The remaining third were undocumented and therefore illegal.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Assimilation is more problematic for Salvadorans in the United States than it has been for other immigrants. Most Salvadorans who have any legal status at all are asylum seekers, motivated to immigrate to the States because of fear of persecution, not a desire to become an American. Asylum laws prohibit many Salvadorans from renewing their ties to their home culture. Most asylum seekers cannot visit El Salvador, even for a loved one’s funeral, without losing their legal status in the United States. (The assumption is that anyone who travels to El Salvador—whatever the reason—is not really afraid of persecution there.) Thus, many Salvadoran Americans are torn between embracing the culture of America and maintaining their Salvadoran identities.

Salvadoran Americans form an insular community—with their own social clubs, doctors, even banks—and often have little contact with outsiders. They maintain a tight network, living almost exclusively with other people from their home country, or even their hometown (Pamela Constable, “We Will Stay Together,” *Washington Post Magazine*, October 30, 1994; Doreen Cavaja, “Making Ends Meet in a Nether World,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1994). Many older immigrants have spent more than ten years in the United States without learning any English.

Although they immigrated largely out of fear rather than a desire for a new life, Salvadorans in the United States, especially the younger generations, are gradually becoming Americanized. While conditions have improved in El Salvador, few refugees have returned home. The United States—once a place of refuge—has become a new home for Salvadoran immigrants. To reflect the changing needs of the Salvadoran American community, the Central American Refugee Center in Los Angeles

(CARECEN), one of the largest support organizations for refugees, changed its name to the Central American Resource Center (Elston Carr, “A New Direction,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 1993).

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

El Salvador has a rich heritage of folk beliefs and customs, which evolved in a landscape of villages, fields, forests, and mountains. Salvadoran Americans seek to preserve their traditional rural culture—a difficult proposition, considering most Salvadorans settle in America’s largest cities.

Salvadoran folklore is rooted in supernatural beliefs. Tales of ghosts and spirits have been passed orally from generation to generation. One such spirit is the Siguanaba, a beautiful woman who seduces men she finds alone in the forest at night and drives them mad. Slightly less dangerous are the Cadejos, two huge dogs; the black one brings bad luck, while the white one brings good luck. Another spirit, the Cipitío, is a dwarf with a big hat who eats ashes from fireplaces and strews flower petals in the paths of pretty girls. Such country legends have little meaning in a Los Angeles barrio; they are rapidly dying out among Salvadoran American children, a generation thoroughly immersed in the world of American cartoons and comic book characters.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

Salvadoran Americans have sometimes had tense relations with their neighbors in the cities where they are concentrated. Salvadoran gangs have fought with Mexican gangs in Los Angeles, and in Washington, D.C., a city with a significant Salvadoran population, they have competed with African Americans for jobs and resources. In May of 1991, after a black policewoman shot and killed a Salvadoran man during an arrest, Salvadorans in Washington’s Mt. Pleasant neighborhood rioted. This incident, however, is not necessarily representative of relations in all Salvadoran American communities.

Many cultural observers contend that mainstream America has not yet formed a distinct stereotype of Salvadoran Americans. Salvadorans have settled in neighborhoods already populated by Mexican Americans, and outsiders generally have only a vague sense of the various Latino nationalities in those neighborhoods. But Salvadorans certainly share in the widespread discrimination leveled at Latinos. In the New York borough of Brooklyn, for example, a group of white teenagers who beat up a Salvadoran man in a neighborhood park reportedly referred to him as “that Mexican.”

PROVERBS

Salvadoran Spanish is rich in proverbs that reflect the country's rural landscape. While a North American might say, "Be quiet, the walls have ears," a Salvadoran would warn, "There are parrots in the field."

CUISINE

Salvadoran food is similar to Mexican food but is sweeter and milder. The foundation of the diet is cornmeal tortillas (thicker than the Mexican variety), rice, salt, and beans. The most popular national snack is the *pupusa*, a cornmeal griddle-cake stuffed with various combinations of cheese, spices, beans, and pork. *Pupusas* are served with *curtido*, a cabbage and carrot salad made with vinegar. A more substantial meal is *salpicón*, minced beef cooked with onions and chilies and served with rice and beans. For dessert, many dishes include fried or stewed bananas. *Chicha*, a sweet drink made from pineapple juice, is a popular beverage. The best Salvadoran food is found in private homes, but many Salvadoran restaurants and food stands have opened in Los Angeles and other cities where Salvadoran Americans live.

Both in El Salvador and in Salvadoran American neighborhoods, people love to buy food from street vendors. Popular street foods include *pupusas* and mango slices—spiced with salt, lime juice, red pepper, and crushed pumpkin and sesame seeds.

TRADITIONAL DRESS

Salvadorans wear the same Western-style clothing worn by most Latin Americans who are not culturally Indian. Salvadorans in the highlands, where nights can be very cold, occasionally wear brightly colored blankets of traditional Mayan design, but they call these Guatemalan blankets, underscoring their foreign origin. Around their necks, many Salvadorans wear small crosses tightly wrapped with colored yarn.

MUSIC

The most popular musical form in El Salvador is the *cumbia*, a style that originated in Colombia. A typical *cumbia* is performed with a male singer (usually a high baritone or tenor) backed by a male chorus, drums (primarily kettledrum and bass drum), electric guitar and bass, and either a brass section or an accordion. The 2/4 beat is slower than most Latin music; the baseline is heavy and up-front. A very danceable musical form, it is popular with non-Latin audiences.

Ranchera music, which originated in Mexico, is also well liked by the country people in El Salvador. In the cities, many people listen to rock and rap music from the United States. Mexican American musical styles such as *salsa*, *merengue*, and *tejano* music have become increasingly popular among Salvadorans in the United States. These and other styles from North America are also gaining more listeners in El Salvador.

HOLIDAYS

Many Salvadoran Americans celebrate Independence Day for all of Central America on September 15 of each year. The first week in August is the most important national religious festival, honoring Christ, El Salvador's patron and namesake, as the holy savior of the world. Known simply as the National Celebration, this week is marked in both El Salvador and Salvadoran American neighborhoods with processions, carnival rides, fireworks, and soccer matches.

HEALTH ISSUES

The single greatest health problem in El Salvador is malnutrition, which especially affects children. This problem is largely absent among Salvadoran Americans. Still, undocumented Salvadoran Americans are often hesitant to visit American doctors or hospitals, for fear of being reported to the immigration authorities. And many communities—including, through 1994's Proposition 187, the State of California—have sought to deny public health services to undocumented immigrants.

Partly for these reasons, some Salvadoran Americans continue to rely on traditional healers. Such practitioners, known as *curanderos*, use herb teas and poultices, traditional exercises, incantations, and magical touching to heal. Other Salvadoran immigrants are patients of Salvadoran doctors who may have received training at home but have no license to practice in the United States (John McQuiston, "Man Held for Practicing Dentistry without Degree or License," *New York Times*, December 2, 1994).

Some Salvadoran Americans carry deep emotional scars from the torture they suffered or witnessed. Many are tormented by rage, continuing fear, and guilt at escaping the violence that claimed the lives of so many of their loved ones. As a result, some members of the immigrant community suffer from depression, alcoholism, and erratic or violent behavior. Few Salvadoran Americans can afford to receive the psychological help they need to work through

their traumatic experiences (Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, *Central American Refugees and U.S. High Schools* [Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1989]).

LANGUAGE

Spanish is the first language of almost all Salvadorans. Salvadoran Spanish is very close to the Spanish spoken in Mexico and other Central American countries; it is recognizable only by its accent.

El Salvador stands apart from neighboring countries in that its indigenous languages are virtually dead. One possible explanation for this loss lies in El Salvador's history of widespread violence against the poor. In the aftermath of the 1833 rebellion and during the *matanza* of 1932, government forces singled out Indians to be killed; out of self-protection, many Salvadoran Indians adopted Spanish language and dress during these times.

Because of their initial determination to return to El Salvador, many immigrants to America at first resisted learning English. However, bilingual education programs, particularly in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., have been extremely helpful to Salvadoran children (Pamela Constable, "Bilingual Plan Draws Bitter Words in D.C.," *Washington Post*, October 26, 1994).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The traditional family in El Salvador, as in Latin America generally, is large and close-knit. The father exercises final authority in all things, and together the parents maintain firm control over their children, above all their daughters. Among Salvadoran Americans, though, this pattern has begun to change. The immigration process and the vastly different conditions of life in the United States have altered Salvadoran family dynamics in dramatic and at times destructive ways.

Due to the nature of their flight to the United States, many Salvadoran refugees made the journey alone: husbands left their wives, parents their children, teenagers their families. Entire families were separated and often stayed that way. Many refugees married non-Salvadorans, sometimes for immigration benefits, and Salvadoran Americans were barred from returning home for any reason without forfeiting a request for asylum.

Some Salvadoran parents who were separated from their children for a long period of time during the immigration process found—when finally

reunited as a family—that they had lost some of their traditional parental authority and control over the youngsters. Likewise, teenagers who settled in the United States alone grew into adulthood under influences very different from those they would have encountered at home. Even when families moved to America together, family dynamics inevitably changed under new cultural influences. Children learned English faster and adapted more readily to their new surroundings than their parents. They often had to translate or explain things to their parents, argue for their parents with English-speaking storekeepers, and in general become more knowledgeable and confident than their parents. This role-reversal proved painful for both generations.

Salvadoran American parents generally fear that their children may stray too far in America's permissive society. Indeed, many young Salvadoran Americans have formed gangs, especially in Los Angeles, where the culture of Latino youth gangs has deep roots. These gangs, including the nationally known *Salva Mara Trucha*, distribute drugs, extort money from local merchants (especially street vendors), and battle for turf with Mexican gang members (Mike O'Connor, "A New U.S. Import in El Salvador," *New York Times*, July 3, 1994; Anthony Millican, "Street Gang Shakes Down Vendors for Sidewalk 'Rent'," *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 1992).

RITUALS OF FAMILY LIFE

Salvadoran Catholicism emphasizes all the sacraments that are practiced in other Catholic countries: baptism, confirmation, marriage in the church, communion at mass, and last rites. Other occasions are also celebrated in church, such as graduation from school and a girl's *quinceañera*, or fifteenth birthday. Still, when compared with other Central Americans, a surprising number of Salvadorans do not observe church rituals. Church weddings, for instance, are considered prohibitively expensive for the poor, and common-law marriage is frequently practiced.

One ritual of family life which is common even among the poor is *compadrazgo*, or the naming of godparents. Latin Americans of all nationalities practice this custom. They place special importance in the relationship between a child and his or her *padrino* and *madrina*—and between the parents and their *compadres*, the friends they honored by choosing them for this role.

Some rituals of the old country have been abandoned by members of the immigrant community. For instance, the traditional Salvadoran practice

of interring bodies in family crypts has recently given way to a more Americanized approach to burying the dead. In the early 1980s, most Salvadoran Americans who could afford it had their bodies sent to El Salvador for burial after death, a posthumous relocation that could cost thousands of dollars. By the mid-1990s, Salvadoran Americans were beginning to reach the painful conclusion that their families would never return to El Salvador; as a result, more and more immigrants are opting for burials in the United States (Gabriel Escobar, "Latinos Making U.S. Their Home in Life and Death," *Washington Post*, July 12, 1993).

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Few Salvadoran American families depend entirely on public assistance; a large portion of the immigrant population is undocumented and therefore does not qualify for government benefits. However, the high rate of poverty in the community forces many to seek whatever help they can find—either through assistance for U.S.-born children or through fraudulently obtained benefits. The extent of reliance on public assistance is hard to estimate due to its underground nature.

EDUCATION

Salvadoran Americans, like many immigrants, place a high value on education as a way to advance in the world. Some Salvadorans cherish education in particular because of their ongoing struggle to achieve it at home: because the National University in San Salvador included a number of Marxist professors and students, the government closed down the campus in 1980. Some professors and students kept classes going in a variety of small buildings and private homes; all Salvadoran university students realized that they could not take access to education for granted.

In the United States access to education has been equally difficult for Salvadorans. Many schools excluded or reported undocumented students, until the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plyer v. Doe* (1982) established that all children, even illegal immigrants, have a constitutional right to attend public school. This issue remains controversial: California's Proposition 187, approved by voters in 1994, seeks again to exclude undocumented students from public schools.

At the university level, few institutions allow undocumented immigrants to enroll. California State is one of the few universities to admit students without proof of legal residency. Furthermore, it

allows undocumented immigrants in California to pay the low tuition charged to state residents, instead of the much higher out-of-state rates. As the only major university where undocumented immigrants can enroll for less than \$2000 per year, it has attracted many Salvadoran American students to its campuses in Southern California. Again, this educational route is threatened by California's Proposition 187.

RELIGION

Most Salvadorans are members of the Roman Catholic church, although various evangelical Protestant denominations, including Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Assemblies of God, and Mormons, also have Salvadoran adherents. In addition, a small number of Salvadorans are Jewish or Muslim, stemming from late nineteenth-century immigration from the Middle East.

Salvadoran Catholicism bears the strong influence of liberation theology, a Catholic school of thought that evolved in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s. Liberation theology teaches that Christianity is a religion of the poor. The movement encouraged impoverished Salvadorans to form Christian communities—or "base communities"—to improve their lives. Dedicated both to Bible study and to mutual aid in the secular world, these communities organized credit unions, cooperative stores, labor and peasant unions, and political activist groups.

Liberation theology received an important boost from the approval of the 1968 Latin American Bishops' Conference in Medellín, Colombia. In the late 1970s Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero, though originally selected for his conservative views, became an important patron of the new theology. Young priests carried the message to the Salvadoran countryside with an evangelical fervor, but a shortage of priests in El Salvador necessitated an increase in the involvement of the Catholic laity. Base communities sprang up both in the cities and the country.

Liberation theology's success in organizing the poor had a profound impact on Salvadoran politics. The movement brought new political ideas to the countryside, as the universities did to the cities. Many of the peasants who comprised the rural left during the civil war—guerrillas, farmworker federation members, activists who demonstrated in San Salvador—traced the origins of their political consciousness to participation in a base community.

The Salvadoran army was well aware of the effects of the new theology. Starting in the 1970s, it

targeted Catholic organizers for harassment and death. In March of 1980 Archbishop Romero was assassinated while saying mass; the murder was attributed to a right-wing death squad. Nine months later, four U.S. churchwomen who were working in El Salvador were killed, causing outrage in the States. And in November of 1989, six Jesuit priests and two women were killed on the San Salvador campus of the Jesuit-run Central American University.

Salvadoran American Catholics have not reproduced the full-fledged base communities that they left behind in El Salvador. However, many Salvadoran Americans are members of progressive Latino Catholic congregations, influenced by liberation theology and Vatican II, which advocate social justice and self-empowerment among the poor. These same congregations have a history of activity in the sanctuary movement, helping their Salvadoran members gain a foothold in the United States.

In addition to the Catholic church, several evangelical Protestant denominations have Salvadoran churches. These communities were founded throughout the Salvadoran countryside during the twentieth century by missionaries from the United States. In the 1970s and 1980s the evangelical sects increased their missionary efforts, in particular through the influence of American military advisers on soldiers in the Salvadoran army. Both in El Salvador and in the States, Salvadoran evangelicals tend to be more socially and politically conservative than Catholics.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Salvadorans have often been referred to as “the Germans of Central America” because of their strong work ethic (Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions* [New York: Norton, 1993], p. 10). Salvadorans in the United States are among the hardest-working immigrants, working enough hours at low-paying jobs to send about \$800 million home every year.

Although many Salvadoran refugees worked on the land before immigrating to the United States, few of them settled in America’s rural areas. In this respect, Salvadorans differ from newly arrived Mexican Americans, many of whom engage in migrant farm labor; Salvadoran immigrants are instead concentrated in unskilled urban jobs that do not require English.

Many Salvadoran American men work in hotel and restaurant kitchens, especially in Los Angeles. Others work as day laborers in the building trades.

Many Salvadoran American women work as nannies and maids. Both men and women perform cleaning and janitorial services in hotels, commercial buildings, and homes. Some Salvadorans also work as unlicensed street vendors of food and goods, a line of work which is illegal in Los Angeles and other cities but is nevertheless tolerated and in fact contributes to the life and economy of the city.

Although Salvadoran Americans toil in the lowest-paying sectors of the American economy, they are slowly but inexorably becoming more prosperous. They work long hours, save a great deal, and are gradually moving from the inner cities to the suburbs.

Because the majority of Salvadoran Americans continue to toil in the lowest-paying sectors of the American economy, tens of thousands of these immigrants remain in both urban and suburban ghettos, alienated from the communities around them. Many live in overcrowded shared or partitioned housing and struggle to get ahead while they support families back in El Salvador. Others, however, are becoming more prosperous, and are participating members of the communities in which they live.

Salvadoran American income is of vital importance to El Salvador. Salvadoran Americans, even those who are poor, have an incentive to send money to family and friends in El Salvador because a U.S. dollar buys much more there than in the States. In all, they send approximately \$800 million back home per year—close to \$1000 per person. These payments, known as remittances, are the largest source of income for El Salvador—larger than either coffee exports or U.S. government aid. For this reason, El Salvador is sometimes said to have a “remittance economy” (Montes and Vásquez, p. 15). It is in part because of this contribution to the economy at home that Salvadoran politicians lobby Washington for permanent status for Salvadoran Americans.

Salvadoran Americans have also brought large numbers of American consumer goods to El Salvador. By 1994 far more homes in El Salvador had color televisions, stereos, and other modern equipment than they did 15 years earlier. In this way, too, Salvadoran Americans have transformed the texture of life in El Salvador.

In addition to gifts and remittances, Salvadoran Americans have extensive investments in their home country. They may not plan to return permanently, but many are keeping the option open. According to one report, two-thirds of new housing built in San Salvador is bought by Salvadoran Americans (Tom Gibb, “Those Who Didn’t Flee Rely on U.S.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 30, 1993. Taking as its model the role American Jews

played in the growth of Israel, the Los Angeles agency El Rescate hopes to establish a bank that will allow expatriates to invest directly in Salvadoran development (Robert Lopez, "A Piece of the Pie," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1993).

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Salvadoran American community has not been a significant political force either in the United States or at home. However, the size, concentration, and organization of the community suggest that this may change in the future. Most Salvadoran Americans are not U.S. citizens and therefore do not have the right to vote in elections. Salvadorans do not have nearly as much influence with the political establishment as voting constituencies have. In Los Angeles, for instance, there is a stark contrast between the U.S.-born Chicano neighborhoods of East L.A. and the Pico-Union and Westlake neighborhoods, populated by immigrant Mexicans and Central Americans. The former have many community centers, legal services, and social workers; the latter have very few (Hector Tobar, "No Strength in Numbers for LA's Divided Latinos," *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 1992). This situation is slowly changing, however: Carlos Vaquerano, the Salvadoran community affairs director of CARECEN, was named to the board of Rebuild L.A., organized to help the city recover from the L.A. riots in 1992 (Miles Corwin, "Understanding the Riots," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1992).

One area of U.S. politics in which Salvadoran Americans have played an important role is in legislation regarding their immigration status. In the debate leading to the passage of Temporary Protected Status for Salvadoran refugees and the extensions of that status, Salvadoran organizations lobbied politicians and brought their cases of persecution to the press. At first, refugee organizations were run by Americans, and Salvadorans often appeared in public only with bandannas over their faces. Gradually, Salvadorans and other Central Americans began to take charge of the refugee organizations and assume a higher public profile.

Salvadoran Americans have also contributed significantly to labor union activity. Many refugees fought for the right to organize under repressive conditions in El Salvador, and they brought dedication, even militancy, to American unions. In a 1990 Los Angeles janitors' strike, for instance, Salvadoran union members continued to march and demonstrate even under the threat of police violence. And Salvadoran street vendors in Los Ange-

les have organized to improve their precarious situation (Tracy Wilkinson, "New Questions Arise for Salvadorans in Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1992).

RELATIONS WITH EL SALVADOR

Most Salvadoran Americans are not active in or outspoken about Salvadoran politics. Those U.S. organizations most actively involved in Salvadoran politics (such as the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, CISPES) have attracted little participation by Salvadoran Americans themselves. The immigrants' own organizations have focused not on politics at home, but on relief and jobs in immigrant communities throughout the United States. This relative indifference to home politics may be surprising, given the political passions that have long raged in El Salvador; but the majority of Salvadoran Americans seem interested in putting the hatred of the past behind them.

While the most ideologically committed of the Salvadoran refugees settled in Mexico, Nicaragua, or Costa Rica, those who settled in the United States focused on survival and building a community. Refugees who fled the government and refugees who fled the guerrillas have a lot in common; many will not even discuss their political beliefs, lest it disrupt the fragile solidarity of the refugee community. Furthermore, many Salvadorans on the left became active in politics because of the desperate poverty and class war in El Salvador; when they arrived in the United States, where it seemed for the first time possible to escape poverty through hard work, their political commitment sometimes melted away.

Salvadorans outside El Salvador are not permitted to cast absentee ballots in that country's elections. The majority of the refugee community is thought to favor the left, and the absence of their votes is believed to have helped the right-wing party ARENA win the Salvadoran presidency in 1989 and 1994 (Lisa Leff, "At Peace but Uneasy, Salvadorans Vote Today," *Washington Post*, March 20, 1994).

The relative lack of political influence among Salvadoran Americans is not necessarily permanent. Salvadoran immigrants are densely concentrated in a few cities, and they have a strong infrastructure in refugee organizations. As more Salvadorans become U.S. citizens, the immigrant community will probably play a larger role in local and regional politics. And given their economic contribution, they will almost certainly come to exert more influence in El Salvador.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ARTS

Claribel Alegría (1924–), the most famous living Salvadoran writer, was born in Nicaragua but moved with her family to El Salvador at an early age. She studied at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and has since visited the United States on a regular basis. With her U.S.-born husband, Darwin Flakoll, she has lived in various parts of the world—particularly Spain and Nicaragua—but she considers herself a Salvadoran. Her autobiographical poetry and fiction (some written in collaboration with her husband) is very popular among both Salvadorans and Salvadoran Americans and provides a rich portrait of bourgeois life in a provincial Salvadoran city.

Many Salvadorans involved in their country's political strife have recorded their feelings in poetry; one such writer, Miguel Huezo Mixco (1954–), was a guerrilla soldier who composed and published verses during campaigns against the army (*Mirrors of War* [New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985], p. 147).

Dagoberto Reyes, a Salvadoran painter and sculptor, immigrated to Los Angeles in the early 1980s. His sculpture “Porque Emigramos” (“Why We Immigrate”) was commissioned to stand in Los Angeles's MacArthur Park.

Alvaro Torres, a popular singer of Spanish-language romantic ballads, was born in El Salvador and lived in Guatemala and Mexico before moving to the United States. José Reyes, another popular Salvadoran musician, also lives in the United States.

Christy Turlington (1969–) is an internationally known supermodel. The daughter of a Salvadoran mother, she began modeling at the age of 14. She has appeared on the runways of Paris, Milan, and New York, in the pages of every major fashion magazine, and has contracts with Maybelline, Calvin Klein, and Vidal Sassoon. Turlington is also a noted animal rights activist and has raised money for Salvadoran causes.

EDUCATION

Jorge Catán Zablah (1939–), a Salvadoran who received his Ph.D. from University of California at Santa Barbara, is the chairman of the Spanish Department at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Colonel Nicolás Carranza is an infamous Salvadoran American who commanded El Salvador's Treasury Police in the early 1980s. He has been accused of organizing and overseeing many of the clandestine death squads that operated during those years. In 1988 the *Nation* reported that he was living in Kentucky, supported by active duty pay from the Salvadoran military and an annual stipend from the CIA.

SPORTS

Hugo Perez, a midfielder on the U.S. national soccer team, immigrated from El Salvador to Los Angeles as a child. The second-highest all-time scorer on the U.S. team, he contributed to America's unexpectedly competitive performance in the 1994 World Cup. During World Cup matches played at Pasadena, California, Salvadoran Americans were among the most vociferous fans of the U.S. team. Waldir Guerra (1967–), another great Salvadoran soccer player who learned his craft in L.A.'s highly competitive Salvadoran soccer leagues, immigrated to the United States from his hometown of San Vicente, El Salvador, at age 16. He was a star in college and professional soccer in California and later returned to El Salvador to play professional soccer there. A member of the Santa Ana team, he is considered the second-best player in all of El Salvador.

MEDIA

Most Salvadoran Americans rely on the general Spanish-language media in the United States, which is largely produced by Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. There are very few media outlets geared specifically toward Salvadoran Americans.

RADIO

KPFK-FM (90.7).

Pacifica Radio for Southern California, broadcasts a radio show for Salvadorans hosted by Carlos Figueroa, who has also worked with the FMLN's Radio Venceremos in El Salvador.

Address: 3729 Cahuenga Boulevard West, North Hollywood, California 91604.

Telephone: (818) 985-2711.

E-mail: kpfk@pacifica.org.

Online: <http://www.kpfk.org/>.

TELEVISION

KMET-TV, Channel 38.

This Los Angeles station airs a 30-minute daily

show focusing on Salvadoran American news and culture, hosted by José Trinidad.

Contact: Laura Cohen, Public Relations Director.

Telephone: (213) 469-5638.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN).

Address: 91 North Franklin Street, Suite 211, Hempstead, New York 11550.

Telephone: (516) 489-8330.

Fax: (516) 489-8308.

E-mail: carecen@pb.net.

Online: <http://www.icomm.ca/carecen/>.

Central American Resource Center (CARECEN).

Founded in 1983 as Central American Refugee Center. A relief organization for refugees, CARECEN has evolved into a community self-help and advocacy organization for Central Americans. Though largely staffed by non-Central Americans, its director is Salvadoran American. The Los Angeles office has changed its name from the Central American Refugee Center to the Central American Resource Center. CARECEN has independent offices in several U.S. cities.

Contact: Robert Lovato, Executive Director.

Address: 1636 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California.

Telephone: (213) 385-1638.

Centro Presente.

A community center for Central Americans in the Boston area.

Address: 54 Essex Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Telephone: (617) 497-9080.

El Rescate.

Established in 1981, El Rescate provides legal, educational, and community economic development services to Central American refugees in the Los Angeles area.

Contact: Oscar Andrade, Director.

Address: 1340 South Bonnie Brae Street, Los Angeles, California.

Telephone: (213) 736-4703.

Interfaith Office on Accompaniment (IOA).

Works to support the refugees and displaced communities of El Salvador. Aims to enhance moral, political, and economic development by sending interfaith delegations and church volunteers to assist the Salvadoran people.

Contact: Lana Dalbert, Chair.

Address: 1050 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, California 94110.

Telephone: (415) 821-7102.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Central America Resource Center (CARC).

This Texas organization releases a bimonthly English-language newsletter with political and cultural news from Central America, selected and translated from a variety of Spanish-language news sources. It also maintains a library and archive in its Austin office. Not to be confused with the social service organization CARECEN.

Address: 2520 Longview, Austin, Texas 78705.

Telephone: (512) 476-9841.

Hemispheric Migration Project, Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, Georgetown University.

This project sponsors and publishes research on various population movements within the Americas, including the migration of Central Americans to the United States.

Address: Box 2298, Hoya Station, Washington, D.C. 20057.

Telephone: (202) 687-7032.

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SAMOAN AMERICANS

by
Paul Cox

Samoans have an expansive view of familial bonds. A Samoan *a'iga* or family includes all individuals who descend from a common ancestor.

OVERVIEW

The Samoan archipelago consists of 15 inhabited islands in the South Pacific that are located approximately 14 degrees south latitude and between 171 and 173 degrees west longitude. The archipelago is a politically divided one. The eastern group of islands is known as American Samoa, a U.S. territory with a population of 41,000. The total land area of American Samoa is 77 square miles and includes seven major islands: Tutuila (which includes the territorial capital of Pago Pago), Aunu'u, Ta'u, Ofu, Olosega, Swains Island, and Rose Atoll. American Samoa is administered by an elected governor and territorial legislature as well as a non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. The native-born residents of American Samoa are considered American nationals. While they do not pay U.S. income taxes or vote in U.S. presidential elections, they may serve in the U.S. armed services.

The western half of the archipelago comprises Western Samoa, an independent country. These islands have a total population of 182,000 and a total land area of 1,104 square miles. Western Samoa includes four inhabited islands: Upolu (which houses Apia, the nation's capital), Manu'a, Apolima, and Savaii, which is the largest but also the most underdeveloped of these islands. A former United Nations protectorate under the administration of New Zealand, Western Samoa is a member of the British Commonwealth.

Samoa weather is usually hot and wet, with a mean temperature of 79.5 degrees Fahrenheit and heavy annual rainfall. In the city of Apia, for instance, annual rainfall measures about 80 inches.

The number of Samoans living outside of Samoa easily exceeds the combined population of both American and Western Samoa. Large populations of expatriate Samoans can be found in Auckland, New Zealand; Honolulu, Hawaii; Los Angeles, California; San Francisco, California; and Salt Lake City, Utah. Smaller groups have settled in Wellington, New Zealand; Sydney, Australia; Laie, Hawaii; Oakland, California; and Independence, Missouri. Most older expatriate Samoans are immigrants, although many of their offspring are natural-born citizens of their host countries. Regardless of birthplace, however, peoples of Samoan descent are linked by a distinctive cultural heritage that continues to flourish on those South Pacific islands.

HISTORY

The Samoan islands were colonized between 500 and 800 B.C. by an oceanic people distinguished by their production of Lapita pottery—a unique pottery form named after one of the original sites of pottery shard discovery in Melanesia. Based on archaeological, botanical, and linguistic evidence, it seems almost certain that the ancestors of the Samoans originated in Indo-Malaysia, spent several centuries living along coastal areas of New Guinea, and then colonized Samoa and Tonga, another island in the Pacific Ocean. It is unclear whether Samoa or Tonga was colonized first, but it was within these archipelagos that Polynesian culture developed from its Lapita roots. Over time the descendants of these original immigrants colonized other regions, including Tahiti and other areas of eastern Polynesia, the Marquesas, Hawaii, and New Zealand. The ancestors of the Polynesians brought with them a group of agricultural plants distinguished by a variety of tree crops that produced nuts and fruits (including breadfruit) and a set of starchy tuberous crops, including taro and yams. Once in Samoa, the Lapita potters developed a material culture characterized by a few large stone fortifications, early attempts at irrigation, and a startling talent for producing highly finished boat timbers.

The quality of the ship timbers produced by the Samoans did not escape notice. Indeed, the first European accounts of Samoa speak admiringly of the work of the islands' inhabitants in this respect. The quality of Samoan boats suggested an easy facility with tools of iron, according to the journals of Jacob Roggeveen, the first European to discover

Samoa. Roggeveen happened upon the islands in 1722 during his ill-fated voyage from the Netherlands to New Ireland. He recorded that the Samoan seamen were a sturdy, healthy group, although he mistook their tattoos for paint. Although he traded a few nails for coconuts, Roggeveen was unable to entice any of the Samoans to board his ship. Concerned about the lateness of the season and the poor anchoring terrain, Roggeveen decided not to attempt a landing.

The second European explorer to visit Samoa, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, named the archipelago the “Navigator Islands” in honor of the superb sailing vessels manned by the natives. “Their canoes are made with a good deal of skill, and have an outrigger,” he wrote. “Though we ran seven or eight knots at this time, yet the [canoes] sailed round us with the same ease as if we had been at anchor.”

After sighting Bougainville's ship, the Samoans sent out a party in a canoe to meet him. Bougainville reported they “were naked, excepting their natural parts, and shewed us cocoa-nuts and roots.” The “roots” presented to Bougainville were likely those of *Piper methysticum*, used in Samoa to make *kava*, a beverage that is consumed on ceremonial occasions. The present of both coconuts and *kava* to Bougainville constituted a *sua*, or ceremonial offering of respect to a traveling party. *Kava* roots were also ceremonially presented to the next European to visit Samoa, the French explorer La Perouse, on December 6, 1787. The presentation of *Piper methysticum* roots was accompanied, per usual Samoan practice, by soaring rhetoric that added considerably to the ambience of the *kava* ceremony.

Unfortunately, the La Perouse expedition met with tragedy when 11 members of the crew were later killed by Samoans. The French claimed the attack was unprovoked, although they admitted the attack came after they had fired muskets over the heads of a few Samoans to persuade them to release a grapnel rope to a long boat. Later reports indicated that the massacre occurred after the French shot and killed a Samoan attempting to steal an iron bolt. Verification of this report came from the missionary J. B. Stair, who wrote that the massacre occurred after the French had hoisted a Samoan up a mainstay of a long boat by the thumb in retribution for a petty theft (Stair, *Old Samoa*, 1897). Regardless of the root cause of the altercation, La Perouse fostered a myth of barbarity about the Samoans in its wake, bitterly remarking in his memoirs that he would leave the documentation of Samoan history to others.

The massacre of the French sailors from the *Astrolabe* in 1787 gave the Samoans a reputation for

savagery that deterred future European exploration of the islands, except for a few brief contacts such as the visit of that H.M.S. *Pandora* in 1791. Only a few whalers and warships called at Samoan ports for the next number of years.

In 1828 Tongan Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Samoa, but they had little success in their proselytizing endeavors. In 1830, however, John Williams sailed the *Messenger of Peace* to Savaii under the guidance of a Samoan convert from Rarotonga. He first traveled to Sapapalii village, home of Malietoa, the highest-ranking chief in Samoa. During an interview on the ship, Williams obtained permission from Malietoa to land Tahitian and Rarotongan missionaries in Samoa. In addition, he secured a commitment from Malietoa to avail himself of the missionaries' teachings.

Williams returned to Samoa in 1832 to find the new Christian faith thriving. Other religious groups were quick to follow. In 1835 Peter Turner formally established the Wesleyan mission on Manono island. Proselytizing activities proceeded at a fast pace, particularly when George Pratt and Charles Wilson of the London Missionary Society translated the Bible into Samoan.

Although the missionaries were explicitly instructed by Williams to confine their activities to the religious sphere, the impact of the European missions on Samoan culture was rapid and profound. Samoans abandoned their former religious beliefs and made dramatic changes to central cultural practices. Warfare as an instrument of political change was discarded, as was polygamy, abortion, "indecent" dances, and certain common articles of clothing (such as the *titi*, a skirt made from *Cordyline terminalis* leaves). The missionaries introduced new agricultural plants and practices, new items of clothing (*siapo* or tapa cloth), and new forms of housing construction. In only a few years, a fundamental restructuring of traditional Samoan society had taken place. *Faifeau* or ministers played a new and pivotal role in this culture, a respected status that continues to this day.

Later, other *papalagi* (foreigners) with less evangelical interests visited Samoa. The U.S. Exploring Expedition visited and mapped Samoa in 1839. Commander Charles Wilkes appointed the son of John Williams as American Vice-Consul. In 1845 George Pritchard joined the diplomatic corps in Apia as British Consul. Both Williams and Pritchard avoided native intrigues and concentrated on assisting in the naval affairs of their respective countries.

The geopolitical importance of Samoa grew over time due to its proximity to southern whaling grounds and the unparalleled harbor of Pago Pago. In

1857 the German firm of Godeffroy greatly expanded copra trade, establishing a regional center in Samoa. This led to the establishment of a German consulate in 1861. This increased interest in Samoa created significant tensions between the three colonial powers on the island. Samoa was finally partitioned between the east (Eastern Samoa) and the west (German Samoa) during the 1880s.

American Samoa was eventually ceded by the chiefs of Tutuila and Manu'a to the United States and administered by the Department of the Navy as a U.S. territory. The region was largely forgotten until the 1960s, when President John F. Kennedy told Governor John Hayden to "get Samoa moving." During the 1960s and 1970s construction on American Samoa increased dramatically. A hospital, television transmission facilities, and schools were built throughout the territory. Steps were taken to institute a popular election to determine the territorial governor, a position previously filled by appointment from Washington, D.C.

Western Samoa's development during the twentieth century was a little more dramatic. Western Samoa changed hands from German ownership to New Zealand administration during the First World War after a bloodless invasion. After the war, Western Samoa was declared a League of Nations Trust Territory under New Zealand Administration. A nascent independence movement, called the "Mau," was ruthlessly crushed by New Zealand colonial administrators. One of the leaders of this movement, a Samoan chief and a man of great wisdom and presence, Tamasese, was shot and killed by New Zealand armed forces during this conflict. Later, though, New Zealand assumed a more benign role in Western Samoa, assisting the country as it prepared for independence in 1962. Today, Western Samoa is led by a parliament and prime minister, with His Highness Malietoa Tanumafili II acting as the ceremonial Head of State.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Immigration of Samoans to New Zealand, Australia, and the United States accelerated during the 1950s. Western Samoa, with its historically close ties to New Zealand, sent a number of scholarship students to pursue college degrees in New Zealand. American Samoa saw many of its citizens enroll in U.S. military services. Samoans who chose to pursue ecclesiastical endeavors were often educated by Anglicans in London. Others entered Catholic seminaries in the South Pacific and studied in

Rome, while those who became local leaders in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) traveled to Utah. All these experiences overseas encouraged growing numbers of Samoans to emigrate from Samoa to these distant countries. Since the initial wave of the Samoan emigration overseas numerous second-generation Samoans have been born not on the islands but in their new country. In the 1990 census of the United States, over 55,000 Americans reported themselves to be of Samoan descent. Approximately 26,000 of the respondents resided in California, with another 15,000 in Hawaii, and 2,000 in Utah. But the influence of Samoan Americans has spread far beyond these limited regions.

The contributions made by Samoan Americans have been many and diverse. The courage and valor of Samoan soldiers became legendary during the Korean conflict and the Vietnam war. Prowess on the athletic field led to significant recognition for Samoan Americans in the sports of college and professional football, New Zealand rugby, and even Japanese Sumo wrestling. Samoan American political leaders such as Faleolemavaega Eni Hunkin, who served as staff council for the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Lands and later as the American Samoan delegate to the United States Congress, and Governors Peter Coleman and A. P. Lutali have played an increasingly visible role in formulation of U.S. policy in the Pacific rim.

Many recent immigrants from Samoa, though, have been forced to pursue low-paying jobs as untrained laborers. Others have been forced to rely on governmental entitlement programs for support. A few members of the Samoan community are undocumented aliens who are legally, linguistically, and culturally isolated from their host countries.

As a group, Samoans in America face all the tensions and difficulties encountered by other immigrant groups as they enter new homelands. Many older Samoans, particularly those from Western Samoa, speak English haltingly. Yet in areas of significant Samoan population concentration, even Samoan Americans who are fluent in English have faced considerable prejudice. Just as in the time of the La Perouse expedition, Samoans have in some areas gained unwarranted reputations as perpetrators of violent crime. The involvement of small numbers of Samoan youth in gang activity has led some to dismiss all young Samoan Americans as hoodlums. Such prejudice can have devastating consequences: even impartial observers concede that there have been instances when it has been difficult for a person of Samoan descent to receive a fair criminal trial in Hawaii.

In New Zealand, Hawaii, California, and Utah there is now a reawakening and organization of expatriate Samoan communities in an attempt to reach out to younger people of Samoan ancestry and inform them of the traditional ways and cultures. Samoan culture, while based largely on hospitality, is at times mystifying to Westerners as well as to the offspring of expatriate Samoans who know little of the ways and language of their ancestral home. Scholars are also sometimes confused, and as a result Samoan culture has been the topic of much controversy. In *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Margaret Mead argued that Samoan adolescents are spared the *sturm und drang* of American adolescence. She argued that, unlike their counterparts in Western cultures, young people in Samoa pass relatively easily through adolescence. Her views have been challenged by the anthropologist Derek Freeman, who argued that, contrary to the easy-going Samoan nature portrayed by Mead, Samoan culture is hierarchical, power-conscious, and occasionally violent.

The nature of Samoan society is considerably more complex than either camp may wish to admit. Unlike Mead's assertion that Samoans are a "primitive" people, Samoan culture is elaborate and sophisticated and is exemplified by Samoan rhetorical skills, which are considerable. Samoan villages are equally complex in their structure, with a plethora of different levels of *matai*, or chiefs. Villagers are related in various complex ways from a series of common descent groups.

CUISINE

Samoan cuisine is fairly bland and varies little. Samoans eat two or three meals a day consisting of boiled taro or rice cooked with coconut milk, fresh fish, breadfruit, and usually some form of tinned or fresh meat. Fruit, although plentiful in the island, is seldom eaten during the mealtime. Raw Samoan cocoa—which for many visitors is an acquired taste—orange leaf tea, lemon grass tea, or coffee is usually served with meals. Samoans do not usually engage in conversation while eating, since the hosts typically do not eat until the guests have finished their meals. Many Samoans have, in recent years, strayed from the traditional diet of starchy roots and fruits to a more westernized diet. The medical community believes that this dietary change has translated into a high incidence of diabetes among Samoan people. Although in traditional villages Samoans tend to be very trim in appearance, in some expatriate communities obesity is common, possibly as a result of a more sedentary lifestyle.

CLOTHING

Clothing in Samoa consists of a *lavalava*, a single piece of cloth that is worn as a wrap-around skirt by both men and women. Brightly colored floral print shirts or blouses, or in more informal settings, T-shirts, complete the typical outfit. In remote villages some women go without tops while washing clothes or performing other household tasks. While Samoans prefer colorful floral designs in both their *lavalava* and tops, darker colors are preferred on formal occasions. In such instances, Samoan men often wear a *lavalava* made from suit cloth material. Such a formal *lavalava*, when combined with leather sandals, white shirt, tie, and suit coat, is considered appropriate dress whether attending a funeral or hosting government dignitaries. In such settings women will wear a *pulu tasi*, a sort of *mu'umu'u* designed by the early Christian missionaries. On Sundays, Samoans prefer to wear white clothing to church.

Although Samoan concepts of personal modesty may differ from western concepts, they are very important to Samoans. The area between the calf of the leg and the thigh is considered to be especially inappropriate for public exhibition. Many traditional Samoan villages ban beach wear such as bikinis and swimming suits. Some even ban women from wearing trousers.

While the appearance and garb of Samoan women are subject to a range of cultural restrictions, full-body tattoos are common on Samoan men. The tattooing process is prolonged and painful. It is believed by Samoans to be a means of helping men appreciate the prolonged labor pains involved with childbirth.

HOLIDAYS

Both American Samoa and Western Samoa celebrate their respective national holidays. Christmas, Easter, and other religious holidays are also of great significance to Samoans. In addition, the second Sunday of October is celebrated by most denominations as "White Sunday." On this day, the service revolves around memorized recitations by children. After the service, Samoan children are waited upon by the adults of their family, served a festive meal, and presented with gifts.

HEALTH ISSUES

Samoans have a traditional system of healing that plays a very important role in Samoan culture. Traditional Samoan healers use a variety of massage treatments, counseling techniques, and herbal preparations to treat illness. Recent scientific analy-



A Samoan American woman plays the ukulele at a family picnic on Queen's Beach, Honolulu, Hawaii

sis of Samoan healing practices show them to have some degree of empirical justification: a large number of plants used by Samoans for medical purposes demonstrate pharmacological activity in the laboratory. The National Cancer Institute, for instance, recently licensed the new anti-HIV compound prostratin, which was discovered in a Samoan plant used by traditional healers.

Samoans believe that there are some illnesses that cannot be cured by Western medicine. These include illnesses of the *to'ala*, the reputed center of being located beneath the navel, and cases of spiritual possession. *Musu*, a psychiatric illness of young women characterized by a nearly autistic withdrawal from communication, has been treated successfully in New Zealand by traditional healers. Samoan healers exist and practice, albeit covertly, in most expatriate Samoan communities.

Samoans believe that the major sources of disease are poor diet, poor hygiene, and interpersonal hostility. Since Samoa is a consensus culture with a heavy emphasis on responsibility and family, many believe that an individual who does not support his family, who does not shoulder the responsibilities of village life, and who otherwise does not participate in traditional culture, has a high risk of becoming ill. Linguistic isolation complicates some medical interaction with the older Samoans, but in general Samoans are appreciative of Western medicine and responsive to prescribed courses of medical treatment.

Samoan Americans are particularly susceptible to high rates of diabetes and other illnesses associ-

ated with a high-fat diet and decreased patterns of physical activity. As a population, though, Samoans show lower cholesterol levels than would be expected given their diet and patterns of obesity. Coconut oil, which is very rich in saturated fats, plays an important part in the Samoan diet. Many Samoan delicacies such as *palusami* (young taro leaves with coconut cream) are cooked in coconut cream. Such a diet, combined with sedentary lifestyle, is a key contributor to cardiovascular illness.

American Samoa maintains a fine hospital, the L.B.J. Tropical Medical Center in Fagalu, near Pago Pago. The Western Samoa National Hospital at Moto'otua is a fine facility as well, especially for a developing country. When necessary, difficult cases are referred by L.B.J. and Moto'otua to hospitals in Honolulu and Auckland, respectively.

LANGUAGE

The Samoan language is an ancient form of Polynesian dialect. It consists of three basic types of language. Common Samoan is the Samoan language of commerce and normal village interactions, while Respect Samoan includes honorific terms used for others of equal or greater rank. The third language type employed by Samoans, Rhetorical Samoan, is a set of proverbial, genealogical, and poetic allusions.

Samoan vowels are pronounced very simply; the French approach to their vowel pronunciation is similar. Consonants are nearly identical to English consonants with two exceptions: the glottal stop indicated by an apostrophe is an unaspirated consonant produced in the bottom of the throat that can best be approximated as the break in the English expression "oh oh." Thus the Samoan word for "thank you,"—*fa'afetai*—is pronounced "fah-ah-fay-tie." The Samoan "g" sound is also difficult for some foreigners to master. It is pronounced similarly to the "ng" in "sing along;" the Samoan word for gun—*faga*—is thus pronounced as "fah-ngah." The "n" sound is pronounced as "ng" by Samoans as well. Finally, in colloquial Samoan, the "k" sound is pronounced instead of the "t;" hence *fa'afetai* becomes "fa'afekai." Samoans, however, do not like foreigners to use colloquial pronunciation. In Samoan words all syllables are given equal timing with a slight accent placed on the penultimate syllable.

The following are several common Samoan greetings and their English translations: *talofa*—hello; *fa'afetai*—thank you; *tofa*—goodbye; *malo*—congratulations; *lau afioga*—your highness (high chief); *lau tofa*—your highness (orator); *lau susuga*—sir.

RHETORIC

Ceremonial Samoan may be one of the most complex rhetorical forms known on the face of the earth. Eloquent oratory has long been an integral part of the Samoan culture. In the case of a village or district dispute, the victor is often the side represented by the most eloquent orator. Oratorical ability in Samoa is a treasured commodity because it has historically brought its finest practitioners prestige, cultural influence, and material goods.

The importance of rhetoric in Samoa has even been institutionalized in the Samoan system of chiefdoms. In Samoan culture there are two types of chiefs: high chiefs, who function very much as the corporate executive officers of the village; and orators or "talking chiefs" who speak for the village in its dealings with others. Samoan orators are expected to memorize an amazing array of information, including the historical events of Samoa, an exhaustive list of Samoan proverbial expressions, and the genealogies of most of the major families in Samoa. Orators are also expected to be able to speak with power and eloquence in an extemporaneous fashion.

Listening to Samoan oratory at a *kava* ceremony can be an awe-inspiring experience. Sophisticated allusions to ancient events, nuanced proverbial expressions, and powerful political insights are combined with extensive references to the Bible and the genealogies of those present to produce an exquisitely cerebral poetic work. Samoan oratory is delivered in a cadence and clarity of voice that is clear and ringing. Frequently speeches are yelled out as a sign of respect to visitors. Unfortunately, this oral tradition, the highest of all Samoan arts, is the art form most inaccessible to foreigners. Very little Samoan formal rhetoric has ever been translated into English.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Samoans have an expansive view of familial bonds. A Samoan *a'iga* or family includes all individuals who descend from a common ancestor. Samoan familial ties are complex and highly interwoven, but also very important; all Samoans are expected to support and serve their extended families. Each extended family has one or more chiefs who organize and run the family.

Family pride is a central part of Samoan culture as well. Individuals in Samoan villages fear breaking village rules not only because of any individual consequences but because of the shame it might bring



These Samoan American men are gathered at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Laie, Oahu, Hawaii.

to their family. In cases of serious transgression, the entire family may be penalized by the village council. In extreme cases the transgressor's chief may be stripped of his title and the family disinherited from the land. The fear of shaming one's extended family thus serves as a potent deterrent in the culture. This philosophy extends not only to transgressors but also to victims. An offense committed against anyone, particularly elderly individuals—who are revered in Samoan society—or young women, may be seen as an offense to the victim's entire family. In contrast to western philosophies that laud individualism, Samoan culture emphasizes the importance of family ties and responsibility.

In Samoan culture, serious offenses may be redeemed by an *ifoga* (a lowering). This is a ceremony that reflects deep contrition on the part of the perpetrator. In an *ifoga*, all of a transgressor's extended family and village will gather before dawn in front of the residence of the offended or injured party. There they will sit covered by fine mats as the sun rises. They remain in that position until forgiven and invited into the house. They then present fine mats, pigs, and cash as evidence of their contri-

tion. There is no Western equivalent to an *ifoga*, but performance of an *ifoga* in western Samoa, even for a serious crime, will often result in waiver or dramatic reduction of the criminal penalties that would have otherwise been assessed.

The Samoan concept of family has profound economic consequences. All Samoans are expected to provide financial support for their families. Many expatriate Samoans routinely send a large portion of their earnings back to their relatives in Samoa. Such foreign remittances constitute a significant portion of the income of Western Samoa. Although such remittances are a godsend for the relatively weak economy of Western Samoa, there is concern that the third generation of expatriate Samoans may become so assimilated into western cultures that this practice will not survive.

COURTSHIP

While older Samoans enjoy the regard in which they are held, younger members of the culture grapple with the complicated process of courtship. In remote villages dating is frowned upon. The cultur-

ally acceptable way for young men and young women to meet each other is for the young man to bring presents and food to the young woman's family and to court his intended in the presence of the woman's family. In traditional villages, even slight deviation from this pattern may place the young man at some risk of physical harm from the young woman's brothers.

Romantic affairs are, of course, difficult to transact. Typically an intermediary called a *soa* (go-between) is used to communicate the amorous intentions of a young man to the *soa* of the young woman. If romantic interest is reciprocated, young men and young women will visit surreptitiously at night under the cover of darkness. Such liaisons, however, are fraught with danger should the young woman's brothers discover them. Brothers in traditional Samoan culture consider it their familial duty to aggressively screen out unwarranted suitors or inappropriate attempts to court their sister without parental supervision.

Physical contact between the sexes, including kissing and hand holding, is considered to be in poor taste in public. Even married couples avoid physical contact in public. These traditional practices, however, have changed as Samoan culture has become more westernized. In Pago Pago and Apia, boys and girls date, attend dances, take in films, and socialize in most of the ways common to Western countries. However, any offense to a young woman, including swearing, is still taken as a deep offense by a young woman's brothers and may result in violence.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

Marriage has become more common since the advent of Christianity, but in Samoa many people live together and even raise children without the benefit of marriage. This custom, called *nofo fa'apouliuli*, sometimes functions as a sort of trial marriage in which a Samoan tests the relationship before settling on a single partner.

Illegitimacy does not have the same negative connotations in Samoan culture that it does in other cultures. Children are warmly welcomed into a family and are frequently raised by grandparents or other relatives as their own offspring. In general, children within the Samoan family have a great deal of mobility. It is not uncommon in Samoa for children to be raised by people other than their biological parents. In many cases children are raised by members of extended family or even friends. All children are, regardless of their genetic relationship to the husband and wife in the family, treated equally and expected to assist with family chores.

Until approximately age seven boys and girls are reared in nearly identical fashion in Samoan culture. But girls from eight to ten years old are expected to play major roles in caring for other infant children. It is not uncommon in Samoan villages to see eight- or nine-year-old girls packing a six-month-old baby on their hip. Once boys and girls approach puberty deep cultural taboos take effect that preclude their continued close association. Past puberty, brothers and sisters are not allowed to be alone in each other's presence.

CEREMONIES

In Samoa infant children and their mothers occupy special status. New mothers are usually presented with *vaisalo*, a rich drink made of grated coconut, coconut milk, manihot, and the grated flesh of the vi apple. On occasion fine mats may also be presented to the mother.

A Samoan wedding typically involves feasting, dancing, and much merriment. Weddings are generally held in accordance with local customs or ecclesiastical protocols, followed by a large reception for the bride and groom.

Conveyance of a chiefly title is another noteworthy cultural event in Samoa. Typically the family of the chief-to-be will prepare kegs of corned beef, fine mats, money, and other items with which to "pay" the village granting the title. Visitors to the ceremony are also hosted in extravagant fashion. Extended and sophisticated rhetoric is exchanged by orators representing the various families in attendance and includes analysis of the genealogical provenance of the title. In some villages the candidate for the chief position is wrapped in a fine mat tied with a bow; he becomes a chief when the bow is untied. Many times paper currency is placed in an ornamental fashion in the chief's headdress. All chief ceremonies, however, regardless of village, culminate in the *kava* ceremony wherein the candidate drinks *kava* for the first time as the new chief. Invitation to attend a chief investiture ceremony or *saufa'i* is a signal honor, one rarely granted to foreigners.

Conveyance of a chiefly title is far more than an honorific. Individuals in the group immediately adopt the chief's title as their own first name. All people in the village, other than the immediate family, refer to the new chief by the new title. Furthermore, in traditional Samoan culture all the dependents of the new chief use the chief's title as their new last name.

Once established, the new chief is expected to attend village councils, act with a sense of decorum and dignity, support village activities via manual

labor and cash donations, and behave with the interests of his family and village foremost in his mind. As a member of the village chief council, the new chief will participate in decisions reached in consensus with the other chiefs. Some chieftains in Samoa also have special titles such as *Malietoa*, *Tamasese*, *Tupuola*, or *Salamasina*. These titles have national significance. Individuals bearing such titles should be treated as the equivalent of European monarchs.

The conveyance of chief's titles has become a difficult business for expatriate Samoans since in traditional Samoan culture all chief's titles are tied to an identifiable piece of land in Samoa. Expatriate Samoans seeking titles usually must return to Samoa for the ceremonies. In New Zealand some chief investiture ceremonies have been held. However, titles so conferred outside of Samoa are controversial within Samoa. Infrequently, diplomats, aid workers, and other foreign visitors are granted honorific titles that have no validity in terms of Samoan land relationships and are not recognized by the Lands and Title Court. Exceptions to this arrangement are rare but do occur. Although nearly all chiefs are men, several women hold chiefly titles, and in at least one case a village conferred a valid title, registered with and recognized by the Land and Titles Court, on a Samoan-speaking foreigner.

Samoan funerals include important demonstrations of high Samoan culture. In a funeral the extended family of the bereaved prepares money, fine mats, kegs of corned beef, pigs, and case goods to present to visitors at the funeral. Visitors attend with a single palm leaf held aloft in front of them. On arrival at the home of the bereaved, the orator representing the visitors stands outside the hut, addresses the dead person with an honorific string of titles, and then speaks to everyone present. After the speech the visitors are invited to sit and wait as other visitors trickle in. The funeral concludes with an orator who acts as a representative for the bereaved family. The orator speaks before distributing gifts to the visitors.

At funerals and chief investiture ceremonies a great deal of cash and a large number of fine mats—which may take up to six months to complete—exchange hands. In some instances, more than 2,000 fine mats and as much as \$20,000 may be redistributed.

MANNERS

The Samoan culture is very hospitable to foreigners. Usual expectations of strict formal behavior and rigorous rhetoric are suspended for visitors. Knowledge

of a few simple courtesies, however, will help ensure goodwill in such settings. When entering a Samoan house or cultural event, it is important to quickly glance to see if other people are wearing shoes. It is usually considered disrespectful to walk across a mat in a Samoan house with shoes on. Shoes can be removed and left at the door. When walking in front of anybody one should bend low and say *Tulou* (“too-low”).

When entering a room or assembly of Samoans in a cultural setting it is considered good manners to walk around the room and shake each person's hand, smiling and looking them in the eyes. *Talofa* (“tah-low-fah”) is the greeting. After greeting everyone present, the visitor should sit where directed. It is considered rude in Samoan culture to stand while addressing someone who is sitting.

It is important to accept whatever hospitality is offered by Samoans. Hence, if everyone is seated on a mat on the floor but the visitor is offered a chair, the visitor should sit on the chair. If seated on the floor a visitor should cross his legs and avoid pointing his feet at anyone. If this position becomes uncomfortable the visitor can place a mat over his extended legs.

The presentation of *kava* is considered to be the highest symbol of respect that can be granted to a visitor. If presented with a cup of *kava*, one may drip a few drops on the ground (symbolic of returning goodness to the earth) and say *Ia manuia* (“ee-ah mahn-wee-ah”), which means “let there be blessings.” At that point one can either drink from the cup or return it to the server.

The acceptance of gifts is important in Samoa. No gift offered by a Samoan should be refused. Such refusal might be considered an indication of displeasure with the person presenting the gift. The most common gifts are those of food or mats. Gifts are frequently given as an indication of the status or prestige of both the giver and the receiver. Gifts are given without expectation of reciprocation. During dancing or other fundraising activities, however, cash donations are usually welcomed. It is also considered good manners to publicly offer a significant cash payment to an orator who has given a speech of welcome or greeting.

Samoan culture also features several rules of etiquette concerning food. Never eat in front of a Samoan without offering to share your food. When served by others, it is important to show due respect to the food. While the meal does not have to be eaten in its entirety, the food itself should be handled and treated with respect, since it represents the finest that the hosts can provide.

Display of negative emotions, particularly irritation, anger, or other hostility, is considered to be in very bad taste and a sign of weakness. Samoans treat each other with extraordinary politeness even under difficult circumstances. One who exercises decorum even under stressful circumstances receives high marks in Samoan culture.

EDUCATION

Samoans value education very highly. For a developing country Western Samoa has an astonishingly high rate of literacy—approximately 98 percent. In traditional villages education is first received at a minister's school, where children are taught to read. Later they attend elementary and secondary schools. The emphasis in Samoan education is largely on rote memorization.

Differences in educational philosophy can be found from island to island, however. Western Samoan students, for instance, pursue an education that in many ways resembles the system taught in New Zealand, while children in American Samoa receive an education that resembles, in many respects, the curriculum taught on the American mainland. In Western Samoa the best schools are frequently operated by churches. Some of the Catholic schools are particularly prestigious.

Although there is a community college in American Samoa and two university campuses in Western Samoa, many Samoans pursue higher education either in New Zealand or the United States. Many Samoan Americans major in education, law, or other social sciences.

RELIGION

In Samoa religion plays a huge role that remarkably has been ignored by many anthropologists studying Samoan culture. The Samoan culture is a pious one. Most families in Samoa conduct a nightly *lotu* or vespers service in which the family gathers together, reads from the Bible, and offers prayers. Prayers are offered at every meal. Church attendance in Samoa is almost universal; the major denominations on the islands are Anglican, Methodist, Catholic, and Mormon. Ministers of religion occupy a status in Samoa tantamount to that occupied by high chiefs and are granted extraordinary deference.

Religion in the Samoan setting, however, has a unique Polynesian twist. Most Samoan Americans prefer to organize and participate in Samoan-speaking congregations, with some accommodation made for their non-Samoan speaking offspring. Singing in

a Samoan congregation is enthusiastic and beautiful. The Samoan Bible, which was translated directly from Greek, is quoted extensively in most Samoan services. By and large, Samoans are far more familiar with Bible scripture than their Western counterparts.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since American Samoans do not vote in national elections and the region has been administered in a fairly bipartisan manner by the Department of Interior, it is difficult to assess Samoan American political leanings. Hawaii, which has been traditionally a strong bastion for the Democratic party, is home to many Samoans, but many Samoan Americans live in the staunchly Republican areas of Orange County, California, and Utah as well. Given their relatively small numbers, however, it is unlikely that any unified voting behavior on their part would have more than local political significance.

Minimum wage laws are a constant concern to those who live on American Samoa. The islands received a waiver from obeying the minimum wage law due to the havoc that implementation would likely create for the tuna canneries in American Samoa. In 1997 the waiver was replaced by a board which will use industry standards and fairness to set the minimum wage in American Samoa. Union involvement appears to be fairly minimal among Samoan workers.

Western Samoa has a lively political climate, with much jousting and intrigue between the different political parties. There continues to be, in some circles, discussion of a possible unification of the two Samoan regions into a single independent country. Few American Samoans appear to be in favor of this idea. Their resistance to Samoan unification is driven not only by the tremendous economic disparity between American Samoa and Western Samoa, but also because of different cultural trajectories. Thus, while there are significant cultural and linguistic similarities between Western and American Samoa, unification seems unlikely. Instead, many Western Samoans seek to immigrate to American Samoa. Some have even joined the U.S. armed forces.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

The following individuals have made significant contributions to American society. Frank Falaniko,

Jr. (1956–) is a landscape construction engineer and president of Green City, Inc.; Eni Faauua Hunkin Faleomavaega, Jr. (1943–) is a government official; Al Noga (1965–) played professional football with the Minnesota Vikings and the Washington Redskins; and Mavis Rivers (c. 1929-1992) was a jazz vocalist who joined her father's band during World War II and sang with the Red Norvo combo, George Shearing, and Andre Previn.

MEDIA

American Samoa maintains a television station that produces local programming under the direction of the territorial government. Three channels are broadcast throughout American Samoa. These carry American network programming in the evening and locally-produced educational programming in the daytime. Western Samoa has recently begun a television production facility as well.

Both American and Western Samoa operate several radio stations. In Western Samoa 2AP is the national radio station and the major means of communication with individuals in remote villages. Every evening messages reporting deaths, births, conferences, or other family news are aired on 2AP as a way of informing people who have no other ready access to information on developments and events on the islands. Samoan-language radio programs are also broadcast by radio stations in Auckland, Honolulu, and Salt Lake City.

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Online: <http://www.samoanews.com/>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC).

Presents, preserves, and perpetuates the arts, crafts, culture, and lore of Fijian, Hawaiian, Maori, Mar-

quesan, Tahitian, Tongan, Samoan, and other Polynesian peoples.

Address: 55-370 Kamehameha Highway, Laie, Hawaii 96762.

Telephone: (808) 293-3333.

Online: <http://www.polynesia.com/>.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Major libraries on Samoa are the O. F. Nelson Memorial Library in Apia, the Oliveti Library in Pago Pago, the Turnbull Library in Wellington, and the Bernice P. Bishop Library in Honolulu. Major museum collections of Samoan items can be found at the Dominion Museum in Auckland, New Zealand, the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, the Lowie Museum in Berkeley, and the Ethnological Museum in Basel, Switzerland.

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While Saudi Arabia and the United States are linked because of a mutually beneficial relationship over oil, the two countries do not always agree on issues. Significantly, Saudi Arabia and the United States have differed in foreign policy stances regarding Israel and the Middle East.

S SAUDI ARABIAN AMERICANS

by
Sonya Schryer

OVERVIEW

Saudi Arabia measures 899,766 square miles (2,331,000 square kilometers), and comprises four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula. It is roughly one-third the size of the United States. Saudi Arabia is bounded by the Red Sea to the west; Iraq, Jordan, and Kuwait to the north; the Gulf of Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates to the east; Oman to the southeast; and Yemen to the southwest. Saudi Arabia's official language is Arabic and the capital city is Riyadh.

While population figures vary, the United Nations estimated that 20 million people lived in Saudi Arabia in 1998. One quarter of the population were foreign workers, half of them Arab. There was a small contingent of Westerners, many of whom worked in the oil industry and for international businesses.

Saudi Arabia is home to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. These cities have special significance for Muslims the world over. Islam, the national religion of Saudi Arabia, requires that all Muslims able to do so make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetimes. Islam is tightly interwoven into all facets of Saudi life, including government, law, education, dress, marriage, and family. Members of religions other than Islam, including foreign workers, are not permitted to exercise their faith publicly, nor may anyone attempt to convert a Muslim. The Saudi flag, green

with white Arabic script, proclaims the first pillar of Islam: "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger." Below these words is a saber.

HISTORY

From 4000 B.C. through biblical times, trade routes that linked modern India, China, Africa, and the Middle East crossed the Arabian Peninsula. Mecca lay on one of the more prominent routes, providing service to Egyptian caravans. The Arabians themselves were broken up into various clans who traced their lineage to Abraham and his son Ishmael.

The prophet Muhammad (c. 570 A.D.-632 A.D.), himself a merchant in Mecca, founded Islam in 622 A.D. and unified most of the Arabian Peninsula in his lifetime. The momentum of Islam led to the conquering of central Asia, northern Africa, and Spain within one hundred years of the death of Muhammad. In practical terms, the widespread observance of Islam improved business relations among regions because Islamic standards of fair dealing practices were respected, regardless of ethnicity, national origin, or language. While Jews and Christians of conquered lands were tolerated as "People of the Book," they were also taxed more heavily than converts to Islam. During the Middle Ages, Arabia enjoyed a scientific, artistic, intellectual, and cultural preeminence unmatched in Europe until the Renaissance. Arabia's decline in subsequent years led to conquest by the Ottoman Empire and its weak control, which extended from the beginning of the sixteenth into the early twentieth century.

MODERN ERA

Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, more simply known as Ibn Saud, founded the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the of September 23, 1932. King Ibn Saud consolidated his control through military conquests, advantageous marriages, and the support of the Wahhabi Movement, founded by the religious reformer, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792). Wahhab had studied various religious practices and traveled widely before returning to the Najd, a region of central Arabia surrounded by desert on three sides. There he aligned himself with the al-Saud family, who maintained leadership in the Najd.

The Wahhabi Movement was puritanical and fierce in its demand that Muslims live by an exacting interpretation of the Koran, the holy book of Islam, and of the teachings of the prophet Muhammad. Wahhabism required conformity, piety, and

governmental or military enforcement of Islamic law. Among other tenets, Wahhabism decried any action, including the adoration of saints, which competed with the monotheism of Islam. The Wahhab/Saud dynasty shaped the moral and political landscape of sixteenth century Arabia. Its control stretched beyond the geographical boundaries of the Arabian Peninsula, and its influence permanently asserted itself in the Najd.

King Ibn Saud drew his authority by ruling in consult with the ulama (religious scholars), an indispensable aspect of public leadership in Wahhabi philosophy. As his ancestors had done, he fused political leadership with religious ideology. In 1933, oil was discovered in Saudi Arabia, and the Saudi monarchy used this wealth to bring Arabia to the forefront of global economics.

THE FIRST SAUDIS IN AMERICA

The first Saudis in the United States came as ambassadors and staff to the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington, D.C., in the mid-1940s. In 1999, the Information Department of the embassy was unaware of any regular Saudi citizens who had lived in the United States for extended periods before the end of the Second World War.

SAUDI ARABIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Following World War II, young Saudi men began coming to the United States to obtain higher educations. Saudi Arabia's oil wealth allowed the government to sponsor these students financially. As of 1999, they were provided with tuition money, funds for room and board, clothing, medical care, one round trip plane ticket to visit Saudi Arabia each year, and other benefits. Bonuses were given to those studying in scientific or technical fields.

Saudi men were encouraged through economic incentives to marry, and to take their families with them, and therefore reduce feelings of isolation and culture shock. One incentive included tuition money for a man's spouse to study as well. Unmarried Saudi women were required to have a chaperone to travel outside of Saudi Arabia, also as of 1999, although ultimately a woman's family could choose not to chaperone her. According to editor Richard Nyrop, in his book *Saudi Arabia: A Country Study*, "[t]he vast majority [of Saudi students] remained deeply committed to the Saudi values surrounding religion as well as family and social life. The one area where there were measurable changes of opinion was in the attitudes toward women and women's role in society."

When universities in Saudi Arabia began opening in the 1960s, the number of Saudi students abroad decreased. This pleased conservative groups, who were concerned about sending so many young people out of the country, particularly to non-Muslim nations. In 1984, approximately 10,000 Saudis were studying outside of Saudi Arabia. More than half were women. In 1991-92, this figure dropped to 5,000, with half studying at universities in the United States. In 1999, the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington, D.C. estimated that 5,000 Saudis were studying in the United States, and that the majority were male.

The close political and economic relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States led to a number of generous educational grants on behalf of the Saudi government. In April of 1976, Saudi Arabia presented the University of Southern California with an endowment in the amount of one million dollars to establish the King Faisal Chair of Islamic and Arab Studies. At that time, more than 150 Saudi students were matriculating at the University of Southern California.

In 1999, there were 25 Saudi Student Houses, supported by the embassy and the Saudi Cultural Mission, across the United States. In October of 1997, the Saudi Student House at Indiana State University held a "Saudi National Day," which featured traditional food, dancing, a fashion show, displays, slides and videos. At Michigan State University, a Saudi Student House was established in April of 1996 to provide Islamic, educational, social, and athletic services; in 1999 it reported 70 members. Saudi students also congregated at mosques and Islamic centers, many of which received support from the embassy.

Academically, Saudi students were diverse, researching a wide variety of topics at the masters and doctoral levels. In the late 1970s, a majority were studying the social sciences, and subsequent dissertations on the community of Saudi students constitute a substantial body work about their experiences. Examples of researched topics include Abdullah Ahmed Oweidat's Ph.D. dissertation entitled "A Study of Changes in Value Orientation of Arab Students in the United States" (University of Southern California, 1981). He studied Saudi and other Arab students and found that those who had resided in the United States for at least three years demonstrated values similar to those held by Americans, which were significantly different Arab students who had recently arrived to the United States. Another Ph.D. dissertation, by Abdullah Muhammad Alfauzan, researched how Saudi Arabian students in the United States viewed women's participation in the work

force in Saudi Arabia. He found that Saudi students in the United States possessed more liberal viewpoints than their counterparts in Saudi Arabia.

Among many other topics, Saudi students have also written dissertations on agriculture, Arabian art, student teaching in Saudi Arabia, advertising dollars in the media in Saudi Arabia, and the relationship between job characteristics and quality of work life in a Saudi Arabian hospital. Much of their work provided academia in the United States with information that was underutilized or not available to American researchers.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Citizens of Middle Eastern countries have been immigrating to the United States since the late nineteenth century. Middle Eastern Muslims did not begin to immigrate in great numbers, however, until after World War II. Many Arab American organizations, Muslim and Christian, have since established themselves in the United States. They have developed student groups, scholarship networks, newspapers, magazines, television programming, restaurants, cultural centers, and traveling museum exhibits. Saudi Arabians, as well as the Saudi government, have made financial contributions to Muslim organizations. Nevertheless, the relatively small Saudi community, and the low number of Saudis who choose to live permanently in the United States, has limited uniquely Saudi-American cultural developments.

In the 1990 census, only 4,486 U.S. citizens reported that they were of Saudi Arabian descent. Saudi Arabians reported living in 42 of the 50 United States. The greatest number, 517, resided in California. There were five additional states that reported over 200 Saudi Arabians: Colorado, Florida, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia.

There are a variety of reasons why so few Saudi Arabians chose to permanently relocate to the United States. Among these were the wealth of Saudi Arabia, the religious faith and pride of Saudis who found it difficult to maintain an Islamic lifestyle in the United States, and a lack of factors motivating citizens to leave Saudi Arabia. Saudis are also required to obtain an exit visa from their government in order to leave Saudi Arabia, and they must provide a reason to get it. The limited number of marriages between U.S. and Saudi citizens may also have contributed to the low number of Saudi immigrants and Saudi Americans.

Political dissent and dissatisfaction with the restrictions of living in an orthodox Muslim society were among the factors that encouraged migration.

The U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which established preferential treatment for educated immigrants, also encouraged a limited number of Saudis to seek U.S. citizenship. Those Saudi Arabians who did settle permanently in the United States were commonly well educated and lived near cities where they held professional jobs.

Due to the number of Saudi families in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, there were enough children of primary and secondary school age to establish the Islamic Saudi Academy in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1984 (other Muslim children are also permitted to attend). The government of Saudi Arabia funded the academy to provide an academic, religious and Arabic curriculum. It serves 1,150 children in kindergarten through the 12th grade and sits on 100 acres.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

PROVERBS

There are many Saudi Arabian proverbs, both secular and religious. Examples of the secular include: "He who knows not and knows not he knows not is a fool. Shun him;" "He who knows not and knows he knows not is simple. Teach him;" "He who knows and knows not he knows is asleep. Wake him;" "He who knows and knows he knows is wise. Follow him;" "He who loves thinks others are blind; the others think he is crazy;" "Better a thousand enemies outside the house than one inside;" and "He who has health has hope; and he who has hope, has everything."

Proverbs from the prophet Muhammad include: "Riches are not from abundance of worldly goods, but from a contented mind;" "Let go of the things of which you are in doubt for the things in which there is no doubt;" and "God is beautiful and He loves beauty."

Koranic proverbs include: "Whatever good you have is all from God. Whatever evil, all is from yourself" and "God will not change the condition of men until they change what is in themselves."

CUISINE

Traditional Saudi Arabian cuisine is similar to other Middle Eastern foods in that it favors lamb, rice, and a wide variety of vegetables and spices. Because of the Islamic prohibition against pork, it is absent from all Saudi cooking. Both *Gahwah*, a coffee of unroasted beans and cardamom, and tea, are very popular.

In the United States, Saudi women prepare traditional dishes and learn to work with American foods. In 1999, the Information Department of the Saudi embassy was unaware of a single Saudi restaurant in the United States, but reported that many Saudis enjoy the cuisine of other Middle Eastern countries and frequent their restaurants. Sensitive to the desires of Saudi expatriates, Saadeddin Pastry Limited, headquartered in Riyadh, ships Saudi pastries and sweets worldwide for holidays, weddings, and other special occasions.

MUSIC

Saudi music, secular or religious, was not being produced in the United States as of 1999, however, it has become more accessible through various music providers such as Amazon.com on the World Wide Web. Individual import companies, including Caravelle Fine Middle Eastern Imports, also advertise their ability to provide Saudi music in the United States. Increasing interest in Arabic music led to the publication of several books on the topic, including the translation of Habib Hassan Touma's *The Music of the Arabs*.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Saudi clothing for men consists of a *thobe*, a long sleeved, loose-fitting garment that covers the body from neck to ankles. Thobes are sewn of cotton or wool and may be plain white or very colorful with fine embroidery work. A headpiece is also customary, designed to protect against the elements. For special occasions, Saudi men may wear a *bisht*, a gold-edged cloak, over the thobe.

Women's fashions are varied, not confined to traditional Saudi Arabian garb. Jeans and heels are not unheard of. In public, all women are required to wear the *abaya*, a black garment that covers them from head to foot. A variety of veils are worn as well. At the very minimum, they cover a woman's hair and neck, although veils that cover a woman's face entirely are also used, particularly in the holy city of Mecca. The Saudi Arabian police force, named the Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and the Suppression of Vice (often called the religious police), enforce a dress code and may cite or arrest women appearing under-clothed in public.

While in the United States, most male Saudi students adopt Western standards of dress, including fashionable name brands as well as jeans, T-shirts and the like. Many Saudi women do not wear the abaya while in the United States, and some do not wear a head covering at all, although most do.

A family's religious piety influences how a woman will dress after arriving in the United States. In conservative settings such as the mosque, or for celebrations, both men and women are more likely to wear traditional clothing.

DANCES AND SONGS

Khaleegy (meaning "gulf"), a popular Saudi women's dance, is characterized as fast and exciting. It is often performed at women's parties in a special dancing costume known as the *thobe al nasha'ar*, and associated songs speak of the beauty of the dancer, often mentioning her hair. Muhammad Abdou was a popular singer of songs typifying this style in Saudi Arabia in the 1990s. In the United States, the khaleegy came to be included in the repertoires of dancing groups such as the Jawaahir Dance Company of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

HOLIDAYS

The nation of Saudi Arabia recognizes two religious holidays, both of which are celebrated by Muslims the world over. The first is *Eid Al-Fitr*, which marks the end of the month of *Ramadan*, and lasts for seven days. Fasting during the Arabic month of Ramadan is a required practice of all adult Muslims in good health, although menstruating women are excused. Due to fasting, government offices, businesses, and schools in Saudi Arabia operate for fewer hours each day throughout the month. Few Muslims of any nationality in the United States are able to take time away from their jobs during Ramadan. *Eid Al-Fitr* is celebrated at mosques and Islamic centers with special dress, meals, and prayers. Giving *zakat* (alms) at the end of Ramadan is also a religious requirement. Muslims who do not live near mosques often travel to them for holidays. In January of 1999, approximately 14,000 Muslims gathered to celebrate *Eid Al-Fitr* at the Expo Center in Chantilly, Virginia.

The second Islamic religious holiday is called *Eid Al-Adha*. It celebrates the end of the *Haj* and lasts for 10 days. The *Haj* is a pilgrimage to Mecca required of all adult Muslims at least once in their lives, if they are able. Due to the lunar nature of the Arabic calendar, known as the *Hijra* calendar, *Eid Al-Fitr* and *Eid Al-Adha* do not fall on the same days each year in the Western world. September 23rd, the day Saudi Arabia was declared an independent nation, is often recognized as well.

HEALTH ISSUES

Sickle cell disease, most commonly known in the United States to affect Africans and African Americans, affects several other groups, including Saudi Arabians. In 1999, with the assistance of the King Faisal Specialist Hospital and Research Center in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, worldwide collaborative research was being conducted to examine additional risk factors pertaining to Saudis with sickle cell disease.

In 1998, Suzanne Toombs Mallery finished her Ph.D. dissertation entitled "Zar Possession as Psychiatric Diagnosis: Problems and Possibilities" at the Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. Mallery reported that *Zar Possession* was classified in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV of the American Psychiatric Association as a culture-bound phenomenon. She found that this illness primarily afflicted women in North Africa and the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia, and was characterized by somatic and emotional symptoms such as headaches, seizures, chronic pain, infertility, generalized and persistent depression, apathy and crying.

The United States has had a long-term relationship with Saudi Arabia in the areas of medical research and care. In the 1960s through to the 1980s, Saudi Arabia developed and instituted expansive medical coverage for its citizens, built hospitals, and trained physicians. The United States assisted in this process, and as a result, some Saudi doctors were trained in the United States. In 1999, Saudi Arabia presented George Mason University in northern Virginia with a 1.1 million dollar grant to train 12 Saudi nurses for 15 months. Moreover, Saudi Arabia continues, as of 1999, to host and recruit doctors from around the world.

LANGUAGE

Arabic is the national language of Saudi Arabia, but English is commonly used in business transactions, particularly with foreigners. There were ten large newspapers operating in Saudi Arabia in 1992, all privately owned; seven were printed in Arabic and three in English. English is commonly taught in the public schools, and sometimes French is offered in private academies.

The most common greeting in the Arabic language is "*Assalaamu alaikum*," which means "Peace be upon you." This is often combined with kisses to the right and left cheek. "Hello" in Arabic is "*Marhaba*," "How are you?" is "*Keef Halek*," and Good morning is "*Sabah Al Kair*." "*Eid Mubarak*" is spoken to wish someone a happy holiday.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

EDUCATION

In 1970, the literacy rate for Saudi Arabian boys was 15 percent, for girls a mere 2 percent. In the 1970s and 1980s, the public education system in Saudi Arabia experienced massive growth. As a result, by 1990 the literacy rate for boys was 73 percent and 48 percent for girls. In 1998, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, males attended approximately 9.0 years of schooling, and females attended about 8.4 years.

In the 1990s, public education was free, non-compulsory, heavily grounded in religion, and conducted separately for males and females. Initially, there was resistance to educating girls, but it was quickly overcome and secondary school graduation rates for females met and exceeded that of males in the early 1990s. The higher graduation rate for young women came despite their comparatively fewer years of education. Due to the rapid growth in women's education over the past decades, the 1990s saw a high demand for female teachers.

Technical, vocational or university education is available after the completion of secondary school in Saudi Arabia. In the 1990s it was a stated aim of the government to replace the high numbers of foreign workers in the country with Saudi nationals. The sponsorship of Saudi students at institutions of higher education in other countries often involves a number of years of work for the government upon return.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

Saudi Arabia had one of the highest birth rates in the world in 1998. The World Health Organization estimated that the average number of children born to each woman was 5.8, compared to 2.0 for American women. Many Muslims choose to name their children after the prophet Muhammad and his wives and companions, or other Koranic figures. According to tradition, alms are frequently given after the birth of each child as a way of giving thanks. On the seventh day after a child's birth, a celebration similar to an American baby shower is often held at the home of the child's grandmother. Family and friends gather, candles are lit, cheers are made, and often the child is named on this occasion. Subsequent birthdays are usually not celebrated.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women in Saudi Arabia lead lives much more tied to domestic affairs than do American women. By law, women are not allowed to drive, bicycle, or use any form of public transportation without a male escort. They do not venture into public without a male escort, usually a family member. Women are not allowed to travel outside of Saudi Arabia without the express permission of their fathers or their husbands.

In 1997, according to the United Nations Secretariat and International Labor Office, 7 percent of Saudi women over the age of 15 were "economically active," compared with 79 percent of men. Female workers were concentrated in areas where they served other women, such as nursing, teaching, or staffing women's banks and stores. By Islamic law, a woman's money is her own, including any inheritance she may acquire, and the dowry she receives when she marries. Her husband is responsible for her maintenance, regardless of her personal wealth.

Saudi women retain their last name after marriage, but their activities are regulated by their families and by religious law. Men are legally allowed up to four wives, although technically a woman must agree to her husband's subsequent marriages. The discord often caused by such arrangements discourages most men from attempting them.

Per statistics of the World Health Organization in 1998, maternal mortality rates for Saudi women were 130 per 100,000 pregnancies, compared to 12 in the United States. According to other reports in 1997-98, the ratio of women to men in Saudi Arabia was in the lowest 10 percent worldwide, at 81:100. The average age at marriage for Saudi women was 21.7 years, compared to 25.6 years for men. Contraceptive use among married women was reported at 14 percent, and births to married teenagers were reported at 8 percent. As of 1999, women were not allowed to participate in politics in any official way.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Courtship is unknown in Saudi Arabia. Men and women do not "date," and marriage is often arranged by the couple's parents. More liberal parents allow their children greater opportunity to select their spouses.

Islamic marriages, while a very serious matter for all involved, are not a sacrament. Marriage is a contract, and while certain aspects are immutable, both parties contribute to the contract according to their needs and desires. For instance, a woman may

request the right to travel in her marriage contract. Wedding parties are usually separate for the bride and groom, taking place in different locations and even on different nights. Divorce is permissible as a last resort, but the importance placed on marriage and the family keeps the divorce rate low.

Young Saudi men and women living with their families in the United States often experience a greater degree of freedom, boys more so than girls, but adolescents are unlikely to get to know members of the opposite sex. For reasons discussed earlier, Saudi Arabians are unlikely to permanently settle in the United States, and Saudi children, even if born there, expect to return to their parent's homeland.

Saudi men living alone in the United States as students are more likely to return to Saudi Arabia to find a wife than to marry an American woman. In Islam, males are legally permitted to marry any woman "of the Book," meaning Jews and Christians, as well as fellow Muslims, but family preferences for other Arabs often hold sway. Some Saudi men have married American women and returned with them to Saudi Arabia. In 1999, the American Embassy was aware of about 500 American women residing in Saudi Arabia as the wives of Saudi citizens. Often, the geographical and cultural transition is difficult or impossible for a couple to make. When marriages fail, American women have few resources. Boarding a plane, train, or bus, with or without their children, is impossible unless they have their husband's consent. Problems such as these, as well as drastic cultural differences, have limited the number of marriages between Saudis and Americans.

Saudi men living in the United States who do not wish to return to Saudi Arabia to marry do have other options when seeking a spouse. In the 1990s, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), headquartered in Plainfield, Indiana, maintained an electronic database of persons seeking to marry. Through it, Muslims living in the United States and Canada were able to locate potential spouses with whom they could share Islamic values. The restrictions for Saudi women desiring to marry non-Saudis are severe. As of 1999, they were required to get a kingly dispensation to marry anyone not from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, or the United Arab Emirates. In 1999, the American Embassy was aware of four Saudi women married to American men. For these reasons, Saudi men and women living in the United States are unlikely to marry Americans, thereby eliminating one aspect of Americanization: The cross-cultural marriages that have played key roles in helping to establish other ethnic communities in America.

FUNERALS

In Islam, as with most other religions, there exist observances surrounding death and the dead. After death, a body is bathed three times, the last time with scented oil. Men are washed by men and women by women, except in the case of married persons. Prayers are said during the bathing process and the body is wrapped in a white shroud. If a person dies in the morning, they must be buried that same day. If they die in the afternoon, they must be buried by the following morning. No embalming materials are used. The dead are buried five or six feet deep, on their right side, with their head facing Mecca. Coffins are allowed, but more often the person is put to rest only in their shroud. Ornate coffins, tombs, or headstones are prohibited.

Prayers are recited throughout the burial ceremony. Most frequently, God is praised, forgiveness is asked for the person's sins, and a prayer is recited for all Muslims. Forgiveness is not asked for the sins of children, as they are considered blameless. One prayer for the deceased, first recited by the prophet Muhammad and listed in Gardens of the Righteous: *Riyadh as-Salihim* of Imam Nawawi (trans. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan. London: Curzon Press, 1975), is as follows: "Allah, do forgive him and have mercy on him and make him secure and overlook his shortcomings, and bestow upon him an honored place in Paradise, and make his place of entry spacious, and wash him clean with water and snow and ice, and cleanse him of all wrong as Thou dost clean a piece of white cloth of dirt, and bestow upon him a home better than his home and family better than his family and a spouse better than his spouse, and admit him into Paradise, and shield him from the torment of the grave and the torment of the Fire." Muslims in the United States have established graveyards in their communities to observe these rites.

RELIGION

As the birthplace of Islam and the home of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia has reported a 100 percent Muslim population. The vast majority of the population follows *Sunni* Islam as it is practiced in accordance with the Wahhabi Movement. Sunni Muslims follow the teachings of the Koran and the example of the prophet Muhammad (the sunna consists of the personal customs and habits of the prophet Muhammad). *Shi'a* ("sect") Muslims are made up of a distinct group whose roots can be traced back to the time following the death of the prophet Muhammad, when political control of the Islamic community was undecided due to fac-

tionalism among Muhammad's followers. The primary difference between the two groups is that Sunni Muslims recognize a *caliph* (leader), who maintains military and political authority in Muslim societies. Shi'as recognize an imam (religious leader) descended directly from the prophet Muhammad and Ali (the first imam) as a person of military, political, and religious authority, such that he is sinless and pure. There are various sects among the Shi'a Muslims as well. A third, distinct group of Muslims, some Sunni and some Shi'a, are known as *Sufis*. Sufis follow a mystical path to discipline the mind and body through spirituality and asceticism.

Islamic law is known as *shari'a* (*shari'a* literally translates to "the way to the water whole" but also means "the right path"), and it is the official constitution of Saudi Arabia, based in large part on the Koran. The Koran includes many stories present in the Torah and the bible, and is considered by Muslims to be God's direct, undiluted message. It has not changed since it was written down by companions of the prophet Muhammad. All facets of life are governed in the Islamic system, which does not dwell on differences of ethnicity, class, or caste, instead bringing people together through an all-encompassing, monotheistic faith. The teachings of Islam include clear instructions on such varying topics as marriage, family and criminal law, inheritance rights, business, banking, and individual deportment.

Islam has a dual meaning, indicating both submission to God and peace. There are five pillars of Islam, all of which must be practiced by Muslims.

1. Belief in and profession of the *shahada* (testimony): "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His messenger." These are the words on the flag of Saudi Arabia.
2. *Salat* (prayer). Muslims pray five times daily in the direction of Mecca, with each occurrence having its own name and time frame. A ritual washing of the face, nose, mouth, ears, hands and feet is required before the prayer to purify the supplicant. The *salat* is a highly ritualized requirement, unlike Christian prayers that may rely heavily on requests for intercession and personal confessions. A period directly after the *salat*, known as the *dua*, is appropriate for personal prayers.
3. *Zakat* (alms-giving). *Zakat* is required of every adult Muslim to assist the community, including orphans, widows, and the poor. It is not looked at as a gift, rather a person gives *zakat* as their wealth and good fortune were given to them by God.
4. The fast of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. Fasting consists of abstention from food, drink, and sexual activity during the hours between sunrise and sunset. Fasting is required of all adults who are

physically able, except for women who are menstruating. These women must make up missed days during other times in the year. The ill, those nursing or pregnant, and those who are traveling can also make up missed days later in the year. The fast of Ramadan is ended with a large celebration known as *Id al-Fitr* (breaking of the fast).

5. Haj (pilgrimage) is the last pillar of Islam, and it requires that all Muslims who are able make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lives. Haj is made in the month after Ramadan.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

In 1933, huge oil fields were discovered in Saudi Arabia. That same year, Saudi Arabia gave an oil concession to the Standard Oil Company of California. By 1938, when mining began, it was estimated that Saudi Arabia possessed 25 percent of the world's oil supply. King Ibn Saud, and subsequent rulers, were faced with turning an isolated country, almost completely ignored by the Western industrializing nations, into a global economic force. Among other concerns was their desire to obtain the economic benefits of oil production, but not to corrupt Saudi Arabia with Western values.

Saudi Arabia needed an ally who could train their workers to get the oil out of the ground, or it would be forever at the mercy of foreign technicians and the prices they set. King Ibn Saud met with President Theodore Roosevelt aboard the *USS Quincy* in Egypt in 1945. Ultimately, the United States agreed to train Saudi workers, many of whom, in the beginning, had to first be taught to read, and to pay for the oil that resulted from their joint efforts. The enormous influx of money and technical advances lifted Saudi Arabia into the modern twentieth century faster, perhaps, than has happened to any other industrializing society. Worldwide, other businesses are entering into arrangements with Saudi firms.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The authority of the ruling family was challenged several times in the latter half of the twentieth century. One of the more dramatic incidents was the capture by religious fundamentalists of the al-Haram, or Great Mosque, in Mecca in 1979. More than 200 people lost their lives during the two week stand off. Also in 1979, the newly installed Iranian government called for the overthrow of the Saudi monarchy, claiming that they no longer ruled with

Islamic authority. During the Iran-Iraq war, which raged from 1980-1988, the Saudi government supported Iraq financially for fear of Iranian domination in the Middle East.

Saudi Arabia's close political ties with the United States, born of the economic relationship created by oil, led to their support of Operation Desert Shield in 1990-1991. Although disturbed by the presence of non-Muslim and female soldiers on Arab land, the Saudis accepted over 700,000 troops from 37 nations to forge the attack against Iraq. The Persian Gulf War (1991) led to domestic unrest in Saudi Arabia, when reform-minded citizens and human rights organizations sought to relax the rigorous methods and policies of the Saudi government.

While Saudi Arabia and the United States are linked because of a mutually beneficial relationship over oil, the two countries do not always agree on issues. Significantly, Saudi Arabia and the United States have differed in foreign policy stances regarding Israel and the Middle East. This led to the oil embargo of the early 1970s.

MILITARY

Ties between the United States and Saudi Arabia led to their joint efforts during the Persian Gulf War. Differences in foreign policy, though, specifically as they relate to Israel and the Middle East, have limited military cooperation. This did not prevent the enrollment of ten Saudi cadets at the State University of New York's Maritime College at Fort Shuyler in 1999.

MEDIA

PRINT

Saudi Arabia is often referred to in the American media concerning business issues. There is also a variety of publications concerning Arab Americans. But there are not any large publications specific to Saudis in the United States. The Press Release Network of Dubai, United Arab Emirates, provides press release services for U.S. and Middle Eastern firms in the United States to more than 200 jour-

nals and news organizations in the Middle East, including the Saudi Press Agency.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

Saudi Students Radio and TV (SSRT), Colorado State University.

Mission was to provide audience with information about Saudi Arabia and its achievements in all areas; provide broadcasting services that are important to Saudi students at Colorado State university, such as lectures and seminars; and to provide daily news that serves community.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia.

Address: 601 New Hampshire Ave. NW,
Washington, DC 20037.
Telephone: (202) 342-3800.

Islamic Saudi Academy.

Address: 8333 Richmond Highway, Alexandria,
VA 22309.
Telephone: (703) 780-0606.

The Saudi Arabian Cultural Mission to the USA (SACM).

Address: 2600 Virginia Ave. Suite # 800,
Washington, DC 20037.

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SCOTTISH AND SCOTCH-IRISH AMERICANS

by Mary A. Hess

Unlike the Scotch-Irish, who emigrated individually, the Scots emigrated in groups, which reflects their early organization in clans.

OVERVIEW

Scotland occupies roughly the northern one-third of the British Isles; its area is 30,414 square miles (78,772 square kilometers), or about the size of the state of Maine. A fault line separates the country into the northern Highlands and the southern Lowlands, the agricultural and industrial center of the country. In addition, there are several island groups offshore, notably the Hebrides, Shetland, and Orkney Islands. Two-thirds of the nation's population of 5,100,000 live in the Lowlands, most near the country's two largest cities—Edinburgh, the Scottish capital, and Glasgow. The other major cities of Dundee and Aberdeen reflect Scotland's major industries, particularly fishing and shipbuilding, and its strong ties to maritime commerce. The name Scotland derives from a Gaelic word for "wanderer."

Although the Highlands occupy a greater land mass than the Lowlands, they are more sparsely populated. There are also distinct cultural differences between the two. Highlanders, who were organized in family groups called clans, share a mostly Celtic culture and many are still Roman Catholic; whereas the Lowlanders are mostly Presbyterian, and speak Scots, which is an English-based language.

A land of considerable natural beauty, Scotland is surrounded on three sides by water—the Atlantic Ocean to the north and west, and the

North Sea to the east. Deep and narrow inlets known as *firths* penetrate the coastline of Scotland, while inland are distinctive glacial lakes known as lochs, the most famous of which is Loch Ness, the home of the fabled “Nessie,” a prehistoric creature said to live in the deepest part of the lake.

HISTORY

The earliest recorded history concerning the Scots comes from the Romans, who controlled southern Britain in the first century A.D. In 84 A.D., the Romans defeated the tribal armies of Scotland in battle but they were unable to conquer the people. In an attempt to isolate the fierce “barbarians,” the Roman emperor Hadrian built a massive stone wall, the remains of which are still visible traversing northern England just south of the Scottish border. By the 600s, four tribal groups had emerged: the Angles of the Southeast, related to the Germanic tribes settling England at the time; the Britons of the southwest, a Celtic people related to the Welsh; the Picts, also Celtic, who dominated the Highlands; and the Scots, a Celtic group that settled the western islands and coast from nearby Ireland. Christianity, brought by missionaries such as St. Ninian and St. Columba, spread slowly among the tribes beginning in about 400.

Following the Viking invasions of the 800s and 900s, the four tribes gradually united under Scottish kings such as Kenneth MacAlpin, who brought the Scots and Picts together in 843 and is often called the first king of Scotland. His descendants succeeded in gaining limited control over rival kings and the feuding clans (groups of families related by blood). One king who briefly unseated the dynasty was Macbeth of Moray, who killed Duncan, a descendant of MacAlpin, in 1040. Eventually, the Scots gave their name to the land and all its people, but the kings often ruled in name only, especially in the remote Highlands where local clan leaders retained their independence.

In 1066 Norman invaders from France gained control of England. Powerful new English rulers such as the thirteenth century’s Edward I, who was called “the Hammer of the Scots,” gained influence over the Scottish kings and helped shape culture in the Lowlands. Still the Scots resisted English dominance, often allying with England’s enemy, France. One brief period of glory came when Robert Bruce, a noble, gained the Scottish crown and wiped out an English army at Bannockburn in 1314. Bruce’s daughter married Walter the Steward (steward was a high office of the royal administration). This led to *Stewart*, later spelled *Stuart*, becoming the name of Scotland’s royal house.

The English and Scottish royal houses had become closely connected through marriage. On Elizabeth’s death in 1603, Mary’s son James IV, already king of Scotland, ascended the throne of England. The Catholic Stuart monarchs faced trouble in both England and Scotland as the religious disputes between Catholics and Protestants wreaked the land. His coronation as James I of England settled Scotland’s fate, for it was during his reign that the Plantation in Ulster relocated Lowland Scots in an attempt to reconstruct Ireland as a Protestant country. James’s son, Charles I, was executed in 1649 by Oliver Cromwell’s Protestant regime; after the Stuarts’ restoration to the throne, James II was replaced by his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange in 1688. While rebellions continued in Scotland, the union of crowns marked the beginning of an increasing bond between Scotland and her more powerful neighbor. The Treaty of Union (1707) formalized the political connection by incorporating Scotland’s government into that of England. This created the United Kingdom and laid the foundation for the British Empire—to which the Scots would contribute greatly in coming centuries.

Political turmoil continued in Scotland during the 1700s with rebellions led by James Stuart (son of James II), who was backed by France and Spain—England’s Catholic enemies. The most important of these “Jacobite” (from *Jacobus*, Latin for James) campaigns occurred in 1715 and in 1745, when James’ son Charles also surprised Britain by invading from Scotland. These failed attempts engendered a vast body of romantic legend, though, particularly around the figure of Charles, called “Bonnie Prince Charlie” or the “Young Pretender” (claimant to the throne). The Jacobites found more support among the fiercely independent Highlanders, who had remained largely Catholic, than among the stern Protestant Lowlanders. The Scots retained their distinctive character, however, even as they contributed to Britain’s prosperity and worldwide power.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH

The Scotch-Irish trace their ancestry to Scotland, but through Northern Ireland, which also belongs to the British Empire. Northern Ireland, which is composed of six counties—Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Down, Monaghan, and Tyrone, occupies an area of 5,452 square miles (14,121 square kilometers), or a territory somewhat larger than the state of Connecticut. Its capital and largest city is Belfast, where approximately one-fifth of the country’s population of 1,594,000 resides.

The Scotch-Irish descend from 200,000 Scottish Lowland Presbyterians who were encouraged by the English government to migrate to Ulster in the seventeenth century. Trying to strengthen its control of Ireland, England tried to establish a Protestant population in Ulster. Surrounded by native hostility, though, the group maintained its cultural distinction. The same economic pressures, including steadily increasing rents on their land, frequent crop failures, and the collapse of the linen trade, coupled with the belief in greater opportunity abroad, caused many Scotch-Irish to leave for the American colonies during the eighteenth century. It is estimated that nearly two million descendants of the Scotch-Irish eventually migrated to the American colonies.

IMMIGRATION

From 1763 to 1775, 55,000 Scotch-Irish from Ulster and 40,000 Scots arrived in America. Since Scotland was able to pursue its own colonies in the New World, several small colonies were established in the early seventeenth century in East Jersey and South Carolina. These colonies were primarily for Quakers and Presbyterians who were experiencing religious persecution by the then Episcopalian Church of Scotland. Although some Scots were transported to America as prisoners or criminals and were forced into labor as punishment, many voluntarily settled in America as traders or tobacco workers in Virginia. However, the political persecution of the Jacobite sympathizers, combined with economic hard times, forced many Scots to emigrate. Unlike the Scotch-Irish, who emigrated individually, the Scots emigrated in groups, which reflects their early organization in clans. They became a significant presence in the New World, settling in the original colonies with a particularly strong presence in the Southeast.

Many Scotch-Irish joined the mass migrations to the New World brought on by the Potato Famine of the 1840s. Substantial numbers of Scots also immigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century to work in industry. Throughout the twentieth century, immigration would rise when economic conditions in Scotland worsened; this was especially true during the 1920s when an economic depression hit Scotland particularly hard. Because British law then prohibited skilled workers to leave the country, many Scotch-Irish laborers found their way to the United States through Canada.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Because of profound doctrinal differences with New England's Congregationalism, the Scotch-Irish Pres-

byterians opted for the religious freedom of William Penn's colony; and the earliest settlements there were near Philadelphia in the 1720s. They reached as far west as Pittsburgh before finding greater opportunities in the southern colonies. The Scotch-Irish and Scots alike were strongly represented in the push westward, though, and their participation in military campaigns was significant. Darien, Georgia, was founded by Highland Scots in service to General James Oglethorpe, and their assistance was invaluable in protecting the British colonies of the Southeast from the Spanish in Florida. These Highland Scots strongly protested against the institution of slavery in the colony, setting a precedent for strong anti-slavery sentiment that stood against the Scotch-Irish planters and English colonists who were eager for slavery to help build the colony and amass fortunes.

“People who had come to this country in the earlier years had told me, you'll be sorry when you get to Ellis Island. But I wasn't really sorry, I was just maybe upset a little bit. What upset me the most was having to go through so many people's hands and take such a long time.”

Mary Dunn in 1923, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

Today the descendants of the Scotch-Irish number over six million, with about five million identifying themselves as descended from Scottish ancestry. In the 1990 U.S. Census “Scotch-Irish” was the eleventh most populous ethnic group, followed by “Scottish.” The states reporting the highest concentration of Scotch-Irish are California, Texas, North Carolina, Florida, and Pennsylvania. Those claiming Scottish descent are also most populous in California, then Florida, Texas, New York, and Michigan. The issue of descent is somewhat confused since not all historians and social scientists count Scotch-Irish as a culturally distinct group. For the purposes of the 1990 census, “Scotch-Irish” was included as a classification that was a single, rather than a multiple, response to the question of national origin. Also, a significant number of African Americans and Native Americans claim Scotch-Irish ancestry.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Scots people were among the first European settlers, and along with the other colonists from the British Isles, helped create what has been recog-

This girl is performing a Scottish sword dance.



nized as the dominant culture in America, namely, white and Protestant. By working hard and seizing the opportunities of a rapidly growing country, many Scottish immigrants were able to move up rapidly in American society. Unaffected by barriers of race, language, or religion, they earned a reputation for hard work and thrift that was greatly

admired in the young republic. Perhaps the most notable among this group is one of America's most successful immigrants—the industrialist Andrew Carnegie. After arriving in America at the age of 13, he worked first in a cotton mill, then as a superintendent for the Pennsylvania Railroad. By shrewd investments, he parlayed his Carnegie Steel Com-



David Barron
throws a 28 pound
weight for distance
during the 25th
annual Quechee
Scottish Festival in
Vermont.

pany into a huge fortune. In his famous essay, “The Gospel of Wealth,” he described his rationale for philanthropy—Carnegie donated hundreds of millions of dollars to build public libraries, endow universities, and fund scholarships. His most famous gift is one of New York’s most beautiful public buildings, Carnegie Hall, which has hosted the world’s most distinguished performers in the lively arts. Carnegie believed that wealth acquired by hard work should be shared with society, but on his terms; for example, Carnegie was bitterly opposed to unionization in his steel plants and was behind the murder of strikers in the Homestead Strike at his plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1892.

Scots are relatively unscathed by any ethnic stereotyping; however, the phrase, “cold as Presbyterian charity” reflects the long standing belief that Scots are dour and stingy. This seems to be lessening, although brand names such as “Scotch Tape” reinforce the idea that to be Scottish is to be thrifty. There is also the persistence of the “hillbilly” legend, which portrays Appalachian residents as ill-clad, unshod bumpkins fond of brewing “moonshine” (bootleg whiskey). This image became

widespread with the “Lil’ Abner” comic strip drawn by Al Capp beginning in 1932; the strip reached 60 million readers and became first a Broadway musical and then a film in 1959. In the 1960s, a CBS television series, “The Beverly Hillbillies” and its spin-offs “Petticoat Junction” and “Green Acres” furthered the image of rural people as simpletons. The dignity of most rural Southern life has emerged, however, with the publication of the “Foxfire” books in the 1970s, and the efforts of folklorists to preserve and document a vanishing way of life. Appalshop, a rural arts and education center in Whitesburg, Kentucky, exemplifies the effort to preserve the Scottish and Scotch-Irish heritage of Appalachia on film and also recorded music.

The figure most associated with the best aspects of this tradition is the pioneer Daniel Boone (1734-1820), whose life has been celebrated in song and story, as well as movies and television. Daniel Boone was a trailblazer and patriot who continues to capture the imaginations of Americans. Other famous Scots who immigrated to America were Flora MacDonald, the woman who saved the life of “Bonnie Prince Charlie” by hiding him from his

pursuers. Imprisoned by the English until she became too troublesome as a symbol of Jacobite sentiment, she was pardoned and immigrated to North Carolina. John Muir, Scottish-born naturalist (1838-1914), was reared as a strict Calvinist, and reacted to a near loss of his eyesight in an accident by a spiritual quest for the natural world. He began a walk on foot across the continent, and fiercely advocated the preservation of the wilderness; he influenced President Theodore Roosevelt to become a conservationist. The national parks are a tribute to his foresight and love of America's natural beauty.

There is a cliché about “the wandering Scot” which contains an essential truth—that Scottish people have both a wanderlust and a strong affection for Scotland. This attachment can be seen today in the celebration by Americans of their Scottish and Scotch-Irish roots, which often means both a consciousness of ethnicity as well as taking a journey to discover their ancestral heritage. Many genealogical firms in Great Britain and Ireland specialize in helping these Americans trace their ancestry. A family crest, a tartan tie, or an interest in traditional customs is a demonstration of pride in their ethnic identity.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Scottish and Scotch-Irish customs include the *shivaree* (an elaborate courting ritual that involves the serenading of the bride outside her window) and square dancing. The square dance began with reels and other dances enjoyed by the nobility and was transformed to the present popularity of line dancing—steps done to music often featuring the most Scotch-Irish of instruments, the fiddle. Today's “Texas Two-Step” and “Boot-scooting” evolved from ancient ritual dances.

Scots enjoy large “gatherings of the clan,” which celebrate their heritage and offer opportunities to meet others who share membership in the clan. Most states with a large Scottish and Scotch-Irish population (such as New York and Michigan) have “Highland Games,” which feature sports such as “tossing the caber,” in which men compete to toss a heavy pole the farthest distance. Bagpipe music is a very important part of this celebration, as it is at any celebration of clan identity. North Carolina, which has one of the largest concentrations of people of Scottish descent, hosts the biggest gathering at Grandfather Mountain each July. Campbells mingle with MacGregors and Andersons, while enjoying Scotch whisky and traditional cuisine.

CUISINE

Main Scottish staples are oatmeal, barley, and potatoes. Oatmeal is made into a porridge, a thick, hot breakfast cereal traditionally seasoned with salt. Barley is used primarily in the distillation of Scotch whiskey, now a major source of export revenue. Potatoes (“tatties”) are most often eaten mashed. There is also the traditional *haggis* (a pudding made from the heart, liver, and other organs of a sheep, chopped with onions and oatmeal and then stuffed into a sheep's stomach and boiled). This unique meal, served with tatties and “a wee dram” (small portion of whiskey), has taken its place with the tartan and the bagpipes as a national symbol. Scots also enjoy rich vegetable soups, seafood in many forms, beef, oatcakes (a tasty biscuit), and shortbread (a rich, cookie-like confection).

TRADITIONAL DRESS

The famous Scottish kilt, a knee-length skirt of a tartan pattern, was created by an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, who lived in the 1700s. The older kilts were rectangles of cloth, hanging over the legs, gathered at the waist, and wrapped in folds around the upper body. The blanket-like garment served as a bed-roll for a night spent outdoors. Aside from the kilt, fancy “highland” dress includes a *sporran* (leather purse on a belt), stockings, brogues (shoes), dress jacket, and a number of decorative accessories. The plaid is a length of tartan cloth draped over the shoulder and does not properly refer to the pattern, which is the tartan. Women's fancy dress is simpler, though elegant, consisting of a white cotton blouse, perhaps with embroidered patterns, and a silk tartan skirt. Her version of the plaid, a tartan also in silk, is hung over the shoulder and pinned in place with a brooch. This finery, like the tartans, is mostly an invention of the modern age but has become traditional and it is taken quite seriously. The tartan shows up elsewhere, commonly worn on ties, caps, and skirts—even on cars and in the costumes of young “punk rockers” in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

MUSIC

There is considerable Scottish influence in the field of country and folk music, directly traceable to the Scots ballad—a traditional form in which a story (usually tragic) is related to the listener in song. The ballad (e.g. “Barbara Allen”) originated as an oral tradition, and was brought to the southeastern United States by immigrants who preserved the form while adapting melody and lyrics to suit their purpose. Instruments, especially the fiddle and harp,



Bagpipe music is a very important part of “Highland Games” type celebrations, as it is at any celebration of clan identity.

have been transformed into unique sounding relations such as the hammered dulcimer, pedal steel guitar, and electric mandolins, and are the staples of today’s country music, particularly bluegrass, which emphasizes the heritage of country music in its traditional origins in Scotland and Ireland.

HOLIDAYS

Most Scottish holidays are those celebrated throughout Great Britain; however, two holidays are unique to Scotland: Scottish Quarter Day, celebrated 40 days after Christmas, and the commemoration of St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland, on November 30. A sentimental holiday is the birthday of poet Robert (“Robbie”) Burns, born January 25, 1759, who is perhaps best known to Americans for the perennial New Year’s anthem, “Auld Lang Syne.” The Scotch-Irish also celebrate July 12, the anniversary of William of Orange’s victory over the Catholics at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, with parades.

HEALTH ISSUES

Health concerns are primarily determined by economic factors, and especially by location. Having found, for the most part, economic security due to generations of residence and the economic advantage of an early arrival in America, many Scots and Scotch-Irish are insured through their employers, are self-employed, or have union benefits. The great exception is in Appalachia, where poverty persists despite the initiatives of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson’s “War on Poverty” in the 1960s.

The dominant industry of the area, coal mining, has left a considerable mark on the health of Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans. Black lung, a congestive disease of the lungs caused by the inhalation of coal dust, disables and kills miners at a high rate. This and chronic malnutrition, high infant mortality, and low birth weight remain the scourge of mountain people. West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee still have pockets of poverty as a result of high unemployment and isolation. The pattern of early marriage and large families is still typical, as is a significant problem with domestic violence.

LANGUAGE

The Scotch-Irish are unlikely to share speech patterns and the characteristic burr (a distinctive trilled “r”) with the Scots. However, linguists who have studied Appalachian accents have found continuity in usage and idiom that can be shown to originate in Scottish phrases. Occasionally remnants of the Scottish idiom survive in words such as “dinna” which means “don’t,” as in “I dinna ken” (I don’t know), but this is increasingly rare as even isolated mountain hollows in the South are penetrated by mass media and its homogenizing influence.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Traditional family structure, especially in the Highlands, centered around the clan. There are about 90

original clans. Many of the clan names are prefixed by “Mac,” meaning “son of.” The clans have loosely defined territories, and prolonged wars, often spanning generations, were once common between clans. The most famous feud was that between the Campbells (who supported the English) and the MacDonalds (Jacobites). Even today there are MacDonalds who will not speak to Campbells and vice-versa. Large clans enrolled smaller ones as allies, and the alliances also became traditional. The adjective “clannish,” derived from the Gaelic *clann* (descent from a common ancestor) perfectly describes the sentimental attachment that Scottish Americans feel concerning extended family and heritage. The origin of this term is the tendency of Scots to migrate with their clan and settle in the same location. This tendency was so pronounced that in parts of Kentucky and Tennessee, relatives adopted the use of their middle name as a surname since all their kin shared a common last name. One of the most infamous examples in America of the Scottish tendency to clannishness is the Hatfield and McCoy feud of the 1880s in the Tug River Valley along the West Virginia and Kentucky border. The murderous vendetta lasted years and involved disputes over a razorback hog, a romance between a Hatfield son and a McCoy daughter, and various other affronts to family dignity. After nationwide publicity, the feud was finally ended in 1897 after the execution of one of the Hatfields and the jailing of several other participants. However, the phrase, “feuding like the Hatfields and McCoy’s” is still a part of the American vocabulary.

Gatherings were purposeful and practical in frontier America, as in the “quilting bee,” which allowed women to enjoy each others’ company while creating a patchwork quilt—the essence of thrift. Various small pieces of fabric were sewn together in patterns to create a beautiful and utilitarian bed covering. Today many of these quilts are treasured by the descendants of the women who made them. Quilting is a popular craft that has enjoyed an ever-widening appreciation both as a hobby and folk art; quilts are often displayed in museums, and one of the best collections can be seen in Paducah, Kentucky, home of the American Quilting Society. Another traditional community activity is that of the barn raising and the subsequent dance—a tribute to the pioneer spirit that built America. Neighbors cooperated to erect barns and celebrated their hard work with fiddle music and a square dance late into the night. These gatherings helped shape community in rural areas such as the Midwest and the West.

RELIGION

The traditional dividing line between the Scotch-Irish and the Irish has been religion. While Irish immigrants have been primarily Catholics, the Scotch-Irish are followers of John Knox and John Calvin. The belief in predestination of the soul had a powerful effect on the shaping of the Scots’ psyche. The original plantation of Scots in Ulster, which was motivated by economic hard times as much as by politics, was an attempt by England to subdue the native Catholic population. England thereby politicized religion when it initiated the discord between the two groups, a discord that still plays itself out in Northern Ireland. When the Potato Famine of the 1840s caused the Scotch-Irish to migrate to the New World, they brought their faith with them, retaining a tradition that stood them in good stead in the largely Protestant country. Although in Scotland the Church of Scotland was an austere entity, not given to large churches or displays of wealth, it gradually gave way to grand affirmations of material success in America. Today the Presbyterian church still plays a significant role in American religious life. The stirring hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers” (1864) exemplifies the Scottish heritage reflected in today’s church: “Onward Christian soldiers / Marching as to war / With the Cross of Jesus / Going on before!” Written first as a children’s hymn, it became a favorite in Protestant churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Scots and Scotch-Irish have been drawn to the land as farmers and herders just as in their home country. Highland Scots, in particular, were attracted to mountain areas that resembled their homeland, and replicated their lives as herders and small scale farmers wherever possible. Others were drawn to work in heavy industry, such as the steel mills and coal mines. The nation’s railroads provided employment for many, and in the case of Andrew Carnegie, provided a step up in his career as a capitalist. Many sought higher education and entered the professions at all levels, particularly as physicians and lawyers. For others, isolated in Appalachia or the rural South, hard times during the Great Depression brought scores of Scotch-Irish to the factories of Detroit and Chicago, where they labored in the auto plants and stockyards. Poverty returned for many of these people as plants shut down and downscaled in the 1960s, creating so-called “hillbilly ghettos” in major Northern industrial cities. Generations of poverty have created an underclass

of displaced Southerners which persists as a social problem today. Author Harriette Arnow, born in 1908, wrote movingly of the plight of these economic migrants in her novel *The Dollmaker* (1954). Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans have, of course, assimilated to a high degree and have benefited much from the opportunities that class mobility and a strong work ethic have brought them.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Not until the 1970s would Scottish nationalism be a significant force in British politics; nonetheless, in 1979, Scottish voters rejected limited home rule in a referendum. There is a significant presence of Scottish nationalists today despite the historic, economic and cultural ties to Britain.

Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans have been involved with U.S. government from the founding of the Republic. As landholders and farmers, they were very much the people Thomas Jefferson had in mind as participants in his agrarian democracy. From legislators to presidents, including President Bill Clinton, the passion of Scottish people for government has been felt in America. Presidents who shared this heritage include Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885), Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), and Ronald Wilson Reagan (1911–).

MILITARY

Both Scots and the Scotch-Irish were a significant presence in the American Revolution and the Civil War. The divided union was embodied by Generals “Stonewall” Jackson and Jeb Stuart for the Gray and George B. McClellan for the Blue. Many Scots had settled on the frontier and moved westward seeking land and opportunity, and pressed forward to the West, particularly Texas, Oklahoma, and the Gulf Coast. Texas in particular was a land of opportunity for the land-hungry Scots—Sam Houston and his fellows were among the intrepid settlers of that diverse state. They fought the Comanches and settled the Plains, creating a legend of Texan grit and determination not unlike the reputation of their Scottish forebears. The Alamo in San Antonio is a symbol of the tenacity of the Scotch-Irish who were prominent among the defenders of the Texas Republic.

Highland Scots and their descendants (who typically settled in the mountains) were active in the anti-slavery movement, while it was more common for the Lowland Scots and the Scotch-Irish to

be proslavery. This created a major rift in the mid-South and the lowland areas, which clung to slavery while the highlands in large part chose the Union during the Civil War. Scots and Scotch-Irish have figured prominently in all the major political parties in American history, and were perhaps most identified as a group with the Populist movement which reached its peak in the 1890s and united farmers for a short time against perceived economic injustice. The South and Midwest were the stronghold of the populists, led by men like Tom Watson and Ignatius Donnelly. Scots and Scots-Irish were also a major force in the union movement, exemplified by the agitation for workers rights in the textile mills of the Southeast and the mines of West Virginia and Kentucky, marked by serious outbreaks of violence and strikes. “Which side are you on?” was a question often heard in these conflicts. Filmmaker Barbara Kopple documented this long and bloody struggle in her prize-winning film, *Harlan County, USA* (1977).

Since the breakup of the so-called Democratic “Solid South”, it is difficult to predict how Scottish and Scotch-Americans vote. In addition, because of assimilation, it would be unlikely that there would be a “Scots vote” or “Scotch-Irish vote.”

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

DANCE

Isadora Duncan (1878-1927) was a major innovator in modern dance, creating a unique expression based on Greek classicism and a belief in liberating the body from the constrictive costumes and especially footwear of classical ballet; her flowing draperies and bare feet made her the sensation of her day; her colorful life story is chronicled in her autobiography, *My Life* (1926).

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

The influence of Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans in the performing arts stretches from Oscar-winning directors like Leo McCarey (1898-1969), whose films *Going My Way* (1944) and *The Bells of St. Mary's* (1945) are considered classics in Hollywood sentimentality, to the remarkable Huston family whose careers span much of the history of the motion picture in America. Walter (1884-1950), his son John (1906-1987), and John's daughter Angelica (1951–) have all won Academy Awards. Walter Huston was a memorable character actor, perhaps best remembered for one of his son John's best films as a director, *The Treasure of the Sierra*

Madre (1948); granddaughter Angelica was directed by her father in three films, notably *Prizzi's Honor* (1985) for which she won as best supporting actress. John Huston's last film, *The Dead*, a 1987 adaptation of James Joyce's story, also starred Angelica and was scripted by her brother Danny. James Stewart (1908–), one of Hollywood's most famous and beloved citizens, is well known for classics such as *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), *It's a Wonderful Life* (1947), and *Rear Window* (1954). One of his leading ladies (in *The Philadelphia Story*, 1940) is Katharine Hepburn, (1907 –) a strong-willed and talented actress who portrayed the doomed Mary, Queen of Scots in *Mary of Scotland* (1936). Hepburn, daughter of a prominent Connecticut physician and his wife, a suffragist and birth control activist, has enjoyed a long and honored career on stage and screen; she won three Academy Awards and was nominated for eight. Another remarkable career was that of Fred MacMurray, an actor known for films such as *Double Indemnity* (1944)—a tense *film noir*—and *The Apartment* (1960), was also known as a comic actor. He made a successful transition to Walt Disney films such as *The Absent Minded Professor* (1961) and became a television icon in the 1960s as the widowed father in the popular sitcom “My Three Sons.” Two singers, Gordon MacRae (1921–) and John Raitt (1917–), enjoyed Broadway success that transferred to Hollywood musicals; both are known for their portrayal of Curley in *Oklahoma!* (which depicts customs such as the *shivaree* and the barn dance).

LITERATURE

Writers who have enriched American literature include: Robert Burns (1759-1796), the beloved Scots poet; Sherwood Anderson (1876-1941), author of the pathbreaking novel, *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919); North Carolinian Thomas Wolfe (1900-1938), whose novel, *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929) has been called “the great American novel.” Carson McCullers (1917-1967), author of *Member of the Wedding* (1946) and *Reflections in A Golden Eye* (1941), is one of the South's most important novelists. Ellen Glasgow's (1873-1945) best novel, *Vein of Iron* (1935), concerns the fortunes of Ada Fincastle, the daughter of a hardy Scotch-Irish family of Virginia in the early part of the twentieth century. Larry McMurtry, whose novels *The Last Picture Show* and *Lonesome Dove* have enjoyed tremendous success after filmed versions have captured fans for the prolific writer's view of his home state and its rich history.

MUSIC

Michael Nesmith (1943–), son of Bette Nesmith Graham, became famous as a songwriter and performer with the 1960s rock group, the Monkees. Bonnie Raitt (1950–), daughter of John Raitt, is a popular Grammy-winning singer and a noted interpreter of the blues.

SCIENCE

Cyrus McCormick (1809-1884), an immigrant from Ulster, invented the reaper. Samuel Morse (1791-1872), who revolutionized communications with the telegraph and Morse Code, was also an accomplished portrait painter and a founder of Vassar College in 1861; in 1844, he sent the famous message “What hath God wrought?” from Washington to Baltimore, and between 1857 and 1858 he collaborated with entrepreneur Cyrus Field (1819-1892) in laying the first transatlantic cable. Field later established the Wabash Railroad with financier Jay Gould. A particularly enterprising Scotch-Irish woman, Bette Nesmith Graham (1924-1980), born in Dallas, Texas, died with a net worth over \$47.5 million; a poor typist, she devised a product that would cover mistakes and in so doing created “Liquid Paper”—a correction fluid. Claire McCardell (1905-1958) revolutionized fashion design and dance with the invention of the stretch leotard; a pioneer in women's ready-to-wear clothing, she also created the affordable and practical “popover,” a wrap-around denim housedress, and the “Moroccan” tent dress.

VISUAL ARTS

Scottish and Scotch-Irish craftsmen and artists are similarly prominent. Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), perhaps America's best-known portrait artist, was of Scottish heritage (his paintings of George Washington provide the definitive image of the “father of his country” for many Americans), as was Scots-born portrait artist John Smibert (1688-1751), and sculptor Frederick MacMonnies (1863-1937), whose graceful public sculptures adorn the New York Public Library, among many other locations (his Columbian fountain at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was one of the most celebrated artistic achievements of that fair). Another is Duncan Phyfe, craftsman (1768-1854), whose name is well-known to generations of Americans who cherish the tables, chairs, and cabinets he created, as well as inspiring imitators of his work—the apex of the Federalist style.

MEDIA

PRINT

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Highlander.

A magazine of Scottish heritage.

Contact: Angus J. Ray, Editor.

Address: 560 Green Bay Road, Winnetka Illinois 60093.

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Scotia.

An interdisciplinary journal of Scottish studies.

Contact: William S. Rodner.

Address: Old Dominion University, Department of History, Arts and Letters Building, Norfolk, Virginia 23529.

Telephone: (804) 683-3933.

Fax: (804) 683-3241.

Scottish Banner.

Covers Scots in North America and Scotland. Intended for Scottish expatriates and descendants.

Address: P.O. Box 3065, Seminole, Florida 33775.

Telephone: (800) 729-8951; or (727) 394-0924.

Fax: (727) 394-1294.

E-mail: scotbanner@aol.com.

Online: <http://www.scotbanner.com>.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

TNN (The Nashville Network).

The Nashville Network is a 24-hour cable country music channel. Programming is primarily geared toward performance; programming includes recorded videos and talk shows, with a strong regional emphasis toward the South and West. "The Grand Ole Opry," a radio/television simulcast of the weekly performances of leading country music performers from Nashville's Ryman Auditorium, airs each Saturday evening at 8:00 p.m. on TNN and on a syndicated network of radio stations as well. Begun in 1925, it is the nation's oldest radio program.

WFAE.

"The Thistle and The Shamrock," a weekly Celtic music and cultural appreciation program, featuring thematically grouped presentations on Scottish, Irish and Breton music. Carried nationally on National Public Radio.

Contact: Fiona Ritchie.

Address: 1 University Place, Charlotte, North Carolina 28213.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Scottish Foundation.

An organization that promotes Scottish heritage through Scotland House, a cultural center in New York City, and a newsletter, *Calling All Scots*.

Contact: Alan L. Bain, President.

Address: 545 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 605-0338.

Fax: (212) 308-9834.

Online: <http://www.americascottfoundation.com>.

Association of Scottish Games and Festivals.

Provides information for its members on Highland Games held in the United States; compiles statistics and maintains a computer database.

Contact: Robert McGregor, President.

Address: 47 East Germantown Pike, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania 19462.

Telephone: (215) 825-7268.

Fax: (215) 825-8745.

E-mail: ligdir@aol.com.

Council of Scottish Clans and Associations.

Provides information on clan organizations for interested individuals or groups and maintains files of clan newsletters, books, etc. Meets each July at Grandfather Mountain.

Contact: Robert McWilliam, President.

Address: Route 1, Box 15A, Lovettsville, Virginia 22080-9703.

Telephone: (703) 822-5292.

Online: <http://www.tartans.com/cosca/index.htm>.

Scotch-Irish Foundation.

Members are of Scotch-Irish descent; the foundation compiles records and bibliographic materials on the Scotch-Irish. Affiliated with the Scotch-Irish Society of the United States on America.

Address: 201 Main Street, New Holland, Pennsylvania 17557.

Telephone: (717) 354-4961.

Fax: (717) 355-2227.

Scotch-Irish Society of the United States of America.

An organization of persons of Scotch-Irish heritage; sponsors the work of the Scotch-Irish Foundation.

Contact: Ian Stuart, Esquire.

Address: Box 181, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

There are significant collections on Scotch-Irish and Scottish heritage to be found in university collections; notable ones include the Robert Louis Stevenson Collection at Yale University, the Robert Burns Collection at the University of South Carolina at Columbia, and a new archive of Scottish materials to be housed in Durham, North Carolina, under the sponsorship of North Carolina Central University. There is an important genealog-

ical collection housed at the Ellen Paine Odum Library in Moultrie, Georgia.

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SERBIAN AMERICANS

by
Bosiljka Stevanović

OVERVIEW

Located in the southeast portion of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia, which occupies 34,116 square miles, is the largest of the former Yugoslavia's six republics. Included in its territory are the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Serbia is bordered by Hungary to the north, Romania and Bulgaria to the east, Macedonia and Albania to the south, Bosnia-Herzegovina to the west, and Croatia to the northwest. Serbia's population of 11.2 million consists of 64 percent Serbs, 14 percent Albanians (mostly in the Kosovo region), 6 percent Montenegrins, and 4 percent Hungarians. Other groups include Germans, Gypsies, Romanians, Slovenians, and Turks. About 65 percent of the population belongs to the Eastern Orthodox church, 19 percent are Muslim, and 5 percent are Christian. The country's flag consists of three equal horizontal stripes: blue, white, and red (from top to bottom). The capital city is Belgrade. The official language is Serbian.

HISTORY

The Serbs settled in the Balkans in the seventh century during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610-41 A.D.). The Serbs are Slavs, whose prehistoric home had been in the general area of today's Byelorussia and Ukraine. In the sixth century A.D. the Slavs began to leave their land, dispers-

Even though Serbian immigrants tended to live in closely knit, homogeneous colonies, they were never so totally isolated as to prevent any penetration of American influence, and that interaction inevitably led to changes in many aspects of their lives.

ing themselves to the north, east, west, and south. The Serbs went south, and became known as the South Slavs, or Yugoslavs.

The earliest and the most powerful principalities, or states, were Zeta (located in modern-day Montenegro) and Raska (located in present-day Kosovo). The earliest significant rulers of Zeta were Mutimir (829-917), during whose reign the Serbs accepted Christianity; Cheslav (927-960), an enlightened ruler who created a strong state; and Voislav (1034-1042), who was successful in asserting Zeta's statehood from Byzantium. His son Michael followed (1050-1082), and during his reign the church broke into two: the Western church, or the Roman Catholic church, and the Eastern Orthodox church, headed by a Patriarch and with Constantinople as its papal seat.

In time, Zeta weakened and Raska achieved great political and military power. The ascension to the throne of Raska by the Grand Zupan Stefan Nemanja (1114-1200) marks one of the most important events in Serbian history. Founding the Nemanjić Dynasty, which was to rule for the next 200 years, he ushered in the Golden Age of Serbian medieval history. An able politician and statesman, Stefan Nemanja ruled from 1168 to 1196, consolidating his political power within the state, undertaking Serbia's territorial expansion, and achieving independence from Byzantium. Religiously, however, Serbia became irreversibly tied to the Eastern rites and traditions of Byzantium. In 1196 he called an assembly of nobles and announced his abdication in favor of his son Stefan Prvovencani, or Stefan the First Crowned. Stefan married Anna Dondolo, the granddaughter of the Venetian Doge Enrico Dondolo, thus securing his power. In 1217 Pope Honorius III sent his legate with a royal crown for Stefan, who became Stefan Prvovencani, or the First Crowned. The crowning confirmed the independence of Serbia, and also brought about the recognition of the Serbian state as an European state.

King Stefan then turned his attention to the creation of an independent and national church. His brother Sava undertook numerous diplomatic missions before he was able to attain this goal, and in 1219 he was consecrated as the First Archbishop of the Serbian Autocephalus (autonomous) Church. This event marks another cornerstone in Serbian history and Serbian Orthodoxy, for in 1221 Archbishop Sava was able to crown his brother King Stefan again, this time according to the religious rites and customs of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Saint Sava is one of the most sacred and venerated historical figures in the minds and hearts of Serbs. Aside from contributing enormously to edu-

cation and literacy in general, Saint Sava, together with King Stefan, wrote the first Serbian literary work, a biography of their father.

As the Serbian medieval state matured politically, it also developed a solid and prosperous economy. The state's Golden Age, reached its apogee during the reign of Czar Dušan Silni, Emperor Dušan the Mighty (1308-1355). An extremely capable ruler, he secured and expanded the Serbian state, while richly endowing the Serbian Orthodox Church, which was the center of learning and artistic creativity, predating even the beginnings of the Italian Renaissance. He elevated the head of the church to the Patriarchy, and consolidated the internal affairs through the Emperor's *Zakonik*, the written Code of Laws, unique at that time in Europe. Emperor Dushan's accomplishments were such that Serbs today continue to draw inspiration and solace from the national pride and glory achieved during his time.

The Battle of Kosovo Polje ("The Field of Blackbirds") on June 28, 1389, fought between the Ottoman Turks led by Sultan Murad I (1319-1389), and the Serbs led by Czar Lazar (1329-1389) changed the course of Serbian history for centuries to come, for the Serbian defeat was followed by 500 years of Turkish rule and domination. Over the centuries Serbia remained totally isolated from the rest of Europe, and could not participate in the enormous political changes or cultural and industrial progress unfolding in other European states.

The land and all other natural resources became the Sultan's domain. The Turks became landowners called *sipahis*, while the Serbs were reduced to the status of *raya*, the populace who worked the land they previously had owned; their labor was called *kulluk*, a term which to this day denotes the work of slaves. Every four years the countryside was raided; small Serbian male children were forcibly taken from their families and brought to Istanbul, where they were raised and trained to become Janissaries, the Ottoman's elite military unit. Another particularly distasteful practice was the use of economic pressures to convert people to Islam.

In 1804 Karadjordje (Black George, or Karadjordjević) Petrovic (1752-1817), a merchant, led the First Serbian Uprising against the Turks. Severe Turkish reprisals caused many Serbian leaders to escape north to Vojvodina, where the monasteries at Fruska Gora became Serbian cultural strongholds. Among those who escaped was Miloš Obrenović (Milosh Obrenovich) (1780-1860), a local administrator, who emerged as the leader of the Second Serbian Uprising against the Turks in 1815. In 1829 Serbia was granted autonomy by the Turk-

ish Sultan under a hereditary prince. A lengthy feud between the Karadjordjević and Obrenović dynasties ensued.

Serbia's struggle to establish itself as an independent nation in the nineteenth century was marked by many changes of rulers and forms of government, until a monarchy was established in 1882, followed by a constitutional monarchy in 1903. Serbia also emerged as the strongest Balkan state at the conclusion of the First Balkan War against the Ottoman Empire in 1912, when Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria formed an alliance (the Balkan League) and defeated the Turks.

MODERN ERA

Fearing Serbia and her leading role in the determination to rid the Balkans of all foreign domination, the Austro-Hungarian government systematically pressured Serbia both politically and economically, until the tensions between the two nations led to the events that ignited World War I. When Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, chose to review the troops in Sarajevo on St. Vitus Day, June 28, 1914—the most sacred date of the Serbian calendar, commemorating the Battle of Kosovo—a small secret association called “Young Bosnia” had Gavrilo Princip, one of its members, carry out the assassination of the Archduke and his wife. Austria, accusing Serbia of complicity, responded with an immediate ultimatum, compliance with which would have presented a serious threat to the sovereignty of Serbia. Having just fought two Balkan Wars, and not wanting to get involved in another conflict, Serbia offered a compromise. Austria rejected these terms and declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914, precipitating World War I.

Although heavily outnumbered and drained of resources from the just concluded Balkan Wars, the Serbian army initially fought successfully against Austria-Hungary, but the addition of the German army to the Austrian side tipped the balance against Serbia. Eventually, the ravaged Serbian army had to retreat through Albania toward the southern Adriatic Sea, where the remnants were picked up by French war ships. After being reconstituted and reequipped, this newly strengthened Serbian army broke through the Salonika Front in late 1916, and over the next year and a half successfully fought its way north, culminating in the recapture of Belgrade in October of 1918. This victory significantly contributed to the final collapse of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The physical destruction of Serbia had been staggering, but the growing significance of the Pan

Slavic movement led to the establishment of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, including Bosnian Muslims and Macedonians, later renamed Yugoslavia (“the land of the South Slavs”) by the country's king, Alexander Karadjordjević (1888-1934).

Despite the 1934 assassination of King Alexander in Marseille, the country prospered as a result of increased trade and growing industrialization. This period was brought to a sudden halt by the bombing of Belgrade on April 6, 1941, which preceded the invading armies of Nazi Germany. The Yugoslav defenses collapsed within two weeks and the country was dismembered. Some parts of Yugoslavia were ceded to Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria; the remaining areas were divided into two occupation zones: one German, consisting of Serbia proper; the other Italian, consisting of Montenegro and Dalmatia. In less than a week after the beginning of hostilities, an Independent State of Croatia was established as a satellite to the Axis Powers, headed by Ante Pavelić, the leader of the Croat *Ustaši* (Ustashi) Party.

The government and King Peter II fled to London. Some Serbian troops withdrew to the mountains and organized themselves as guerrillas, under the leadership of Colonel Draža Mihailović, and became known as the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland, or more popularly, *Četnik* (Chetnik), from the word *ceta*, meaning a small fighting group. Promoted to general and named Minister of War by the government in exile, Mihailović's aim was to fight alongside the Allies in order to defeat the Axis powers, to liberate his country, and to restore democracy.

After Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Yugoslav Communists, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, formed another guerrilla movement, which they called the National Liberation Movement, or Partisans. It soon became clear that the Serbs had to fight not only the Germans, but also the Partisans and the Ustashi, who were joined by two Muslim divisions from Bosnia. The Ustashi instituted a reign of terror which led to a massacre of 500,000 to 700,000 Serbs, as well as 50,000 Jews and 20,000 Gypsies. To counter Mihailović's guerrilla attacks, the Germans used reprisals against the civilian population, taking 50 hostages for every soldier killed, and 100 for every officer; thus, in one instance alone they executed 7,000 Serbs in a single day (October 21, 1941) in the city of Kragujevac, including schoolchildren driven out of their classrooms that morning.

Tito's Partisans, conducting a campaign of anti-Chetnik propaganda, gained the support of the Allies, who withdrew their endorsement of

Mihailović's Chetniks. Operating mainly in Ustashi territory, namely Croatia and the mountain ranges of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Partisans were joined by many Serbs who were attempting to escape Ustashi terror. However, the communists did not have the support of the Serbian population at large.

Emerging victorious at the end of the war, Tito set out to further secure the power of the Communist Party and his own. Purging the country of its enemies, the new government tried and executed General Draža Mihailović. After the redrawing of the internal borders, Tito's Yugoslavia became a federation of six republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Makedonija, and two autonomous provinces: Kosovo and Vojvodina, which were carved out of the larger Serbia.

After Tito's death in 1980, Serbia was ruled by a collective presidency until the ascension to power of Slobodan Milosevic. He became president of Serbia in 1990 and president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (including Serbia and Montenegro) in 1997. Under his leadership, the country has been involved in genocidal wars against Slovenia (1992), Croatia (1992-1993), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1996), and Kosovo (1998-1999). From 1992 until 1999, hundreds of thousands were killed and more than 2 million people—mostly Albanians—became refugees in neighboring countries. The intervention of the United Nations and NATO military forces, including 78 days of bombing Serbia in the spring of 1999, brought the Kosovo conflict to an end. Afterward, the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague indicted Milosevic and four of his associates as war criminals.

Montenegro, Serbia's partner in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has a population of 650,000, about two-thirds of whom are Montenegrin Serbs. Montenegro has adopted a pro-Western political position. During the Kosovo crisis, 50,000 Albanians received refuge in this territory.

MAJOR IMMIGRATION WAVES

While the earliest Serbian immigrants came to the United States after 1815, the largest wave of immigration took place from 1880 to 1914. There were arrivals between the two world wars followed by refugees and displaced persons after World War II. Lastly, arrivals since 1965 have included the influx resulting from current events in the former Yugoslavia. Generally speaking, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Serbs who came to America in the early waves of immigration because immigration records often did not distinguish between various Slavic and, especially, South Slav-

ic groups. The term Slavonic was most often used in recording immigrants from the various parts of the Eastern Europe. Church records are more helpful in distinguishing the Serbs, for these documents clearly state religious orientation of the parishioners. In addition, census statistics compiled before World War I had further confused the issue by listing immigrants by their country of origin. Thus, the Serbs could be included with the Croats, Slovenians, Austro-Hungarians, Turks, Bulgarians, or Romanians, or simply listed as Yugoslavs after 1929, when the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was renamed Yugoslavia. According to the 1990 U.S. Census figures, there are 116,795 Americans of Serbian origin living in the United States. It is impossible to tell, however, how many out of the 257,995 who in 1990 reported Yugoslavian origin actually have Serbian ancestry. It can safely be assumed that the total number of Serbian Americans today might vary from 200,000 to 350,000 and up to 400,000, according to some estimates. By American standards, this is a rather small immigrant group.

The smallest numbers of Serbian immigrants came from Serbia proper. The people there still worked large family land that formed collectives called *zadruga*, which provided enough economic stability to entice them to stay. In addition, the emergence of Serbia as an independent nation during the nineteenth century offered hope for more political stability.

The historical map of the Balkans in the early 1800s explains the pattern of Serbian immigration. The Serbs who came to America at that time were from the areas which were under the domination of either Austro-Hungarian or the Turkish Empire.

Because the Austrian Empire was constantly subjected to Turkish invasions, it encouraged Serbian families to settle along the frontiers dividing the two powers, giving them land, religious, economic, and political freedom. In exchange, the Serbs agreed to protect the border areas against the Turks and to build fortifications in peacetime. The Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564) officially recognized this agreement in 1538, and granted self-government to the Serbian villages. In 1691 Emperor Leopold I (1640-1705) signed the "Privilegija," a document which granted the same rights to the Serbs who had fled to the Vojvodina region. Thus, a number of generations of Serbs formed a "buffer population" between the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires. Therefore, the first Serbs to leave their native land for America were from the military frontier areas—Kordun, Krajina, Luka, Slavonija, Vojvodina, Dalmatia, and other coastal

areas—precisely the areas where generations earlier had taken refuge from Turkish reprisal. Serbs from Dalmatia were actually the first ones to emigrate because of the close proximity to the sea and relative ease of transportation offered by the steam operated ships.

Poverty and ethnic and religious persecutions were behind the decisions to leave one's village, family, and way of life for America, whose allure as the land of opportunity appealed to able-bodied young men. In 1869 the Austrian Emperor dissolved the age-old agreement with the Granicaris. The Serbs felt betrayed by the Emperor, and in the words of Michael Pupin, who came from Vojvodina, they felt "delivered to the Hungarians," who then subjected them to a severe campaign of Magyarization, insisting on official use of the Hungarian language in schools and courts, as well as seeking to convert them to Roman Catholicism.

The greatest numbers of Serbs arrived during the peak period of immigration to America between 1880 and 1914 from Austro-Hungarian Croatia, Slavonia, and Vojvodina, as well as from Montenegro. Although the overwhelming majority of Serbian immigrants were uneducated, unskilled men in their prime working years—mostly peasants from the countryside—they did not come to America particularly to be farmers, and they did not intend to stay. Instead, they wanted to remain in the United States long enough to earn money enabling them to return home and improve the lives of their families, in keeping with a practice called *pečalba* (pechalba). They settled in the mining areas of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, northern Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado, as well as in the big industrial cities of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Chicago, working in steel mills and related industries. Others found work with the major meat-packing companies in Chicago, Milwaukee, Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Paul, and in the lumber industries in the Pacific Northwest. The Serbian motto *čovjek mora da radi*, "a man has to work" served them very well in this country.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

It can be argued that assimilation into American life and society's acceptance of the new immigrants was uneven at best. On the one hand, some Serbs were impressed by the freedom and openness of the Americans as well as by the opportunities available to all. On the other hand, late nineteenth-century Americans, feeling threatened by the large numbers

of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, increasingly expressed anti-immigrant sentiment. The Immigration Restriction League founded in Boston in 1894 attempted to achieve the curbing of this type of immigrant tide by advocating the literacy test, which required immigrants over 16 years of age to be literate. Since the eastern and southern Europeans were less literate than their counterparts from northern and western Europe, it was clear where the actions of the League were going to lead. The immigration laws from 1921 and 1924 established a national origins system and set annual quotas for each nationality based on the percentage of the total of that nationality already living in America. This was based on the 1890 and 1910 census, which respectively assigned a two percent and a three percent annual quotas, or 671, and later 942, per year for all immigrants from Yugoslavia.

The majority of the earlier Serbian immigrants endured the hardships and found that the degree of freedom and the opportunities available to them in America were worth staying for. However, the Great Depression of the 1930s adversely affected the old Serbian immigrant communities. Discouraged, many returned to their homeland.

The immigrants who arrived after 1945 were refugees from World War II. Among their numbers were former army officers and soldiers who had either been prisoners of war or attached to the Allied Forces; people deported to Nazi Germany as slave-laborers; and supporters of General Mihailović during the Civil War who fled following the communist takeover. Many Serbs, therefore, found a new home in America under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

The differences between this wave of Serbian immigration and the previous ones are substantial. The new immigrants came mainly from the urban areas in Serbia proper rather than the rural areas outside Serbia; they came for political reasons rather than economic reasons, and tended to see themselves as emigres rather than immigrants; they were on the whole highly educated members of the middle and upper classes, many among them had considerable social status, and they came to join already well established Serbian communities. Politically minded, many also saw this country as a safehouse in which to develop strategic operations in opposition to the Yugoslav communist state, rather than a new homeland.

Recent immigration resulting from the economic and political failures of the communist system reverts to being motivated by the economy once again, but does not offer the sense of cohesiveness experienced by earlier groups. Until the

Jelena Mladenovic
lights a candle
during the
Orthodox Easter
service at the
Serbian Orthodox
Cathedral in
New York.



dissolution of Yugoslavia beginning in 1991, the newest immigrants had come and gone freely between America and Serbia. Some worked for American companies, some for Yugoslav companies in the United States, and many, after staying abroad for a number of years went back to Yugoslavia with hard currency and marketable skills.

In America, the Serbian churches maintain parish Sunday schools where children learn the language, customs, and traditions of their ancestors. The Serbian Orthodox Diocese at the St. Sava Monastery in Libertyville, Illinois, runs a summer camp as well as the parish school. The children of immigrants have mostly attended public schools, and in the early days it was often the case that these children were the only source of information about American culture and history for Serbian adults.

ORGANIZATIONS

In the early stages of Serbian immigration, fraternal mutual aid societies and insurance companies preceded the church as the centers of Serbian American community life. These were formed for eco-

nomic reasons, as the new arrivals needed to find ways to protect themselves against the hazards of dangerous and life-threatening work in mines, foundries, or factories. In the early years the Serbs readily joined other Slavic groups, such as the Slavonic Benevolent Organization founded in San Francisco in 1857, which served all South Slavs.

In time, Serbian immigrants formed their own organizations, starting as local groups, lodges, assemblies, and societies whose goals were the preservation of culture, social welfare, and fraternal sentiment. The first such organization was the Srpsko Crnogorsko Literarno i Dobrotvorno Društvo (Serbian-Montenegrin Literary and Benevolent Society) founded in San Francisco in 1880, then Srpsko Jedinstvo (Serbian Unity) in Chicago in 1894. Other societies followed and began to form federations, such as the Srpsko Crnogorski Savez (Serbian-Montenegrin Federation) whose headquarters were in Butte, Montana, and which ceased to exist because most of its members left to fight in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and in World War I.

In the eastern section of the United States, eight Serbian lodges, which were part of the Russ-



Jim Pigford proof reads the pages of the *Amerikanski Srbobran* newspaper being published in Pittsburgh. It is the oldest Serbian newspaper in the United States.

ian Orthodox Society, formed their own organization in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, in 1901. Originally called Srpski Pravoslavni Savez-“Srbobran” (Serbian Orthodox Federation-“Srbobran”), it became known in 1929 as Srpski Narodni Savez (Serbian National Federation, SNF), when other organizations joined it, such as Savez Sjedinjenih

Srba-Sloga (Federation of United Serbs-“Concord”). The last organization to join this federation was Srpski Potporni Savez-“Jedinstvo” (Serbian Benevolent Federation-“Unity”) from Cleveland, Ohio, in 1963. The events around this merger produced an atmosphere of “politicking,” which provided the Serbian American communities with an

arena all their own, and although somewhat outside from the mainstream of American political life, it served to reinforce their Serbian identity.

The SNF, whose headquarters were and still are in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was first an insurance organization, evolving into the single most important Serbian organization. Its founder, Sava Hajdin, said at one point: "We never wished our federation to be only the association of benevolent societies. We wished it to be the matrix of Serbianism in America and the bastion of the idea of St. Sava." Indeed, the humanitarian side of its work included the cooperation with other organizations to provide aid to Serbia during both world wars. After the war, the federation sent relief to refugees and prisoners of war, and sponsored thousands of new immigrants.

On the cultural level, since 1906 the SNF has been publishing its weekly bilingual newspaper, "Amerikanski Srbobran;" it provides scholarships and maintains a fund for printing and free distribution of Serbian primers, used by young people to learn the language of their ancestors. It sponsors well-attended events, such as tournaments for soccer, tennis, golf, and bowling, as well as a three-day "Serbian Days" celebration each summer. In the last decade or so it has been actively raising funds for the building of St. Sava Cathedral on Vrachar Hill in Belgrade, and lastly, it is very much involved in providing humanitarian help in the latest conflict.

The oldest and largest Serbian patriotic organization is the Srpska Narodna Odbrana (Serbian National Defense). Organized in 1914 in New York by Michael Pupin, it recruited volunteers for World War I, and also sent large monetary aid to Serbia. Inactive in the 1920s and 1930s, the organization was revived during World War II by the great Serbian poet and diplomat-in-exile, Jovan Dučić (1871-1943). Declaring its support for the Cetniks of General Mihailović, who instituted a campaign of guerrilla warfare in Yugoslavia, the SND began a radio program in Chicago, and published the periodical *American Serb* from 1944-48.

After the war the SND sent food and relief supplies to thousands of Serbs dispersed in various displaced persons camps, and provided scholarships to Serbian students. In cooperation with the Serbian Orthodox Diocese and Srpska Bratska Pomoć (Serbian Fraternal Aid) the SND brought thousands of displaced persons to America. Much to their chagrin, the sponsors discovered that the new immigrants were politically very much at odds with each other, and soon the ill effects were felt in the organization. Attempts were made to bring back some unity, and in 1947 the SND sponsored an All-Serb Congress in Chicago. The Serbian

National Committee was formed, headed by Konstantin Fotić (Constantin Fotich) the former Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States. Another conference was held in Akron, Ohio, in 1949, during which the Serbian National Council was formed. The highly respected Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović, himself a refugee, attended, but failed to end the discord. In the 1960s the then president of the organization, Dr. Uroš Seffer (Urosh Seferovich), and his followers sided with Bishop Dionisije's autonomous Serbian church, while the supporters of the church in Belgrade organized their own American Serbian National Defense. Srpska Narodna Odbrana survived this turmoil and still publishes *Sloboda* (*Liberty*).

Women's organizations among Serbian Americans are various groups of sisterhoods known as Kolo Srpskih Sestara, or Serbian Sisters Circles. They were organized in the beginning of the twentieth century in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago. The federation of Circles of Serbian Sisters was formed in 1945 when representatives of more than thirty sisterhoods met in Libertyville, Illinois. They are active in fundraising activities and support children's camps and charities. Being closely associated with the Serbian church, they, unfortunately, were affected by the schism in the church.

ART AND POPULAR CULTURE

Music is a very important role in the Serbian American community. The early Serbian immigrants from the Military Frontier areas brought with them their native mandolin-like string instrument called a tamburica (tamburitza), which varies in five different sizes and ranges. George Kachar, one of the first teachers of tamburitza in America, brought the love for his music from his homeland to a small mining town in Colorado, where he taught during the 1920s. His most remarkable students were four Popovich brothers who later became famous as the Popovich Brothers of South Chicago. Having started by traveling from community to community, they gained prominence by delighting Serbian American audiences for sixty years with their art, while also achieving national recognition by appearances at the White House and by participating in the "Salute to Immigrant Cultures" during the Statue of Liberty celebrations held in 1986.

During the annual Tamburitza Extravaganza Festival, as many as twenty bands from around the country perform for three days, with performers undoubtedly vying for the Tamburitza Hall of Fame in St. Louis, Missouri. The new students and performers are actively recruited and trained by the

Duquesne University Tamburitza, which maintains a folklore institute, grants scholarships for promising students, and makes good use of the enthusiasm generously shared by the junior team called "Tammies." A few active tamburitza manufacturers in the United States continue to assure an adequate supply of this favorite instrument.

The immigrants who came to America after World War II brought in a different style of music performed on accordions. Drums, keyboards, and the amplified modern instruments came into use in the last few decades. These musical groups mostly play the newly composed folk music, which combines traditional instruments, melodies, and styles with modern instruments, lyrics, and production techniques. Generally speaking, be they older or newer immigrants, the Serbs sing of love and death, of parting and hope, of the tragedy that accompanied them throughout their history, and of the heroic deeds that helped them triumph over adversity. One of the most beloved and nostalgic songs is *Tamo deleko*, "There Far Away," referring to the distance of the homeland.

Serbian American choirs, performing mainly at social functions, were formed early on, such as the Gorski Vijenac (Mountain Wreath) Choir in Pittsburgh in 1901, and the Branko Radičević Choir in Chicago in 1906. There were no church choirs in the early part of the twentieth century, until Vladimir Lugonja (1898-1977) founded the Serbian Singing Foundation of the USA and Canada (SSF) in 1931 as an antidote to the Great Depression. Many choirs joined in, connected with the church parishes, and totaled thirty by World War II. Their membership in the federation was contingent on their singing in church. Since 1935, the federation has been sponsoring annual concerts and competitions where both secular and liturgical music are performed. A number of Serbian priests have come from the ranks of the SSF; many are well known directors and conductors such as Adam Popovich, Director of South Chicago's SLOBODA. A respected veteran of the Serbian American choir movement, Popovich and his choir performed at the White House for Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidential inauguration.

The *gusle*, another symbol of Serbianism, is a string instrument similar to a violin. Gusle musicians have used it since the earliest days of the Serbian kingdom in accompanying the chanting of epic poetry. Although this instrument is capable of rendering only a few melancholy notes, the *guslar*, or bard, manages to evoke myriad emotions. During the Ottoman period of Serbian history the *guslari* traveled from village to village bringing news and

keeping alive ancient Serbian heroic epics and ballads, which played a role of utmost importance in the development and preservation of the Serbian national conscience and character.

The *kolo*, meaning the circle, is the Serbian national dance, and by extension the Serbian American dance. Danced in a circle as well in a single line, the dancers hold each other's hands or belts, and no one, from teenagers to grandparents, can resist the lively tunes and sprightly motions. A good number of folk dancing ensembles throughout America has kept alive the rich repertoire of folk dancing, and it is difficult to imagine any kind of Serbian celebrations without a performance of one such ensemble.

CUISINE

Serbian cuisine over the centuries has adopted the tastes and flavors of the Middle Eastern, Turkish, Hungarian, and Austrian foods. Roast suckling pig and lamb are still very much appreciated and served on festive occasions. Serbs are also fond of casserole dishes with or without meat; pies (consisting of meat, cheese, or fruit); all kinds of fried foods, and an assortment of cakes, cookies, and condiments that rival the displays in Vienna and Budapest.

A few representative dishes would be *šarma*, stuffed cabbage, made from leaves of sour cabbage, or from wine leaves, and chopped beef or veal, often in combination with chopped pork, onions, smoked meat for added flavor; Serbs especially appreciate *gibanjica*, or *pita gibanjica*, a cheese pie made with feta or cottage cheese (an American substitute for the cheese used in the homeland), or the combination of both, butter, filo pastry leaves, eggs, and milk. *Čevapčići*, the summer time favorite for cook-outs, are small barbecued sausage-like pieces, prepared from a combination of freshly chopped pork, lamb, veal, and beef, and served with raw onions.

Serbs like to drink wine, beer, and especially the plum brandy called *šljivovica*, which is the national drink, made from *šljiva*, or plums, the Serbian national fruit. Another word for *šljivovica* is *rakija*, which is once-distilled plum brandy; twice-distilled *šljivovica* is called *prepečenica*. Serbs drink at all kinds of celebrations: weddings, baptisms, and *krsna slavas*; and every raised glass is accompanied with the exclamation: *Živeli*, or "Live long." It is not surprising that many Serbs found California to be the perfect place for continuing the family tradition of growing grapes to produce wine, or plums for *šljivovica*.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Serbian traditional clothing consists of richly embroidered, colorful garments, which are worn today only by the dancers in the folkloric dance ensembles, or perhaps at other events inspired by folk motives, such as picnics, harvests, or church festivals. Each region has its own particular motives and ways of wearing these costumes, making it easy to discern one from another. The typical costume for women from Serbia proper consists of a fine linen blouse richly embroidered with floral or folk motifs; a vest called a *jelek*, cut low under the breast, made of velvet, embroidered with silver and gold thread, and worn tightly around the waist; an ample colorful skirt accompanied by an embroidered apron and a white linen petticoat worn longer than the skirt to show off the hand-crocheted lace; knitted and embroidered stockings; and a pair of handmade leather slipper-like footwear called *opanci*. The hair is long and braided; the braids are sometimes worn down the back or twisted in a bun around the head.

The costume for men consists of a head cap called a *šajkača*, a white linen shirt, a wool jacket, and pants (The jacket is short with sober decorations and the pants are worn tight around the knees.) A richly decorated sash is tied around the waist. Knitted and embroidered socks and *opanci* (leather shoes) are worn on the feet. The fabrics used were always homegrown, spun, or woven, and the costumes were made at home. The early immigrants stood out in an American crowd by the way their clothes looked, which provided an easy target for ridicule. Today, these costumes have given way to standard dress, and if still in existence, are brought out only at folk festivals.

LANGUAGE

The Serbian language is part of the Slavic language group to which belong Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian. In the seventh century two Greek missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, created the Slavic alphabet, called the Cyrillic, which is still used by the Russians, Serbs, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. The Old Slavonic, or Staroslovenski, was the original literary language of all the Slavs. It evolved into the Church Slavonic, or Crkvenoslovenski, which in turn engendered the Serb Church Slavonic, the Serb literary language up until the nineteenth century.

In the early nineteenth century Vuk Srećanović Karadžić (1787-1864), who became known as the father of the “modern” Serbian language, reconstructed the alphabet to conform it phonetically with the oral language, thus recognizing the spoken lan-

guage as the literary language; this resulted in reawakening Serbian culture in general. He published the first Serbian dictionary in 1818, and collected and published volumes of epic and lyrical poetry that had survived in the oral tradition in the Serbian countryside. His voluminous correspondence is an important political and literary document.

Immigrants were confronted with the modification of their language as it came into contact with English, resulting in the incorporation of many English words into everyday use, especially those that were needed to communicate in a more complex society and did not exist in their rural vocabulary. Another American influence can be seen in the fact that many immigrants changed their names for simplification. Often the changing of names was done by either the immigration officers at the time of entry into the United States, or by the employers at the factories or mines who were not accustomed to dealing with complicated Slavic names. At other times, the immigrants themselves opted for simple American names, either for business reasons, or to escape being a target for ridicule. Also, some changes were the result of the immigrants’ desire to show loyalty to their adopted country; thus, the names were either simply translated—Ivan into John, Ivanović into Johnson—or the diacritical marks over the letters “č” and the “š” were dropped and replaced by English-sounding equivalents such as Sasha for Saša and Simich for Simić. About 25 percent of all Serbian Americans declared Serbian as their mother tongue in the 1990 U.S. census.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Some basic greetings and sayings in Serbian include: *dobro jutro* (“dobro yutro”)—good morning; *dobar dan* (pronounced as written)—good day; *dobro veče* (“dobro vetche”)—good evening; *zdravo* (pronounced as written)—greetings; *hvala* (“khvala”)—thank you; *dobro došli* (“dobro doshli”)—welcome

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Although Serbian immigrants tended to live in closely knit, homogeneous colonies, they were never so totally isolated as to prevent any penetration of American influence, and that interaction inevitably led to changes in many aspects of their lives. Their children and grandchildren only rarely adhere to the old ways, and as a result the immigrant heritage becomes a strange mixture of old-country and American cultural elements.

In their homeland the immigrants had been primarily farmers; all the family members lived together in a *zadruga*, a large family cooperative where everyone worked on the family land, maintaining strong family ties, as well as observing a strict hierarchical order from the head of the *zadruga*, called *strarešina*, down to the youngest child. In America, each family member's occupation could be different, leading to less interdependence among the family members, without, however, destroying the closeness of family ties. To a great extent Serbian and Serbian American households still include grandparents, or other elderly relatives needing care and help. It is also a common practice to have grandparents care for the young children while the parents are working, as well as take charge of housekeeping in general. Elderly parents (or close relatives) live out their lives at home surrounded by their children and grandchildren. The structure of a typical Serbian American family also retains close relationships with the extended family—aunts, uncles, and cousins—going back a few generations, thus placing emphasis on strong emotional ties as well as offering a good family support system.

RELIGION

The Serbs accepted Christianity in the ninth century due to the work of the two Greek brothers, missionaries from Salonika, Cyril and Methodius, also called "Apostles of the Slavs." Since that time, and especially since the 1219 establishment of the Serbian Orthodox Autonomous church by King Stefan Prvovencani, the Serbs have strongly identified their religion with their ethnic heritage. *Srpstvo*, or being Serbian, expresses this concept of the Serbian identity as encompassing the nation, its historic heritage, church, language, and other cultural traditions. Serbian communal life in the United States mainly evolved and, to a large degree, still revolves around the church parish.

Orthodoxy, which means "correct worship," partly differs from other Christian practices in that priests are allowed to marry and in its use of the Julian calendar, which is 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar. Thus, for example, the Serbs celebrate Christmas on January 7th instead of December 25th.

Serbian churches, both in America and in the homeland, feature the Altar, a carved Iconostasis, and richly painted icons. A pedestal called *Nalonj*, placed at a respectable distance from the altar, is used to exhibit the icon of the Saint the particular church is named after, and upon entering the church everyone stops there to make the sign of the cross and kiss the icon.

The first Serbian churches in America were established in Jackson, California, in 1893, followed by McKeesport, Pennsylvania (1901), and Steelton, Pennsylvania (1903). At that time all Serbian churches were under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox church, although served by Serbian priests. The first American-born Serbian Orthodox priest, the Reverend Sebastian Dabovich (1863-1940), the son of a Serbian pioneer in California, was appointed head of the Serbian mission in the United States by the Patriarch in Moscow in 1905.

In 1919 a separate Serbian Orthodox Diocese in North America and Canada was created under the leadership of the Reverend Mardary Uskokovich (d. 1935), who later became the first bishop of the new Diocese, establishing his seat in Libertyville, Illinois, in 1927. From 1940 to 1963 the Diocese was headed by Bishop Dionisije Milivojević. During World War II the Diocese was instrumental in arranging for the immigration of refugees, as well as placing refugee priests. The Diocese published the first English language Serbian newspaper, the *Serbian Orthodox Herald*. In 1949 the Clergy Association of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of the United States and Canada formed their united headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *Orthodoxy* was their official publication.

In 1963 the Serbian Diocese of North America suffered a painful schism and split into two groups: one wanted an independent Serbian Orthodox church in America; the other insisted on keeping the alliance with the Patriarchy in Belgrade. The immigrant community became bitterly divided. The old settlers felt that the primary role of the church was to uphold Orthodoxy and to maintain the spiritual life in the communities, while the newer immigrants saw the need to defend themselves against the Communist threat.

The church remains divided, although it officially reconciled during the Holy Liturgy jointly celebrated on February 15, 1992, by the Patriarch Pavle of Belgrade and the Metropolitan Irinej, the head of the Free Church in America, whose seat is in New Gracancia (Third Lake, Illinois). The two contending factions have worked on a new church constitution, a document expected to be administratively complete in 1995 and intended to seal the reunification.

The two most important religious holidays of the year for Serbian Americans are *Božić* (Christmas), and *Uskrs* (Easter). Both are celebrated for three days. *Božich* starts with *Tucindan* (two days before Christmas) when a young pig is prepared to be barbecued for Christmas dinner, or *Božićna večera*. On the day before Christmas—called *Badnji*

Dan—the *badnjak*, or Yule Log, is placed outside the house, and the *pečenica*, or roasted pig, is prepared. In the evening straw is placed under the table to represent the manger, the Yule log is cut and brought in for burning, and the family gathers for a Lenten Christmas Eve dinner. *Božićni Post*, the Christmas Lenten, is observed for six weeks prior to Christmas, during which a diet without milk, dairy products, meat, or eggs is maintained. This strict observance is practiced by fewer people today, as most are willing to fast only for a week prior to Christmas.

On Christmas Day, *česnica*, a round bread, is baked from wheat flour. A coin placed inside the bread brings good luck throughout the year to the person who finds it. The family goes to church early on Christmas Day, and upon return home the most festive meal of the year is served. The father lights a candle and incense, and says a prayer. The family turns the *česnica* from left to right and sings the Christmas hymn *Rozdestvo Tvoje*, which glorifies the birth of Christ. The *česnica* is broken and each member of the family receives a piece, leaving one portion for an unexpected guest. Each person kisses the person next to him three times with the greeting *Hristos se rodi*, “Christ is born,” and receives in reply *Vaistinu se rodi*, “Indeed He is born.”

In America, the burning of the *badnjak* is done at church after Christmas Eve mass, and an elaborate Lenten Christmas Eve dinner is served in the parish hall for those who wish to participate.

Traditionally, three Sundays before Christmas are dedicated to the family: *Detinjci*, the Children’s Day; *Materice*, the Mother’s Day; and *Očevi*, Father’s Day. On each of these days the celebrants are tied to an object and their release is obtained with a gift.

Uskrs (Easter), is considered the holiest of holidays, and is celebrated from Good Friday to Easter Sunday. A seven-week Lenten period is observed, also without fish, meat, eggs, milk, or dairy products, which is practiced today in altered fashion as well. *Vrbica*, or Palm Sunday, is observed on the last Sunday before Easter when the willow branches are blessed and distributed to all present. This service is rendered especially beautiful and significant by the presence of children, dressed in fine new clothes worn for the first time, with little bells hanging from their necks on Serbian tricolor ribbons—red, blue, and white—waiting for the whole congregation to start an outside procession encircling the church three times.

Easter celebrations cannot be conceived without roasted lamb and colored eggs. The eggs symbolize spring and the renewal of the life cycle as well as *Vaskrsenje*, the Easter Resurrection. Each color as well as each design has a specific meaning in this

age old folk art form of egg decorating.

The Easter Mass is the most splendid one. The doors of the iconostasis, which remained closed until the symbolic moment of *Hristovo Voskresenje*, or “Christ’s Resurrection,” open wide; the church bells ring, and the priest dressed in his gold vestments steps forward. The congregation sings a hymn of rejoicing, and a procession led by the banner of Resurrection encircles the church three times while the worshippers carry lit candles. The greetings *Hristos voskrese*, “Christ has risen,” and *Vaistinu voskrese*, “He has risen indeed,” are exchanged three times.

The most important Serbian tradition is the yearly observance of *Krsna Slava*, the Patron Saint’s Day. This uniquely Serbian religious holiday, reminiscent of the prehistoric harvest festivals, is celebrated once a year in commemoration of the family’s conversion to Christianity, when each family chose its patron saint, which derived from the custom of worshipping protective spirits. Passing from father to son, this joyous holiday is observed with friends and family enjoying sumptuous foods, often with music and dancing as well. The central elements which enhance the solemnity of *Krsna Slava* are: *slavska sveca*, a long candle which must burn all day; the votive light lit in front of the icon representing the picture of the family patron saint; and incense burning. Two foods are specially prepared: *koljivo*, or sometimes called *zito*, made with boiled wheat, sugar, and ground nuts; and *krsni kolač*, which is a ritual round bread baked solely for this occasion. It is decorated with dough replicas of birds, wheat, grapes, barrels of wine, or whatever else an inspired mother of the family can think of, aside from the obligatory religious seal representing the cross and the symbolic four S’s: *Samo Sloga Srbina Spasava*, “Only Unity Will Save the Serbs.” The priest visits the homes and conducts a ceremony in which the *kolač* is raised three times symbolizing the Holy Trinity. He and the head of the family cut a cross on the bottom of the *kolač* into which a little wine is poured to symbolize the blood of Christ.

Every year on June 28 the Serbs commemorate *Vidovdan*, or Saint Vitus Day. One of the most sacred holidays, it commemorates a defeat on June 28, 1389, when the Serbs led by Czar Lazar lost their kingdom to the Turks in the Battle of Kosovo Polje (Field of Blackbirds). The heroism and death of Czar Lazar and his Martyrs who died that day for *krst casni i zlatnu slobodu*, or the “venerable cross and golden freedom,” is commemorated in epic songs and celebrated each year by churches and communities across America. The Serbs might be the only people who celebrate a disastrous defeat as a national holiday, but what they are really celebrating is the

ability to withstand adversity. For the last 600 years the Serbs have maintained the tradition of respecting their ancestors for living out the old proverb *bolje grob nego rob*, or “better a grave than a slave.” To Serbs in America and in the homeland Kosovo Polje is a sacred national site.

Kumstvo, or godparenthood, is another tradition deeply embedded in the Serbian culture. The parents of an unborn child choose a *kum* or a *kuma* (a man or a woman to be a godparent), who names the baby at the baptismal ceremony. The godparents also have the responsibility of ensuring the moral and material well being of the child if need be, and are considered very close family.

Some customs are remnants of pagan days and were inspired by the closeness with nature: in June, when daisies are in bloom in the fields, young girls of marrying age make wreaths that they hang outside their houses. A young man confesses his love by taking the wreath away, leaving the young woman to hope that it should only be the right one. The *dodola*, or the rain dance, is another example; a young girl dressed in flowers, plants, and grasses, goes from house to house singing a prayerful chant, which is supposed to bring rain. Helpful housewives drench her with buckets of water and small gifts.

Beliefs derived from superstitions are many, such as: a black cat crossing the road in front of a person will bring bad luck; a horse in a dream will bring good luck; black birds are a bad omen; an itching left palm presages money.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although historically Serbs have placed high value on education, early immigrants were largely illiterate or had very little education, due to their circumstances living under Turkish occupation. In America, they worked, as already stated, in predominantly heavy industrial areas. In time, they began to attend evening English-language classes offered by the adult-education programs in public schools, which proved to be enormously valuable to them, and especially to their children.

The younger generations took an increased interest in education, and slowly began to break away from the factory jobs and move to white-collar occupations. In recent decades the Serbs have gone on to higher education. Although Serbian American professionals can be found in nearly every American industry, a great many tend to opt for engineering, medicine, law, or other professions. Lately, however, more and more young people are

attracted by financial service industries, such as banking, insurance, and stock brokerage. Boys and girls are educated alike, and everyone is free to set career goals to his or her own liking. The number of women in professions traditionally held by men, especially medicine and engineering, is very high among Serbs.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Although their participation in American political life has evolved slowly, Serbs have demonstrated a great deal of fervor for politics. Generally speaking, most Serbian Americans are more likely to be concerned with the government's policies and attitude toward Yugoslavia than in local politics.

World War I was the turning point in political activities and unity with other Slavic groups, and, again, such activities had more to do with the politics in the homeland rather than in America. President Woodrow Wilson encouraged Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian leaders in America to meet and call for the union of the South Slavs then within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and for the unification with Serbia in an independent Serbian kingdom. The creation of the Yugoslav National Council resulted, its purpose being to inform and influence the American people, as well as to recruit for war and raise money. Thousands of south Slavs joined either the Serbian army or the American army, and thousands of Serbian emigrants returned from the United States to fight for Serbia.

Of the many immigrants who arrived in the United States after 1945, many were very politically engaged and considered America as a base for pursuing political goals related to Yugoslavia. A number of political organizations were formed to reflect the differing views carried over from the mother country concerning the new regime and the affiliations with particular groups during World War II. After 1945, most of the large numbers of newcomers who joined the Serbian American community in America were Chetniks. Forming political organizations they continued their fight against Tito's communist dictatorship as best they could. Another faction, albeit much smaller in numbers, was an ultra right-wing group called Ljotičevci, party that was founded by Dimitrije Ljotić (d. 1945). These two groups polarized the attention of the Serbian American immigrants and heightened political awareness among Serbian American communities.

Many older immigrants felt overwhelmed and bewildered by the number of factions and their nuances. Some were alienated, and even others fell

victim to the communist infiltration and propaganda. However, the vast majority of both the older immigrants and those who arrived after 1945 remain loyal to the American ideals of freedom and liberty.

Many men and women of Serbian descent who have joined the mainstream of American politics today as mayors, governors, and senators have testified to the fact that a degree of "American" political maturity has been reached by this ethnic group in spite of its still intense identification with their motherland, as exemplified by Rose Ann Vuich, the first woman senator from California in 1976.

Given the Serbian penchant for politics, the political issues of the former Yugoslavia have always been and are still being passionately debated among Serbian Americans. Political issues in the Balkans have always been a matter of life and death for the Serbs, who after a flourishing independence in the late Middle Ages, survived centuries of subjugation and, since the early 1800s, have gradually succeeded in the fight for freedom and the unification of their homeland.

The current conflict in the former Yugoslavia, which brought about a new period of intense political activity among Serbian Americans, was prompted by the premature recognition of the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, first by most of the member-states of the European community, and then by the United States on April 7, 1992. The Serbs in Croatia's Krajina Region, who had been turned into a minority by the declaration of independence on the part of Croatia, voted to secede from Croatia in 1991. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, they expressed their wishes not to live in minority status among the Muslims by boycotting the referendum for Bosnian independence held in late February 1992. They had reasons to fear for their lives again, because having sided with the Axis Powers during World War II, the fascist Croat Ustashi and their Muslim allies had conducted the systematic extermination of the Serbs. The Nazi-puppet Independent State of Croatia instituted death camps, among which Jasenovac is the most well known.

In Croatia, the resurgence of the old Nazi-Croat symbols at the onset of the conflict, including the use of the Fascist Ustashi flag, the renaming of streets and squares, blatant antisemitism, and the renaming of the national currency to "kuna," which was the currency's name during the Nazi period, are reminders of a painful and not too distant past.

These facts, coupled with the unilateral 1992 declaration of independence of Bosnia against the wishes of the Serbian minority, which represented approximately one-third of the population, effectively turning them for a second time into second class

citizens after 500 years of Turkish/Muslim domination, and reviving the memories of persecutions during World War II, have politically galvanized the Serbian American community in the last several years.

Once again, the Serbian American community is at great odds with the Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević, and to a large degree, and for the first time, with the U.S. government, which they perceive to be one-sided. The Serbs in America are now deeply disappointed, for not only have they shared American principles of freedom and justice for many centuries, but they, unlike the Croats and Bosnian Muslims, have fought with Americans and their allies through two world wars.

MILITARY

The degree of participation of Serbian Americans in the armed forces, as well as in the intelligence community, is high. During the World War I thousands of American Serbs went to Serbia, an ally, to fight, while others established a number of humanitarian organizations to send help abroad. The response was overwhelming during World War II as well. A large number distinguished themselves in battle and some were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Many Serbian Americans had distinguished careers in the military, such as Colonel Nicholas Stepanovich, U.S. Army, who had a brilliant career as a lawyer and military leader and was appointed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to the U.S. ambassadorial staff to the United Nations; Colonel Tyrus Cobb, U.S. Army, who served in Vietnam both in war and in peace missions. The recipient of the Defense Superior Service Medal, Colonel Cobb was appointed to the National Security Council and was selected by President Ronald Reagan to accompany him on summits to Geneva, Moscow, and Iceland. Many other Serbian Americans served in the Office of Strategic Services (later known as the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]), including Nick Lalich, George Vujnovic, and Joe Veselinovich. The Vietnam War and the Persian Gulf War have also claimed Serbian American decorated heroes as well, such as Lance Sijan, for whom a building is named at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

LABOR UNIONS

The labor movement and the labor unions in America found some of their staunchest supporters among the Serbs. Having worked very hard to earn their liv-

ing and having given strength and youth to their new homeland, they felt, as many other Americans did, that strong unions presented opportunities to rectify many poor work situations. They were active with the United Mine Workers of America, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Textile Workers Union of America, among others. The contributions of the Serbs to the labor movement are numerous, as exemplified by Eli Zivkovich, who organized the story of the unionization of textile workers in North Carolina as depicted in the film *Norma Rae*.

Related to the labor movement and union organizing is the work done by Serbian Americans in the field of labor laws as exemplified by the tireless efforts of Robert Lagather, an attorney. The son of a mine worker and a miner himself as a young man, Lagather had a deep commitment to improving the working conditions in the mines, and the role he played in the Federal Mine and Safety and Health Act of 1977 testifies to his determination and dedication.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

The contributions of Serbian Americans were best summarized by Jerome Kisslinger: “[From] the Louisiana oyster fishermen of the 1830s and the California innkeeper of the 1850s to the Pittsburgh steel worker of 1910, the political refugee of the 1950s and the engineer today, Serbians have proved themselves to be more than a colorful fringe on our (American) social fabric—they are woven into its very fiber.”

ACADEMIA

Political science professor Alex N. Dragnich (1912–) served in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II and as the Cultural Attache and Public Affairs Officer in the American Embassy in Yugoslavia. Dragnich wrote extensively on Serbian subjects; his latest publication is entitled *Serbs and Croats: The Struggle in Yugoslavia* (1992).

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Actor Karl Malden (born Mladen Sekulovich in 1913) received an Academy Award for his performance in *A Streetcar Named Desire* in 1951 and was nominated for a second Oscar in 1954 for his work in *On the Waterfront*. Malden is best known for his starring role in the television series “The Streets of

San Francisco,” and for his series of television commercials for American Express.

Actor John Malkovich (1954–) founded the Steppenwolf Theatre Company in Chicago. An accomplished film actor as well, Malkovich appeared in such films as *Dangerous Liaisons*, *In the Line of Fire*, and *Places in the Heart*, for which he received an Academy Award nomination.

Steve Tesich (born Stoyan Tesich in 1942) is a well-known screenwriter, playwright, and novelist who received an Academy Award for Best Screenplay in 1979 for *Breaking Away*. His other screenplays include *Eleni*, *The World According to Garp*, and *Passing Game*.

LITERATURE

Novelist and publishing executive William (Iliya) Jovanovich (1920–) has written many works, including *Now*, *Barabbas* (1964), *Madmen Must* (1978), and *A Slow Suicide* (1991). Jovanovich is also the president and chief executive officer of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Poet and translator Charles Simic (1938–) was awarded the 1990 Pulitzer Prize for Poetry for his collection, *The World Doesn't End*.

POLITICS

Born in 1795 as Djordje Sagić in a Serbian settlement in western Hungary, George Fisher came to America in 1815, having agreed to become a bond servant upon his arrival. He jumped ship at the mouth of Delaware River in order to escape his pledge, and was named Fisher by the bystanders who watched him swim ashore. He then wandered from Pennsylvania to Mississippi to Mexico and eventually to Texas, where he joined in the battle for independence from Mexico; helped to organize the first supreme court of the republic; and held a number of positions in the Texas state government. Fisher also published a liberal Spanish-language newspaper. In 1851 he went to Panama, and from there to San Francisco. While in California he served as secretary of the land commission, justice of the peace, county judge. He finished his wandering and wondrous life as the council for Greece in 1873.

Awarded the GOP Woman of the Year Award in 1972, Helen Delich Bently (1923–) is currently a congresswoman from Maryland. Rose Ann Vuich, served in the California State Senate from 1976 to 1992 and received the Democrat of the Year Award in 1975. Joyce George (1936–), attorney and politician, was appointed U.S. Attorney from the

Northern District of Ohio by President George Bush in 1989.

SCIENCE

Nikola Tesla (1856-1943), “the electrical wizard,” astonished the world with his demonstration of the wonders of alternating current at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893; in the first half of the twentieth century, this became the standard method of generating electrical power. Tesla also designed the first hydro-electric power plant in Niagara Falls, New York. Having introduced the fundamentals of robotics, fluorescent light, the laser beam, wireless communication and transmission of electrical energy, the turbine and vertical take-off aircraft, computers, and missile science, Tesla was possibly the greatest inventor the world has ever known. His work spawned technology such as satellites, beam weapons, and nuclear fusion.

Michael Idvorsky Pupin’s (1858-1935) scientific contributions in the field of radiology include rapid X-ray photography (1896), which cut the usual hour-long exposure time to seconds; the discovery of the secondary X-ray radiation; and the development of the first X-ray picture used in surgery. His other interests covered the field of telecommunications. The “Pupin coil,” which uses alternate current, made long distance telephone lines and cables possible. He also invented the means to eliminate static from radio receivers as well the tuning devices for radios. Pupin successfully experimented with sonar U-boat detectors and underwater radars, as well as the passage of electricity through gases. In addition to his scientific contributions, Pupin was a prominent Serbian patriot. He tirelessly campaigned on behalf of Serbia during World War I. In his Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography *From Immigrant to Inventor* (1925) Pupin stated: “[I] brought to America something ... which I valued very highly, and that was: a knowledge of and a profound respect and admiration for the best traditions of my race ... no other lesson had ever made a deeper impression upon me.” The Pupin Institute at Columbia University was founded in his memory.

Milan Panić (1929–) founded ICN Pharmaceuticals, Inc. in Pasadena, California. At one time his company employed 6,000 people, with sales of over \$150 million. In 1992 Panić served as the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia.

SPORTS

Professional basketball player Pete Maravich (1948-1987) was perhaps best known as “Pistol Pete” Maravich.

VISUAL ARTS

John David Brčín (1899-1982) was a sculptor who immigrated to America in 1914. Drawing his inspiration from American subjects, Brčín sculpted busts of President Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, and many others. He also created large reliefs depicting scenes from American history.

MEDIA

PRINT

Amerikanski Srbobran (The American Serb Defender).

Published by the Serb National Federation since 1906, this is the oldest and largest circulating Serbian bilingual weekly newspaper in the United States, covering cultural, political, and sporting events of interest to Serbian Americans.

Contact: George Martich, President.

Address: 1 Fifth Avenue, seventh floor,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222.

Telephone: (412) 642-7372 or (800) 538-SERB.

Fax: (412) 642-1372.

E-mail: snf@serbnatlfed.org.

Glasnik Srpskog Istoriskog Kulturnog Društva “Njegoš” (Herald of the Serbian Historical-Cultural Society “Njegoš”).

Founded in 1959, this historical and literary review is published biannually.

Contact: Draško Braunović, Editor.

Address: 774 Emroy Avenue, Elmhurst,
Illinois 60126.

Telephone: (630) 833-3721.

Serb World U.S.A.

A continuation of *Serb World* (1979-1983), this bimonthly, illustrated magazine was established in 1984. It features articles about Serbian American immigrants’ cultural heritage and history, as well as other topics relating to Serbian Americans.

Contact: Mary Nicklanovic-Hart

Address: 415 E. Mabel St., Tucson,
Arizona 85705-7456.

Telephone: (602) 624-4887.

Serbian Studies.

Founded in 1980, this scholarly journal is published biannually by the North American Society for Serbian Studies. It offers broad coverage of history, political science, art, and the humanities.

Contact: Ljubica Dragana Popovich, Editor.

Address: Dept. of Fine Arts, Station B,
Box 1696, Vanderbilt University, Nashville,
Tennessee 37235.

Telephone: (615) 322-2831.

Sloboda (Liberty).

Founded in 1952 by the Serb National Defense Council of America, this publication is an illustrated biweekly featuring articles on Serbian history and culture.

Address: 5782 N. Elston Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60646.

Telephone: (773) 775-7772.

Srpska Borba (The Serbian Struggle).

Monthly journal published by the Serbian Literary Association (Srpsko Literarno Udruženje) since 1953. It features articles on political, social, historical, and cultural topics.

Address: 448 Bari Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60657.

Telephone: (773) 549-1099.

RADIO

“Serbian Radio Hour” (“Srpske Melodije I Novosti”), WCPN-FM 90.3, Cleveland, Ohio.

Weekly three-hour program featuring Serbian music and news, especially from Belgrade, Pale, and Knin.

Contact: Djordje Djelić, Director.

Address: 6364 Pearl Road, Cleveland,
Ohio 44130.

Telephone: (216) 842-6161.

Fax: (216) 842-6163.

“Serbian Radio Program,” KTYM-AM 1460 and KORG-AM 1190.

Program is broadcasted twice a day on Saturdays, featuring world news, special reportage from Belgrade, Pale, and Knin and music of Serbian origin.

Contact: Veroljub Radivojević, Director.

Address: 23128 Gainford Street, Woodland Hills,
California 91364.

Telephone: (818) 222-5073.

Fax: (818) 591-9678.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Belgrade Club, Inc.

Founded in 1982. A non-profit membership organization engaged in such cultural programs as lectures on art and art history, and film screenings. Publishes a quarterly bulletin covering the arts.

Contact: Donya-Dobriła Schimansky, President.

Address: P.O. Box 6235, Yorkville Station,
New York, New York 10128.

Serb National Federation (SNF).

Founded in 1906, the SNF has lodges throughout the United States and Canada. Its activities transcend business interests to include sponsoring and promoting many programs from sports to scholarship within the Serbian American community.

Contact: George Martich.

Address: 1 Fifth Avenue, Seventh floor,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222.

Telephone: (412) 642-7372 or (800) 538-SERB.

Fax: (412) 642-1372.

E-mail: snf@serbnatlfed.org.

Online: <http://www.serbnatlfed.org/>.

Serbian American Affairs Office (SAAO).

Established in 1992, SAAO serves as a clearinghouse for information and research on current events occurring in the former Yugoslavia, and arranges guest appearances on radio and television stations across the United States.

Contact: Danielle Sremac, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 32238, Washington,
D.C., 20007.

Telephone: (202) 965-2141.

Fax: (202) 965-2187.

Serbian Cultural Club “St. Sava” (Srpski Kulturni Klub “Sv. Sava”).

Founded in 1951, this organization has chapters throughout the United States and abroad. Activities promote Serbian culture and political awareness among the host nations and the hosts' culture among the Serbs.

Address: 448 Barry Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60657.

Telephone: (773) 549-1099.

**Serbian National Defense Council of America
(Sprska Narodna Odbrana).**

Established in 1941 with chapters throughout the United States and abroad. Activities focus on political and cultural Serbian interests.

Contact: Slavko Panović, President.

Address: 5782 N. Elston, Chicago, Illinois 60646.

Telephone: (773) 775-7772.

Fax: (773) 775-7779.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

North American Society for Serbian Studies.

Founded in 1980 within the framework of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) to research and promote Serbian literature, history, and culture. Attracts Serbian scholars from the United States, Canada, and Mexico, who meet at annual conferences of the AAASS. (Note: The address of this organization

varies according to the location of the president, elected for a one year term during the conference.)

Contact: Radmila J. Gorop, President

Address: Department of Slavic Studies, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.

Telephone: (212) 854-3941.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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Pavlovich, Paul. *The Serbians: The Story of a People*. Toronto: Serbian Heritage Books, 1988.

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SICILIAN AMERICANS

by
Laura C. Rudolph

OVERVIEW

Located off the tip of the Italian peninsula, Sicily is the largest island in the Mediterranean Sea and measures 9,920 square miles (25,700 square kilometers). As a result of its close proximity to both Italy (separated by the Strait of Messina by less than two miles) and North Africa (separated by less than 100 miles), Sicily has traditionally been regarded as a bridge between Africa and

Europe. Officially considered one of the regions of Italy, Sicily has nevertheless enjoyed regional autonomy with extensive powers of self-government since 1946.

Sicily is comprised of nine provinces: Agrigento, Caltanissetta, Catania, Enna, Messina, Palermo, Ragusa, Siracusa, and Trapani, as well as numerous adjacent islands including the Egadi Islands, the Aeolian Islands, the Pelagie Islands, and the Ustica Islands. The terrain is largely mountainous with Europe's largest volcano, Mount Etna, representing the highest peak at 3,260 meters. The capital of Sicily is Palermo, which has a population of 500,000 and is the largest city in Sicily.

Sicily's ethnically diverse population of slightly over five million people reflects centuries of foreign rule. The major ethnic groups include native Sicilians, Arabs, Greeks, Spanish, and northern Italians. Although the vast majority of Sicilians are Roman Catholics, there are smaller numbers of Greek Orthodox Christians.

The main areas of Sicilian settlement in the United States included the major industrial centers of the country including New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, California, Illinois, and some parts of the South, including Louisiana and Texas.

HISTORY

Sicily's strategic location in the Mediterranean has prompted centuries of invasion and occupation by foreign powers and closely parallels the rise and fall of virtually every empire since the eighth century B.C. The name "Sicily" is thought to have originated with the Sikels, one of three peoples who occupied Sicily during the Neolithic Age. Thereafter, during the seventh and eighth centuries B.C., the Greeks established colonies, including Messina, Syracuse, and Gela, under which Sicily flourished culturally. Although the Carthaginians arrived at roughly the same time as the Greeks, they were confined to the northwest of the island and exerted a lesser influence on the island. However, by the third century B.C. the Greek Empire declined and the Romans established control, which lasted until the fifth century A.D. Sicily was subsequently occupied by the Ostrogoths, the Byzantines, and the Arabs.

Sicily flourished once again under Norman rule, which began around 1000 A.D. Frederick II's reign (1211-1250) produced an outpouring of literary, scientific, and architectural works, representing a cultural peak. After his death, however, Sicily passed into the hands of France, an oppressive occupation that ended with the bloody "Sicilian Vespers" revolt in 1282. Thereafter, for the better part of the next six centuries, the Spanish ruled Sicily, with periodic occupation from other countries. Weary from years of invasion, the Sicilians rallied under Giuseppe Garibaldi, who won control of the island in 1860. The Sicilians enthusiastically supported the unification of Italy, which was completed during the *Risorgimento* of 1860-1870. The unification with Italy did not, however, prove particularly beneficial to Sicily. Quickly deemed part of "the Southern problem," the Sicilians were forced to endure military conscription and a heavy tax burden. The *mafioso* (or mafia), an underground element often linked with criminal activity, quickly became a stronghold of power in Sicily. Efforts on the part of the Sicilians to revolt against the new laws were quickly suppressed, often brutally.

MODERN ERA

Tensions remained between northern and southern Italy into the early part of the twentieth century. In the 1920s Benito Mussolini came into power in Italy and established Fascist control. Mussolini waged unofficial war on the Sicilian *mafioso*, and official war against the Allies during World War II. Sicily proved crucial to the Allied effort and was successfully conquered in the July-August 1943 campaign. The Allied victory forced Mussolini's fall

from power, and following the war a large separatist movement was begun in Sicily, which agitated for its own rule. Although the Sicilians were not able to achieve this goal, they were not wholly unsuccessful. Sicily remained a region of the newly created Republic of Italy, but it was granted regional autonomy in 1946. However, social, political, and economic problems continued to plague the region. High illiteracy and unemployment rates, coupled with natural disasters, served to reinforce rather than lessen the poverty of the Sicilians. And, freed from the restrictive measures of Mussolini's regime, the *mafioso* quickly regained a large portion of power in Sicily. In the last part of the twentieth century, serious efforts were made to lessen the influence and control of the mafia and to rejuvenate the economy.

THE FIRST SICILIANS IN AMERICA

Sicilians have a recorded presence of over 300 years on American soil. In the late seventeenth century, the brothers Antonio and Tomaso Crisafi sailed to America. By 1696 Antonio Crisafi was in charge of the Onondaga fort, located in what is now New York State. On the West Coast in southern California, an early missionary named Father Saverio Saetta (a Jesuit), was involved in early efforts to convert the Native Americans to Christianity. He perished at the hands of the natives in 1695. Sicilian immigration remained relatively slow until the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, several Sicilian immigrants distinguished themselves in the decades leading up to that time. During the Civil War, Enrico Fardell was commissioned a colonel in the Union Army and was rapidly promoted to brigadier general for distinguished services. Father Venuta, a former professor from the University of Palermo, built the Church of St. Joseph and several school buildings in New Jersey shortly after the Civil War.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The first significant wave of Sicilian immigrants to the United States began in the late 1880s. Before 1880 less than 1,000 Sicilians immigrated to America per year. But by 1906 over 100,000 Sicilians left for the States in that year alone. Ultimately, out of the 4.5 million Italians that immigrated to the United States between the years 1880 and 1930, one out of every four was a Sicilian. The immigrants represented virtually every area in Sicily. The numbers would have been higher but for the passage of the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924. The Act reduced the number of persons allowed to immigrate to the United States from Italy to 3,845.

The surge of Italian immigrants to the United States happened for several reasons. After the unification of Italy was completed in 1870, Sicilians were confident their lot would improve after centuries of *la miseria*. However, they were soon disillusioned. Sicily suffered a series of agricultural crises, which precipitated a sharp drop in the grain and citrus markets. The discovery of sulfur in America greatly reduced Sicily's role in foreign market. In addition, there was widespread economic exploitation of the Sicilians, who were heavily taxed under the new government. Eventually the Sicilians banded together against the intolerable conditions, largely in the form of peasants' and workers' organizations termed mutual aid societies (*mutuo soccorso*). The mutual aid societies contributed in part to the formation of the *Fasci*, a Socialist-directed movement. By the 1890s, the *Fasci* movement was a powerful force, with revolts that were increasingly threatening to those in power. Between the years 1892 and 1894, the *Fasci* was forcibly suppressed by the government and ordered to disband. Many of the former leaders of the movement fled to the United States, while other immigrants responded to the deteriorating economic conditions, from which they saw no relief.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The main areas of Sicilian settlement in the United States included the major industrial centers of the country including New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, California, Illinois, and some parts of the South, including Louisiana and Texas. The heaviest concentrations of Sicilian Americans were in New York, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, and San Francisco, where jobs for unskilled workers were readily available. Sicilians also migrated to rural areas such as Bryant, Texas, where over 3,000 Sicilians had settled by the 1890s.

This generation of Sicilian immigrants tended to cluster together in groups according to the regions from which they had emigrated. In New York City those emigrating from the village of Cinisi huddled together on East 69th Street, while larger sections like Elizabeth Street contained emigrants from several different areas including Sciacca and Palermo. Sicilians from fishing villages settled in Boston on the North Street, while others settled in San Francisco's North Beach. Many of the districts were soon regarded as "Little Italys." Sicilians in Chicago congregated in an area known as "Little Sicily," and those in New Orleans lived in a district dubbed "Little Palermo."

While large proportions of Sicilian Americans continue to live in urban areas, subsequent genera-

tions of Sicilian Americans gradually moved away from the old neighborhoods. Economic prosperity has enabled many to own their own houses in the suburbs, a fulfillment of the dreams of their immigrant grandparents.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Many of the earliest immigrants from Sicily were young males or heads of households who intended to work for a short time in the United States before returning to Italy. After several years of working, over half would eventually send for their families and permanently establish themselves in various cities across the country. In a "chain migration" other families from the village would then immigrate to the same area. There was subsequently little assimilation at first, even among Sicilians who had emigrated from different regions. The early Sicilian immigrants held fast to the various dialects and celebrations of their native villages. Many never learned to speak English at all, and there was little intermarriage with other immigrant groups. Sheltered from the larger culture, the "Little Sicilies" that the immigrants created mimicked the world they had left behind. Mutual aid societies like the Caltanissetta (Sicily) Society in Baltimore and the Trinacria Fratellanza Siciliana in Chicago aided the immigrants with housing, employment, and general acclimation. Sicilian cuisine and entertainment could be found in virtually every Sicilian settlement area. Sicilian dances and songs were performed at the local music halls, in addition to a number of puppet shows, a traditional Sicilian entertainment. Agrippino Manteo's widely popular "Papa Manteo's Life-Size Marionettes" attracted large Sicilian audiences throughout the early part of the twentieth century. Weekly newspapers like the *Corriere Siciliano* (The Sicilian Courier) brought the Sicilian immigrants news from Sicily.

The Sicilians' seemingly stubborn resistance to assimilation was fueled in part by the hatred they aroused in their new country. Many Americans believed Sicilians were an "inferior race" destined to remain in ignorance and poverty. The prejudice that this belief encouraged generated a vicious cycle of limited economic and educational opportunities. Foremost among those who spurned the Sicilians were the earlier arrivals from northern Italy. The traditional animosity between the northern and southern Italians spilled over into the new land. Northern Italians, who had a greater number of skilled laborers among them, were therefore more likely to land higher-paying jobs than Sicilians, the

majority of whom were peasants. Furthermore, northern Italian immigrants were more established in the New World and had begun to achieve a relative degree of prosperity. They were reluctant to be lumped with the newly arrived Sicilians, who they had long considered inferior to them. Consequently, they struggled to disassociate themselves from the Sicilian immigrants. In many instances the northern Italians would move out of neighborhoods when the Sicilians began to populate them. A 1975 article by F. Ianni and E. Reuss in *Psychology Today* quotes a northern Italian immigrant: "Trust family first, relatives second, Sicilians third, and after that, forget it."

“To this day, some Sicilians who also believe in the Evil Eye try not to forget to put their first stocking on the left leg, in order to ensure a day of good luck. And if, while praying at midnight, they should hear the baying of a dog, they will expect *male notizia* (bad news).”

“Southern Italian Folklore in New York city” (*New York folklore Quarterly*, v. XXI, 1965).

But if the northern Italians were suspicious and dismissive of the Sicilians, then the rest of America was openly hostile. Sicilians were labeled “dirty,” “diseased,” and “political anarchists” and were accused of introducing a criminal element into the United States, namely the Mafia. The notorious underworld activities of Sicilian Americans such as Charles “Lucky” Luciano were duly reported in newspapers across the United States. The image of the Sicilian “mobster” had devastating consequences for all Sicilians. Numerous innocent Sicilians were charged and convicted of heinous crimes, usually with flimsy circumstantial evidence to support their cases. When the jury system failed to convict, citizens took matters into their own hands. A case in point occurred in 1891 in New Orleans, Louisiana, where 11 Sicilians were lynched by a mob of “good citizens” outraged at the not-guilty verdict returned in a trial. Similar incidents on a smaller scale occurred in other towns throughout Louisiana well into the next century.

Given the amount of hatred these first Sicilian immigrants encountered in the New World, it is not surprising that they preferred to remain in sheltered enclaves surrounded with familiar village dialects and customs. Even as other immigrants began to consider themselves “Americans,” Sicilians continued to identify themselves by their par-

ticular villages. Neither were they entirely sure of their place in the emerging Italian American culture. Although the United States grouped Sicilians under the category of “Italians,” Sicilians were reluctant to do so. The unification with Italy and Sicily was less than 100 years old, and the bitterness it had wrought ran deep among Sicilians. However, second- and third-generation Sicilian Americans were less concerned with such distinctions and were more apt to label themselves “Italian Americans.”

Ultimately, Sicilian immigrants followed an assimilation pattern similar to northern Italians, albeit at a noticeably slower rate. As educational opportunities increased, so too did economic opportunities. As with Italian Americans overall, Sicilians proved they were “American” in the fullest sense of the word during World War II. Sicilian Americans were able to provide crucial military aid, particularly during the Sicilian campaign of 1943. World War II marked something of a turning point as second- and third-generation Sicilians achieved financial security and social acceptance. Although images of mafia lords continue to dog the Sicilians, they are far from being the victims of hatred and discrimination they once were.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Sicilians have a variety of traditions, many of which are derived from quasi-religious beliefs. For example, according to an old folk belief, bread made during the first three days of May will result in mold and roaches throughout the house. The origins of this tradition can be traced to a legend about a woman making bread who denied a crumb to a beggar and was generous to devils masquerading as knights. This mistake resulted in the dangers inherent in making bread during the first three days of May.

Other traditions and customs are traced back to an agricultural lifestyle. Sicilians would ritually taste every new product that came from the earth while reciting the words, “Whatever I eat today, may I eat it next year.” Dried figs were left in a basket and were not touched until the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi, in the belief that moths would ruin them unless they were protected by the saint. There was also a lingering belief in forms of witchcraft: a belief in the “evil eye” and the need for an exorcist for a person whose soul has been overtaken by devils. Many of the agricultural traditions and customs were difficult to transfer to the industrial New World and disappeared with immigration.

PROVERBS

Many proverbs from Sicilian culture have survived through the generations: With a rooster or without a rooster, God will still make the dawn; Nothing scratches my hand like my own nails; The war is lost for too much advice; The words of your enemies can make you laugh, but those of a friend can make you cry; Crooked wood is straightened with fire; You can't have meat without the bone; Do not be too sweet lest you be eaten, do not be too sour lest you be shunned; He who digs a grave for his brother falls in it himself; If it doesn't stain, it soils; A person eating must make crumbs; A rock offered by a friend is like an apple; A fish starts smelling bad from the head.

CUISINE

Sicilian cuisine is savory and flavorful, and reflects the influence of a diverse cultural inheritance. An Arab influence is particularly noticeable. The food is hot and spicy, and eggplants, olives, pine nuts, and capers are plentiful, along with the ubiquitous pasta and tomatoes.

Some of the main dishes include: *pasta con le sarde* (sardines, raisins, pine nuts, and capers); *frittedda* (peas, fava beans, and artichokes); *pasta con pescespada* (pasta with swordfish); *pasta con le melanzane* (pasta and eggplant); and *cuscus* (Sicilian couscous). Special dishes include the *ragu Siciliano delle feste* (Sicilian feast day ragout). The Sicilians are also known for their desserts, including their *gelato Siciliano* (Sicilian ice cream) and *cannoli*, a fried pastry stuffed with ricotta cheese and candied fruit. *Cassata* is also made with ricotta and candied fruit, in addition to almond paste and sponge cake, and *martorana* is a form of marzipan for which Sicilians are well known.

The grinding poverty that characterized Sicily in the early decades of the twentieth century forced Sicilians to exist at a mere sustenance level. It is ironic that many of the Sicilian peasants were unable to enjoy many of the foods unique to their region until they emigrated to the United States and could afford to do so. Food became a central part of the immigrants' lives and found a prominent place in many of the religious and cultural celebrations. Toward the end of the twentieth century there was a renewed interest in Sicilian cooking, and recipe books became easily accessible.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The traditional costumes of Sicilian women are made of dimity bodices, red and dark blue (or white

and dark blue) striped skirts of homewoven cloth, striped aprons, calfskin slippers with pointed toes, dark blue stockings, and kerchiefs of cotton wrapped around the neck and bosom. Men wear white cotton hose, homewoven cloth shirts with wide collars, heavy shoes, and a wide-brimmed hat made out of palm leaves. The festival dress of women consists of a dark blue velvet bodice, a silk skirt, dark blue stockings, a white twill mantlet, striped leather shoes, with ties of black ribbon in the front, a silver hair clasp, filigree drop earrings, numerous finger rings, and necklaces of coral and amber. The men wear a dark blue velvet suit, a white cotton cap, a red cotton sash, and two handkerchiefs of red, yellow, or green. Sicilian Americans do not wear traditional dress anymore except at special occasions.

DANCES AND SONGS

Sicilians have many unique songs, the majority of which celebrate agricultural and religious themes. For instance, during the olive harvest or grape gathering certain songs would be sung for each stage of the harvesting process. Many of the folk songs are mournful, haunting melodies, but other songs are quite ribald. The traditional instruments are bagpipes, reed flutes, drums, and wind instruments. Several songs combine dancing and singing, like the *Aria of the Fasola*, in which a man and woman sing to each other. Some of the traditional dances include *The Nail*, *The Polyp*, *The Tarascon*, *The Capona*, and *The Fasola*, which is a lot like the Neapolitan *tarantella*. Sicilian dances and songs were a vibrant part of the entertainment found in the communities of the first Sicilian immigrants. Gradually they were replaced with more Americanized forms of entertainment like motion pictures. However, traditional Sicilian songs and dances can still be heard at celebrations and special occasions.

HOLIDAYS

Along with traditional Catholic and American holidays like Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and Easter Day, Sicilians also celebrate several feast days. Sicilian immigrants brought with them their *feste*, which honor the patron saints of the various villages from which they had arrived. The *feste* marked not only a day of celebration, but reinforced the ties the immigrants still had to their native villages. Immigrants from Palermo honored Saint Rosalia, immigrants from Catania honored Saint Agatha, and still others honored Saint Gandolfo, Saint Joseph, and Saint Anthony. Lavish processions complete with parades, fireworks, and traditional Sicilian songs and

dances characterized the *feste*. Nor were the festivals limited to the honoring of the patron saints of the villages. Immigrants from Palermo continued the practice of honoring Madonna del Lume (Holy Mother of Light) in San Francisco. A procession would lead down to the Fisherman's Wharf for the ancient Blessing of the Fishing Fleet, after which celebrations with music and dancing would take place. The *feste* celebrations of the Sicilian immigrants continue to be held today, and are equally lavish, if not more so. Many celebrations, like the annual *feste* honoring St. Joseph in New Orleans, are eagerly anticipated and attended by all groups and not just those of Sicilian ancestry.

HEALTH ISSUES

Sicilians are naturally robust and have not been prone to any particular health problems. Illnesses did occur during immigration, however. Accustomed to the mild climate and open spaces of Sicily, the immigrants fared badly among the crowded conditions of city tenements. The closeness of their living space and lack of fresh air was both mentally and physically harmful. Many of the Sicilians suffered from depression or were victims of the various diseases that all too often swept through entire city blocks of tenements. Sicilians were especially vulnerable to tuberculosis and many of them returned to Sicily gravely ill. During the mass migration, there were so many immigrants returning to die that several villages in Sicily set up sanitariums to receive them. As they began to move out of the tenements, later generations of Sicilian Americans were no longer exposed to the conditions that bred disease. Like most Americans, later generations of Sicilian Americans are able to take advantage of the medical insurance offered by their employers.

LANGUAGE

Although the official language of Sicily is Italian, the Sicilians have a fully developed language, complete with regional dialects (*parrati*) of their own. The Sicilian language derives from Latin and reflects the influence of many centuries of occupation. Many of their words have Greek, Arab, French, or Spanish origins. The spelling is fundamentally phonetic and the stress falls on the next to last syllable unless indicted by an accent mark. The vowels are pronounced as follows: the Sicilian "a" is pronounced like the English "a" in "father;" "e" like "e" in "west"; "i" like "ea" in "feast"; a short "i" like "i" in "fit"; "o" like "aw" in "saw"; and "u" like "o" in "do."

Most of the consonants are pronounced the same as in English, with a few exceptions: "e" before "e" or "i" is pronounced like the "ch" in "church"; "c" before "a, o, or u" is pronounced like the "k" in "kite"; the "h" is always silent; and both letters in double consonants must be distinctly pronounced. Interestingly, there is no future tense.

Some of the earlier Sicilian immigrants never learned to speak English at all; many, however, adapted their Sicilian to the English language to form a hybrid language composed of both Sicilian and English words. The children of the immigrants usually spoke both English and Sicilian. Most Sicilian Americans converted to the English language by the end of the twentieth century. However, there was a growing sense of alarm that the cultural heritage of their language would be lost to Sicilian Americans. Various organizations were subsequently formed to promote the study of the language.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Sicilian greetings and other expressions include the following: *milli grazii*—many thanks; *cuntenti di canuscirivi*—glad to meet you; *addiu*—goodbye; *una bona idea*—a good idea; *sì, daveru*—yes, indeed; *scusatimi*—excuse me; *pir favuri*—please; *mi chiamu*—my name is; *saluti*—health; *santa*—saint; *cu piaciri*—with pleasure; *benissimu*—fine; *bon*—good; *cuntenti*—content; *oggi*—today; *dumani*—tomorrow; *amicu*—friend; and *gentillissimu*—very kind.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Sicily, the family was a strong defense against the desperate and unrelieved poverty that characterized life. Each family member contributed to the all-encompassing and often heartbreaking effort to survive. First loyalties were reserved for the closest kin (*casa*). This was an economic necessity as each family competed with other families for survival. Resolutely patriarchal, the family deferred to the father on every decision. But the mother's role in the family was also important; while she did not possess an equal share of the authority, she nevertheless had the important task of running the household. Children were expected to share in the responsibilities of maintaining the household from an early age.

A new emphasis was placed on extended relatives during the immigration process. Although the economic competition in Sicily fostered less of a sense of cooperation beyond the *casa*, a distinction

was generally made for a second tier of kin (*parenti*). While the *parenti* played a peripheral role in Sicily, they became an important factor in immigrants' lives, in many cases becoming the first link in a migration chain. The *parenti* provided much needed emotional and financial support, eventually commanding almost as much loyalty as the *casa*.

Many Sicilians, however, felt that family loyalty as a whole suffered as a consequence of migration to the United States. The early Sicilian immigrants attempted to duplicate traditional Sicilian family patterns in the New World. Men continued to exert the greater share of authority, at least on the surface, while the women ran the households. Children continued to contribute to the economic support of the family from an early age. However, there were important changes that occurred with migration. Frequently the women, both wives and daughters, worked outside of the home. Mothers could no longer supervise their children in the manner they were accustomed to in Sicily. First the children went to school, and from there they were pulled out as soon as possible to go to work. As the children of the immigrants began to absorb American ways, they felt increasingly resentful of the expectations of their parents. The children began to question the old ways, such as automatically turning over their wages to their parents. The parents in turn felt betrayed by what they felt was the children's lack of respect for the family.

The gap between the immigrants and their children continued to widen and foster tensions as the children grew more "Americanized." As these first immigrants passed on, however, traditional Sicilian family values gradually waned and the distinctions that marked a Sicilian family became less apparent. Nevertheless, *la famiglia* continues to play an important role in the lives of Sicilian Americans today.

EDUCATION

Since the first Sicilian immigrants were primarily agricultural workers, a good education was not necessarily among the skills they valued highly. In Sicily, basic survival was of primary importance, and children were expected to start contributing from an early age. The transfer of a child from the fields to a school threatened the family's survival. Nor were schools easily accessible to the larger majority of Sicilians; only the wealthy were able to take advantage of the limited opportunities. There was consequently a high illiteracy rate among agricultural workers in Sicily, which remained true as late as the twenty-first century.

These early Sicilian immigrants brought with them their indifference toward education. Their skepticism increased along with the wariness they felt towards the American values being taught to their children in the schools. Sicilian immigrants were often resentful their children attended school at all, and they placed little emphasis on study time. Children frequently had part-time jobs in addition to their schoolwork, which lessened their chances of success in an educational setting. Since they had limited educational opportunities, the children consequently had limited economic opportunities and they were soon caught in a web of poverty.

After World War II, the children and grandchildren of these immigrants were largely cognizant of the need for education. By this time, Sicilians were acclimated to the extent that they no longer felt threatened or intimidated by American schools. They utilized the G.I. Bill and took advantage of the increased educational opportunities. Like the majority of America, Sicilian Americans strive to provide their children with a college education.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Sicilian immigrants carried with them a fixed set of rules concerning women's roles within the patriarchal household. Fathers perceived a fierce obligation to protect the chastity of their daughters and when the daughters were old enough to marry, they were protected and dominated by their husbands. Wives and daughters stayed strictly within the boundaries of running the households and did not work outside of the home. Such a system could not be maintained in the United States. When it was possible, wives continued to work in the house, and their daughters helped them cook, clean, and care for the younger children. But many women, even unmarried women, were forced from sheer economic necessity to work outside of the home. The women worked in factories, in the garment industry, and in the South they worked in the fields alongside the men.

The old patriarchal system clashed with the new expectations and roles for women. Fathers were unable to supervise the activities of their daughters in the manner to which they had been accustomed. At school, daughters learned "American ways" that were considered unsuitable and compromising to their chastity by Sicilian standards. In increasing numbers the daughters desired additional education beyond the household arts. Sicilian men were not in the habit of considering

education—any formal education—important for females and they were reluctant to begin doing so. Gradually, the role of the Sicilian American woman has undergone a revision. Like many women in America, Sicilian women now demand educational and career opportunities. In many cases, however, the transition has generated stress and conflict within the families.

WEDDINGS, BAPTISMS, AND FUNERALS

The importance of weddings, baptisms, and funerals has not diminished among later generations of Sicilian Americans. As an extension of their religious faith, these events are observed in the manner of Roman Catholicism, combined with elements that are more traditional than religious. They also tend to be lavish and expensive, especially the weddings. The majority of expenses fall on the daughter's family, but in view of the rising costs of weddings, some families are beginning to allocate expenses a little more evenly. However, because of the importance placed on the event, it is not considered inappropriate if a family goes into debt to pay for the wedding. The celebrations begin early; the bride is given several showers before the wedding, where she receives gifts and money. Male friends and relatives of the groom throw him stag parties. The weddings are generally all-day celebrations and the ceremony is followed by a large reception. Earlier immigrants continued the tradition of large guest lists, subsequent generations of Sicilian Americans have considerably cut down the number of invited guests.

Like weddings, baptisms are very special to Sicilian Americans. The role of godparent is chosen very carefully, for that role represents a substantial investment of time and money to the person chosen. The baptism is performed as soon after the birth as possible; traditionally, an unbaptized baby was susceptible to the devil. The godparents furnish the clothing the baby wears during the ceremony. Among the more traditional, a religious medal is sometimes included to ward off the "evil eye." After the ceremony, parties are held, which generally last until the evening.

After a death occurs in a Sicilian American family, there is an outpouring of food, flowers, and money from friends and relatives. The grief is shared with the family and everyone, even distant kin, is expected to pay respects. During the wake, which can last up to three or four days, the casket is left open, and the mourners can kneel and say a prayer. Relatives are arranged in the importance of closeness to the deceased for the funeral and the funeral

procession to the cemetery. Sicilian American funerals have given way to some American traditions such as cutting the length of the wake, but in general the funerals tend to be more openly emotional and elaborate than American funerals.

RELIGION

Sicilians have a long history of religious activity in the New World. As early as the seventeenth century, Catholic missionaries sailed to the West Coast in an effort to convert Native Americans to Christianity. One of these missionaries was Father Francesco Mario Piccolo, who joined Father Chino in California in 1689. Father Piccolo became a part of the exploration journey through Lower California and soon proved an apt mapmaker. He was appointed "visitor of missions" in 1705 and spent forty years in California before his death there in 1729. Father Saverio Saetta was also instrumental in early missionary efforts.

The Jesuit missionaries, however, had little in common with the Sicilian immigrants that arrived en masse between 1880 and 1920. While the vast majority of Sicilian immigrants were Roman Catholics, many of their religious beliefs were based on a mixture of Catholicism, paganism, and superstition. Tied to an agricultural world, their semi-religious traditions and customs had been celebrated for centuries, virtually untouched and unchallenged from the unrest provoked in other countries during the Protestant Reformation. Their faith was an important extension of their local identity and the *feste* honoring the patron saints of their villages were sacred rituals. Helpless and vulnerable against the elements, the superstitions, saints, and magic their folk religion provided them with helped to ease the uncertainties and anxieties of their rural lifestyle.

Early Sicilians brought their folk religion with them to the New World. The sheltered village enclaves allowed the Sicilians to continue practicing their religion as they were accustomed to in Sicily. Each village continued the practice of the *feste*, and many held fast to their belief in witcheries such as the "evil eye." The Irish Catholics were appalled at the Sicilians' treatment of the Catholic faith, as were the Protestants. In their eyes, the Sicilians' festival processions and worship of saints smacked of paganism and idolatry, and to the Protestants it represented the worst of Catholic excess. In addition, the Sicilians were unaccustomed to regular attendance at church or confessions, and entertained a general distrust for clergy members. Catholicism was a major part of the Sicil-



A Greek Orthodox Archbishop spreads incense during a special celebration at New York's Central Park bandshell. While most Sicilian Americans are Roman Catholic, a small percentage are Greek Orthodox Christians.

ians' lives, but they were not particularly interested in formal or structured practice.

Tensions ran high between Sicilian Catholics and Irish Catholics. The Irish largely controlled the American Catholic churches, and they resented the Sicilians' potential encroachment. Eventually the Sicilians founded their own parishes, where they could practice their faith as they chose. Immigrants from the area of Palermo founded the Chapel of Saint Rosalia, while those from Patti founded Saint Mary of Tyndaris. Sicilians from other villages quickly followed suit. There the Sicilians were free to practice the folk religion of their villages. Second and third generation Sicilians, however, gradually phased out most of the more superstitious and supernatural elements of the Old World and preferred to practice religion in more conventional ways. The younger generation found the folk elements an old-fashioned and embarrassing reminder of their parents' and grandparents' immigrant status. In general, the *feste* honoring the various patron saints are still celebrated, but they can and should be labeled as cultural rather than religious celebrations.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Because the first Sicilian immigrants generally were unskilled laborers, the jobs they found in America were of the lowest sort. They worked in factories, operated pushcarts, worked on the railroads, dug tunnels, worked at construction sites, worked on the docks, and cleaned streets. The Sicilians in New Orleans worked in the sugarcane fields, while those in San Francisco and Boston gravitated toward the waterfront, where they fished for trade. Sicilian women worked mainly in the garment trade, in factories, or alongside their husbands in the fields. Only a fortunate few men were artisans in Sicily, and those few fared much better. Skilled laborers were able to find jobs as carpenters, masons, bakers, and plumbers.

In many ways early Sicilian immigrants were exploited, sometimes even before they left Sicily. A type of labor recruitment system evolved in which a *padrone* (a fellow Sicilian that operated as a middle man between the immigrants and American bosses)

lured Sicilian men over to America with the promise of paid passage and a guaranteed job. In this way the *padrone* provided American companies with large numbers of employees for which they were paid handsomely. The Sicilians, however, were charged high interest for the “loan” of their passage money and were treated as slaves by their new employers.

The road to financial security was long and difficult. Since the families hovered near the poverty level, their children had to leave school early in order to supplement their parents’ income. As there was no chance of learning a trade, the children, like their parents, were unable to rise above the status of unskilled laborer. There were exceptions, however, like Vincenzo La Rosa, who founded the La Rosa Macaroni Company in 1914. Likewise, Salvador Oteri built a successful wholesale fruit business, and Giuseppe Caccioppo founded the Grandview Dairy, Inc. in 1901. All three men amassed millions. But the majority of the Sicilians found it difficult to break out of the cycle, a problem that was exacerbated by the Great Depression. However, Sicilians benefited from the economic prosperity following World War II. Third and fourth generation Sicilians of these first immigrants are represented in virtually every professional field, including medicine, law, higher education, and business.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Many of the first Sicilian immigrants expected to return to Sicily after they had earned an appropriate amount of money. While the naturalization rate was low for Italians in general, it was even lower for those from Sicily. These Sicilian immigrants cared little about American politics or governmental policies; they were more inclined to stay abreast of the political situation in Sicily. Sicilian immigrants were not apathetic toward politics, however. Many of them had been active members of the *Fasci* movement and were well acquainted with political activity.

Ultimately, it was the type of work the immigrants found in America that brought them to the political forefront with their push toward organized labor. The Sicilians became heavily involved in the struggle for labor unions, a role that earned them the label of “anarchists.” However, unsafe working conditions, low pay, and long hours had begun to take their toll on American workers long before the Sicilian mass immigration began. The rapidly expanding capitalist economy in the early twentieth century further widened the gap between American “bosses” and workers. America was ripe for union activity, but the efforts thus far had proved ineffectual. As the initial success of the *Fasci Siciliano* had proved, the

Sicilians were well-versed in organizing workers. The immigrants brought this knowledge with them to America at precisely the time when organized labor was ready for their experience.

The Lexington Avenue strike that took place during the first decade of the twentieth century was an early example of the Sicilians’ ability to organize workers. Salvatore Ninno and other Sicilians successfully agitated for safer working conditions and shorter hours for their work digging subway tunnels. Giovanni Vaccaro led a series of successful cigar strikes in Tampa, Florida, between 1910 and 1920. The Clothing Workers of America Union organized similar strikes, including the big strike of 1919, which was led in great part by “Nino” Capraro. Nor was the push for organized labor restricted to Sicilian American men. Capraro’s wife, Maria Bambache Capraro, played a vital role in the needleworkers’ strike in 1919.

As naturalization rates increased, Sicilian Americans began to switch from radical union activity to formal politics. During the 1920s and 1930s Sicilians voted primarily Democratic. In addition, they began to send Sicilian Americans into office including the first Italian representative to Congress, Vincent Palmisano (1882-1953), a Democrat from Maryland. Sicilians have since then been elected to most offices on the local, state, and national levels. In 1986 President Ronald Reagan appointed Antonin Scalia to the Supreme Court, a powerful symbol of the acceptance of Sicilian Americans into the political mainstream. While there has been a general shift in political alliance from Democratic to Republican, Sicilian Americans do not favor one party over the other to any great extent.

MILITARY

Sicilian Americans have been represented in the American military in every war from the Civil War to the Persian Gulf. During World War I, many Sicilians had only recently immigrated and there was not a widespread enlistment. Sicilians proved their military worth, however, during World War II, when the island of Sicily played a vital role in the Allied victory. Prior to the Sicilian campaign of 1943, enlisted Sicilian Americans like Max Corvo were able to provide valuable linguistic and technical information that proved beneficial to the campaign.

RELATIONS WITH SICILY

A large number of Sicilians immigrated to the United States in order to escape the terrible economic

and political conditions in Sicily. Many Sicilians believed they would eventually return to Sicily. The earlier “return immigrants” cared little about American culture and maintained strong ties with Sicily. But by the time the immigrants had established a firm presence in America, they found themselves alienated from their Sicilian relatives, who called them *Americani*. While the first Sicilian Americans continued to visit their relatives in Sicily, they were increasingly estranged from the Old World Sicilians.

Subsequent generations of the first Sicilian Americans were more committed to American culture and found little in common with their relatives in Sicily. However, some descendants of early Sicilian Americans were interested in exploring their Sicilian roots in an effort to learn more about the culture their immigrant forebears had left behind. Toward the end of the twentieth century, a renewed interest in Sicilian customs and traditions helped fuel a celebration of the distinctiveness of the Sicilian heritage. Currently the City University of New York (CUNY) has a foreign exchange program for students wishing to study in Sicily.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Pietro Bachi (1787-1853) was the first to teach the Italian language at Harvard University, his tenure commencing in 1825. Bachi also wrote several books on the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages including *A Grammar of the Italian Language* (1829). Like Bachi, Luigi Monti (1830-1914) also taught Italian at Harvard and, like Bachi, he contributed to the academic world with *A Grammar of the Italian Language* (1855). He later became the American consul at Palermo, where he penned his experiences in his book *Adventures of a Consul Abroad* (1878). Josephine Gattuso Hendin became a professor of American literature at New York University. Her book *The World Around Flannery O'Connor* (1970) was highly lauded as was her book *Vulnerable People: A View of American Fiction Since 1945* (1978). She later published a book titled *The Right Thing to Do* (1988), which draws heavily upon her experiences of growing up in a Sicilian household.

FILM

Director Frank Capra (1897-1991) is best known for his nostalgic, optimistic “Capra-esque” movies such as: *It Happened One Night* (1934); *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936); *You Can't Take It With You*

(1938); *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939); *Arsenic and Old Lace* (1944); and *It's A Wonderful Life* (1947). Capra was recognized with three Oscars for Best Director, in addition to an Oscar for Best Documentary for his propaganda series *Why We Fight* (1942). Ben Gazzara (1930-) has appeared in *The Strange One* (1957); *Anatomy of a Murder* (1949); and *Husbands* (1970) in addition to his television work on the series *Arrest and Trial* (1963-1964) and *Run for Your Life* (1965-1968). Al Pacino (1940-) has won much acclaim for his portrayal of the stereotypical “Mafia” role. He is perhaps best known for his role in *The Godfather* (1972), for which he received a Academy award nomination for best supporting actor, and for his role in *The Godfather Part II* (1974), for which he received a nomination for best actor. He was also nominated for his performances in *Justice for All* (1979); *Dick Tracy* (1990); and *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1992). He won the Academy award for best actor for his work in *Scent of a Woman* (1992).

MUSIC

Frank Sinatra (1915-1998), recorded more than 800 songs including “I’m Walking Behind You” (1953); “I’ve Got the World on a String” (1953); “From Here to Eternity” (1953); “Learnin’ the Blues” (1955); “Chicago” (1957); “Witchcraft” (1957); and “Nice ‘N’ Easy” (1960). In the 1940s he began to appear in motion pictures and was soon commanding starring roles. His film credits include *Anchors Aweigh* (1945); *On the Town* (1949); and *From Here to Eternity* (1953), for which he won the best supporting actor award. He also appeared in *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962). He was the recipient of numerous honors, including the Kennedy Center Honors for life achievement in 1983 and the Medal of Freedom in 1985. Nick LaRocca (1889-1961) contributed to the emergence of jazz. He was an inspired cornet player and founded the original “Dixieland Jazz Band.” “Livery Stable Blues” and “Tiger Rag” are two of his better-known songs. Natalie Merchant (1963-) achieved international success with her popular rock band the “10,000 Maniacs.” By 1987 the band had reached the Top 40 with their acclaimed album *In My Tribe*. In 1995 Merchant launched a solo debut album, *Tigerlily*. The album was well received and the song “Carnival” from that album reached the Top 10. She released a second solo album *Ophelia* in 1998.

SPORTS

Tony Canzonerie (1908-1959) held the featherweight (1928), lightweight (1930-1933, 1935-

1936), and junior welterweight (1931-1932, 1933) world championships in boxing and is considered one of the most fearless, aggressive boxers of all time. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1956. Joe DiMaggio (1914-1999), known as the "Yankee Clipper," was one of the most beloved and baseball players. Among his many achievements, he set a record in 1941 with a 56-game hitting streak, won three American League Most Valuable Player awards, and was voted into the Hall of Fame in 1955.

MEDIA

Numerous newspapers and radio broadcasts existed during the years of the Sicilian mass immigration. But as the assimilation of Sicilians into American culture became more complete, the news and radio sources gradually disappeared. While there are no newspapers or radio shows specifically targeted to Sicilian American audiences, the World Wide Web has allowed a growing number of interested Sicilian Americans to access the Sicilian newspapers and live Sicilian radio.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Arba Sicula (AS).

Founded in 1979, the organization focuses on the promotion and preservation of the Sicilian language, literature, and culture. In addition to the two journals and two newspapers they publish annually, the Arba Sicula (translated as "Sicilian Dawn") sponsors Sicilian language festivals and special Sicilian-American events.

Contact: Dr. Gaetano Cipolla, President.

Address: Modern Foreign Language Dept., St.

John's University, Jamaica, New York 11439.

Telephone: (718) 990-6161.

Club Siciliano.

Founded in 1996 on the World Wide Web, the Club Siciliano seeks to preserve and bring about an awareness of the Sicilian culture and heritage. The website provides a listing of Sicilian-American business connections.

Address: P.O. Box 691, Bowling Green Station,
New York, New York 10006.

E-mail: Isiciliani@aol.com.

Order Sons of Italy (OSIA).

Founded in 1905, the Order Sons of Italy focuses on the preservation of the cultural heritage of Italian Americans, including those of Sicilian ancestry.

Contact: Phillip R. Piccigallo, National Director.

Address: 219 East Street N.E., Washington,
D.C. 20002.

Telephone: (202) 547-2900.

The National Italian American Foundation (NIAF).

An organization dedicated to protecting and preserving the Italian American heritage and culture, and to strengthening the ties between the United States and Italy.

Contact: Dr. Mario Lombardo.

Address: 1860 19th Street, N.W., Washington,
D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (202) 387-0600.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Houses a formidable library containing valuable information and resources on multicultural groups in the United States, including Sicilian Americans.

Contact: Pamela Nelson, Curator.

Address: 18 South Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19106.

Telephone: (215) 925-8090.

The Center for Migration Studies.

Contains documents relating to the historical and sociodemographic aspects of Sicilian immigrants.

Contact: Dr. Lydio Tomas, Director.

Address: 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island,
New York 10304.

Telephone: (718) 351-8800.

Immigration History Research Center (IHRC).

Located at the University of Minnesota, the IHRC is a valuable archival source for Sicilian Americans; the collection includes newspapers, books, and manuscripts.

Contact: Joel Wurl, Curator.

Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul,
Minnesota 53114.

Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

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The effects of the racism experienced by African Americans and other immigrants to the United States have been minimized because many Sierra Leonean Americans are highly educated and use English as a first or second language.

SIERRA LEONEAN AMERICANS

by
Francesca Hampton

OVERVIEW

Sierra Leone is located on what was once called the “Rice Coast” of West Africa. Its 27,699 square miles are bordered by the republics of Guinea to the north and northeast and Liberia to the south. It encompasses areas of heavy rain forest, swamp, plains of open savanna, and hill country, rising to 6390 feet at Loma Mansa (Bintimani) in the Loma Mountains. The country is sometimes referred to in abbreviated form as “Salone” by immigrants. The population is estimated at 5,080,000. Sierra Leone’s national flag consists of three equal horizontal bands of color with light green at the top, white in the middle, and light blue on the bottom.

This small country includes the homelands of 20 African peoples, including the Mende, Lokko, Temne, Limba, Susu, Yalunka, Sherbro, Bullom, Krim, Koranko, Kono, Vai, Kissi, Gola, and Fula, the latter having the largest numbers. Its capital, Freetown, was founded as a refuge for repatriated slaves in the eighteenth century. There are also small numbers of Europeans, Syrians, Lebanese, Pakistanis, and Indians in residence. Some 60 percent of Sierra Leoneans are Muslims, 30 percent are traditionalists, and 10 percent are Christian (mostly Anglican and Roman Catholic).

HISTORY

Scholars believe that the earliest inhabitants of Sierra Leone were the Limba and the Capez, or

Sape. As the Mandingo Empire fell under the assault of the Berbers, refugees, including the Susus, Limba, Konos, and Korankos, entered Sierra Leone from the north and east, driving the Bullom peoples to the coast. The Mende, Kono, and Vai tribes of today are descended from invaders who pushed up from the south.

The name Sierra Leone derives from the name Sierra Lya, or "Lion Mountain," given to the land in 1462, by the Portuguese explorer Pedro Da Cinta when he observed its wild and forbidding hills. Within Sierra Leone, the Portuguese constructed the first fortified trading stations on the African coast. Like the French, Dutch, and Brandenburgers, they began to trade manufactured goods, rum, tobacco, arms, and ammunition for ivory, gold, and slaves.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, all of these peoples were invaded repeatedly by the Temne. Like the Kissis, the Temne are a Bantu people speaking a language related to Swahili. They moved south from Guinea after the breakup of the Songhai empire. Led by Bai Farama, the Temnes attacked the Susus, Limbas and Mende, as well as the Portuguese and created a strong state along the trade route from Port Loko to the Sudan and Niger. They sold many of these conquered peoples to the Europeans as slaves. In the late sixteenth century the Susus, who were converting to Islam, revolted against the Christian Temnes and set up their own state on the Scarcies River. From there, they dominated the Temnes, converting many of them to Islam. Another Islamic theocratic state in the northwest was established by the Fulas, who often attacked and enslaved nonbelievers among the Yalunka.

Taking advantage of the warfare, British slavers arrived on the Sierra Leone River during the late sixteenth century and erected factories and forts on Sherbro, Bunce, and Tasso islands. These islands were often the last view that Sierra Leoneans had of their native land before being sent into slavery in the Americas. European slave agents hired African and mulatto mercenaries to help them capture villagers or purchase them as debtors or prisoners of war from local chiefs. Relations between these groups were not always friendly. In 1562, Temne warriors reneged on a deal with a European slave trader and drove him away with a fleet of war canoes.

As controversy over the ethics of the slave trade arose in Britain, the English abolitionist Granville Sharp convinced the British government to repatriate a group of freed slaves onto land purchased from Temne chiefs on the Sierra Leone

peninsula. These first settlers arrived in May of 1787 in what would become the capital of Sierra Leone, Freetown. In 1792, they were joined by 1200 freed American slaves who had fought with the British army in the American Revolutionary War. Unhappy with the land that they had been offered in Nova Scotia at the war's conclusion, these black loyalists sent ex-slave Thomas Peters on a protest mission to Britain. The Sierra Leone Company, now in charge of the new colony, helped them return to Africa.

The arrival of these ex-slaves marked the beginning of a culture uniquely influential in West Africa called *Creole*, or "Krio." Along with a steady influx of native Sierra Leoneans from the interior tribes, more than 80,000 other Africans displaced by the slave trade joined those in Freetown during the next century. In 1807, the British parliament voted to end the slave trade and Freetown soon became a crown colony and an enforcement port. British naval vessels based there upheld the ban on slave trading and captured numerous outbound slavers. The Africans released from the holds of slave ships were settled in Freetown and in nearby villages. In a few decades this new Krio society, who were English- and Creole-speaking, educated and predominantly Christian, with a sub-group of Yoruba Muslims, began to influence the whole coast and even the interior of West Africa as they became teachers, missionaries, traders, administrators and artisans. By the middle of the nineteenth century, according to the *Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara*, they had formed "the nucleus of the bourgeoisie of late nineteenth-century coastal British West Africa."

Sierra Leone gradually gained its independence from Britain. Beginning in 1863, native Sierra Leoneans were given representation in the government of Freetown. Limited free elections were held in the city in 1895. Sixty years later the right to vote was extended to the interior, where many tribes had long traditions of participatory decision-making. Full independence was granted to Sierra Leone in 1961. As a new tradition of elective democratic government became firmly established throughout the country, interior tribes such as the Mende, Temne, and Limba gradually regained a dominant position in politics.

MODERN ERA

Sierra Leone's first years as an independent democracy were very successful, thanks to the benevolent leadership of her first prime minister, Sir Milton Magai. He encouraged a free press and honest

debate in Parliament and welcomed nationwide participation in the political process. When Milton Magai died in 1964, he was succeeded by his half-brother, Albert Magai, head of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). Attempting to establish a one-party state and accused of corruption, the SLPP lost the next election in 1967 to an opposition party, the All People's Congress (APC), led by Siaka Stevens. Stevens was unseated briefly by a military coup but returned to power in 1968, this time with the title of president. Although popular in his first years in power, Stevens lost much influence in the latter years of his regime through his government's reputation for corruption and the use of intimidation to stay in power. Siaka Stevens was succeeded in 1986 by his hand-picked successor, Major General Joseph Saidu Momoh, who worked to liberalize the political system, restore the faltering economy, and return Sierra Leone to a multi-party democracy. Unfortunately, events on the border with Liberia in 1991 defeated Momoh's efforts and ushered in what has become almost a full decade of civil strife.

Allied with the Liberian forces of Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front, a small group of Sierra Leonean rebels calling themselves the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) crossed the Liberian border in 1991. Distracted by this rebellion, Momoh's APC party was overthrown in a military coup led by Valentine Strasser, leader of the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). Under Strasser's rule, some members of the Sierra Leonean army began to loot villages. Large numbers of villagers began to die of starvation as the economy was disrupted. As the army's organization weakened, the RUF advanced. By 1995, it was on the outskirts of Freetown. In a frantic attempt to hold onto power, the NPRC hired a South African mercenary firm, Executive Outcomes, to reinforce the army. The RUF suffered significant losses and were forced to retreat to their base camp.

Strasser was eventually overthrown by his deputy, Julius Bio, who held long-promised democratic elections. In 1996, the people of Sierra Leone chose their first freely elected leader in three decades, President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. Kabbah was able to negotiate a peace agreement with the RUF rebels, but the results were short-lived. Another coup rocked the country, and Kabbah was overthrown by a faction of the army calling itself the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). They suspended the constitution and arrested, killed, or tortured those who resisted. Diplomats throughout Sierra Leone fled the country. Many Sierra Leonean citizens launched a campaign of passive resistance to the AFRC. The brutal stalemate

was broken when troops from Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, and Mali, part of the Economic Council of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), routed the AFRC and restored Kabbah to power in 1998.

Although the AFRC was defeated, the RUF remained a destructive force. The RUF embarked on a campaign of renewed terror called "No Living Thing." According to testimony reprinted on a Sierra Leone website, on June 11, 1998, Ambassador Johnnie Carson told the U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee on Africa "The RUF threw [a five-year-old boy who survived] and 60 other villagers into a human bonfire. Hundreds of civilians have escaped to Freetown with arms, feet, hands, and ears amputated by the rebels." The ambassador also reported accounts that the RUF has forced children to participate in the torture and killing of their parents before being drafted as soldier trainees. A fragile peace agreement was eventually brokered between the Kabbah government and the RUF to end the fighting in Sierra Leone.

While many still hope for a better future, the violence in Sierra Leone during the 1990s has severely damaged Sierra Leonean society. Between one and two million Sierra Leoneans were internally displaced and almost 300,000 have sought refuge in Guinea, Liberia, or other countries, including the United States. The traditional, rice-farming villagers of the interior have become more alienated from the better-educated, wealthier elite of Freetown. Ethnic hostilities between elements of the majority Mende, the Temne, and other groups, have worsened because of the civil war.

THE FIRST SIERRA LEONEANS IN AMERICA

In the film *Family Across the Sea*, anthropologist Joe Opala presents several proofs connecting Sierra Leone to a unique group of African Americans whose way of life centers on the coasts and Sea Islands of the Carolinas and Georgia. These are the Gullah, or (in Georgia) Geechee, speakers, descendants of slaves imported from Barbados or directly from Africa to work rice plantations along the southeast coast of the United States beginning in the eighteenth century. It is estimated that approximately 24 percent of slaves brought into the area came from Sierra Leone, prized by buyers in Charleston specifically for their skills as rice farmers. Professor Opala has found letters establishing the facts of this regular commerce between South Carolina plantation owner Henry Lawrence and Richard Oswald, his English slave agent resident on Bunce Island in the Sierra Leone River.

Between 1787 and 1804, it was illegal to bring new slaves into the United States. However, a second infusion of 23,773 Africans came into South Carolina between 1804 and 1807, as new cotton plantations on the Sea Islands began to expand their need for labor, and landowners petitioned the South Carolina legislature to reopen the trade. Africans from Sierra Leone and other parts of West Africa continued to be kidnapped or purchased by renegade slavers long after the importation of Africans was made permanently illegal in the United States in 1808. The coastlines of South Carolina and Georgia, with their numerous rivers, islands, and swamps, provided secret landing sites for the underground sale of slaves. The fact that Sierra Leoneans were among these slaves is documented by the famous court case of the *Amistad*. In 1841, illegally captured Mendes, Temnes, and members of other tribes managed to take control of their slave ship, the *Amistad*. The *Amistad* eventually reached American waters and those on the ship were able to secure their freedom after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in their favor.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

During the 1970s, a new group of Sierra Leoneans began to enter the United States. Most were granted student visas to study in American universities. Some of these students chose to remain in the United States by obtaining legal residence status or marrying American citizens. Many of these Sierra Leoneans are highly educated and entered the fields of law, medicine, and accountancy.

In the 1980s, an increasing number of Sierra Leoneans entered the United States to escape the economic and political hardships in their homeland. While many continued to pursue their education, they also worked to help support family members at home. While some returned to Sierra Leone at the end of their studies, others sought resident status so that they could continue to work in the United States.

By 1990, 4,627 American citizens and residents reported their first ancestry as Sierra Leonean. When civil war swept through Sierra Leone during the 1990s, a new wave of immigrants came to the United States. Many of these immigrants gained access through visitor or student visas. This trend continued between 1990 and 1996, as 7,159 more Sierra Leoneans legally entered the United States. After 1996, some refugees from Sierra Leone were able to enter the United States with immediate legal residence status, as beneficiaries of the immigration lotteries. Others received the newly estab-

lished Priority 3 designation for refugees with close family links in the United States. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees estimates that for 1999, the annual number of Sierra Leoneans resettled may reach 2,500.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Large numbers of Gullah-speaking American citizens, many of who are of Sierra Leonean descent, continue to live in the Sea Islands and the coastal areas of South Carolina and Georgia. Some islands with significant populations are Hilton Head, St. Helena, and Wadmalaw. In the decades before the American Civil War, many Gullah/Geechee-speaking slaves attempted to escape from their South Carolina and Georgian plantations. Of these, many went south, taking refuge with the Creek Indians in Florida. Along with the Creeks and other embattled tribes, they created the society of the Seminoles and retreated deeper into the Florida swamps. Following the Second Seminole War, which lasted from 1835 to 1842, many Sierra Leoneans joined their Native American allies on the "Trail of Tears" to Wewoka in Oklahoma territory. Others followed Wild Cat, the son of Seminole chief King Phillip, to a Seminole colony in Mexico across the Rio Grande from Eagle Pass, Texas. Still others remained in Florida and assimilated into Seminole culture.

The largest concentration of Sierra Leonean immigrants lives in the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. Other sizable enclaves exist in the suburbs of Alexandria, Fairfax, Arlington, Falls Church, and Woodbridge in Virginia, and in Landover, Lanham, Cheverly, Silver Spring, and Bethesda in Maryland. There are also Sierra Leonean communities in the Boston and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, and in New Jersey, Florida, Pennsylvania, New York, Texas, and Ohio.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Gullah/Geechee people were able to preserve some of their original language, culture, and identity for a number of reasons. First, unlike most other enslaved African peoples, they managed to remain together in large concentrations. This was initially a result of their expertise as rice planters at a time when few white laborers had these skills. Buyers sought out Sierra Leonean captives in the slave markets specifically for this ability. According to Opala, "It was African technology which created the intricate dikes and waterways which trans-

formed the low country marshes of the southeast coast into thousands of acres of rice farms.” A second reason for the preservation of Gullah culture in America was that the slaves had a greater resistance to malaria and other tropical diseases than whites. Lastly, there were large numbers of Sierra Leoneans living in the South. In St. Helena Parish, for example, the population of slaves in the first ten years of the nineteenth century grew by 86 percent. The ratio of blacks to whites in Beaufort, South Carolina was almost five to one. This ratio was higher in some areas, and black overseers managed whole plantations while the owners resided elsewhere.

As the American Civil War ended in 1865, opportunities for the Gullah to buy land in the isolated Sea Islands were far greater than for African Americans on the mainland. Although the parcels rarely exceeded ten acres, they allowed their owners to avoid the type of sharecropping and tenant farming that characterized the lives of most African Americans during the Jim Crow years. “The 1870 Census shows that 98 percent of St. Helena’s population of 6,200 was black and that 70 percent owned their own farms,” wrote Patricia Jones-Jackson in *When Roots Die*.

Since the 1950s, however, Gullahs residing on the Sea Islands have been adversely affected by an influx of resort developers and the construction of bridges to the mainland. On many islands where the Gullah once represented an overwhelming majority of the population, they now face minority status. However, there has been a resurgence of interest in Gullah heritage and identity, and strong efforts are being made to keep the culture alive.

Recent immigrants from Sierra Leone, while scattered over a variety of states, tend to congregate in small communities for mutual support. Many socialize or celebrate customs that bring them together regularly. The re-emergence in some cases of family and tribal support networks has made the transition to a new country easier than it might have been. The effects of the racism experienced by African Americans and other immigrants to the United States have been minimized because many Sierra Leonean Americans are highly educated and use English as a first or second language. Although it is not uncommon for newer arrivals to work two or three jobs to support themselves and their families in Sierra Leone, others have been able to attain respect and professional status in a variety of well-paid careers. Sierra Leonean Americans have also benefited greatly from the friendship and support of many former Peace Corps volunteers who served in Sierra Leone beginning in the 1960s.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In Sierra Leone, it is considered rude to look directly into the eyes of a social superior. Therefore, commoners do not look directly at their rulers, nor do wives look directly at their husbands. When a farmer wishes to start working at a new site, he may consult a sorcerer (Krio, *lukin-grohn man*). If devils are found to be in possession of an area, they might be placated with a sacrifice such as rice flour or a bell suspended from a frame on a cord of white satin. The first soft rice of a harvest is beaten to make flour *gbafu* and set out for the farm’s devils. This *gbafu* is then wrapped in a leaf and put under a *senje* tree or a stone for sharpening machetes, as it is believed that this stone also contains a devil. Another custom is designed to ward off the *kaw kaw* bird, which is a large bat, that is considered to be a witch that sucks the blood of small children. To protect a child, a string is tied around its torso and charms are hung from it with verses from the Koran wrapped in leaves. The Krios also have their own wedding custom. Three days before a wedding, a bride’s prospective in-laws bring her a calabash containing a needle, beans (or copper coins), and kola nuts to remind her that she is expected to be a good housewife, look after their son’s money, bring him good luck, and bear many children.

The Gullah/Geechee tradition of making *fanner*, which are flat, tightly woven, circular sweet-grass baskets, is one of the most visible links between that culture and West African culture. These baskets have been sold in city markets and on the streets of Charleston since the 1600s. In Sierra Leone, these baskets are still used to winnow rice. Another holdover from West African tradition is the belief that recently deceased relatives may have the power to intercede in the spirit world and punish wrongs.

PROVERBS

A rich variety of proverbs exist in the Sierra Leonean languages, and witty exchanges of proverbs are a conversational tradition. Krio, the most common language spoken by Sierra Leoneans, contains some of the most colorful proverbs: *Inch no in masta, kabasloht no in misis*—An implication knows its master (just as) a dress knows its mistress. This proverb is used to warn people that you are aware they are speaking about you. *Ogiri de laf kenda foh smehl*—Ogiri laughs at kenda on account of its smell. (Kenda and ogiri, when uncooked, are both rank-smelling seasonings). *Mohnki tahk, mohnki yehri*—Monkey talks, monkey listens. (Persons who think alike will understand one another). *We yu*

bohs mi yai, a chuk yu wes (Kono)—An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. *Bush noh de foh trwoe bad pikin*—Bad children may not be thrown into the bush. (No matter how bad a child may act, he can't be disowned by his family.) A Temne proverb runs, "The snake that bites a Mende man gets turned into soup for the Mende man."

CUISINE

Rice is still a staple both in Sierra Leone and among immigrants to the United States. Another common staple is cassava prepared with palm oil in stews and sauces. This is often combined with rice, chicken, and/or okra and may be eaten at breakfast, lunch, or dinner. Among the Gullah of the Sea Islands, rice also forms the basis of all three meals. It is combined with different meats, gumbos, greens, and sauces, many still prepared and eaten according to the old traditions, although, unlike in Sierra Leone, pork or bacon is a frequent addition. A popular Gullah recipe is Frogmore Stew, which contains smoked beef sausage, corn, crabs, shrimp, and seasonings. Sierra Leoneans also enjoy Prawn Palava, a recipe that contains onions, tomatoes, peanuts, thyme, chili peppers, spinach, and prawns. It is usually served with boiled yams and rice.

MUSIC

With its colorful mixture of African and Western cultures, Sierra Leonean music is extremely creative and varied and forms an essential part of daily life both in Freetown and the interior. The instruments are dominated by a great variety of drums. Drumming groups may also include a lively mix of castanets, beaten bells, and even wind instruments. Sierra Leoneans from northern parts of the country, the Korankos, add a type of xylophone, the *balangi*. Another popular instrument is the *seigureh*, which consists of stones in a rope-bound calabash. The *seigureh* is used to provide background rhythm. Longer musical pieces are guided by a master drummer and contain embedded signals within the overall rhythm that indicate major changes in tempo. Some pieces may add the continuous blowing of a whistle as a counterpoint. In Freetown, traditional tribal music has given way to various calypso styles that incorporate Western instruments such as the saxophone. In the United States, many Sierra Leonean music and dance traditions are kept alive by the Ko-thi Dance Company of Madison, Wisconsin. Groups like the Beaufort, South Carolina, Hallelujah Singers perform and record traditional Gullah music.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Costumes worn by members of the Krio culture have a Victorian flavor. Western dress from school uniforms to suits may also be worn in a strict British style or with creative variations and brighter colors. Among working-class men in Freetown, vividly patterned shirts and shorts predominate. Men from the interior villages may wear only a loincloth or dress in elegant white or brightly colored robes that sweep along the ground. Headgear is also common and may consist of wrapped cloth in a Muslim style, western style hats, or ornate circular caps. Among women, *cabbaslot* dresses, which are long and have puffed sleeves, are sometimes popular. Tribal women generally favor wrapped headgear and a two-piece costume that consists of a skirt, or *lappa*, and a blouse, or *booba*. The way in which these garments are worn varies according to tribe. In the Mende culture, for example, the *booba* is tucked in. Among the Temne, it is worn more loosely. Mandingo women may sport a double ruffle around a lowered neckline and sometimes wear their blouses off-shoulder.

DANCES AND SONGS

One hallmark of Sierra Leonean culture is the incorporation of dance into all parts of life. A bride may dance on her way to the home of her new husband. A family may dance at the grave of one who has been dead three days. According to Roy Lewis in *Sierra Leone: A Modern Portrait*, "The dance is ... the principal medium of folk art; it is the one which European influences are least likely to affect. There are dances for every occasion, for every age and both sexes." Because rice serves as one of the foundations of Sierra Leone's economy, many dances incorporate the movements used to farm and harvest this crop. Other dances celebrate the actions of warriors and may involve dancing with swords and catching them out of the air. *Buyan* is the "dance of happiness," a delicate interchange between two teenage girls dressed entirely in white and wearing red kerchiefs. The *fetenke* is danced by two young boys, moving heel to toe and waving black scarves. At times, whole communities may come together to dance in celebration of the Muslim festival of *Eid-ul-Fitri* or the culmination of Poro or Sande secret society initiations. These dances are usually led by master drummers and dancers. For Sierra Leonean Americans, dancing continues to be a defining part of many gatherings and a joyful part of daily life.

HEALTH ISSUES

Sierra Leone, like many tropical countries, is home to a variety of diseases. Because of the civil war,

which destroyed many health care facilities, health conditions have worsened in Sierra Leone. Advisories issued in 1998 by the Centers for Disease Control warned travelers to Sierra Leone that malaria, measles, cholera, typhoid fever, and Lassa fever were prevalent throughout the country. The World Health Organization continues to recommend vaccinations for yellow fever for those who enter the country and warns that exposure to insects can result in filariasis, leishmaniasis, or onchocerciasis, although the risk is low. Swimming in fresh water may bring exposure to the schistosomiasis parasite.

Another health issue affecting the Sierra Leonean American population has been the controversy surrounding the practice of female circumcision. Seventy-five percent of Sierra Leonean women are said to uphold the practice which involves removing the clitoris, as well the labia majora and minora of prepubescent girls, often in unhygienic conditions and usually without anesthetic. Organizations such as the National Council of Muslim Women and the secret Bondo Society defend the practice. A leading spokesperson for female circumcision, Haja Isha Sasso, argues that “the rite of female circumcision is sacred, feared and respected. It is a religion to us.” Josephine Macauley, a staunch opponent of female circumcision, remarked in the *Electronic Mail & Guardian* that the practice is “cruel, unprogressive and a total abuse of the children’s rights.” Many prominent Americans have criticized the practice, calling it genital mutilation not circumcision, and some Sierra Leonean women have sought refuge against it.

LANGUAGE

Because of its long colonial association with Britain, Sierra Leone’s official language is English, and most Sierra Leonean Americans speak it as a first or second language. Fifteen other tribal languages and numerous dialects are also spoken. These languages fall into two separate groups. The first is the *Mande* language group, which resembles Mandinka in structure, and includes Mende, Susu, Yalunka, Koranko, Kono, and Vai. The second group is the *semi bantu* group, which includes Temne, Limba, Bullom (or Sherbro), and Krim. The melodic Krio language is also widely spoken by Sierra Leonean Americans. Krio was created in Freetown from a blend of various European and tribal languages. With the exception of the passive voice, Krio utilizes a full complement of verb tenses. The grammar and pronunciation of Krio is similar to many African languages.

The language spoken by the Gullah/Geechee people of coastal South Carolina and Georgia is very similar to Krio. The Gullah language retains a great deal West African syntax and combines English vocabulary with words from African languages such as Ewe, Mandinka, Igbo, Twi, Yoruba, and Mende. Much of the grammar and pronunciation of the Gullah languages has been modified to fit African patterns.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some of the more popular Gullah expressions include: *beat on ayun*, mechanic—literally, “beat on iron”; *trout ma-wt*, a truthful person—literally, “truth mouth”; *sho ded*, cemetery—literally, “sure dead”; *tebl tappa*, preacher—literally, “table tapper”; *Ty oonuh ma-wt*, Hush, stop talking—literally, “tie your mouth”; *krak teet*, to speak—literally, “crack teeth” and *I han shaht pay-shun*, He steals—literally, “His hand is short of patience.”

Popular Krio expressions include: *nar way e lib-well*, because things are easy with him; *pikin*, an infant (from picanninny, anglicized from the Spanish); *pequeno nino*, little child; *plabba*, or *palaver*, trouble or the discussion of trouble (from the French word “palabre,”); and *Long rod no kil nobodi*, A long road kills no one.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Family and clan relationships are extremely important to Sierra Leoneans living in the United States. According to Roy Lewis, “What belongs to one, belongs to all, and a man has no right to refuse to take in a relative or share his meal or his money with a relative. This is the African social tradition.” In traditional villages, the basic social unit was the *mawei*, or (in Mende) *mavei*. The *mawei* included a man, his wife or wives, and their children. For wealthier men, it might also include junior brothers and their wives and unmarried sisters. Wives were lodged, whenever possible, in several houses or *pe wa*. If wives lived together in a house, the senior wife supervised the junior wives. Since polygamy is illegal in the United States, these marriage customs have created a serious problem in some immigrant households. In a few cases, the polygamous relationships have been continued secretly or on an informal basis.

Generally, a Sierra Leonean man has a special relationship to his mother’s brother, or *kenya*. The *kenya* is expected to help him, especially in making

his marriage payment. In many cases, the man marries the kenya's daughter. The father's brothers are respected as "little fathers." His daughters are regarded as a man's sisters. Sisters of both parents are considered "little mothers," and it is not uncommon for a child to be raised by nearby relatives rather than by his own parents. To varying degrees, Sierra Leoneans in the United States have maintained connections to clans, and several support groups based on ethnic or chieftaincy affiliations have formed, such as the Foulah Progressive Union and the Krio Heritage Society.

Within the Gullah/Geechee community, spouses brought into the community from the outside world are often not trusted or accepted for many years. Disputes within the community are largely resolved in the churches and "praise houses." Deacons and ministers often intervene and try to resolve the conflict without punishing either party. Taking cases to courts outside the community is frowned upon. After marriage, a couple generally builds a house in or nearby the "yard" of the husband's parents. A yard is a large area that may grow into a true clan site if several sons bring spouses, and even grandchildren may grow up and return to the group. When the dwellings consist of mobile homes, they are often placed in kinship clusters.

EDUCATION

Education is highly valued within the Sierra Leonean immigrant community. Many immigrants enter the United States with student visas or after earning degrees from British universities or from Fourah Bay College in Freetown. Recent immigrants attend school as soon as economic stability of the family is achieved. Many Sierra Leonean immigrant children also receive education in their cultural traditions through initiation into the cross-tribal Poro (for boys) and Sande (for girls) secret societies.

Some members of the Gullah/Geechee peoples have earned college degrees at mainland universities. As the Sea Islands have become increasingly developed, mainstream white culture has had a tremendous impact on the Gullah educational system. However, Gullah language and traditions are still energetically preserved and promoted by organizations such as the Gullah/Geechee Sea Island Coalition and by the Penn Center at Penn School on St. Helena Island.

BIRTH

Although most Sierra Leonean American births now occur in hospitals, the delivery of a child tradi-

tionally took place far from men, and the mother would be assisted by the women of the Sande society. After the birth, soothsayers were consulted to speak about the child's future and offerings were made to the ancestors. Regardless of family religion, a Sierra Leonean infant is presented to the community one week after birth in a ceremony called *Pull-na-door* (put out the door). Family members gather to name the child and celebrate its arrival into the world. In preparation, beans, water, chicken, and plantain are put on stools and on the floor overnight as offerings to the ancestors. The child is often suckled until the age of three. Twins may be considered to have special powers and are both admired and feared.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women generally occupy lower positions than men in Sierra Leonean society, although there are instances of women being selected as chief of the Mende culture. When a woman is chosen to be chief, she is not allowed to marry. However, she is permitted to take consorts. Women can also attain a high position in the Bundu, a woman's society which guards the rites of circumcision, or the Humoi Society, which guards kinship rules. Unless she is a senior wife, a woman has relatively little say in a polygamous household. In traditional culture, women in their early teens are generally wedded to men in their thirties. Divorce is permitted, but children are often required to live with the father. It was the custom in the Mende culture that a widow, although she might follow Christian burial rites, could also make a mudpack with the water used to wash the husband's corpse and smear herself with it. When the mud was washed off, all of her husband's proprietary rights were removed as well, and she could marry again. Any woman who does not marry is looked on with disapproval. In the United States, the status of Sierra Leonean women is improving as some attain college degrees and professional status.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Sierra Leonean marriages traditionally have been arranged by the parents with the permission of the Humoi Society, which enforced the rules against incest in the villages. In Sierra Leone such an engagement could even be made with an infant or small child, called a *nyahanga*, or "mushroom wife." A suitor made a marriage payment called a *mboya*. Once betrothed, he took immediate responsibility for the girl's education, including the payment of fees for her Sande initiation training. A girl might refuse to marry this man when she came of age. If

she did so, however, the man must be repaid for all expenses incurred. Among poorer men and immigrants to the United States, courtship frequently begins with friendship. Cohabitation is permitted, but any children who are born into this relationship belong to the woman's family if a mboya has not been paid.

Relationships outside of marriage are not uncommon in polygamous situations. For men, this can mean the risk of being fined for "woman damage" if he is caught with a married woman. When a couple who is in an extramarital relationship appears in public, the man refers to the woman as his *mbeta*, which means sister-in-law. When they are alone together, he may call her *sewa ka mi*, loved one, and she may call him *han ka mi*, sigh of mine.

When a husband is ready to take possession of his wife and the bride price has been paid, it was the Mende custom for the girl's mother to spit on her daughter's head and bless her. The bride was then taken, dancing, to her husband's door. In the United States, especially among Christians, a Western-style wedding may be performed.

FUNERALS

According to Krio custom, the burial of a person's body does not represent the end of the funeral service. The person's spirit is believed to reside in a vulture's body and cannot "cross over" without conducting additional ceremonies three days, seven days, and 40 days after death. Hymns and wailing begin at sunrise on those days, and cold, pure water and crushed *agiri* are left at the gravesite. There are also memorial services held for a departed ancestor on both the fifth and tenth anniversary of death. The Gullah believe that it is very important to be buried close to family and friends, usually in dense woods. Some families still practice the old tradition of placing articles on the grave that the dead person might need in the afterlife, such as spoons and dishes.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

In the United States, Sierra Leoneans commonly marry and make friends outside of their own clan. Friendships are usually formed with other African immigrants, as well as former Peace Corps volunteers who once served in Sierra Leone. Among the Gullah people, there has been a long association with various Native American peoples. Over time, the Gullah intermarried with descendants of the Yamasee, the Apalachicola, the Yuchi, and the Creeks.

RELIGION

An essential element in all Sierra Leonean spiritual traditions is the respect and homage paid to ancestors. In the ongoing conflict between good and evil forces, ancestors can intervene to advise, help, or punish enemies. Evil human beings or deceased persons who were not correctly helped to "cross over" may return as harmful spirits. Villagers must also contend with a large variety of nature spirits and other "devils." Sierra Leonean American immigrants retain these beliefs to varying degrees. Of the major tribes, the Temnes, the Fulas, and the Susus are largely Muslim. Most Krio are Christians, mainly Anglican or Methodist.

The Gullah are devout Christians, and churches such as the Hebrew United Presbyterian and the Baptist or African Methodist Episcopal form the center of community life. One specifically African belief, however, is retained in a tripartite human being consisting of a body, a soul and a spirit. When the body dies, the soul may go on to heaven while the spirit remains to influence the living. The Gullah also believe in voodoo or hoodoo. Good or evil spirits may be summoned in rituals to offer predictions, kill enemies, or perform cures.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Since the Civil War, Gullah/Geechee communities in the southern United States have traditionally relied on their own farming and fishing activities in order to earn a living. They sell produce in Charleston and Savannah, and some take seasonal jobs on the mainland as commercial fishermen, loggers, or dock workers. During the 1990s, life on the Sea Islands began to change as developers started to build tourist resorts. A dramatic rise in land values on some islands, while increasing the worth of Gullah holdings, led to increased taxes and many Gullah were forced to sell their land. Increasingly, Gullah students have become a minority in local schools and discover that, upon graduation, the only jobs available to them are as service workers at the resorts. "Developers just come in and roll over them and change their culture, change their way of life, destroy the environment and therefore the culture has to be changed," remarked Emory Campbell, former director of the Penn Center on St. Helena Island.

In large metropolitan areas, where the majority of immigrants from Sierra Leone have settled, many Sierra Leoneans have earned college degrees and

entered a variety of professions. New immigrants often come to the United States with a strong desire to succeed. Sierra Leoneans commonly take entry-level jobs as taxi drivers, cooks, nursing assistants and other service workers. Many go on to higher education or start their own businesses, although the responsibility to support family members at home can slow their progress toward these goals.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Few Sierra Leonean immigrants have served in the U.S. military, although Gullah/Geechee men did participate in military service during the Vietnam War. Sierra Leonean immigrants remain very interested in the political turmoil that has devastated their homeland. Many Sierra Leonean Americans continue to send financial support to their relatives back home. Numerous organizations have been formed to try to assist Sierra Leoneans. Sierra Leonean Americans have also created several Internet sites to disseminate news about the latest events within their home country. The largest site is the Sierra Leone Web. Since a 1989 visit by then-President Momoh to the Sea Islands, there has been a marked increase in interest among the Gullah in their Sierra Leonean roots. Before the outbreak of the civil war, Sierra Leonean Americans returned often to their homeland and were welcomed as long-lost relatives.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Dr. Cecil Blake was an Associate Professor of Communication and Chairperson of the Department of Communication at Indiana Northwest University. Marquette Goodwine was a Gullah historian, associated with the Afrikan Cultural Arts Network (AKAN). She also wrote and produced "Breakin da Chains" to share the Gullah experience in drama and song.

EDUCATION

Amelia Broderick was the United States Information Services Director at the American Cultural Center. She was an American citizen who has served as a former diplomat to New Guinea, South Africa, and Benin.

JOURNALISM

Kwame Fitzjohn was an African correspondent for the BBC.

LITERATURE

Joel Chandler Harris (1848-1908) wrote a number of books, including: *The Complete Tales of Uncle Remus, Free Joe, and Other Georgian Sketches* and *On the Plantation: A Story of a Georgia Boy's Adventures During the War*. Yulisa Amadu Maddy (1936–) wrote *African Images in Juvenile Literature: Commentaries on Neocolonialist Fiction* and *No Past, No Present, No Future*.

MUSIC

Fern Caulker was the founder of the Ko-thi Dance Co in Madison, Wisconsin. David Pleasant was a Gullah music griot and African American master drummer.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Sangbe Peh (Cinque) was well-known in the United States for his leadership in the takeover of the slave ship *Amistad* in 1841. In the U.S. Supreme Court, with the help of ex-president John Quincy Adams, he successfully maintained the rights of Sierra Leoneans and other Africans to defend themselves against illegal capture by slave smugglers.

John Lee was the Sierra Leonean Ambassador to the United States, and was a lawyer, diplomat, and businessman who owned Xerox of Nigeria.

Dr. Omotunde Johnson was the Division Head in the International Monetary Fund.

MEDIA

PRINT

The Gullah Sentinel.

Established by Jabari Moteski in 1997. 2,500 copies are distributed bi-weekly throughout Beaufort County, South Carolina.

TELEVISION.

Ron and Natalie Daisie, known for live presentations of Sea Island folklore, recently created a children's series, *Gullah Gullah Island*, for the Nickelodeon Television Network.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Friends of Sierra Leone (FOSL).

FOSL is a non-profit membership organization incorporated in Washington, D.C. Formed in 1991 by a small group of former Peace Corps volunteers, FOSL has two missions: 1) To educate Americans and others about Sierra Leone and current events in Salone, as well as about her peoples, cultures and history; 2) To support small-scale development and relief projects in Sierra Leone.

Contact: P.O. Box 15875, Washington, DC 20003.

E-mail: FOSL@erols.com.

Gbonkolenken Descendants Organization (GDO).

The aim of the organization is to help develop the Gbonkolenken Chiefdom in the Tonkolili South Constituency through education, health projects, and food relief for its residents.

Address: 120 Taylor Run Parkway, Alexandria, Virginia 22312.

Contact: Jacob Conteh, Associate Social Secretary.

E-mail: Saxss@aol.com.

Koinadugu Descendant Organization (KDO).

The aim and objectives of the organization are 1) to promote understanding among Koinadugans in particular and other Sierra Leoneans in North America in general, 2) to provide financial and moral support to deserving Koinadugans in Sierra Leone, 3) to come to the aid of members in good standing whenever the need arises, and 4) to foster good relationship among all Koinadugans. The KDO is currently undertaking to secure medicines, food, and clothing for the victims of conflict in Koinadugu District in particular and Sierra Leone in general.

Contact: Abdul Silla Jalloh, Chairman.

Address: P.O. Box 4606, Capital Heights, Maryland 20791.

Telephone: (301) 773-2108.

Fax: (301) 773-2108.

E-mail: sillaj@tidalwave.net.

The Kono Union-USA, Inc. (KONUSA).

Was formed to: educate the American public about the culture and development potential of the Republic of Sierra Leone; develop and promote programs of the Kono District in the Eastern Province of the Republic of Sierra Leone; and undertake educational, social, and cultural enrichment programs that shall benefit the members of the organization.

Contact: Aiah Fanday, President.

Address: P. O. Box 7478, Langley Park, Maryland 20787.

Telephone: (301) 881-8700.

E-mail: fanday@aol.com.

Leonenet Street Children Project Inc.

Its mission is to provide foster care for orphaned and homeless child victims of war in Sierra Leone. The organization works with the government of Sierra Leone, interested NGO's, and individuals to meet this end.

Contact: Dr. Samuel Hinton, Ed.D., Coordinator.

Address: 326 Timothy Way, Richmond, Kentucky 40475.

Telephone: (606) 626-0099.

E-mail: eadhintn@acs.eku.edu.

The Sierra Leone Progressive Union.

This organization was founded in 1994 to promote education, welfare, and cooperation among Sierra Leoneans at home and abroad.

Contact: Pa Santhikie Kanu, Chairman.

Address: P.O. Box 9164, Alexandria, Virginia 22304.

Telephone: (301) 292-8935.

E-mail: slpu@juno.com.

The Sierra Leone Women's Movement for Peace.

The Sierra Leone Women's Movement for Peace is a division of the parent organization based in Sierra Leone. The United States division decided that their first priority is to aid in the education of children and women affected by this senseless rebel war. Membership is open to all Sierra Leonean women, and support from all Sierra Leoneans and friends of Sierra Leone is welcomed.

Contact: Jarieu Fatima Bona, Chairperson.

Address: P.O. Box 5153 Kendall Park, New Jersey, 08824.

E-mail: fatima_bona@ap.org.

The Worldwide Coalition for Peace and Development in Sierra Leone.

This group is a non-membership coalition of individuals and organizations formed for these two reasons only: 1) To propose a peace plan that ends the current rebel war, reforms the structure of the government, and aids public administration with techniques to end corruption and prevent future conflicts or wars. 2) To develop an economic plan that will boldly and significantly raise the quality of life in Sierra Leone.

Contact: Patrick Bockari.
Address: P.O. Box 9012, San Bernardino,
California 92427.
E-mail: patbock@mscomm.com.

TEGLOMA (Mende) Association.
Contact: Lansama Nyalley.
Telephone: (301) 891-3590.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Penn School and the Penn Community Services of the Sea Islands.

Located on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, this institution was established as a school for freed slaves. It now promotes the preservation of Gullah culture

and sponsors the annual Gullah festival. It also sponsored an exchange visit to Sierra Leone in 1989.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara, John Middleton, Editor-in-Chief. Vol. 4. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1997.

Jones-Jackson, Patricia. *When Roots Die, Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Wood, Peter H., and Tim Carrier (Director). *Family Across the Sea* (video). San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1991.

Acculturation, assimilation, and intermarriage have made inroads into Sioux traditional family and community relationships. The more isolated and rural portions of the population tend to be more traditional.

SIoux

by
D. L. Birchfield

OVERVIEW

The Siouan-language peoples comprise one of the largest language groups north of Mexico, second only to the Algonquian family of languages. Many Siouan-language peoples are no longer identified as Sioux, but have evolved their own separate tribal identities centuries ago, long before contact with non-Indians. The name Sioux originates from a French version of the Chippewa *Nadouessioux* (snakes). The immense geographical spread of Siouan-language peoples, from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, attests to their importance in the history of the North American continent—most of that history having occurred before the arrival of non-Indians. Those known today as Sioux (the Dakota, the Lakota, and the Nakota), living primarily in the upper Great Plains region, are among the best-known Indians within American popular culture due to their participation in what Americans perceive to have been dramatic events within their own history, such as the Battle of the Little Big Horn in the late nineteenth century. American students have been told for more than a century that there were no survivors, despite the fact that approximately 2,500 Indian participants survived the battle. The lands of the Sioux have also been a focal point for some of the most dramatic events in the American Indian Movement of recent times, especially the 71-day

occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, which brought national media attention to the Pine Ridge Reservation. Sioux writers, poets, and political leaders are today among the most influential leaders in the North American Native American community of nations, and the Sioux religion can be found to have an influence far beyond the Sioux people.

HISTORY

The Sioux had the misfortune of becoming intimately acquainted with the westward thrust of American expansion at a time when American attitudes toward Indians had grown cynical. In the East and Southeast, from early colonial times, there was much disagreement regarding the nature of the relations with the Indian nations. There was also a constant need to have allies among the Indian nations during the period of European colonial rivalry on the North American continent, a need that the newly formed United States felt with great urgency during the first generation of its existence. After the War of 1812, things changed rapidly in the East and Southeast. Indians as allies became much less necessary. It was the discovery of gold in 1828, however, at the far southern end of the Cherokee Nation near the border with Georgia that set off a Southern gold rush and brought an urgency to long-debated questions of what the nature of relations with the Indian nations should be.

Greed for gold would play a pivotal role in the undermining of Sioux national independence. At mid-century streams of men from the East first passed through Sioux lands on their way to the gold fields of California. They brought with them smallpox, measles, and other contagious diseases for which the Sioux had no immunity, and which ravaged their population by an estimated one-half. Later, in the 1870s, the discovery of gold in the heart of *Paha Sapa* (the Black Hills), the sacred land of the Sioux, brought hordes of miners and the U.S. Army, led by Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, into the center of their sacred “heart of everything that is” in a blatant violation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868.

The Sioux had no way of knowing about the process that had worked itself out in the East and Southeast, whereby, in direct contravention of a U.S. Supreme Court decision (*Worcester vs. Georgia*), Indians would no longer be dealt with as sovereign nations. No longer needed as allies, and looked upon as merely being in the way, Indians entered a perilous time of being regarded as dependent domestic minorities. Many Eastern and South-

ern Indian nations were uprooted and forced to remove themselves beyond the Mississippi River. By the time American expansion reached Texas, attitudes had hardened to a point at which Texans systematically expelled or exterminated nearly all of the Indians within their borders; however, Sam Houston, during his terms as president of the republic of Texas and as governor of the state of Texas, unsuccessfully attempted to accommodate the needs of Indians into Texas governmental policy.

To the Sioux in the second half of the nineteenth century, the U.S. government was duplicitous, greedy, corrupt, and without conscience. The Sioux watched the great buffalo herds be deliberately exterminated by U.S. Army policy; and within a generation they found themselves paupers in their native land, with no alternative but to accept reservation life. They found it impossible to maintain honorable, peaceful relations with the United States. At first, attempts were made to acculturate the Sioux, to assimilate them out of existence as a separate people; then in the mid-twentieth century, the government attempted to legislate them out of existence through an official policy of “termination” of Indian nations. Only within recent decades have there been attempts on the part of the U.S. government to redress past wrongs. In the 1960s, under the occasional prod of court decisions and a national consciousness focused on civil rights legislation for minorities, attempts were made to recognize and respect significant remaining vestiges of Indian sovereignty. Finally, by legislation in 1979 Indians were allowed to openly practice their religions without threat of criminal prosecution. The gains have not come without bloodshed and strife, however, especially in the lands of the Sioux and especially during the mid-1970s—a time of virtual civil war on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Alarmed by the bold actions and the extent of the demands by some groups of Indians, particularly the American Indian Movement (AIM), the U.S. government tried to slow the pace of change by exploiting differences between the more acculturated Indians and the more traditional Indians. Since that time, much healing has occurred; but the question of what the nature of the relations between the Native peoples of this continent and the people of the United States will be remains open.

MODERN ERA

Federally recognized contemporary Sioux tribal governments are located in Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana. According to the 1990 census, South Dakota ranked eleventh among all states for the number of Indians

represented in its population (50,575, which was 7.3 percent of the South Dakota population, up from 6.5 percent in 1980). Minnesota ranked twelfth with a reported total of 49,909 Indians, or 1.1 percent of its population (up from 0.9 percent in 1980). Montana ranked thirteenth with a reported total of 47,679 Indians, or 6.0 percent of its population (up from 4.7 percent in 1980). North Dakota ranked eighteenth with a reported total of 25,917 Indians, or 4.1 percent of its population (up from 3.1 percent in 1980). Nebraska ranked thirty-fifth with a reported total of 12,410 Indians, or 0.8 percent of its population (up from 0.6 percent in 1980).

Many Native Americans from these areas have migrated to urban industrial centers throughout the continent. Contemporary estimates are that at least 50 percent of the Indian population in the United States now resides in urban areas, frequently within the region of the tribal homeland but often at great distances from it. Other populations of Sioux are to be found in the prairie provinces of Canada.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Beginning in the late nineteenth century the U.S. government attempted to force the Sioux to assimilate into American culture. The prime weapon of cultural genocide as practiced by the United States was a school system contracted to missionaries who had little regard for traditional Sioux culture, language, or beliefs. Sioux children, isolated from their families, were punished if they were caught speaking their native tongue. Their hair was cropped, and school and dormitory life was conducted on a military model. Many children attended the school located at Flandreau, South Dakota. Some Sioux children were removed to schools in the East, to Hampton Institute in Virginia, or to the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, while others attended the Santa Fe Indian School and the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. Throughout this ordeal, the Sioux were able to retain their language and religion, while learning English and adjusting to the demands of American culture. Some Sioux began attaining distinction early in this process, such as physician Charles Eastman. Today, the Sioux people are at home in both worlds. Sioux intellectuals and academicians, such as noted author Vine Deloria Jr., and poet and scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, who also edits *Wicazo Sa Review*, a scholarly journal for Native American Studies professionals, are leaders within their respective fields within the North American Native American community.

TRADITIONAL CRAFTS

The Sioux are skilled artisans at beadwork, quillwork, carving, pipe making, drum making, flute making, and leatherwork of all kinds—from competition powwow regalia to saddles and tack. These are crafts that have been handed down from generation to generation. Intertribal powwow competitions, festivals, and tribal fairs bring forth impressive displays of Sioux traditional crafts. A large tribal arts and crafts fair is held annually at New Town, North Dakota, September 17-19.

DANCES AND SONGS

Summer is the most popular season for powwows. Intertribal powwows featuring dance competitions are the ones at which visitors are most welcome. A number of powwows tend to occur annually on the same date. Powwows are held at a number of communities in South Dakota on May 7, including the communities of Wounded Knee, Kyle, Oglala, Allen, and Porcupine. A Memorial Day weekend powwow is held by the Devil's Lake Sioux at Fort Totten, North Dakota. Powwows are held in mid-June at Fort Yates, North Dakota, and at Grass Mountain, South Dakota. Powwows are held July 2-4 at La Creek, South Dakota; July 2-5 at Cannon Ball, North Dakota; July 3-5 at Spring Creek, South Dakota, at Greenwood, South Dakota, and at Fort Thompson, North Dakota; July 14-16 at Mission South Dakota; July 15-16 at Flandreau, South Dakota; July 17-19 at New Town, North Dakota; July 21-23 at Cherry Creek, South Dakota; July 28-30 at Little Eagle, South Dakota; and the last weekend of July at Belcourt, North Dakota. August and September are also popular months, with powwows held at Lake Andes, South Dakota, each weekend during the first half of August; at Fort Yates, North Dakota, August 4-6; at Rosebud, South Dakota, August 11-13; at Bull Head, North Dakota, August 13-15; at Bull Creek and Soldier Creek, South Dakota, September 2-4; and at Sisseton, South Dakota, and Fort Totten, North Dakota, over the Labor Day holiday.

HOLIDAYS

The Spotted Tail Memorial Celebration is held in late June at Rosebud, South Dakota. July 1-4 is the date of the Sioux Ceremonial at Sisseton, South Dakota. The Sioux Coronation is held in early October at Fort Totten, North Dakota. Tribal fairs are held July 23-25 at Fort Totten, North Dakota; August 7-9 at Lower Brule, South Dakota; August 21-23 at Rosebud, South Dakota; August 27-29 at

Eagle Butte, South Dakota; and Labor Day weekend at Devils Lake and Fort Totten, North Dakota.

HEALTH ISSUES

All of the health problems associated with poverty in the United States can be found among the contemporary Sioux people. Alcoholism has proven to be especially debilitating. Many traditional Indian movements, including AIM, have worked toward regaining pride in Native culture, including efforts to combat alcohol abuse and the toll that it takes among contemporary Native peoples.

LANGUAGE

The Iroquoian language family, the Caddoan language family, the Yuchi language family, and the Siouan language family all belong to the Macro-Siouan language phylum, indicating a probable divergence in the distant past from a common ancestor language. Geographically, the Iroquoian family of languages (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, and Wyandot—also known as Huron), are found in the Northeast, primarily in New York state and the adjacent areas of Canada, and in the Southeast (Tuscarora, originally in North Carolina, later in New York; and Cherokee, in the Southern Appalachians, and later in Oklahoma). The Caddoan language family includes the Caddo, Wichita, Pawnee, and Arikara languages, which are found on the central Plains. Yuchi is a language isolate of the Southern Appalachians.

Members of the Siouan language family proper are to be found practically everywhere east of the Rocky Mountains except on the southern Plains and in the Northeast. On the northern Plains are found the Crow, Hidatsa, and Dakota (also known as Sioux) languages. On the central Plains are found the Omaha, Osage, Ponca, Kansa, and Quapaw languages; in Wisconsin one finds the Winnebago language; on the Gulf Coast are the Tutelo, Ofo, and Biloxi languages; and in the Southeast one finds Catawba. The immense geographical spread of the languages within this family is testimony to the importance of Siouan-speaking peoples in the history of the continent. They have been a people on the move for a very long time.

Oral traditions among some of the Siouan-speaking peoples document the approximate point of divergence for the development of a separate tribal identity and, eventually, the evolution of a separate language unintelligible to their former kinspeople. Siouan-speaking peoples of all contemporary tribal identities, however, share creation stories



The elaborate costume displayed by this Sioux girl is common at large celebrations and powwows.

accounting for their origin as a people. They come from the stars, which can be contrasted, for example, with the Macro-Algonkian phylum, Muskogean-speaking Choctaws who emerged from a hole in the earth near the sacred mother mound, *Nanih Waiya*. It can be contrasted also with the Aztec-Tanoan phylum, Uto-Aztecan-speaking Hopi, who believe they have ascended upward through successive layers of worlds to the one they presently occupy.

Siouan-speaking peoples also exhibit a reverence for the number seven, whereas Choctaws hold that the sacred number is four. There are fundamental cultural differences between Native American peoples whom Europeans and Americans have considered more similar than different. For example, the Macro-Siouan phylum, Iroquoian-speaking Cherokees and the Macro-Algonkian phylum, Muskogean-speaking Choctaws have both been categorized by non-Indians as members of the so-called “Five Civilized Tribes” due to similarities in their material culture; whereas knowledgeable Choctaws consider the Cherokees to have about three too many sacred numbers.

Today the Sioux language consists of three principal, mutually intelligible dialects: Dakota (Santee), Lakota (Teton), and Nakota (Yankton). The Sioux language is not restricted to the United States but also extends far into the prairie provinces of Canada. The Sioux were also masters of sign language, an ancient vehicle of communication among peoples who are native to the North American continent. The Sioux language can be heard in a video documentary (*Wiping The Tears of Seven Genera-*

tions, directed by Gary Rhine and Fidel Moreno, Kafaru Productions, 1992), which records interviews with a number of Sioux members of the Wounded Knee Survivors' Association, as they relate what their grandparents told them about the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The basic unit of traditional Sioux family and community life is the *tiyospaye*, a small group of related families. In the era of the buffalo, the *tiyospaye* was a highly mobile unit capable of daily movement if necessary. A *tiyospaye* might include 30 or more households. From these related households a headman achieved the position of leadership by demonstrating characteristics valued by the group, such as generosity, wisdom, fortitude, and spiritual power gained through dreams and visions. Acculturation, assimilation, and intermarriage have made inroads into Sioux traditional family and community relationships. The more isolated and rural portions of the population tend to be more traditional.

In traditional Lakota community life, fraternal societies, called *akicitas*, are significant within the life of the group. During the era of the buffalo when Lakota society was highly mobile, fraternal societies helped young men develop leadership skills by assigning them roles in maintaining orderly camp movements. Membership was by invitation only and restricted to the most promising young men. Another kind of fraternity, the *nacas*, was composed of older men with proven abilities. The most important of the *nacas* societies, the *Naca Ominicia*, functioned as something of a tribal council. Operating by consensus, it had the power to declare war and to negotiate peace. A few members of the *Naca Ominicia* were appointed *wicasa itancans*, who were responsible for implementing decisions of the *Naca Ominicia*. Many vestiges of traditional Lakota community organizational structure have been replaced, at least on the surface, by structures forced upon the Lakota by the U.S. government. One important leader in the society was the *wicasa wakan*, a healer respected for wisdom as well as curative powers. This healer was consulted on important tribal decisions by the *wicasa itancans*, and is still consulted on important matters by the Lakota people today.

RELIGION

The Sun Dance, also known as the Offerings Lodge ceremonial, is one of the seven sacred ceremonials

of the Sioux and is a ceremonial for which they have come to be widely known. The most famous Sun Dance occurs in early August at Pine Ridge. The Sun Dance takes place in early July at Rosebud, and at other times among other Sioux communities. The ceremonials, however, are not performed for the benefit of tourists. Attendance by tourists is discouraged.

No American Indian religion has been more closely studied or more widely known than the Sioux religion, partly due to the appeal of John Niehardt's book, *Black Elk Speaks*, in which he recorded his interviews with the Sioux spiritual leader earlier this century. Another reason for its prominence is because the American Indian Movement adopted many of the practices of the Sioux religion for its own and carried those practices to many areas of the continent where they had not been widely known. The so-called New Age movement within American culture has also become captivated by the religious practices of the northern Plains Indians, primarily the Cheyenne and the Sioux (practices that are largely foreign to Indians in many other areas of the continent, but which are perceived by many Americans as representative of Indians in general). Yet, until by act of Congress, the American Indians Religious Freedom Act of 1978, the practice of Indian religions was a crime in the United States.

The practice of many Native American religions throughout the continent was forced underground in the late nineteenth century as news spread about the massacre of 153 unarmed Minneconjou Sioux men, women, and children by the U.S. Army at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation on December 29, 1890. The Minneconjous, camped at Wounded Knee Creek, had been holding a Ghost Dance, attempting to fulfill the prophecies of the Paiute visionary Wovoka. While fleeing their own agency after the murder of Sitting Bull, they tried to reach what they perceived to be the safety of the protection of Chief Red Cloud at Pine Ridge, who was on friendly terms with the U.S. government.

Perhaps because the massacre at Wounded Knee was one of Sioux people on Sioux land, the Sioux have been strong contemporary leaders in asserting the religious rights of Native peoples. These efforts have also been vigorously pursued on behalf of incarcerated Native Americans, where penal authorities in practically every state historically have been contemptuous of the religious rights of Native American inmates.

While the ceremonials of the Sioux, the Sun Dance, the Sweat Lodge, and other aspects of their

religion may be foreign to many other Native Americans (for example, the sweat lodge, a religious ceremonial among the Sioux, is merely a fraternal and communal event among the Choctaws and many other Native peoples), one aspect of the Sioux religion is nearly universal among North America's Indians—the sanctity of land and the reverence for particular sacred lands. For the Sioux and for the Cheyenne, the sacred land is *Paha Sapa*, known in American culture as the Black Hills, and their major contemporary struggle is to regain it. They have won a decision from the U.S. Indian Claims Commission that *Paha Sapa* was taken from them illegally by the United States, and that they are entitled to \$122 million in compensation. The Sioux have rejected the award of money, which, being held in trust for them, has now accumulated interest to a total of more than \$400 million. They are not interested in money; they want *Paha Sapa*; and there is precedent for their demand. In 1970 Congress passed, and President Richard Nixon signed, legislation returning Blue Lake—the sacred lake of Taos Pueblo—and 48,000 surrounding acres to Taos Pueblo. This was the first return of land to Indians for religious purposes by the United States.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the U.S. government tried to force the Sioux to become farmers. Cattle ranching, however, has become more important to them and many Sioux derive some economic benefit from the cattle industry. Sioux have distinguished themselves on the professional rodeo and all-Indian rodeo circuits.

Sioux reservations are isolated from urban industrial centers, have attracted very little industry, and experience some of the highest levels of unemployment and the highest levels of poverty of any communities within the United States. For example, on the Cheyenne River Reservation in the mid-1980s, unemployment averaged roughly 80 percent and 65 percent of all families were living on less than \$3,000 per year. Many Sioux have found it necessary to leave their communities to find employment. Like many Indian reservations, various agencies of the U.S. government and programs funded by the government account for the largest percentage of jobs. Extractive industries also provide some employment, but the economic benefits go largely to non-Indians, and many traditional Sioux refuse to participate in economic activities that scar and pollute their land. The discovery of uranium on Sioux lands, which has raised questions

regarding if and how it should be extracted, has been a divisive issue within Sioux communities.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The structure and operation of the contemporary government of the Lakota tribal division of the Sioux serves as an example of that of other Sioux governments. The contemporary national government of the Lakota nation is the National Sioux Council, which is composed of delegates from the Lakota reservations at Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Lower Brule, Crow Creek, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Santee, and Fort Peck. The council meets annually to discuss matters affecting the entire Lakota nation. It is based on the traditional model of Lakota government, where the headman of each band represented the band's tribe, and the headman of each Lakota tribe represented the Greater Sioux Council. Essentially a federal structure, it also functions by the imposition of vote counting rather than consensus—a quintessential American Indian method of decision making.

Each contemporary Lakota reservation is governed by an elected tribal council. The organization of the Cheyenne River Reservation tribal council, for example, is a supreme governing body for the Cheyenne River Sioux. It is empowered to enter into negotiations with foreign governments, such as the government of the United States, to pass laws and establish courts, appoint tribal officials, and administer the tribal budget. Certain kinds of actions by the tribal council, however, are subject to the authority of the secretary of the interior of the U.S. government, a reminder that the Sioux are not alone in their land. The council consists of 18 members, 15 of which are elected from six voting districts (the districts being apportioned according to population), and three who are elected at large—the chairperson, the secretary, and the treasurer. The council elects a vice-chairperson from among its members. Each tribal council member reports to the district tribal council for the district from which the council member was elected. These district councils are locally elected.

To vote or hold office at Cheyenne River one must be an enrolled tribal member and meet residency requirements. For enrollment, one must be one-quarter blood or more Cheyenne River Sioux and one's parents must also have been residents of the reservation. However, a two-thirds vote of the tribal council may enroll a person of Cheyenne River Indian blood who does not meet either the blood quantum or the parental residency requirements. To vote, one must meet a 30-day residency

The Sioux reservation has its own force of police officers that ride on horseback.



requirement; to hold office, the residency requirement is one year.

THE "INCIDENT AT OGLALA"

No other event typifies the problems encountered by traditional Indians in seeking the redress of longstanding grievances with the United States more than the 71-day siege of Wounded Knee in 1973, known as the "Incident at Oglala." When the siege ended in May of 1973, and when no network correspondents remained to tell the world what was happening on the Pine Ridge Reservation, traditional Indians and supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM) endured a reign of terror that lasted for more than two years. Frightened by the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C., and by the occupation of Wounded Knee, the mixed-blood leadership of the Oglala Lakota tribal government moved to crush political activism on the reservation while the AIM leadership was in court. Federal authorities allowed and funded heavily armed vigilantes, called goon squads (Guardians of the Oglala Nation), who

patrolled the roads and created a police state. Freedom of assembly, freedom of association, and freedom of speech ceased to exist. Violence reigned. Drive-by shootings, cars run off the road, firebombings and murders became the norm.

During one 12-month period there were more murders on the Pine Ridge Reservation than in all the other parts of South Dakota combined. The reservation had the highest per capita murder rate in the United States. By June of 1975 there had been more than 60 unsolved murders of traditional Indians and AIM supporters. The FBI, charged with solving crimes on Indian reservations, took little interest in the killings. But when two FBI agents were killed near the community of Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation on June 26, 1975, 350 FBI agents were on the scene within three days.

Two FBI agents, new to the area and unknown to its residents, were dressed in plain clothes and driving unmarked cars; they reported that they were following a red pickup truck, which they believed contained a man who was wanted for stealing a pair of boots. The vehicle actually contained a load of explosives destined for an encamp-

ment of about a dozen members of the AIM, not far from the community of Oglala. When the two FBI agents followed the red pickup off the road and into a field, to a point within earshot of the encampment, a firefight erupted between the two FBI agents and the occupants of the vehicle, who have never been identified. Armed only with their handguns, the agents attempted to get their rifles out of the trunks of their cars, and in so doing exposed themselves to the gunfire. Hearing the shooting, and thinking themselves under attack, men and women from the encampment came running, carrying rifles. They took up positions on a ridge overlooking the vehicles; when fired at, they returned the fire. Within a few minutes a third FBI agent arrived but not before the first two FBI agents lay dead near their vehicles. The red pickup fled the scene, but it had been seen and reported, and the report preserved in the records of FBI radio transmissions. The AIM members on the ridge from the encampment, went down to the vehicles and discovered the bodies of the two FBI agents. Bewildered and frightened, they fled the area on foot, under heavy fire, as law enforcement authorities began arriving *en masse*, but not before an Indian man lay dead—shot through the head at long range. The two FBI agents, already wounded, had been shot through the head at point blank range.

The full fury of the FBI descended on Pine Ridge Reservation. The director of the FBI appeared on television and announced a nationwide search for the red pickup. In the months that followed, the FBI was unable to find the red pickup or its occupants. Three men who had been at the AIM encampment that day, Darrelle Butler, Bob Robideau, and Leonard Peltier, were arrested and charged with killing the two FBI agents. No one was ever charged with killing the Indian. Peltier, in Canada, fought extradition. Butler and Robideau, however, were tried and acquitted by a jury that believed they had acted in self-defense and that they had not been the ones who executed the wounded agents. The fury of the government then fell on the third defendant, Leonard Peltier. The United States presented coerced, perjured documents to the Canadian authorities to secure Peltier's extradition from Canada. At the trial, the red pickup truck now became a red and white van, like the one to which Leonard Peltier could be linked. FBI agents who had filed reports the day of the shooting, reporting the red pickup, now testified differently, saying their reports had been in error. The government now claimed that the two dead FBI agents who had reported that they were following a red pickup did not know the difference between a red pickup and a red and white van.

With the first trial as a blueprint for everything it had done wrong in the courtroom, the government found a sympathetic judge in another jurisdiction who ruled favorably for the prosecution, and against the defense, disallowing testimony about the climate of violence and fear on the reservation, and effectively thwarting the defense of self-defense. Also, by withholding the results of crucial FBI ballistics tests, which showed that Leonard Peltier's weapon had not fired the fatal shots, the government got a conviction against Peltier. He was sentenced to two life terms in the federal penitentiary. A recent documentary (*Incident At Oglala: The Leonard Peltier Story*), through interviews with numerous participants, examines in detail the events of the day the two FBI agents were killed, and the government case against Peltier, revealing that in a fair trial Peltier would have been acquitted, as Butler and Robideau were, and that the nature of his involvement was the same as theirs.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Sioux author, professor, and attorney Vine Deloria, Jr. (1933–), has been one of the most articulate speakers for the recognition of Indian political and religious rights. Born at Standing Rock on the Pine Ridge Reservation, he holds degrees in divinity from the Lutheran School of Theology and in law from the University of Colorado. His writings include *Custer Died For Your Sins* (1969), *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf* (1970).

LITERATURE

Sioux poet, author, and professor Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (1930–), born on the Crow Creek Reservation, is a granddaughter of Gabriel Renville, a linguist who helped develop Dakota dictionaries; a Dakota speaker herself, Cook-Lynn has gained prominence as a professor, editor, poet, and scholar; she is emeritus professor of American and Indian studies at Eastern Washington State University, and in 1985 she became a founding editor of *Wicazo Sa Review*, a bi-annual scholarly journal for Native American studies professionals; her book of poetry, *Then Badger Said This*, and her short fiction in journals have established her as a leader among American Indian creative voices. Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, a Rosebud Sioux, is the author of eight children's books and other works of historical nonfiction for adults; in 1992 she won the Native Ameri-

can Prose Award from the University of Nebraska Press for her book *Closing The Circle*. Oglala Sioux Robert L. Perea (1944–), born in Wheatland, Wyoming, is also half Chicano; a graduate of the University of New Mexico, he has published short stories in anthologies such as *Mestizo: An Anthology of Chicano Literature* and *The Remembered Earth*; in 1992 Perea won the inaugural Louis Littlecoon Oliver Memorial Prose Award from his fellow creative writers and poets in the Native Writers' Circle of the Americas for his short story, "Stacey's Story." Philip H. Red-Eagle, Jr., a Wahpeton-Sisseton Sioux, is a founding editor of *The Raven Chronicles*, a multi-cultural journal of literature and the arts in Seattle; in 1993, Red-Eagle won the Louis Littlecoon Oliver Memorial Prose Award for his manuscript novel, *Red Earth*, which is drawn from his experiences in the Viet Nam War. Fellow Seattle resident and Sioux poet, Tiffany Midge, who is also enrolled at Standing Rock, captured the 1994 Diane Decorah Memorial Poetry Award from the Native Writers' Circle of the Americas for her book-length poetry manuscript, *Diary of a Mixed-Up Half-Breed*. Susan Power, who is enrolled at Standing Rock, gained national attention with the 1994 publication of her first novel, *The Grass Dancer*.

VISUAL ARTS

Yankton Sioux graphic artist Oscar Howe (1915-1984) has become one of the best known Native American artists in the United States. Known as *Mazuha Koshina* (trader boy), Howe was born at Joe Creek on the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota. He earned degrees from Dakota Wesleyan University and the University of Oklahoma, and was a professor of fine arts and artist in residence at the University of South Dakota for 15 years. His work is characterized by poignant images of Indian culture in transition and is depicted in a modern style.

MEDIA

PRINT

Lakota Times.

Address: 1920 Lombardy Drive, Rapid City, South Dakota 57701.

Oglala Nation News.

Address: Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770.

Paha Sapa Wahosi.

Address: South Dakota State College, Spearfish, South Dakota 57783.

Rosebud Sioux Herald.

Address: P.O. Box 65, Rosebud, South Dakota 57570.

Sioux Journal.

Address: Eagle Butte, South Dakota 57625.

Sisseton Agency News.

Address: Sisseton BIA Agency, Sisseton, South Dakota 57262.

Standing Rock Star.

Address: Box 202, Bullhead, South Dakota 57621.

Three Tribes Herald.

Address: Parshall, North Dakota 58770.

Wicazo Sa Review.

Address: Route 8, Box 510, Rapid City, South Dakota 57702.

Wotanim-Wowapi.

Newspaper of the Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux tribes.

Contact: Bonnie Red Elk, Editor.

Address: Box 1027, Poplar, Montana 59255.

Telephone: (406) 768-5155.

Fax: (406) 768-5478.

RADIO

KCCR-AM (1240).

Address: 106 West Capitol, Pierre, South Dakota 57501.

KEYA-FM (88.5).

Address: P.O. Box 190, Belcourt, North Dakota 58316.

Telephone: (701) 477-5686.

Fax: (701) 477-3252.

KILI-FM (90.1).

Address: P.O. Box 150, Porcupine, South Dakota 57772.

Telephone: (605) 867-5002.

Fax: (605) 867-5634.

KINI-FM (96.1).

Address: P.O. Box 149, St. Francis, South Dakota 57572.

Telephone: (605) 747-2291.

Fax: (605) 747-5791.

KLND-FM (89.5).

Address: P.O. Box 32, Little Eagle,
South Dakota 57639.
Telephone: (605) 823-4663.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Cheyenne River Sioux.

Sioux tribal divisions represented on this reservation include the Sisasapa, Minneconjou, Sans Arcs, and the Oohenonpa.

Contact: Gregg J. Bourland, Chairman.
Address: P.O. Box 590, Eagle Butte,
South Dakota 57625.
Telephone: (605) 964-4155.
Fax: (605) 964-4151.

Crow Creek Sioux.

The Sioux on this reservation include descendants of a number of Sioux tribal divisions, including the Minneconjou, Oohenonpa, Lower Brule, and Lower Yanktonai.

Contact: Harold "Curly" Miller, Chairman.
Address: P.O. Box 50, Fort Thompson,
South Dakota 57339.
Telephone: (605) 245-2221.
Fax: (605) 245-2470.

Devils Lake Sioux.

The Sioux on this reservation include Assiniboine, Pabaksa, Santee, Sisseton, Yanktonai, and Wahpeton Sioux.

Address: Sioux Community Center, Fort Totten,
North Dakota 58335.
Telephone: (701) 766-4221.
Fax: (701) 766-4854.

Flandreau Santee Sioux.

Represented are descendants of the Santee Sioux who separated from the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute Sioux in 1870 and settled at Flandreau in 1876.

Contact: Thomas Ranfranz, President.
Address: Flandreau Field Office, Box 283,
Flandreau, South Dakota 57028.
Telephone: (605) 997-3871.
Fax: (605) 997-3878.

Fort Belknap Sioux.

Represented are the Assiniboine-Sioux and Gros Ventre.

Address: P.O. Box 249, Harlem, Montana 59526.
Telephone: (406) 353-2205.
Fax: (406) 353-2797.

Fort Peck Assiniboine-Sioux.

Represented are the Assiniboine-Sioux, closely related to the Yanktonai.

Address: P.O. Box 1027, Poplar, Montana 59255.
Telephone: (406) 768-5155.
Fax: (406) 768-5478.

Indian Center.

Address: 5633 Regent Avenue North,
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

Indian Center.

Address: Box 288, Yankton,
South Dakota 57078.

Indian Community Center.

Address: 2957 Farnum, Omaha,
Nebraska 68131.

Indian Student Association.

Address: University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

Lower Brule Sioux.

Represented are the Lower Brule and Yanktonai Sioux.

Contact: Michael Jandreau, Chairman.
Address: P.O. Box 187, Lower Brule,
South Dakota 57548.
Telephone: (605) 473-5561.
Fax: (605) 473-5605.

Lower Sioux.

Represented are the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute divisions of the Santee Sioux.

Address: Route 1, Box 308, Morton,
Minnesota 56270.
Telephone: (507) 697-6185.
Fax: (507) 697-6110.

Oglala Sioux.

Represented are predominantly Oglala Sioux, also Brule Sioux and Northern Cheyenne.

Contact: Harold D. Salway, President.
Address: P.O. Box H, Pine Ridge,
South Dakota 57770.
Telephone: (605) 867-5821.
Fax: (605) 867-5659.

Prairie Island Sioux.

Represented are the Mdewakanton division of the Santee Sioux.

Address: 5750 Sturgeon Lake Road, Welch,
Minnesota 55089.

Telephone: (612) 385-2536.

Fax: (612) 388-1576.

Rosebud Sioux.

Represented are the Oglala, Oohenonpa, Minneconjou, Upper Brule, Waglukhe, and Wahzhazhe Sioux.

Contact: Norman G. Wilson, President.

Address: P.O. Box 430, Rosebud,
South Dakota 57570.

Telephone: (605) 747-2381.

Fax: (605) 747-2243.

Santee Sioux.

Represented are the Santee Sioux, including Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton.

Contact: Arthur "Butch" Denny, Chairman.

Address: Route 2, Niobrara, Nebraska 68760.

Telephone: (402) 857-2302.

Fax: (402) 857-2307.

Sioux Tribes of South Dakota Development Corporation.

Promotes employment opportunities for Native Americans; offers job training services.

Address: 919 Main Street, Suite 114, Rapid City,
South Dakota 57701-2686.

Telephone: (605) 343-1100.

Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux.

Represented are the Sisseton Sioux.

Contact: Andrew J. Grey, Sr., Chairman.

Address: P.O. Box 509, Niobrara, Nebraska 68760.

Telephone: (605) 698-3911.

Fax: (605) 698-7908.

Skakopee Sioux.

Represented are the Mdewakanton division of the Santee Sioux.

Address: 2330 Sioux Trail, Prior Lake,
Minnesota 55372.

Telephone: (612) 445-8900.

Fax: (612) 445-8906.

South Dakota Commission on Indian Affairs.

Address: Pierre, South Dakota 57501.

Standing Rock Sioux.

Represented are predominantly the Teton Sioux, including Hunkpapa and Sicasapa, but also including Lower and Upper Yanktonai.

Contact: Charles W. Murphy, Chairman.

Address: P.O. Box D, Fort Yates,
North Dakota 58538.

Telephone: (701) 854-7202.

Fax: (701) 854-7299.

Upper Sioux Community.

Represented are predominantly the Sisseton and Wahpeton divisions of the Santee Sioux, but Devil's Lake, Flandreau, and Yanktonai Sioux are also included.

Address: P.O. Box 147, Granite Falls,
Minnesota 56241.

Telephone: (612) 564-2360.

Fax: (612) 564-3264.

Urban Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux.

Address: 1128 Fifth Street, N.E., Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55418.

Yankton Sioux.

Represented are the Yanktonai Sioux tribal division.

Address: P.O. Box 248, Marty, South Dakota 57361.

Telephone: (605) 384-3804.

Fax: (605) 384-5687.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Museums that focus on the Sioux include: the Minnesota Historical Society Museum in St. Paul, Minnesota; the Plains Indian Museum in Browning, Montana; the Affiliated Tribes Museum in New Town, North Dakota; the Indian Arts Museum in Martin, South Dakota; the Land of the Sioux Museum in Mobridge, South Dakota; the Mari Sandoz Museum on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota; the Sioux Indian Museum in Rapid City, South Dakota; and the University of South Dakota Museum in Vermillion.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Incident At Oglala: The Leonard Peltier Story (video documentary), directed by Michael Apted, narrated

by Robert Redford. Carolco International N.V. and Spanish Fork Motion Picture Company, 1991.

Lakota: Seeking the Great Spirit. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994.

Marquis, Arnold. *A Guide to America's Indians: Ceremonials, Reservations, and Museums*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974.

McClain, Gary (Eagle Walking Turtle). *Indian America: A Traveler's Companion*, third edition. Santa Fe, New Mexico: John Muir Publications, 1993.

Native America: Portrait of the Peoples, edited by Duane Champagne, foreword by Dennis Banks. Detroit: Gale Research, 1994.

Neihardt, Hilda. *Black Elk and Flaming Rainbow: Personal Memories of the Lakota Holy Man and John*

Neihardt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Neihardt, John. *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

O'Brien, Sharon. *American Indian Tribal Governments (Civilization of the American Indian Series)*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

Paha Sapa: The Struggle for the Black Hills (video documentary), directed by Mel Lawrence. HBO Studio Productions, 1993.

Ross, A.C. *Mitakuye Oyasin [We Are All Related]*. Denver, CO: Wicóni Wasté, 1997.

Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations (video documentary), directed by Gary Rhine and Fidel Moreno. Kifaru Productions, 1992.

Slovak immigrants exemplified the pattern evident among most ethnic groups in the United States: they adjusted to American society and preserved some traditions and values while altering others.

SLOVAK AMERICANS

by
June Granatir Alexander

OVERVIEW

Slovakia is at the crossroads between eastern and western Europe. It is bordered by Poland to the north, Hungary to the south, the Czech Republic to the west, and Ukraine to the east. Although a small country, with a land mass of 18,919 square miles, Slovakia's topography varies widely. Its territory includes rugged mountains, dense forests, and low fertile plains. The vast Carpathian mountain range that stretches along Slovakia's northern border also juts into central Slovakia. In this central region the Tatras, which cap the Carpathian system, reach altitudes as high as 8,711 feet. The capital, Bratislava, is located in southwestern Slovakia on the Danube River.

Slovakia's population is 5,297,000. Although the country is ethnically diverse, Slovaks are the overwhelming majority accounting for 4.5 million (85.6 percent) of the inhabitants. The populace also includes approximately 600,000 (10.8 percent) Hungarians and 79,500 (1.5 percent) Gypsies. The remaining population consists primarily of Czechs, Jews, and Carpatho-Rusyns. The official language is Slovak.

Slightly more than 60 percent of Slovakia's inhabitants are Roman Catholic while 8.4 percent are Protestant. Although most ethnic Hungarians belong to the Reformed church, Lutherans constitute the country's largest Protestant denomination. Other faiths include Judaism, Greek Catholic, and

Orthodox. The religion of an estimated 27.2 percent of the population is either unidentifiable (17.5 percent) or atheist (9.7 percent).

HISTORY

Throughout most of its history modern-day Slovakia was not an independent country. Its inhabitants were subject peoples of multi-national empires. When the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed in 1918, Slovaks joined with Czechs to create an independent Czechoslovakia. Except for a short period of independence during World War II (1939-1945), Slovakia remained part of that multi-national state until 1993.

The history of Slovakia reaches back to the fifth and sixth centuries when Slavic tribes migrated into the region south of the Carpathian Mountains. These ancestors of modern-day Slovaks established villages and developed an agricultural economy in the Middle Danube Basin. In the mid-ninth century Slavs from Bohemia, Moravia, and the Danube region united to form the Great Moravian Empire, which comprised most of latter-day Czechoslovakia, southern Poland, and western Hungary. The empire was the first unification of Czech (Bohemian and Moravian) and Slovak peoples. In the 860s Christianity was introduced into the empire. In 907 Magyars, a semi-nomadic people from the northeast, invaded the empire and established the Kingdom of Hungary, which incorporated modern-day Slovakia. The collapse of the Great Moravian Empire split the Czechs and Slovaks, and they stayed separate for the next one thousand years. Until 1918 the Slovak lands remained part of Hungary, but the region was known as Upper Hungary, not Slovakia.

During the fifteenth century, the Protestant Reformation spread into Upper Hungary, and most Slovaks converted to the Lutheran faith. In 1526, after the Ottoman Turks conquered the southern section of its kingdom, Hungary became part of the Hapsburg Empire. During the Counter-Reformation which accompanied Hapsburg rule, most Slovaks returned to Roman Catholicism, although a significant minority remained Protestant.

MODERN ERA

In the nineteenth century Slovaks and Hungary's other ethnic minorities were subjected to Magyarization, an official policy of forced assimilation. The government made Magyar (Hungarian) the official language and outlawed all other languages. It closed schools and adopted other measures to

abolish ethnic cultures in Hungary. By the early twentieth century, the Magyarization policy had enjoyed significant success in Upper Hungary. In general, Slovaks living in the region did not view themselves as a separate people.

World War I opened the way for dismembering the Austro-Hungarian Empire and letting its subject nationalities create independent countries. As a result the Czech and Slovak lands were united, and Czechoslovakia was created on October 28, 1918. Many Slovak supporters of an independent Czechoslovakia had envisioned the new state as a federation of two independent people. Instead, the country's constitution established a centralized government with a single capital city, Prague. Instituting a centralized government, instead of a system that granted Slovaks autonomy, led to tensions between Czechs and Slovaks in the 1920s and 1930s. As result of the Munich Agreement (1938) and Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Slovakia's political leaders declared Slovakia independent. Independent Slovakia was in reality a puppet government of Germany.

In 1945 Slovakia and the Czech lands were reunified. In postwar elections the Communist Party enjoyed significant victories, and in 1948 party leaders engineered a coup and took over the government. For the next 40 years Slovakia remained part of Czechoslovakia and under communist control. In 1969 the government granted Slovakia autonomy within the country and designated Bratislava as the capital city. In the fall of 1989 Slovaks joined Czechs in the Velvet Revolution that toppled the communist-controlled government in December. In April 1990 Czechoslovakia was renamed the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. The first free elections since 1945 occurred in June 1990. As reforms and measures to privatize the economy were introduced, relations between Czechs and Slovaks became strained. After the June 1992 elections, Czech and Slovak government officials decided that the two regions should separate. Because it was achieved without bloodshed or serious animosities, the breakup of the former Czechoslovakia is often called the Velvet Divorce. On January 1, 1993, Slovakia became independent. Slovakia's first prime minister was Vladimir Meciar.

IMMIGRATION

A few Slovaks immigrated to the United States before the American Civil War but their numbers were small. Large-scale Slovak immigration to the United States began in the late 1870s, steadily

increased during the following two decades, and peaked in 1905 when 52,368 Slovaks entered. Slovak immigration declined precipitously during World War I and started up again after hostilities ended in 1918. The movement came almost to a complete halt in the 1920s when American immigration laws virtually stopped East European immigration into the United States. According to immigration records 480,201 Slovaks entered the country between 1899 and 1918. The 1920 census found that there were 274,948 foreign-born Slovaks in the United States. Slovak immigrants and their children totaled 619,866.

Statistics on Slovak immigration, however, are imprecise, and it is difficult to determine the number that actually immigrated to the United States. Before 1899 U.S. immigration officials listed immigrants by country of birth. Thus, until 1899 Slovaks were recorded as Hungarians. Even after immigrants were enumerated by nationality, the Magyarization policies had been so effective that many Slovaks did not identify themselves as such. Also, perhaps one-third of the Slovaks who came to the United States were not immigrants but instead migrants. Often called "birds of passage," they worked temporarily in America and then returned to Europe. They wanted to earn money to buy property in their homeland. It was common for Slovaks to make several trips between the United States and Upper Hungary. At least 19 percent of the Slovaks who entered an American port from 1899 to 1910 had been in the United States one or more times before. Not until 1908 did immigration officials subtract the number of immigrants leaving from the total numbers entering the United States. Still, it is clear that temporary migrants formed an especially large contingent of the early stages of the Slovak immigration and remained a common feature of the movement. Between 1908 and 1910, for example, 80,797 Slovaks entered the United States while 41,726 left. Its temporary nature also affected the composition of the Slovak immigration. Most Slovak immigrants were unskilled laborers, and men typically outnumbered women by more than two to one. Between 1899 and 1910, 266,262 Slovak males and 111,265 Slovak females entered the United States.

Over time, many birds of passage decided to stay in America and sent for their families. The reasons for staying varied. Some were unable to save enough money to buy land and in some regions of their homeland no land was available. Others decided that America promised a better future while others married and decided to stay. Whatever their motives, between 1880 and the mid-1920s probably between 450,000 and 500,000 Slovaks moved permanently to the United States.

Slovak immigrants were committed to saving money and fulfilling obligations to families left behind. As a result they routinely sent money to Europe. In 1899 alone more than \$4 million was channeled to the Slovak region of Hungary. The determination to save money, compounded by the fact that so many Slovaks were males who had come alone, influenced living standards. In general, Slovaks tried to live cheaply. Laborers often roomed in boardinghouses where they could get a bed and daily meals for as little as ten dollars per month. These boardinghouses were typically run by Slovak immigrants, a husband and wife who either owned or rented a large house. For these Slovak families, taking in boarders became an important source of additional income.

Slovak immigration began during a period when anti-foreign sentiment was on the rise in the United States. The response by Americans to Slovaks reflected the common anti-foreign attitude. Furthermore, the desire by Slovaks to live cheaply, the large number of males, and their concentration in unskilled industrial jobs reinforced beliefs that immigrants were creating social and economic problems for the United States. Slovaks were not usually singled out as presenting special problems. Since Slovaks did not have a separate identifiable homeland and most Americans did not know that there was a Slovak people, they often referred to Slovak immigrants simply as Slavs, Slavic, Slavish, or by the pejorative terms Hunky or Bohunk. Based on their geographic origin, Slovaks fell into the general category of undesirable immigrants. Judging persons from both eastern and southern Europe as biologically and intellectually inferior and a threat to American society, some native-born Americans demanded that these "undesirables" be barred from the country. The immigration laws of the 1920s that curtailed southern and east European immigration severely reduced the number of Slovaks who could enter the United States. Between 1929 and 1965 American quotas permitted only 2,874 persons from Czechoslovakia to immigrate annually to the United States. In the decades after immigration restriction went into effect, Slovaks were lost in popular perceptions and culture, as they were lumped into generalizations about the massive turn-of-the-century immigration.

Slovak Americans rank as the second largest Slavic group in the United States. The 1990 census revealed that 1,882,897 Americans claimed Slovak descent: 1,210,652 listed Slovak as their "first ancestry," and another 672,245 designated it as "second." Nearly three-fourths (74.7 percent) of Americans acknowledging some Slovak descent resided in the Northeast and Midwest. Less than .03

percent of the 1990 Slovak American population was foreign born, and 74 percent of these immigrants had come before World War II.

SETTLEMENT

Slovaks gravitated to areas where industries were expanding and needed unskilled labor. More than half the Slovak immigrants went to Pennsylvania and primarily to the milltowns and coal mining districts in the state's western region. Other popular destinations included Ohio, New Jersey, New York, and Illinois. Slovaks "chain migrated," that is they went to places where previous Slovak immigrants already lived. Between 1908 and 1910 an astounding 98.4 percent of Slovaks entering the country were joining relatives or friends.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Slovak immigrants exemplified the pattern evident among most ethnic groups in the United States: they adjusted to American society and preserved some traditions and values while altering others. Values and beliefs that Slovaks brought with them were rooted in their rural past and reflected the concerns of agricultural communities. Slovaks placed great value on owning property and a home. They valued the family and the honoring of family obligations.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Slovaks were a deeply religious people. Some religious holy days were customarily observed with village processions while others were less dramatic. On some saints' feast days Slovak villagers came together as a community to pray for a favor associated by legend with a saint. For example, on the feast of Saint Mark (April 25) they prayed for rain and good weather during the upcoming growing season. Although Slovaks were fervently religious, their beliefs and customs were a blend of folklore and superstitions linked to the Christian calendar. A vast array of superstitions permeated their culture. For example, Slovaks performed rituals to rid or protect their villages from demons and witches.

Slovaks also carried out numerous rituals, especially during the Christmas season, which they believed foretold their future. On November 30 at the beginning of the season they poured lead into



This Slovak woman's photograph was taken shortly after her arrival at Ellis Island.

boiling water and relied on the shape of the cooled droplets to make predictions about the forthcoming year. Young women had several rituals that they believed might reveal who their husbands would be. On Christmas Eve Slovaks cracked nuts and used the condition of the meat as an indicator of what the upcoming year might hold for them. They also took measures that they hoped would control the future. On Christmas Eve, the head of the household gave food from the dinner table to the family's animals in the hope of ensuring the livestock's health.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The typical folk costume for women consisted of a puffed-sleeve blouse, a vest, a short but full skirt, an apron, a bonnet or headscarf, and calf-high boots. Male costumes included a hat, a shirt overlaid with a vest, trousers, and boots. Men's trousers, typically form-fitting but occasionally flared, were usually white with colorful embroidery. Both male and female folk costumes made of homespun cloth and sheepskin were multi-colored and featured intricate embroidery. Specific styles, colors, and items included in the attire varied from village to village and from region to region. In fact, peasant costumes could be so distinctive that they simultaneously indicated a person's village and religion. A head-dress also revealed a woman's marital status. In the United States, Slovak folk costumes have become nostalgic or quaint artifacts worn only for interethnic or Slovak events.

CUISINE

Soup is a staple of the Slovak daily diet. Cabbage, potatoes, and dumplings, all prepared in a variety of ways, are regular fare on Slovak tables. Meat, especially in Slovakia's poorer eastern region, was not a common ingredient in soups or main dishes; though some traditional dishes served throughout Slovakia are meat-based. *Klobasa* (a sausage with garlic) and *holubky* (cabbage leaves stuffed with pork, rice, and onions) are the most popular. Duck and chicken are reserved for special occasions, but for particularly festive celebrations goose is preferred. Although desserts are not part of the daily diet, Slovak culinary specialties include several filled *kolacy* (sweet yeast baked goods). The most popular *kolac* contains prune, ground nut, or crushed poppyseed fillings. Depending on the filling, *pirohy* (small dumplings) are served as main dishes or as desserts.

Slovaks attach great importance to serving traditional foods on Christmas and Easter, the only major holidays observed by Slovaks in both the homeland and the United States. Although in regional variations, several dishes served at Christmas and Easter are considered authentic Slovak cuisine. On Christmas Eve the main dishes consist of *bobalky* (bite-size rolls in either sauerkraut and butter or in a poppyseed sauce) and a special mushroom soup. Traditional Easter specialties include Slovak *paska* (a sweet, yeast bread with raisins) and homemade *hrudka* also known as *syrek* (a bland, custard-style imitation cheese).

HOLIDAYS

In their Slovak homeland, the celebration of Christmas and Easter was an event for both family and village. While Slovak American Christmas celebrations have taken on American features with a greater emphasis on gifts and a midday turkey dinner, many Americans of Slovak descent adhere to the custom of the family coming together for traditional Slovak foods on Christmas Eve. Visiting family during both the Christmas and Easter seasons has also remained an obligatory custom among Slovak Americans.

HEALTH ISSUES

Neither Slovak immigrants nor their descendants have unique health problems. The 1990 census data indicate that average rates of disability among both young and elderly Slovaks are the same as for most other ethnic groups in the United States. The same is true for the number of Slovaks institutionalized. Immigrants and subsequent generations did suffer from afflictions characteristic of other working-class

Americans, especially at the turn of the century. In addition to a high rate of tuberculosis, workers were killed or permanently maimed in industrial accidents. Some Slovaks who toiled in mines have been stricken with the respiratory problems that afflict that segment of workers.

Slovaks had local folk remedies. It has not been documented how extensively immigrants practiced these folk cures or how long they persisted in the United States. Although no systematic study of Slovak health attitudes has been done, there is no evidence that folk cures had any real impact on Slovak health practices in the United States.

LANGUAGE

Slovak belongs to the Slavic language group. Although similar to other Slavic languages, especially Czech, Slovak is linguistically distinct with its own grammar and vocabulary. Slovak has three dialects (western, central, and eastern) that roughly correspond with geographical areas in Slovakia. Each dialect also has numerous local and regional variations. Slovak, like other Slavic languages, has diacritical marks that govern the pronunciation of both consonants and vowels. The accent is on the first syllable.

The roots of the Slovak language predate the introduction of Christianity in the ninth century, but it did not become a written language until centuries later. The first serious attempt to codify a Slovak literary language occurred in the late eighteenth century. This early version was later rejected for one codified in the mid-1840s based on the central Slovak dialect.

Slovak was the primary language spoken among immigrants and between them and their children. The language has not persisted among successive generations in the United States. Several factors contributed to this decline. First, children gave way to the pressure in American society to abandon foreign languages. Second, immigrants were often barely literate. Although they taught their children, especially the older sons and daughters, to speak Slovak they could not teach them to read and write the language. Slovaks established parochial schools where language instructions were provided, but these classes often either proved inadequate or students did not remain in school long enough to become literate in Slovak. However, Slovak is taught in various Sunday schools for children and in universities, including the University of Pittsburgh. Several American libraries have Slovak-language collections.

The Slovak language was modified slightly in the United States as English, or modern, technical terms were introduced into the vocabulary. The absence of diacritical marks in English meant that either the spelling or the pronunciation of many Slovak names was changed. For example, a person with the name Karcis (pronounced “Kar-chis”) had the option to change the pronunciation to the English (“Kar-kis”) or keep the pronunciation and change the spelling to Karchish.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Slovak greetings include: *Dobre rano* (“dobre rahno”)—Good morning; *Dobry den* (“dobre den”)—Good day; *Dobry vecer* (“dobre vecher”)—Good evening; *Dobru noc* (“dobroo nots”)—Good night; *Prosim* (“prosem”)—please, if you please, excuse me; *Dakujem* (“djakooyem”)—Thank you; *Dobru chut’* (“dobroo kootye”)—Eat well!, bon appetit!; *Na zdravie* (“nazdravie”)—To [your] health!, cheers! (a toast); *Vesele Vianoce* (“veseleh veanotse”)—Merry Christmas.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Immigration is a disruptive process, especially for families. Although chain migration meant that Slovaks typically went to where relatives and friends had already settled, families were temporarily torn apart. Men immigrated alone, lived in boardinghouses, and later summoned their families or fiancées to join them. The process also worked in reverse as children emigrated first and then sent for elderly parents left behind in Europe. Although Slovaks typically maintained a close-knit family system, by mid-twentieth century Slovak Americans were moving from cities to suburbs. During the latter decades the third and fourth generations were also moving from dying milltowns to metropolitan regions.

Marriage patterns influenced family and community dynamics. For the immigrant generation, the norm was marriage between Slovaks. The second generation followed the same trend into the 1920s and 1930s, but by the post-World War II era interethnic marriages proved more common. Dating patterns differed from generation to generation and even within the same generation. Immigrants recalled that, for them, dating in the United States was limited to events sponsored by Slovak fraternals, churches, or social groups. Attending religious services and sharing in a family dinner also were

common among couples. By the mid-1920s the Slovak youth had adopted the dating practices common among their American peers. They enjoyed dances, movies, amusement parks, and other entertainment characteristic of the changing contemporary popular culture.

Both traditional culture and religious values combined to make divorce uncommon among Slovak immigrants. Reliable data on divorce rates for specific ethnic groups are unavailable but, given general trends in the United States, the empirical evidence suggests that dissolutions involving Slovaks surely rose in the latter part of the twentieth century.

WEDDINGS

Weddings were lengthy affairs that, depending on the village’s size, could involve nearly all the inhabitants. Preparatory rituals for the marriage, the ceremony, and subsequent celebrations could last a week. During the festivities, usually three days after the actual marriage ceremony, the bonneting of the bride took place. A bonnet was placed on her head, and she was accepted as a married woman.

BAPTISMS

Christening the newborn traditionally occurred within a few days of birth but godparents were selected long before the child was born. Slovaks chose godparents carefully because these persons were expected to assume responsibility for the child’s welfare should misfortune befall the parents. Following both Protestant and Catholic ceremonies, the celebrators retired to the home of the parents or godparents to partake in a celebratory feast. In some areas, after a son’s birth or christening a bottle of *slivovica* (plumb brandy), was buried only to be retrieved and consumed on his wedding day.

FUNERALS

Proper burial of the dead was a ritual that spanned several days. The deceased’s body usually lay in his or her home for two days, and on the third a procession of villagers accompanied the coffin to the cemetery for burial. Deaths also triggered a host of superstitions. Immediately following a person’s demise, Slovaks covered all the mirrors and closed all the windows in the deceased’s home. They believed that these measures would prevent the dead from returning.

EDUCATION

Slovak culture traditionally did not place a high emphasis on education. The Hungarian government's Magyarization policy, together with the agricultural nature of Slovak society, worked against developing a culture that valued formal education. Between 24 percent and 30 percent of the turn-of-the-century Slovak immigrants over the age of 14 could neither read nor write. Those who had attended school had gone for only a few years. With this background many immigrant parents, especially during the pre-World War I era, did not hesitate to put their children to work at early ages. In the 1920s more Slovak children regularly attended school and more completed 12 years of education. Nevertheless, Slovak parents generally advocated practical learning over an education in the sciences or liberal arts. Rather than stressing social mobility, both first- and second-generation parents typically encouraged children to get a secure job even if that meant working in a factory. The value system of both first- and second-generation Slovaks placed women in the traditional role of wife, mother, and homemaker; therefore, education was considered even less valuable for daughters than for sons.

The tendency to downplay formal education did have an impact. Based on the 1990 census nearly 21 percent of native-born Slovak Americans over the age of 24 had not received a high school diploma. This percentage undoubtedly includes a significant number of elderly persons who were forced to leave school in the earlier half of the century. Americans of Slovak descent have attended college but not in large numbers. In 1990 only 14.3 percent (123,341) of Slovak Americans older than 24 had a bachelor's degree from a four-year college, and 6.3 percent (54,008) had an associate's degree. Census figures also showed that only 7.5 percent (64,998) of this age group held a professional, master's, or doctoral degree. However, the data also reveal that more than one-half (52.6 percent) of Slovak Americans who received a bachelor's degree continued their education and obtained an advanced degree. Fewer Slovak American women than men have received college degrees. Women represented only 42.4 percent (52,237) of the Slovak Americans with a bachelor's degree, while men accounted for 57.6 percent (71,104). The discrepancy between men and women who received advanced degrees is more pronounced. Only 37.5 percent (5,196) of the Slovak Americans with professional degrees in 1990 were women while the percentage of men accounted for 62.5 percent (8,668). Women with doctorates represented 19.6 percent (1,072) of the total while men claimed 80.4 percent (4,391).

The stress on traditional roles for Slovak women has influenced their educational achievements and community activities. During World War II, Slovak women led local drives to sell war bonds and helped raise money for the International Red Cross and other relief projects. Otherwise, Slovak American women have typically limited their activities to their churches, fraternal, schools, and community events.

RELIGION

Early Slovak immigrants included Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, but the majority of Slovaks were Roman Catholic. The first Slovak Roman Catholic churches were founded in 1885 in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and Streator, Illinois. During the next four decades Slovak Catholics established nearly 250 churches in the United States. The universality of the Latin mass and Catholic theology meant that Slovaks continued to practice their religion as they had done in their homeland. But immigrants also had to observe holy days and laws unique to the American Catholic Church. The requirement that individual congregations pay all church expenses was the most significant difference between Slovak Catholic churches in Europe and the United States. Because parishes had to be self-supporting, lay organizations sponsored numerous fund-raising social events, and ethnic churches became centers of community activities.

A small number of Slovak Byzantine rite Catholics also migrated to the United States. They organized a few churches but more often they cooperated with other Byzantine rite Catholics, especially Carpatho-Rusyns, to found ethnically mixed parishes. Byzantine rite Catholics professed the same creed as followers of the Roman rite, and both were under papal authority. However, services in the Byzantine rite were conducted in Old Church Slavonic, which used the Cyrillic alphabet. The fact that Byzantine rite clergymen could marry while Roman rite priests could not became a significant difference in the United States. Having a married clergy created problems for Byzantine rite Catholics because some American bishops refused to accept wedded priests in their dioceses. This refusal caused some Byzantine rite Catholic Slovaks to join an Orthodox church.

Lutherans comprised the second largest body of Slovak immigrants. They organized their first congregation in 1883 in Freeland, Pennsylvania, and during the next half century Slovak Lutherans established more than 70 congregations and missions. In 1902 Slovak Lutherans formed their own

synod, an executive and judicial body made up of clergy and laypersons. Conflicts developed when the Slovak Synod became affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of America in 1908. Some Slovak Lutheran clergy and laypersons refused to adopt liturgical changes subsequently demanded by the conference and, as a result, serious divisions developed. Continued disagreements over liturgical and theological principles led to the formation of the Slovak Zion Synod in 1919, which affiliated with the United Lutheran church in America in 1962. Most Slovak Lutherans belong to congregations associated either with the Lutheran Church of America or the Synodical Conference.

Only a small number of Slovak Calvinists immigrated to the United States. A few of these Protestants affiliated with Reformed churches but most became Presbyterians. They founded 15 Slovak Presbyterian churches. A tiny number of Slovak immigrants converted to other Protestant religions, primarily to the Congregational church. In 1916, there were three Slovak Congregational churches and another that included both Czechs and Slovaks. These four churches had only 308 adult members.

Slovak churches survived for decades as ethnic institutions while experiencing some change. By the 1930s Slovak Protestant churches were introducing English into their services. Catholics continued to use Latin until the 1960s when the Catholic church began to use the vernacular. As the immigrant generation died and their descendants moved out of ethnic neighborhoods, some Slovak churches declined or were taken over by new immigrant groups. Nevertheless, in cities and small towns especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and New Jersey, vibrant Slovak Lutheran and Catholic churches still exist.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Eighty percent of Slovak immigrants had been common or farm laborers in their homeland. Having few skills Slovaks found jobs as manual laborers in heavy industries, especially in steel and allied industries that produced durable goods. A large number of Slovaks also toiled in coal mines. In 1910 surveys revealed that 82 percent of Slovak males labored as miners or in iron and steel mills. Some Slovak women were employed as domestics, but in cities they often worked in food processing plants. Fewer employment opportunities existed for women in small milltowns. Those who were unable to find domestic service jobs typically remained unem-

ployed and helped at home until they married. Widows and married women often ran boardinghouses where they cooked and did the laundry for residents.

The majority of second-generation Slovak males followed their fathers' paths and became industrial laborers, although some did enter the professions or acquired skills. Subsequent generations have deviated from this course. The 1990 census found that only 5.7 percent of Slovak Americans were self-employed while the vast majority remained wage and salary workers; however, in the type of jobs they differed from their parents or grandparents. In 1990 only 26 percent of Slovaks had jobs in manufacturing, mining, and construction. Most Slovaks were employed in white-collar jobs.

The evidence does not yet indicate what impact corporate downsizing has had on Slovak Americans holding white-collar positions but the process has clearly affected laborers. The closing of plants in the industrial Northeast and Midwest has adversely affected second- and third-generation Slovaks, especially persons beyond middle age. Still, the unemployment rate of 4.4 percent among Slovak Americans is below the national average. The median income for Slovak families in 1989 was just over \$40,000, and only 3.7 percent had incomes below the poverty level.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Slovak involvement in politics has changed over the decades. At the turn of the century few immigrant workers regularly participated in political activities. Such involvement was typically limited to leaders of Slovak fraternal societies. Founded to provide insurance, disability benefits, and unemployment compensation, and to stimulate ethnic consciousness among Slovaks, fraternal societies also encouraged or required members to become American citizens. Fraternal leaders believed that having a membership composed mainly of American citizens would enhance the fraternal societies' political clout. These organizations worked hard to influence legislation that affected immigrants. They also became involved in American domestic issues, especially those that concerned working-class Americans. During the 1930s, fraternal societies actively lobbied for social security, unemployment benefits, minimum-wage/maximum-hours legislation, and the legalization of unions. Slovak immigrants and their children helped organize and joined unions, especially in the steel and mining industries where so many of them worked. In his powerful novel, *Out of This Furnace* (1941), Thomas Bell, a second-generation Slovak, vividly

describes the work experiences and union activities of Slovaks in western Pennsylvania where he grew up during the Great Depression.

An accurate picture of the political activities of Slovak immigrants and successive generations is difficult to discern. In 1920 when citizenship data was recorded by “country of birth” only 45.8 percent of persons from Czechoslovakia had become American citizens and could vote. During the 1930s the New Deal programs drew working-class Slovaks to the Democratic Party. Through the 1950s Slovaks seemed to remain loyal to the Democratic Party in state and local elections but the pattern in national elections is less clear. In 1960 John F. Kennedy’s Catholicism and Cold War liberalism attracted Slovak American Catholics. The specific voting patterns and political activities of Slovak Americans during the following three decades have not been

“Identification with an ethnic group is a source of values, instincts, ideas, and perceptions that throw original light on the meaning of America.”

Michael Novak, an American philosopher and theologian of Slovak descent, from his *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, 1972.

studied, but empirical evidence suggests that the same religious, class, regional, and related differences that divide the country’s population and influence political behavior in general also fragment Americans of Slovak descent. In geographic areas where Slovaks have concentrated, they have been elected to local and state offices. But only one Slovak American has been elected to the United States Congress—Joseph M. Gaydos (1926–), who represented Pennsylvania’s twentieth district from 1968 through 1992.

RELATIONS WITH SLOVAKIA

Slovak organizations also became involved in the politics of their homeland. Specifically to counter the Hungarian government’s intensified Magyarization efforts, in 1907 Slovak journalists and national fraternal leaders organized the Slovak League of America. During World War I, the league and Slovak fraternal societies worked to secure American and international support for the creation of an independent Czecho-Slovakia. Their activities included lobbying American politicians and trying to influence public opinion. The league and its supporters pressured Thomas Masaryk, the future first president of Czechoslovakia, into signing the Pitts-

burgh Agreement on May 30, 1918. The document ostensibly provided for Slovak autonomy within the newly created state. According to the agreement’s provisions Slovakia was to have its own independent administration, parliament, and court system. The Pittsburgh Agreement subsequently became one of the most controversial documents in Czechoslovakia’s history. Its provisions were not incorporated into Czechoslovakia’s constitution, and a centralized government was established instead. During the 1920s and 1930s several Slovak American organizations tried unsuccessfully to persuade Czechoslovakia’s government to implement the Pittsburgh Agreement. During the Cold War, Slovak organizations actively supported American policies and those of other countries that opposed the totalitarian government in Czechoslovakia.

MILITARY

The precise number of Slovaks who served in World War I cannot be determined. Military records for the period after 1920 categorize Slovaks and Czechs together as Czechoslovaks. According to the 1990 census, 6,566 persons, including 635 women, of Slovak ancestry were serving in the United States military.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

The Americanization of names as well as intermarriage among ethnic groups precludes identifying many persons of Slovak ancestry who have made a significant contribution to American society or to the arts, sciences, education, industry, and government.

AEROSPACE

Astronaut Eugene Cernan (1935–) participated in Gemini space flights and Apollo-Saturn moon missions; his father came to the United States from Kysuce in Slovakia.

ART AND ENTERTAINMENT

Andy Warhol, (1928-1987), pop artist, famous for his paintings of soup cans and other modern art, was the son of immigrants who came to the United States from Slovakia in 1913. Actor Jack Palance (1920–) received the 1991 Academy Award for best supporting actor for his role in *City Slickers*.

LITERATURE

Thomas Bell (1903-1961), originally Belejcek, was a second-generation Slovak author of six novels; his best and most famous novel, *Out of This Furnace*, vividly portrays the life of Slovak immigrants, their children, and grandchildren from the turn of the century into the Great Depression of the 1930s. Michael Novak (1933–), author of *Naked I Leave*, is also a theologian and conservative commentator who received the 1994 Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion. Paul Wilkes (1938–) is also a noted writer.

MILITARY

In World War I, Michael Kocak (1882-c.1918), who was born in Gbely in western Slovakia, received both an Army and a Navy Congressional Medal of Honor; he singlehandedly and under fire eliminated a German machine-gun nest and then organized 25 French colonial troops and led them in a successful attack on another machine-gun position. Michael Strank (d. 1945), a Slovak who came to the United States in 1922, was one of the six men immortalized by the famous photograph of the raising of the American flag atop Mount Suribachi, Iwo Jima, on February 23, 1945; the U.S. Marine Corps Memorial monument located adjacent to Arlington National Cemetery is based on that photograph.

SPORTS

George Blanda (1927–) is a professional football legend. Chicago Black Hawks star Stan Mikita (1940–) was born in Slovakia.

MEDIA

PRINT

Fraternally Yours, Zenska Jednota.

A monthly publication of the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association.

Contact: Dolores J. Soska, Editor.

Address: 24950 Chagrin Boulevard, Beachwood, Ohio 44122.

Telephone: (216) 464-8015.

Fax: (216) 464-8717.

Jednota (Union).

A monthly publication of the First Catholic Slovak Union.

Contact: Anthony X. Sutherland, Editor.

Address: 1011 Rosedale Avenue, Middletown, Pennsylvania 17057.

Telephone: (717) 944-0461.

Fax: (717) 944-3107.

Narodne noviny.

A monthly publication of the National Slovak Society.

Contact: Lori Crowley, Associate Editor.

Address: 2325 East Carson Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15203.

Telephone: (412) 488-1890.

Nedelni Hlasatel.

Newspaper published in Czech and Slovak.

Contact: Josef Kucera, Editor.

Address: 5906 West 26th Street, Cicero, Illinois 60804.

Telephone: (708) 863-1891.

Fax: (708) 863-1893.

Slovak v Amerike.

Contact: John A. Holy, Editor.

Address: 1414 Main Avenue, Clifton, New Jersey 07011-2126.

Telephone: (201) 812-0554.

Fax: (201) 812-0554.

Zornicka.

A monthly publication of the Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union.

Contact: Cecilia Gaughan, Editor.

Address: 69 Public Square, Suite 922, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18701.

Telephone: (717) 823-3513.

RADIO

WCPN-FM (90.3).

“Slovak Radio Hour” is a weekly one-hour cultural program that also includes local Slovak community items.

Contact: Vlado E. Mlynek.

Address: 8211 Essen Avenue, Parma, Ohio 44129.

Telephone: (216) 884-3705.

WEDO-AM (810).

“McKeesport Slovak Radio Hour” is a weekly one-hour program that features folk music, news from Slovakia, and local Slovak community items.

Address: Midtown Plaza Mall, 516 Sinclair Street, McKeesport, Pennsylvania 15132.

Telephone: (412) 664-4431.

WERE-AM (1300).

“Slovak Radio Program” is a weekly one-hour cultural program that also includes local Slovak community items.

Contact: Johanna Oros.

Address: 1041 Huron Road, Cleveland,
Ohio 44124.

Telephone: (216) 696-1300.

WMBS-AM (590).

“Slovak Hour” is a weekly one-hour program featuring music and news.

Contact: Rudolph Faix.

Address: 82 West Lafayette Street, Uniontown,
Pennsylvania 15401.

Telephone: (412) 438-3900.

WPIT-AM (730).

“Western Pennsylvania Slovak Radio Hour” is a weekly one-hour program that features folk music and local Slovak community items.

Address: 200 Gateway Towers, Suite 1615,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222.

Telephone: (412) 281-1900.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association (FCSLA).

Founded in August 1892, the FCSLA is a religious fraternal organization that provides insurance benefits to more than 105,000 members. It also promotes the preservation of Catholicism and ethnic culture among Slovak American Catholics.

Contact: Maryann Johanek, President.

Address: 24950 Chagrin Boulevard, Beechwood,
Ohio 44122.

Telephone: (216) 464-8015.

First Catholic Slovak Union of the U.S.A. and Canada (FCSU).

Founded in September 1890, the FCSU is a religious fraternal organization that provides insurance benefits to more than 88,300 members. It promotes the preservation of Catholicism and ethnic culture among Slovak American Catholics. The FCSU also operates an orphanage and a publishing house, the Jednota Press, in Middletown, Pennsylvania.

Contact: Kenneth A. Arendt, National Secretary.

Address: 6611 Rockside Road, Cleveland,
Ohio 44131-2398.

Telephone: (216) 642-9406.

Fax: (216) 642-4310.

National Slovak Society (NSS).

Founded in 1890, the NSS is a secular fraternal organization that provides insurance benefits to more than 13,700 members. It also promotes the preservation of ethnic culture among Slovak Americans.

Contact: David G. Blazek, President.

Address: 2325 East Carson Street, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania 15203.

Telephone: (412) 488-1890.

Slovak Catholic Sokol (SCS).

Founded in 1905, the SCS is a religious organization that provides insurance benefits to nearly 41,400 members. It promotes athletic and gymnastic programs as well as the preservation of Catholicism and ethnic culture among Slovak Americans.

Contact: Steven M. Pogorelec, Supreme Secretary.

Address: 205 Madison Street, Passaic,
New Jersey 07055.

Telephone: (973) 777-2605.

Fax: (973) 779-8245.

Slovak League of America.

Founded in 1907, the Slovak League is a secular organization that promotes the preservation of Slovak culture in the United States. It also provides funds for projects to assist cultural and religious institutions in Slovakia.

Contact: John A. Holy, Secretary-Treasurer.

Address: 205 Madison Street, Passaic,
New Jersey 07055.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Institute has Slovak books and periodicals. Its manuscript collections include some fraternal and organizational records as well as papers of a few Slovak Americans.

Contact: Joseph Anderson, Librarian.

Address: 18 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19106.

Telephone: (215) 925-8090.

Immigration History Research Center.

Located at the University of Minnesota, it is the largest repository in the world of materials on immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. Among its holdings are Slovak newspapers, fraternal and non-fraternal publications, and books. Its manuscript collections include the records of several Slovak organizations, fraternal societies, churches, and prominent persons.

Contact: Joel Wurl, Curator.
Address: 826 Berry Street, St. Paul,
Minnesota 55114.
Telephone: (612) 627-4208.

Jankola Library and Archives Center.

This is the largest Slovak Library in the United States with more than 30,000 volumes. It also contains manuscript collections and Slovak artifacts.

Contact: Sister Martina Tybor.
Address: Danville Academy, Danville,
Pennsylvania 17821.
Telephone: (717) 275-5606.

Jednota Museum and Archives Center.

This museum houses books, Slovak memorabilia, costumes, and artifacts. It also contains First Catholic Slovak Union publications and materials as well as records from some local FCSU lodges.

Contact: Edward Tuleja.
Address: Rosedale and Jednota Lane, Middletown,
Pennsylvania 17057.
Telephone: (717) 944-2403.

Slovak Institute.

This institute has extensive holdings of books, newspapers, periodicals, and other documents related to Slovak immigration and life in the United States.

Contact: Reverend Father Andrew Pier.
Address: 2900 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive,
Cleveland, Ohio 44104.
Telephone: (216) 721-5300.

Slovak Studies Association

Independent, nonprofit association, located at Illinois Benedictine College. Research focuses on Slovak Culture.

Address: Benedictine University, 5700 College
Road, Lisle, Illinois 60532.
Telephone: (630) 829-6000.
Fax: (630) 960-1126.

E-mail: fmikula@ben.edu.
Online: <http://www.ben.edu/>.

Slovak World Congress (SWC).

Seeks to make known the history and aspirations of Slovak people and strives to preserve cultural heritage and provide those of Slovak descent with a sense of their historical background.

Contact: Vida Capay, Secretary General.
Address: 1243 Islington Avenue, Suite 805,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M8X 1Y9.
Telephone: (416) 503-1918.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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Krause, Paul. *The Battle for Homestead, 1880-1992: Politics, Culture, and Steel*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992.

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The belief that the American and Slovenian cultures at their best are not only compatible but complement and enrich each other seems to appeal to large numbers of Slovenian Americans who have visited the country of their ancestors.

SLOVENIAN AMERICANS

by Edward Gobetz

OVERVIEW

Slovenia measures 7,896 square miles (20,256 square kilometers), which is slightly less than Massachusetts or half the size of Switzerland. About two-thirds of Slovenia is located in the Alps, the remaining third gradually melts into the Pannonian Plains. Correspondingly, the climate of tiny Slovenia is Mediterranean along the Adriatic Sea, alpine in the mountains, and continental (Central European) in the plains. Bordering on Italy to the west, Austria to the north, Hungary to the east, and Croatia to the south, Slovenia has a population of just a little over two million. In 1999, about 92 percent of the population are Slovenians. The largest minority groups are Serbo-Croatians (2 percent), Hungarians, Italians, and Gypsies. Roman Catholicism is the predominant religion. The flag consists of three equal horizontal stripes—from top to bottom—of white, blue, and red with a blue and white (sky and mountain) coat of arms in the upper left side corner. The capital is Ljubljana. The official language is Slovenian. Milan Kucan has been the president since 1990.

Slovenians, the westernmost Slavic people, have always been geographically and culturally a part of Central Europe rather than of the Balkans. Outside of Slovenia, significant Slovenian communities live in Italy and Austria, and a small community exists in Hungary. Slovenia is sometimes confused with Slavonia (a region in Croatia)

or Slovakia. Since its independence in 1991, intensified tourist and other economic relations with Western countries, and admission as a member of the European Union, the country has received more attention.

HISTORY

While most historians believe that Slovenia was settled between 568 and 650 A.D., this has been challenged by a group of writers who argue that Slovenians are descendants of an ancient West Slavic people called Veneti, Vendi or Wends—a people that predate the Romans. All scholars agree that Slovenians settled in present-day Slovenia by 650 A.D. They enjoyed a brief independence at the dawn of their known history when they developed a form of representative democracy, which was well known to several leading figures, including Thomas Jefferson; this ancient Slovenian democracy was, according to Harvard historian Crane Brinton in the *Catholic Historical Review*, a variable that “went into the making of modern Western institutions.”

After allying themselves with the Bavarians against the warlike Avars and jointly defeating them in 743, the northern Karantanian Slovenians lost their independence to their Bavarian allies who refused to leave, and a year or two later to the Franks who subdued the Bavarians. After the mysterious disappearance of Prince Kocelj, the Slovenians of Pannonia came under the rule of a Frankish overlord in 874. For over a millennium the Slovenian people were under the political administration of their more powerful neighbors: the Bavarians, the Franks, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Austrian Empire.

The Christianization of the Slovenians had been conducted by missionaries from Aquileia (now in northern Italy) and Salzburg (then an ethnically mixed territory). The most famous missionaries were the Irish bishop St. Modestus in the mid-eighth century who labored in Karantania, and the brothers St. Cyril and St. Methodius from Salonica who spread the Christian faith in Slovenian Pannonia in the late 860s and 870s and established a seminary to educate Slovenian boys for the priesthood.

In addition to constant Germanization pressures, which began with the Christianization process, the Slovenians suffered almost two centuries of sporadic Turkish raids, especially from 1408 to 1578. An estimated 100,000 Slovenians perished and an equal number of young boys and girls were taken to Turkey where boys were trained as Turkish soldiers (*janizaries*) and the girls were put into harems. In 1593, however, the united Slovenian and Croatian forces decisively defeated the Turks in

the battle of Sisak, Croatia. Due to the leadership of Count Andrej Turjaški (Andreas of Turjak, Slovenia), the threat of subsequent Turkish raids on Slovenian lands was considerably diminished. Slovenians were also involved in numerous uprisings against the exploitative foreign nobility, the most famous of which was the joint Slovenian-Croatian revolt of 1573 in which over a third of the revolutionaries perished in battle, while many of the survivors were tortured and executed. Although German-speaking Austrians and Germans wanted to Germanize the Slovenians in order to establish a secure land-bridge to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean Seas, the bulk of Slovenians resisted bribes and threats, occasionally gaining genuine friends and supporters, thus preserving their ethnic and cultural identity.

Slovenians learned to read and write as early as the 860s. The Slovenians established the Jesuit College in Ljubljana in 1595, *Academia operosorum*—the first Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences—in 1673, and *Academia philhamionicorum* in 1701. They created a beautiful literature, culminating in the poetry of Dr. France Prešeren (1800-1849), and in the prose of Ivan Cankar (1876-1918), and share with the Scandinavians the reputation of being the best-read people of Europe. They have also made numerous contributions to the world, including Jurij Slatkonia, who became the first regular bishop of Vienna in 1513 and founded the internationally acclaimed Vienna Boys choir. Many prominent scholars and scientists were Slovenian, including: Joseph Stefan (1835-1893), a physicist and author of Stefan’s fourth-power law, who was also one of the many Slovenian rectors of the University of Vienna; Frederic Pregl (1869-1930), father of micro-analysis and Nobel prize winner in chemistry in 1923; Leo Caprivi (Kopriva; 1831-1899), the chancellor of Germany in 1890s; Kurt von Schuschnigg (Sušnik; 1897-1977), the last chancellor of Austria prior to Hitler’s Anschluss; Misha Lajovic (1921–), the first immigrant and the first non-Anglo-Saxon federal senator of Australia; and Dr. Aloysius M. Ambrožič (1930–), the first immigrant and Slavic archbishop of Toronto, the largest Catholic diocese of Canada.

MODERN ERA

A part of Austria until 1918 and then Yugoslavia, with a period of German and Italian occupation and the brutal communist revolution between 1941 and 1945, Slovenia organized the first free post-war elections in the spring of 1990. Slovenia declared independence from the Federation of Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991, and after inflicting surprising defeats

on the communist-led Yugoslav Army under the leadership of defense minister Janez Janša, achieved peace on July 7, 1991. On December 23, 1991, the Slovenian Constitution was adopted. On January 15, 1992, while Christian Democrat Lojze Peterle was prime minister, the European Community led by Christian Democratic governments recognized independent Slovenia. On May 22, 1992, Slovenia became a permanent member of the United Nations. Subsequently, constant democratic development and a successful market economy were recorded. Slovenia is aspiring to become a NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) member, and its admission will be considered in the year 2002.

“The first night in America I spent, with hundreds of other recently arrived immigrants, in an immense hall with tiers of narrow iron-and-canvas bunks, four deep.... The bunk immediately beneath mine was occupied by a Turk.... I thought how curious it was that I should be spending a night in such proximity to a Turk, for Turks were traditional enemies of Balkan peoples, including my own nation.... Now here I was, trying to sleep directly above a Turk, with only a sheet of canvas between us.”

Louis Adamic in 1913, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

THE FIRST SLOVENIANS IN AMERICA

The first proven settler of mixed Slovenian-Croatian ancestry was Ivan Ratkaj, a Jesuit priest who reached the New World in 1680. He was followed by Mark Anton Kappus, S. J., who came to America in 1687 and distinguished himself as missionary, educator, writer, and explorer. In the 1730s Slovenians and Croatians established small agricultural settlements in Georgia. A number of Slovenian soldiers fought in George Washington's revolutionary forces. Between 1831 and 1868, the Slovenian-born scholar, missionary, and bishop, Frederic Baraga, labored on a vast 80,000 square mile piece of virgin territory, including parts of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Canada, where he and his followers built some of the first churches and schools. Father Andreas Skopec (Skopez) reached Fryburg, Pennsylvania, in 1846 and was joined by several of his Slovenian compatriots. Other Slovenian settlements followed in the mining town of Calumet, Michigan, in 1856, the farming community of Brockway, Minnesota, in 1865, and several rural

areas in Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa. Settlements were also established in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1868, Joliet, Illinois, in 1873; New York City in 1878, and Cleveland, Ohio, in 1881. Following the missionaries and other trailblazers, the largest numbers of Slovenian immigrants reached America between 1880 and World War I, particularly from 1905 to 1913, although the exact numbers are impossible to pinpoint because Slovenians were then shown either as Austrians or jointly with Croatians, or under a number of other broader labels.

The 1910 census reported 183,431 persons of Slovenian mother tongue, 123,631 “foreign-born” and 59,800 born in America. These numbers are clearly an underestimate of the actual Slovenian population since descendants of earlier settlers often no longer knew Slovenian. Many Slovenians coming from Austria tried to escape the anti-Slavic prejudice by identifying themselves as Austrians, and many who should have been reported as Slovenian appeared under such general headings as Slav, Slavic, Slavish, or Slavonian. The actual number of Americans of Slovenian descent was probably somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000. The underestimate was even more pronounced in the 1990 census, which listed only 124,427 Americans of “Slovene” ancestry. Since the ancestry was the identifying criterion, including persons with single and multiple ethnic ancestry, regardless of whether or not they knew the Slovenian language, the actual numbers of Slovenian Americans has been growing approximately to the same extent as the total population of the United States.

SETTLEMENT

From the very beginning, Slovenian immigrants have been widely scattered in many states. However, despite the underestimates, the U.S. census probably identifies correctly the states with the highest concentration of Slovenian Americans. Ohio, where about 40 percent live, is the unrivaled leader, with greater Cleveland as the home of the largest Slovenian community. It is followed by Pennsylvania, with about 12 percent, and Illinois with less than ten percent. Minnesota and Wisconsin each have a little over five percent Slovenian population, followed in descending order by California, Colorado, Michigan, Florida, New York, Texas, Indiana, Washington, Kansas, and Maryland. There is, however, no single American state in which Slovenians have not been represented in the 1990 census.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Until 1918 the bulk of Slovenian immigrants were Slovenian by ethnicity and Austrian by citizenship or statehood. They usually knew German, which facilitated their adjustment in the American work place where, at that time, many foremen were from German-speaking countries. Yet, the American population began to differentiate between genuine German Austrians, other German-nationality members, and various non-German ethnic groups, including the Slovenians who were looked down upon as inferior and given such pejorative labels as “Polacks,” “Hunkies,” and “Bohunks.” Residents of cities with larger settlements of immigrants became aware of further subdivisions and reserved “Hunkies” for Hungarians, “Bohunks” for Czechs and Slovaks, and “Grainers” or “Grenish” (a corruption of the term “Krainers,” i.e., from the Slovenian province of Krain, Kranjska, or Carniola) for Slovenians. Numerous accounts and studies suggest that for over half a century after 1880 there was strong anti-Slavic and anti-Slovenian prejudice in America. Although Slovenians were not included among the 40 “races” or ethnic groups whose hierarchical position in America has been studied since 1926 by means of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, statistical scores and narrative reports in leading textbooks suggest that there was an intense and widespread prejudice against all Slavic groups.

Initially most Slovenians coped with the problems of being low-status or despised strangers in a foreign land by establishing their own ethnic communities, including churches, schools, and business establishments. They also organized self-help groups such as fraternal societies, social and political clubs, and national homes as their new community centers. A high degree of self-sufficiency among Slovenians helped them adjust relatively well within their own ethnic community and facilitated adjustment in the American work place and in society at large. Many applied the leadership skills they had learned in their ethnic neighborhoods to wider American society, rising from club or lodge officers to become members of city councils, mayors, and other American political, business, and civic leaders. With few exceptions this piecemeal adjustment to America seemed to proceed remarkably well. Similarly, the Slovenians avoided being on welfare; in times of crises they helped each other.

Slovenian Americans have acquired English with impressive speed and facility. They have been anxious to own homes, often with vegetable and flower gardens. Approximately 48 percent of

Slovenian refugees bought their homes after being in America on the average of ten years. Yet, in the spirit of a pluralistic, multicultural America, many are anxious also to preserve the best elements of their ethnic culture. Since the 1970s there has been an unprecedented surge of interest in Slovenian music (especially the accordion as the national instrument), language, genealogy, history, culture, customs, folklore, and other aspects of Slovenian heritage. The belief that the American and Slovenian cultures at their best are not only compatible but complement and enrich each other seems to appeal to large numbers of Slovenian Americans who have visited the country of their ancestors.

CUISINE

Slovenian immigrant women and many of their descendants traditionally have been excellent cooks and bakers; many of their culinary specialties are sold in ethnic communities today at fund raising projects. Some of the most popular goodies include *potica*, which is as Slovenian as apple pie is American. Among the usual varieties are walnut, raisin, and tarragon *poticas*. Apple, cherry, apricot, cheese, and other varieties of *štrudel* are also tempting delicacies, as are *krofi*, the Slovenian variety of doughnuts, and *flancati*, a flaky, deep-fried pastry. Dumplings (*cmoki* and *štruklji*), meat-filled or liver-filled for soups, are also popular, as well as those filled with apricots, plums, finely ground meat, or cheese, which can be served as the main meal, or as dessert. In addition to all kinds of chicken and other meats, the Carniolan sausage (*kranjske klobase*) and for Easter, “filled stomach” (*želodec*) are also favorites. Slovenian wines have won many international prizes and some Slovenian Americans continue to make their own wine, even if they no longer grow their own grapes. Slovenians in the “old” country traditionally have been known for their hospitality.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In several Slovenian communities some group-specific customs survive. One of these is *miklavževanje*, celebrations of *sv. Miklavž* or the old St. Nick’s feast when the good saint, dressed up as a bishop and accompanied by angels and *parkelji* (little devils), visits Slovenian communities, exhorts children to be good, and distributes gifts, usually from a throne put in the center of the stage. Vintage festivals (*trgatve*) at recreation farms or parks and in national halls attract merrymakers, with dancing or socializing under clusters of tempting grapes; those who reach for them and are caught by the “police,” are

Republican
presidential
hopeful Bob Dole
listens to the
Slovenian national
anthem during an
Independence Day
celebration at the
Slovenian National
Home in
Cleveland.



taken to the “court” and sent to a “jail” where all can see their sad “fate.” Then, a loved one pays the ransom or fine, which is used for a worthy cause, while the “thief” (or *tat*) is set free. There is also *martino-vanje*, a public celebration of St. Martin’s feast when the good saint changes lowly grape juice into tasty wine. This is another good opportunity for socializing, a banquet with wine-tasting, and a dance of waltzes and polkas. Concerts and festivals, plays and sports events, bazaars and exhibits, benefit brunches, lunches, and suppers all keep Slovenians in ethnic communities busy and happy.

HOLIDAYS

June 25 is celebrated to mark the country’s independence from the former Yugoslav Federation. Slovenian Americans also celebrate New Year’s Day, Catholic Easter and Christmas, as well as the feast days of various saints in the Catholic calendar.

HEALTH ISSUES

Slovenian culture has emphasized the value of good health. One of the most frequently quoted sayings states, “*Zdravje je največje bogastvo*”—“Health is the greatest wealth.” Following the Czech lead, the most influential Slovenian youth organizations, which often included “youngsters” 50 or 70 years old, were the Eagles (*Orli*) and the Falcons (*Sokoli*). They adopted an ancient Roman guideline as their own slogan, “*Mens sana in corpore sano*”—“A heathy mind in a healthy body,” paying attention to devel-

opment of both good character and physical fitness. Active participation in athletics, gymnastics, walks, hikes, mountain climbing, and a variety of sports, including skiing, contribute to good health. Alcohol consumption and smoking, on the other hand, have been among the unhealthy practices in which large numbers of Slovenians indulge.

In America, overcrowded boarding houses and life in depressing urban areas with air, water, and noise pollution contributed a new variety of health hazards for early immigrants. In places such as steel mills and coal mines, occupational risks lurked for workers. Many often experienced unavoidable accidents, increased air pollution, extremes of heat and cold, and pollution with coal dust resulting in black lung disease that drastically shortened the life of countless miners. In some mining towns, from Pennsylvania to Wyoming, there is an alarming absence of older men; and their widows survive with nothing but their modest homes and low retirement pensions to compensate them for their families’ share in building a more prosperous America.

As working and living conditions have generally improved, and some good health habits learned in childhood have persisted, the health and mental health of Slovenian Americans is now comparable to that of other Americans. It is unclear whether or not home remedies, such as a small pharmacy of medicinal herbs that many Slovenian immigrant households maintained, have been among the contributing factors to better health. A conclusion of “slightly better” than “national health” was reached by Dr. Sylvia J. O’Kicki, who examined a group of

Slovenian Americans with comparable cohorts selected from the National Health Interview Survey of 1985. She states in *Ethnicity and Health* that “when the group of Slovene Americans without any regard to the level of ethnicity is compared to the national American sample they differ favorably in health status and the practice of health behaviors.... Those who are actively involved in the heritage and traditions of the ethnic group report a more favorable health status and practice of more favorable health behaviors.”

In general, there was a remarkable resilience among earlier immigrants who were confronted by adverse conditions and problems that few could imagine today. Post-World War II refugees also went through years of deprivations, hardships of camp life, and a series of new problems in a strange new country, which often left them physically and emotionally exhausted and penniless. Some of them even survived death camps such as Dachau; two of them, Milan Zajec and Frank Dejak, miraculously escaped from a communist mass grave.

LANGUAGE

Slovenian is a Slavic language that utilizes the Latin alphabet. It is also the language of the oldest preserved written documents of any Slavic people, the so-called *Brižinski spomeniki* (the Freising Monuments), dating from 1000 A.D. Prlmož Trubar published the first printed books in Slovenian starting in 1551, less than a century after the invention of the Guttenberg press. Through the millennium of incorporation into German-speaking lands the Slovenian language was the pivotal vehicle of Slovenian culture, consciousness, identity, and national survival. Because the Slovenians were few in number they were anxious to preserve their mother tongue while simultaneously learning other languages.

Slovenians have long been noted for their exceptional linguistic skills. For example, many Slovenian missionaries in America preached in five or more languages. Several colleges and universities teach the Slovenian language: University of Illinois, Indiana University, University of Kansas, Kent State University, Ohio State University, and the University of Pittsburgh. There are also several libraries with Slovenian language collections, which contributes to preservation of the language. About 30 percent of all Slovenians in the United States are bilingual—English and some Slovenian—but the younger generation tends to use English to the exclusion of their ancestors’ language.

The Slovenian writing system is phonetically precise in that a letter, with very few exceptions, has the same sound. Most letters are the same as in English (except that Slovenian lacks the letters “w” and “y”) and many letters have the same sound as in English. For the rest, the following pronunciation guide may be of help: “a” is pronounced as in art; “e” as in get (never as in eve); “i” as in ill (never as in like); “o” as in awe; “u” as in ruler (never as in use); “c” as in tsar (never as in cat); “i” as the “ch” in church; “g” as in go (never as in age); “j” as the “y” in yes (never as in just); “lj” as “lli” in million; “nj” as the “gn” in monsignor; “s” as in she; “z” as in zipper; and “ž” as the “ge” in garage.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Dobro jutro—good morning; *dober dan*—good day; *dober večer*—good evening; *dobrodošli*—welcome; *jaz sem (Janez Zupan)*—I am (John Zupan); *to je gospod (gospa, gospodična) Stropnik*—this is Mr. (Mrs., Miss) Stropnik; *kako ste*—how are you; *hvala, dobro*—thank you, well; *na svidenje*—so long; *zbo-gom*—goodbye; *lahko noč*—good night; *prosim*—please; *hvala*—thank you; *na zdravje*—to your health; *dober tek*—enjoy your meal; *vse najboljše*—the best of everything; *oprosite*—excuse me; *čestitke*—congratulations; *kje je*—where is; *kje je restavracija (hotel)*—where is a restaurant (hotel); *kje je ta naslov*—where is this address; *me veseli*—I am pleased; *žal mi je*—I am sorry; *sem ameriški Slovenec (ameriška Slovenka)*—I am an American Slovenian; *vse je zelo lepo*—everything is very nice; *Slovenija je krasna*—Slovenia is beautiful; *še pridite*—come again; *srečno pot*—have a happy trip!

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Until World War I, men usually emigrated first; after they had saved enough money, they arranged for their wives or sweethearts to follow. Early entrepreneurs, such as owners of boarding houses, restaurants, and saloons, also lured many young women to come and work for them in America; however, the men were anxious to marry them as soon as they could get to know them. As in Slovenia, divorce among Slovenian Americans has been extremely rare, although it has recently increased especially in ethnically and religiously mixed families. In general, immigrant parents are anxious for their children to marry someone from their own ethnic and religious group, although ethnic homogamy has been decreasing among members of American-born generations.

Until recently, Slovenians have also frowned upon putting their parents or elderly relatives into homes for the aged. Since employment of women has increased and families have become more mobile, an increasing proportion of the elderly are now being placed into homes for the aged. Extended families were common among early immigrants, while nuclear families prevail today. Increasingly, children move away from their parental homes once they are permanently employed, believing that this is expected in America. However, many parents still prefer to have their children live at home until marriage and save money for their own home. The oldest child is often expected to be more responsible and a role model for younger children; the youngest child is widely believed to be given most affection by all, although actual differences by order of birth are now probably comparable to those of American families. Women have played a pivotal role not only as homemakers but also in Slovenian ethnic churches, language schools, charity projects, and increasingly in political campaigns. There is a Slovenian proverb: “*Žena tri vogle podpira*”—“The woman supports three corners [of a four-corner home].”

WEDDINGS

Young people have adopted such American wedding customs as showers. However, they often still prefer huge ethnic weddings with hundreds of guests in attendance, delicious meals, and Slovenian varieties of pastries.

FUNERALS

At wakes and funerals, organizations to which the deceased belonged are represented; occasionally there are honor guards in uniforms or national costumes. After the funeral all guests are invited to a meal to show the bereaved family’s appreciation for their attendance and to ease the transition for the family and community deprived of one of its members.

RELIGION

Coming from a country with strong Catholic traditions where hills and valleys are dotted with many beautiful, century-old churches, most Slovenian immigrants cling to their religious roots. They have built their own churches and other religious institutions all over America. Following the example of the missionaries, priests and seminarians came from Slovenia, and American-born descendants of immigrants gradually joined the clergy. Since 1924 the

Slovenian Franciscan Commissariat of the Holy Cross in Lemont, Illinois, has played a pivotal role among Slovenian Catholics in America. It established the Mary Help of Christians Shrine (with a replica painting from Brezje, Slovenia)—the most popular Slovenian pilgrimage in North America. It comprises a monastery and seminary, a high school, a retreat house, the Alvernia Manor for the Aged, annual *Koledars*, with a Slovenian Cultural and Pastoral Center of Lemont scheduled for completion in 1994. It also publishes the religious monthly *Ave Maria*. In 1971 a Slovenian Chapel of Our Lady of Brezje was dedicated inside the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., becoming another significant Slovenian religious landmark in America.

Many Slovenian parishes have been struggling for survival in recent years, mostly because of the changing nature of neighborhoods, the flight of Slovenian population to the suburbs, increased Americanization and secularization of the younger generation, and the lack of Slovenian priests. In very rare instances, ethnic churches that have closed have been replaced by new ones in new neighborhoods, as happened in Milwaukee-West Allis, Wisconsin, or in Bridgeport-Fairfield in Connecticut.

There is also a small number of Slovenian Protestants who refer to themselves as Windish. Although numerically small, this community has long used a Slovenian dialect in interaction, its services, and its press, and has displayed considerable ethnic and religious vitality, as exemplified by St. John’s Windish Lutheran Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and a few other Slovenian Protestant institutions.

Many Slovenians worship in other American Catholic parishes, while an extremely small number have joined other religions. Geographic and social mobility and intermarriage have caused the absorption into other Catholic churches. The children of young couples are frequently enrolled in local Catholic schools, which means that their parents also join the usually non-Slovenian parish. Many of these people still return to Slovenian parishes on special occasions—Christmas and Easter, annual festivals, celebrations of holidays, Corpus Christi processions, Palm Sunday festivities with Slovenian *butare* (ornamented bundles of branches). St. Mary’s Parish in Cleveland even presents the Passion liturgy in Slovenian, all conducted by school children in biblical attire (ranging from Roman soldiers to Mary and Christ).

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

With the exception of missionaries, priests, and some 6,000 to 10,000 ideological dissenters, especially post-World War II refugees from Marshall Tito's communism, the bulk of Slovenians in America were economic immigrants. As in most groups, they tended to come from the poorest areas and most economically disadvantaged families. With the exception of persons who wanted to avoid being drafted, a few adventurers, socialist or other political dissenters, post-1947 refugees, and farm laborers have also immigrated in significant numbers.

The earliest immigrants often took advantage of the open lands and homesteading, and established such Slovenian pioneer farming communities as St. Stephen's and St. Anthony's in Minnesota, or later Traunik in Michigan. Many immigrants initially intended to return to Slovenia after they had earned enough money to establish themselves in their native country. When the land became more difficult to obtain, however, the major wave of Slovenian immigrants settled in industrial cities and mining towns where their unskilled labor earned them meager wages.

It is impossible to discover an exact breakdown of employment since Slovenians were shown as Austrians or Yugoslavs, or combined with Croatians or South Slavs on most documents. While Slovenians were better educated than other South Slav groups, the statistical distribution was probably more favorable for them than shown. The available data on the South Slavs in general are nevertheless suggestive. Thus, in 1921, 42 percent of the South Slavs were workers in steel, iron, and zinc mines, smelters, and refineries; 12 percent worked in the coal mines; 6.5 percent in the lumber industry; six percent in stockyards, and five percent in fruit growing; chemical works, railroads, and electrical manufacturing employed four percent each; professions accounted for 3.5 percent, and farming for only three percent.

Considerable numbers of Slovenian immigrants, however, soon became skilled workers. In the early decades of the twentieth century many Slovenian Americans worked in the automobile industry in Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. They were also well represented in the hat industry in New York. They were highly appreciated and much sought-after because of their skill and experience, having learned the trade in their home country. Included in this group were both men and women. Thus, hat making, especially straw-hat making, was a group-specific skill that many Slovenians found

useful in their American employment. Other skills survived as useful hobbies: home-building and carpentry skills; butchering, sausage making, and meat-processing skills; wine making; and apiculture, which helped many Slovenian immigrants provide honey for family and friends. Women were highly skilled cooks, bakers, and gardeners, and canned large quantities of fruit and vegetables. Habits of hard work, honesty, frugality, and mutual help, particularly in times of hardship, helped Slovenian immigrants survive and succeed in a strange land.

Today, Slovenian Americans can be found in all occupations. Many are now professionals; others own businesses, agencies, and factories; still others are workers, foremen, or executives with large American companies. As research on Slovenian contributions to America shows, a large number of Slovenian Americans have achieved positions of leadership and prominence in American society.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Like other ethnic groups, Slovenian Americans were targeted by American politicians as soon as they had become citizens and were able to vote. As a rule, Slovenian Americans were attracted to the Democratic Party, viewed as the party of the working class people. Republicans have recently won a substantial number of adherents. Rising from minor political positions, such as ward leaders and members of council, Slovenian American politicians now increasingly reflect the American political spectrum, including a presidential candidate.

Slovenian American congressional representatives include John A. Blatnik (1911–) from northeastern Minnesota, who served from 1947 to 1975; he was succeeded by James L. Oberstar (1934–); Ray P. Kogovesk (1941–), was elected from Colorado in 1978; Philip Ruppe (1927–) represented Michigan between 1967 and 1979. The last was a Republican while the others were Democratic. While very few Slovenians are attracted to independent candidates, there was a substantial number of Slovenian American Democrats for Republican Ronald Reagan.

In numerous towns, such as Ely, Eveleth, Chisholm, and Gilbert in Minnesota, Slovenian Americans have long been strongly represented on city councils, and as mayors of such larger communities as Euclid and Wickliffe, Ohio. Slovenian candidates were also elected mayor in such cities as Portland, Oregon, and Indianapolis, Indiana, where the proportion of Slovenian voters was insignificant. In Cleveland, the city with the largest number

of Slovenians in America, Slovenians have long served as ward leaders, council members, and heads of various branches of municipal government. They also served in Cleveland as judges, a chief of police, a council president, and a mayor. Frank J. Lausche first won national attention as a fearless judge who, and the help of Gus Korach, a Slovenian worker, broke up the widespread organized crime and corruption in a true-life drama that resulted in local and national publicity.

MILITARY

Slovenian Americans have been well represented in the military. Slovenian immigrant Louis Dobnikar, serving on the destroyer *Keamey*, was the first Clevelander and one of the first 11 Americans to be killed during World War II. John Hribar, a volunteer marine from Krayn, Pennsylvania (named after Kranj, Slovenia), was one of several Slovenian heroes of Iwo Jima. At least seven Slovenian Americans became generals, including three-star general Anthony Burshnick of the U.S. Air Force and four-star general of the U.S. Army Ferdinand Chesarek. The Archives of the Slovenian Research Center of America also contain materials on six Slovenian American admirals (with the seventh still being researched), including Ronald Zlatoper who received his fourth star in 1994.

RELATIONS WITH SLOVENIA

Slovenian Americans have not established permanent lobbying organizations in Washington, D.C., but they frequently have used existing societies and institutions, *ad hoc* committees, or temporary councils or unions to advocate or support various causes on behalf of their home country. These include: the Slovenian League, Slovenian National Union, and Slovenian Republican Alliance during World War I; various relief committees, the Union of Slovenian Parishes, and Slovenian American National Council during World War II; the Slovenian American Council, which substantially supported the first free elections that toppled the communist dictatorship in Slovenia in 1990. A special *ad hoc* committee, Americans for Free Slovenia, together with scores of other organizations and institutions, especially the *American Home* newspaper, the Slovenian Research Center of America, and thousands of individuals, helped secure the American recognition of independent Slovenia in 1992. For several decades after World War II, the Slovenian Language section of Voice of America Information Agency, played an important role by bringing objective information to its listeners in Slovenia.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Slovenia, despite its small size, has made many important contributions to the world.

ACADEMIA

Emil Mrak, chancellor of University of California at Davis, and Frederick Stare, founder of Harvard University's Department of Nutrition, were America's foremost authorities on nutrition. John Nielsen (Sesek) was a leading metallurgist; Joseph Koffolt was a leader in chemical engineering; Anton Peterlin was a leader in macromolecular chemistry; Stephen Malaker was prominent in nuclear physics and cryogenics; Robert A. Pucel contributed to microwave science and technology; Anton Mavretic and Mark Dragovan distinguished themselves in astronomy; and Daniel Siewiorek was a leader in computer architecture.

AERONAUTICS

Max Stupar, an early designer and manufacturer of airplanes, was considered the father of mass airplane production. Dr. August Raspet, a noted inventor and designer of modern airplanes, was president of American Aerophysics Institute. Adrian Kisovec invented the Convertiplane-Rotafix models. Dr. Ronald Sega became the first Slovenian astronaut.

ARCHITECTURE

Araldo Cossutta, who designed L'Enfant Plaza in Washington and numerous landmark buildings throughout America and in Europe, won, with I. M. Pei, the 1968 Architectural Firm Award. Alexander Papesh became America's foremost designer of stadiums, including the Robert F. Kennedy Stadium in Washington, D.C. Simon Kregar won national awards for design of industrial buildings.

ART

Slovenian American artists include Gregory Prusheck, Michael Lah, Stephen Rebeck, France Gorse, Donald Orehek, Lillian Brulc, Lucille Dragovan, Frank Wolcansek, John Hapel, Paul Kos, Bogdan Grom, three generations of Prazens, Joseph Opalek, Nancy Bukovnik, and Gary Bukovnik, Emilia Bucik-Razman, Miro Zupancic, Joseph Vodlan, Erica Bajuk, Vlasta Radisek, August Pust, and Damian Kreze, to mention but a few.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND DANCE

Among movie and television personalities, Laura LaPlante and Audrey Totter are part Slovenian. Also Slovenian are actors George Dolenz and Frank Gorshin; ballerinas Veronica Mlakar of the New York City Ballet Theater and Isabella Kralj of Chamber Dance Theater in Milwaukee. Anton Schubel was director of the International Ballet Company in New York; Milko Sparembek, a Slovenian immigrant, served as ballet director of Metropolitan Opera at Lincoln Center; Charles Kuralt, widely known as a CBS correspondent and a capable writer, has also recently discovered his Slovenian roots.

LITERATURE

Karl Mauser (1918-1977) was an author whose work was translated into German, French, and Spanish. Frank Mlakar (1913-1967), author of the acclaimed novel, *He, the Father*. Louis Adamic (1899-1951), whose widely translated books have been included as Book-of-the-Month Club and *Obras Famosas* selections, became a pioneer of multiculturalism in America with the publication of his *From Many Lands, My America* and *A Nation of Nations*.

MISSIONARIES

There is also a proud, if seldom known, record of contributions made to America by Slovenian missionaries. Mark Anton Kappus, a Slovenian-born Jesuit missionary, scholar, and superior of Jesuit missions in the enormous territory of Sonora and Pimeria Alta in northern Mexico and southern Arizona, came to America in 1687 and returned to Europe in 1701 to report that California was not an island, as it then had been generally believed; the most prominent Slovenian missionary was Frederic Baraga, who from 1831 to 1868, labored among Native Americans of the Upper Great Lakes region on an enormous territory of over 80,000 square miles and wrote several books, including Indian dictionaries and grammars still in use today. In numerous areas of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and elsewhere Slovenian missionaries built the first churches and schools; they pioneered in the establishment of dioceses of Marquette, Duluth, and St. Cloud; they secured financial support from several European courts and religious organizations, while importing to America shipments of seedlings, vestments, and religious art.

MUSIC

Notable musicians include: Grammy Award-winning Polka King of America, Frankie Yankovic; the "Polka Ambassador" Tony Petkovsek; Polka Priest Frank Perkovich; America's Tamburitzan King Professor Mat Gouze; Metropolitan Opera singer Anton Schubel, who was also the talent scout for Carnegie Hall where he gave concerts with finalists of his nationwide auditions, among them his 13-year-old discovery Van Cliburn; Ivan Zorman, Dr. Sergij Delak, and Dr. Vendelin Spendov, who enriched Slovenian American music with their compositions; and John Ivanusch, known as the Father of Slovenian Opera in America; Paul Sifler is an internationally known organist and composer of such works as *Despair and Agony of Dachau*; Professor Raymond Premru's *Concerto for Orchestra* was selected in 1976 for the famous Cleveland Orchestra's Bicentennial Program conducted by Lorin Maazel.

POLITICS

Senator Tom Harkin, whose mother was a Slovenian immigrant, was one of the 1992 presidential candidates; he pioneered legislation on behalf of the disabled. George Voinovich served as mayor of Cleveland and governor of Ohio. Ludwig Andolsek was a U.S. Civil Service commissioner. John Blatnik, U.S. congressional representative from Minnesota from 1946 to 1974, chaired the Congressional Public Works committee and authored legislation that opened the St. Lawrence Seaway, established the current interstate highway system, and initiated standards for clean air and water.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Frederic Pregl pioneered the field of organic chemistry; Hermann Potočnik Noordung, a pioneer in space science, authored the first scientific book on manned space travel and had a considerable impact on the development of American space program. John Bucik's car of the future was one of America's leading attractions at the New York World Fair in 1964-1965. Dr. France Rode co-invented HP-35 pocket calculators, which Richard Nixon's party took to China as an example of modern U.S. technology.

SPORTS

Notable sports figures include: football players Tony and Mike Adamie, Randy Gradishar, Mark Debevc, Don Vicic, and Ken Novak; baseball players Frank Doljack, Joe Kuhel, Al Vidmar, Walter Judnich, and Al Milnar; bowlers Charles Lausche, Marge Slogar,

Mary “Whitey” Primosh Doljack, “Stevie” Rozman Balough, Sophie Rozman Kenny, Andrew Stanonik, Vince Bovitz, and Jim Stefanich; the Marolt brothers in skiing; Olympic swimmer Ann Govednik; Vicki Foltz (Šega); long-distance running champion; and Hubby Habjan, National Golf Professional of the Year (1965); Eric Heiden, winner of five gold medals at the Winter Olympics of 1980; Peter Vidmar, U.S. team captain and winner of two gold medals and a silver medal in the 1984 Olympics, was the highest scoring gymnast in U.S. history (with a 9.89 average).

MEDIA

PRINT

Amerika Domovina (The American Home).

This was published under a variety of names, starting as *Narodna beseda (The Word of the People)* in 1899. Privately owned and long a Slovenian-language daily, it is now a bilingual weekly newspaper, with about 3,000 subscribers. It publishes news about Slovenian communities and individuals, various ethnic affairs, and Slovenian reprints. It is the only one of the many non-fraternal Slovenian newspapers that has survived to this day.

Contact: Jim Debevec, Publisher and English Section Editor; or, Dr. Rudolph Susel, Slovenian Language Section Editor.

Address: 6117 St. Clair Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

Telephone: (216) 431-0628.

Amerikanski Slovenec (American Slovenian).

This is the oldest Slovenian paper, published without interruption since 1891. Since 1946, when it merged with the *Glasilo KSKJ (Herald of KSKJ)*, it has been an official organ of KSKJ, the American Slovenian Catholic Union. While most of the materials published pertain to activities of the KSKJ, it also carries a variety of news and comments of ethnic and general human interest. It is currently a bilingual (English and Slovenian) biweekly, with 10,700 subscribers.

Contact: Robert G. Gibbons, Editor.

Address: 708 East 159 Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44110.

Telephone: (216) 541-7243.

Our Voice—Glas ADZ.

This is a biweekly bilingual official organ of American Mutual Life Association (AMLA). While

Clevelandska Amerika (now *Ameriška Domovina*) was chosen as the official organ of what was then *Slovenska Dobrodelna Zveza* (Slovenian Benefit Society), the seventh convention approved the establishment of its own official organ and the first issue was published early in 1932. In addition to news items about AMLA's lodge activities, *Our Voice* publishes many reprints from Slovenian magazines, both in Slovenian and English languages, and numerous photographs of banquets, parties, and other social and cultural affairs.

Contact: Dr. Rudolph Susel, Editor.

Address: 19424 South Waterloo Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44119.

Telephone: (216) 531-1900.

Prosveta (Enlightenment).

Long a Slovenian daily, it is now an English weekly organ of the Slovene National Benefit Society (SNPJ), devoted predominantly to news items about the fraternal organization and its local lodges and their activities. It also publishes selected items of Slovenian and general human interest, including news on various cultural programs and reprints from Slovenia. By 1994, the Slovenian language entries have been reduced to a single weekly page or less. *Prosveta* has 20,000 subscribers.

Contact: Jay Sedmak, Editor.

Address: 247 West Allegheny Road, Imperial, Pennsylvania 15126.

Telephone: (412) 695-1100.

Zarja—The Dawn.

This is the official organ of Slovenian Women's Union (SžZ) and was established as its monthly magazine in 1928. This bilingual magazine, with 6,500 subscribers, remains the only surviving Slovenian American monthly magazine. It is rich with news items about activities of its sponsoring organization, as well as with articles on Slovenian American families, with an emphasis on the role of mothers, and on Slovenian heritage.

Contact: Corinne Leskovar, Editor.

Address: 431 North Chicago Street, Joliet, Illinois 60432.

Telephone: (815) 727-1926.

Fax: (312) 268-7744.

RADIO

WCSB-FM (89.3).

“Songs and Melodies from Beautiful Slovenia” presents a rich variety of Slovenian songs and music,

community news and news from Slovenia, excerpts from Slovenian literature, Sunday spiritual thoughts, special occasion programs, interviews, and political commentaries, all in the Slovenian language. It is currently broadcast on Sundays, 9:00 to 10:00 a.m., and on Wednesdays, 6:00 to 7:00 p.m.

Contact: Dr. Milan Pavlovčič, Producer.

Address: WCSB, Cleveland State University,
Rhodes Tower, Room 956, Cleveland,
Ohio 44115.

Telephone: (216) 687-3523.

WELW-AM (1330).

Tony Petkovsek's radio program broadcasts Slovenian and other polka music daily, 3:30 to 5:00 p.m., in addition to providing current community news and news from Slovenia, interviews, and radiothons in support of charitable and civic causes. Together with the Cleveland Slovenian Radio Club it has also organized annual Tony's Thanksgiving Polka Parties, which have been among the best attended Greater Cleveland community affairs.

Contact: Tony Petkovsek, Producer.

Address: 971 East 185 Street, Cleveland,
Ohio 44119.

Telephone: (216) 481-8669.

WKTX-AM (830).

"Slovenia Radio" presents Slovenian and other ethnic music, together with Slovenian and English broadcasts of community news, commentaries, and transmission of news from Slovenia. It is aired on Saturdays, 9:00 to 10:00 a.m.

Contact: Paul M. Lavriša, Producer.

Address: 6507 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland,
Ohio 44103.

Telephone: (216) 391-7225.

WYMS-FM (89.9).

"Slovenian Radio Cultural Hour" presents customs, literature, songs, and music of Slovenia, together with programs dedicated to special cultural topics and news items about the Slovenian community and Slovenia. It has been conducted since 1963 by Vladislav and Isabella Kralj. The program is currently broadcast each Saturday from 11:00 a.m. until 12:00 p.m.

Contact: Vladislav Kralj, Producer.

Address: 690 Meadow Lane, Elm Grove,
Wisconsin 53122.

Telephone: (414) 785-2775.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Mutual Life Association (SDZ).

Organized in 1910, it functions through 40 lodges, with a total of 12,769 members in Ohio. In addition to non-profit insurance programs and promotion of Slovenian traditions and customs, the association lists the following activities: Christmas parties for children, bowling and golf tournaments, family day picnics, clambakes, anniversary banquets honoring 50-year members, scholarship award banquets, and Christmas open house for lodge officers and board members.

Contact: Joseph F. Petric, Jr., Secretary.

Address: 19424 South Waterloo Road, Cleveland,
Ohio 44119.

Telephone: (216) 531-1900.

Fax: (216) 531-8123.

American Slovene Polka Foundation.

Established in 1988, aims to preserve the American Slovene Polka style of dance. Organizes festivals, maintains a National Polka Hall of Fame, and collects memorabilia and artifacts related to the history of Polka.

Contact: Fred Kuhar, President.

Address: Shore Cultural Centre, 291 E. 22nd St.,
Euclid, Ohio 44123.

Telephone: (216) 261-3263.

American Slovenian Catholic Union (KSKJ).

Established in 1894 as a self-help organization which would also strive to preserve and promote Catholic and Slovenian heritage, while helping its members to be active American citizens, has 28,685 members and is the largest Slovenian Catholic organization in USA. Like SNPJ, it functions through local lodges scattered throughout America, but is coordinated by a national board of directors and an executive committee. It provides to its members payments of death and sickness benefits, scholarships, low-interest loans; it promotes friendship and true Catholic charity and conducts numerous religious, educational, cultural, recreational, and social activities.

Contact: Robert M. Verbiscer, Chief Executive Officer; or Anthony Mravle,
Secretary/Treasurer.

Address: 2439 Glenwood Avenue, Joliet,
Illinois 60435.

Telephone: (815) 741-2001.

Progressive Slovene Women of America (PSWA).

Founded in 1934, it has 575 members, and its purpose is: to arouse interest in knowledge; to improve social and economic conditions of women, family, and humanity in general; to promote familiarity and understanding of New and Old World cultures; and to encourage members to be good citizens and useful members of society. A philanthropic and service organization, it raises money for humanitarian/cultural causes.

Contact: Florence Unetich, National President.

Address: 19808 Arrowhead Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44110.

Telephone: (216) 481-0830.

Slovene National Benefit Society (SNPJ).

Founded in 1904, it is currently, with about 40,000 members, the largest Slovenian American organization. Once a stronghold of labor movement, with some prominent socialists among its leaders, it is now administered mostly by American-born, English-speaking leaders of Slovenian descent. As a non-profit fraternal benefit society, it offers low-cost insurance, tax-deferred savings plans, scholarships, pageants and debutante balls, singing and music circles, Slovenefests and other heritage programs, and a wide variety of various other benefits and activities, athletic, cultural and social projects, and recreational facilities.

Contact: Joseph C. Evanish, National President.

Address: 247 West Allegheny Road, Imperial, Pennsylvania 15126.

Telephone: (800) 843-7675.

Fax: (412) 695-1555.

E-mail: snpj@snpj.com.

Online: <http://www.snpj.com>.

Slovenian Women's Union (SŽZ).

Organized in 1926, this organization of 6,100 members has united American Slovenian women of Catholic orientation. Fraternal activities are organized on local (lodge), regional and national basis and include scholarship and educational programs, heritage projects, visits of sick members and paying tribute to deceased members, numerous charity and athletic projects, tributes to honorees such as mothers of the year; uniformed, baton-twirling drill teams, cooking classes and contests.

Contact: Olga Ancel, National Secretary.

Address: 431 North Chicago Street, Joliet, Illinois 60432.

Telephone: (815) 727-1926.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Museum of the Slovenian Women's Union of America.

The museum has a collection of Slovenian memorabilia, books, pictures, slides, records, Slovenian national costumes, and handicrafts. It also functions as a gift shop where various Slovenian items, including books and souvenirs, can be purchased.

Contact: Mollie Gregorich.

Address: 431 North Chicago Street, Joliet, Illinois 60432.

Telephone: (815) 723-4514.

Slovenian Heritage Center.

The center has a museum with three specified categories. One is dedicated to Slovenia alone, with maps, coats of arms, books, pictures, and artifacts. The second covers the Slovenian American history and houses a library of Slovenian and Slovenian American authors. The third area deals with the SNPJ history and also serves as a lecture and conference room.

Contact: Lou Serjak.

Address: 674 North Market, East Palestine, Ohio 44413.

Telephone: (412) 336-5180.

Slovenian Research Center of America, Inc.

This organization is dedicated to research, education, exhibits, publications, and information service on Slovenian heritage. An American and international network of Slovenian volunteer associates assist in research on Slovenian contributions to America and the world, establishing the richest contemporary collection of its kind. Other areas of research include activities and integration of Slovenian immigrants and their descendants, and their organizations.

Contact: Dr. Edward Gobetz, Director.

Address: 29227 Eddy Road, Willoughby Hills, Ohio 44092.

Telephone: (440) 944-7237.

Fax: (440) 289-3724.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Anthology of Slovenian American Literature, edited by G. Edward Gobetz and Adele Donchenko.

Willoughby Hills, Ohio: Slovenian Research Center of America, 1977.

Arnez, John. *Slovenian Community in Bridgeport, Connecticut*. New York: Studia Slovenica, 1971.

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Govorchin, Gerald Gilbert. *Americans from Yugoslavia*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961.

Prisland, Marie. *From Slovenia to America: Recollections and Collections*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1968.

Slovenian Heritage, Volume I, edited by Edward Gobetz. Willoughby Hills, Ohio: Slovenian Research Center of America, 1980.

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The cultures of South Africa are more rich in colorful terminology than they are in proverbs. The nation's various black ethnic groups have a wide array of piquant expressions, but so too does the white population, and there is much crossover between cultures in this regard.

SOUTH AFRICAN AMERICANS

by
Judson Knight and
Lorna Mabunda

OVERVIEW

South Africa is a nation of 471,445 square miles (1,221,043 square kilometers), slightly smaller than the combined areas of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. As its name implies, it is located at the southern tip of Africa, with Namibia to the northwest; Botswana to the north; and Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Swaziland to the northeast. The nation of Lesotho is entirely contained within South Africa, one of the few places on earth where such a phenomenon occurs. As for the western, southern, and eastern boundaries of South Africa, these are formed by oceans. The Atlantic lies to the west, and the Indian Ocean to the south and east. A line along the twentieth parallel east, near Cape Agulhas, forms the boundary between the two oceans.

The population of South Africa, almost 43 million people in 1998, is extremely diverse ethnically, and indeed ethnic divisions form a central theme of South African history and culture. Racially the nation is 75 percent black; 14 percent white; 9 percent "Colored," a term designating persons of mixed racial heritage; and 2 percent Asian. Ethnically these groups are further divided, with the largest black minorities comprised of 5.6 million Xhosa, 5.3 million Zulu, and 4.2 million Sotho. Of the nation's 6 million whites, about 3.6 million are of Afrikaner heritage, and 2.4 million are English. The 3.6 million Coloreds come from a variety of

origins, their ethnic makeup a mixture of white, black, and Asian ancestry. Finally, there is the Asian population, of which Indians—one of the largest communities outside of India itself—make up the majority.

Sixty-eight percent of South Africa's population is Christian, and another 29 percent is made up of persons, mostly black, who adhere to traditional religions. The other 3 percent consists of Jews, as well as the predominantly Hindu Indian population. As a further mark of its ethnic diversity, South Africa has 11 official languages, including Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, and Sotho. With such a mixture of peoples, it is perhaps fitting that South Africa has three capitals, one for each branch of government: Cape Town (legislative), Pretoria (executive), and Bloemfontein (judicial). The national flag, adopted in 1994 to replace the orange, white, and blue stripes of the old South African standard, is also fitting in its multicolored character. A green stripe shaped like a capital letter Y, with the ends opening to the left, dominates the flag. It is bordered in white on one side, with a red trapezoid in the upper right and a blue one in the lower right. To the left is a black triangle bordered in gold.

HISTORY

The earliest known inhabitants of South Africa were Pygmies and Khoisan. The latter, speakers of the so-called “click language,” included the Hottentot or Khoi people, and the San or Bushmen. The Khoisan, hunter-gatherers with a rich oral tradition who produced some of Africa's most striking rock art, arrived in the area many thousands of years ago, but were ultimately displaced by the Bantu peoples. The Bantu, a large language group whose common characteristic is their word for “people,” *bantu*, originated in and around what is now Nigeria in about 1200 B.C. Though they did not develop a written language, they were an Iron Age civilization whose higher level of technological advancement gave them dominance over the native peoples of southern Africa. Ultimately they seized the best land, forcing the Pygmies into the less desirable rain forest while the Khoisan retreated to the Kalahari Desert. By the fourteenth century A.D., most of southern Africa belonged to the Bantu.

The first Europeans arrived a century later, when the Portuguese reached the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Explorer Bartholomeu Dias (c. 1450-1500) actually called it the Cape of Storms, and only later did it receive its more optimistic-sounding name. Permanent white settlement began in

1652, with the establishment of a Dutch supply station at the Cape. Subsequent decades saw an influx of slaves from the West Indies; French Protestant refugees known as Huguenots; and German dairy farmers and missionaries.

In 1806, the British seized the Cape of Good Hope, which they named the Cape Colony. The Boers or Afrikaners, as the descendants of the Dutch called themselves, ceded the Cape to Great Britain in an 1814 treaty. By 1836, the Boers of the Cape had become so dissatisfied with British rule that some 16,000 undertook a mass migration inland which came to be known as “The Great Trek.” Their seizure of Bantu lands led to conflict with the Zulu tribe, who under the leadership of the legendary chieftain Shaka (c. 1787-1828) conquered most of what is now Natal Province. King Shaka was assassinated by his half-brothers in 1828, however, and the Boers defeated his successors at the Battle of Blood River in 1838.

The Natal became the site of sugar cane plantations, which saw the arrival of large numbers of indentured Indian laborers beginning in about 1860. The Boers discovered precious resources in their area—diamonds in 1867, and gold in 1882—and thereafter South Africa would be famous for its vast natural wealth. However, it would also be famous for conflict, with the next stage of political tension in the region centering around British ambitions to conquer the entire land. The Boers had founded two republics, the Transvaal or South African Republic in 1852 and the Orange Free State two years later. Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877, and in 1880 the two sides went to war. Results of the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-81) were inconclusive, and this led to the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The latter, sometimes simply known as the Boer War, was not merely the first important military conflict of the twentieth century. It established British imperial power in the region as an unshakable reality, and also saw the first use of modern concentration camps. In 1910 the former Boer states merged with Cape Province and Natal to form the Union of South Africa.

MODERN ERA

As a part of the British Empire, South Africa took part in World War I, its principal action being the seizure of German Southwest Africa. In 1919, following the end of the war, South Africa received a mandate to the former German colony, the present-day nation of Namibia. It fought against Nazi Germany in World War II as well, but around the same time, a new political ideology arose among South

African whites which called for separation of the races—for which the Afrikaans word is *apartheid*.

Apartheid had its roots in the long Boer tradition of ethnic separation, inculcated during the hard years of the Great Trek and thereafter, but it had other antecedents as well. It could not have existed without the Afrikaner labor movement, a group which at one point adopted a slogan which symbolizes the mixture of socialist and racist ideas which went into Apartheid: “Workers of the world unite and fight for a white South Africa!” Eager to maintain their job status against encroachment by the black majority, who would work for lower wages, white labor unions supported the new policy, and the British tradition of self-rule for nations within the Empire allowed it to take hold. The establishment of apartheid became official with the victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948, but the ideology of Apartheid had been forming for many years, with the ideas of Hendrik Verwoerd (1901-66) forming an intellectual basis.

Among the areas of principal concern in both the theory and practice of apartheid were labor; the vote, whereby a virtually all-white franchise was established; land and municipal segregation, with minorities segregated into areas variously called homelands or Bantustans; and separate educational facilities. These steps were followed by so-called “petty apartheid,” which established a set of practices even more severe than those that prevailed in the American South prior to the Civil Rights movement of 1960s. Public transportation, restrooms, and even beaches and park benches were segregated. In 1950, the Nationalist-dominated parliament of South Africa passed the Group Areas Act, establishing residential and business sections in urban areas for each of the four recognized races: Whites, Blacks, Coloreds, and Asians. Existing “pass laws” that required blacks to carry documents authorizing their presence in restricted areas were strengthened as well.

Growing Afrikaner resistance to British rule led to a decision, through a 1960 referendum among whites, to give up status as a British dominion. A new republic was born on May 31, 1961, and South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth. The 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in laws relating to apartheid, along with growing unrest among the black population—and increasing worldwide disapproval of South Africa. Laws forbade most social contacts between races; restricted races to certain jobs; curtailed black labor unions; and abolished non-white—including Asian and Colored—participation in the national government. Political rights of the black majority were confined to partic-

ipation in tightly controlled urban councils in the townships, or in the ten ethnically distinct, government-created homelands. Though each of these ten homelands retained varying degrees of autonomy, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Venda were granted independence, though South Africa was the only nation on earth to recognize them as independent nations.

The first major anti-apartheid riots broke out at Sharpeville, where government troops killed 69 black protesters. A series of riots in 1976 led to the deaths of some 600 blacks, and the murder of resistance leader Stephen Biko (1946-1977) in 1977 led to increased tension. Around this time, world concern over apartheid resulted in a number of actions. South Africa was banned from many international cultural exchange programs, and after 1960, its athletes were not allowed in the Olympic Games and other international competitions. The United Nations imposed an arms embargo, and passed resolutions condemning apartheid. A widespread popular reaction in the West, simmering for several decades, exploded in the 1980s, with anti-apartheid protests on many college campuses. A number of artistic works, ranging from British novelist Graham Greene’s 1977 novel *The Human Factor* to an array of songs by recording artists, registered the disapproval with which most Europeans and Americans regarded apartheid. Under pressure from stockholders, many foreign banks and multinationals broke their South African ties, and many in the United States called for full economic divestiture from South Africa. Meanwhile, South Africa was embroiled in wars with the Communist governments of nearby Angola and Mozambique during much of the 1980s, and also fought a sustained conflict with the Southwest African People’s Organization (SWAPO) in Southwest Africa, which it had retained as a colony against international protests.

Significant changes to apartheid first came in 1983, when a new constitution extended the vote to Asians and Coloreds. Two years later, the government repealed laws banning interracial sex and marriage. Progress was the result not only of organized groups, both of leading figures both black and white. One notable figure was Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1931–), who in 1986 won the Nobel Peace Prize and called on all Western nations to apply economic sanctions against South Africa as a means of forcing an end to apartheid. Even more prominent was Nelson Mandela (1918–), leader of the African National Congress (ANC). Jailed since the early 1960s, Mandela was an important symbol of the anti-apartheid movement, as the ANC was the principal political organization. Whites prominent in the anti-apartheid movement included

Helen Suzman (1918–), an outspoken member of parliament, and Communist leader Joe Slovo (1926-1995).

As the nation tottered toward civil war, President P. W. Botha (1916–) in 1986 ordered an end to pass laws and allowed blacks to take an advisory role in government. But he also launched attacks against ANC strongholds in neighboring countries, and a massive strike by some 2 million black workers in 1988 helped lead to his resignation in 1989. Under the administration of F. W. de Klerk (1936–), the government removed its ban on the ANC and released Mandela in 1990. In 1991, de Klerk announced plans to end apartheid, and in 1994 the nation held free elections in which the ANC won the majority, making Nelson Mandela the first president of the “new” South Africa. The end of apartheid has not brought an end to tension in the country, however. Fighting between the ANC and the Zulu Inkatha Party has killed thousands, and many whites have fled the country. Racial tensions between blacks and other groups has continued as well.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

It is difficult to discern patterns of South African immigration to the United States prior to the mid-twentieth century. This is true for a number of reasons, and—in a pattern typical of all matters South African—these reasons differ according to ethnic group. Before the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, immigration by white South Africans, either of Afrikaner or British heritage, was in very small numbers. Most were immigrants of conscience who fled their nation’s repressive system, in many cases under orders from the government or at least threats from the police. White immigrants were typically of English heritage, since it was in the very nature of Afrikaner identity to stay put: this indeed was integral to the mentality which spawned apartheid. Then, of course, there were the black immigrants, who also were fleeing apartheid, though not simply as a matter of conscience but rather for survival. Immigration by blacks was limited as well, but again for different reasons: though the standard of living for blacks in South Africa was higher than for most people living on the African continent, economic conditions still made immigration difficult.

The end of apartheid, of course, brought significant waves of white emigration, but the white exodus from South Africa in the 1990s was not as severe as many had predicted. Mandela, who stepped down from the presidency in 1999, sought to retain as many whites as possible, and urged mul-

tiracial policies in an attempt to counteract a potential black backlash against former oppressors. Nonetheless, racism has remained a powerful force in South Africa, a factor which could motivate migrations in the future. This racism is not simply white against black, though that has continued, albeit in reaction to government policy rather than as a part of that policy. Yet as the *Africa News Service* reported in 1999, much of the racism is black on black. South Africa has always been a net “importer” of people, with much higher immigration than emigration, but according to the *News Service* report, black hostility towards other Africans increased in the 1990s: “South Africans even have derogatory ways of referring to black foreigners: *makwerere*—the local name given to insects that survive on cow and human feces; or *ginigamba*: people from nowhere.”

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Of the whites who left South Africa in the years leading up to and following the end of apartheid, most did not go to the United States. They were far more likely to settle in Australia or New Zealand, countries which share South Africa’s British heritage. Furthermore, the climate in Oceania is similar to that in South Africa, and the location of these countries far south of the Equator means that the seasonal changes—summer at the beginning of the calendar year, and winter in the middle of the year—are similar to those in South Africa. In 1989, M. J. Polonsky and others presented “A Profile of Emigrants from South Africa: The Australian Case” in *International Migration Review*. Polonsky et al. found that South African immigrants in Australia shared several characteristics: high levels of technical skill; significant professional qualifications; families with young children; and little or no financial assets remaining in South Africa—thus indicating a decision to leave the country for good. White South Africans also settled in Britain and Canada. Thus a 1998 article in the Canadian magazine *Maclean’s* reported that “South African doctors are still flocking to Canada, seeking a foreign haven from rising crime, a falling currency, and wrenching changes to the health-care system.”

As for those whites who have moved to the United States, both before and after the end of apartheid, a relatively large number have settled in Midwestern states such as Minnesota and Illinois. Thus some stores in Chicago, for instance, sell Marie biscuits, cookies often served by South Africans with tea. There are also pockets of South African immigrants on the East Coast, in areas such as Atlanta, which has a large population of South

African Jews. A number of South Africans have also settled in Mid-Atlantic states such as Maryland, and in New York.

Throughout the western United States, for instance in Arizona, California, and in the Pacific Northwest, there are small South African populations, though it would be hard to discern a pattern to such settlements. Unlike, say, the Irish, South Africans in general—both white and black—have tended to come to America individually rather than in large groups. Thus they can be found throughout the country.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Whether in the 1990s or before, immigrants from South Africa seemed to bear an invisible A as a mark that set them apart—an A that stood for apartheid. This was true not only of white but of black immigrants, and issues from South African life have tended to carry over to life in the United States. Thus in 1989 Mark Mathabane (1960–), a black writer and immigrant who settled in North Carolina, wrote in the autobiographical *Kaffir Boy in America*: “I marveled at the reach of apartheid: it could influence the way people thousands of miles away thought, felt, and acted; it could silence them at will; it could defeat them without a shot being fired.” Sheila Roberts, a white writer who moved to Michigan in part because she opposed apartheid, wrote that “From the beginning I was seen by American friends and colleagues as not only an authority on South Africa but also a representative of the ‘opposition.’” It is ironic, given their complex and multifarious heritage, that South Africans of all groups have been thus stereotyped and reduced to a mere political identity. The same ethnic diversity that has often made South Africa a focal point of tension has also produced a richly varied culture.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

It is important to note that Afrikaners consider themselves Africans, not Europeans. Interestingly, Afrikaners and South African blacks share much of the same folklore, and indeed, in a further detail which illustrates the racial complexity of South Africa, many of those shared traditions can be traced to Asian roots. There are, for instance, *goel* or ghost stories originated by indentured laborers from India and Malaysia, tales adopted by whites and blacks alike. Many of these stories revolve around the harsh southeastern wind, known as the “Cape

Doctor,” that blows over Cape Town in the summertime. In contrast to Afrikaners, English South Africans have a cultural heritage more tied to that of Great Britain—a heritage shared by British, Australians, New Zealanders, and Canadians—rather than to that of southern Africa.

Of course the Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho peoples each have multifaceted cultural traditions all their own. According to Zulu myth, at one time people did not die, but simply continued living, and thus in Zulu culture, old age is seen as a blessing. A Zulu legend recounts how the Creator told a chameleon to go and tell the people of the world that they did not have to die; but the chameleon took so long to do the job that finally the angered Creator sent a lizard in his place to tell them that indeed they would die. The lizard got his work done faster, and it is only for this reason that death exists.

Like the Zulu and indeed like most groups of people throughout the world, the Xhosa have their own tales of human origins, which in their case revolves around a heroic Adam figure known simply as Xhosa. There is a large body of Xhosa folktales, called *intsomi*, as well as praise poems or *isibongo* regarding the adventures of past heroes. The Xhosa have several interesting dietary restrictions: women are typically not supposed to eat eggs, and a man is not supposed to drink milk in a village where he might later take a wife.

The Sotho, known as excellent horsemen, are distinguished by their bright blankets and cone-shaped hats. An example of the latter appears on the flag of Lesotho, whose population is primarily Sotho. The Sotho tradition also includes praise poems and folk tales, one of the most prominent of which is a tale concerning a boy named Santkatana, who saves the world by killing a giant monster.

PROVERBS

The cultures of South Africa are more rich in colorful terminology than they are in proverbs. The nation’s various black ethnic groups have a wide array of piquant expressions, but so too does the white population, and there is much crossover between cultures in this regard. Many ethnicities, for instance, recognize *tom* as a word for money. *Bundu*, a variant of *boondocks*, is the South African term for what Australians would call the “Outback”; and whereas Americans go “four-wheeling,” South Africans go *bundu-bashing* in a four-wheel drive vehicle. South Africans share a number of expressions with colloquial British English, including *ta* as a slang term for “thanks.” Salty insults include *brak*, meaning a dog or mongrel. *Gatvol* is an off-color

term meaning “fed up,” as in “I’m *gatvol* with this traffic,” and an expression for dismissing a request—something like “forget it,” only stronger—is “Your *mal auntie*.”

CUISINE

As in many other aspects of South African life, the national cuisines are as varied as the ethnic groups. Afrikaners favor a meat-and-potatoes diet that includes items such as *boerewors*, a sausage made of pork; *putu pap*, a type of porridge; and *brai* or barbecue. English South Africans, as one might expect, eat a diet similar to that of the British, though with local variations such as *bredies*, or stew. Vegetable dishes are often mixtures, such as spinach and potatoes, or roasted, sweetened pumpkin. The Zulu diet places a heavy emphasis on products of the cow, including beef and milk products such as *amasi*, or curdled milk. Mealie-meal, or cooked corn meal, and yams are also favorites. Among the Xhosa, goat, mutton, and beef are popular, as are corn and bread. Particularly notable is a spicy hominy dish called *umngqusho*. Coloreds eat *bredies*, and enjoy an Indian-style meat pastry called *samoesas*.

South African culture, obviously, is full of many and varied terms for items of food. There are, for instance, Marie biscuits, a hard, dry cookie made for dipping in tea. Cream crackers, light and puffy sweets, are also popular. Other favorite dishes include *morogo* or *imifino*, a wild leaf stew; *bobotie*, a minced beef curry; *bitlong*, which is dried meat similar to jerky; a fried bread called *vetkoek*; and *sosaties*, which are made of marinated lamb and apricots. Meals may be washed down with homemade beer, fine wines, coffee, or *mechow*, a drink made from corn meal. A strong English tea called Red Bush tea is very popular, as are Chinese and Indian teas. These are often sweetened with condensed milk.

MUSIC

The range of peoples, cultures, and traditions in South Africa is reflected in the diversity of the nation’s music, and traditional music, though confined to more rural areas, continues to influence contemporary urban forms. Traditional instruments include homemade horns, drums, and stringed instruments, and among neo-traditional styles are variants on the indigenous music of the Ndebele, Pedi, Shangaan, Sotho, and Zulu. For example, the Tsonga are associated with the *mbila*, a traditional instrument played along with drums and horns; often Tsongan music is used to accompany the

tribe’s traditional dance forms. From the countryside have come such forms as *mbube*, a complex choral gospel music.

In the 1930s, *marabi* became very popular. Like its cousin, American big band jazz, *marabi* is a characterized by the repetition of short melodic phrases. *Kwela* gained popularity in the 1940s, with its distinctive blend of homemade guitar, saxophone, and pennywhistle. By the 1960s, whites too had become avid fans of township jazz, which had sprouted into *kwela*’s instrumental music and *mbaqanga*, a vocal jazz style. The Cape Malays developed their own Cape jazz, marked by strains of Eastern sounds from their Indonesian heritage. The social upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s, however, prompted many artists to leave the country. Self-imposed exile brought international fame to some, including Miriam Makeba (1932–), Hugh Masekela (1939–), and Abdullah Ibrahim (1934–).

In the 1980s, the townships gave birth to their own brand of pop music. Just as the heavily synthetic sounds of new wave splashed through the Western world, “township music” was punctuated by synthesizers and drum machines, though it maintained the vocal harmonies for which South Africans are famed. South African music also got a boost on the world scene when American pop singer Paul Simon teamed up with a *cappella* group Ladysmith Black Mambazo for his highly acclaimed album *Graceland* in 1986. In the 1990s, vocal artistry developed into the praise poetry of rap and hip-hop, which borrows from American styles to create uniquely South African forms. Another style that developed in the 1990s was *kwaito*, which blends traditional sounds with those of house music, rhythm and blues, and hip-hop.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Though black South Africans in urban areas tend to dress in a fashion indistinguishable from that of whites, their traditional costumes are much more colorful and varied. Zulu men, for instance, sport the *amabheshu*, a type of apron of goatskin or leather worn at the back. Beads are common among men, women, and children, and popular items for men are frilly goatskin bands worn on both arms and legs.

The Xhosa, too, are known for the striking attire, including blankets with detailed patterns, which both men and women wear as shawls. The Sotho also have their brightly colored blankets, worn as coats, but these are typically store-bought since they have no tradition of hand-making these items. In areas north of Johannesburg, a great influ-

ence of the Ndebele is evident. The Ndebele are famous for their beadwork and the geometric designs that they paint on their houses. Indians and other Asians, of course, have their own styles of dress associated with their cultures. For the most part, however, South Africans wear Western-style clothing, and following the example of President Mandela, attire tends to be comfortable and casual, even for business meetings.

DANCES AND SONGS

Singing and dancing is a significant part of black South African traditional life, and praise poems form an important element in their songs. The Xhosa practice group singing and hand-clapping, but have also borrowed from Western styles introduced by missionaries. An example of the missionaries' influence, which centered around Christian hymns, is the hymn-like "Nkosi Sikele' iAfrika" or "God Bless Africa," written by a Xhosa schoolteacher in 1897. It later became South Africa's national anthem.

A popular song among Afrikaners is "Daar Kom Die Alabama," or "There Comes the *Alabama*." The song celebrates the C.S.S. *Alabama*, a Confederate raider which pursued the U.S.S. *Sea Bride* all the way to Cape Town in August 1863. All of Cape Town, it is said, came out to greet the ship from far-off America.

HOLIDAYS

South Africans celebrate a number of secular and religious holidays. These include the following, some of which are national public holidays: Family Day, April 5; Freedom Day, April 27, commemorating the first day on which black South Africans were allowed to vote; Worker's Day, May 1; Youth Day, June 16, in honor of protestors killed during riots in the Soweto township in 1976; National Women's Day, August 9; Heritage Day, September 24; Reconciliation Day, December 16; and Boxing Day or the Day of Goodwill on December 26.

English and/or Afrikaners celebrate Founder's Day on April 6, the anniversary of the founding of the Cape Colony in 1652; Republic Day, on May 31, anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of South Africa in 1961; Kruger Day on October 10, the birthday of early Afrikaner leader S. J. P. Kruger (1825-1904); and the Day of the Vow on December 16, which commemorates the Boer defeat of the Zulu in 1838.

Religious holidays include Good Friday, along with the non-religious Easter Monday holiday;

Ascension Day in April or May; and Christmas. New Year's Day, of course, is also a holiday.

LANGUAGE

South Africa has 11 official languages: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu. Though none of the major languages is spoken by a majority of the populace, 98 percent of South Africans use at least one of them as their home or first language. Most blacks, in fact, are multilingual, speaking their tribal languages along with English and possibly Afrikaans, which at one time was a school requirement.

Accommodating such a plethora of languages has been a challenge, and indeed the June 16, 1976, riots at Soweto began as a protest by black students against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in black schools. At the time, Afrikaans was predominantly the language used to conduct matters of politics and internal administration, while English was used to communicate with the outside world in matters of business and science.

In the new South Africa, television broadcasts can be heard in the most prevalent languages: English, Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, and Afrikaans. Radio broadcasts are even more varied. English, however, remains the principal language used by most people, with the other languages primarily confined to regions where native speakers predominate.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The subjects of family and community, as applied to South Africans in general—and particularly to South Africans in America—are closely tied to the complex political and racial history of South Africa itself. For South Africans in America, the legacy of apartheid has continued to be haunting, though of course not to the degree that it was prior to the early 1990s. In part because of their troubled national past, many South Africans living in America still feel a sense of connectedness to the old country in a way that many other immigrant groups may not. This affects family and community relations, tending to strengthen the bonds of Afrikaner to Afrikaner and black South African to black South African.

For English South Africans, on the other hand, this dynamic has not been so strong, simply because their accents make many of them indistinguishable, as far as most Americans were concerned, from

British or Australians. Yet this, too, has created tensions within families. Thus Sheila Roberts wrote of her son, "By the time he was twelve and able to understand the full infamy of South African racism, he grew so ashamed of his South African heritage that he not only began inventing a different past for himself, but he expected me not to tell people I was from South Africa. Rather, I should say I was from Britain: my accent would carry the lie. At times I went along with his request if he was with me, particularly if there was not much opportunity for a following conversation in which I would have to fabricate an intricate and unlikely past. Other times I would resist. I didn't like the lie."

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

In Zulu traditional culture, a birth is celebrated by the sacrifice of animals to ancestors. Also important is a young girl's puberty ceremony, signifying the fact that she has come of age and is eligible for marriage. The Xhosa have much more intricate coming-of-age ceremonies for both sexes. Boys are segregated from the rest of the group for several weeks, during which time their heads are shaved and they undergo a number of rituals such as the smearing of white clay over their entire bodies. This rite of passage culminates with circumcision. As for girls, they are also separated from the group, though for a shorter period, and during this time the community celebrates with dances and animal sacrifices. The Sotho have similarly complex rituals surrounding puberty and circumcisions, which are performed on girls as well as boys.

English and Colored South Africans celebrate birthdays in a manner familiar to most Americans brought up in Anglo-Saxon traditions. The same is true of Afrikaners, though birthday parties are perhaps a bigger part of life than they are with other groups. This is the case in particular with regard to one's twenty-first birthday celebration, at which the young person is presented with a key to symbolize their passage into maturity.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Afrikaners are known for their highly conservative views, not only regarding racial relations, but also with regard to women's roles. This in part comes from a strong fundamentalist religious tradition, which arose from a strict interpretation of family guidelines provided by the Apostle Paul in the New Testament. In the 1990s, however, employment opportunities for Afrikaner women increased, a change accompanied by a decline in the practice of

gender separation which typified many social interactions among Afrikaners.

Gender relations in black South African ethnic groups have also been characterized by patriarchy. The Xhosa, for instance, have a tradition of polygamy, and the man is king in the typical Xhosa home, a fact also true among the Zulu. The latter have their own polygamous tradition, one that today even extends to dating: thus it is not uncommon for a young Zulu man to have several girlfriends. As for English, Colored, and Asian families, these all tend to be more or less traditional and patriarchal, depending on the family and the degree to which they embrace cosmopolitan or Western lifestyles.

BAPTISMS

Baptisms, of course, are not a factor in the tribal life of black South Africans: though a large number of the latter tend to be Christians, the religion is of course an import, and thus plays little role in the traditional culture. The same is true of Asians. Almost all newborn Afrikaners are baptized, and infant baptism plays a significant role in the lives of English and other South African groups—including blacks—who embrace either the Anglican or the Catholic faiths.

COURTSHIP

In the past, gender relations among Afrikaners were conducted according to highly conservative guidelines. Thus males and females spent much of their time apart, and when a young man of appropriate age took an interest in a girl, courtship was formal and traditional. Should the young man wish to marry, it was incumbent on him to ask the girl's father for her hand in marriage. On three Sunday mornings prior to the wedding, the couple's name would be read in church, and if there were no objections, the marriage would be performed. This practice had declined by the 1990s, however, and courtship was conducted more along lines familiar to American and European youth.

Courtship among Coloreds has tended to be highly formal as well, in part because apartheid-era laws banning interracial dating required people of both sexes to be highly circumspect. Arranged marriages have played a significant in lives of South African groups ranging from Asian Indians to Sotho. The Zulu, on the other hand, have their own traditional courtship practices which deviate somewhat from the patriarchal standard typical of most tribal societies. Thus a Zulu girl is the one who ini-

tiates contact by sending a “love letter”—actually, a string of beads whose colors each carry specific meanings—to the young man who interests her. The Xhosa have perhaps the most relaxed practices, with boys and girls typically meeting at dances, some of which last all night.

RELIGION

Religions among persons of South African origin fall into three broad categories: Judeo-Christian, traditional and tribal faiths, and Asian religions. The latter is by far the smallest group, in South Africa at least if not among immigrants, with the majority being made up of Indian Hindus. A small portion of South Africans are Muslims, Buddhists, or Jains.

Among Afrikaners, the Reformed Church of Holland, a Protestant denomination that arose during the 1600s, is a significant factor. Reformed Church beliefs, however, have been mixed with Calvinism to make up the Afrikaner’s unique brand of Protestantism. Apartheid was justified in part by virtue of the fact that John Calvin (1509-64) himself supported separation of the races, as well as a strong role for the church in government.

English, Coloreds, and black South African Christians typically belong to either the Anglican or the Catholic churches. The prominent role of Bishop Tutu, an Anglican minister, illustrates the more interracial character of these churches in contrast to the Afrikaner version of the Reformed Church. The 1980s and 1990s saw the rise of charismatic movements, which place an emphasis on healing and other powers of the Holy Spirit, primarily among black South Africans. Finally, there is a significant community of Jewish South Africans, many of whom have immigrated to the United States.

Although large numbers of Xhosa, Zulu, and members of other black ethnic groups have accepted Christianity, traditional beliefs have not died out, and in many cases are mingled with Christian practices. Adherents to the Xhosa traditional religion worship a supreme being called uThixo or uQamata, and the Zulus a deity named uNkulunkulu (“The Very Big One.”) In both cases, the supreme being has little role in the personal lives of believers, but rather acts primarily as creator. The Sothos’ worship of Modimo is mingled with ancestor worship, and indeed ancestors play a significant part in most traditional black African faiths.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

A number of South African entrepreneurs have established successful businesses throughout the United States. Atlanta is a case in point. Goldberg’s Deli on Roswell Road is practically across the street from Avril’s Exclusives, a car detailing shop. Both are owned and operated by Jewish immigrants from South Africa, as are numerous other businesses within a small radius in the prosperous northern sector of the city.

Atlanta is also the home of Firearms Training Systems, Inc, or FATS, a facility for training law enforcement, military, and security personnel in the use of firearms through simulations of real-world situations. Its founder was South African race-car driver Jody Scheckter, who in 1979 won the Formula One championship for Ferrari. “There was a lot more tinkering than profiting in the early days,” Scheckter told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Geoff Lonsdale, Scheckter’s head of European operations, gave *Corporate Location* quite a different appraisal of Scheckter’s entrepreneurial abilities: “He runs this company like he drives cars—flat out.” Perhaps because of his Afrikaner origins, it was natural for Scheckter to develop contacts in the Netherlands, whose Ministry of Defence is a significant FATS client. By 1996, when Scheckter sold FATS to a New York-based investment firm, its annual revenues had reached \$65 million.

Seattle entrepreneur Paul Suzman is another South African success story. One of the first things that impressed him when he initially visited the United States in 1971, Suzman told *Nation’s Business*, was the fact that commerce in America operated 24 hours a day. “That was something that stuck in my mind,” he said, “this incredible 24-hour energy.” A mushroom farmer in South Africa, he established a farm in the Pacific Northwest, and went on to open a highly successful bakery that a *Nation’s Business* headline characterized as “Paul Suzman’s \$2 Million Hobby.”

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In his 1989 memoir *Kaffir Boy in America*, Mark Mathabane recalled staying at “the I-House,” a dormitory for international students in New York City. There he experienced tension with fellow black South Africans and others of African origin, he wrote, when he “made it known that I would not isolate myself from other students out of some false sense of black pride or solidarity.” He also met two white South Africans active in the United Democ-

ratic Front (UDF), an anti-apartheid group supported by Mandela, Tutu, and others. From them, Mathabane learned “about the shock of finding themselves reviled by Americans as racist simply because they were white South Africans But what was even more shocking to [them] was being shunned by most black South Africans at I-House.” He listened to them expressing their frustrations, then told them, “I consider you brothers, too. But remember that to people in whom apartheid has bred paranoia, your very connection with the UDF is reason to be wary of you since all the opposition groups in South Africa, particularly the UDF, are full of government informants.”

Sheila Roberts also encountered the hostility that often greets white South Africans in America, a fact illustrated by an incident that occurred when she was buying tickets to a movie with her son in Lansing, Michigan, in 1986. The theatre clerk noticed her accent and asked where she was from, and “As soon as I said, ‘South Africa,’ my son walked away, ashamed as always at any reference to our country. The young woman looked at me with cold curiosity. As she handed me the tickets, she announced that ‘we’ should nuke ‘that place.’ Then she used a catch-phrase from the Vietnam War, though she was too young to know where it came from. She said we should turn it into a parking lot.”

Both Mathabane and Roberts were perplexed by the ignorance of Americans with regard to the situation in South Africa. In Roberts’s case, this revolved around her treatment as a representative of all white South Africans, or of the white opposition to apartheid. Mathabane, on the other hand, was frustrated by situations such as a discussion he had in the 1970s with an American who asked him, “What exactly is apartheid?” “I could hardly believe my ears,” Mathabane wrote. “Phillip, an American, a college student, the product of what I thought was the best educational system in the world, did not know what apartheid was. What on earth was being taught in American schools?”

During the 1980s, of course, Americans suddenly became aware of the situation in South Africa, but most responses tended to be based in emotion rather than intellect, with Roberts’s theatre clerk being an extreme example. And though former South Africans opposed to apartheid naturally applauded their neighbors’ growing awareness, it did little to address the complex social problems in America—or South African immigrants’ equally complex feelings about their home country. Roberts experienced a situation typical of many immigrants, with her children readily becoming assimilated while her own heart remained tied to

the motherland. “The idea of returning” to South Africa, she wrote, “stayed with me as a consoling, if impossible, escape through the hard years of my children’s teens.”

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

FILM, TELEVISION, THEATER

Athol Fugard is a playwright who has written such plays as *Boesman and Lena*, *Master Harold and the Boys*, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, *Statements*, and *Valley Song*; John Kai has been seen acting in such films as *Ghost and the Darkness*, *Soweto Green*, *Sarafina*, *An African Dream*, *Master Harold and The Boys*, and *The Grass Is Singing*.; Actor Winston Ntshona has been seen in such movies as *Tarzan and the Lost City*, *The Air up There*, *Perfume of the Cyclone*, and *A Dry White Season*; Actor Zakes Mokae has portrayed many different characters in movies such as *Krippendorfs Tribe*, *Vampire in Brooklyn*, *Dust Devil*, *Percy and Thunder*, *A Rage in Harlem*, *A Dry White Season*, *The Serpent and the Rainbow*, and *Master Harold and the Boys*.

LITERATURE

Perhaps the most famous South African American literary figure was not a writer at all: rather, he inspired works such as *A Rush of Dreamers* by John Cech, a novel published in 1997. The figure in question was Joshua Norton, a Jewish South African who settled in San Francisco, where he proclaimed himself Norton I, Emperor of the United States and Protector of Mexico. An amused and indulgent city honored him as royalty throughout his life.

A more traditional South African American literary figure is Sheila Gordon (1927–), author of fiction and nonfiction, both for adults and juvenile readers. Most South African American writers, however, have tended to write nonfiction: thus Meyer Fortes (1906-83) wrote a number of works in the social sciences, as has anthropologist Philip V. Tobias (1925–), while physicist Gerrit L. Verschuur (1937–) has concentrated on the natural sciences. Mary Lillian Miles (1908–) has authored a number of devotional works; and Johan Theron (1924–), who for many years worked with the United Nations (UN), has served as editor of UN documentation. Nancy Harrison (1923–), an American citizen though she resides in England, wrote an acclaimed biography of Winnie Mandela (1936–), the controversial wife of Nelson Mandela who later became estranged from her husband.

MEDIA

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A bimonthly magazine containing news of interest to South Africans in America.

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ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

South African Club of Atlanta.

E-mail: inquiry@saclubatl.org.

South African USA Network.

Telephone: 1-800-SAUSANT.

E-mail: Info@sa-usa.com.

Southern African Development Community.

E-mail: sadc-usa@sadc-usa.net.

Online: <http://www.sadc-usa.net/>.

Springbok Club of Northern California.

Address: 1227 Oakshire Court, Walnut Creek,
California 94598.

Springbok Club of Southern California.

Address: P.O. Box 3573, Mission Viejo,
California 92690.

Springbok Southern Africa Club—Phoenix, Arizona.

Telephone: (602) 926-6859.

E-mail: 107775.3667@compuserve.com.

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SPANISH AMERICANS

by
Clark Colahan

Strong believers in
the value of their
culture, Spanish
Americans make
every effort to keep
the language alive
in the home.

OVERVIEW

Similar in climatic zones, area, and population to California, Spain occupies the greater part of the Iberian peninsula in southwestern Europe. Spain's Latin name, Hispania (Land of Rabbits), was given by Carthaginian settlers at the dawn of recorded history. Colonized by a series of important civilizations, it became heir to the cultures not only of Carthage but also of Greece and Rome. It was the home country of legionaries, several emperors, and philosophers, including Seneca, the founder of Stoicism. Later, with the fall of the empire, it was settled by Germanic Visigoths, then Arabs and Moors. As the center of the first world empire of the modern era, Spain imposed its culture and language on peoples in many parts of the globe. By the beginning of the twenty-first century it is estimated that there will be more people in the world who speak Spanish (330 million) than English.

Although politically unified since the reign of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel in the late fifteenth century, Spain continues to be divided by regional loyalties. Individual Spaniards, whether living in Spain or abroad, usually think of the *patria* (the fatherland) not as the entire nation, but rather as the area of the country where they were raised. This tendency has not diminished in recent years; in fact, the government has moved toward a less centralized form of rule by dividing the country into *autonomías* (autonomous areas) linked

to Madrid (Spain's capital city) in a loose federalism that accommodates and even encourages more local control than the country has known for centuries.

Among the major regions in Spain are Castile, which includes the capital city of Madrid; Cataluña, which includes the city of Barcelona; Andalucía, which includes Seville; Extremadura; Galicia; and the Basque Country.

While centralist regimes of the past favored a standard national language, the Spanish government today encourages the schooling in and general use of regional dialects and languages. Galicians, for example, who occupy the northwest corner of the peninsula, speak Gallego. It is a language that reflects in vocabulary and structure the region's proximity to Portugal, to the south, and Castile, to the east. Residents of Cataluña speak Catalan, a Romance language that shares many features with other Romance languages such as Spanish and French but that is distinct from them. In Castile, the country's central region, the residents speak Castellano, which is also the language of most Latin American countries and, outside of Spain, is commonly thought of as the standard Spanish language.

Basques, who call themselves Euskaldunak, meaning "speakers of Euskera," occupy a small area of Spain known as the Basque Country; the Basque word for this region is Euzkadi. Located in the north central part of the country, and no more than 100 miles long in any direction, Euzkadi is considered by its inhabitants as part of the same ethnic nation found across the border in southwestern France. In contrast to Gallego, the Basque ancestral language, Euskera, appears unrelated to any other dialect in Spain or elsewhere, with the possible exception of some vocabulary items found in the area of the Black Sea. Basque culture is considered the oldest in Europe, predating even the prehistoric arrival of the Indo-European peoples.

Today, with the exception of enclaves on the north coast of Morocco, the Spanish empire is gone; it has been replaced by a constitutional monarchy modeled on the British system. While emigration is currently at low levels, from 1882 to 1947 some five million Spaniards emigrated (eventually about 3.8 million of those returned to Spain). Half went to Argentina, which, as a large, sparsely populated country, took active measures to attract Europeans; historically, Argentina is second only to the United States in the number of all immigrants received. A number of Spanish immigrants settled in Cuba, a colony of Spain until the Spanish-American War in 1898, and many Spaniards moved to what is now the United States.

EMIGRATION FROM SPAIN

In the first century of Spain's presence in the New World, many of the explorers and soldiers came from Andalucía (in the South) and Extremadura (in the West), two of the poorest regions of the country. The early and lasting influence of these immigrants explains why the standard dialect spoken today in the Western Hemisphere retains the pronunciation used in the South, instead of the characteristics of the older variant still spoken by those living north of Madrid. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the region that has produced the most emigrants has been Galicia, together with similar parts of Old Castile that border it on the south. During most of this time Galicia has been an isolated, un-industrialized corner of the peninsula. Its inheritance laws either divided farms among all the siblings in a family, resulting in unworkably small *minifundios*, or denied land entirely to all but the first born. In either case the competition for land was intense, compelling many Galicians to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Adjoining Galicia to the east on Spain's north coast is Asturias, which also sent large numbers of immigrants overseas. Until the nineteenth century its economic situation was similar to that in Galicia, but it later became a national leader in industrial development based on coal mining, metal working, and ship building. The above-average level of occupational skills possessed by the Asturian immigrants contributed significantly to the characterization of Spanish immigrants as highly skilled workers.

The southern provinces of Spain, which include Almería, Málaga, Granada, and the Canary Islands, have been another major source of Spanish immigration to the United States. A number of factors combined to compel citizens to leave these regions: the hot, dry climate; the absence of industry; and a *latifundio* system of large ranches that placed agriculture under the control of a landed caste.

Basques have also immigrated to the United States in large numbers. Traditionally both hardy mountain farmers as well as seafaring people, they may have reached the coasts of the New World before Columbus. Basques stood out in the exploration of the Americas, both as soldiers and members of the crews that sailed for the Spanish. Prominent in the civil service and colonial administration, they were accustomed to overseas travel and residence. Another reason for their emigration besides the restrictive inheritance laws in the Basque Country, was the devastation from the Napoleonic Wars in the first half of the nineteenth century, which was followed by defeats in the two

Carlist civil wars. (For more information about the Basque, and immigrants to the United States from this region, please see the essay on Basque Americans)

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In colonial times there were a number of Spanish populations in the New World with governments answerable to Madrid. The first settlement was in Florida, followed by others in New Mexico, California, Arizona, Texas, and Louisiana. In 1598, when the first New Mexican town was established, there were about 1,000 Spaniards north of Mexico; today, their descendants are estimated at 900,000. Since the founding of the United States, an additional 250,000 immigrants have arrived either directly from Spain or following a relatively short sojourn in a Latin American country.

The earliest Spanish settlements north of Mexico (known then as New Spain) were the result of the same forces that later led the English to come to that area. Exploration had been fueled in part by imperial hopes for the discovery of wealthy civilizations. In addition, like those aboard the Mayflower, most Spaniards came to the New World seeking land to farm, or occasionally, as historians have recently established, freedom from religious persecution. A substantial number of the first settlers to New Mexico, for instance, were descendants of Spanish Jews who had been compelled to leave Spain.

Immigration to the United States from Spain was minimal but steady during the first half of the nineteenth century, with an increase during the 1850s and 1860s resulting from the social disruption of the Carlist civil wars. Much larger numbers of Spanish immigrants entered the country in the first quarter of the twentieth century—27,000 in the first decade and 68,000 in the second—due to the same circumstances of rural poverty and urban congestion that led other Europeans to emigrate in that period. In 1921, however, the U.S. government enacted a quota system that favored northern Europeans, limiting the number of entering Spaniards to 912 per year, an amount soon reduced further to 131.

The Spanish presence in the United States continued to diminish, declining sharply between 1930 and 1940 from a total of 110,000 to 85,000. Many immigrants moved either back to Spain or to another Hispanic country. Historically, Spaniards have often lived abroad, usually in order to make enough money to return home to an enhanced standard of living and higher social status. In Spanish cities located in regions that experienced heavy emigration at the beginning of the twentieth century, such as the port city of Gijón in Asturias,

there are wealthy neighborhoods usually referred to as concentrations of *indianos*, people who became rich in the New World and then returned to their home region.

Beginning with the Fascist revolt against the Spanish Republic in 1936 and the devastating civil war that ensued, General Francisco Franco established a reactionary dictatorship that ruled Spain for 40 years. At the time of the Fascist takeover, a small but prominent group of liberal intellectuals fled into exile in the United States. After the civil war the country endured 20 years of extreme poverty. As a result, when relations between Spain and most other countries were at last normalized in the mid-1960s, 44,000 Spaniards immigrated to the United States in that decade alone. In the 1970s, with prosperity emerging in Spain, the numbers declined to about 3,000 per year. Europe enjoyed an economic boom in the 1980s, and the total number of Spanish immigrants for the ten years dropped to only 15,000. The 1990 U.S. census recorded 76,000 foreign-born Spaniards in the country, representing only four-tenths of a percent of the total populace. In contrast, the largest Hispanic group—Mexicans born outside the United States—numbered over two million, approximately 21 percent.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Five areas of the United States have had significant concentrations of Spaniards: New York City, Florida, California, the Mountain West, and the industrial areas of the Midwest. For nineteenth-century immigrants, New York City was the most common destination in the United States. Until 1890 most Spaniards in this country lived either in the city itself, with a heavy concentration in Brooklyn, or in communities in New Jersey and Connecticut. By the 1930s, however, these neighborhoods had largely disintegrated, with the second generation moving to the suburbs and assimilating into the mainstream of American life.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Florida attracted the second largest group of Spaniards in the country through its ties to the Cuban cigar industry. Most of the owners of factories were originally from Asturias, and in the second half of the century they immigrated in substantial numbers, first to Cuba, then later to Key West, and eventually Tampa, taking thousands of workers with them. Several thousands of their descendants still live in the vicinity.

California is also home to descendants of southern Spanish pineapple and sugar cane workers who had moved to Hawaii at the beginning of the twentieth century. The great majority of those

In this 1933 photograph, Isabel Arevalo, a descendent of one of California's oldest Spanish American families, displays the four combs brought to America by her ancestors in the seventeenth century.



immigrants moved on to the San Francisco area in search of greater opportunity. In Southern California's heavy industry, there have been substantial numbers of skilled workers from northern Spain.

The steel and metalworking centers of the Midwest also attracted northern Spaniards. In the censuses of 1920, 1930, and 1940, due to sizable contingents of Asturian coal miners, West Virginia was among the top seven states in number of Spanish immigrants. Rubber production and other kinds of heavy industry accounted for large groups of Spaniards in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. With the decline of this sector of the American economy in the second half of the twentieth century such centers of industry have largely lost their drawing power, accelerating the dispersal and assimilation of these Spanish communities.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The decrease in the flow of Spaniards to the United States in recent decades, combined with their

ability and willingness to form part of both the Hispanic sector and the society at large, has largely obscured any specifically Spanish presence in the States. As the European segment of the American Hispanic population, and therefore in some ways the least different from the country's predominantly European cultural and racial origins, they are often perceived as less alien than Latin Americans, and are more readily accepted into American society.

SPANISH CHARACTERISTICS

Because of the widely divergent traits of the several Spanish regions, any descriptions of Spanish character can only be approximate. During the last 100 years Spanish writers have engaged in national soulsearching and debate, spurred in part by the country's disastrous loss to the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Early analysts, like philosopher Ortega y Gasset and literary historian Américo Castro, questioned what it was that separated Spain from its European neighbors. Since 1975 the stress has been on reintegrating Spain into the family of nations that it led at the beginning of

the modern era. One trait the discussion has demonstrated is that Spaniards often hold strong opinions at variance with those of other Spaniards. Still, some points of agreement emerge.

Castilians have an austere mystical tradition that goes hand in hand with the region's image of itself as a heroic and Christian civilizer of a world empire. In contrast, Andalusians, in the South, are often censured by those living to the north for their decidedly more outward religiosity, highly visible in Holy Week processions.

A number of factors combined to make the warrior class Spain's dominant sector in centuries past. Like the Castilian hero of the *Poem of the Cid*, members of that class made a practice of limiting their work to warfare and politics, leaving the more intellectual professions to the powerful Jewish minority, and the beginnings of modern industry and agriculture to the vanquished Muslims. When these two minorities were expelled from the country—the Jews in 1492 and the Muslims in 1610—the activities associated with them were considered somewhat tainted. The resulting social pattern was that of advancement through family connections and government service rather than commercial or intellectual distinction.

In the eighteenth century, there were efforts at Europeanization as the Bourbons, the French royal family, came to the Spanish throne with ideas of Enlightenment reform. Growing acceptance of scientific and democratic ideals closed much of the gap between Spain and the rest of Europe in the nineteenth century, though segments of both the aristocracy and the common people continued to resist such notions. These ideals were the focus of civil friction and wars for two-and-a-half centuries, finally emerging victorious only with the democracy established upon the death of Franco in 1975.

Features of a knightly ruling class still indirectly influence Hispanic societies, including those in the United States. These features include a firm grounding in family and other personal relations, a thorough *personalismo* that leads to loyalty in business and politics and to friendships in personal life. *Personalismo*, especially among males, is felt to be deeper and more common than among Anglos and is felt to provide greater security for one's self and family than the provisions of government.

The Spanish work ethic is compatible with the values of both pre- and post-industrial Europe. While often working long, intensive hours, Spaniards have generally not felt work itself to be a pursuit that will guarantee either success or happiness. Instead, leisure has a primary value: it is used to maintain essential social contacts and is identi-

fied with upward social movement. Another element of the Spanish character is an aristocratic concern with a public image in harmony with group standards, even if at variance with the private reality. As in other cultures that motivate people through the fear of shame rather than the sting of guilt, the achievement of these goals is substantially validated through the opinions held by others. This notion is exemplified by the Spanish phrase *¿Qué dirán?* (What will they say?).

Stereotypes of Spanish immigrants derive in part from the *leyenda negra*, the “black legend,” created and spread by the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the two countries were rivals for European domination. Revulsion is expressed at the alleged cruelty of bull fighting, a sport that is believed by supporters to exalt individual worth through the demonstration of almost chivalric courage. Other stereotypical images, including exaggerated ideas of wild emotional intensity, create the misperception of Spain as the land of the tambourine and castanets, fiery flamenco dancing, and the reckless sensualism of Bizet's opera heroine, Carmen. Most of these elements are only connected, and in a much attenuated degree, with the southern region, Andalucía. As in matters of religion, northern Spaniards often view the character of life in their own regions as profoundly different.

CUISINE

Spanish food varies from region to region, though the use of olive oil instead of butter is widespread. Seafood is also a common element of Spanish meals; few parts of the peninsula are without daily deliveries of fresh fish and shellfish from the coast, and these items are the featured ingredients in the rice-based casserole of the Mediterranean coast called *paella*. Much of the agriculture in the South is involved with olive production, and a typical dish of the southern zone is *gazpacho*, a thick, cold tomato and vegetable soup originally concocted to be served during the heat of the day to harvest workers. One southern town, Jerez de la Frontera, contributed to the English language the word “sherry.” In the opposite corner of the country, the Galicians and Asturians drink hard cider and eat a stew called *favada*, made from two kinds of sausage, garlic, saffron, and white beans.

HOLIDAYS

Most Spanish holidays are also found in American culture through the shared influence of the Catholic church. One exception is the sixth of Jan-

In this 1988 photograph, the Spanish Heritage Club of Queens, New York, joins the Aires de Aragon musical group for the United Hispanic American Parade in New York City.



uary, *Día de los Reyes Magos*, “Day of the Three Wise Men.” Known in English as Epiphany (formerly Twelfth Night), this holiday has remained vital in Spain as the occasion on which Christmas gifts are given. In the United States, Spanish children usually are the beneficiaries of a biculturalism that supplies them with gifts on January 6 as well as Christmas Eve.

The most commonly pictured Spanish clothing—as in representations of the annual spring fair in Seville that served as the prototype for the California Rose Parade—is the traditional Andalusian ruffled dress for women and the short, tightly fitted jacket for men. This jacket is cut for display both while on horseback and in the atmosphere of stylized energy and romance that characterizes flamenco dancing. Throughout much of Spain, however, holiday attire is based on everyday work clothes, but richly embroidered and appointed. The western region surrounding Salamanca has an economy based on cattle raising, and the extravagantly large hat and embroidered jacket worn by that province’s *charros* were passed on to the Mexican cowboys.

FLAMENCO

Though known throughout the world as a “Spanish” style of music and dance, flamenco is mainly associated with the southern region of Andalucía, where Arabic and Gypsy influences are strong. Flamenco music is characterized by rapid, rhythmic hand clapping and a specialized form of guitar playing. The dancing that accompanies this music is

typically done in duet fashion and includes feet stomping and castanet playing. Dancers generally wear the traditional Andalusian costumes described above: ornate, ruffled dresses for women and short, tightly fitting jackets for men. Although flamenco has not become widely popular in America, it can be found—especially in restaurants in major urban areas that have significant Spanish American populations.

LANGUAGE

As Spanish becomes more and more the second language in the United States, the American-born generations of families that emigrated from Spain have been increasingly likely to retain it in both its spoken and written forms. Current communication with Hispanic countries is highly developed, including such media as newspapers, magazines, films, and even Spanish-language television networks. Consequently immigrants arriving in recent years have found themselves less obliged to learn English than did their counterparts of 30 years ago. These newcomers integrate easily into the new Latin American communities that in several parts of the country function mainly in Spanish.

Strong believers in the value of their culture, Spanish Americans make every effort to keep the language alive in the home. Many, however, are opposed to bilingual education in the schools, a position grounded in their awareness of the need to assimilate linguistically in order to compete in an English-speaking society.

A common greeting among Spaniards is *¿Qué hay?* (“kay I”)—“What’s new?”, and *Hasta luego* (“ahsta lwego”)—“See you later. Spaniards can easily be distinguished from other Spanish speakers by their ubiquitous use of *vale* (“bahlay”), employed identically to the American “okay.” Two commonly heard proverbs are, *En boca cerrada no entra mosca* (“en boca therrada no entra mosca”)—“Don’t put your foot in your mouth (literally, “If you keep your mouth shut you keep out the flies”), and *Uvas y queso saben un beso* (“oobas ee keso saben un beso”)—“Grapes and cheese together taste as good as a kiss. A customary toast before drinking is *Salud, dinero y amor, y tiempo para disfrutarlos* (“saluth, deenayro, ee ahmor, ee tyempo pahra deesfrutahrlos”)—“Health, wealth, and love, and time to enjoy them.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The structure of the Spanish family has come to resemble the American and European pattern. Grandparents often live in their own house or a retirement home; women frequently work outside the home. The obligation of children to personally care for elderly parents, however, is somewhat stronger among Spaniards—even those raised in the United States—than among the general American population; a parent often lives part of the year with one child and part with another. The traditional practice of one daughter not marrying in order to live with and care for the parents during their last years has not been maintained in this country. The traditional pattern of Hispanic mothers being completely devoted to their children—especially the boys—while fathers spent much of their time socializing outside the home has diminished. Despite various changes within the family structure that broadened women’s roles, most community leaders are men.

At one time, young Spanish women were allowed to date only when accompanied by a chaperon, but this custom has been entirely discarded. Family pressure for a “respectable” courtship—a vestige of the strongly emphasized Spanish sense of honor—has been largely eroded in both Spain and the United States. Long engagements, however, have persisted, helping to solidify family alliances while children are still relatively young, and giving the couple and their relatives a chance to get to know each other well before the marriage is formally established.

Because careers outside the home are now the norm for Spanish women, differences in the schooling men and women pursue are minimal. A large segment

of the community stresses higher education, and, in line with the sharper class distinctions that differentiate Spain from the United States, professional pursuits are highly respected. A significant number of Spanish physicians, engineers, and college professors have become successful in the United States.

COMMUNITY LIFE

Spanish communities in the United States, in keeping with their strong regional identification in Spain, have established centers for Galicians, Asturians, Andalucians, and other such groups. Writing in 1992, Moisés Llordén Miñambres—the specialist in emigration patterns from Spain—regarded this as a given, a natural condition, and referred in passing to the “ethnic” grouping of recent Spanish emigrants reflecting the individual characteristics of the “countries” from which they come. But these were certainly not the only type of community organizations to spring up in the United States; a variety of clubs and associations were formed. The listing by Llordén Miñambres shows 23 in New York City, eight in New Jersey, five in Pennsylvania, four in California, and lesser numbers in Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York State, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Florida.

Llordén Miñambres divides these organizations into several categories. Beneficent societies, such as the Unión Benéfica Española of New York, have aimed to provide charitable help for the needy, bury the poor, and provide information and recommendations to Spanish immigrants. Mutual aid societies, such as the Española de Socorros Mutuos “La Nacional,” founded in New York in 1868, began as examples of trade union associations, and were important in providing families with medical care and help in times of economic crisis. The members of educational and recreational societies usually were drawn from among the more successful members of the local Spanish community; activities included literary readings and musical performances, banquets, and dances. There have also been athletic associations, such as the Sporting Club of New York; Spanish chambers of commerce; and purely cultural associations that set up lectures, museums, and plays, such as the Club Cervantes in Philadelphia. And finally, there have been associations based on religious and political beliefs, such as those that supported the Spanish Republic during and after the Fascist uprising.

RELIGION

Many Spanish Americans are less active in Catholic church activities than was common in

past generations in Spain; they rarely change their religious affiliation, though, and still participate frequently in family-centered ecclesiastical rituals. In both Spain and the United States events such as first communions and baptisms are felt to be important social obligations that strengthen clan identity.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Since Spanish American entrance into the middle class has been widespread, the employment patterns described above have largely disappeared. This social mobility has followed logically from the fact that throughout the history of Spanish immigration to the United States, the percentage of skilled workers remained uniformly high. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, for example, 85 percent of Spanish immigrants were literate, and 36 percent were either professionals or skilled craftsmen. A combination of aptitude, motivation, and high expectations led to successful entry into a variety of fields.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

With the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in 1936 a number of intellectual political refugees found asylum in the United States. Supporters of the overthrown Spanish Republic, which had received aid from the Soviet Union while under attack from fascist forces, were sometimes incorrectly identified with communism, but their arrival in the United States well before the “red scare” of the early 1950s spared them the worst excesses of McCarthyism. Reacting against the political climate in Franco’s Spain, Spanish Americans have tended to vote Democratic. Until the end of the dictatorship in Spain in 1975 political exiles in the United States actively campaigned against the abuses of the Franco regime. They gained the sympathy of many Americans, some of whom, during the war, formed the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and fought in Spain against the Fascists.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART AND HUMANITIES

Among the political refugees from the Spanish civil war was Pablo Casals (1876-1973), an internationally celebrated cellist. In addition to his lyrically

beautiful playing, he was known for his adaptations of Spanish folk music, especially from his own region of Cataluña. He was also active in efforts to help other victims of the civil war.

Similar in terms of political position was the novelist Ramón Sender (1902-1982); after fleeing the Franco regime to Mexico and then Guatemala, he finally settled in the United States. Professor of Spanish literature at the University of New Mexico, University of Southern California, and University of California, he published in this country under the pen name of José Losángeles. He is well known for his depiction of the impact of political events on human lives, as in the short novel *Requiem por un campesino español* (*Requiem for a Spanish Peasant*). He managed to keep a sense of humor throughout the aftermath of the Spanish civil war, and humor is paramount in his Nancy novels in which the protagonist is a typical American undergraduate student.

The poet Angel González (1925–), an Asturian from a republican family who experienced the civil war as a child, has been the clearest and most honored lyrical voice to describe the emotional fatigue and near despair of life under the Franco dictatorship. Living in the United States but traveling frequently throughout the Hispanic world from the 1960s until 1992, he taught during most of that period at the University of New Mexico and has now retired in Spain.

His colleague at the same university is the novelist Alfred Rodríguez (1932–), winner of literary prizes in both Spain and the United States, including the Spanish government’s *Golden Letters* award for outstanding Spanish-language narrative written in the United States. Born in Brooklyn to immigrants from Andalucía, he sojourned in Spain during the bleakest years that followed the civil war. His work continues the classic Spanish tradition of the picaresque tale, a penetrating and grimly humorous exploration of the strategies for survival in decayed or traumatized societies.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

Neurologist Luis García-Buñuel (1931–) was born in Madrid and immigrated to the United States in 1956. He has headed neurology services in several American hospitals, and since 1984 has been chief of staff at the Veterans Administration Medical Center in Phoenix. Thomas García-Borras (1926–), a leading figure in the American heating oil business, was born in Barcelona and arrived in the United States in 1955. In 1983 he published *Manual for Improving Boiler and Furnace Performance*, and he is the president of U.S. Products Corporation in Las Vegas.

MEDIA

PRINT

El Diario/La Prensa.

A major newspaper founded in 1913.

Contact: Carlos D. Ramírez, Publisher.

Address: 143-155 Varick Street, New York, New York 10013.

Telephone: (212) 807-4600.

Fax: (212) 807-4617.

La Gaceta.

A community newspaper.

Contact: Roland Manteiga, Editor and Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 5536, Tampa, Florida 33675.

Telephone: (813) 248-3921.

Fax: (813) 247-5357.

E-mail: lagaceta@aol.com.

Geomundo.

A magazine on travel, geography, and natural science.

Contact: Elvira Mendoza, Editor.

Address: De Armas Publishing Group, Vanidades Continental Building, 6355 Northwest 36th Street, Virginia Gardens, Florida 33166-7099.

Telephone: (305) 871-6400.

Fax: (305) 871-4939.

RADIO

WADO-AM (1280).

Known as "La Campeona."

Address: 666 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 687-9236.

WAMA-AM (1550).

Address: 5203 North Armenia Avenue, Tampa, Florida 33603.

Telephone: (813) 875-0086.

WKDM-AM (1380).

Address: 570 Seventh Avenue, Suite 1406, New York, New York 10036.

Telephone: (212) 704 - 4090.

WLCH-FM (91.3).

Address: Spanish American Civic Association, 30 North Ann Street, Second Floor, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17602.

Telephone: (717) 295-7760.

Fax: (717) 295-7759.

Online: <http://www.wlch.org/>.

TELEVISION

Telemundo.

Contact: Henry R. Silverman, President.

Address: 1740 Broadway, 18th Floor, New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 492-5500.

Univisión.

Contact: Deborah Durham, Washington Bureau Chief.

Address: 444 North Capitol Street, N.W., Suite 601-G, Washington, D.C. 20001; or 9405 Northwest 41st Street, Miami, Florida 33178.

Telephone: (202) 783-7155; or (305) 471-3900.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Hispanic Institute.

Offers lectures and concerts, maintains archives on Spanish and Portuguese literature and linguistics, and publishes a journal of literary criticism entitled *Revista Hispánica Moderna Nueva Epoca*.

Contact: Susana Redondo de Feldman, Director.

Address: 612 West 116th Street, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.

Telephone: (212) 854-4187.

Música Hispana.

Presents concerts of Spanish, Latin American, and classical chamber music, disseminates information about Hispanic music, and offers referral services to musicians and composers.

Contact: Pablo Zinger, Director.

Address: 600 West 111 Street, 3E-1, New York, New York.

Telephone: (212) 864-1527.

Repertorio Español.

Presents and tours Spanish classic plays, contemporary Latin American plays, *zarzuela* (Spanish light opera), and dance.

Contact: Gilberto Zaldívar, Producer.

Address: 138 East 27th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 889-2850.

Twentieth Century Spanish Association of America (TCSAA).

Individuals interested in the study of twentieth-century Spanish literature.

Contact: Luis T. Gonzalez-del-Valle, Executive Secretary.

Address: University of Colorado at Boulder, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, McKenna Language Building, Campus Box 278, Boulder, Colorado 80309-0278.

Telephone: (303) 492-7308.

Fax: (303) 492-3699.

Unión Española de California.

Organizes cultural events from the traditions of Spain.

Contact: Julián Miguel, President.

Address: 2850 Alemany Boulevard, San Francisco, California 94112.

Telephone: (415) 587-5115.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Hispanic Society of America.

Free museum exhibits paintings, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, costumes, and decorative arts representative of the Hispanic culture.

Contact: Mitchell A. Codding, Director.

Address: 613 West 155th Street, New York, New York 10032.

Telephone: (212) 926-2234.

Fax: (212) 690-0743.

Online: <http://www.hispanicsociety.org/>.

Southwest Museum.

Collections include artifacts from the Spanish colonial and Mexican eras.

Contact: Thomas H. Wilson, Director.

Address: 234 Museum Drive, Los Angeles, California 90065.

Telephone: (323) 221-2164.

E-mail: info@southwestmuseum.org.

Online: <http://www.southwestmuseum.org/>.

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SRI LANKAN AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, is an island in the Indian Ocean approximately 20 miles off the southeastern tip of India. It occupies an area of 25,332 square miles, which is about the size of West Virginia, and has a population of 8.8 million. Sri Lanka means the “resplendent land.” Sri Lanka has an equatorial climate, with little seasonal temperature variation. An agricultural country whose chief crop is rice, Sri Lanka is known for spices such as cinnamon, cardamom, nutmeg, pepper, and cloves. Tea, rubber, and coconuts are also important exports. Sri Lanka is also a major exporter of precious and semi-precious stones. The capital city is Colombo.

Seventy-four percent of Sri Lanka’s citizens are of Sinhalese origin, while the rest of the population belongs to various ethnic minorities, including Sri Lankan Tamils (12.7 percent), Indian Tamils (5.5 percent), Muslims (7 percent), Burghers, Malays, Parsis, and Vaddhas. Seventy percent of the population is Buddhist, 15 percent is Hindu, eight percent is Islamic, and seven percent is Christian. The country’s official languages are Sinhala and Tamil, but English is also spoken throughout Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka’s national flag is yellow with two panels. The smaller hoist-side panel has two equal vertical bands of green (hoist side) and orange; the other panel is a large, dark red rectangle with a yellow lion holding a sword and a yellow *bo* leaf in each

Learning is so
valued within
Sri Lanka that a
solemn ritual, the
akuru kiyaweema
ceremony, takes
place to
commemorate a
child’s mastery of
the first letter
when he or she is
old enough to
manipulate fingers,
usually around
age three.

corner; the yellow field appears as a border that goes around the entire flag and extends between the two panels.

HISTORY

Serendib, the old Arab name for Sri Lanka, is the source of the word “serendipity,” which means “making happy discoveries by chance.” Sri Lanka has also been called Ceylon, Teardrop of India, Resplendent Isle, Island of Dharma, and Pearl of the Orient, names that reveal its richness and beauty, and the intensity of affection which it has evoked. The actual origins of the Sinhalese are shrouded in myth. Sri Lanka has had a continuous record of settled and civilized life for more than two millennia. Most historians believe that the Sinhalese came to Sri Lanka from northern India during the sixth century B.C. Buddhism and a sophisticated system of irrigation became the pillars of classical Sinhalese civilization, which flourished in the north-central part of the island from 200 B.C. to 1200 A.D. The first major literary reference to the island is found in the great Indian epic, the *Ramayana* (Sacred Lake of the Deeds of Rama), thought to have been written around 500 B.C.

Portuguese traders, in search of cinnamon and other spices, seized Sri Lanka’s coastal areas beginning in 1505 and spread Catholicism throughout the island. In 1658 the Dutch conquered the Portuguese and took control of Sri Lanka. Although the Dutch were ejected by the British in 1796, Dutch law remains an important part of Sri Lankan jurisprudence. In 1815, the British defeated the King of Kandy, last of the native rulers, and created the Crown Colony of Ceylon. The British established a plantation economy based on tea, rubber, and coconuts. In 1931, the British granted Ceylon limited self-rule. On February 4, 1948, Ceylon became an independent nation.

MODERN ERA

Sri Lanka, which celebrated 50 years of independence in 1998, is one of southern Asia’s oldest and most stable democracies. Sri Lankan politics since independence have been strongly democratic. Two major parties, the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, have generally alternated rule. In 1972, a new constitution was introduced which changed the country’s name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka, declared it a republic, made protection of Buddhism a constitutional principle, and created a weak president appointed by the prime minister. In 1978, the Republic of Sri Lanka became the Demo-

cratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. The ruling party introduced a new constitution based on the French model, a key element of which was the creation of a strong presidency.

Sri Lanka has made significant progress in evolving from a socialist, centralized economy to a more open and free market-oriented economy and society. It has relatively high economic growth, high literacy rates, and low fertility and mortality rates. Agriculture remains the primary source of income for Sri Lanka’s predominantly rural population. Unsustainable agricultural and logging practices have resulted in substantial land degradation and reduction in the size of forest reserves. Sri Lanka was one of the first countries to develop a National Environmental Action Plan for biodiversity conservation, protection of coastal zones, forestry, and land and water management.

Since its independence 50 years ago, Sri Lanka has been plagued by hostilities between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils. Since 1983, a civil war waged by Tamil separatists in the country’s north and east region has claimed over 55,000 lives and severely damaged the economy. The war is largely confined to Sri Lanka’s northeastern province, which is six to eight hours by road from the capital. However, terrorist bombings directed against politicians and others have occurred in Colombo and elsewhere in the country. For the past 15 years, the Sri Lankan government has fought the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), an insurgent organization fighting for a separate state for the country’s Tamil minority. In May of 1997, the fighting intensified after the government launched a major offensive aimed at opening a land route to the Jaffna peninsula through LTTE-controlled territory in the north. The offensive resulted in approximately 5,000 casualties on both sides and the displacement of tens of thousands of citizens. The unresolved ethnic conflict in the north and the east is the key issue that prevents Sri Lanka from attaining its development potential.

THE FIRST SRI LANKANS IN AMERICA

The earliest Sri Lankans to enter the United States were classified as “other Asian.” Immigration records show that between 1881 and 1890 1,910 “other Asians” were admitted to the United States. It is unlikely that many of these were from Sri Lanka. In 1975, immigration records classified Sri Lankans as a separate category for the first time. That year, 432 Sri Lankans immigrated to the United States.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Since the outbreak of hostilities between the government and armed Tamil separatists in the early 1980s, several hundred thousand Tamil civilians have fled Sri Lanka. By 1996, 63,068 were housed in refugee camps in south India, another 30,000-40,000 lived outside the Indian camps, and more than 200,000 Tamils have sought political asylum in the West. According to 1996 U.S. Immigration and Naturalization records, 1,277 Sri Lankans were naturalized. Of this group, 615 had arrived in 1995 and 254 had arrived in 1994, compared with only 68 arrivals in 1993 and 17 before 1985. Sri Lankan refugees admitted to the United States in 1991 (54) and in 1993 (62) contrasted with typical yearly admissions of two in 1989 and six in 1992. This increase coincided with an escalation of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka in the years of high refugee admission to the United States. During the 1980s, an average of 400 Sri Lankans immigrated to the United States each year. In 1998, 322 Sri Lankans were winners of the DV-99 diversity lottery. The diversity lottery is conducted under the terms of Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and makes available 50,000 permanent resident visas annually to persons from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the 1990 U.S. Census, there were 14,448 Americans with Sri Lankan ancestry. Of 554 Sri Lankans admitted to the United States in 1984, 117 were 20 and younger, 127 were ages 20 to 29, and 169 were ages 30 to 39. Many Sri Lankans settle in large cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Newark, and Miami that already have Sri Lankan and Indian communities. Sri Lankan Americans who practice Hinduism are likely to settle near an established Hindu community. The same holds true for Sri Lankan Buddhists. For example, when Buddhist monk Venerable Wipulasara arrived in America in 1993, he joined the Buddhist Asian-American community of 30,000 in Tampa Bay, Florida.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

While many Sri Lankans come to America prepared earn advanced degrees and move into good jobs, they are shocked at how quickly life moves in their new country. For Venerable Wipulasara in Tampa, meditation had to come between running errands,

buying groceries and taking courses at the local high school to improve his English. Wipulasara created a *vihar*, a small Buddhist temple, in his apartment. Another concession Wipulasara made to American culture was to change the color of his light orange robe because people confused him with highway workers who also wore light orange.

Second-generation Sri Lankans are almost completely Americanized. Parents often send their children to religion courses. Nathan Katz, chairman of the religious studies department at Florida International University in Miami told the *St. Petersburg Times* that “most immigrants come to America and more or less lead the life they want until they have children. Then they want them to learn the old values.” Young people often help each other with the assimilation process. An alliance of students who grew up in the United States but are children of people from India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and other nations formed the Atlanta-based United Indian Student Alliance, hosting yearly conferences attended by more than 1,000 students from 30 universities.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Learning is so valued within Sri Lanka that a solemn ritual, the *akuru kiyaweema* ceremony, takes place to commemorate a child's mastery of the first letter when he or she is old enough to manipulate fingers, usually around age three. An astrologer determines every detail of the ceremony: the time of day it should take place, which way the child should sit, and what colors should be worn. The person who teaches the first letter to the child must be an educated, respected person who knows and loves the child. The child and teacher sit together on a mat and the teacher lights a brass lamp. Milk, rice, and Sri Lankan sweetmeats are set out in precise order, along with the slate on which the child will scrawl the letter. Usually it is “Ah,” the first letter of the alphabet.

Sri Lankans are extremely superstitious when it comes to numbers. For example, no piece of jewelry is made with even-numbered stones. Odd numbers are always considered lucky, with the number seven thought to be particularly magical. Kandyan bridal jewelry consists of seven pendants.

The traditional Sri Lankan meal is served with all dishes on the table at once: rice, fish and meat curries, soup, vegetables and accompaniments. Each guest takes a serving of everything onto the right hand. The food should not touch the hand above the middle knuckles, and the left hand does not make direct contact with the food but is used to pass and serve dishes.

PROVERBS

Sri Lankan culture has several sayings and proverbs, drawn from various cultures who once ruled the country, as well as from the dominant religions of Buddhism and Hinduism. The following come from the Buddhist tradition: A defrocked monk will be unable to mix with society; Whatever you love, you are its master. Whatever you hate, you are its slave; If one speaks with a pure mind, happiness will follow him like one's shadow that never leaves; O man, correct thine own self first, then turn to guide others; A wise man shall not let himself get tarnished; May all beings be well and happy, may there be peace on earth and goodwill among men; He prayeth best that loveth best, all things both great and small. "Any coconut leaf will win" is a traditional Sri Lankan saying to the effect that a party can nominate a coconut leaf and the loyal villages will vote for it. A popular saying from the Hindu Deepavali festival is "Hatred will never cease by hatred; hatred ceases by love alone."

CUISINE

In spite of its tiny size, Sri Lanka boasts an amazing variety of spicy foods and styles of cooking, reflecting the diversity of its ethnic communities. The most noticeable influences have been Portuguese, Dutch, Moor, and Malay. Since ancient times, other cultures have traded with Sri Lanka for the spices that grow there. Some of the world's best cinnamon, cloves, and many other spices are indigenous to Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan cuisine is distinguished from that of its neighboring countries by its spices, which are fast-roasted before they are ground and added to the food. Sri Lankans use two different curry powders. One is referred to as plain curry powder and is similar to the Indian yellow curry powder. The other is referred to as black or roasted curry powder and is used for meats. Along with curry, food is seasoned with hot red peppers, tamarind, garlic and ginger, cardamon, cinnamon, curry leaves, fenugreek and tiny black mustard seeds. Red chili peppers were introduced to Sri Lanka by the Portuguese. Modern-day Sri Lankan food has Indian, Portuguese, Dutch, and even a touch of British flavor mixed in. Because foods spoil quickly in Sri Lanka's tropical location, most foods are cooked in liquids to ensure that all ingredients are cooked thoroughly. Rice is eaten at least once a day, usually with very hot curry.

Coconut milk, the liquid obtained from squeezing the meat of the coconut, is central to Sri Lankan cooking. Almost every dish is prepared in coconut milk. *Sambols* are hot, spicy relishes. *Seeni Sambol* is a sweet, hot onion dish. Coconut Sambol,

or *Pol Sambol*, as it is known in Sri Lanka, is probably the country's most popular dish. It is made from onion, coconut, and red chili and is served in every home and restaurant. Another favorite dish is *egg hoppers*. Egg hoppers, traditionally a breakfast food, are made of a rice and coconut batter to which an egg is added while being cooked in a pan that looks like a wok.

Ambul Thiyal is a traditional fish preparation that can be kept without refrigeration for several days. This dish is prepared by placing a fish in a clay pot over an open fire, replacing the lid with another clay pot containing firewood or tinders, and cutting the fish into cubes. Chopped green chilies and bay leaf are then added. The *goraka* is ground and mixed with a little water. Salt and pepper are added to the *goraka* and poured onto the fish in an earthenware pot. The dish is cooked over a moderate flame until it is very dry.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Sri Lankan men did not wear garments on their upper body prior to the sixteenth century. This distinction was reserved for royalty and warriors, who wore protective clothing or armor. The lower garment, the *dhoti*, was worn from the waist to below the knees. Ancient Sinhalese garments, especially those of the upper classes, were divided and neatly arranged in folds horizontally. During very cold weather, a mantle would be worn over the usual dress.

During ancient times, Sinhalese women did not cover the upper part of their bodies. Middle-class women wore only a cloth around their hips while at home, and used another piece of cloth to cover their shoulders when they went outdoors. Upper-class women were often bare-breasted, although heavily bejeweled, and their lower-class female attendants wore a breast-band.

With the arrival of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, Sinhalese dress underwent a dramatic change. Sri Lankan men quickly adopted the types of shirts, trousers, socks, and shoes worn by Portuguese settlers. Prior to this time, only upper class Sinhalese wore shoes. In the Kandyan kingdom, women wore a short frock with sleeves that covered the arms. The frock was made of fine white calico wrought with blue and red thread in flowers and branch designs. Both Kandyan men and women wore jewelry. The men wore gold chains, pendants, girdles, and finger rings. Women wore chains, pendants, girdles and rings in addition to earrings, (*kundalabharana*), anklets (*pa-salamba*), bracelets, and toe-rings (*pa-mudu*).

From the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, respectable women covered their upper bodies while women of the low castes and the untouchables (*Rodi*) were prohibited from doing so. On their lower bodies, women wore a garment that was similar to a dhoti. For upper-class women, this garment extended to the ankles. Upper-class women also wore more elaborate lower garments in an array of colors. Women in the lower classes were usually naked from the waist up, and their lower garments did not extend below their knees. During the seventeenth century, upper-class men wore doublets of white or blue calico around the middle torso, a white one next to the skin, and a blue one over the white, with a blue or red sash at the waist. A knife with a carved handle inlaid with silver protruded from the garment folds at the chest.

DANCES AND SONGS

Bharata natyam is one of the classical dance forms of Sri Lanka and India. During this dance a sari-clad feminine figure, covered with jewels and flowers, strikes a graceful pose. In Sri Lanka, announcements of *Arangetram*, the traditional first performance by a young artist, are published every month. A *bharata natyam* performance on stage is a composite art form combining the elements of space management, stagecraft, music, and the presentational aspects of the artist, including makeup, color and sartorial elegance, rhythm, and dramatic content.

Sri Lanka is also known for Devil Dances, dramatic rituals performed by masked dancers who represent demons and characters like *Nag Ruska*, the King of the Cobras, and *Gurulu Raska*, the King of Birds. Dancers are trained from around age ten by their elders. The dance lasts throughout one night and is accompanied by the *Yak bera*, the devil drum. The most well-known of the Devil Dances is the *Sanni Yakuma*, when 18 demons of disease are summoned around a sick person's house.

Sri Lankan music was heavily influenced by India. W. D. Amaradeva, known as Sri Lanka's greatest singer and composer, mixed North Indian (Hindustani) classical music and Sinhala folk music associated with dance, drama, ritual, and social customs. Buddhist chants and narrative styles are also a part of Sri Lanka's musical heritage. *Baila* is a genre of music borrowed from the Portuguese. *Baila* is still the music of choice at middle-class parties.

HOLIDAYS

The one national holiday celebrated by all Sri Lankans is Independence Day on February 4. The

full moon day of each month, Poya Day, is also considered a holiday. In addition, Sri Lankan Americans celebrate a wide variety of Buddhist, Hindu, Christian, and Muslim festivals and holidays, according to one's own religious preferences.

For Buddhists, the month of May is the most important full moon holy day of the entire year. On this day, Gautama Buddha was born, gained enlightenment, and passed away. Sri Lankan Buddhists celebrate this holiday by attending religious ceremonies at temples and decorating their homes with lanterns made of colored paper and sticks. Buddhists celebrate the New Year in March or April with coconut games and pillow fights. During October and November, Hindus in Sri Lanka and the United States celebrate *Deepavali*, or the festival of lights, which symbolizes the destruction of forces of darkness and evil and the re-enthronement of the light of God in individual and collective hearts.

LANGUAGE

Sinhala and Tamil are official languages in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese are the largest ethnic group in the country, comprising 74 percent of the population, in 1981. Sinhala is an Indo-Aryan language genetically related to such major south Asian languages as Hindi and Bengali. As a descendant of Sanskrit, the language of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, Sinhala is also related to European languages such as Greek and Latin. Two varieties of Sinhala are commonly distinguished, the literary and colloquial; agreement between the verb and the subject is found only in the literary variety. It is likely that groups from north India introduced an early form of Sinhala when they migrated to Sri Lanka around 500 B.C., bringing with them the agricultural economy that has remained dominant during the twentieth century. From ancient times, however, Sinhala has included a large number of words and constructs that were borrowed from Tamil, and modern speech includes many expressions from European languages, especially English. There are 12 Sinhala vowel sounds and there are also double vowels, which are extended sounds. Double consonants are split to finish the previous syllable and begin the following syllable. Tamils and most Muslims speak Tamil, part of the South Indian Dravidian linguistic group.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

The palms clasped together, with a gentle bow of the head and the word "*Ayubowan*," meaning "Wishing you a long life," is the traditional wel-

come used by Sri Lankans. “Shaaa” is an exclamation of pleasure and surprise, as one might say upon seeing a beautiful sight. “Ayi yoo” or “appoo” are exclamations of unpleasant surprise, used for everything from hearing a bit of gossip to witnessing an auto wreck. An expression that originated in village culture and continues to be used by modern Sri Lankans is “*Koheede Yanne?*” meaning “Where are you going?” In village life, everyone is always interested in where people are heading on the road.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The caste system is used to create social divisions within Sri Lanka. The Goyigama caste of the Sinhalese, traditionally associated with land cultivation, is dominant in population and public influence. In the lowlands of Sri Lanka, however, other castes based on commercial activities are influential. The Tamil Vellala caste resembles the Goyigama in its dominance and traditional connection with agriculture, but it is completely separate from the Sinhalese caste. Within their separate caste structures, Sinhalese and Tamil communities are fragmented through customs that separate higher from lower orders. These include elaborate rules of etiquette and a nearly complete absence of inter-caste marriages. However, differences in wealth arising from the modern economic system have created wide class cleavages that cut across boundaries of caste, religion, and language. Because of all these divisions, Sri Lankan society is complex, with numerous points of potential conflict.

Sri Lankan Americans abandon caste restrictions when they acclimate to American lifestyles. Maintaining caste distinctions is not possible for the most part in business and social settings. Sri Lankan Americans live in single family units without relatives, although relatives may migrate to the same community.

In Sri Lanka, among all ethnic and caste groups, the most important social unit is the nuclear family of husband, wife, and unmarried children. Even when economic necessity forces several families (in Sinhala, *ge*; in Tamil, *kudumbam*) or generations to live together, each wife has her own cooking place and prepares food for her own husband as a sign of the individuality of the nuclear family. Among all sections of the population, however, relatives of both the wife and the husband form an important social network that supports the nuclear family and encompasses the majority of its important social relations. The kindred (*pavula*, in Sin-

hala) of an individual often comprise the group with whom it is possible to eat or marry. Because of these customs, local Sinhalese society is highly fragmented, not only at the level of ethnic group or caste, but also at the level of kindred relations.

The divisions between the castes are reaffirmed on a daily basis, especially in rural areas, by many forms of language and etiquette. Because each caste uses different personal names, and many use slightly different forms of speech, it is often possible for people to determine someone’s caste as soon as that person speaks. Persons of lower rank behave politely by addressing their superiors with honorable formulas and by removing their headgear. A standard furnishing in upper-caste rural houses is a low stool (*kolamba*), provided so that members of lower castes may take a lower seat while visiting. Villages are divided into separate streets or neighborhoods according to caste, and the lowest orders may live in separate hamlets.

EDUCATION

Sri Lankan Americans are highly educated. Most immigrants have completed some college and many have advanced degrees. Until colonial times, the educational system in Sri Lanka was designed primarily for a small elite. Since independence in 1948, Sri Lanka has also made important gains in education, reaching near universal literacy and primary school enrollment rates. Children from age five to ten attend primary school; from age 11 to 15 they attend junior secondary school (terminating in the Ordinary Level Examination); and from age 16 to 17 they attend senior secondary school (terminating in the Advanced Level Examination). Those who qualify can go on to the university system, which is completely run by the state. In the late 1980s, there were eight universities and one university college with over 18,000 students in 28 faculties, plus 2,000 graduate and certificate students. However, improvements in the educational system created economic difficulties because many graduates were qualified for jobs that did not exist. Women, who made up only about 25 percent of the labor force in the 1980s, were particularly affected. Many Sri Lankans who settle in the United States do so in search of better employment opportunities.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Since the country’s independence in 1948, Sri Lankan women have gained legal rights to education and employment. Prior to 1921, the female literacy rate among Christians in Sri Lanka was 50 per-

cent, among Buddhists 17 percent, among Hindus 10 percent, and among Muslims only 6 percent. After independence, women entered the educational system in equal numbers with men. A continuing problem in all fields of technical education was extreme gender differentiation in job training; women tended to enroll in home economics and teaching courses rather than in scientific disciplines.

Although there are no legal impediments to the participation of women in politics or government, social mores within some communities limited women's activities outside the home for most of the twentieth century. In August of 1994, voters elected a parliament that chose a female prime minister for only the third time in the country's history. In November of 1994, a woman was elected president for the first time. Eleven women held seats in the parliament. In addition to the prime minister and the minister for women's affairs, four deputy ministers are women. Although the constitution provides for equal employment opportunities in the public sector, women have no legal protection against discrimination in the private sector, where they sometimes are paid less than men for equal work. Also, they often experience difficulty in rising to supervisory positions and face sexual harassment. Women constitute approximately one-half of Sri Lanka's work force. Women have equal rights under national, civil, and criminal law. However, issues related to family law, including divorce, child custody, and inheritance, are adjudicated by the customary law of each ethnic or religious group. In 1995, the government raised the minimum age of marriage for women from 12 to 18 years. Muslims, however, were allowed to continue their customary marriage practices.

COURTSHIP

The kinship system of Sri Lanka, like those in most countries of southern Asia and the Middle East, follows the pattern of preferred cross-cousin marriage. This means that the most acceptable person for a man to marry is the daughter of his father's sister. The most suitable partner for a woman is the son of her mother's brother. Parallel cousins—the son of the father's brother or the daughter of the mother's sister—tend to be improper marriage partners. Special kinship terminology exists in both Tamil and Sinhalese for relatives in preferred or prohibited marriage categories. In many villages, people spend their entire childhoods with a clear knowledge of their future marriage plans and live in close proximity to their future spouses. The ties between cross-cousins are so close, in theory, that persons marrying partners other than their cross-cousins may include

a special ritual in their marriage ceremonies during which they receive permission from their cousins to marry an outsider. The system of cross-cousin marriage also allows control over property.

Although all marriages are arranged, children can decline the mate that is chosen by their parents. In rural areas, marriages have traditionally been arranged between teenagers. The average age at marriage has been increasing in the last decades of the twentieth century. This is attributed to the longer periods of time that are needed to obtain a college education and establish a stable career.

WEDDINGS

In rural areas of Sri Lanka, traditional marriages did not require legal registration or a ceremony. The couple simply started living together, with the consent of their parents, who were usually related. Most Sri Lankan families have limited financial resources and do not spend large sums on wedding parties. Wealthier families, especially in urban areas, have a ceremony. The bride may receive a substantial dowry, determined beforehand during negotiations between her family and her future in-laws. Matchmakers and astrologers pick the time for the marriage.

Late twentieth-century wedding ceremonies have been influenced by British and Western culture. Brides wear white, carry flowers, and are preceded by bridesmaids and flower girls as in the typical wedding of the West. This contrasts with the Kandyan Sinhalese (more traditional upland dwellers named after the Kingdom of Kandy) bride in her traditional costume of the *Osariya (sari)* and the complementing regalia. The Kandyan bride tries to dress lavishly, typically wearing a grand sari with gold and silver thread, pearls, stones, beads, and sequins.

The bridal headgear, the *nalalpata*, is a headband with a gold gem-studded forehead plate, and was traditionally worn by a ruler. The *nalalpata* was tied to the forehead of a young prince during a ceremony. A Sinhala wedding is the only time that the *nalalpata* is worn. It is placed on the middle of the forehead with one stem extending down the middle parting of the hair, and another two branches extending across the forehead up to the ear. Traditionally, the *nalalpata* was a piece of jewelry embedded in red stones.

The bride wears a mass of chains at the neck. *Padakkam*, or pendants, are the important part of the chains. Starting from the *nalalpata* pendant, each successive chain shows off pendants with Sinhala designs. The *peti malaya* is the last and longest chain encircling the rest. *Peti malaya* means a garland of

flowers or petals. The design of the pendants may vary. The *agasthi malaya* is a chain made of agate. Some chains have seeds placed at intervals along the chain. The *seri valatu* is a broad bangle with three smaller bangles joined together. The earrings, known as *dimithi*, have the shape of an overturned cup with tiny pearls dangling from two ear-studs. Some brides wear armlets to ward off bad luck.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

According to United Nations statistics, Sri Lanka ranks second in the world in human rights violations. Sri Lankans fight bitterly along ethnic lines. In Sri Lanka, the different ethnic communities live in separate villages or sections of villages. In towns and cities, they inhabit different neighborhoods. The fact that primary education is in either Tamil or Sinhala effectively segregates the children of the different communities at an early age. Ethnic segregation is reinforced by fears that ethnic majorities will try to dominate positions of influence and repress the religious, linguistic, or cultural systems of minorities. Sinhalese are the dominant ethnic group within Sri Lanka. However, they often feel intimidated by the large Tamil population in nearby India. The combined Tamil populations of India and Sri Lanka outnumber the Sinhalese at least four to one.

The ethnic groups of Sri Lanka have been in conflict with each other since the nineteenth century. Ethnic divisions are not based on race or physical appearance, although some Sri Lankans claim to be able to determine the ethnicity of a person by his facial characteristics or color. There is nothing in the languages or the religious systems in Sri Lanka that officially promotes the social segregation of ethnic groups. Because historical circumstances have favored one or more of the groups at various times, hostility and competition for political and economic power are today's reality. However, Sri Lankan Americans peacefully voice their ethnic differences through fund-raising and political lobbying efforts.

RELIGION

Sri Lanka is a multi-religious country of Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and Muslim followers. The various religious groups practice their faiths in separate communities that are allowed to express their religious convictions. Buddhists constitute the majority with 69.3 percent. Theravada Buddhism (one of two types of Buddhism) was introduced to Sri Lanka in the third century B.C. from India, when a branch of the sacred bo tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment was brought to the island.

According to legend, the tree that grew from this branch is near the ruins of the ancient city of Anuradhapura in the north of Sri Lanka. The tree is said to be the oldest living thing in the world and is an object of great veneration. There is no central religious authority in Theravada Buddhism, and the monastic community has divided into a number of orders with different styles of discipline or recruitment. The modern orders originated in the eighteenth century.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

According to U.S. naturalization statistics, of the 1,277 Sri Lankans who became U.S. citizens in 1984, 575 had occupations ranging from professional specialties (414) to laborers and service industry workers (110). No occupation was listed for 702 immigrants. Most Sri Lankan Americans are highly educated professionals who come to the United States seeking employment opportunities. Many start their own companies and become well-known in their industries. For example, Sri Lankan American entrepreneurs formed an organization among South Asian businessmen called the Indus Entrepreneurs that aims to provide a support network for entrepreneurs.

Sri Lanka has a developing, mixed public and private economy based on agriculture, services, and light industries. Agriculture accounts for approximately one-fourth of the gross domestic product (GDP) and employs two-fifths of the workforce. Services are the largest sector of the GDP and employ one-third of the workforce. Foreign banks were allowed to open "offshore" branches in Sri Lanka in 1979 as part of a government effort to promote the country as an international financial center for South Asia. In 1990, a successful new stock exchange was founded. All exchange controls on current account transactions were eliminated and more than 40 state firms were privatized. The development of a capitalist economy in Sri Lanka led to the development of a new working class. These upwardly mobile, primarily urban professionals formed a new class that transcended divisions of race and caste. This class, particularly its uppermost strata, was educated in Western culture and ideology.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Large numbers of educated Sri Lankans, both Sinhalese and Tamil, lived in the United States, Britain, and Western Europe during the 1970s and 1980s. Tamils in the United States played a role in

publicizing the plight of their countrymen in the American media and provided the militant movement with financial support. For example, the *Sacramento Bee* reported on the efforts of a Sri Lankan American professor at Sacramento State University who is a member of the Tamil minority. He works in the United States to help end the bloodshed in Sri Lanka by urging the U.S. government to end military support for the Sri Lankan government. The Tamil Nadu Foundation, Inc., lobbies for Tamil goals and seeks to influence U.S. policies towards Sri Lanka. An increasing number of Western countries have sharply criticized Sri Lanka's dismal human rights record.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Association of Sri-Lankans in America.

Serves as liaison between Americans of Sri-Lankan origin and the U.S. Department of State. Participates in aid programs to Sri-Lanka; promotes Sri-Lankan ethnic values in the United States and seminars on Sri-Lankan issues. Makes travel arrangements for Sri Lankan dignitaries visiting the United States. Maintains charitable program; conducts research. Provides children's services; compiles statistics; maintains speakers' bureau.

Contact: Jay P. Liyanage, Chairman.
Address: 2 East Glen Road, Denville,
New Jersey 07834.
Telephone: (973) 627-7855.
Fax: (973) 586-3411.

Friends of Sri Lanka in the United States.

FOSUS was started by a group of Sri Lankan expatriates living in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area whose primary concern is the eradication of Tiger (Tamil) terrorism.

Address: P.O. Box 2479, Kensington
MD 20891-2479.
E-mail: fosus@hotmail.com.

Sri Lankan Association at Mississippi State University.

Helps all incoming Sri Lankan students to orient themselves to Mississippi and aids new Sri Lankans in any way they can.

Address: P.O. Box 2626, Mississippi State,
MS 39762.

Sri Lankan Association of Texas A&M.

Organization of students, faculty, and staff and their families of Sri Lankan origin attached to the Texas A & M University. Any member of the university community with an interest in Sri Lanka can become an associate member. Promotes unity, culture, and spirit among Sri Lankans and fosters understanding of Sri Lankan culture among the university community.

Contact: Primary Advisor: Dr. John P. Nichols.
Address: College Station, TX 77843.
Telephone: (409) 845-3211.

Sri Lankan Association of University of Maryland.

Promotes intellectual, social, and cultural interaction among those connected with the University of Maryland, as well as developing leadership skills.

Contact: Manjula Gunawardane, President.
Address: University of Maryland, College Park,
MD 20742.
Telephone: (301) 871-5138.

Sri Lanka Student Association at Oklahoma State University.

Non-profit, non-political, educational, and cultural organization that reaffirms Sri Lankan national objectives of Unity, Faith, and Discipline, fosters friendship, goodwill, cooperation, and understanding among the Sri Lankan students.

Contact: Arthur Webb, Staff Advisor.
Address: College of Arts and Sciences, 202 Life
Sciences East, Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, OK 74078.
Telephone: (405) 744-5658.

Sri Lankan Student Association of Virginia Tech.

Formed in the year 1996; consists of eight members to provide a common forum for Sri Lankan students studying at Virginia Tech; also promotes Sri Lanka.

Address: Virginia Tech. Blacksburg, VA 24061.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Tamil Nadu Foundation, Inc.

Formed in 1974 to assist Tamil people through scholarships and relief projects. Addresses the plight of Sri Lankan Tamils. Sponsors an annual conference.

Contact: Paul C. Pandian, Texas chapter.
Address: 10636 Cox Lane, Dallas, TX 75229.
Telephone: (214) 350-5094.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

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SWEDISH AMERICANS

by
Mark A. Granquist

OVERVIEW

The Kingdom of Sweden is a constitutional monarchy that is located on the eastern half of the Scandinavian peninsula in Northern Europe. It measures 173,648 square miles (449,750 square kilometers), sharing the Scandinavian peninsula with Norway to the west and north. Across the Baltic Sea, Sweden borders Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to the East, Poland, Germany, and Denmark to the south.

As of 1992, Sweden had a population of 8,602,000. The vast majority are ethnic Swedes, with minorities of Laplanders (Sami), Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Norwegians, and Danes, and, in the late twentieth century, immigrants from southeastern Europe and the Middle East. Virtually all Swedes officially belong to the Lutheran State Church of Sweden; there are smaller groups of Pentecostals, Methodists, Covenant, Baptists, and Roman Catholics. The country's official language is Swedish, and the capital is Stockholm. The Swedish flag is a yellow cross on a medium blue field.

HISTORY

The Swedes are descended from the Gothic tribes that moved into Sweden following the melting glaciers, probably during the Neolithic period. The various Gothic settlements were centered in eastern Sweden and the island of Gotland in the Baltic. Dur-

Swedish immigrants made a fairly quick and smooth transition to life in their new country and most became quickly Americanized. As a northern European people, the Swedes shared with Americans a common religious and social heritage, and a common linguistic base.

ing the Viking period (800-1050 A.D.) the Swedes pushed eastward into Russia, and were trading as far south as the Black Sea. In Russia, the Swedes (labeled by the Slavs as the “Rus”) ruled many areas, especially in the trading town of Novgorod. By about 1000, most of central and eastern Sweden was united in the kingdom of the Svear, although this was disputed by their powerful neighbors, the Danes and the Norwegians. Christianity was introduced to the Swedes by St. Ansgar in 829, although it was slow to take hold and was not fully established until the late twelfth century, under the rule of King Eric IX. Medieval Sweden was slowly incorporated into the European world, and began to form the political and social structures characteristic to its society even up to this day. King Magnus VII was able to unite Norway and Sweden under his rule in 1319, but the arrangement was unstable and did not last. In 1397 Norway and Sweden were united with Denmark, under the rule of the Danish Queen Margaret in the Union of Kalmar. Sweden felt slighted in the Danish-dominated Union, however, and after a Danish massacre of Swedish nobles in 1520, the Swedes rose against the Danes and, led by King Gustav Vasa, freed themselves from Danish rule in 1523. King Gustavus Adolphus fought for the Protestants during the 30 Years War (1618-1648), and gained possessions for Sweden in northern Germany; King Charles X gained further territory in Poland and the Baltic States. Sweden’s age of glory ended with the rise of Russia, which defeated the Swedes in the Northern War (1700-1721). Sweden lost Finland to Russia in 1809, but received Norway in compensation in 1814 (a union that lasted until 1905). During the nineteenth century, Sweden underwent economic, social, and political transformation that only partially offset a large-scale immigration to North America. In the twentieth century, Sweden has maintained its political and military neutrality, and has become one of the most highly developed industrialized countries in the world, with stable politics and an extensive social welfare system.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In 1638, during Sweden’s era as a European power, a Swedish merchant company founded the colony of New Sweden in Delaware. This became an official Swedish colony under the leadership of Governor Johan Printz, but struggled because of indifference from the Swedish government; the colony never prospered, reaching a total of only about 500 inhabitants. In 1655 the Dutch took the colony by force; the Dutch were in turn defeated by the English 11 years later. A Swedish-speaking enclave existed in the Delaware River valley until the nine-

teenth century, however. Swedes played a role in early U.S. history. They were a force in the Revolutionary War. John Hanson of Maryland was the first president of the United States Congress from 1781-1782. Trade and adventure brought a number of Swedes to America in the early national period, but this immigration was rather limited.

Serious emigration from Sweden to America began after 1840, and this flow became a torrent after 1860. From 1851 to 1930, more than 1.2 million Swedes immigrated to America, a number that represented perhaps 25 percent of the total population of Sweden during this period. The country had one of the highest rates of emigration of all of the European nations. The rates of immigration to America fluctuated from year to year, however, reflecting economic conditions in both Sweden and America. The first great wave arrived between 1868 and 1873, as famine in Sweden and opportunity for land in America drove 100,000 Swedes, mainly farm families, from their homeland. They relocated primarily in the upper Midwest. The largest wave of immigrants, approximately 475,000, arrived between 1880 and 1893, again due to economic conditions. This time not only farm families emigrated, but also loggers, miners, and factory workers from the cities. The American Depression of 1893 slowed Swedish immigration until the first decade of the twentieth century, when 220,000 Swedes came to America. World War I halted emigration, and improved economic conditions in Sweden kept it to a trickle after 1920.

The immigration of Swedes to America during the nineteenth century was a movement of youth— young Swedes leaving their homeland for improved economic opportunity in America. The first waves of immigration were more rural and family oriented, but as the immigration progressed this pattern changed; young single men (and later women) left Sweden to find employment in American cities. Economic advancement was the primary reason they emigrated. There were those who resented the political, social, and religious confinement of nineteenth-century Sweden, of course, but research has shown that the overwhelming motivation driving the emigrants westward over the Atlantic was economic.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The patterns of Swedish immigrant settlement changed during the course of the nineteenth century, varying with economic conditions and opportunities. The initial wave of immigration in the 1840s and 1850s was directed toward rural areas of Illinois and Iowa, especially the Mississippi River valley and Chicago. In the 1860s and 1870s immigration shift-

ed toward Minnesota and the upper Midwest, and the Swedish population of Minneapolis grew substantially. In the 1880s rural migration spread to Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. With the changing complexion of immigration later in the century (more single youth heading toward urban areas) came the growth of immigration to the East and West Coasts. Significant Swedish-American centers were established in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine in the East, and Washington and California in the West, along with a Swedish colony in Texas. By the turn of the century, Swedish Americans were about 60 percent urban; Chicago was the second largest Swedish city in the world, followed by Minneapolis, New York City, Seattle/Tacoma, Omaha, and San Francisco. Smaller cities with a concentration of Swedes included Worcester, Massachusetts, Jamestown, New York, and Rockford, Illinois. By 1930 Swedish America (first- and second-generation Swedish Americans) had peaked at 1.5 million people; secondary internal migrations had dispersed the Swedes around the country. The 1990 census reported that almost 4.7 million Americans claimed some Swedish ancestry (making it the thirteenth largest ethnic group), with almost 40 percent in the Midwest, 30 percent in the West, and 15 percent each in the South and Northeast. California leads all states with 590,000 Swedish Americans, followed by Minnesota (535,000), Illinois (374,000), Washington (258,000), and Michigan (194,000).

INTERACTIONS WITH SETTLED AMERICANS

Swedish immigrants were generally well accepted by mainstream America and tended to blend in easily with their neighbors, especially in the Midwest. Coming from a Protestant, northern European country, the Swedes were seen as desirable immigrants. Overall, they were a literate, skilled, and hard-working group, and found employment on farms and in mines and factories. Young Swedish women were especially sought as domestic servants in American homes. In many areas, especially in the upper Midwest, Swedes settled in close proximity to other Scandinavian and German immigrants. Despite some ethnic frictions, these European immigrants had a dominant influence on the culture and society of the region.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In general, Swedish immigrants made a fairly quick and smooth transition to life in their new country and most became quickly Americanized. As a north-

ern European people, the Swedes shared with Americans a common religious and social heritage, and a common linguistic base. Swedish immigrants settled over a wide range of areas. Because they were drawn mostly to cities, rather than tight-knit rural settlements, they were immersed immediately in American culture. In addition, there was a growing interest in, and influence from, America in nineteenth-century Sweden. During the years prior to 1914, the Swedish American community was continually replenished by newcomers; however, World War I brought with it anti-foreign attitudes, which resulted in a drastic drop in emigration and forced the Swedish American community to Americanize rapidly.

The concept of Swedish America furthered the acculturation process. In an essay in *The Immigration of Ideas*, Conrad Bergendoff described the community as “a state of thinking and feeling that bridged the Atlantic.” In this enclave, which existed from the Civil War until the Great Depression, first- and second-generation immigrants created their own society, helping one another make the transition to a new culture. After World War I this community was rapidly integrated into the larger American society. The most telling indicator of this was the transition from the use of Swedish to English. By 1935 the majority of Swedish Americans primarily spoke the language of their new home.

With assimilation and acculturation, though, came a renewed interest in Swedish history and culture as children and grandchildren of immigrants sought to preserve some of the traditions of their homeland. Many institutions dedicated to this preservation were established: historical and fraternal societies, museums, and foundations. It was this dynamic that historian Marcus Hansen observed in his own generation, and which prompted his famous axiom, “What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember.” (Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant*, Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1938; p. 9).

INTERACTION WITH OTHERS

The Swedish immigrants interacted most readily with other Nordic-American groups, namely Danes, Norwegians, and Finns. There was a close affinity with the Finns, many of whom were Swedish-speaking settlers from western Finland (Sweden had ruled Finland from the Middle Ages until 1809). There was a special, good-natured rivalry between the Swedes and the Norwegians in America, which still results in quite a few “Swede” and “Norwegian” jokes. Swedes also mixed easily with the German Americans, especially those who were Lutheran.

These Swedish American children are dressed in traditional costume for a fair.



CUISINE

Swedish American cooking is quite ordinary; traditional dishes represent the cooking of the Swedish countryside, which is heavily weighted toward meat, fish, potatoes, and other starches. In the area of baked goods, however, Swedish American cooks produce delicious breads, cookies, and other delights. The holiday seasons, especially Christmas, are times for special ethnic dishes such as *lutefisk* (baked cod), meatballs, and ham, which are arranged on a buffet-style Smorgasbord table, surrounded by mountains of baked goods, and washed down with gallons of strong, thick Swedish coffee.

TRADITIONAL DRESS

The immigrants did not have a particularly distinctive way of dressing, and generally adopted the clothing styles of their new homeland. Some brought with them the colorful, festive clothing representative of their region of Sweden, but such ethnic costumes were not worn often. The distinctive regional festive dress of nineteenth-century Sweden has, however, been revived by some Americans of Swedish descent, seeking to get in touch with their roots. This dress is sometimes worn for ethnic celebrations or dance competitions.

HOLIDAYS

Along with the traditional holidays celebrated by Americans, many Swedish Americans celebrate two additional holidays. Along with other Scandina-

vians, Swedes celebrate the summer solstice, or Midsummer's Day, on June 21. This is a time for feasting and outdoor activities. In many areas of Swedish America this day is celebrated as "Svenskarnas dag" (Swedes' Day), a special festival of Swedish American culture and solidarity, with picnics, parades, and ethnic activities. December 13 is Saint Lucia Day. Remembering an early Christian saint who brought light in the darkness of the world, a young woman is selected to be the "Lucia bride." Dressed in a white gown with a wreath of candles on her head, she leads a procession through town and serves special breads and sweet rolls. The Luciafest is an important holiday leading into the celebration of Christmas.

HEALTH ISSUES

America in the nineteenth century was often a dangerous place for immigrants; many worked hazardous jobs, and health care was frequently lacking. As the Swedish American community began to form, various immigrant groups, especially the churches, established medical and other types of organizations to care for the arriving Swedes. Hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, sanitariums, and orphanages were all a part of the network of care for the immigrants. Especially in the urban centers of the Midwest, Swedish American medical institutions remain in operation to this day.

Some Swedish immigrants and their Swedish American descendants sought medical careers, receiving their training mainly in the United States. After completing their education, some returned to Sweden to practice there. The only significant Swedish influence on American medicine was in the field of physical therapy, where techniques from Sweden were introduced into American medical centers.

There are few diseases or conditions that seem to be specific to the Swedish American community; problems that are prominent in Sweden, such as heart disease, depression, and alcoholism, are also seen within the Swedish American community, as well as in the rest of the United States.

LANGUAGE

Swedish is a North Germanic language, related to Norwegian, Danish, and German. There are no significant linguistic minorities in Sweden. Into the modern period there were some dialects present in various regions of the country, but by the twentieth century these variations had largely disappeared. Swedish uses the standard Roman alphabet, along

with the additional vowels “ä,” “ö,” and “å.” The language is pronounced with a particular “sing-song” lilt, and in areas of heavy Scandinavian settlement in the United States (especially the upper Midwest) this lilt is apparent among English-speaking descendants of the Scandinavian immigrants.

For the immigrants in America, Swedish remained the standard language, especially at home and at church, but the settlers soon learned enough English to manage their affairs. Some picked up a fractured combination of English and Swedish, which was derisively called “Swinglish.” As the cultural world of Swedish America developed, English words and expressions crept into the community and a distinctive form of American Swedish developed that maintained older linguistic traditions of the Sweden of the 1860s and 1870s. The immigrant community was divided over the question of language, with some urging the retention of Swedish, and others seeking a rapid transition to English. For many older immigrants, especially of the first generation, English remained a very foreign language with which they were not comfortable. Swedish remained the language of the churches and social organizations, but the transition to English was rapid especially among the children of the immigrants. By 1920 English was beginning to replace Swedish in the immigrant community. Bilingual approaches were a temporary measure in many immigrant organizations, in order to meet the needs of both younger and older members of the immigrant community.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common Swedish greeting and other expressions include: *God morgon* (“goo mor-on”)—Good morning; *God dag* (“goo dahg”)—Good day, or good afternoon; *God afton* (“goo ahf-ton”)—Good evening; *God natt* (“goo naht”)—Good night; *På återseende* (“poh oh-ter-seh-en-deh”)—I’ll be seeing you; *Adjö* (“ah-yoe”)—Good-bye; *Hur står det till?* (“hewr stohr deh teel”)—How are you?; *Tak* (“tahk”)—Thanks!; *Förlåt* (“foer-loht”)—Excuse me; *Var så god* (“vahr soh goo”)—You’re welcome; *Lycka till!* (“leuk-kah teel”)—Good luck; *Vi ses i morgon* (“vee sehs ee mor-on”)—See you tomorrow.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

When the first wave of immigrants came from Sweden to America in the 1840s and 1850s, the settlers traveled in large groups composed of entire families and led by a pastor or other community leader.

These groups established the beginnings of the ethnic communities that are still today identifiably Swedish American. Family and social structures became the bedrock of the larger community, and often these communal settlements maintained the characteristics and customs of the areas in Sweden from which the immigrants had come.

Swedish America was thus founded on a tight communal and familial structure, and these characteristics were present both in rural and urban settlements. But this pattern was soon altered by a number of factors, including the increased immigration of single young people, the geographical dispersion of the Swedish immigrants, and secondary migrations within the United States. Although Swedish Americans rarely inter-married (and then usually

“Most dear to me are the shoes my mother wore when she first set foot on the soil of America. You must see these shoes to appreciate the courage my parents had and the sacrifices they made giving up family and security to try for a better life, but not knowing what lay ahead. We came to this country as many others did, POOR! My mother’s shoes tell a whole story.”

Birgitta Hedman Fichter, 1924, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

only with other Scandinavian American groups), Swedes assimilated rapidly into American society, and by the second or third generation were indistinguishable from the general Anglo-American population. Their family patterns and social organization also became indistinct from that of the wider populations.

EDUCATION

Because of widespread literacy in nineteenth-century Sweden, Swedish immigrants were almost universally literate (at least in Swedish), and education was of primary importance to them. They eagerly embraced the American public school system, enrolling their children and organizing their own public schools wherever they were lacking. Swedish immigrants saw education as the primary means for their children to advance in America. Besides participating in the formation of public institutions of higher education (the University of Minnesota is one good example), Swedish Americans also formed their own private colleges; many remain

Four-year-old Astrid and one-year-old Ingrid Sjdbeck immigrated to the United States from Sweden with their parents in 1949. The family settled in Pontiac, Michigan.



today, including Augustana College (Rock Island, Illinois), Gustavus Adolphus College (St. Peter, Minnesota), Bethany College (Lindsborg, Kansas), Uppsala College (East Orange, New Jersey), North Park College (Chicago, Illinois), and Bethel College (St. Paul, Minnesota). Other colleges and secondary schools operated for a time in the immigrant community, but many of these did not survive. Swedish American churches founded most of these schools, along with theological seminaries to train their own pastors. Literary and publishing activities were strong in the immigrant communities; presses brought forth streams of newspapers, journals, and books representing a broad spectrum of Swedish American opinions.

RELIGION

The Church of Sweden, the official state church of the country, is a part of the Lutheran family of Protestant Christianity and is by far the largest religious institution in Sweden. Having converted to Christianity rather late in the medieval period, Sweden early on joined the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Under the direction of King Gustav Vasa the Catholic church organization in Sweden was transformed to Lutheranism, which became the official religion of the state. In fact, until the mid-nineteenth century it was illegal for Swedes to be anything *but* Lutheran, or to engage in private religious devotions or study outside of Church sponsorship. The priests of the Church of Sweden were civil servants. Besides their religious

duties these priests kept the citizenship and tax records, and functioned as the local representatives of governmental power. This state church system was prone to abuse and stagnation, and many Swedes, both clergy and laity, sought to reform and renew the church.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a movement called Pietism made its way from Germany into Scandinavia, seeking to reform the church and the lives of individual believers. Stressing personal conversion and morality, the Pietists were critical of the State Church and pressed for reform of both the church and the government. They also sought a change in governmental policy to allow for more freedom of religious expression in Sweden, including religious practice outside the Church of Sweden. Over the course of the century many of the changes proposed by the Pietists were enacted by the church and the government.

It is from this religious background that Swedish immigrants came to America. They were officially Lutheran, but many were unhappy with state church Christianity in Sweden and sought different forms of religious expression. A few early immigrants came to America to escape religious persecution. For the vast majority, however, the motivation for emigration was economic, although they welcomed the chance to worship in their own way. Some found other forms of Protestantism were more to their liking, and they formed Swedish Baptist and Swedish Methodist groups, which in turn exported these movements back to Sweden.

In the 1840s and 1850s various Swedish Americans began religious activities among their fellow immigrants. Notable names include: Gustav Unonius (Episcopalian); Olof and Jonas Hedstrom (Methodist); Gustaf Palmquist and F. O. Nilsson (Baptist); and L. P. Esbjörn, T. N. Hasselquist, Erland Carlsson, and Eric Norelius (Lutherans). In 1851 the Swedish American Lutherans organized as part of an American Lutheran denomination, but they later broke away to form the independent Augustana Synod, the largest religious group in Swedish America. The Baptists and Methodists also formed their own denominational groups, related to their American counterparts. The growth of these groups was fueled by the waves of immigrants after 1865, and the denominations struggled to keep up with the demand for pastors and congregations.

The Augustana Synod practiced a Lutheranism influenced by Pietism. Other immigrants thought that Augustana was still too Lutheran, and sought a freer type of Christian organization that relied more heavily on Pietist traditions. Both within and outside Augustana congregations these immigrants formed

Mission Societies that were the core of future congregations. During the 1870s and 1880s, despite the wishes of Augustana leaders, this movement broke away from Augustana and Lutheranism, forming independent congregations. The movement eventually yielded two other Swedish American denominations, the Swedish Mission Covenant Church (1885) and the Swedish Evangelical Free Church (1884). These two groups, along with the Lutherans, Methodists, and Baptists were the largest religious groups in the Swedish American community.

The immigrant religious denominations were easily the largest and most influential organizations within Swedish America. These groups soon began to form congregations, schools, hospitals, nursing homes, orphanages, and seminaries to serve the needs of their community. Much of the cultural and social life of the immigrant communities was channeled through the churches. Still, these religious groups only formally enrolled about 20 percent of all immigrants with 70 percent in Augustana and the remaining 30 percent in the other denominations. The churches reached out beyond their membership to serve many others in the immigrant community, but some Swedes chose to join American churches or to join no church at all. It was a tremendous change for these immigrants, leaving the state church for a system where they had to intentionally join and financially support a specific congregation.

These immigrant churches weathered acculturation and assimilation better than other immigrant institutions. Most churches made the transition to English during the 1920s and 1930s and continued to grow in the twentieth century. Augustana joined with other American Lutherans in 1962, the Methodists merged into American Methodism in 1942, and the Evangelical Free Church began to encompass other Scandinavian free church movements in 1950. The Baptist General Conference and the Evangelical Covenant Church remain independent organizations. Many of the congregations and colleges of these immigrant religious groups retain a strong interest in their ethnic heritage.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

A common stereotype of nineteenth-century Swedish immigrants was that they were either farmers and agricultural laborers in the rural areas, or domestic servants in urban areas. There was a grain of truth in this stereotype since such occupations were often filled by newly arrived immigrants. For

the most part, Swedish immigrants were literate, skilled, and ambitious, quickly moving up the employment ladder into skilled positions or even white-collar jobs. Many Swedes exhibit a streak of stubborn independence and, accordingly, most sought economic activities that would allow them to work with their own talents and skills. For some this meant work within the Swedish American community, serving the needs of the immigrants. For others this meant independent work in the larger American community as skilled workers or independent businesspeople in low-capital, high-labor fields such as wood and metal work, printing, and building contracting.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Swedish American men were employed in agriculture (33 percent), industry (35 percent), business and communication (14 percent), and as servants and laborers (16 percent). Among women, common occupations included servants and waitresses (56 percent), and seamstresses or laundresses (13 percent), with smaller groups of laborers and factory workers. As the Swedes adapted to American society, their employment patterns began to emulate that of the society as a whole, and they moved into educated positions in teaching, business, and industry.

Coming from a country that in the nineteenth century was largely rural, many Swedish immigrants were attracted to America by the prospect of free or cheap agricultural land, mainly in the upper Midwest or Great Plains states. By 1920 there were over 60,000 Swedish American farmers in the United State on more than 11 million cultivated acres, and five out of six of these farmers owned their land. Swedish American farmers were industrious and intelligent and soon picked up American agricultural methods for use on their farms. For the most part, the older agricultural techniques from Sweden were not applicable to American farms, and Swedish Americans made few unique contributions to American agriculture. Later immigrants often headed to the forests and mines of the upper Midwest and increasingly to the Pacific Northwest. Here they worked as lumberjacks and miners, two professions that were common in Sweden.

In the urban areas, Swedish Americans were best known for their skilled work in construction trades, and in the wood- and metal-working industries. Swedish contractors dominated the construction business in the Midwest; at one point it was estimated that 80 percent of the construction in Minneapolis and 35 percent in Chicago was carried out by Swedes. The Swedish contractors also employed many of their fellow immigrants as carpenters, plumbers, masons, and painters, providing

vital employment for new arrivals. Over half the Swedish American industrial workers in 1900 were occupied in wood and metal working. In addition, Swedes were represented in the printing and graphics, as well as the design industries.

Swedes were also employed in the engineering and architecture fields, with many designing industrial and military machinery. Two Swedish Americans, Captain John Ericsson and Admiral John Dahlgren, revolutionized American naval power during the Civil War with their invention of the iron-clad warship and the modern naval cannon, respectively. Other technical achievements and inventions of Swedish Americans include an improved zipper (Peter Aronsson and Gideon Sundback), the Bendix drive (Vincent Bendix), an improved disc clutch (George William Borg), and xerographic dry-copying (Chester Carlson). Swedish Americans have also made notable contributions in publishing, art, acting, writing, education, ministry, and politics.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Sweden has a long history of representative government, with the nobles, the clergy, and the peasants all represented in the Swedish Parliament. This tradition was never overcome, even by the most autocratic of Swedish kings. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the voting franchise in Sweden was rather limited, although this changed drastically toward the end of the century.

One of the reasons Swedes came to America was to experience greater political freedom and to help shape their local communities. Swedish Americans from the old Delaware colony were active in the politics of colonial America, and were elected to the legislatures of Delaware and Pennsylvania. The Swedes were also generally on the American side of the Revolutionary War and remained politically active when it ended. John Morton (1724-1777) of Pennsylvania was a delegate to the Continental Congress, and voted for and signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. John Hanson (1715-1783) of Maryland was one of the leading political figures of that state, and was elected to the Continental Congress three times. In 1781 Hanson was elected by Congress as the first president of the United States in Congress Assembled, or the chief executive of Congress, before the office of the presidency was established.

Through the early national period Swedish Americans usually favored the Democrats over the Whigs, but later they broke with the Democrats over the issue of slavery. Swedish Americans

became enthusiastic supporters of the newly rising Republican party and of Abraham Lincoln. The Swedes' relationship with the Republican party became so firm and widespread as to be axiomatic; it was said that the average Swedish American believed in three things: the Swedish culture, the Lutheran church, and the Republican party. In the late nineteenth century Swedes became a powerful force in local Republican politics in the upper Midwest, especially in Minnesota and Illinois. In 1886 John Lind (1854-1930) of Minnesota became the first Swedish American elected to Congress. Lind uncharacteristically switched to the Democratic party, and was then elected the first Swedish American governor of Minnesota in 1898.

Not all Swedish Americans subscribed to the Republican philosophy, of course. Many immigrants, especially those who arrived in the later waves, were strongly influenced by socialism in Sweden, and brought this philosophy with them to America. Swedish American socialists founded their own organizations and newspapers, and became active within the American socialist community. Most of this socialistic activity was local in nature, but some Swedes became involved on a national level. Joe Hill (Joel Hägglund) was a celebrated leader in the Industrial Workers of the World, but was accused of murder and executed in Utah in 1915.

Although socialism was a minority movement among the Swedish Americans, it did reflect many of their concerns. Swedes tended to be progressives within their parties. They believed strongly in the right of the individual, were deeply suspicious of big business and foreign entanglements, and pushed progressive social legislation and reforms. One of the early leaders in this movement was Charles Lindbergh, Sr. (1859-1924), father of the aviator, who was elected as a Republican to Congress from Minnesota in 1906. In Congress he espoused midwestern Populist ideals, opposed big business interests, and spoke forcefully against American involvement in World War I. After the war, many Scandinavians in Minnesota left the Republican party for the new Farmer Labor party, which adopted many of the Populist ideals common among the Swedes. Magnus Johnson was elected as a Farmer Labor senator from Minnesota in 1923, and Floyd Olson served that party as governor of Minnesota from 1931 to 1936. Many Swedes left the Republican party in 1932 to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt in the presidential election, and some remained in the Democratic party. A split occurred within the Swedish American community after Roosevelt's presidency, and that division exists to this day. Urban Swedish Americans are evenly divided

between the Democratic and Republican parties, while rural Swedish Americans remain overwhelmingly Republican.

As with many ethnic immigrant groups, Swedish Americans have been under-represented in national politics, with about 13 senators and 50 representatives, mainly from the Midwest. On the state level there have been at least 28 governors (10 in Minnesota), and many state and local officials. Modern Swedish American politicians have included Governors Orville Freeman (Minnesota), James Thompson (Illinois), and Kay Orr (Nebraska), Senator Warren Magnusson (Washington), and Representative John B. Anderson (Illinois). Swedish Americans have achieved notable success on the Supreme Court, including the appointment of two chief justices, Earl Warren and William Rehnquist.

UNION ACTIVITY

As small independent farmers and business owners, Swedish Americans have not been overwhelmingly involved in American union activities. Many in skilled professions in the wood and metal industries were involved in the formation of craft unions. In addition, given the Swedish domination of the building trades in the Midwest, there were many who became involved with the construction trade unions, most notably Lawrence Lindelof, president of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades from 1929 to 1952. Some Swedish American women were involved in the garment and textile unions; Mary Anderson joined a trade union as a shoe stitcher in Chicago, was hired by the International Boot and Shoe Workers Union, and eventually was appointed director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Women's Bureau.

MILITARY

Swedish Americans have fought for America in all of its wars, from the Revolution to the present day. During the Revolutionary War, Swedes from Maryland and Delaware fought, for the most part, on the revolutionary side, some in the Army, but many more in the new American Navy. About 90 Army and Navy officers from Sweden came over temporarily to fight on the American side, either directly with American troops, or more typically, with French forces (Sweden was allied with France at the time). One of these officers, Baron von Stedingk, who would become a field marshal in the Swedish Army and Ambassador to Russia.

At the start of the Civil War the Swedish American population numbered about 20,000, and

their enthusiasm for Lincoln and the northern cause is seen in the fact that at least 3,000 Swedes served in the Union army, mainly in Illinois and Minnesota regiments. A number of others served in the Union navy, and it was here that Swedish Americans were best known. Admiral John Dahlgren was in command of a fleet blockading southern ports, and introduced a number of modern advances in the area of naval weaponry. Captain John Ericsson, a naval engineer, developed the North's first practical ironclad ships, which fought with great effectiveness and revolutionized naval architecture. The Swedish-American population in the South at the time was concentrated mainly in Texas, and their numbers were small, although some did enlist to fight for the Confederacy.

Leading up to World War I, Swedish American sympathies were typically with Germany, although the strongest sentiments were toward neutrality and isolationism, as espoused by Charles Lindbergh, Sr. When the United States did enter the war on the Allied side in 1917, however, many Swedish Americans rushed to show their patriotism by enlisting in the Army and by buying war bonds. In the 1920s and 1930s, Swedes generally returned to their isolationist and neutralist ways, and Charles Lindbergh, Jr. took up this cause where his father left off. However, another famous Swedish American, writer Carl Sandburg, forcefully urged American intervention in Europe against the Nazis, writing many articles and works opposing the German regime. In both World Wars many Swedish Americans served with great distinction, including Major Richard Bong, who received the Medal of Honor in 1944 for destroying 36 Japanese planes in combat. Given their general engineering and technical expertise, many Swedish Americans rose to positions of importance in command, such as John Dahlquist, deputy chief of staff to General Eisenhower, and Arleigh Burke and Theodore Lonnquest, who eventually rose to the rank of admiral in the Navy. Many other Swedish Americans rose to prominence in the defense industry, especially Philip Johnson who headed Boeing Aircraft Company during World War II.

RELATIONS WITH SWEDEN

Swedish Americans have historically been very interested in the development of Sweden, and a lively correspondence is still maintained between Swedes on both sides of the Atlantic. Modern Sweden is a dramatically different country than the one the immigrants left; while Swedish Americans often have a hazy impression of a backward, rural country, reality is quite different. The Sweden of the twentieth century has often been characterized as taking

the “middle way,” a neutral, socialist country between the capitalist West and the communist East, ruled for most of 50 years by the Social Democratic party. Some Swedish Americans have applauded the changes that have occurred in modern Sweden, while others have deplored them. During the Vietnam era of the 1960s and 1970s relations between Sweden and the United States were somewhat strained, but the rapport between the two nations has improved significantly since then.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Even though Swedish Americans represent only a small fraction of the total American population, many have made notable contributions to American life and culture.

BUSINESS

Many Swedish Americans have made names for themselves in American business. Eric Wickman (1887-1954) founded Greyhound Corporation and built it into a national enterprise. Charles R. Walgreen (1873-1939) started the national chain of drugstores, and Curtis Carlson parlayed business and service sectors into the Carlson Companies, which operates hotels (Marriot), restaurants, and travel agencies. John W. Nordstrom of Seattle founded the department store chain that bears his name. Some Swedish Americans rose through the ranks to become leaders in American industry, including Eric Mattson (Midland National Bank), Robert O. Anderson (Atlantic Richfield), Rudolph Peterson (Bank of America), Philip G. Johnson (Boeing), and Rand V. Araskog (ITT).

EXPLORATION

One of the best known of all Swedish Americans is the aviator Charles Lindbergh, Jr. (1902-1974); his father and namesake was a congressman and politician, but the younger Lindbergh is known for the first solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927; a national hero, Lindbergh served as a civilian employee of the War Department. Another famous explorer was Edwin (Buzz) Aldrin (1930–), the Apollo 11 astronaut who in 1969 was the second person to step on the moon.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

The most famous Swedish immigrant in this field was Greta Garbo (1905-1990) who was born in

Sweden and came to the United States in 1925; enigmatic, Garbo made 24 films in the United States, after which she abruptly retired and sought seclusion from public view. Other Swedish American actresses have included Viveca Lindfors, Ann-Margaret (Olson), Gloria Swanson, and Candace Bergen—the daughter of Edgar Bergen (1903-1978), well known for his ventriloquism on television. Other Swedish American actors have included Werner Oland and Richard Widmark.

LITERATURE

Although Swedish Americans produced a vast quantity of written literature, some of it was written in Swedish and is unknown outside the immigrant community. With the coming of the second and third generations, however, Swedish Americans have produced a number of writers in English who have earned national reputations. The most famous of these authors was Carl Sandberg (1878-1967), who produced nationally known poetry and novels, but whose most famous work is his four-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln, a work which won Sandberg a Pulitzer prize. Another contemporary Swedish American writer is Nelson Algren (1909-1981), who has written extensively about the hard realities of urban and working class life.

MUSIC

The most famous Swedish American composer is Howard Hanson (1896-1981) who grew up in the immigrant community of Wahoo, Nebraska; for many years Hanson was director of the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, and he is one of the best known twentieth-century American composers of serious classical music. A number of immigrants from Sweden have become important singers of classical music and opera. Best known of all of was Jenny Lind (1820-1887), referred to as the “Swedish Nightingale,” she was already famous in Europe when P. T. Barnum brought her to America in 1850 for the first of over 90 concerts in three years; Lind took America by storm; eventually she returned to Europe, but gave generously in support of charities within the Swedish American community. Following Lind to America were such singers as Christiana Nilsson, lyric tenor Jussi Björling, and soprano Birgit Nilsson.

SCIENCE

Many Swedish Americans have become distinguished in the field of science, especially in chem-

istry and physics. Carl David Anderson (1905–) won a Nobel prize in Physics for his discovery of positronic particles. Another Nobel prize winner is Glenn Seaborg (1912–), who in 1951 won in chemistry for his work with transuranium elements.

VISUAL ARTS

The most widely known Swedish American painter is Birger Sandzén (1871-1945), who lived and worked in the rolling prairies of central Kansas around Lindsborg; his works are found in many museums in Europe and America. A more recent artist, known for his “Pop” art, is Claes Oldenburg (1929–). Other notable artists have included Henry Mattson, John F. Carlson, and Bror Julius Nordfeldt. In sculpture, the best known Swedish American is Carl Milles (1875-1955), who has achieved international fame for his work, especially for his outdoor sculpture; Milles studied with August Rodin in Paris, and went on to be artist-in-residence at Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan.

MEDIA

PRINT

Norden News.

Newspaper in Finnish and Swedish.

Contact: Erik R. Hermans, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 2143, New York, New York 10185-0018.

Telephone: (212) 753-0880.

Fax: (212) 944-0763.

Nordenstjernen Svea.

Established in 1872, this weekly is one of the few remaining Swedish American newspapers, printed in English and Swedish.

Contact: Alvalene Karlsson, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 4587, New York, New York 10163-4587.

Telephone: (212) 490-3900.

Fax: (212) 490-5979.

E-mail: ed@nordstjerman.com.

Svenska Amerikanaren Tribunen.

Established in 1876, this newspaper is published in Swedish and English.

Contact: Jane Hendricks, Editor.

Address: 10921 Paramount Boulevard, Downey, California 90241.

Sweden and America.

Published by the Swedish Council of America, this quarterly contains general news and articles about Swedish Americans and about developments in Sweden, and is the most widely circulated periodical about Swedish Americans.

Contact: Teresa Scalzo, Editor.

Address: 2600 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407.

Telephone: (612) 871-0593.

Fax: (612) 871-8682.

Swedish-American Genealogist.

This quarterly is published by the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center and contains articles on genealogical research, local and family history.

Contact: Dr. James E. Erickson, Editor.

Address: 7008 Bristol Boulevard, Edina, Minnesota 55435-4108.

Telephone: (309) 794-7204.

E-mail: j.erickson@nr.cc.mn.us.

Swedish-American Historical Quarterly.

Published by the Swedish-American Historical Society, this periodical contains articles on the history and culture of Swedish Americans.

Contact: Byron Nordstrom, Editor.

Address: Gustav Adolphus College, Department of History, St. Peter, Minnesota 56082.

Telephone: (507) 933-7435.

Fax: (507) 933-7041.

Vestkusten.

Ethnic newspaper in Swedish and English.

Contact: Bridget Stromberg-Brink, Managing Editor.

Address: 237 Ricardo Road, Mill Valley, California 94941-2517.

Telephone: (415) 381-5149.

Fax: (415) 381-9664.

E-mail: vestkust@well.com.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Swedish Historical Foundation.

Founded in 1926, this group maintains a museum, library, and archives on Swedish American culture and history, and sponsors exchange programs and cultural events. It also publishes an annual *Yearbook*, and other occasional publications.

Contact: Birgitta W. Davis, Acting Director.

Address: 1900 Pattison Avenue, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19145-5901.
Telephone: (215) 389-1776.
Fax: (215) 389-7701.
E-mail: ashm@libertynet.org.
Online: <http://www.libertynet.org/ashm/>.

American Swedish Institute.

Founded in 1929, the American Swedish Institute seeks to preserve the Swedish cultural heritage in America. The institute, housed in the mansion of a former Swedish American journalist, offers classes, activities, exhibits, concerts and workshops, along with a library and archives.

Contact: Bruce N. Karlstadt, Director.
Address: 2600 Park Avenue, Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55407.
Telephone: (612) 871-4907.
Fax: (612) 871-8682.
Online: <http://www.americanswedishinst.org/>.

Swedish-American Historical Society.

Founded in 1950, the society is dedicated to the preservation and documentation of the heritage of Swedish Americans. Publishes a quarterly journal, *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* and *Pioneer Newsletter* as well as books in this area.

Contact: Timothy J. Johnson.
Address: 5125 North Spaulding Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60625.
Telephone: (773) 583-5722.
E-mail: kanderson3@northpark.edu.

Swedish Council of America.

Formed in 1973, the Swedish Council of America is a cooperative agency that coordinates the efforts of over 100 different Swedish American historical, cultural, and fraternal organizations. The Swedish Council publishes a monthly magazine called *Sweden and America*, which is a useful forum for current Swedish American activities.

Contact: Roger Baumann, Exec.Dir.
Address: 2600 Park Avenue, Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55407.
Telephone: (612) 871-0593.
Fax: (612) 871-8682.
E-mail: swedcoun@swedishcouncil.org.
Online: <http://www.swedishcouncil.org/>.

United Swedish Societies/Svenska Central Forbundet.

Federation of 50 Swedish American organizations.
Contact: Harry Hedin, President.

Address: 20 Bristol Avenue, Staten Island,
New York 10301.
Telephone: (718) 442-1096.
Fax: (718) 442-5376.

Vasa Order of America.

Founded in 1896, it is the largest Swedish American fraternal organization in America with over 31,000 members in 326 lodges nationwide.

Contact: Gladys Birtwistle.
Address: 43 Holden Street, Warwick,
Rhode Island 02889.
Telephone: (401) 739-3530.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Swedish Historical Museum.

This museum collects and displays artifacts and documents of Swedish Americans to preserve the Swedish American culture. The building is modeled after a seventeenth-century Swedish manor house.

Contact: Birgitta W. Davis, Acting Director.
Address: 1900 Pattison Avenue, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19145-5901.
Telephone: (215) 389-1776.
Fax: (215) 389-7701.
E-Mail: ashm@libertynet.org.
Online: <http://www.libertynet.org/ashm>.

American Swedish Institute Museum.

This museum provides exhibits and activities for and about Swedish Americans, including displays of the Institute's collections, as well as traveling exhibits.

Contact: Bruce Karlstadt, Director.
Address: 2600 Park Avenue, Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55407.
Telephone: (612) 871-4907.
Fax: (612) 871-8682.
Online: <http://www.americanswedishinst.org>.

Augustana Historical Society.

Preservation of both literary and non-literary materials relating to Swedish immigration to the United States, the history of Augustana College and its relation to the Lutheran Church, and cultural exchange between the campus and Sweden.

Address: Augustana College Library, 639 Thirty-
Eighth Street, Rock Island, Illinois 61201.
Contact: Harold Sundelius, President.
Telephone: (309) 794-7317.
Fax: (309) 794-7230.

Bishop Hill.

Located in Western Illinois, this is a fully preserved folk museum, dedicated to preserving the life of the pioneer Swedish immigrants in America. Founded in 1846, Bishop Hill was the home of a religious communal settlement organized by Erik Jansson; though the communal settlement collapsed after Jansson's death, a community remained. In the twentieth century the Bishop Hill Heritage Association began restoring the settlement to its original condition.

Contact: Morris Nelson, President.

Address: P.O. Box 1853, Bishop Hill, Illinois 61419-0092.

Telephone: (309) 927-3899.

Fax: (309) 927-3010.

Swedish American Museum Center of Chicago.

Located in Andersonville, an area of historical immigrant settlement, this museum collects and displays artifacts and documents of Swedish immigration, maintains an archives, and sponsors special exhibits and activities.

Contact: Kerstin Lane, Executive Director.

Address: 5211 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

Telephone: (312) 728-8111.

Swenson Immigrant Research Center.

Situated on the campus of Augustana College, this center has a large collection of historical documents, records, and artifacts on Swedish Americans in the country. The Swenson center is especially good for genealogical and historical study.

Contact: Dag Blanck, Director.

Address: Augustana College, Box 175, Rock Island, Illinois 61201.

Telephone: (309) 794-7204.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

American-Swedish Handbook, eleventh edition, edited by Christopher Olsson and Ruth McLaughlin. Minneapolis: Swedish Council of America, 1992.

Barton, H. Arnold. *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840-1940*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.

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Hasselmo, Nils. *Swedish America: An Introduction*. Minneapolis: Brings Press, 1976.

Kastrup, Allan. *The Swedish Heritage in America*. St. Paul, Minnesota: Swedish Council of America, 1975.

Letters from the Promised Land: Swedes in America, 1840-1914, edited by H. Arnold Barton. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975.

Ljungmark, Lars. *Swedish Exodus*, translated by Kermit Westerberg. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979.

Scott, Franklin. *Sweden: The Nation's History*, revised edition. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988.

Scott, Larry E. *The Swedish Texans*. University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1990.

Swedish Life in American Cities, edited by Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom. Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, 1991.

Since the Swiss
came from western
Europe's oldest
democracy and
have forged a
national unity out
of ethnically diverse
constituencies, they
find American
culture compatible
with their own.

S W I S S

by
Leo Schelbert

A M E R I C A N S

OVERVIEW

Switzerland lies in the central part of the Alps, a 500-mile-long European mountain range, which stretches westward from France's Riviera into what was northern Yugoslavia. Four main passes (Grimsel, Furka, St. Gotthard, and Oberalp) allow passage from Northern Europe across the Alps to Italy, making Switzerland a country of transit. The country covers 15,941 square miles and borders Germany to the north, France to the west, Italy to the south, and Austria and the Principality of Liechtenstein to the east. The Swiss nation is a confederation of 26 member states called cantons, and the nation's capital is Bern, a city that began about 1160 and was officially founded in 1191. The national flag consists of a square red field with a white equilateral cross at its center.

In 1992 Switzerland counted 6.9 million inhabitants, including one million foreign nationals. The country is ethnically diverse, indicated by its four language groups. Religiously the Swiss people are nearly evenly divided between Catholics and Swiss Reformed, but there are also small groups of other Christian denominations and other faiths.

HISTORY

The Swiss Confederation emerged in the late thirteenth century from an alliance of three regions: the modern-day cantons Uri, Schwyz, and Unter-

walden. The so-called *Bundesbrief* of 1291 documents their alliance. In it the three regions pledge mutual support to keep internal order and to resist aggression. The Confederation grew by wars of conquest and by alliances arranged with important towns located at the access routes of the passes to Italy, such as Luzern, Zürich, and Bern. By 1513, 13 cantons had united the rural population with the urban elite of artisans and entrepreneurs. Both groups were intent on gaining and preserving independence from the nobility, a unique development in European history. The Confederation's defeat at the battle of Marignano in upper Italy in 1515 ended the nation's expansion. This loss led to the gradual emergence of armed neutrality, a basic feature of Switzerland's political tradition. However, the Reformation split the people into Catholic and Swiss Reformed hostile camps and nearly destroyed the Confederation.

MODERN ERA

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries increasingly smaller oligarchies came to power in the Swiss cantons but were overthrown in 1798 in the wake of the French Revolution. In 1848, after five decades of foreign intervention and internal uncertainty, a new constitution was adopted. The previous system of autonomous states became one federal state, though the people remain the actual sovereign. The Swiss are called upon to vote on numerous issues several times a year. This process occurs either by constitutional requirement or more often by initiative and referendum which, given a sufficient number of signatories, force the government to submit issues to the popular vote. The executive branch, called *Bundesrat*, consists of seven members chosen by Parliament and acts as a unit. The presidency is an honorary position and rotates annually. The legislative power rests with citizens of voting age and with a Parliament, divided into a Council of States (*Ständerat*) and a National Council (*Nationalrat*). In addition, the cantons and over 3,000 communes (*Gemeinden*) have preserved their autonomy and decide numerous issues by popular vote. The Swiss are involved in political decision-making throughout the year on the local, cantonal, and federal level.

Neutrality in foreign affairs and universal military service of men are considered central to the Swiss political tradition, which may have kept the country out of two devastating world wars. Switzerland's economy, however, is fully dependent on the export of quality products and on special expertise in finance as well as the production of machinery, pharmaceuticals, watches, and precision instruments.

SWISS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

The first known Swiss in what is now the territory of the United States was Theobald von Erlach (1541-1565). In 1564 he was a leading member of a French attempt to create a permanent foothold in North America. He perished when some 900 French soldiers were shipwrecked by a hurricane in September 1565, and killed by the Spanish. Some "Switzers" also lived at Jamestown during the regime of Captain Smith. In 1657 the French Swiss Jean Gignilliat received a large land grant from the proprietors of South Carolina. In 1710 some 100 Swiss joined Christoph von Graffenried (1661-1743) who founded New Bern in present-day North Carolina.

Between 1710 and 1750, some 25,000 Swiss are estimated to have settled in British North America, especially in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. Many were members of the Reformed church and were actively recruited by entrepreneurs such as Jean Pierre Purry (1675-1736), the founder of Purrysburg, South Carolina. About 4,000 Swiss Mennonites settled in Pennsylvania, many of whom had first gone to the Palatinate from which the next generation emigrated in search of fertile, affordable land and greater toleration of their creed.

In the late 1750s an influential group of French Swiss officers in the British service assumed leadership roles in the fight against indigenous peoples resisting white incursions into the trans-Appalachian West, the French, and the insurgent colonials. In the middle decades of the eighteenth century a group of Swiss Jesuits labored in the Southwest of the present United States to promote the northward expansion of New Spain.

SWISS IMMIGRATION 1820 TO 1930

Between 1798 and 1850, about 100,000 Swiss went abroad (the proportions between temporary and permanent migrations cannot be determined) and some 50,000 foreigners located in Switzerland. Between 1850 and 1914 those leaving the Confederation numbered about 410,000, those entering it from abroad about 409,000. Those leaving were attracted by the newly conquered lands taken from indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, and in the Western Hemisphere by expanding neo-European nations such as Argentina, Brazil, or the United States. The emigrants seem to have been rooted in the lure of faraway lands or in the desire to escape parental control, intolerable marriages, or oppressive village traditions.

Between 1820 and 1930, some 290,000 people went from Switzerland to the United States. About

12,500 arrived between 1820 and 1850; some 76,500 between 1851 and 1880; and some 82,000 in the 1880s. Between 1891 and 1920, about 89,000 arrived and nearly 30,000 in the 1920s. No reliable figures exist for Swiss return migration, but it was numerically substantial. For instance, nearly 7,000 of the more than 8,200 Swiss of military service age who had gone to the United States returned to Switzerland between 1926 and 1930.

“My mother had to try and keep track of us. She finally took us and tied us all together so that we would stay together. And that’s the way we came off the boat.”

Gertrude Schneider Smith, 1921, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

In the first half of the nineteenth century large numbers of Swiss settled in the rural Midwest, especially in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and after 1848 in California. Some 40 percent of Swiss went to urban areas such as New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. In 1920, for instance, New York counted 9,233 Swiss, Chicago 3,452, San Francisco 2,105, and Philadelphia 1,889. As to states, in 1930 California numbered 20,063 Swiss, New York 16,571, New Jersey 8,765, and Wisconsin, Ohio, and Illinois some 7,000 each.

The socio-economic status of newcomers from Switzerland spanned the spectrum from well-to-do to the poor. A sample analysis from 1915 of 5,000 Swiss men in the United States yielded the following distribution: a third belonged to the lower income and status groups; approximately 44 percent were solidly middle class; and about 22 percent were well situated.

NINETEENTH CENTURY SETTLEMENTS

In 1804 a special grant of Congress enabled a group of French Swiss winegrowers to settle on the Ohio and establish the town of Vevay, Indiana. This viticulture, which they had hoped to introduce as a permanent feature into the Midwestern economy, became insignificant by mid-century and was replaced by the cultivation of maize and other staples. In 1817 and 1825 Swiss Mennonites founded the agricultural settlements Sonnenberg and Chippewa in Ohio, respectively, and in 1838 Berne, Indiana; the latter remains conscious of its Swiss origin. By the efforts of the Köpfli and Sup-

piger families the town of Highland emerged in southern Illinois in 1831 and eventually attracted some 1,500 Swiss settlers. In the same decade John August Sutter (1803-1880) established New Helvetia in California, then still under Mexican sovereignty. When gold was discovered on his property in 1848, thousands of goldseekers overran his extensive domain, and the city of Sacramento was platted, and became California’s capital in 1854.

In 1825 several Swiss, who had joined Lord Selkirk’s Red River colony in Canada in 1821, settled at Gratiot’s Grove northeast of Galena, Illinois. In 1845 New Glarus was founded in southern Wisconsin’s Green County, today the best known settlement of Swiss origin. Numerous Swiss also settled in the towns of Monroe, Washington, and Mount Pleasant. In 1848 Bernese Swiss established Alma on the Mississippi, which counted some 900 Swiss in 1870. A French Swiss group connected with the Protestant Plymouth Brethren established a community in Knoxville, Tennessee, in the same year.

In the spring of 1856 a group of Swiss and Germans established a Swiss Colonization Society in Cincinnati, Ohio, to create a culturally homogeneous settlement. After an extensive search Tell City was laid out in 1858 on the Ohio River in Perry County, Indiana. In the post-Civil War era Helvetia was founded in West Virginia in 1867 as a result of active recruitment by that state. In the 1880s Peter Staub (1827-1904) initiated the settlement of Grütli in Grundy County, Tennessee. During the same decade 1,000 Swiss who had converted to Mormonism went to Utah and settled mainly at Midway near Salt Lake City and at St. George on Utah’s southwestern border. Between 1870 and 1914 several thousand Italian Swiss went to California where they established vineyards and dairy farms.

IMMIGRATION SINCE 1930

The Great Depression and World War II diminished Swiss immigration. Between 1931 and 1960 some 23,700 Swiss arrived, and 29,100 between 1961 and 1990. Many of these Swiss did not stay permanently. They were mainly professionals and business people employed in American branches of Swiss firms. The 1980 census counted 235,355 people of single, and 746,188 of multiple Swiss ancestry. In 1990 there was a total of 607,833 persons of Swiss ancestry of whom 35,900 (5.9 percent) were Swiss-born, and of these 57.6 percent were naturalized.



Ida Zahler and her 11 children immigrated to the United States from Switzerland in 1926. They later joined their father in North Canton, Ohio.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Although Swiss in the United States are often mistaken for German, French, or Italian, their involvement in American life has been quite extensive. Since the Swiss came from western Europe's oldest democracy and have forged a national unity out of ethnically diverse constituencies, they find American culture compatible with their own. For instance, when John J. Zubly, a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, published the widely distributed pamphlet *The Law of Liberty* in 1775, he appended "A Short and Concise Account of the Struggles of Switzerland for Liberty" to it. He paralleled the Swiss with American colonials, the Austrian emperor with the British king, and viewed their struggle as the same quest for liberty.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, BELIEFS

Although Switzerland is a highly industrialized country with a powerful financial and industrial elite involved in global markets, Swiss culture remains identified with an idealized rural tradition. In New Glarus, a major tourist attraction in southern Wisconsin, a William Tell and Heidi festival is held each year. The chalet, a house style of rural origin, remains identified with the Swiss, although it is common only in certain Swiss regions.

Yodeling and the Alphorn, again native only to some rural Swiss regions, continue to serve as

emblems of Swiss culture as do the various *Trachten*—colorful and often beautifully crafted garb for women and men. *Trachten* originate in distinct regions, but tend to become fused into a blended version, sometimes mixed with Tyrolian or Bavarian motifs. The so-called Swiss barn is also widely found in Pennsylvania and some midwestern states. It is built into an incline with a large entrance to the hayloft on an upper level and the entrances to the stables on the opposite lower level. The dominance of rural motifs in Swiss American culture points to a central feature of Swiss self-interpretation: Switzerland's origins are shaped by the traditions of rural communities. Their emblems symbolize Swiss culture however far removed they might be from modern day Swiss and Swiss American reality.

CUISINE

Predictably, Swiss cuisine varies according to ethnic influences. Another historic division is equally telling, however: that between country and city. Thus, two dishes eaten today by all Swiss are the simple cheese fondue, eaten for centuries by Swiss in rural regions, and veal with a sauce of white wine and cream, formerly enjoyed by city dwellers. Cheese, however, is popular in almost any form. As for other regional cuisine, German areas favor pork, often accompanied by *rosti*, a dish of diced potatoes mixed with herbs, bacon, or cheese, and fried to a golden brown.

HEALTH ISSUES

Swiss Americans follow general trends in Western medicine and health care. People in rural areas have remained connected with healing traditions based on telepathic methods and herbs and herbal ointments. In mental health the influence of Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) has been significant. Jung viewed mental problems as soluble in part by a skillful evocation of symbols shared by all in a postulated collective subconscious that transcends cultural boundaries. Numerous Jung Institutes of the United States promote Jungian ideas, which also have influenced American literary scholarship.

LANGUAGE

Some 73 percent of Swiss speak High German and in everyday life forms of various Low German dialects, *Schwyzerdütsch* (Swiss-German); 20 percent speak French and several regional dialects (five percent Italian, and one percent Romansh, which is divided into three groups called *Rhaeto-Romantsch*, *Oberhalbsteinisch*, and *Ladin*). Most Swiss learn as their first language a regional and older form of German, French, or Italian, which remains the principal form of communication. Since the establishment of formal schooling, however, Swiss children learn a new, yet related, language such as High German, standard French or standard Italian. The children of the Romansh region learn German or French. To enter a different linguistic world was, therefore, for most Swiss immigrants not a new experience, and they mastered multiculturalism with relative ease.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Depending on their local origin Swiss greet each other in many forms. Widespread among German Swiss is *Grüezi* (“groitsee”) or *Grüezi wohl*, derived from [*Ich*] *grüsse dich*—I greet you; also the French-derived *Salü* (“saly”) and *Tschau* from the Italian *Ciao*, used both when first meeting and at its conclusion. In Raetoromantsch people say *Bien Dì* (“biandee”)—Good day; on parting the French Swiss will use the form *a reve* for the standard French *au revoir* and the German Swiss *uf wiederlüge* (“oof weederlooaga”)—See you. In German-speaking rural Switzerland the standard form for goodbye is still widespread, *Bhüet di Gott*—May God protect you.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Swiss family life is well-regulated and conservative. Few women hold careers outside the family, and

young people tend to be cooperative and well-behaved. The Swiss American family is indistinguishable from other American families, which have changed from a patriarchal to an egalitarian and child-centered outlook. The Swiss American family is predominantly middle class. According to the 1990 census the median income of Swiss American families was over \$42,000 and only 3.8 percent had an income below the poverty line. Over 40.3 percent of the 153,812 owner-occupied Swiss American housing units were mortgage-free and 46.5 percent had two wage earners in the family.

Swiss Americans recreate organizations they have known at home for mutual support as well as for enjoyment and social contact. They celebrate August 1 as the Swiss national holiday and commemorate important battles of the fifteenth century Swiss struggle for independence with parades, speeches and conviviality. At such events there is yodeling, singing, flag throwing—an artful throwing and catching of a Swiss flag on a short handle high into the air, and sometimes a reading of the *Bundesbrief* of 1291. The festivities also include traditional dishes such as *röschti* (hash browns), and *bratwurst*, in addition to dancing and the playing of folk music on the accordion, clarinet and fiddle.

RELIGION

Swiss immigrants belong to various religions. The first Swiss to arrive in North America in large numbers were the Swiss Mennonites, a group that derived from the Anabaptist communities of the Radical Reformation of the 1520s. They rejected infant baptism, thus declaring the whole of ecclesiastical Christendom as heathen. They also repudiated the state as symbolized by the sword and the oath. The Swiss Mennonite settlements that emerged in Pennsylvania and Virginia in the first half of the eighteenth century were expert in farming, and formed congregations of some 25 to 30 families. Each religious community was semi-autonomous and guided by a bishop and by preachers and deacons who were not specially schooled. The only full members were adults who had proven their faith by a virtuous life, the demands of the community, and accepted baptism as a symbol of submission to God's will. Rules set by the religious leaders ordered the manner of dress, forms of courtship, the schooling of children, and dealings with the outside world. If a member failed to conform, the person would be banned and avoided even by the next of kin. In the late nineteenth century many Mennonite congregations—influenced by the Dutch Mennonites, American Protestantism, and American secular culture—

gave up the older traditions. They moved into towns and took up occupations increasingly removed from farming. Only some conservative Swiss Mennonites and Amish still hold on to the sixteenth-century forms of their creed.

Numerous Swiss immigrants belong to the Swiss Reformed church, as formulated by Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531). He adapted Christian doctrine to the needs of a rising urban bourgeoisie. Municipal power increased, monastic institutions were secularized, and the rule of the urban elites strengthened. Many members of the Swiss Reformed church settled in colonial Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Their views and ecclesiastical organization were similar to those of Presbyterians, with whom they easily merged.

Some 50,000 Swiss Catholics arrived in the United States after the 1820s, including about 20,000 Italian Swiss who settled in California between 1887 and 1938. Depending on their language, Swiss Catholics joined either German, French, Italian, or ethnically undefined American parishes. They found, however, a very different parish organization in the United States that curtailed the Swiss practice of lay jurisdiction over secular affairs.

Several Swiss religious orders were actively engaged in establishing the Catholic church in the United States. In 1842 Franz von Sales Brunner (1795-1859) introduced the Order of the Precious Blood into Ohio. In 1852 monks from the ancient Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln founded St. Meinrad, Indiana, the nucleus of the Swiss Benedictine Congregation of the United States formed in 1881. In 1956 the congregation united some 12 foundations with 645 monks. Benedictine sisters were also deeply involved in promoting Catholic education and charity. Anselma Felber (1843-1883) established a community at Conception, Missouri, which later moved to Clyde. Gertrude Leupi (1825-1904) founded a convent in Maryville, later transferred to Yankton, South Dakota.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

In the eighteenth century Swiss immigrants were mainly farmers and artisans. Like other German-speaking newcomers, their methods of farming differed from those of the English. Mennonite and Amish farmers fenced their properties, built stables for their cattle, sometimes even before their houses, and tilled well-manured fields. By the mid-eighteenth century they also had developed the Con-

estoga wagon, a large, heavily built structure that was suited for the arduous trek across the Alleghenies.

The occupational profile of Swiss immigrants reflected the general trends of Western economies. A statistical analysis for the years 1887 to 1938 counted 42 percent in the industrial work force; 25 percent in agriculture; 6.5 percent in commerce; 4.5 percent in the hotel and restaurant business; and 4.3 percent in the professions. A large percentage of Swiss immigrants also worked as domestics.

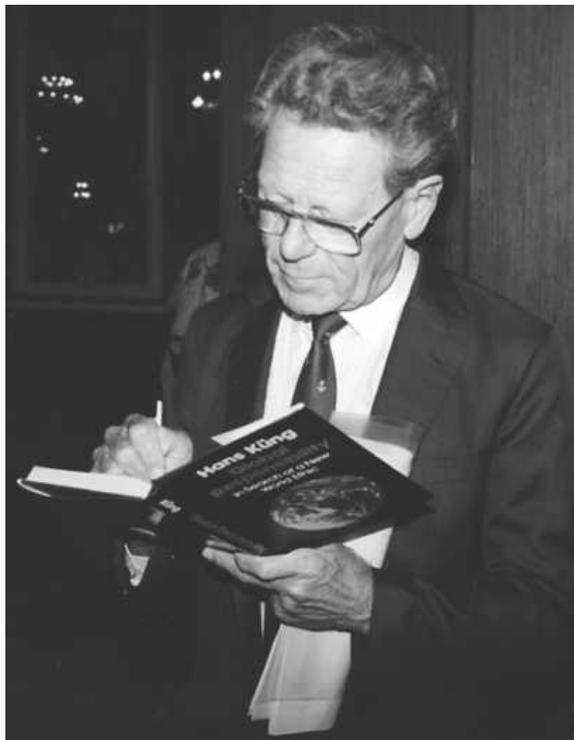
Viticulture was introduced into the Midwest by French Swiss farmers and was also extensively practiced by Italian Swiss from Canton Tessin who went to California in large numbers after the 1870s. Bernese Swiss used their expertise in dairy farming, especially in Wisconsin. Nicolas Gerber (1836-1908), for instance, opened a Limburger cheese factory in New Glarus in 1868, as did Jacob Karlen (1840-1920) in nearby Monroe in 1878. Gottlieb Beller (1850-1902) developed a system of storage that allowed cheese production to remain responsive to fluctuating market demand. Leon de Montreux Chevalley (1854-1926) founded butter, cheese, and condensed milk factories in Portland, Oregon. Jacques Huber (1851-1918) introduced silk manufacturing to New Jersey; by 1900 he had established a firm with plants in Union City, Hackensack, and other cities of the mid-Atlantic states. Albert Wittnauer (1856-1908) used his Swiss training in watchmaking to establish a successful business in New York City.

By 1900 world-renowned firms such as Nestlé had established plants in the United States. The Swiss pharmaceutical companies Ciba-Geigy, Hoffmann-La Roche, and Sandoz emerged in the twentieth century as important forces in the United States economy and diversified their productive activities. Aargauische Portlandcement-Fabrik Holderbank Wildegg, a Swiss cement company, incorporated in 1912 with original seat in Glarus, Switzerland, and introduced superior, cost-efficient cement production into North America and dominates today's cement market.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

In the eighteenth century Geneva was an autonomous city-state, but allied with the Swiss Confederation. The writings of two of its citizens influenced the founders of the United States engaged in creating a new governmental structure. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) expounded the idea that government rested on a social contract.

Theologian Hans Kung signs one of his books during the 1993 Parliament of World Religions in Chicago.



Jean Jacques Burlamaqui (1694-1748) stressed in his *Principles of Natural and Political Law* that a government should guarantee its citizens secure happiness.

The relations between the United States and Switzerland have been generally friendly, but not without tensions. At times outsiders view Swiss neutrality and direct democracy as inefficient; yet Switzerland's neutral stand allows it to represent American interests in nations with which the United States has broken off diplomatic ties.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

The Swiss have had easy access to all aspects of life in the United States, although most did not come to public attention. The selection given below features a few according to field of endeavor.

ARCHITECTURE

William Lescaze (1896-1969), born and educated in Geneva, Switzerland, moved to the United States in 1921 and rose to prominence as a builder of skyscrapers; he also authored several treatises on modern architecture. In bridge-building Othmar Ammann (1879-1965), born in Feuerthalen, Canton Schaffhausen, achieved world renown; after studies in Zurich he went to New York City in 1904 and in 1925 was appointed chief engineer of the Port Authority of New York; he built the George Washington and other suspension bridges noted for innovative engineering and bold and esthetic design.

ARTS

Mari Sandoz (1896-1966), the daughter of Swiss immigrants, published several works of enduring value, among them the biography of her father, titled *Old Jules*, and a biography of Crazy Horse, the noted leader of the Sioux; her works reveal not only an unusual understanding of the world of the white settlers, but also of the mental universe of indigenous peoples such as the Sioux and Cheyenne. Jeremiah Theus (1719-1774) worked in Charleston, South Carolina, as a successful portrait painter. Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834) produced valuable paintings documenting his family's move to Canada's Red River colony in 1821 and to Wisconsin in 1826; his works featuring Native Americans are also highly valued for their accuracy. The same holds for the numerous works of Karl Bodmer (1809-1893) who served for 13 months as pictorial chronicler for the Prince zu Neuwied's journey to the Upper Missouri in 1832. Fritz Glarner (1899-1972), like Bodmer a native of Zurich, began working in New York in 1936 where, influenced by Mondrian, he created works in the style of constructivism.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

At age 19 Lorenzo Delmonico (1813-1881) from Marengo, Canton Tessin, went to New York and opened the Delmonico Hotel in 1843 which popularized continental European cuisine in American cooking.

MEDICINE

Adolf Meyer (1866-1950), born in Niederwenigen, Canton Zurich, was influential in American psychiatry; after studies at European universities he worked in various American psychiatric institutions and insisted on the study of symptoms, on bedside note-taking, the counseling of the families of patients, and their further care after discharge; in 1898 he published a classical work on neurology and after 1910 chaired the department of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins Medical School and also directed the Henry Phipps Clinic. Henry E. Sigerist (1891-1957) taught at Johns Hopkins University from 1932 to 1942, directing its Institute of History and Medicine; he had previously been a professor at the University of Leipzig, Germany, and emerged as a leading historian and as an advocate of socialized medicine.

MILITARY

In the American Revolution John André (1751-1780), born in Geneva, Switzerland, and an officer

in the British army, was captured as a spy in 1780 and hanged by the revolutionaries; the British honored his bravery by a tomb in Westminster Abbey. At the end of the Civil War another Swiss named Henry Wirz (1823-1865) was also hanged for his alleged crimes as commander of the Confederacy's Andersonville Prison where some 12,000 Union soldiers perished; his responsibility for the terrible conditions at Andersonville remains controversial.

MUSIC

Rudolf Ganz (1877-1972), who immigrated to the United States in 1900, became an influential pianist, the conductor of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra from 1921 to 1927, and president of the Chicago Musical College of Roosevelt University from 1933 to 1954. The composer Ernest Bloch (1880-1957) of Geneva, Switzerland, taught and wrote music at various American institutions of the Midwest and the West Coast; among his works the orchestral poems titled *Helvetia*, *America*, and *Israel* intimate his threefold cultural orientation. In film William Wyler (1902-1981), born in Mulhouse, France, of Swiss parents, became one of Hollywood's most respected directors; his *Ben Hur* won an Oscar for him as well as for 11 of his actors. The singer, actor, and television producer Yul Brynner, actually Julius Brynner (1915-1985), was of Swiss and Mongolian descent; he starred in various movies, among them *The King and I*.

POLITICS

In the 1770s John Joachim Zubly (1724-1781) of St. Gallen, Switzerland, emerged as a leading critic of the British; he was an ordained Swiss Reformed minister, a member of the Georgia Provincial Congress, and delegate to the Second Continental Congress; yet he rejected independence and viewed the union between the colonies and Great Britain as sacred and perpetual; on his return to Georgia he was tried and ended his life in obscurity. Albert Gallatin (1761-1849) became successful in the early years of the American republic; he arrived from Geneva in 1780 and eventually moved to western Pennsylvania where he entered politics; he was elected to the state legislature in 1792 but was disbarred by the Federalists; he served instead in the House and emerged as a leader of Jefferson's party; from 1801 to 1813 he served as secretary of the treasury, then as diplomat in France, England, and Russia; after his retirement from politics he became a scholar of Native American languages, co-founded New York University, and was a leading opponent of the War against Mexico in 1847. Another lead-

ing Jeffersonian was William Wirt (1772-1834), the son of Swiss immigrants; he was a noted orator and jurist and served as attorney general of the United States from 1817 to 1829. Emanuel Lorenz Philipp (1861-1925) rose to prominence in Wisconsin politics, which he entered in 1903; he served as governor from 1915 to 1921 and promoted cooperation between farmers, workers, and business.

RELIGION

Michael Schlatter (1716-1790) from St. Gallen, Switzerland, went to Pennsylvania in 1746 and there organized numerous parishes of the Swiss Reformed Church. Johann Martin Henni (1805-1881) became in 1875 the first Catholic archbishop of Milwaukee; he was born in Misanenga, Canton Graubünden, went to the United States in 1828, became vicar general of the diocese of Cincinnati and editor of the *Wahrheitsfreund*, the first Catholic German-language newspaper. Philip Schaff (1819-1893) of Chur, Canton Graubünden, was a major historian of church history at Union Theological Seminary in New York for 25 years; he was a strong advocate of Christian ecumenism, author of numerous scholarly works, and stressed the historical approach to questions of theology.

SCIENCE

Ferdinand Hassler (1770-1843) was born in Aarau, Switzerland, and studied in Jena, Göttingen, and Paris, then accepted an appointment as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at West Point; his 1807 plan for a coastal survey of the United States was begun in 1817 and the precision of Hassler's work makes it still valid today. Louis Rodolphe Agassiz (1807-1873) became internationally known as a scientist and explorer; born in Motier, Canton Fribourg, he studied the natural sciences at various European universities and published a major work on fish and proposed the theory of a previous ice age he went to Boston in 1846, undertook scientific expeditions to South America, and was appointed to the chair of zoology and geology at Harvard University; there he began work on his influential ten-volume *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*; his son Alexander Agassiz (1835-1910) also became a noted natural scientist in his own right. A pioneer in the ethnology and archeology of the American Southwest was Adolphe Bandelier (1840-1914); he was born in Bern, Switzerland, went with his family to Highland, Illinois, in 1848, and returned to Switzerland in 1857 to study geology at the University of Bern; on his return he did extended research in Mexico and the American

Southwest, later also in Bolivia, and authored numerous studies on Native American cultures of those regions.

TECHNOLOGY

Machinist John Heinrich Kruesi (1843-1899), born in Heiden, Canton Appenzell, joined Thomas A. Edison in Newark, New Jersey, in the early 1870s and transformed Edison's ideas into workable instruments; in 1887 he became general manager and chief engineer of the Edison Machine Works in Schenectady. The Swiss Louis Joseph Chevrolet (1878-1941) came to the United States in 1900, became a successful racing car champion, winning the 500-mile Indianapolis race in 1919; in 1911 he co-founded the Chevrolet Motor Car Company in Detroit, but soon left the enterprise; in 1929 he built a workable airplane engine, and later designed a helicopter.

MEDIA

PRINT

Swiss American.

Published by North American Swiss Alliance; explores shared ethnic and bi-cultural interests of the Swiss American community.

Address: 2590 Lakeside Avenue, N.W., Canton, Ohio 44708.

Telephone: (216) 456-1983.

Swiss American Historical Society Review.

Published three times a year with a circulation of 400, this journal offers scholarly and popular articles of Swiss American interest relating to history, literature, genealogy, and personal experience.

Contact: Leo Schelbert, Editor.

Address: 2523 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

Telephone: (708) 328-3514.

Swiss American Review.

Founded in 1860 under the name *Nordamerikanische Schweizerzeitung*, this weekly publication provides material in English, German, French, Italian, and Romansh. It has an estimated circulation of 3,000 and features news from Switzerland as well as the Swiss American communities and organizations of the United States.

Contact: Peter Luthy, Editor-in-Chief

Address: P.O. Box 1943, New York, New York 10156-1943.

Telephone: (212) 808-0505.

Fax: (212) 808-0003.

E-mail: info@goswiss.com

Online: <http://www.goswiss.com>

Swiss Review.

Founded in 1973, this quarterly magazine has a circulation of over 300,000. It publishes regional news from Swiss communities for the Swiss abroad, and has editions in German, French, Italian, English, and Spanish.

Contact: Gertrude Jeffries, U.S. Swiss American Editor.

Address: 1430 Cape Cod Way, Concord, California 94521.

Telephone: (510) 370-3571; or (510) 689-2740.

RADIO

Swiss Radio International.

Broadcasts via Intercontinental Short Wave transmissions daily (UTC—Universal Time): At 3:30 in German, 4:00 in English, 4:30 in French, and 5:00 in Italian; frequencies 6135, 9860, 9885.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American-Swiss Association (ASA).

American and Swiss corporations and individuals interested in maintaining cultural exchange; provides forum for meetings and discussions.

Contact: Anne Yoakam, Executive Director.

Address: 450 Lexington Avenue, Suite 1600, New York, New York 10017-3904.

Telephone: (212) 878-3809.

American-Swiss Foundation.

Involves American and Swiss corporations and individuals interested in maintaining friendship and cultural exchange with Switzerland. Provides a forum for meetings and discussions. Conducts monthly events featuring Swiss and American speakers in New York.

Contact: Eugene Waering, Executive Director.

Address: 232 East 66th Street, New York, New York 10021-6703.

Telephone: (212) 754-0130.

Fax: (212) 754-4512.

North American Swiss Alliance.

Fraternal benefit life insurance society for persons of Swiss birth or ancestry.

Contact: Joan J. Spirko, Secretary-Treasurer.

Address: 7650 Chippewa Road, Room 214,
Brecksville, Ohio 44141

Telephone: (440) 526-2257.

Swiss American Historical Society (SAHS).

Founded in 1927 it is today the only national organization. Formerly located in Chicago, it moved to Madison, Wisconsin, in 1940; it became dormant in the 1950s, but was reactivated in 1963 under the leadership of Heinz K. Meier (1929-1989). It publishes the *SAHS Review* three times a year, holds annual and occasional regional meetings, and supports the SAHS Publication Series with Lang Publishers, New York.

Contact: Prof. Erdmann Schmocker, President.

Address: 6440 North Bosworth Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois 60626.

Telephone: (773) 262-8336.

Fax: (773) 465-5292.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Archives of the Archabbey St. Meinrad.

This collection houses 13 volumes of transcripts of materials located at the Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln, Switzerland, relating to St. Meinrad's founding in 1854. Despite the fire of 1887 that destroyed valuable sources, letters of the founding generation and extensive correspondence with other monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions are preserved and provide insight into the Benedictine dimension of transplanted Swiss Catholicism.

Address: St. Meinrad College and School of
Theology, St. Meinrad, Indiana 47577.

Telephone: (812) 357-6566.

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Dedicated to preserving and documenting the multicultural heritage of the United States, this organization also houses a collection on the Swiss, including papers of the Swiss American Historical Society.

Contact: Ira Glazer, Director.

Address: 18 S Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19106.

Telephone: (215) 925-8090.

Lovejoy Library.

Located at Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville, this library houses the Highland, Koepfli, and Suppiger Collections. The materials highlight the founding and evolution of the Highland settlement, which began in 1831, as well as the Swiss in Illinois. They are complemented by materials at the Madison County Historical Museum, also at Edwardsville, and by the Illinois Historical Survey Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana.

Mennonite Historical Library.

Located at Bluffton College, this library has an extensive collection of works on Swiss Mennonite history, and of Swiss Mennonite and Amish family histories and genealogies.

Contact: Harvey Hiebert, Librarian.

Address: 280 West College Avenue, Bluffton,
Ohio 45817.

Telephone: (419) 358-3272.

New Glarus Historical Village.

This attraction presents artifacts from its early history in several, thematically arranged buildings. An exhibition hall features the town's history and special exhibits of Swiss American interest.

Contact: Bill Hoesly, President.

Address: P.O. Box 745, New Glarus, Wisconsin
53574-0745.

Telephone: (608) 527-2317.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

American Letters: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Accounts of Swiss Immigrants, edited by Leo Schelbert. Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1995.

Basler, Konrad. *The Dorlikon Emigrants: Swiss Settlers and Cultural Founders in the United States*, translated by Laura Villiger. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.

A Frontier Family in Minnesota: Letters of Theodore and Sophie Bost, 1851-1920, edited and translated by H. Ralph Bowen. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981.

Gratz, Delbert L. *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1953.

Kleber, Albert. *History of St. Meinrad Archabbey 1854-1954*. St. Meinrad, Indiana: St. Meinrad Archabbey, 1954.

Schelbert, Leo. "On Becoming an Emigrant: A Structural View of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Swiss Data," *Perspectives in American History*, Volume 7. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973; pp. 440-495.

The United States and Switzerland: Aspects of an Enmeshment; *Yearbook of German American Studies* 1990, Volume 25, edited by Leo Schelbert. Lawrence: University of Kansas for the Society for German American Studies, 1991.

SYRIAN

by
J. Sydney Jones

AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

Modern Syria is an Arab republic of southwest Asia, bordered by Turkey to the north, Iraq to the east and southeast, Jordan to the south, and by Israel and Lebanon to the southwest. A small strip of Syria also lies along the Mediterranean Sea. At 71,500 square miles (185,226 square kilometers), the country is not much larger than the state of Washington.

Officially called the Syrian Arab Republic, the country had an estimated population in 1995 of 14.2 million, primarily Muslim, with some 1.5 million Christians and a few thousand Jews. Ethnically, the country is comprised of an Arab majority with a large number of Kurds as a second ethnic group. Other groups include Armenians, Turkmen, and Assyrians. Arabic is the primary language, but some ethnic groups maintain their languages, especially outside of the urban areas of Aleppo and Damascus, and Kurdish, Armenian, and Turkish are all spoken in various areas.

Only about half of the land can support the population, and half of the population resides in cities. The coastal plains are the most heavily populated, with the cultivated steppe to the east providing wheat for the country. Nomads and semi-nomads live in the huge desert steppe in the far east of the country.

Syria was the name of an ancient territory, a strip of fertile land that lay between the eastern

New arrivals in
America from
Greater Syria ranged
from seekers of
religious freedom to
those who wished
to avoid Turkish
conscription. But
by far the largest
motivator was the
American dream of
personal success.

Mediterranean coast and the desert of Northern Arabia. Indeed, ancient Syria, Greater Syria, or "Suriya," as it was sometimes called, was for most of history synonymous with the Arabian peninsula, encompassing the modern nations of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and Jordan. However, after partition in the First World War and independence in 1946, the country was confined to its present boundaries. This essay deals with immigrants from Greater Syria and the modern state of Syria.

HISTORY

From ancient times, the area that came to be known as Syria had a succession of rulers, including Mesopotamians, Hittites, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks. Pompey brought Roman rule to the region in 63 B.C., making Greater Syria a Roman province. The Christian era brought centuries of unrest until the Islamic invasion of 633-34 A.D. Damascus surrendered to Muslim troops in 635; by 640 the conquest was complete. Four districts, Damascus, Hims, Jordan, and Palestine, were created, and relative peace and prosperity, as well as religious toleration, were the hallmark of the Umayyad line, which ruled the region for a century. The Arabic language permeated the region at this time.

The Abbasid dynasty, centered in Iraq, followed. This line, which ruled from Baghdad, was less tolerant of religious differences. This dynasty disintegrated, and Syria fell under the control of an Egyptian line based in Cairo. The culture flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries, though the Crusaders made European incursions to recapture the Holy Land. Saladin took Damascus in 1174, effectively expelling the Crusaders from their occupied positions, and established centers of learning, as well as built trading centers and a new land system that stimulated economic life.

Mongol invasions during the thirteenth century wracked the region, and in 1401 Tamerlane sacked Aleppo and Damascus. Syria continued to be ruled from Egypt during the fifteenth century by the Mameluk dynasty until 1516, when the Turkish Ottomans defeated Egypt and occupied all of ancient Syria. Ottoman control would last four centuries. The Ottomans created four jurisdictional districts, each ruled by a governor: Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Sidon. Early governors encouraged agriculture by their fiscal system, and cereals as well as cotton and silk were produced for export. Aleppo became an important center for trade with Europe. Italian, French, and English merchants began to settle in the region. Christian communities were

also allowed to flourish, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

By the eighteenth century, however, Ottoman rule was beginning to weaken; Bedouin incursions from the desert increased, and general prosperity and security declined. A brief period of Egyptian domination was again replaced by Ottoman rule in 1840, but tensions were growing between the religious and ethnic groups of the region. With the massacre of Christians by a Muslim mob in Damascus in 1860, Europe began to intervene more in the affairs of the moribund Ottoman Empire, establishing an autonomous district of Lebanon, but leaving Syria for the time under Ottoman control. Meanwhile, French and British influence gained in the region; the population steadily westernized. But Arab-Turk relations worsened, especially after the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Arab nationalists then came to the fore in Syria.

MODERN ERA

In World War I, Syria was turned into a military base of the Ottoman Empire, which fought with the Germans. However, nationalist Arabs, under Faysal, stood along side the British, with the legendary T. E. Lawrence and Allenby. After the war, the region was ruled for a time by Faysal, but a French mandate from the League of Nations set the newly partitioned region under French control until independence could be arranged. In fact, the French had no interest in such independence, and it was only with the World War II that a free Syria was finally established. British and Free French troops occupied the country until 1946, when a Syrian civilian government took over.

There were manifold challenges for such a government, including the reconciliation of a number of religious groups. These included the majority *Sunni* Muslim sect with the two other dominant Muslim groups, the *Alawites*, an extreme *Shi'ite* group, and the *Druzes*, a pre-Muslim sect. There were also Christians, divided into a half dozen sects, and Jews. Additionally, ethnic and economic-cultural differences had to be dealt with, from peasant to westernized urbanite, and from Arab to Kurd and Turk. The colonels took over in 1949 with the failure of a civilian government made up mostly of Sunni landowners. A bloodless coup brought Col. Husni as-Zaim to power, but he was, in turn, soon toppled.

A series of such coups followed, as did an abortive union with Egypt from 1958 to 1961. Increasingly, governing power rested with the Pan Arabist Ba'th Socialists in the military. On March 14, 1971, Gen. Hafiz al-Assad was sworn in as presi-

dent of the titular democracy after seizing power from Col. Salah al-Jadid. Assad has remained in power since that time, enjoying a measure of popularity from nationalists, workers, and peasants for his land reform and economic development. As recently as 1991, Assad was re-elected in a referendum.

Modern Syrian foreign policy has largely been driven by the Arab-Israeli conflict; Syria has suffered several defeats at the hands of the Israelis. The Syrian Golan Heights remains a contentious issue between the two countries. Arab relations were strained by Syria's support of Iran against Iraq in the ten-year Iran-Iraq War; Syrian-Lebanese relations have also proved to be a volatile issue. Syria continues to maintain over 30,000 troops in Lebanon. During the Cold War, Syria was an ally of the USSR, receiving arms aid from that country. But with the fall of Communism, Syria turned more to the West. With the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Syria sent troops to aid in the U.N.-led liberation of Kuwait. During its long reign, the Ba'ath regime has brought order to the country, but largely at the cost of true democratic government; foes of the government are harshly repressed.

THE FIRST SYRIANS IN AMERICA

It is difficult to discuss the time periods and numbers of early Syrian immigration to America because the name "Syria" has meant many things over the centuries. Before 1920, Syria was in fact Greater Syria, a chunk of the Ottoman Empire that stretched from the mountains of southeastern Asia Minor to the Gulf of Aqaba and the Sinai Peninsula. "Syrian" immigrants were therefore as likely to hail from Beirut or Bethlehem as they were from Damascus. A further complication in official records results from past Ottoman rule of the region. Immigrants might have been classified as Turks at Ellis Island if they came from Syria during the Ottoman period. Most often, Syrian-Lebanese are confused with immigrants from the modern state of Syria. However, it is probable that there was little Syrian or Arab immigration in any significant numbers until after 1880. Moreover, a number of immigrants who came during and after the Civil War returned to the Middle East after earning sufficient funds to do so.

Until World War I, a majority of "Syrians" came in fact from the Christian villages around Mount Lebanon. Estimates of the number of early immigrants run between 40,000 and 100,000. According to Philip Hitti, who wrote an authoritative early history titled *The Syrians in America*, almost 90,000 people from Greater Syria arrived in

the United States between 1899-1919. He further noted that at the time of his writing, in 1924, "it is safe to assume that there are at present about 200,000 Syrians, foreign-born and born of Syrian parents, in the United States." It is estimated that between 1900 and 1916, about 1,000 official entries a year came from the districts of Damascus and Aleppo, parts of modern-day Syria, or the Republic of Syria. Most of these early immigrants settled in urban centers of the East, including New York, Boston, and Detroit.

Immigration to the United States occurred for several reasons. New arrivals in America from Greater Syria ranged from seekers of religious freedom to those who wished to avoid Turkish conscription. But by far the largest motivator was the American dream of personal success. Economic improvement was the primary incentive for these early immigrants. Many of the earliest immigrants made money in America, and then returned to their native soil to live. The tales told by these returning men fueled further immigration waves. This, in addition to early settlers in America sending for their relatives, created what is known as *chain immigration*. Moreover, the world fairs of the time — in Philadelphia in 1876, Chicago in 1893, and St. Louis in 1904 — exposed many participants from Greater Syria to the American lifestyle, and many stayed behind after the fairs closed. Some 68 percent of the early immigrants were single males and at least half were illiterate.

Though the number of arrivals was not large, the effect in the villages from which these people emigrated was lasting. Immigration increased, reducing the number of eligible males. The Ottoman government put restrictions on such emigration in effort to keep its populace in Greater Syria. The United States government helped in this effort. In 1924, Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Quota Act, which greatly reduced immigration from the eastern Mediterranean, though by this time, Syrians had migrated to virtually every state of the union. This quota act created a hiatus to further immigration, one that lasted over forty years until the Immigration Act of 1965 opened the doors once again to Arab immigration. Another wave of immigration thus started in the mid-1960s; more than 75 percent of all foreign-born Arab Americans identified on the 1990 census came to this country after 1964. According to that same census, there were about 870,000 people who identified themselves as ethnically Arab. Immigration statistics show 4,600 immigrants from modern Syria arrived in the United States from 1961-70; 13,300 from 1971-80; 17,600 from 1981-90; and 3,000 alone in 1990. Since the 1960s, ten percent of those emigrating

These Syrian
American children
are all from
immigrant families
that settled in New
York's Syrian
Quarter.



from the modern state of Syria have been admitted under the refugee acts.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Syrians have settled in every state, and they continue to concentrate in urban centers. New York City continues to be the largest single draw to new immigrants. The borough of Brooklyn, and in particular the area around Atlantic Avenue, has become a little Syria in America, preserving the look and feel of ethnic business and traditions. Other urban areas with large Syrian populations in the east include Boston, Detroit, and the auto center of Dearborn, Michigan. Some New England as well as upstate New York communities also have large Syrian communities as a result of the peddlers who plied their trade in the region and stayed on to open small mercantile operations. New Orleans has a significant population from the former Greater Syria, as does Toledo, Ohio and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. California received an increasing number of new arrivals since the 1970s, with Los Angeles county becoming the hub of many new immigrant Arab communities, among them a Syrian American community. Houston is a more recent destination for new Syrian immigrants.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Several factors combined to promote the rapid assimilation of early Syrian immigrants. Primary

among these was that instead of congregating in urban ethnic enclaves, many of the first immigrants from Greater Syria took to the road as peddlers, selling their wares up and down the Eastern seaboard. Dealing daily with rural Americans and absorbing the language, customs, and mannerism of their new homeland, these peddlers, intent on making business, tended to blend in rapidly with the American way of life. Service in the military during both World War I and World War II also hastened assimilation, as did, ironically, the negative stereotyping of all immigrants from the eastern Mediterranean and southern Europe. The traditional clothing of the first arrivals made them stand out from other recent immigrants, as did their occupation as peddlers — the very omnipresence, of Syrian immigrants, despite their relatively low numbers vis-a-vis other immigrant groups, led to some xenophobia. New immigrants thus quickly Anglicized their names and, many of them being Christian already, adopted more mainstream American religious denominations.

This assimilation has been so successful that it is challenging to discover the ethnic antecedents of many families who have become completely Americanized. The same is not true, however, for more recent arrivals from the modern state of Syria. Generally better educated, they are also more religiously diverse, with greater numbers of Muslims among them. In general, they are not overeager to give up their Arab identity and be absorbed in the melting pot. This is partly a result of renewed vigor of multiculturalism in America, and partly the result of a different mentality in the recent arrival.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Family is at the heart of Syrian tradition and belief systems. An old saying has it that “myself and my brother against my cousin; myself and my cousin against the stranger.” Such strong family ties breed a communal spirit in which the needs of the group are more determinant than those of the individual. In contrast to traditional American society, the Syrian young saw no need to break away from the family in order to establish their own independence.

Honor and status are important in all Arab societies, particularly among men. Honor can be won through financial achievement and the exertion of power, while for those who do not achieve wealth, respect as an honest and sincere man is an essential. The virtues of magnanimity and social graciousness are integral to Syrian life, as ethics reinforced by Islamic codes. The downside to these virtues is, as Alixa Naff pointed out in *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience*, a tendency toward “overstatement, equivocation, intractability, intense emotionalism, and at times, aggressiveness.” Women are to be protected by the man who is head of the household. Such protectiveness was not initially seen as oppressive, but rather as a sign of respect. Oldest sons also play a significant role in this family structure.

Much of this traditional system has unraveled with life in America. The old system of village communal aid often breaks down in the fast-paced world of America, setting families on their own with both parents in the work force. The fabric of the tightly knit family has definitely loosened in an environment which encourages so much individual achievement and personal freedom. As a result, much of the sense of family honor and the fear of family shame, social mechanisms at work in Syria itself, have diminished among immigrants in America.

CUISINE

It is difficult to separate specifically Syrian foods from those made popular by the Greater Syrian population. Such standard fare in America as pita bread and crushed chick pea or eggplant spreads, *hommos* and *baba ganouj*, both come from the former Syrian heartland. The popular salad, *tabouli*, is also a Greater Syrian product. Other typical foods include cheeses and yogurts, and many of the fruits and vegetables common to the eastern Mediterranean, including pickles, hot peppers, olives, and pistachios. While pork is forbidden to followers of Islam, other meats such as lamb and chicken are staples. Much of Syrian food is highly spiced and dates and figs are employed in ways not usually found in typi-

cal American food. Stuffed zucchini, grape leaves, and cabbage leaves are common dishes. A popular sweet is *baqlawa*, found all over the eastern Mediterranean, made from *filo* dough filled with walnut paste and drizzled with sugar syrup.

MUSIC

Arabic or Middle Eastern music is a living tradition that spans some 13 centuries. Its three main divisions are classical, religious, and folk, the last of which has been expanded in modern times into a newer pop tradition. Central to all music from Syria and Arab countries are monophony and heterophony, vocal flourishes, subtle intonation, rich improvisation, and the Arab scales, so different from those of Western tradition. It is these characteristics which give Middle Eastern music its distinctive, exotic sound, at least to Western ears.

“In the first place, I wasn’t learning the language. To spare me embarrassment as well as to expedite conversation between us, my Syrian friends were speaking to me in my own tongue. In the packing plant it was no better, for most of the workers around me were foreigners like myself. When they talked to each other they used their own language; when they talked to me they used profanity.”

Salom Rizk, *Syrian Yankee*, (Doubleday & Company, Garden City, NY, 1943).

Maqam, or melodic modes, are basic to music of the classical genre. There are set intervals, cadences, and even final tones to these modes. Additionally, classical Arabic music uses rhythmic modes similar to medieval Western music, with short units that come from poetic measurements. Islamic music relies heavily on chanting from the Koran and has similarities to Gregorian chant. While classical and religious music have regular characteristics throughout a vast amount of land and culture, Arabic folk music reflects individual cultures Druze, Kurdish, and Bedouin, for example.

Musical instruments used in classical music are primarily stringed, with the *ud*, a short-necked instrument similar to the lute, being the most typical. The spike-fiddle, or *rabab*, is another important stringed instrument that is bowed, while the *qanun* resembles a zither. For folk music, the most common instrument is the long-necked lute or *tanbur*. Drums are also a common accompanying instrument in this vital musical tradition.

This Syrian American man is a food peddler in New York City's Syrian Quarter.



TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional clothing such as *shirwal*, which are baggy black pants, are reserved exclusively for ethnic dance performers. Traditional dress is almost completely a thing of the past for Syrian Americans, as well as native Syrians. Western dress is typical now both in Syria and the United States. Some Muslim women wear the traditional *hijab* in public. This can consist of a long-sleeved coat, as well as a white scarf that covers the hair. For some, the scarf alone is sufficient, derived from Muslim teaching that one should be modest.

HOLIDAYS

Both Christian and Muslim Syrian Americans celebrate a variety of religious holidays. Adherents of Islam celebrate three main holidays: the 30-day period of fasting during the daytime hours known as *Ramadan*; the five days marking the end of Ramadan, known as *'Eid al-Fitr*; and *Eid al-Adha*, "The Feast of Sacrifice." Ramadan, held during the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, is a time, similar to the Christ-

ian lent, in which self-discipline and moderation are employed for physical and spiritual cleansing. The end of Ramadan is marked by *'Eid al-Fitr*, something of a cross between Christmas and Thanksgiving, an ebullient festival time for Arabs. The Feast of Sacrifice, on the other hand, commemorates the intervention of the Angel Gabriel in the sacrifice of Ishmael. According to the *Koran*, or *Quran*, the Muslim holy book, God asked Abraham to sacrifice his son Ishmael, but Gabriel intervened at the last moment, substituting a lamb for the boy. This holiday is held in conjunction with the Pilgrimage to Mecca, an obligation for practicing Muslims.

Saints' days are celebrated by Christian Syrians, as are Christmas and Easter; however, the Orthodox Easter falls on a different Sunday than the Western Easter. Increasingly, Arab Muslims are also celebrating Christmas, not as a religious holiday, but as a time for families to get together and exchange gifts. Some even decorate a Christmas tree and put up other Christmas decorations. Syria's independence day, April 17, is little celebrated in America.

HEALTH ISSUES

No medical conditions are specific to Syrian Americans. There are, however, incidences of higher-than-average rates of anemia as well as lactose intolerance in this population. Early Syrian immigrants were often turned back by immigration officials because of trachoma, a disease of the eye particularly prevalent in Greater Syria of the day. It has been pointed out, also, that Syrian Americans tend to rely on solving psychological problems within the family itself. And while Arab medical doctors are common, Arab American psychologists and psychiatrists are more difficult to find.

LANGUAGE

Syrians are Arabic speakers who have their own dialect of the formal language, one that separates them as a group from other Arab-speaking peoples. Sub-dialects can be found their dialect, depending on the place of origin; for example Aleppo and Damascus each has a distinctive sub-dialect with accent and idiomatic peculiarities unique to the region. For the most part, dialect speakers can be understood by others, especially those closely related to the Syrian dialect such as Lebanese, Jordanian, and Palestinian.

There was once a rich profusion of Arab newspapers and magazines in the United States. However, the rush to assimilate, as well as the decreased number of new immigrants because of quotas led to the decline of such publications and of spoken Arabic. Parents did not teach their children the language and thus, their linguistic traditions were lost within a few generations in America. Among newer immigrants, however, language traditions are stronger. Arabic classes for young children are once again common, as well as Arabic church services held in some churches and sight of Arabic in commercial signs advertising Arab businesses.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Syrian greetings often come in triplets with response and counter-response. The most typical greeting is the casual, Hello, *Marhaba*, which elicits the response *Ahlen*—Welcome, or *Marhabteen*, Two hellos. This can earn the counter-response of *Maraahib*, or Several hellos. The morning greeting is *Sabaah al-kehir*, The morning is good, followed by *Sabaah an-noor*—The morning is light. The evening greeting is *Masa al-kheir* responded to with *Masa n-noor*. Greetings understood throughout the Arabic world are *Asalam 'a laykum* —Peace be with you—

followed by *Wa 'a laykum asalaam*—Peace be upon you, too.

The formal introduction is *Ahlein* or *Ahlan was Sahlan*, while a popular toast is *Sahteen* May your health increase. How are you? is *Keif haalak?*; this is often responded to with *Nushkar Allah*—We thank God. There are also elaborate linguistic differentiations made for gender and for salutations made to a group, as opposed to an individual.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

As has been noted, Syrian American families are generally closely-knit, patriarchal units. Nuclear families in America have largely replaced the extended family of the Syrian homeland. Formerly, the oldest son held a special position in the family: he would bring his bride to his parents' house, raise his children there, and care for his parents in their old age. Like much else about traditional Syrian life styles, this custom has also broken down over time in America. Increasingly, men and women share a more equal role in Syrian American households, with the wife often out in the workplace and the husband also taking a more active role in child rearing.

EDUCATION

A tradition of higher education was already in place with many immigrants of the old Greater Syria, especially those from the area around Beirut. This was in part due to the preponderance of many Western religious institutions established there from the late nineteenth century onward. Americans, Russians, French, and British operated these establishments. Immigrants from Damascus and Aleppo in Syria were also accustomed to institutions of higher education, though generally the more rural the immigrant, the less emphasis was placed on his or her education in the early Syrian American community.

Over time, the attitude of the Syrian community has paralleled that of America as a whole: education is now more important for all the children, not just the males. College and university education is highly prized, and in general it has been shown that Arab Americans are better educated than the average American. The proportion of Arab Americans, for example, who in the 1990 census reported attaining a master's degree or higher, is twice that of the general population. For foreign-born professionals, the sciences are the preferred area of study, with large numbers becoming engineers, pharmacists, and doctors.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Though traditional roles from Syria do break down as the longer families stay in the United States, women are still the heart of the family. They are responsible for the house and raising the children, and may also assist their husbands in business. In this respect, the Syrian American community is different from American families. An independent career for Syrian and Arab women in America is still the exception rather than the norm.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Just as gender roles still hold sway in the work force, so to do the traditional values regarding dating, chastity, and marriage. More conservative Syrian Americans and recent immigrants often practice arranged marriages, including endogamous (within group) ones between cousins, which will benefit the prestige of both families. Courtship is a chaperoned, heavily supervised affair; casual dating, American style, is disapproved of in these more traditional circles.

Among more assimilated Syrian Americans, however, dating is a more relaxed situation and couples themselves make the decision to marry or not, though parental advice weighs heavily. In the Muslim community, dating is allowed only after a ritual engagement. The enactment of a marriage contract, *kitb al-kitab*, sets up a trial period for the couple months or a year in which they get accustomed to one another. The marriage is consummated only after a formal ceremony. Most Syrian Americans tend to marry within their religious community, if not their ethnic community. Thus an Arab Muslim woman, for example, unable to find an Arab Muslim to marry, would be more likely to marry a non-Arab Muslim, such as an Iranian or Pakistani, than a Christian Arab.

Marriage is a solemn vow for Middle Easterners in general; divorce rates for Syrian Americans reflect this and are below the national average. Divorce for reasons of personal unhappiness is still discouraged within the group and family, and though divorce is more common now for assimilated Syrian Americans, the multiple divorce-remarriage pattern of mainstream America is frowned upon.

In general, Syrian American couples tend to have children earlier than Americans, and they tend to have larger families as well. Babies and younger are often coddled, and boys are often given more latitude than are girls. Depending upon the level of assimilation, boys are brought up for careers, while girls are prepared for marriage and child rearing. High school is the upper limit of education for

many girls, while boys are expected to continue their education.

RELIGION

Islam is the predominant religion of Syria, though most of the early emigrants from Greater Syria were Christian. More modern immigration patterns reflect the religious make-up of modern Syria, but the Syrian American community is made up of a hodge-podge of religious groups from Sunni Muslims to Greek Orthodox Christians. Islamic groups are divided into several sects. The Sunnite sect is the largest in Syria, accounting for 75 percent of the population. There are also Alawite Muslims, an extreme sect of the Shi'ites. The third largest Islamic group is the Druzes, a breakaway Muslim sect which has roots in earlier, non-Islamic religions. Many of the early Syrian immigrant peddlers were Druze.

Christian denominations include various branches of Catholicism, mostly of the Eastern rite: Armenian Catholics, Syrian Catholics, Catholic Chaldeans, as well as Latin-rite Roman Catholics, Melkites, and Maronites. Additionally, there are Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Nestorians, and Protestants. The first Syrian churches built in New York between 1890 and 1895 were Melkite, Maronite, and Orthodox.

Religious affiliation in Greater Syria was equivalent to belonging to a nation. The Ottoman developed a so-called millet system, a means of dividing citizens into political entities by religion. Such affiliation, over the centuries, became a second theme of identity, along with family ties, for Syrians. Though all Middle Eastern religions share common values such as charity, hospitality, and respect for authority and age, the individual sects compete with one another. The differences between the various Catholic faiths are not major dogmatic ones; for example, the churches differ in their belief in papal infallibility, and some conduct services in Arabic and Greek, others only in Aramaic.

As noted, the earliest Syrian immigrants were largely Christian. Currently there are 178 churches and missions in America serving the Orthodox. Discussions between Orthodox and Melkite priests are being held for a possible reuniting of the two faiths. Melkite, Maronite, and Orthodox churches confirm and baptize the faithful and use wine-soaked bread for the Eucharist. Often, ceremonies are done in English to serve the assimilated membership. Popular saints for the Maronites are St. Maron and St. Charbel; for the Melkites, St. Basil; and for the Orthodox, St. Nicholas and St. George.

Though some Muslims and Druzes arrived in the early waves of immigration, most have come since 1965. In general, they have found it more difficult to maintain their religious identity in America than have Christian immigrants from the same region. Part of Muslim ritual is praying five times a day. When no mosque is available for worship, small groups get together and rent rooms in commercial districts, where they can hold mid-day prayer.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Naff pointed out in *Becoming American* that if a Syrian immigrant's goal was to gain wealth, peddling was the means to earn it. The writer noted that "90 to 95 percent arrived with the express purpose of peddling notions and dry goods and did so for a period in the immigrant experience." Young men from villages all over Greater Syria immigrated in the late-nineteenth century in hopes of getting rich quick in the relatively lucrative endeavor of door-to-door peddling in America's under-served hinterland. Such work had obvious advantages for immigrants: it took little or no training and investment, a limited vocabulary, and provided instant if meager remuneration. Eager Syrian immigrants were herded into ships and headed off to "Amrika" or "Nay Yark," and many of them ended up in Brazil or Australia as a result of unscrupulous shipping agents.

America at the time was in transition. As few rural families owned carriages, peddlers were a common sight at the turn of the twentieth century. Carrying articles from buttons to suspenders to scissors, such peddlers were the distribution system of many small manufacturers. According to Naff, "These petty roving entrepreneurs, thriving in the age of great capitalistic merchandising, seemed like something suspended in a time warp." Armed with their backpacks and sometimes with carriages full of goods, these enterprising men plied their trade on back roads from Vermont to North Dakota. Networks of such peddlers spread across America to every state and helped account for the distribution of settlement of Syrian Americans. While the Syrians were not unique in peddling, they were different in that they stuck primarily to backpack peddling and to rural America. This resulted in the far-flung communities of Syrian Americans, from Utica, New York to Fort Wayne, Indiana, to Grand Rapids, Michigan and beyond. Muslims and Druzes were among these peddlers, too, though in fewer numbers. The largest of these early Muslim groups was centered in Providence, Rhode Island, from which its members peddled up the eastern seaboard. Large



This young Syrian American man is selling drinks in the Syrian Quarter in New York City.

Druze communities could be found in Massachusetts, and by 1902, Muslim and Druze groups could be found in North Dakota and Minnesota and as far west as Seattle.

Many immigrants used peddling as a step up toward earning their own businesses. It has been reported that by 1908, there were already 3,000 Syrian-owned businesses in America. Syrians soon also filled positions in the professions, from doctors to lawyers to engineers, and by 1910, there was a small group of Syrian millionaires to give proof to the "land of opportunity." Dry goods were a particular Syrian specialty, especially clothing, a tradition that can be seen in the modern clothing empires of Farah and Haggar, both early Syrian immigrants. The auto industry also claimed many early immigrants, resulting in large communities in Dearborn and near Detroit.

Later immigrants tend to be better trained than the first wave of immigrants. They serve in fields from computer science to banking and medicine. With cutbacks in the auto sector in the 1970s and 1980s, factory workers of Syrian descent were particularly hard hit, and many were forced to go on public assistance, an extremely difficult decision for families for whom honor is synonymous with self-reliance.

Looking at the Arab American community as a whole, its distribution in the job market reflects fairly closely that of American society in general. Arab Americans, according to the 1990 census, do appear to be more heavily concentrated in entrepreneurial and self-employed positions (12 percent

versus only 7 percent in the general population), and in sales (20 percent as against 17 percent in the general populace).

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Syrian Americans were initially quiet politically. Collectively, they never belonged to one political party or the other; their political affiliation reflected the larger American population, with business owners among them often voting Republican, blue-collar workers staying with the Democrats. As a political entity, they traditionally have not had the clout of other ethnic groups. One early issue that roused Syrian Americans, as it did all Arab Americans, was the 1914 Dow case in Georgia, which established that Syrians were Caucasians and thus could not be refused naturalization on the grounds of race. Since that time, second-generation Syrian Americans have been elected to offices from judgeships to the U.S. Senate.

Syrian American political action of the mid- to late-twentieth century has focussed on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The partitioning of Palestine in 1948 brought behind-the-scenes protests from Syrian leaders. After the 1967 war, Syrian Americans began to join political forces with other Arab groups to try and affect U.S. foreign policy regarding the Middle East. The Association of Arab University Graduates hoped to educate the American public as to the real nature of the Arab-Israeli dispute, while the National Association of Arab Americans was formed in the early 1970s to lobby Congress in this regard. In 1980 the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee was founded to counteract negative Arab stereotyping in the media. In 1985 the Arab American Institute was founded to promote Arab American participation in American politics. As a result, smaller regional action groups have also been organized, supporting Arab American candidates for office as well as candidates sympathetic to the Arab American viewpoint in international and domestic affairs.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

It should be noted that there is not always a clear distinction between places of origin when dealing with Syrian immigration history. For individuals as well as for immigration records, the confusion between Greater Syria and modern Syria poses some difficulties. However, the following list is mostly comprised of individuals who either arrived

in the first wave of Greater Syrian immigration or were the offspring of such immigrants. Thus, in the largest possible sense, these notable individuals are Syrian American.

ACADEMIA

Dr. Rashid Khaldi of the University of Chicago and Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod have both become well known commentators in the media on issues dealing with the Middle East. Philip Hitti was a Syrian Druze who became a prominent scholar at Princeton and a recognized expert on the Middle East.

BUSINESS

Nathan Solomon Farah established a general store in New Mexico Territory in 1881, later becoming a developer in the region, fostering the growth of both Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Mansur Farah, arriving in America in 1905, began the trouser manufacturing company that still bears the family name. Haggar, of Dallas, also started as a Syrian business, as did the food-processing company of Azar, also in Texas, and Mode-O-Day, founded by the Malouf family of California. Amin Fayad, who settled in Washington, D.C., was the first to establish a carryout food service east of the Mississippi. Paul Orfalea (1946–) is the founder of Kinko's photocopying chain. Ralph Nader (1934–) is a well-known consumer advocate and candidate for U.S. president in 1994.

ENTERTAINMENT

F. Murray Abraham was the first Syrian American to win an Oscar, for his role in *Amadeus*; Frank Zappa was a well known rock musician; Moustapha Akkad directed *Lion in the Desert* and *The Message* as well as the *Halloween* thrillers; Casey Kasem (1933–) is one of America's most famous disc jockeys.

GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND DIPLOMACY

Najib Halaby was defense advisor during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations; Dr. George Atiyeh was appointed curator of the Arabic and Middle East section of the library of Congress; Philip Habib (1920-1992) was a career diplomat who helped negotiate an end to the Vietnam War; Nick Rahal (1949–) has been a U.S. congressman from Virginia since 1976; Donna Shalala, a prominent Arab American woman in the Clinton administration, has served as Secretary of Health and Human Services.

LITERATURE

William Blatty (1928–) wrote the book and screenplay to *The Exorcist*; Vance Bourjaily (1922–), is the author of *Confessions of a Spent Youth*; the poet Khalil Gibran (1883-1931), was the author of *The Prophet*. Other poets include Sam Hazo (1926–), Joseph Awad (1929–), and Elmaz Abinader (1954–).

MUSIC AND DANCE

Paul Anka (1941–), writer and singer of 1950s popular songs; Rosalind Elias (1931–), soprano with the Metropolitan Opera; Elie Chaib (1950–), dancer with the Paul Taylor Company.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Michael DeBakey (1908–) pioneered bypass surgery and invented the heart pump; Elias J. Corey (1928–) of Harvard University, won the 1990 Nobel Prize for Chemistry; Dr. Nadeem Muna developed a blood test in the 1970s to identify melanoma.

MEDIA

PRINT

Action.

International Arabic newspaper printed in English and Arabic.

Contact: Raji Daher, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 416, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 972-0460.

Fax: (212) 682-1405.

American-Arab Message.

Religious and political weekly founded in 1937 and printed in English and Arabic.

Contact: Imam M. A. Hussein.

Address: 17514 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48203.

Telephone: (313) 868-2266.

Fax: (313) 868-2267.

Journal of Arab Affairs.

Contact: Tawfic E. Farah, Editor.

Address: M E R G Analytica, Box 26385, Fresno, California 93729-6385.

Fax: (302) 869-5853.

Jusoor (Bridges).

An Arabic/English quarterly that publishes both poetry and essays on the arts and political matters.

Contact: Munir Akash, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 34163, Bethesda, Maryland 20817.

Telephone: (212) 870-2053.

The Link.

Contact: John F. Mahoney, Executive Director.

Address: Americans for Middle East Understanding, Room 241, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10025-0241.

Telephone: (212) 870-2053.

Middle East International.

Contact: Michael Wall, Editor.

Address: 1700 17th Street, N.W., Suite 306, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (202) 232-8354.

Washington Report on Middle East Affairs.

Contact: Richard H. Curtiss, Executive Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 53062, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (800) 368-5788.

RADIO

Arab Network of America.

Broadcasts one to two hours of Arabic programming weekly in urban areas with large Arab American populations, including Washington, D.C., Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Contact: Eptisam Malloutli, Radio Program Director.

Address: 150 South Gordon Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22304.

Telephone: (800) ARAB-NET.

TELEVISION

Arab Network of America (ANA).

Contact: Laila Shaikhli, TV Program Director.

Address: 150 South Gordon Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22304.

Telephone: (800) ARAB-NET.

TAC Arabic Channel.

Contact: Jamil Tawfiq, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 936, New York, New York 10035.

Telephone: (212) 425-8822.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

Combats stereotyping and defamation in the media and in other venues of public life, including politics.

Address: 4201 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 244-2990.

Arab American Institute (AAI).

Fosters participation of Arab Americans in the political process at all levels.

Contact: James Zogby, Executive Director.

Address: 918 16th Street, N.W., Suite 601, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Arab Women's Council (AWC).

Seeks to inform the public on Arab women.

Contact: Najat Khelil, President.

Address: P.O. Box 5653, Washington, D.C. 20016.

National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA).

Lobbies Congress and the administration regarding Arab interests.

Contact: Khalil Jahshan, Executive Director.

Address: 1212 New York Avenue, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 842-1840.

Syrian American Association.

Address: c/o Tax Department, P.O. Box 925, Menlo Park, California, 94026-0925.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Faris and Yamna Naff Family Arab American Collection.

Contact: Alixa Naff.

Address: Archives Center, National Museum of History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Telephone: (202) 357-3270.

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Abu-Laban, Baha, and Michael W. Suleiman, eds. *Arab Americans: Continuity and Change*. Normal, Illinois: Association of Arab American University Graduates, Inc., 1989.

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T AIWANESE by J. Sydney Jones AMERICANS

OVERVIEW

Taiwan is also called Nationalist China or the Republic of China, and is located 100 miles from the mainland of China. An island country about twice the size of New Jersey, it measures 13,892 square miles (35,990 square kilometers). The Taiwan Strait, formerly known as the Straits of Formosa, separates Taiwan from the southeastern Chinese province of Fujian. A mountainous country, especially in the eastern two-thirds of the island, Taiwan also has jurisdiction over 22 islands in the Taiwan group and another 64 in the Pescadores Archipelago to the west. To the north of Taiwan is the East China Sea with the Ryukyu Islands, Okinawa, and Japan; to the south is the Baishi Channel in the South China Sea separating Taiwan from the Philippines; to the east is the Pacific Ocean. The Japanese Current helps give Taiwan a moderate year-round climate, and because the island is situated in the tropical and subtropical zones, the summer monsoon season ensures an ample water supply. The capital of the republic is Taipei, and the island's major industries are textiles, electronics, machinery, shipbuilding, and agriculture.

One of the most densely populated places on earth, Taiwan is inhabited by 21.5 million people, a majority of whom live on the low plain of the western part of the island. Of these, only 330,000 are non-Chinese, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island related to Malay people of Indonesia,

The usual stereotype of the Taiwanese engineer or computer scientist is not necessarily the norm. There have also been large numbers of blue-collar workers in service and garment industries. Also, more women are now immigrating to the United States.

Malaysia, and the Philippines. Of the remaining majority, 85 percent are descendants of early Chinese immigrants to the island, mostly from the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong, and primarily of the Fujianese and Hakka ethnic groups. These latter are the so-called “guest people” who migrated to Guangdong from Henan in central China and then moved on to Taiwan, beginning in the sixteenth century. The remaining 14 percent of the population are made up of “mainlanders,” Chinese from a variety of mainland provinces who were either born in China or are descendants of families who fled the Communist Chinese armies after the Second World War. Most of the population speaks Mandarin Chinese, the national language. The second largest language group is Taiwanese, or *Hokkien*, spoken by Hakka and Fujian natives, and based on the Minnan dialect of southern Fujian. Many Hakka also speak their own dialect, while mainlanders speak a variety of mainland Chinese dialects in addition to Mandarin.

Daoism and Buddhism are the major religions of Taiwan. A blending of the philosophical tenets of Confucianism with these two major religions resulted in a hybrid religion, often referred to as Chinese popular religion. Christianity is also represented, and though it is a relatively minor religion, it has a strong influence in the spheres of education and health care. There are also some Muslims living in the urban areas of the country.

HISTORY

The derivation of the Chinese word *Tai-wan* is unknown, though its literal meaning is “terraced bay.” Until the sixteenth century, Taiwan was primarily inhabited by its native Malayo-Polynesian population. In Chinese records prior to the Han dynasty (206 B.C.- 222 A.D.), Taiwan was referred to as Yangchow, then later Yinchow. In 239 A.D., the Chinese emperor sent an expeditionary force to explore the island, one of the bases for Beijing’s current claim of sovereignty over the island. However, no permanent base was settled on the island. Several centuries later, more missions were sent to the island. The island was clearly identified in court records of the Ming dynasty, charted by the explorer Cheng Ho in 1430 and given its current name, Taiwan. Despite this, few Chinese ventured across the treacherous waters of the Straits of Formosa. The island was largely an operational base for Chinese and Japanese pirates.

In the sixteenth century, foreign contacts began. The Portuguese passed by the island en route to Japan in 1517, dubbing it *Ilha Formosa*, or Beau-

tiful Island. The Dutch followed, establishing a settlement in southwestern Taiwan in 1624, as did the Spanish, who settled at Chi-lung in the north. The Dutch East India Company encouraged Chinese migration in order to increase agricultural production, and the numbers of Fujianese and Hakka settlers grew to some 200,000 by the end of the Dutch period. In 1642 the Dutch seized the Spanish settlements in the north; they were in turn expelled in 1661, victims of events on mainland China.

With the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, the Manchus of the Qing dynasty consolidated and enlarged their rule of mainland China, moving south of the Great Wall to bring all of China under their control by 1683. During these turbulent years, many Chinese fled to Taiwan to escape the Manchus, just as centuries later, Nationalist forces would flee there to avoid the Communist onslaught. Taiwan thus became a center of Chinese resistance to the Manchus, and Ming diehards continued to fight on. One supporter was Zheng Cheng-gong, also known as Koxinga, a half-Japanese supporter of the Mings, who led an army of 100,000 troops and 3,000 junks. Ultimately, Koxinga turned against the Dutch in Taiwan, expelling them and establishing a Ming-style dynasty on the island. This government in exile lasted until 1683, when the Manchus invaded Taiwan, making it part of the empire to be administered by Fujian province. Two hundred years later, Taiwan became a separate province of China.

The centuries of relative peace and prosperity under Manchu control led to dramatic increases in population on the mainland, as new emigrants swelled its population. The aboriginal population was increasingly relegated to the mountainous regions of the east of the island. Rice and sugar imports to China had become staple products of the island. As European interest in the China trade grew in the nineteenth century, two treaty ports were opened in 1858, Tainan and Tanshui, the latter just downstream from Taipei. Peking began to take more notice of its rebellious province to the west, but its years of misrule there had sown the seeds of distrust in Taiwan. In 1884 Peking reorganized rule on the island, sending Liung Ming ch’uan to administer it, which he did capably. In 1886, Taiwan was made an independent province, with Taipei its capital city.

MODERN ERA

In 1894, China went to war with Japan over Korea, and quickly lost the conflict, as well as its province of Taiwan in the ensuing treaty. For the next fifty years, the Japanese occupied Taiwan, who carried

out a policy of Japanization of Taiwan's people and culture. Japanese was the language of instruction, bureaucracy, and business. Initially, the island became a rice and sugar provider for Japan. By the 1930s, industrialization involving textiles, chemicals, and machinery was made possible by relatively cheap hydroelectric power on the island. Though a repressive regime, Japanese control did improve sanitation on the island, as well as the educational system. With the onset of World War II, Taiwan was used as a Japanese staging area for invasions of Southeast Asia. In 1945, with the defeat of Japan, Taiwan was returned to China, under uncertain status. Chiang Kai-shek, of the Nationalist party, sent military forces to the island in October 1945 and replaced Japanese officials with those of the Republic of China.

Nationalist rule was not popular, as it maintained the same oppressive system. The Nationalists, involved in a civil war with the communists, viewed the Taiwanese as traitors for not having opposed the Japanese during the war. Unrest led to rebellion in 1947, which was brutally put down by the mainland government, with the loss of Taiwanese lives estimated at 10,000. It would take several decades to repair the damage done to mainland-Taiwanese relations as a result of this massacre. The *er er ba* event, as it is known, from the Chinese for the date of the onset of the trouble, took place on February 28, 1947. In the 1990s, some amends were made to the families of the victims, and February 28 became Peace Day in Taiwan.

Communist forces under Mao Tse-tung defeated the Nationalist forces on the mainland in 1949, and Chiang Kai-shek along with his government and a portion of his army fled to Taiwan to set up a government in exile. Though there was no love lost between the Taiwanese and the Nationalists, the former could do little but absorb the newcomers. Mao's forces were on the brink of invasion, when the Korean War broke out in 1950. The U.S. Seventh Fleet was sent to the Taiwan Strait to protect Taiwan from attack. For the next two decades, the Republic of China, or Nationalist China, became the China in U.S. foreign relations, and Chiang, running an autocratic regime in Taiwan, dreamed of eventually returning to the mainland. In the bipolar world of the Cold War, Taiwan maintained a precarious independence just 100 miles off the coast of the People's Republic of China. Partly with the help of American aid, partly with a policy of import substitution, Taiwan grew into a manufacturing power. By the 1960s, it was exporting to the West in vast quantities: textiles, electronic equipment, and machinery all helped to fuel an 11 percent annual growth rate in the economy between 1960 and 1973.

In 1971, the United States normalized relations with Communist China, the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan lost its seat at the United Nations. Official diplomatic relations were established between the People's Republic and the United States in 1979. In Taiwan, equally dramatic changes were taking place. With the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975, his son Chiang Ching-kuo took power and attempted to cultivate a more populist image. Martial law was finally lifted in 1987, a year before his death. Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, became his successor. Between 1988 and 1996, Lee oversaw liberal changes in the political process, and in 1996, Lee became the first popularly elected president. Meanwhile, the threat from Communist China remains; Chinese military exercises in 1997 and 1998 were thought to preface a possible invasion of the island. Taiwan continues to perform a delicate balancing act, attempting to normalize relations with the People's Republic, while at the same time insuring its own independence.

THE FIRST TAIWANESE IN AMERICA

Mainland Chinese immigrants began coming to the United States in significant numbers about a century before the Taiwanese. These early immigrants, largely from Guangdong province, came to the West Coast during the boom of the Gold Rush. However, large numbers of these immigrants soon spurred a backlash of anti-Chinese sentiment. Discriminatory laws such as the exclusion act against the Chinese in 1882 denied them the right of entry to the United States simply based on ethnicity and race. Only with the defeat of Japan in World War II, in which China and the U.S. were allies, was there an effort to take the exclusionary laws off the books. Early quotas for Chinese and Asians in general were low, but the doors were once again open. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Hart-Celler Act, which allowed for an annual quota of 20,000 Chinese, as well as for the entry of family members as non-quota immigrants.

Taiwanese immigration was influenced by these legal difficulties. The first Taiwanese immigrants came between the end of World War II and 1965, and were made up mostly of students continuing their education at American universities, mainly on the East and West Coasts, and in certain places in the Midwest, such as Chicago. The numbers of these were low, and some stayed on after graduation to find careers in the United States. Early Taiwanese immigrants also included wives of servicemen stationed in Taiwan after the Korean War. A third group of early immigrants sought better economic conditions and opportunities than

they could find at home. These people often ended up working in Chinese restaurants or in service industries. Many such early immigrants felt isolated from the general Chinese American population by cultural tradition and by language, for Cantonese was the language of many Chinese immigrants of these period, as opposed to the Taiwanese or Mandarin spoken by immigrants from Taiwan.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

After the 1965 Immigration Act, more Taiwanese came to the United States, aided by the new legislation, which gave priority to those with vital skills. Individuals with technical and scientific skills found easier admittance to the United States, as well as those in such needed occupations as hotel and restaurant work. This second wave of immigration lasted from 1965 to 1979. Once the United States recognized mainland China, however, relations with Taiwan became more informal. Immigrants since 1979 have had increased difficulties as they hold passports from a “nonexistent” nation. In 1982, Taiwan was given a quota of 20,000 immigrants, and many of these were students or trained professionals for whom there were insufficient jobs in Taiwan. A brain drain from Taiwan ensued, including students who, having completed their studies in the United States, decided to stay on. Not only were more job opportunities available in America, but young men of draft age could also avoid compulsory military service in Taiwan.

The Immigration Act of 1990 established preferences for those willing to invest in new business in the United States. Other factors in Taiwanese immigration since 1979 have been the increase of educational opportunities in the United States, as well as the uncertain position of Taiwan with respect to China. With the increased productivity of Taiwan in the 1980s, a class of transnational business people was created. Called *taikongren* or “astronauts,” these business representatives shuttle back and forth between the United States and Taiwan, while their families reside in the former.

Numbers of Taiwanese immigrants to the United States are not easily calculated, since U.S. Census figures group all of the approximately 1.65 million Chinese Americans (as of 1990) in one category. These include American-born Chinese, as well as immigrants from China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Southeast Asia, and Taiwan. From 1984 to 1999, it is estimated that some 200,000 Taiwanese have immigrated to the United States, with numbers averaging about 13,000 per year. In 1994, 10,032 Taiwanese came to the United

States, while about 54,000 immigrants were admitted from mainland China. In both cases, the overwhelming majority of immigrants listing an occupation were professionals, technicians, or managers. However, the usual stereotype of the Taiwanese engineer or computer scientist is not necessarily the norm. There have also been large numbers of blue-collar workers in service and garment industries. Also, more women are now immigrating to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Large communities of Taiwanese Americans are scattered throughout the United States, but are concentrated primarily in California and on the East Coast. In California, Taiwanese communities are particularly prevalent in Los Angeles, San Jose, and San Francisco. In the greater Los Angeles area, for example, the town of Monterey Park has been called “Little Taipei”, because of its large Taiwanese population. Other suburban Southern California communities with a high Taiwanese population can be found throughout the San Gabriel valley. Of the 10,032 Taiwanese immigrants in 1994, nearly half, 4,862, settled in California, with upwards of 3,000 in the Los Angeles-Orange Country area alone. San Jose, San Francisco, and Oakland accounted for another 1,500 immigrants. In the east, large communities can be found in the Flushing-Queens area of New York, while in Texas, Houston draws Taiwanese immigrants.

The flow of capital from Taiwan follows these immigrants, and as a result they have been able to revitalize some failing communities and culturally influence others. The Taiwanese presence is evident in the cities where they settle. Instead of the Chinatowns of old, Taiwanese immigrants create islands of Taiwanese culture amid suburbia, with all-Chinese shopping malls and strip malls offering everything from Chinese food shops to bookshops and pharmacies. All signs are in Chinese characters mixed with English in a kind of international linguistic melange; entering these malls is like being instantly transported to Taiwan itself. This is especially true for communities such as those in California at Monterey Park and San Jose, where the Taiwanese community has its own clubs, churches, newspapers, and churches. This is also the case in larger urban areas, such as Flushing in Queens, New York, where the Taiwanese are just one part of a larger multicultural blend including Pakistanis, Indians, Koreans, and Thais.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Like many other immigrants from Asia, the Taiwanese tend to settle in areas with large numbers of their fellow countrymen. Families and networks of mutual aid are set in place in the United States just as they were in Taiwan. Thus the Taiwanese American community tends to remain cohesive, preserving its values, language, and cultural traditions amid the bustle of contemporary American life, but they are no longer segregated into the Chinatowns of old. As Hsiang-shui Chen pointed out in *Chinatown No More*, a study of Taiwanese immigrants in Queens, “the new Chinese immigrants do not live in isolated Chinese communities. Like the old Chinese immigrants, they have developed a complex organizational life, but it does not include all immigrants, and the new Chinese community in Queens has no hierarchical structure.” Though the Taiwanese immigrant may own a business or hold a job in an inner city of San Jose or Los Angeles or Houston, “they are likely to have homes elsewhere,” according to Franklin Ng in his study, *The Taiwanese Americans* (Ng, 1998:22). Thus the new Taiwanese immigrant community is looser than earlier Chinese ones, while preserving much of the mutual aid that characterized those communities.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Taiwanese traditions are a unique blend of the groups that have occupied the island state. There are instances of Fujian culture, of traditions from Guangdong, and of customs from Japan as a result of the fifty-year occupation by that country. These traditions have also been heavily influenced by Western trends, as Taiwan itself is a modern economic power. Thus, immigrants coming to the United States have generally found a middle ground between East and West for their belief systems.

Concepts relating to nature, time, and space are a joining of two worlds: the Chinese sense of harmonic living in tune with the natural order, and the Western scientific, materialistic worldview. Ancient belief systems revolved around the *Dao*, or the Way, the manner in which humans live in harmony with the natural world. The traditional belief in *qi*, or life force, leads to a view of a world divided into polar opposites, yin and yang, as represented in such dichotomies as male-female, cold-hot, dry-wet, light-dark. Additionally, the world is seen as comprised of five elements: fire, wood, air, water, and earth. Seasons and relationships are determined by the ebb and flow of opposites and of the five ele-



Taiwanese Americans showed up in force to demonstrate in New York's Times Square against Chinese injustices to the people in their homeland.

ments. The tradition of *fengshui*, wind and water, is an ancient Chinese science that seeks harmony in interior and exterior design and architecture by balancing yin-yang and allowing for proper flow of *qi*. This tradition has gained popularity outside of the Taiwanese and Chinese community, resulting in a popularization of *fengshui* principles in much of the Western world as well.

A unique perception of time also informs Taiwanese life, in which both the lunar calendar and Western Gregorian calendar is used. The latter solar calendar is employed in business, school, and public life, while for determining festivals and religious observances, the lunar calendar is used. Based on the phases of the moon, the lunar calendar has 12 months, with 24 solar divisions, and is 11 days shorter than the Western calendar year. The lunar calendar and almanacs are also used to determine auspicious and inauspicious days for doing various endeavors, from starting a business, to getting married. Some Taiwanese believe that certain days are unlucky: the third, seventh, thirteenth, eighteenth, twenty-second, and twenty-seventh days of the lunar month, for example, are held by some to be bad luck days. The first and fifteenth of each lunar month are not good days to wash one's hair. Such old beliefs, however, are dying out among the younger generation of Taiwanese.

Another widespread belief among Chinese and Taiwanese is the taboo of number four, which sounds very much like the word for death. Buildings often exclude a fourth and even a fourteenth or twenty-fourth floor to avoid possible bad luck, a

custom similar to that regarding the number thirteen in Western societies. Many other beliefs revolve around the play of homonyms. It is bad luck to share a pear, *li*, because that word sounds like the Chinese word “to separate.” Breaking an object, the person will quickly say *Sui sui ping an*, a play on the word for “pieces” and “year after year,” turning the bad situation into a wish for eternal happiness. Similarly, at Chinese New Year, the character for luck or happiness will be taped to windows upside down: the word for “down” sounds similar to that for “to come,” meaning luck or happiness will come to you. Gift giving is fraught with peril, for some presents are to be avoided; umbrellas, as the Chinese word for them sounds too close to the word for separation or departure, and clocks, which sound like the expression for attending a funeral.

“[W]hen my oldest was ready for school, we came to the United States. When I came to this country, I heard about all the divorces and I was kind of scared. I wanted to save money in case my husband kicks me out, so I can go somewhere.”

Su-Chu Hadley, cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*, Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky (E.P. Dutton, New York, 1980).

PROVERBS

Taiwanese culture is rich in proverbs, many of them appearing in pairs and presenting opposite views of the same advice. Thus, to “give somebody wood on a snowy day,” is to provide timely aid, while to “add flowers to a large bouquet” means to do something unnecessary. Similarly, advice about just desserts is served up in the following pair: “Bad persons always get their comeuppance; if they have not yet it is only a matter of timing;” and “Good persons always get a reward. Wait, it will come.” The idea that trouble follows trouble is expressed in “The roof always leaks on a rainy day,” and doing something unnecessary is parodied in “Painting feet on a snake.”

CUISINE

Taiwanese cuisine is largely influenced by Fujian cooking, an Eastern style adapted to a lighter cuisine which employs more seafood. Japanese influences in this style of cooking include the substitution of vegetable oil for traditional Fujian lard to create more delicate dishes. Other popular methods of cooking include barbecuing and the use of hot-pots, in addition to pan frying, boiling, and stir-frying.

Taiwanese cooking employs a wide assortment of foodstuffs, from meats such as beef and pork, to poultry and all sorts of seafood. Noodle dishes and soups are popular, as are boiled dumplings, *shuijiao*, prepared with crabmeat in addition to the usual pork and leek stuffing. Seafood is used in such delicacies as oysters in black bean sauce, prawns wrapped in seaweed, cucumber crab rolls, and clam and winter melon soup. Taiwan, with its tropical and subtropical climate, grows fruits and vegetables in abundance. Most popular fruits include papaya, mango, pineapple, melons, and citrus, while vegetables are asparagus, eggplant, pea pods, Chinese cabbage and mushrooms, *bok choy*, and leafy greens of the spinach family. Bean curd in various guises is also used. Buns, cakes, and bread are also more numerous in Taiwanese cuisine than in other parts of China, a result of Western influence in Shanghai. Beverages such as beer and rice wine, *sake*, are typical, as is Western style soda, but tea continues to be an omnipresent beverage among Taiwanese.

Some food is sold only at certain times of the day or year. For example, steamed buns and the clay-oven rolls called *shaobing* are sold only in the morning; some bread and tofu are sold in the afternoon and evening. The best time to find spring rolls is in April; moon cakes are available during the Mid-Autumn Festival; and the Dragon Boat Festival heralds delicious rice dumplings, *zongzi*. Other foods, such as snake and tiger, are now rare, used primarily for medicinal purposes.

The Taiwanese use chopsticks. It is a skill most children learn by the time they are five. Deep, curved Chinese spoons in plastic or porcelain are also used instead of Western cutlery. Knives are usually unnecessary at table as meat is diced or sliced in preparation. It is customary for the eater to hold the rice bowl close to the mouth, scooping the rice in with chopsticks, which are placed on the table or the rim of the rice bowl, and never pointing down into the bowl a sign of bad luck.

MUSIC

Music provides a ceremonial and entertainment function in Taiwanese society, both in the United States and in Taiwan. Music the dead to their burial, heralds marriages and birthdays, and also provides the framework for Chinese opera and puppet plays. An ancient musical system, Chinese music uses a scale of seven notes, but focuses on five core tones with two changing tones. These five tones are in turn tied to the Chinese concept of the five basic elements. The Taiwanese musical tradition follows that of the classical Chinese model, and in addition has

its own folk traditions. Popular instruments include the *zither* with 25 strings and movable bridges, *se*, and the *chin*, another stringed instrument.

Three different types of musical ensembles are employed at festive or ritual occasions, each tracing its development back to bands that would accompany high officers in imperial times. Drums are an integral part of traditional Taiwanese music, and for special occasions, a drum pavilion or *guting* is played, comprising several sorts of gongs, cymbals, and drums, as well as the double-reeded pipe called *suona*. *Bayin* ensembles, employing eight sounds, are used for weddings and funerals with a *guting* following. A third type of amateur folk ensemble plays *beiguan* music at temples for a god's or goddess's birthday.

Taiwanese produce stars on the Mandarin and Taiwanese pop music scenes. Teresa Teng was one such popular singer, known all over East Asia and beloved by immigrant communities in the United States.

Folk songs and ballads have become more popular, inspired by both aboriginal music and Japanese musical styles. Taiwanese also listen to Western music in all its forms.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

The *chi pao* is the traditional wear for women, a long, high-collared dress with a side slit. The *chi pao* is generally made of silk, brocaded with designs or plain, as is desired. Such dresses are for formal occasions, though a shortened version is also used for less formal wear. The *chan sang* is similar; it literally means "long clothes," but is loose-waisted in comparison to the *chi pao*, and was formerly worn by men as well.

DANCES AND SONGS

Taiwanese traditional dance is ritualistic, emphasizing formal, stiff body movements with the feet kept close to the ground. Such dances are seen in folk celebrations and rituals, and in opera, where each movement is highly symbolic, telling of emotions, or time and space changes. In traditional drama, there is often a chaotic, swirling, acrobatic blend of fight and dance: armies clash, or monks attack devils. This latter form of dance is closely related to Taiwan's martial art, *guoshu*, of which there are many varieties.

Folk dance traditions are strong among Taiwanese, the lion dance and the dragon dance being the most typical. In ancient times, such dances,

employing drums, masks, and animated movements, were performed to bring rain or avoid plagues. Modern performances of the lion and dragon dance are intended to bring good luck or liven up festive occasions. The dragon mask and costume in particular are works of folk art in themselves, the entire body of the dancer covered in colorful fabric. Contemporary choreographers have attempted to blend some of this folk tradition with the elements of modern dance, creating a uniquely Taiwanese form of ballet.

HOLIDAYS

Taiwanese Americans observe all the formal holidays of the United States: Christmas, New Years, Thanksgiving, Fourth of July, and Easter. In addition, they have several festivals that are peculiar to the lunar calendar and have a seasonal significance. The most important festival, for all Chinese Americans, is the celebration of the Lunar New Year, which is tied to the coming of spring and thus also known as *chunjie* or "spring festival." The advent of the new year is a time for house-cleaning, after which no more should be done for the first days of the new year, or good luck may be swept away. Red is the dominant color: red paper with calligraphic wishes for good luck or good health will be hung; festive red clothing is worn at gatherings. New Year's Day is a time for family to come together, to give gifts and to visit close friends. Special foods are prepared, and much of these are determined again by similarity in sound to words representing good luck or wealth. For example, fish, *yu*, is a popular dish because it sounds the same as the word for "abundance." Parades and dramatic performances take place over many days, before and after Chinese New Year.

The Lantern Festival, *dengjie*, takes place on the fifteenth day of the Lunar New Year and traditionally marks the end of New Year celebrations. In the United States this festival marks the beginning of spring banquets given by many Taiwanese organizations. A summer festival, the Dragon Boat Festival honors the death of a popular poet and minister of the Zhou dynasty of China (403-221 B.C.), who committed suicide in the Mi Lo River as a protest against government corruption. Legend has it that villagers attempted to recover his body with a flotilla of boats; modern-day boat races in Taiwan honor the day. The same legend tells that the people threw rice dumplings into the river to feed the fish, thus keeping them from eating the corpse of the poet. Today, Taiwanese Americans often eat *zongzi* at this festival, a sort of glutinous rice pudding or dumpling wrapped in bamboo leaves and stuffed with pork, beans, and other ingredients. The Mid-Autumn Fes-

tival, *zhongchiu jie*, is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, when the full moon is supposed to represent family harmony; the abundance of autumn harvest is often displayed as an offering to the moon goddess. Paste-filled moon cakes are baked at this time, made from lotus or melon seeds, or various beans. Some U.S. cities have organized street fairs to celebrate Mid-Autumn.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no health issues peculiar to the Taiwanese population. A healthy diet is a part of the culture, owing to the five-element way of thinking and of the yin-yang dichotomy. Categories such as wet and dry, hot and cool, go into preparing a menu. The balance of such opposites is thought to be vital to good health. There is a heavy reliance on non-Western forms of medical therapy such as acupuncture.

LANGUAGE

Taiwanese Americans speak a variety of languages, but Mandarin Chinese is generally their first language, known as *kuo yu*, or “national dialect.” This derives from Beijing Mandarin and is about as similar to that dialect as American English is to British English. The various ethnic groups comprising the Taiwanese community have their own dialects. The native Taiwanese dialect is spoken by the Fujian and Hakka, and is based on the Minnan dialect of southern Fujian province. Some Hakka also speak their own dialect. But generally speaking, Taiwanese all speak the four-tone Mandarin dialect. Romanization of Chinese characters is still done in the Wade-Giles system, though Taiwan is beginning to change such romanization to the pinyin system in use on the mainland. Thus Peking, the capital of communist China, is Beijing. Taipei, Taiwan’s capital in the Wade-Giles system, is Taibei in pinyin.

Taiwanese Americans often mix English with Chinese, especially in written language. Thus, shop signs will often combine intricate characters with English words. In larger urban areas, Chinese language radio and television stations provide listeners and viewers with programming in Mandarin or Cantonese dialects.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common greetings and other expressions include: *Tsao* (tsow)—Good morning; *Ni hao ma* (knee how ma)—How are you; *Tsao chien* (tsow chyen)—Good-bye, see you later; *Pai tuo* (pie twa), Please;

Hsieh hsieh (shye shye) thanks; *Pu ko chi* (pookócheh) You’re welcome; *Tai hau le* (tie how le) Great, wonderful.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Confucian values place a premium on family values and family cohesion. Clans and lineages both played significant roles in Chinese history, and in the Taiwanese American community such bonds continue to so. Whereas the extended family of three generations under one roof was once the norm in Taiwanese society, the emphasis in recent years in both Taiwan and the United States has been on the nuclear family. No longer are many children needed as they were in rural, agricultural times. Now the emphasis is on smaller families with fewer children. Often Taiwanese Americans have left family members behind; mothers and fathers remain in Taiwan while sons and increasingly daughters come to the United States to build a new life. Relations are continued via telephone, the Internet, and by periodic visits. It is common for members of an extended family to live together, however, such as in cases of a young man or woman living with relatives while attending college.

Within the family, Chinese kinship terms are observed. Grandparents are *zufumu* if they are the parents of the father, *waizufumu* if they are mother’s parents. An older brother is *gege*, a younger one *didi*. *Jiejie* is an older sister while *meimei* is a younger one. Such nomenclature also extends to uncles and aunts to determine which side he or she is on (mother’s or father’s) and their rank of seniority in the family. Such strict labeling eventually breaks down among Taiwanese families living in America.

Depending on the economic and educational status of families, roles are more or less traditional vis-à-vis husband and wife. Among blue-collar workers, though they are likely to have a double-household, the male-female roles are more traditional and the husband will be the more dominant partner. In professional families, the roles tend to be more equal and the higher level of income affords both parents more time with their children. In general, Taiwanese Americans experience fewer divorces than other American families, partly a result of the extended kinship bonds and the overlapping social relationships in the community. Long-term separations, however, in which the husband is forced for economic reasons to leave his family in the U.S. while he shuttles back and forth to Taiwan, strain marriages.

The Taiwanese American is cohesive. Self-help within the Taiwanese American community helps new arrivals to establish themselves, to start businesses, and to find jobs. Networking is a fact of life in all cultures; Taiwanese Americans form familial bonds and groupings in specialized organizations and clubs to look out for one another.

EDUCATION

Education is highly valued by Taiwanese Americans. Many immigrants come to the United States with university and post-graduate degrees and the value of a college education is instilled in succeeding generations. With competition stiff and available spaces low in Taiwanese universities, many come to the United States to study. Preparation for college begins in kindergarten. Often parents will purchase a home contingent upon it being in a good school district. Children learn from an early age the importance of doing well in school, of getting good grades so that they can get into a good college later on. Many Taiwanese children take preparation courses for the SATs and practice writing essays for college admissions officers. In Taiwanese families, the parents are very involved in all aspects of their children's education. Favored places of enrollment are such California universities as UC Berkeley, UCLA, or Stanford. The Asian population at Berkeley is upwards of 60 percent of the total.

BIRTH AND BIRTHDAYS

The mother is given especially nutritious foods both before and after giving birth. Whereas in earlier times, and still to a great extent on mainland China and in Taiwan, the birth of a boy has been the greatest wish of parents, now Taiwanese Americans rejoice at the birth of children of either sex. The one-month birthday is a time for special celebrating; birthdays are generally celebrated following the Western calendar.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

In Taiwan, women tended to be subordinated, largely ruled over by the male members of the *jia* or extended family unit. Though divorce is rare in Taiwan, the wife's failure to produce a male child was one reason for separation. Times are changing in Taiwan, and among Taiwanese Americans. The educational disparity between women and men is decreasing, and women are often in the work force.

WEDDINGS

The courtship and weddings of Taiwanese Americans are no longer the elaborate, lengthy affairs they are in Taiwan, where there is a "greater engagement," or *dading*, during which gifts are exchanged between both families and the dowry is presented. Still, weddings are joyous occasions and are considered an important rite of passage. The ceremony itself may be civil or religious, but it is always followed by a banquet. The couple is generally presented with gifts of envelopes filled with money. Sometimes there may be banquets both in the United States and in Taiwan, if the parents of either of the couple live there. For a time, there was also the practice of sending the bride back to Taiwan for a cooking class.

FUNERALS

Rites given at funerals depend upon the religious affiliation of the deceased. Funerals are a time for demonstrating respect for ancestors and publicly displaying status in the family. While these intricate kinship roles and patterns have partly broken down in the United States, funerals are still solemn affairs. Red may be worn by some to ward off the negative influences of death or to celebrate the long life and descendants of the deceased.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Confucian cultural tradition emphasizes accomplishment over race or ethnicity. Thus Taiwanese do well in the multicultural environment found in the United States and have generally gotten along well with other ethnic minorities. Taiwanese immigrants have been resented, however, especially where they have settled in large numbers in a certain area, such as in Monterey Park in California or in Flushing in Queens, New York. Taiwanese Americans are generally successful, and such resentment tends to come from those groups who have not fared as well in the United States. Also, coming from a rich culture with ancient traditions, Taiwanese Americans do not take it for granted that all aspects of life in the United States are better than in Taiwan. Taiwanese do not cast off their heritage in a rush to assimilate. Such an attitude can cause friction with other ethnic minorities.

RELIGION

Among Taiwanese Americans there is a rich diversity of religions. Some, as in Taiwan itself, are Christian. This is a distinct minority in Taiwan, about

one million faithful, divided between Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. A larger percentage of Taiwanese Americans are Christian than in Taiwan, partly because these churches provide a social gathering point for immigrants. Protestants outnumber Catholics in these, and a large group of Taiwanese Americans belongs to evangelical or fundamentalist Baptist churches. Presbyterian is another popular denomination, where services are often given in Mandarin or in Taiwanese dialect. The full panoply of services is available at such churches, including Bible study for the young and social functions such as dinners and talks.

Other Taiwanese Americans favor the traditional religions of Taiwan and of China. These consist of Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and a hybrid popular religion. The popular religion is a blend of the other three faiths, plus ancestor worship and the belief in certain local gods and goddesses. For newcomers to the United States, religious affiliation can provide an important networking resource. Taiwanese Buddhists follow the *Mahayana* school, similar to the Buddhism of Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Buddhism in particular has made rapid growth in recent years, establishing new temples in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, and New York. This growth reflects the increasing popularity Buddhism is enjoying in Taiwan itself, with adherents growing six-fold in the years from 1983 to 1995. Xi Lai Temple, a Buddhist temple near Monterey Park, California is a particularly noteworthy in this respect. It is the largest overseas temple of Foguanshan center in Taiwan, a Zen Buddhist center. Completed in 1988, it cost \$26 million and is a colorful and stunning architectural presence, attracting faithful and tourists alike. One hall alone has ten thousand golden Buddhas. It speaks for the presence of Buddhism in the United States, as do the Jade Buddha Temple in Houston and the Zhuangyen Monastery in Carmel, New York.

The popular religion is represented in the United States by various temples built for the gods and goddesses. These include *Tudigong*, or the God of the Earth, *Guanyin*, the Goddess of Mercy, and *Mazu*, the Goddess of the Sea. One such temple, to Mazu, was built in San Francisco starting in 1986. These churches and temples all include functions beyond religion: there are activity halls for lectures as well as instruction in Chinese language.

Religious observance is not restricted to formal temples and churches, however. Many Taiwanese Americans will have shrines in their homes and observe lunar festivals, activities that bond the community to folk traditions and religious practices.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Taiwanese Americans are generally seen as consisting only of well-educated professionals. Of the 10,032 Taiwanese immigrants admitted to the United States in 1994, for example, almost three-quarters of those reporting occupations were in the professional, technical, executive, administrative, or managerial classes. In general, Taiwanese do come better prepared than the older, pre-1949, mainland Chinese immigrant: they tend to be better educated, have a profession, and know some English. Yet that is only part of the picture; 6,084 of the ten thousand plus in 1994 reported no occupation. Many are blue-collar workers working in restaurants and in the garment industry.

Many Taiwanese investors also settle in the United States, encouraged by the Immigration Act of 1990. This Act created preferences not only for those with key professional skills, but also for investors who could create employment opportunities in the United States by investing funds here. It is important for Taiwanese to start up their own business, no matter how small, for these are signs of success in Chinese society. However, as the U.S. economy slowed in the 1980s and early 1990s, there was a reverse migration of Taiwanese professionals forced to take research or teaching positions in Taiwan's high-tech industries and universities, leaving their families in the United States. With the East Asia economic crunch of the late 1990s, and with improved economic conditions in the United States, this situation has been somewhat rectified.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Since the United States officially established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1979, Taiwan has held a precarious position as an independent country. Much of the political activity of Taiwanese Americans, therefore, has been focussed on American public and political opinion regarding Taiwan. Despite American insistence that it no longer officially supports an independent Taiwan, the U.S. Congress did pass the Taiwan Relations Act authorizing continued social and economic ties with the island nation. Various Taiwanese American political organizations have been monitoring U.S.-Taiwanese relations. The World United Formosans for Independence organization, established in 1970 in Dallas, Texas, promotes a free and democratic Taiwan and publishes the *Taiwan Tribune* to further this goal. The Formosan Association for Public Affairs in Washington

D.C. closely monitors legislation affecting Taiwan and Taiwanese. Taiwanese sovereignty is also the aim of the lobbying group, Taiwan International Relations, centered in Washington, D.C., while human rights is the focus of the Formosan Association for Human Rights, located in Kansas.

RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN

Taiwanese Americans maintain close relations with their former country, as many of these immigrants have family members in Taiwan. Frequent visits to both countries take place. Many groups continue to monitor the political situation within Taiwan, and welcomed the increasing democratization witnessed in the 1990s. Thus, with the end of martial law in 1987, and the reforms of Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui, Taiwanese Americans have been encouraged to expect a stronger voice for the people in Taiwan.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

As Franklin Ng noted in his book, *The Taiwanese Americans*, this group, despite having a short history in this country and consisting of a relatively small percentage of the population, has made “a significant presence” (Ng 1998:121). “Most came after the immigration changes in 1965,” Ng observed, “but they have already helped to alter the U.S. cultural landscape.” The Taiwanese Americans have helped to redirect U.S. focus on the Pacific Rim and many of them in business have become “cultural brokers in penetrating the markets of Asia” (Ng 1998:121). Taiwanese have brought capital and investment with them, and are particularly prominent in academia. But they have also become skilled workers in businesses in Silicon Valley, valuable researchers in medicine, talented artists in film and music, and one is even an astronaut. The following is a list of individual Taiwanese Americans notable for their achievements.

ACADEMIA AND EDUCATION

Chang-lin Tien (1935-) is both a renowned educator as well as administrator, serving as chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley from 1990 to 1997. Born in Wuhan, China, Chang and his family fled to Shanghai in 1937 and to Taiwan in 1949. He graduated from National Taiwan University in 1955 in mechanical engineering and received his M.A. and Ph.D. at Princeton in mechanical engi-

neering. Conducting research at Berkeley in thermal radiation, he quickly made a name for himself, becoming a Guggenheim fellow in 1965-66 and an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation fellow in Germany in 1979. In 1988 he became vice-chancellor at the University of California, Irvine, and then returned to Berkeley two years later as its chancellor. Other prominent Taiwanese Americans in academia include Chen Hui Lee (1929-), is a professor at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point who has authored 30 technical papers about forest genetics and tree improvements; Jian-min Yuan (1944-), a professor at Drexel University and author of more than 85 professional papers in the fields of molecular, chemical, and atomic physics as well as chaos theory; Ko-ming Shih (1953-), a professor of computer engineering at Mercer University, Macon, GA; Tsay-jiu Brian Shieh (1953-), an associate professor at the University of Texas, Arlington, whose research is in compound semiconductor device modeling and vacuum microelectronics; Yuch-ning Shieh (1940-), a professor at Purdue who has published over 40 papers on oxygen, carbon, and sulfur isotope geochemistry in rocks and minerals; Yung-way Liu (1955-), an associate professor at the University of Delaware and well known research mathematician; Ray H. Liu (1942-), program director, University of Alabama at Birmingham, author of books and over 50 articles on mass spectrometry and clinical chemistry, and editor of *Forensic Science Review*; Cynthia C. Hsieh (1961-), technical services librarian at Columbia College and Chinese American activist and author; William Wei-lien Chang (1933-), well-known pathologist, formerly of West Virginia University, and author of numerous research articles in cell population kinetics and colon cancer; Tsan-kuo Chang (1950-), professor at the University of Minnesota and author of *The Press and China Policy: The Illusion of Sino-Soviet Relations, 1950-84*; and Kong-cheng Ho (1940-), associate professor of neurology at the Medical College of Wisconsin and author of 66 publications on Alzheimer's disease and the development of the brain.

ADMINISTRATION AND BUSINESS

Elaine Chao (1952-) is a former director of the Peace Corps and the United Way of America, and is married to Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky; Dean Shui-tien Hsieh (1948-), is a pharmaceutical company executive in Pennsylvania; Helen Kuan Chang (1962-), is a public relations director for San Jose Convention and Visitors Bureau; Jennifer Jen-huey (1964-), is an architect in San Francisco; Paul P. Hung (1933-), is an executive for

Wyeth-Ayerst Labs; John Chau Shih (1939-), is president of S Y Technology, Van Nuys, CA; and Yeou-chuong Simon Yu (1958-), is engineering manager for Monolith Technologies, Tucson, AZ.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Ang Lee (1954-) is a film director and producer who came to the United States in 1978 to study at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, changing his career goal from acting to film directing because of lack of fluency in English. His 1985 film, *Fine Line*, was selected as the best film at the New York University Film Festival of that year. Finding funding from a Taiwanese production company, he made *Pushing Hands* in 1992, a film that became a box-office success in Taiwan and won Golden Horse Award. The film was released in the U.S. in 1994. By far his best-known films are the *Wedding Banquet* (1993) and *Eat Drink Man Woman* (1994). He also directed the movie version of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*, a film nominated for seven academy awards. In addition, he directed the acclaimed 1997 movie, *The Ice Storm*. Doug Chiang (1962-) is a visual effects arts director at Industrial Light and Magic, the special effects company founded by George Lucas. Chiang was responsible for creation and design of *Death Becomes Her*, which won an Oscar in 1992. He has also won both an Academy Award and a British Academy Award for his work at Industrial Light and Magic. Chiang led the design team that provided the special effects for *Star Wars I: The Phantom Menace*, released in 1999.

JOURNALISM

Phoebe Eng (1961-) is an attorney and a founder of *A. Magazine*, a periodical devoted to Asian American issues with a readership of about 100,000. The magazine also reports on the media and the manner in which it covers Asian Americans and Asian American issues. In 1999, Eng wrote *Warrior Lessons*, an examination of what it means to be an Asian woman in America.

MUSIC

Cho-liang Lin, renowned violinist, is on the faculty of Julliard School.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Yuan-tse Lee (1936-) is a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry. The son of a well-known painter in Taiwan, Lee opted for science over art, attending

Berkeley in 1962 and working at Harvard University designing a mass spectrometer that could identify the paths of different ions as they separated. This work in the deflection and identification of the ions in chemical reactions won Lee the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1986. Paul Chu (1941-) has conducted researches in superconductivity that have earned him world-wide fame; David Ho (1952-) is a medical researcher whose work on the use of AZT in AIDS treatment won him a "Man of the Year" citation on the cover of Time magazine in 1995; Edward Lu is a NASA astronaut.

MEDIA

PRINT

There are several daily newspapers that publish nationally, aimed at a general Chinese American audience. In addition, some newspapers are linked to Taiwan in direct and indirect ways. The World Journal, for example, is affiliated with the media magnate Tih-wu Wang and his United Daily News of Taipei.

The Chinese Press.

Address: 15 Mercer St., New York, NY 10013.

Telephone: (212) 274-8282.

International Daily News.

Established in 1981; featuring news of the Taiwanese American community.

Address: 870 Monterey Pass Rd., Monterey Park, CA 91754.

Telephone: (213) 265-1317.

Sampan.

The only bilingual newspaper in New England serving the Asian community; published twice monthly.

Address: 90 Tyler St., Boston, MA 02111.

Telephone: (212) 426-9492.

Sing Tao Daily.

Address: Sing Tao Newspapers Ltd., 103-105 Mott Street, New York, NY 10013.

Telephone: (212) 431-9030.

Taiwan Economic News.

A quarterly magazine seeking to promote business relations between the U.S. and Taiwan.

Address: U.S.A.-Republic of China Council, 200 Main St., Crystal Lake, IL 60014.

Telephone: (815) 459-5875.

Taiwan Today.

A bimonthly newsletter with notes of events and happenings of interest to Friends of Free China.

Address: Friends of Free China, 1629 K St.,
Washington, DC 20006.

Taiwan Tribune.

Address: P.O. Box 1527, Long Island, NY 11101.

Telephone: (718) 639-7201.

World Journal.

Address: 231 Adrian Rd., Millbrae, CA 94108.

Telephone: (415) 982-6161.

RADIO

Global Communication Enterprises, New York;
Huayu Radio Broadcast, San Francisco.

KALW-FM (91.7).

Cantonese simulcast of evening news and a Chinese community hour on Saturday evenings.

Contact: Alan Favley, Program Coordinator.

Address: 2905 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

Telephone: (415) 648-1177.

KAZN-AM (1300).

Broadcasts programs in several Asian languages, including Chinese.

Contact: Shirley Price, Vice President.

Address: 800 Sierra Madre Villa, Pasadena,
CA 91107.

Telephone: (818) 352-1300.

KMAX-FM (107.1).

Religious programming with weekend Chinese shows.

Contact: Linda Johnson Hayes, General Manager.

Address: 3844 Foothill Blvd., Pasadena,
CA 91107.

Telephone: (213) 681-2486.

KUSF-FM (90.3).

Chinese news programming every morning.

Contact: Chinese Today Communication.

Address: P.O. Box 5673, South San Francisco,
CA 94083.

Telephone: (415) 386-5873.

WKCR-FM (89.9).

Broadcasts a three-hour Chinese variety show each Saturday morning.

Contact: Carl Biers, Program Director.

Address: Columbia University, 108 Ferris Hall,
New York, NY 10027.

Telephone: (212) 854-5223.

TELEVISION

Chinese World Television, New York; Hong Kong Television Broadcasts, U.S.A., Los Angeles; United Chinese TV, San Francisco; Hua Sheng TV, San Francisco; Pacific TV Broadcasting Co., San Francisco.

KCNS-TV (38).

Programming in Cantonese and Mandarin.

Contact: Jim Paymar, General Manager.

Address: 1550 Bryant St., San Francisco,
CA 94103.

Telephone: (415) 863-3800.

KSCI-TV (18).

Some Chinese programming.

Contact: Rosemary Fisher-Dannon, Executive Vice-President.

Address: 12401 W. Olympic Blvd., West Los Angeles, CA 90064-1022.

Telephone: (213) 478-1818.

KTSF-TV (26).

Chinese news programming and a Friday night movie in Chinese.

Address: 100 Valley Dr., Brisbane, CA 94005.

Telephone: (515) 468-2626.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Many Taiwanese American organizations have been founded to promote Taiwanese-U.S. relations and to promote a free Taiwan. Others have been formed around business and professional themes and concerns.

Formosan Association for Human Rights (FAHR).

A national organization to monitor and promote human rights on Taiwan, with 16 chapters and a monthly newsletter.

Contact: Ken S. Huang, President.

Address: P.O. Box 81384, Memphis, TN 38152.

Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA).

Attempts to affect U.S. policy vis-à-vis Taiwan. Chapters in 22 states and publishes a newsletter eight times annually.

Contact: J.P.C. Blaauw, Director.

Address: P.O. Box 15062, Washington, DC 20003.

Telephone: (202) 547-3686.

North America Taiwanese Professors' Association (NATPA).

Professors and senior researchers of Taiwanese origin or descent. Encourages educational exchange and cultural understanding among the Taiwanese and other peoples worldwide. Promotes scientific and professional knowledge. Seeks to further the welfare of Taiwanese communities in North America and Taiwan. Sponsors research and lectures on topics related to Taiwan.

Contact: Frank Chang, President.

Address: 5632 South Woodlawn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

E-mail: FCHIANG@mail.lawnet.fordham.edu.

Online: <http://www.natpa.org>.

Taiwanese Association of America (TAA).

Promotes friendship and welfare among Taiwanese Americans and those concerned with Taiwanese human rights.

Contact: Mr. Chiang, President.

Address: P.O. Box 3302, Iowa City, IA 52244.

Telephone: (319) 338-9082.

Taiwan Benevolent Association of California.

Address: 2225 W. Commonwealth Ave., No. 301, Alhambra, CA 91801.

Telephone: (818) 576-8368.

Taiwan Chamber of Commerce.

Address: 870 Market St., Suite 1046, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Telephone: (415) 981-5387.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Chinese Historical Society of America.

Devoted to the study of the Chinese people in the United States from the nineteenth century to the present, and to the collection of their relics.

Contact: Ted Wong, President.

Address: 650 Commercial St., San Francisco, CA 94111.

Telephone: (415) 391-1188.

Institute of Chinese Studies Library.

Holdings of 1500 volumes on Chinese peoples and cultures.

Contact: James A. Ziervogel, Director.

Address: 1605 Elizabeth St., Pasadena, CA 91104.

Telephone: (818) 398-2320.

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Harrell, Stevan, and Huang Chün-chieh, eds. *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

Hsiang-shui Chen. *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Ng, Franklin. *The Taiwanese Americans*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998.

T HAI AMERICANS

by
Megan Ratner

OVERVIEW

The Kingdom of Thailand was known as Siam until 1939. The Thai name for this nation is Prathet Thai or Muang Thai (Land of the Free). Located in Southeast Asia, it is somewhat smaller than Texas. The country covers an area of 198,456 square miles (514,000 square kilometers) and shares a northern border with Burma and Laos; an eastern boundary with Laos, Kampuchea, and the Gulf of Thailand; and a southern border with Malaysia. Burma and the Andaman Sea lie on its western edge.

Thailand has a population of just over 58 million people. Nearly 90 percent of the Thai people are Mongoloid, with lighter complexions than their Burmese, Kampuchean, and Malay neighbors. The largest minority group, about ten percent of the population, is Chinese, followed by the Malay and various tribal groups, including the Hmong, Iu Mien, Lisu, Luwa, Shan, and Karen. There are also 60,000 to 70,000 Vietnamese who live in Thailand. Nearly all people in the country follow the teachings of Buddhism. The 1932 constitution required that the king be a Buddhist, but it also called for freedom of worship, designating the monarch as "Defender of the Faith." The present king, Bhumibol Adulyadei, thus protects and improves the welfare of the small groups of Muslims (five percent), Christians (less than one percent), and Hindus (less than one percent) who also worship in Thailand. The Western name of the capital city is Bangkok; in

The Thai family is highly structured, and each member has his or her specific place based on age, gender, and rank within the family. They can expect help and security as long as they remain within the confines of this order.

Thai, it is *Krung Thep* (City of Angels) or *Pra Nakhorn* (Heavenly Capital). It is the seat of the Royal House, Government, and Parliament. Thai is the official language of the country, with English the most widely spoken second language; Chinese and Malay are also spoken. Thailand's flag consists of a broad blue horizontal band at the center, with narrower bands of stripes above and below it; the inner ones are white, the outer ones red.

HISTORY

The Thai have an ancient and complex history. Early Thai people migrated south from China in the early centuries a.d. Despite the fact that their former kingdom was located in Yunnan, China, the Thai, or T'ai, are a distinct linguistic and cultural group whose southward migration led to the establishment of several nation states now known as Thailand, Laos, and Shan State in Myanmar (Burma). By the sixth century a.d. an important network of agricultural communities had spread as far south as Pattani, close to Thailand's modern border with Malaysia, and to the northeastern area of present-day Thailand. The Thai nation became officially known as "Syam" in 1851 under the reign of King Mongkrut. Eventually, this name became synonymous with the Thai kingdom and the name by which it was known for many years. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, several Thai principalities united and sought to break from their Khmer (early Cambodian) rulers. Sukothai, which the Thai consider the first independent Siamese state, declared its independence in 1238 (1219, according to some records). The new kingdom expanded into Khmer territory and onto the Malay peninsula. Sri Indradit, the Thai leader in the independence movement, became king of the Sukothai Dynasty. He was succeeded by his son, Ram Khamhaeng, who is regarded in Thai history as a hero. He organized a writing system (the basis for modern Thai) and codified the Thai form of Theravada Buddhism. This period is often viewed by modern-day Thais as a golden age of Siamese religion, politics, and culture. It was also one of great expansion: under Ram Khamheng, the monarchy extended to Nakhon Si Thammarat in the south, to Vientiane and Luang Prabang in Laos, and to Pegu in southern Burma.

Ayutthaya, the capital city, was established after Ram Khamheng's death in 1317. The Thai kings of Ayutthaya became quite powerful in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, adopting Khmer court customs and language and gaining more absolute authority. During this period, Europeans—the Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, and Span-

ish—began to pay visits to Siam, establishing diplomatic links and Christian missions within the kingdom. Early accounts note that the city and port of Ayutthaya astonished its European guests, who noted that London was nothing more than a village in comparison. On the whole, the Thai kingdom distrusted foreigners, but maintained a cordial relationship with the then-expanding colonial powers. During the reign of King Narai, two Thai diplomatic groups were sent on a friendship mission to King Louis XIV of France.

In 1765 Ayutthaya suffered a devastating invasion from the Burmese, with whom the Thais had endured hostile relations for at least 200 years. After several years of savage battle, the capital fell and the Burmese set about destroying anything the Thais held sacred, including temples, religious sculpture, and manuscripts. But the Burmese could not maintain a solid base of control, and they were ousted by Phraya Taksin, a first-generation Chinese Thai general who declared himself king in 1769 and ruled from a new capital, Thonburi, across the river from Bangkok.

Chao Phraya Chakri, another general, was crowned in 1782 under the title Rama I. He moved the capital across the river to Bangkok. In 1809, Rama II, Chakri's son, assumed the throne and reigned until 1824. Rama III, also known as Phraya Nang Klao, ruled from 1824 through 1851; like his predecessor, he worked hard to restore the Thai culture that had been almost completely destroyed in the Burmese invasion. Not until the reign of Rama IV, or King Mongkut, which began in 1851, did the Thai strengthen relations with Europeans. Rama IV worked with the British to establish trade treaties and modernize the government, while managing to avoid British and French colonialization. During the reign of his son, Rama V (King Chulalongkorn), who ruled from 1868 to 1910, Siam lost some territory to French Laos and British Burma. The short rule of Rama VI (1910-1925) saw the introduction of compulsory education and other educational reforms.

MODERN ERA

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a group of Thai intellectuals and military personnel (many of whom had been educated in Europe) embraced democratic ideology and were able to effect a successful—and bloodless—*coup d'état* against the absolute monarchy in Siam. This occurred during the reign of Rama VII, between 1925 and 1935. In its stead, the Thai developed a constitutional monarchy based on the British model, with a combined military-civil-

ian group in charge of governing the country. The country's name was officially changed to Thailand in 1939 during prime minister Phibul Songkhram's government. (He had been a key military figure in the 1932 coup.)

Japan occupied Thailand during World War II and Phibul declared war on the United States and Great Britain. The Thai ambassador in Washington, however, refused to make the declaration. Seri Thai (Free Thai) underground groups worked with the allied powers both outside and within Thailand. The end of World War II terminated Phibul's regime. After a short stint of democratic civilian control, Phibul regained control in 1948, only to have much of his power taken away by General Sarit Thanarat, another military dictator. By 1958, Sarit had abolished the constitution, dissolved the parliament, and outlawed all political parties. He maintained power until his death in 1963.

Army officers ruled the country from 1964 to 1973, during which time the United States was given permission to establish army bases on Thai soil to support the troops fighting in Vietnam. The generals who ran the country during the 1970s closely aligned Thailand with the United States during the war. Civilian participation in government was allowed intermittently. In 1983 the constitution was amended to allow for a more democratically elected National Assembly, and the monarch exerted a moderating influence on the military and on civilian politicians.

The success of a promilitary coalition in the March 1992 elections touched off a series of disturbances in which 50 citizens died. The military violently suppressed a "pro-democracy" movement on the streets of Bangkok in May 1992. Following the intervention of the king, another round of elections was held in September of that year, when Chuan Leekpai, the leader of the Democrat Party, was elected. His government fell in 1995, and the chaos that resulted along with the nation's large foreign debt led to the collapse of the Thai economy in 1997. Slowly, with help from the INM, the nation's economy has recovered.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Thai immigration to America was nearly nonexistent before 1960, when U.S. armed forces began arriving in Thailand during the Vietnam war. After interacting with Americans, Thais became more aware of the possibility for immigration to the United States. By the 1970s, some 5,000 Thais had emigrated to this country, at a ratio of three women to every man. The largest concentration of Thai immi-

grants can be found in Los Angeles and New York City. These new immigrants consisted of professionals, especially medical doctors and nurses, business entrepreneurs, and wives of men in the U.S. Air Force who had either been stationed in Thailand or had spent their vacations there while on active duty in Southeast Asia.

In 1980 the U.S. Census recorded concentrations of Thai near military installations, especially Air Force bases, in certain U.S. counties, ranging from Aroostook County (Loring Air Force Base) in Maine to Bossier Parish (Barksdale Air Force Base) in Louisiana and New Mexico's Curry County (Cannon Air Force Base). A few counties with a larger military presence such as Sarpy County in Nebraska, where the Strategic Air Command has been headquartered, and Solano County, California, where Travis Air Force Base is located, became home to larger groups. Fairly large concentrations of Thai were also found in Davis County, Indiana, the location of Hill Air Force Base, Eglin Air Force Base in Okaloosa County, Florida, and Wayne County, North Carolina, where Seymour Johnson Air Force Base is located.

The Thai Dam, an ethnic group from the mountain valleys of northern Vietnam and Laos were also counted as immigrants of Thai ancestry by the U.S. Census Bureau, though they are actually refugees from other countries. They are centered in Des Moines, Iowa. Like other Southeast Asian refugees of this area, they have coped with problems of housing, crime, social isolation, and depression. Most of them are employed, but in low-paying menial jobs that offer little in the way of advancement.

During the 1980s, Thais immigrated to the United States at an average rate of 6,500 per year. Student or temporary visitor visas were a frequent venue to the United States. The main attraction of the United States is the wide array of opportunities and higher wages. However, unlike people from other countries in Indochina, none whose original homes were in Thailand has been forced to come to the United States as refugees.

In general, Thai communities are tightly knit and mimic the social networks of their native land. As of 1990, there were approximately 91,275 people of Thai ancestry living in the United States. The greatest number of Thais are in California, some 32,064. Most of these people are clustered in the Los Angeles area, some 19,016. There are also high numbers of people whose temporary visas have expired who are believed to be in this area. The homes and businesses of Thai immigrants are dispersed throughout the city, but there is a high con-

centration in Hollywood, between Hollywood and Olympic boulevards and near Western Avenue. Thais own banks, gas stations, beauty parlors, travel agencies, grocery stores, and restaurants. Further exposure to the English language and American culture has caused the population to disperse somewhat. New York, with a Thai population of 6,230 (most in New York City) and Texas with 5,816 (primarily Houston and Dallas) have the second and third largest Thai populations, respectively.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Thai Americans have adapted well to American society. Although they maintain their culture and ethnic traditions, they accept the norms as practiced in this society. This flexibility and adaptability has had a profound effect on first-generation American-born Thais, who tend to be quite assimilated or Americanized. According to members of the community, the young people's acceptance of American ways has made these new changes more acceptable to their parents, facilitating relations between "established" Americans and newcomers. With the high concentration of Thais in California and recent efforts to define who is and is not "native," members of the Thai community have expressed fears that there may be problems in the future.

Although many traditional beliefs are retained by Thai Americans, Thais often try to adjust their beliefs in order to live in the United States comfortably. Thais are often perceived as too adaptable and lacking in innovation. A common expression, *mai pen rai*, meaning "never mind" or "it doesn't matter," has been seen by some Americans as an indication of Thais' unwillingness to expand or develop ideas. Also, Thais are often mistaken for Chinese or Indochinese, which has led to misunderstandings, and offended Thais since Thai culture is bound up with Buddhism and has its own traditions, different from Chinese culture. In addition, Thais are often assumed to be refugees rather than immigrants by choice. Thai Americans are anxious that their presence be seen as a benefit, not a burden, to American society.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Thais do not shake hands when they meet. Instead, they keep their elbows at their sides and press their palms together at about chest height in a prayer-like gesture called *wai*. The head is bent in this greeting; the lower the head, the more respect one shows.

Children are supposed to *wai* adults and they receive an acknowledgement in the form of *wai* or a smile in return. In Thai culture the feet are considered the lowest part of the body, both spiritually and physically. When visiting any religious edifice, feet must be pointed away from any Buddha images, which are always kept in high places and shown great respect. Thais consider pointing at something with one's feet to be the epitome of bad manners. The head is regarded as the highest part of the body; therefore Thais do not touch each other's hair, nor do they pat each other on the head. A favorite Thai proverb is: Do good and receive good; do evil and receive evil.

CUISINE

Perhaps the greatest contribution from the small Thai American community has been their cuisine. Thai restaurants remain a popular choice in large cities, and the Thai style of cooking has even begun to appear in frozen dinners. Thai cooking is light, pungent, and flavorful, and some dishes can be quite spicy. The mainstay of Thai cooking, as in the rest of Southeast Asia, is rice. In fact, the Thai words for "rice" and "food" are synonymous. Meals often include one spicy dish, such as a curry, with other meat and vegetable side dishes. Thai food is eaten with a spoon.

Presentation of food for the Thai is a work of art, especially if the meal marks a special occasion. Thais are renowned for their ability to carve fruit; melons, mandarins, and pomelos, to name just a few, are carved in the shapes of intricate flowers, classic designs, or birds. Staples of Thai cuisine include coriander roots, peppercorns, and garlic (which are often ground together), lemon grass, *nam pla* (fish sauce), and *kapi* (shrimp paste). The meal generally includes soup, one or two *kaengs* (dishes that include thin, clear, soup-like gravy; though Thais describe these sauces as "curry," it is not what most Westerners know as curry), and as many *krueng kieng* (side dishes) as possible. Among these, there might be a *phad* (stir-fried) dish, something with *phrik* (hot chili peppers) in it, or a *thawd* (deep-fried) dish. Thai cooks use very few recipes, preferring to taste and adjust seasonings as they cook.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional clothing for Thai women consists of a *prasin*, or a wrap-around skirt (sarong), which is worn with a fitted, long-sleeved jacket. Among the most beautiful costumes are those worn by dancers of classical Thai ballet. Women wear a tight-fitting under jacket and a *panung*, or skirt, which is made

These Thai American girls are working on a Tournament of Roses Parade float of a dragon.



of silk, silver, or gold brocade. The *panung* is pleated in front, and a belt holds it in place. A pailletted and jeweled velvet cape fastens to the front of the belt and drapes down behind to nearly the hem of the *panung*. A wide jewelled collar, armllets, necklace, and bracelets make up the rest of the costume, which is capped with a *chadah*, the temple-style

headdress. Dancers are sewn into their costumes before a performance. The jewels and metal thread can make the costume weigh nearly 40 pounds. Men's costumes feature tight-fitting silver thread brocade jackets with epaulets and an ornately embroidered collar. Embroidered panels hang from his belt, and his calf-length pants are made of silk.

His jewelled headdress has a tassel on the right, while the woman's is on the left. Dancers wear no shoes. For everyday life, Thais wear sandals or Western-style footwear. Shoes are always removed when entering a house. For the last 100 years, Western clothing has become the standard form of clothing in Thailand's urban areas. Thai Americans wear ordinary American clothes for everyday occasions.

HOLIDAYS

Thais are well known for enjoying festivities and holidays, even if they are not part of their culture; Bangkok residents were known to take part in the Christmas and even Bastille Day celebrations of the resident foreign communities. Thai holidays include New Year's Day (January 1); Chinese New Year (February 15); Magha Puja, which occurs on the full moon of the third lunar month (February) and commemorates the day when 1,250 disciples heard the Buddha's first sermon; Chakri Day (April 6), which marks the enthronement of King Rama I; Songkran (mid-April), the Thai New Year, an occasion when caged birds and fish are set free and water is thrown by everyone on everyone else; Coronation Day (May 5); Visakha Puja (May, on the full moon of the sixth lunar month) is the holiest of Buddhist days, celebrating Lord Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and death; Queen's Birthday, August 12; King's Birthday, December 5.

LANGUAGE

A member of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages, Thai is one of the oldest languages in East or Southeast Asia. Some anthropologists have hypothesized that it may even predate Chinese. The two languages share certain similarities since they are monosyllabic tonal languages; that is, since there are only 420 phonetically different words in Thai, a single syllable can have multiple meanings. Meanings are determined by five different tones (in Thai): a high or low tone; a level tone; and a falling or rising tone. For example, depending on the inflection, the syllable *mai* can mean "widow," "silk," "burn," "wood," "new," "not?" or "not." In addition to the tonal similarities with Chinese, Thai has also borrowed from Pali and Sanskrit, notably the phonetic alphabet conceived by King Ram Khamhaeng in 1283 and still in use today. The signs of the alphabet take their pattern from Sanskrit; there are also supplemental signs for tones, which are like vowels and can stand beside or above the consonant to which they belong. This alphabet is similar to the alphabets of the neighboring countries of Burma, Laos, and Kampuchea. Compulsory educa-

tion in Thailand is up to the sixth grade and the literacy rate is over 90 percent. There are 39 universities and colleges and 36 Teachers Training Colleges in Thailand to meet the needs of thousands of secondary school students who want higher educational attainment.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common Thai greetings are: *Sa wat dee*—Good morning, afternoon, or evening, as well as good-bye (by the host); *Lah kon*—Good-bye (by the guest); *Krab*—sir; *Ka*—madam; *Kob kun*—Thank you; *Prode*—Please; *Kor hai choke dee*—Good luck; *Farang*—foreigner; *Chern krab* (if the speaker is male), or *Chern kra* (if the speaker is female)—Please, you are welcome, it's all right, go ahead, you first (depending on the circumstances).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Traditional Thai families are closely knit, often incorporating servants and employees. Togetherness is a hallmark of the family structure: people never sleep alone, even in houses with ample room, unless they ask to do so. Virtually no one is left to live alone in an apartment or house. As a consequence, Thais make few complaints about academic dormitories or the dormitories provided by factories.

The Thai family is highly structured, and each member has his or her specific place based on age, gender, and rank within the family. They can expect help and security as long as they remain within the confines of this order. Relationships are strictly defined and named with terms so precise that they reveal the relation (parental, sibling, uncle, aunt, cousin), the relative age (younger, older), and side of the family (maternal or paternal). These terms are used more often in conversation than the person's given name. The biggest change that settlement in the United States has brought has been the diminishing of extended families. These are prevalent in Thailand, but the lifestyle and mobility of American society has made the extended Thai family hard to maintain.

SPIRIT HOUSES

In Thailand, many houses and buildings have an accompanying spirit house, or a place for the property guardian spirit (*Phra phum*) to reside. Some Thais believe that families living in a home without a spirit house cause spirits to live with the family,

which invites trouble. Spirit houses, which are usually about the same size as a birdhouse, are mounted on a pedestal and resemble Thai temples. In Thailand, large buildings such as hotels may have a spirit house as large as an average family dwelling. The spirit house is given the best location on the property and is shaded by the main house. Its position is planned at the time of the building's construction; then it is ceremonially erected. Corresponding improvements, including additions, are also made to the spirit house whenever modifications are made to the main house.

WEDDINGS

Arrival in the United States has brought an increase in self-determined marriages. Unlike other Asian countries, Thailand has been far more permissive toward marriages of personal choice, though parents generally have some say in the matter. Marriages tend to take place between families of equal social and economic status. There are no ethnic or religious restrictions, and intermarriage in Thailand is quite common, especially between Thai and Chinese, and Thai and Westerners.

Wedding ceremonies can be ornate affairs, or there may be no ceremony at all. If a couple lives together for a while and has a child together, they are recognized as "de facto married." Most Thais do have a ceremony, however, and wealthier members of the community consider this essential. Prior to the wedding, the two families agree on the expenses of the ceremony and the "bride price." The couple begins their wedding day with a religious ritual in the early morning and by receiving blessings from monks. During the ceremony, the couple kneels side by side. An astrologer or a monk chooses a favorable time for the couple's heads to be linked with joined loops of *sai mongkon* (white thread) by a senior elder. He pours sacred water over their hands, which they allow to drip into bowls of flowers. Guests bless the couple by pouring sacred water in the same way. The second part of the ceremony is essentially a secular practice. Thais do not make any vows to one another. Rather, the two linked but independent circles of the white thread serve to symbolically emphasize that the man and woman have each retained their individual identities while, at the same time, joining their destinies.

One tradition, practiced primarily in the countryside, is to have "sympathetic magic" performed by an older, successfully married couple. This duo lies in the marriage bed before the newlyweds, where they say many auspicious things about the bed and its superiority as a place for conception. They then get

off the bed and strew it with symbols of fertility, such as a tomcat, bags of rice, sesame seeds and coins, a stone pestle, or a bowl of rainwater. The newlyweds are supposed to keep these objects (except the tomcat) in their bed for three days.

Even in cases in which the marriage has been sealed by a ceremony, divorce is a simple matter: if both parties consent, they sign a mutual statement to this effect at the district office. If only one party wants the divorce, he or she must show proof of the other's desertion or lack of support for one year. The divorce rate among Thais, both officially and unofficially, is relatively low compared to the American divorce rate, and the remarriage rate is high.

BIRTH

Pregnant women are not given any gifts before a baby is born so as to keep them from being scared by evil spirits. These evil spirits are thought to be the spirits of women who died childless and unmarried. For a minimum of three days to a month after birth, the baby is still considered a spirit child. It is customary to refer to a newborn as frog, dog, toad, or other animal terms that are seen as helpful in escaping the attention of evil spirits. Parents often ask a monk or an elder to select an appropriate name for their child, usually of two or more syllables, which is used for legal and official purposes. Nearly all Thais have a one-syllable nickname, which usually translates as frog, rat, pig, fatty, or many versions of tiny. Like the formal name, a nickname is intended to keep the evil spirits away.

FUNERALS

Many Thais consider *ngarn sop* (the cremation ceremony) the most important of all the rites. It is a family occasion and the presence of Buddhist monks is necessary. One *baht* coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse (to enable the dead person to buy his or her way into purgatory), and the hands are arranged into a *wai* and tied with white thread. A banknote, two flowers, and two candles are placed between the hands. White thread is used to tie the ankles as well, and the mouth and eyes are sealed with wax. The corpse is placed in a coffin with the feet facing west, the direction of the setting sun and of death.

Dressed in mourning black or white, the relatives gather around the body to hear the sutras of the monks who sit in a row on raised padded seats or on a platform. On the day that the body is cremated, which for persons of high rank can be as long as a year after the funeral ceremony, the coffin

is carried to the site feet first. In order to appease the spirits who are drawn to the funeral activities, rice is scattered on the ground. All the mourners are given candles and incense bouquets. As tokens of respect for the deceased, these are thrown on the funeral pyre, which consists of piles of wood under an ornate paste pagoda. The most exalted guest then officiates at the cremation by being the first to light this structure. The actual cremation that follows is attended by the next of kin only and is usually held a few yards from the ritual funeral pyre. The occasion is sometimes followed by a meal for guests who may have traveled from far away to attend the ceremony. On that evening and the two following, monks come to the house to chant blessings for the departed soul and for the protection of the living. According to Thai tradition, the departed family member is advancing along the cycle of death and rebirth toward the state of perfect peace; thus, sadness has no place at this rite.

EDUCATION

Education has traditionally been of paramount importance to Thais. Educational accomplishment is considered a status-enhancing achievement. Until the late nineteenth century, the responsibility for educating the young lay entirely with the monks in the temple. Since the beginning of this century, however, overseas study and degrees have been actively sought and highly prized. Originally, this sort of education was open only to royalty, but, according to Immigration and Naturalization Services information, some 835 Thai students came to study in the United States in 1991.

RELIGION

Nearly 95 percent of all Thais identify themselves as Theravada Buddhists. Theravada Buddhism originated in India and stresses three principal aspects of existence: *dukkha* (suffering, dissatisfaction, “disease”), *annicaa* (impermanence, transiency of all things), and *anatta* (non-substantiality of reality; no permanence of the soul). These principles, which were articulated by Siddhartha Gautama in the sixth century b.c., contrasted with the Hindu belief in an eternal, blissful Self. Buddhism, therefore, was originally a heresy against India’s Brahman religion.

Gautama was given the title Buddha, or “enlightened one.” He advocated the “eight-fold path” (*atthangika-magga*) which requires high ethical standards and conquering desire. The concept of reincarnation is central. By feeding monks, making regular donations to temples, and worshipping regu-

larly at the *wat* (temple), Thais try to improve their situation—acquire enough merit (*bun*)—to lessen the number of rebirths, or subsequent reincarnations, a person must undergo before reaching Nirvana. In addition, the accumulation of merit helps determine the quality of the individual’s station in future lives. *Tham bun*, or merit making, is an important social and religious activity for Thais. Because Buddhist teachings emphasize philanthropic donations as part of achieving merit, Thais tend to be supportive of a wide range of charities. The emphasis, however, is on charities that assist the indigent in Thailand.

Ordination into the Buddhist order of monks often serves to mark the entry into the adult world. Ordination is for men only, though women can become nuns by shaving their heads, wearing white robes, and obtaining permission to reside in the nun’s quarters on grounds within the temple. They do not officiate at any rituals. Most Thai men *Buat Phra* (enter the monkhood) at some point in their lives, often just prior to their marriage. Many only stay for a short period, sometimes as little as a few days, but in general they remain for at least one *phansa*, the three-month Buddhist Lent that coincides with the rainy season. Among the prerequisites for ordination is four years’ education. Most ordinations occur in July, just before Lent.

The *thankwan nak* ceremony serves to strengthen the *kwan*, or the soul, the life essence, of the person to be ordained. During this time, he is called a *nak*, which means dragon, referring to a Buddhist myth about a dragon who became a monk. In the ceremony, the *nak*’s head and eyebrows are shaved to symbolize his rejection of vanity. For three to four hours, a professional master of ceremonies sings of the mother’s pain in giving birth to the child and emphasizes the many filial obligations of the young man. The ceremony concludes with all relatives and friends gathered in a circle holding a white thread and then passing three lighted candles in a clockwise direction. Guests generally give gifts of money.

The following morning, the *nak*, dressed in white (to symbolize purity), is carried on the shoulders of his friends under tall umbrellas in a colorful procession. He bows before his father, who hands him the saffron robes he will wear as a monk. He leads his son to the abbot and the four or more other monks who are seated on a raised platform before the main Buddha image. The *nak* asks permission for ordination after prostrating himself three times to the abbot. The abbot reads a scripture and drapes a yellow sash on the *nak*’s body to symbolize acceptance for ordination. He is then taken out of view and dressed in the saffron robes by the two monks who will oversee his instruction. He then requests the ten basic vows of a novice

monk and repeats each as it is recited to him.

The father presents alms bowls and other gifts to the abbot. Facing the Buddha, the candidate then answers questions to show that he has met the conditions for entry into the monkhood. The ceremony concludes with all the monks chanting and the new monk pouring water from a silver container into a bowl to symbolize the transference of all merit he has acquired from being a monk to his parents. They in turn perform the same ritual to transfer some of their new merit to other relatives. The ritual's emphasis is on his identity as a Buddhist and his newfound adult maturity. At the same time, the rite reinforces the link between generations and the importance of family and community.

Thai Americans have accommodated themselves to the environment here by adapting their religious practices when necessary. One of the most far-reaching of these changes was the switch from lunar calendar days to the conventional Saturday or Sunday services that are offered in the United States.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Thai men tend to aspire to military or civil service jobs. Rural women have been traditionally engaged in running businesses, while educated women are involved in all types of professions. In the United States, most Thais own small businesses or work as skilled laborers. Many women have opted for nursing careers. There are no Thai-only labor unions, nor do Thais particularly dominate one profession.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Thai Americans tend not to be active in community politics in this country, but are more concerned with issues in Thailand. This reflects the general insulation of the community, where there are specific delineations between northern and southern Thais and where intercommunity outreach with other groups has been almost nonexistent. Thai Americans are quite active in Thai politics and they keep an active watch on economic, political and social movements there.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Many Thai Americans work in the health-care industry. Boondharm Wongananda (1935-) is a

noted surgeon in Silver Spring, Maryland, and the executive director of the Thais for Thai Association. Also worthy of mention is Phongpan Tana (1946-), the director of nurses in a Long Beach, California hospital. Several other Thai Americans have become educators, company executives, and engineers. Some Thai Americans are also beginning to enter the field of American politics; Asuntha Maria Ming-Yee Chiang (1970-) is a legislative correspondent in Washington, D.C.

MEDIA

TELEVISION

THAI-TV USA.

Offers programming in Thai in the Los Angeles area.

Contact: Paul Khongwittaya.

Address: 1123 North Vine Street, Los Angeles, California 90038.

Telephone: (213) 962-6696.

Fax: (213) 464-2312.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Siam Society.

Cultural organization that encourages investigation of art, science, and literature in relation to Thailand and its neighboring countries.

Address: 633 24th Street, Santa Monica, California 90402-3135.

Telephone: (213) 393-1176.

Thai Society of Southern California.

Contact: K. Jongsatityoo, Public Relations Officer.

Address: 2002 South Atlantic Boulevard, Monterey Park, California 91754.

Telephone: (213) 720-1596.

Fax: (213) 726-2666.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Asia Resource Center.

Founded in 1974. The center includes among its holdings 15 drawers of clippings on East and Southeast Asia, from 1976 through the present, as well as photograph files, films, video cassettes, and slide programs.

Contact: Roger Rumpf, Executive Director.

Address: Box 15275, Washington, D.C. 20003.
Telephone: (202) 547-1114.
Fax: (202) 543-7891.

Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.

The center concentrates its activities on the social and political conditions in Southeast Asian countries, including the history and culture of Thailand. It studies cultural stability and change, especially the consequences of Western influences and offers Thai lessons and distributes Thai cultural readers.

Contact: Randolph Barker, Director.
Address: 180 Uris Hall, Ithaca, New York 14853.
Telephone: (607) 255-2378.
Fax: (607) 254-5000.

**University of California, Berkeley
South/Southeast Asia Library Service.**

This library contains a special Thai collection in addition to its substantial holdings on the social sciences and humanities of Southeast Asia. The entire collection comprises some 400,000 monographs, dissertations, microfilm, pamphlets, manuscripts, videotapes, sound recordings, and maps.

Contact: Virginia Jing-yi Shih.
Address: 438 Doe Library, Berkeley, California
94720-6000.

Telephone: (510) 642-3095.
Fax: (510) 643-8817.

Yale University Southeast Asia Collection.

This collection of materials centers on the social sciences and humanities of Southeast Asia. Holdings include some 200,000 volumes.

Contact: Charles R. Bryant, Curator.
Address: Sterling Memorial Library, Yale
University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.
Telephone: (203) 432-1859.
Fax: (203) 432-7231.

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Thailand and Burma. London: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1994.

TIBETAN AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

The chant of Tibetan monks is recognized around the world as the music of Tibet. The Tibetans cultivated multiphonic singing, in which a singer intones three simultaneous notes, creating a complete chord.

OVERVIEW

Tibet is officially known as the Tibet Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. Located in the highlands of southwest China, Tibet is approximately 14,800 feet above sea level. It has a land area of 463,320 square miles, which is twice the size of Texas, and is home to five million people. With a history dating back to 127 B.C., Tibet was an independent country until 1949, when it was invaded and occupied by the People's Republic of China.

Lhasa is Tibet's capital and only major city. Tibetan is the language spoken by most of the province's native peoples, even though Chinese is recognized as the official language. Until 1949, Tibet's national religion was Lamaism Buddhism, which was headed by the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama is revered by Tibetans as the spiritual and political leader of the nation. The current Dalai Lama lives in exile in India, where he heads a community of 120,000 Tibetan refugees. He leads an international campaign to regain Tibet's freedom and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 for his efforts. Until the early 1980s, Tibet was virtually inaccessible to Westerners.

The Tibetan flag consists of a yellow border around alternating vertical bands of blue and red. The center of the flag contains a snow-capped mountain peak with a yellow sun above. Below the peak are two swirling jewels that are held between two lions facing each other.

HISTORY

According to tradition, Tibetans trace their ancestry to the copulation of an ape, a manifestation of wisdom, and an ogress, a form of the goddess Tara, whose offspring gave birth to the Tibetan people. Monkey gods are part of the religious folklore of India and other Buddhist countries. Chinese scholars claim that Tibetans descended from the Quiang, nomadic shepherds of western China who first appeared around 1000 B.C. During its history, Tibet has ruled parts of China, India, Nepal, central Asia, and the Middle East. The Tibetan nation gained world prominence in the sixth and seventh centuries as a silk and spice trading center. The Mongolians under Genghis Khan conquered Tibet during the Middle Ages, but bestowed political power on the head of the *Lamanists* Buddhist organization. In the seventeenth century, China gained sovereignty over Tibet and ruled until the British invaded in 1904. At the Anglo-Chinese convention in 1906, the Chinese again were recognized as the sovereign power in Tibet. By 1907, the governments of Britain and Russia agreed not to interfere in Tibetan affairs. The Tibetans rebelled against China in 1912 and expelled all Chinese officials.

“[O]ne night the Chinese Communists came there. They were shooting guns, machine guns, you know. So we were all scared. There were eight hundred of us in that monastery—it was a small monastery for Tibet. Only six of us made it away.”

Labring Sakya, cited in *American Mosaic: The Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*, Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky, (E.P. Dutton, New York, 1980).

MODERN ERA

The People's Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949 and, after defeating the small Tibetan army, established control of the province. For nearly ten years after the Chinese invasion, the Dalai Lama remained in Tibet. In 1959, the Tibetans rebelled against the Chinese. The People's Liberation Army crushed the uprising, killing more than 87,000 Tibetans. The Dalai Lama, members of his government, and roughly 80,000 Tibetans escaped from Tibet. They sought political asylum in India, Nepal and Bhutan, and announced the formation of a Tibetan government-in-exile. The government of India welcomed the Tibetan refugees, but did not grant recognition to the Dalai Lama's government-in-exile. Since 1959, fifty-four refugee settlements have been established in India, Nepal, and Bhutan.

More than 1.2 million Tibetans died as a result of the Chinese invasion and occupation of Tibet. The United Nations passed three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961, and 1965 expressing concern over human rights violations. The Tibetan government-in-exile has been reorganized along democratic principles in order to preserve Tibetan culture and education, and seek the restoration of Tibet's freedom. Tibetan people throughout the world consider this government-in-exile, which is based in Dharamsala, India, to be the sole legitimate government of Tibet.

The Chinese military presence in Tibet is estimated to number around 500,000 uniformed personnel. China is also believed to have stationed approximately 90 nuclear warheads in Tibet. China's North-west Nuclear Weapons Research and Design Academy, which is located in Tibet's north-eastern area of Amdo, is reported to have dumped an unknown quantity of radioactive waste on the Tibetan plateau. In 1999, various pro-Tibet organizations protested the World Bank's funding of China's WPRP project, which involved the transfer of about 61,775 non-Tibetan settlers into Tibet. The Chinese government has actively encouraged Chinese emigration to Tibet and Tibetans have become a minority within their own country.

By the late 1990s there were over 120,000 Tibetans in exile, including more than 5,000 living outside of the Indian subcontinent. Large numbers of Tibetans continue to leave their country in order to escape Chinese persecution. Many of these exiles have sought the assistance of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), foreign donor agencies, and the governments of India, Nepal, and Bhutan.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The earliest Tibetans immigrating to the United States were classified as "other Asian," and immigration records show that between 1881 and 1890, 1,910 "other Asians" were admitted. It is not known how many of these were from Tibet. The Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1949 prompted an exodus of Tibetans, most of who settled in neighboring India, although some came to the United States as refugees. Refugees are considered non-immigrants when initially admitted into the United States but are not included in non-immigrant admission data. Therefore, ancestry records are the most revealing indicators of the Tibetan American population. According to the 1990 U. S. Census, there were 2,185 Americans with Tibetan and other Asian ancestry. Most, if not all, Tibetan Americans have

arrived as refugees. The Refugee Act of 1980 allowed refugee admission of persons for whom the United States expressed humanitarian concerns. Transportation arrangements to the United States are usually made through the International Organization for Migration. Refugees are expected to repay the cost of their transportation. At the port of entry, the Immigration and Naturalization Service admits the refugees officially to the United States and authorizes employment.

As part of the Immigration Act of 1990, 1,000 displaced Tibetans were given special immigrant visas and have since resettled throughout the United States. The 18 Tibetans who entered in 1993 as refugees had not been granted asylum by 1997, according to a U. S. State Department report. Tibetans, classified as citizens of China, were not eligible to participate in the 1998 DV-99 diversity lottery. The diversity lottery is conducted under the terms of Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and makes available 50,000 permanent resident visas annually to persons from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The majority of Tibetan Americans have settled in southern California, where Tibetan Buddhism is the fastest growing branch of Buddhism. Forty percent of all Buddhists in the United States live in California. Approximately 90 Tibetan families are scattered throughout southern California, most of them assisted by the Los Angeles Friends of Tibet Association. The Tibetan American community is close-knit and supportive.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Many Tibetan Americans keep their cultural tradition of having only one name. Like other refugees with limited education, Tibetan Americans often take menial jobs in the community. However, unlike other refugees, Tibetan Americans often receive extensive aid from local organizations because the plight of Tibetans is widely publicized. For example, the Tibetan Association of Ithaca, New York, and Area Friends of Tibet sponsors an annual Week of Tibet, with events that celebrate Tibetan culture, foods, folk dancing, and fund-raising for Tibetan causes. Similarly, the Tibetan Cultural and Community Service Center (TCCSC) of California provides social services and referrals to the Tibetan



This Tibetan
American Buddhist
is attending a
Lollapalooza
concert.

community. Many Tibetans across the nation have received housing and clothing assistance, financial and legal assistance, and immigration and citizenship training from the TCCSC. The TCCSC also provides counseling to Tibetans so that they can become self-reliant, which is an important step toward eventual self-determination. The TCCSC has been recognized as a member of the Asian Pacific Planning Council and honored by the City of Los Angeles and the California Assembly.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Tibetans do not use surnames, preferring single or double first names. For men, a middle name is given by the *lama*, a Buddhist holy man. Tibetans throw *tsampa*, roasted barley flour, into the air to celebrate marriages, birthdays, New Year's Day, and all other important events. The tradition dates from the seventh century, when it was a formality at the enthronement of kings. At New Year's celebrations, two people would meet. One person would make an offering, then take a pinch from the tip of a mound of *tsampa* and throw it into the air, yelling, "*Tashi Delek*." The person receiving the offering would then recite: "Tashi Delek, good fortune and good health, May you achieve unchanging happiness, and may it ever increase." Throwing *tsampa* in the air is an expression of good wishes for one's own and others' happiness and for the overcoming of all obstacles.

Many of the Tibetans' values are established through their Buddhist beliefs. *Vajras* (prayer wheels

Two Tibetan
American
Buddhists wait to
perform the Black
Hat Dance in
Newark, New
Jersey.



that are spun clockwise), bells, and beads are important in Tibetan Buddhism. Vajras may have nine, five, or three spokes. The upper sets of spokes of a five-spoked vajra symbolize the five wisdoms of Buddhism. A bell can be eight, twelve, sixteen, eighteen or twenty-two finger-widths in height. Its base must be round, above which is a vase surmounted by the face of the goddess Prajnaparamita. Above these are a lotus, a moon disc, and finally a vajra. The hollow of the bell symbolizes the wisdom recognizing emptiness. The clapper represents the sound of emptiness. The eight lotus petals are the four mothers and four goddesses, and the vase represents the vase containing the nectar of accomplishment.

Paired with the vajra, the bell represents wisdom, and as wisdom and method are an undivided unity, so the vajra and bell are never parted or employed separately. Beads are mainly used to count *mantras* (prayers). Beads made of bodhi seed or wood can be used for many purposes, such as counting all kinds of mantras. The string common to all beads should consist of nine threads, which symbolize Buddha Vajradhara and the eight Bodhisattvas. The large bead at the end stands for the wisdom that recognizes emptiness and the cylindrical bead surmounting it, emptiness itself; both symbolize having vanquished all opponents.

PROVERBS

Tibetans liberally sprinkle proverbs into daily conversations as a substitute for slang phrases. Proverbs have balance and rhythm, but do not rhyme. Some

examples include the following: Whatever happiness is in the world, it has arisen from a wish for the welfare of others; Whatever misery is in the world, it has arisen from a wish for our own welfare; Look not on the height of the mountain, but look at the size of the mountain (tackle the problem where you are); Those who do not love comfort can do 100 deeds, those who cannot love hardship cannot do one deed; If one does not cross the doorstep's sill, one cannot arrive anyplace; A braggart has no courage; Muddy water has no depth; Having eaten together, you should agree in counsel (sharing food together has a special significance of friendship); The life of all living beings is like the bubbles of water; The stripes of wild beasts are on the outside, the stripes of man are on the inside; When the blind escorts the blind, both fall into the river; The ants do not accept each other's lineage (ants touch feelers to ascertain whether friend or foe); If one desires misery, let him buy an aged horse; If one is not happy inside, one's work cannot be done outside; If the mouth and stomach are considered first, then promise and debts follow later; One mouth, two tongues (means two-faced); If one is without soup on earth, of what use is a ladle in heaven?; After calling a dog, one should not beat him; A hoe digs, a broom sweeps (everything has its proper use); and When a man becomes old, he thinks of his homeland.

CUISINE

Tibetan restaurants are now found in many U. S. cities. Tibetan foods are practical reflecting the nomadic and often severe lifestyle of Tibetans. Cuisine tends toward oils, dough, spices, and meats that are usually boiled, then stir-fried. *Tsampa* is a flour ground from highland barley that is mixed with tea or butter. A typical Tibetan dinner begins with spicy cold appetizers followed by a main course of several hot dishes accompanied by noodles or dumplings. *Momo* are steamed dumplings made with onion, cumin, garlic, minced lamb or beef, and soya sauce. *Then thuk* is a noodle soup made with fresh spinach, onion, garlic, ginger, and meat. *Shamday* is a Tibetan curry made with bean thread noodles, ginger, onion, turmeric, lamb or beef, potatoes, and a handful of seaweed. *Sha-balé* is a deep-fried dough surrounding beef or lamb to form meat pockets seasoned with onion, ginger, garlic, cumin, and soya sauce.

MUSIC

The chant of Tibetan monks is recognized around the world as the music of Tibet. The Tibetans cultivated multiphonic singing, in which a singer intones three simultaneous notes, creating a complete chord.

Chanting is accompanied by musical instruments unique to the area such as the *dranyem*, a traditional stringed instrument. The most unusual Tibetan ritual instruments are long, copper *rag-dung* trumpets. These straight, conically bored natural horns vary in length from 3 to 20 feet. They are produced in sections that can be telescoped for portability. Each horn has a fairly shallow cup mouthpiece and, like the Western bugle, is capable of producing different tones. These horns are used to play a drone for chanting, sometimes in thirds or fifths. There are also smaller hand trumpets with dragon heads at the bell end. The players tend to concentrate on one note from which they slide up and down. Tibetan copper curved horns, about 15 inches long, are also played at Buddhist celebrations.

Tibetan wind bells are hand-crafted, solid brass wind bells used to keep devils away from the home. The handbell and the *dorje* are the principal ritual objects of Tantric Buddhism. Traditionally they are used together, the bell in the left hand, the *dorje* in the right. Representing the passive and active qualities that reach perfection only when united, they function as the *yin* and *yang* in the Chinese tradition. The handbell and *dorje* also represent the union of wisdom and compassion, which is enlightenment. These bells produce an incredible sound when rubbed with a playing stick or when rung.

Tingsha are miniature cymbals that are used to encourage “hungry ghosts” to accept offerings. Tibetans believe that by relieving the ghosts’ hunger and making an offering, their suffering is diminished. Enlightenment can be achieved only when all suffering is eliminated. *Tingsha* have exceptional resonance and sound, excellent for musical accents, healing or spiritual practice. Singing bowls are traditionally struck to produce a complex and beautiful sound that is designed to aid meditation. They are also filled with water, rice, or flowers as offerings to the deities. When circled with a playing stick, singing bowls hum in a voice full of wonderful harmonics and overtones. They are made from a mixture of five to seven metals, hand-turned on a lathe, then hammered to the desired hardness and pitch. Mantras are recited as the bowls are made and, according to Tibetan legend, are absorbed into the metals. These mantras are then released when the bowl is played.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Traditional Tibetan costumes are made from the wool of yaks or sheep. Fabric is woven in relatively narrow widths and long lengths, cut and assembled side-to-side for garments, blankets and other textile

uses. The decoration of textiles is achieved by *plangi* (tie-dying). Typical patterns, often used in various combinations, include circles inscribed with crosses, multicolored stripes, and Buddhist motifs. The use of strong colors is commonplace. Costumes from royal or urban circles in Tibet and Bhutan may be similar in form to the garments of nomadic citizens. However, royal costumes are made of silk and decorated with exquisitely fine, difficult, woven designs.

Most Tibetans wear the *nambu*, a wool sash about eight inches wide, usually white for poor people and colorful for the wealthy. Many Tibetans also use yak hide boots. These knee-high boots are slit in the back and tied at the top with a colorful garter. The upper portions of the boots are made of leather, felt, or cloth and are often red in color. Men also wear pouches on the right side of their belts to hold a small knife and a pair of chopsticks.

The headdress is the chief adornment for Tibetan women. Because symbols of family wealth are often worn in the hair, married women wear more ornaments than unmarried women. The traditional headdress has a wooden framework covered with coral, pearls, amber, and turquoise. Tibetan women wear jewelry, including bangles, bracelets, and earrings, that are so large that the holes in their earlobes may be an eighth of an inch in diameter. Nomadic Tibetan women smear black ointment on their faces to protect themselves from the harsh climate.

Costumes for rituals usually include a mask, called *Ba*. Masks serve various functions for the Tibetan people. Some are hung in temples or used in ritual ceremonies, while others are used in theatrical performances. The faces on the masks range from deities to men and animals, with the expressions carved to display a certain characteristic such as honesty, harshness, greed, or humor. According to tradition, masks of Buddha may appear in either benevolent or wrathful manifestations. The *Rdo-rje-gro-lod*, the Wrathful Guardian Deity, and the *Bhairava Vajra*, the fearful Guardian Deity, are commonly seen in mask design since they symbolize the two deities’ doctrines of “wrath” and “fear.”

DANCES AND SONGS

Tibetan dance celebrates an enchanted world of wizards, demons, singing maidens, dancing yaks, acrobatic dances, thunderous horns, and lilting melodies. Two times per year, the great Lama Dances are celebrated. Mahakala Bernagchen is the protector of a lineage honored by the dance ceremony held every year on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth Tibetan month. The second dance ceremony is held on the tenth day of the fourth month

Four ceremonial
dancers of a
Kalachakra
Initiation, a Tibetan
Buddhist ritual in
Madison,
Wisconsin



to celebrate Guru Rinpoche, who brought Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century. During the sixth month of the Tibetan calendar, the people dress in festival costumes and jewelry and congregate around their local monastery for special festivities. For these colorful and fascinating ceremonies, all the dancers wear elaborate silk brocade costumes with unusual, unique deity masks. Other Tibetan dances include the *Via bo Shana*, the black hat dance, which is performed by three people. *Ronshu Chinen* is a dance performed by the people of northeastern Tibet. *Agi Ulu*, a harvest dance from southwestern Tibet, is the dance of the maiden *Ulu*.

HOLIDAYS

Tibetan holidays are mostly Buddhist celebrations. Across the United States, there are roughly 1,100 Buddhist meditation centers serving 1.5 million Buddhists. There are more than 100 different types of Buddhism represented in the United States, and Tibetan Americans have ample opportunities to celebrate Buddhist holidays. Public holidays in Tibet include: January 1, Western New Year's Day,

February (for three days), Tibetan New Year's Day; also February (for three days), the Chinese Spring festival; May 1, Labour Day; May 4, Youth Day, June 1, Children's Day; and August 1, Army Day.

HEALTH ISSUES

Tibetan medicine is a tradition that has been practiced for over 2500 years and is still used today. Tibetan medicine, which is called *gSoba Rig-pa*, is a science of healing based on the use of herbs and precious metals. Because Tibetan medicine is effective in its treatment of chronic diseases such as rheumatism, arthritis, ulcers, chronic digestive problems, asthma, hepatitis, eczema, liver problems, sinus problems, anxiety, and problems connected with the nervous system, the Western medical community is now examining it.

LANGUAGE

Since the Chinese invasion and conquest of Tibet, Chinese has been the official language of commerce

and government. It is also the primary language taught in Tibetan schools. But native Tibetans continue to speak their native language. The Tibetan language bears little resemblance to the languages of neighboring China and India. Tibeto-Burman, a language of the Sino-Tibetan family, is based on a form of Sanskrit that originated in India during the seventh century. Sino-Tibetan languages are a family of languages spoken from northeast India eastward to Taiwan and from China southward to the Malay Peninsula. Sino-Tibetan is generally divided into two large subfamilies: the Sinitic, comprising Mandarin, Cantonese, and the other languages of China; and the Tibeto-Burman, the best-known members of which are Tibetan and Burmese. The Tibeto-Burman subfamily, although it encompasses more languages than the Sinitic, and is spoken by a wider variety of ethnic groups, is more difficult to classify. Most linguists recognize four main Tibeto-Burman branches, divided into roughly nine groups. The Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in Tibet, Nepal, Burma, western China, and the Assam State in India. Sino-Tibetan languages are distinguished from western language families by two main traits: isolating or monosyllabic characters and the use of tones.

Tibetan is most closely related to Burmese and to other spoken dialects of Himalayan peoples, but the written script was adapted from Indian writing. The Tibetan alphabet has 30 letters arranged in eight classes. There are five vowel sounds: “a,” “i,” “u,” “e,” “o,” pronounced according to the general pronunciation in Latin. There are very few words beginning with any vowel sound, and those are either of Sanskrit origin, interjections, or corrupted words.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Tashidelek means “hello” in Tibetan. An old Tibetan custom sometimes used today is to greet a person by sticking the tongue out and down the face. This was done as a sign of respect for someone of higher social standing, and it was sometimes repeated at the end of every sentence in a conversation. Most Tibetan expressions and greetings relate to Buddhism. Buddha is always referred to, even in passing, as the “victoriously consummate one” because he won perfection after a long and continuous struggle with worldly desires.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Nomadic Tibetan family life was structured to preserve their livelihood from tending yaks and surviv-

ing on the mountains of Tibet. Young children assumed duties essential to the family’s survival. The Chinese conquest of Tibet brought dramatic changes to nomadic family life. Nomadic families were restricted to only one child per household, were stripped of individual ownership of herds and were reorganized into a communal structure. In the Tibetan refugee community in India, the concept of family takes on a greater significance as a way of preserving of Tibetan culture. Most families include several children and often extended relatives. Tibetan Americans maintain strong family bonds. Even if it takes many years, a Tibetan American refugee will work to be reunited with other family members.

EDUCATION

The United States Information Agency provides scholarships for Tibetan students and professionals to study in the United States. Over 140 students participated in the program between 1988 and 1997, and almost all returned to India and Nepal upon completion of their studies to assist Tibetan refugee communities there.

Chinese is now the first language in Tibetan schools. Under Chinese authority, Tibetans are provided with inferior schools and untrained teachers. In independent Tibet, monasteries and nunneries, numbering over 6,000, served as schools and universities, fulfilling Tibet’s educational needs. In the late 1990s the Tibetan government-in-exile protested to Chinese officials about inadequate school conditions. Only 45 per cent of the children of school age go to primary schools. In Tibet, the best schools are in Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyantse, Chamdo, Silling, Kyigudo, Dartsedo, and Dechen. But these schools are meant primarily for the children of Chinese citizens. In the Chinese government-funded urban schools, there are separate classes for the Chinese and Tibetan students. The Tibetan government-in-exile allocates 65 percent of its annual budget to the education of Tibetan children. About 92 percent of Tibetan children in exile, aged 6 to 17, attend schools, with about 84 percent of them enrolled in Tibetan schools. Education in exile has produced Tibetan medical doctors, administrators, Ph.D., engineers, post-graduate teachers, journalists, social workers, lawyers, and computer programmers.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Historically, women in Tibet owned land and conducted business with a status equal to that of men except in the spiritual arena, where nuns (*anis*) are regarded as inferior to monks. In some Tibetan

monasteries, women are not allowed to enter the chapel out of fear that spirits may be offended. Traditional Tibetan society practiced polyandry, whereby a woman could legally be married to two or three men, usually brothers, simultaneously. The practice developed as a way to prevent land divisions, but was discontinued by the 1990s.

Following China's occupation of Tibet in 1959, thousands of women protested by organizing the Tibetan Women's Association (TWA). The organization was brutally suppressed by Chinese soldiers. In 1984, Tibetan women in exile in India and Nepal reorganized the organization. The TWA's main objective is to raise public awareness of the abuses faced by Tibetan women in Chinese-occupied Tibet. Through extensive publicity and interaction in national and international affairs, TWA alerts the international community to the gender-specific human rights abuses committed against Tibetan women in the form of forced birth control policies, such as sterilizations and abortions, and restrictions on religious, political, social, and cultural freedoms. In 1987, the TWA launched the Tibetan Nuns Project to assist newly exiled nuns with shelter, food, and clothing.

Eleven Tibetan nuns arrived in the United States in April 1999 to conduct a ten-month tour to call attention to the Chinese takeover of Tibet. Temporarily settled in Nevada County, California, the Tibetan native nuns came from the refugee community in Nepal. They were educated in the exile settlements before taking to the road to benefit Tibet through their contact with Americans.

WEDDINGS

For Tibetans, a wedding is a social event between two communities. The maternal uncle of the bride is the most honored figure at the wedding and presides over the event. In the early morning, the groom's wedding party comes to invite the bride for the wedding ceremony. Guided by her chaperone, the bride is carried piggy-back through her village gate by her older brother. If the bride does not have a brother, she can pick someone as the brother figure. Her wedding party, her close friends and relatives, escort them to the wedding ceremony. The scene is very animated, both by music and by the crying of the bride and her female companions. As the bride is taken away, her villagers line up along their way and sing. The bride's head is covered with a red veil, and her feet do not touch the ground when she leaves her village. Upon arrival, the leader of the bridal party, the maternal uncle, sprinkles sacred water at the entrance of the groom's village. Then there is a ceremony for open-

ing the wedding wine. The bridal party reaches the groom's house, and the bride and her chaperone (maid of honor), dressed exactly alike, sit side-by-side to wait for the groom. The groom must select the true bride, to whom he will have sent certain items as the symbol of their relationship during courtship, usually rings, bracelets or necklaces. The groom is expected to identify their symbolism and lift off the veil without making a mistake.

After the ceremony uniting the couple, the *longda*, also called the "fortune horse" or the "paper horse," is thrown in the air. The *longda* is a wood-block-printed horse on paper about two inches wide and four inches long, a tradition from the Tibetan Sacred Horse worship. At weddings or festivals, many Tibetans bring the *longda* with them to a sacred or high-peaked mountain and throw several *longda* into the air, letting the wind blow them high and far, like horses running swiftly and serenely. The *longda* brings humans' wishes to the gods.

The wedding guests and participants then form a huge circle, dancing the *Guozhan* wedding dance. An interesting aspect of this wedding custom is that the newlywed couple cannot spend their wedding night together. After the wedding ceremony, the bride is accompanied by her chaperone, even if staying overnight with the groom's family. The next day, they return to the bride's family and stay at their house for a couple of days. Later, after returning to the groom's home, the couple is finally united.

FUNERALS

Typically, Tibetans do not bury their dead. Tibetans cremate their dead or bury them in a sky funeral, considered the only way to ensure rebirth. Specially trained monks hack the body to pieces, grind the bones and flesh, and feed this to the vultures bit by bit. Sky burial sites are located on hills near monasteries.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Tibetans have a long history of political and cultural conflict with China. There is considerable animosity between the Han Chinese living in Tibet and ethnic Tibetans. When Chinese officials have visited the United States, Tibetan Americans have organized protests that have resulted in arrests.

RELIGION

Buddhism encompasses the cultural values and social structure of the Tibetan people. However, Buddhism

was preceded by Bön, Tibet's earliest religion, which was founded by Shenrab Miwo of Shangshung in western Tibet. Bön was a religion that involved the violent worship of local mountain and lake spirits. Magic and ritual, including animal sacrifice, was strongly emphasized. With the advent of Buddhism, the Bön religion diminished in influence, although it is still practiced in some areas of Tibet.

Before the Chinese takeover of Tibet, Buddhist monasteries, temples, and hermitages were found in every village and town throughout Tibet. Every Tibetan home had an altar. In 1959 there were a total of more than 6,259 monasteries, with about 592,558 resident monks and nuns. These religious centers housed tens of thousands of statues and religious artifacts made of gold, silver, and other metals studded with jewels. Besides texts on Buddhism, these centers were storehouses of works on literature, medicine, astrology, art, and politics of the Tibetan people.

From 1949 to 1979, China discouraged the practice of any religion in Tibet and many religious artifacts were confiscated. Many of these artifacts were taken to China and destroyed. The majority of monasteries and nunneries in Tibet were also closed. By 1976, only eight monasteries remained in Tibet. Out of Tibet's total of 6,259 monasteries and nunneries, only about eight remained by 1976.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Tibet is 70 percent grassland, and animal husbandry is the occupation of most of the workers in the agrarian economy. The lifestyle is very harsh, with few amenities. Tibetan Buddhist monks are supported by their communities as well as by service jobs. Tibetan Americans work as dairymen, gardeners, and farm laborers. Many Tibetan Americans are Buddhist religious workers. As educational opportunities open for Tibetans, occupational choices beyond the service and manual labor markets are emerging.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Tibetan associations and lobbying efforts are highly organized in the United States. Holiday Inn Worldwide, which has been faced with an international boycott of its hotel chain since 1993, announced in 1998 that it would not renew its management contract in Tibet, a contract that had been beneficial to the Chinese government. The Holiday Inn's decision aided the growing movement to return control



of Tibet's economic affairs to Tibetans. The city of Berkeley, California, passed legislation in the late 1990s which prohibited the city from associating with corporations or individuals that conducted business in Tibet without permission from the Tibetan government-in-exile. The campaign was joined by a coalition of over 50 organizations worldwide. The boycott attracted major grassroots support and celebrity interest and was highlighted at a Tibetan Freedom Concert in New York City.

RELATIONS WITH TIBET

The United States considers the Tibet Autonomous Region a part of the People's Republic of China. This long-standing policy is consistent with the view of the entire international community, including all of China's neighbors. No country recognizes Tibet as a sovereign state. The United States' acceptance of China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet predates the establishment of the People's Republic of China. However, the United States Congress, through the Foreign Relations Regulation Act in 1991, declared that "Tibet, including those areas incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunan, Gansu, and Qinghai, is an occupied country under the established principles of international law whose true representatives are the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in exile as recognized by the Tibetan people."

Because the United States does not recognize Tibet as an independent state, officials cannot conduct diplomatic relations with the representatives

Tibetan American
Tenzin Choezom
demonstrates
outside of the
Chinese Consulate
in Houston for the
fortieth anniversary
of the Chinese
occupation of
Tibet, to protest
human rights
violations by the
Chinese
government and to
demand freedom
for Tibet.

of Tibetans in exile. However, the United States does maintain contact with a wide variety of representatives of differing political groups inside and outside China with views on Tibet. The United States has urged China to respect Tibet's unique religious, linguistic, and cultural traditions, as well as the human rights of Tibetans as it formulates its policies for Tibet. The United States encourages China and the Dalai Lama to hold serious discussions aimed at resolving their differences.

The United States provides humanitarian assistance to Tibetan refugees in India and also contributes to the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to assist Tibetans in Nepal. Most U.S. government funding to the refugees in India has gone to the Tibet Fund, a U.S. private voluntary organization which underwrites assistance programs for Tibetan refugees in India. Such programs support reception centers, preventive health care, and income generating projects and also supply basic food, clothing, and clean water.

In 1998, President Clinton requested that China's president hold talks with the Dalai Lama in a live broadcast during a U.S.-China summit. The Chinese government condemned President Clinton for meeting with the Dalai Lama and warned that U. S. relations with China would suffer as a result. In the United States, a strong pro-Tibetan movement continues to organize benefit concerts, festivals, museum exhibitions, and academic research to preserve Tibetan culture and resist Chinese aggression. In 1999, *The Art of Happiness*, a book of Buddhist doctrines and common sense written by the Dalai Lama, became a *New York Times* best seller.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Rinjing Dorje, is a folklorist, storyteller, and author of books on Tibetan humor and culinary arts, including *Food in Tibetan Life*.

MEDIA

PRINT

Tibet Monitor.

Monthly publication of the Tibetan Rights Campaign.

Address: 4649 Sunnyside Ave. N, #323 Seattle, WA 98103.

Telephone: (206) 547-1015.

Fax: (206) 547-3758.

Tibet Environment and Development Newsletter.

Bi-monthly published by International Campaign for Tibet.

Address: 1825 K St. NW Suite 520, Washington, DC 20006.

Telephone: (202) 785-1515.

E-mail: ict@peacenet.org.

Tibet Press Watch.

Bi-monthly published by International Campaign for Tibet.

Address: 1825 K St. NW Suite 520, Washington, DC 20006.

Telephone: (202) 785-1515.

E-mail: ict@peacenet.org.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The United States has a strong base of regional, state, and local organizations that support the Tibetan freedom movement, many of which are named "Friends of Tibet." Selected national and international organizations are listed below.

American Religious Committee for Tibet.

Organization of interfaith leadership dedicated to the right of the Tibetan people to maintain and nurture their distinctive heritage.

Address: Office of the Dean, The Cathedral of St. John the Divine, 1047 Amsterdam Ave., New York, NY 10025.

Telephone: (212) 316-7493.

International Campaign for Tibet.

A nonprofit, membership organization founded in 1988 to promote human rights and democratic freedoms in Tibet. Monitors current developments in Tibet and reports the information to the U.S. Congress, human rights organizations, and the media. The Campaign networks with non-governmental organizations and Tibet support groups to support initiatives for peaceful resolutions to the Tibetan issue.

Contact: John Ackerly, Director.

Address: 1825 K St. NW Suite 520, Washington, DC 20006.

Telephone: (202) 785-1515.

E-mail: ict@peacenet.org.

International Committee of Lawyers for Tibet.

Provides legal research and drafting to assist Tibetans.

Contact: Eva Herzer, President.

Address: 2288 Fulton Street, #312, Berkeley,
CA 94704.

Telephone: (510) 486-0588.

E-mail: iclt@igc.apc.org.

International Tibet Independence Movement.

Contact: Larry Gerstein.

Address: PO Box 2325, Bloomington, IN 47402.

Telephone: (800) 276-8588 or (317) 579-0914.

E-mail: Rangzen@aol.com.

Students for Tibet.

A network of student-run Tibet support groups on college campuses nationwide. Co-sponsored by the International Campaign for Tibet and the U.S. Tibet Committee.

Address: 545 Eighth Avenue, 23rd Floor,
New York, NY 10018.

Telephone: (212) 594-5898.

Tibet Fund.

Purposes are to: assist in the preservation of Tibetan culture; further ongoing development of Tibetan arts and sciences; promote Tibetan contributions to the modern world. Funds Tibetan institutions in exile such as the Tibetan Medical Institute, the Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, and the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts, in addition to Tibetan Buddhist monastic institutions now reestablished in India and Nepal. Maintains speakers' bureau; conducts charitable program; compiles statistics.

Contact: Rinchen Dharlo, President.

Address: 241 East 32nd Street, New York,
New York 10016.

Telephone: (212) 213-5011.

Fax: (212) 779-9245.

E-mail: tibetfund@tibetfund.org.

Online: <http://www.tibetfund.org>.

Tibet Society.

Scholars, students, researchers, libraries, institutes, and organizations having an interest in the languages, history, religion, and other aspects of life in Tibet and Central Asia. Serves as a forum and center of research information on Tibetan studies and affairs. Transfers charitable donations to various refugee aid groups in India.

Contact: Mr. Thubten J. Norbu, Founder.

Address: 157 Goodbody Hall, Bloomington,
Indiana 47405.

Telephone: (812) 855-2233.

Fax: (812) 855-7500.

US Tibet Committee.

Independent human rights organization of Tibetan and American volunteers promoting public awareness of the current political situation in Tibet through lectures, conferences, demonstrations, and letter writing campaigns. USTC has chapters in 18 states.

Contact: Sonam Wangdu, Chairman.

Address: 241 East 32 St., New York, NY 10016.

Telephone: (212) 213-5011.

E-mail: ustcsft@igc.apc.org.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Permanent collection of Himalayan art including Tibetan paintings.

Address: 11150 East Boulevard, Cleveland, OH
44106-1797.

The Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Has collection of Tibetan native costumes.

Address: 1000 Fifth Avenue at 82nd Street,
New York, NY 10028.

Telephone: (212) 879-5500.

Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

Museum resembles a small Tibetan mountain temple tucked away from the world. Terraced sculpture gardens, a lily and fish pond, and a distant view of the lower Hudson Bay are setting for Tibetan, Nepalese, Tibeto-Chinese, and Mongolian artifacts from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries or earlier. Metal figures of deities and *lamas*, as well as *thangka* paintings.

Contact: Barbara Lipton.

Address: 338 Lighthouse Avenue Staten Island,
NY 10306.

Telephone: (718) 987-3500.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA).

One of the most comprehensive collections of Himalayan art, including 75 Tibetan and Nepalese *thangkas*, and Tibetan paintings that once belonged to Giuseppe Tucci, one of the few to enter Tibet in the middle of the twentieth century. He collected important works of art at various sites in Tibet and is probably the most important twentieth-century Tibetan scholar.

Contact: Janice Leoshko, Associate Curator,
Indian and Southeast Asian Art.

Address: 5905 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles,
CA 90036.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Permanent collection of Tibetan Art.

Address: 465 Huntington Ave., Boston, MA 02115.

Telephone: (617) 267-9300.

The Newark Museum.

Has completely recreated the interior of a Tibetan monastery in its galleries.

Address: 49 Washington Street, Newark, NJ
07101-0540.

Telephone: (973) 596-6529.

Office of Tibet.

Collection of films and videos on Tibet.

Address: 241 E. 32nd Street, New York, NY 10016.

Telephone: (212) 213-5010.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

The Tibetan and Nepalese galleries showcase collections of opaque watercolors on cloth or palm leaf.

Address: 2800 Grove Avenue, Richmond, VA
23221-2466.

Telephone: (804) 367-0844.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Batchelor, Stephen. *The Tibet Guide: Central and Western Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1998.

Beek, Steve Van. *Tibet*. Singapore: APA Publications Ltd., 1994.

Feigon, Lee. *Demystifying Tibet*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996.

T LINGIT

by

Diane E. Benson ('Lxeis')

Tlingit people
believe that all life
is of equal value;
plants, trees, birds,
fish, animals, and
human beings are all
equally respected.

OVERVIEW

Alaska is a huge land mass that contains many different environments ranging from the frigid streams and tundra above the Arctic circle to the windy islands of the Aleutians to the mild rainy weather of southeast Alaska. Alaska consists of over 533,000 square miles, with a coastline as long that of the rest of the continental United States. The southern end of the Alaska coastline, a region known as Southeast Alaska, is home to the primary Tlingit (pronounced "klingit") communities. This area covers the narrow coastal strip of the continental shore along British Columbia; it is similar in size and shape to the state of Florida, but with few communities connected by road. Tlingit communities are located from just south of Ketchikan and are scattered northward across islands and mainland as far as the Icy Bay area. Tlingit people also occupy some inland area on the Canadian side of the border in British Columbia and the Yukon Territory. The mainland Tlingit of Alaska occupy a range of mountains from 50 to 100 miles inland. The northern portion of Tlingit country is glacial with the majesty of the Fairweather and Saint Elias mountains overlooking the northern shores of the Gulf of Alaska. Fjords, mountains that dive into the sea, islands, and ancient trees make up most of this wet country that is part of one of the largest temperate rain forests in the world.

The total population of Alaska is just under 600,000. Approximately 86,000 Alaska Natives, the indigenous peoples of Alaska, live there. The Tlingit population at time of contact by Europeans is estimated to have been 15,000. Some reports include the Haida in population estimates, since Tlingit and Haida are almost always grouped together for statistical purposes. Today, Tlingit and Haida Central Council tribal enrollment figures show a total of 20,713 Tlingit and Haida, of which 16,771 are Tlingit. Most of the Tlingit population live in urban communities of southeastern Alaska, though a significant number have made their homes all across the continent. Euro-Americans dominate the Southeast population, with the Tlingit people being the largest minority group in the region.

EARLY HISTORY

The name Tlingit essentially means human beings. The word was originally used simply to distinguish a human being from an animal, since Tlingits believed that there was little difference between humans and animals. Over time the word came to be a national name. It is speculated that human occupation of southeast Alaska occurred 11,000 years ago by Tlingit people. Haida people, with whom the Tlingit have frequent interaction, have only been in the area about 200 years, and the Tsimpsian migrated only recently from the Canadian interior mainland.

Tlingit legends speak of migrations into the area from several possible directions, either from the north as a possible result of the Bering Sea land bridge, or from the southwest, after a maritime journey from the Polynesian islands across the Pacific. Oral traditions hold that the Tlingit came from the head of the rivers. As one story goes, Nass-aa-geyeil' (Raven from the head of the Nass River) brought light and stars and moon to the world. The Tlingit are unique and unrelated to other tribes around them. They have no linguistic relationship to any other language except for a vague similarity to the Athabaskan language. They also share some cultural similarity with the Athabaskan, with whom the Tlingit have interacted and traded for centuries. There may also be a connection between the Haida and the Tlingit, but this issue is debated. Essentially, the origin of the Tlingit is unknown.

Tlingit people are grouped and divided into units called *kwan*. Some anthropological accounts estimate that 15 to 20 *kwan* existed at the time of European contact. A *kwan* was a group of people who lived in a mutual area, shared residence, intermarried, and lived in peace. Communities contain-

ing a Tlingit population may be called the *Sitka-kwan*, the *Taku-kwan*, or the *Heenya-kwan*, depending on their social ties and/or location. Most of the urban communities of Southeast Alaska occupy the sites of many of the traditional *kwan* communities. Before the arrival of explorers and settlers, groups of Tlingit people would travel by canoe through treacherous waters for hundreds of miles to engage in war, attend ceremonies, trade, or marry.

Through trade with other tribes as far south as the Olympic Peninsula and even northern California, the Tlingit people had established sophisticated skills. In the mid-1700s, the Spaniards and the British, attracted by the fur trade, penetrated the Northwest via the Juan de Fuca Islands (in the Nootka Sound area). The Russians, also in search of furs, invaded the Aleutian Islands and moved throughout the southwestern coast of Alaska toward Tlingit country. The Tlingit traders may have heard stories of these strangers coming but took little heed.

FIRST CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS

Europeans arrived in Tlingit country for the first time in 1741, when Russian explorer Aleksey Chirikov sent a boatload of men to land for water near the modern site of Sitka. When the group did not return for several days, he sent another boat of men to shore; they also did not return. Thereafter, contact with Tlingit people was limited until well into the 1800s.

Russian invaders subdued the Aleut people, and moving southward, began their occupation of Tlingit country. Having monopolized trade routes in any direction from or to Southeast Alaska, the Tlingit people engaged in somewhat friendly but profitable trading with the newcomers until the Russians became more aggressive in their attempts to colonize and control trade routes. In 1802 Chief Katlian of the Kiksadi Tlingit of the Sitka area successfully led his warriors against the Russians, who had set up a fort in Sitka with the limited permission of the Tlingit. Eventually the Russians recaptured Sitka and maintained a base they called New Archangel, but they had little contact with the Sitka clans. For years the Tlingit resisted occupation and the use of their trade routes by outsiders. In 1854 a Chilkat Tlingit war party travelled hundreds of miles into the interior and destroyed a Hudson Bay Company post in the Yukon Valley.

Eventually, diseases and other hardships took their toll on the Tlingit people, making them more vulnerable. In a period between 1836 and 1840, it is estimated that one-half of the Tlingit people at or



These Tlingit girls
from Cooper River,
Alaska, were
photographed in
1903.

near Sitka were wiped out by smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis. At about this time, Americans came into Tlingit country for gold, and in the process sought to occupy and control the land and its people. The Tlingit loss to disease only made American occupation more swift, and Americans became firmly established in the land with the 1867 Treaty of Purchase of Alaska. The Tlingit continually fought American development of canneries, mines, and logging, which conflicted with the Tlingit lifestyle. Disputes between the Americans and the decreasing Tlingit people proved futile for the Tlingit, since Americans displayed impressive military strength, technology, and an unwavering desire for settlement and expansion. The destruction of the Tlingit villages of Kake in the 1860s and of Angoon in 1882 by the American military (due to a disagreement involving the death of two Native people) further established American power and occupancy.

THE LAND CLAIMS PERIOD

The Treaty of Cession (1867) referred to indigenous people of Alaska as “uncivilized tribes.” Such desig-

nation in legislation and other agreements caused Alaska Natives to be subject to the same regulations and policies as American Indians in the United States. Statements by the Office of the Solicitor in the U.S. Department of Interior in 1932 further supported the federal government’s treatment of Alaska Natives as American Indians. As a result, Tlingit people were subject to such policies as the 1884 First Organic Act, which affected their claims to land and settlements, and the 1885 Major Crimes Act, which was intended to strip tribes of their right to deal with criminal matters according to traditional customs. By the turn of the century, the Tlingit people were threatened politically, territorially, culturally, and socially.

In response, the Tlingit people organized the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB). The ANB was founded in Sitka in 1912 by nine Tlingit and one Tsimpsian. The ANB’s goals were to gain equality for the Native people of Southeast Alaska and to obtain for them the same citizenship and education rights as non-Natives. In 1915, due to the efforts of the ANB (and the newly organized Alaska Native Sisterhood), the territorial legislature adopted a

position similar to the Dawes Act to allow Natives to become citizens, provided that the Natives became “civilized” by rejecting certain tribal customs and relationships. As a result, few Native people became citizens at this time; most did not become American citizens until the U.S. Congress adopted the Citizenship Act of 1924.

Tlingit people also actively pursued the right to vote. Unlike many Alaska Native people at the time who wanted to continue living as they had for many generations, Tlingit leaders sought increased political power. In 1924, William Paul, a Tlingit, won election to the Territorial House of Representatives, marking the beginning of a trend toward Native political power.

In 1929 the ANB began discussing land issues, and as a result Congress passed a law in 1935 allowing Tlingits and Haidas to sue the United States for the loss of their lands. By this time large sections of Tlingit country had become the Tongass National Forest. Glacier Bay had become a National Monument, and further south in Tlingit country, Annette Island was set aside as a reservation for Tsimpsian Indians from Canada. In 1959—the same year that Alaska was admitted as a state—the Court of Claims decided in favor of the Tlingit and Haida for payment of land that was taken from them. The Tlingit-Haida land claims involved 16 million acres without a defined monetary value; an actual settlement took years to conclude. In 1971, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed, which called for the settlement of all claims against the United States and the state of Alaska that are based on aboriginal right, title, use, or occupancy of land or water areas in Alaska.

Tlingit individuals did not receive title to lands as a result of ANCSA. Instead, lands claimed by southeast Natives under this act were placed under the control of the ANCSA-established regional corporation, Sealaska, and the ANCSA-established village corporations. Some village corporations had the option to provide individuals with land in some cases, but most villages designated the land for future development.

The Native Allotment Act of 1906 did result in some Tlingit lands being placed in the hands of individual Tlingits. This law provided for conveyance of 160 acres to adult Natives as long as no tract of ground contained mineral deposits. Only a few allotments were issued in southeast Alaska. The Native Townsite Act of 1926 also provided only for the conveyance of “restricted” title lands, meaning such property could not be sold or leased without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Despite these gains, lands re-obtained this way by

the villages or by individuals failed to sufficiently meet the needs of a hunting and fishing people.

The issues of Native citizenship, their right to vote, fishing and fishing trap disputes, and the activities of ANCSA contributed to the rising tensions between the Tlingit and the newcomers. In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, it was not uncommon to see signs that read “No Indians Allowed” on the doors of business establishments. The Alaska Native Brotherhood did much to fight these prejudices and elevate the social status of the Tlingit and Haida people as American citizens. Today, although Tlingit people are much more accepted, their fight for survival continues. Their ability to subsist off the land and sea is constantly endangered by logging, pulp mills, overharvesting of the waters by commercial fisheries, government regulations, and the area’s increasing population.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Throughout the nineteenth century, many Tlingit communities were affected by the influx of various industries. Fish canneries were established in Sitka and Klawock, gold mining began at Windham Bay, and a Presbyterian mission station was constructed at the place now known as Haines. New settlements like Juneau (1880) and Ketchikan (1888) dramatically changed Tlingit lands and economic systems. A mixed cash-subsistence economy developed, changing traditional trade and material acquisition systems. Missionary schools determined to acculturate the Tlingit and other Alaska Natives instructed the Tlingit in English and American ways and denied the indigenous students access to their traditional language, foods, dances, songs, and healing methods. Although change was overwhelming and Americanization pervasive, Tlingit clan structures remained intact, and traditions survived in the original communities. At the turn of the century it was not uncommon for southeast factories to employ clan leaders to prevent disputes and keep order between their employees and the Native communities.

The destruction and death brought on by disease caused many to abandon their faith in the shaman and traditional healing by the turn of the century. Smallpox and other epidemics of the early nineteenth century recurred well into the twentieth century. A number of communities, including Dry Bay and Lituya Bay, were devastated in 1918 and thereafter by bouts of influenza. Important and culturally fundamental traditional gatherings, or

potlatches, became almost nonexistent in Tlingit country during the tuberculosis epidemics of the 1900s. These epidemics caused hundreds of Tlingit and other southeast people to be institutionalized; many of those who fell victim to these diseases were subsequently buried in mass graves. Tlingit people turned to the churches for relief, and in the process many were given new names to replace their Tlingit names, an important basis of identity and status in Tlingit society. Demoralization and hopelessness ensued and worsened with the government-sponsored internment of Aleut people in Tlingit country during World War II. Some Tlingit families adopted Aleut children who had been orphaned as a result of widespread disease and intolerable living conditions.

When they were established, the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood accepted acculturation as a goal for their members, believing that the abandonment of cultural traditions was in the peoples' best interest. Their organizational structure, however, reflected a traditional form of government to manage tribal and clan operations. Social and clan interactions and relationships continue to exist to this day despite all outside influences and despite the marked adaptations of Tlingit people to American society. The relatively recent revival of dances, songs, potlatches, language, and stories has strengthened continuing clan interactions and identities.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Tlingit people believe that all life is of equal value; plants, trees, birds, fish, animals, and human beings are all equally respected. Clans and Clan Houses have identifying crests; a clan is equally proud whether its crest is a killer whale or a snail. There are no recognized superior species. When any "crested" living being dies, homage is expected, and appropriate respects are paid. Today, some communities of the southeast are still very sensitive to this tradition.

Tlingit people do not tolerate misuse or misappropriation of their crests, names, songs, designs, stories, or other properties. Each crest has stories and songs associated with it that belong to the crest and thereby to its clan. Ownership recognition of these things among the Tlingit is profound. Almost a century ago, two clans began a dispute over who owned a particular crest. This conflict is discussed in detail in Frederica de Laguna's 1972 work, *Under Mt. St. Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*. The issue developed into a social, political, and legal battle that ensued for decades, and in many ways

remains unresolved. Using a killer whale song, story, or crest design without acknowledging the owning clan or without its permission, for example, can be considered stealing. Crest ownership sometimes conflicts with American notions of public domain. This conflict, along with a growing interest by the general public in Tlingit art and culture, has raised concerns among the clans about how to protect their birthrights from distortion and acquisition.

Tlingits demand that respect be shown toward other individuals and clans. When a person feels insulted by another, payment must be made by the person or clan who was responsible for the insult, or a process performed to remove the damage publicly. If this does not happen, bad feelings persist, negatively affecting relationships between clans. In the old ways, if a Tlingit person was seriously harmed or murdered by another Tlingit person, the "eye for an eye" philosophy would determine punishment: someone from the opposing clan would have to die. Today, that philosophy is adapted to remain within legal boundaries. Criminal cases are tried strictly by American law, but the family of the perpetrator is subject to social ostracism. Payment by the perpetrator's clan to the harmed clan for the wrongdoing is also conceivable.

Many newcomers to Tlingit country, including some missionaries, erroneously reported that the Tlingit people worshipped totems, idolized animals or birds as gods, and held heathen rituals. As a result some religious leaders instructed their Native congregations to burn or destroy various elements of their art and culture, and a good deal of Tlingit heirlooms were destroyed in this way. These misconceptions undermined the complexity and power of Tlingit culture and society.

POTLATCHES

Potlatches are an integral part of Tlingit history and modern-day life. A potlatch is a giant feast that marks a time for showing respect, paying debts, and displaying wealth. Tlingit people give grandly at potlatches to raise their stature. The respect and honor held toward one's ancestry, name, house crest, and family, and the extent of one's wealth might determine how elaborate a potlatch would be; these ceremonies are not, however, forms of worship to any gods. Potlatches are given for various reasons and may be planned for years in advance. The most common potlatches given today are funeral potlatches, the 40-Day Party, memorial potlatches, adoption potlatches, naming potlatches, totem-pole-raising potlatches, and house- or lodge-building potlatches.

These Tlingit are attending a traditional potlatch.



A person's death requires a three-stage potlatch process to properly attend to the deceased person's transfer to the spirit world or future life. The first potlatch includes the mourning and burial of the deceased, lasting from one to four days. George Emmons reports in his book *The Tlingit Indians* that this process traditionally took four to eight days. During this time, the body is prepared for cremation or burial (which is more common today). Attendees sing songs of grief; sometimes the family fasts. Feasts are prepared for guests of the opposite clan (see below for explanation of opposite clans); afterward the person is buried. During the second stage, a party is held for the deceased person's clan. The third stage, or memorial potlatch, which can take place at any time, usually occurs about a year later. The memorial potlatch is a ritual process of letting go emotionally of the deceased. It marks the final release of the deceased to their future life as well as the final mourning, speeches, and deceased person's clan's payments to the opposite clan. The conclusion of the potlatch is a celebration of life and happy stories and song.

Sometimes less elaborate potlatches are held to give names to youngsters, or to those who have earned a new or second name. Naming potlatches may be held in conjunction with a memorial potlatch, as can adoption potlatches. Adoption ceremonies are held for one or more individuals who have proven themselves to a clan by their long term commitment to a Tlingit family or community and who have become members of the clan. The new members receive gifts and names, and are obligated from that day forward to uphold the ways of that

clan. For whatever reason potlatches are held, ceremony is ever present. Participants wear traditional dress, make painstaking preparations, give formal speeches in Tlingit and English, and observe proper Tlingit etiquette.

CUISINE

The traditional diet of the Tlingit people relies heavily on the sea. Fish, seal, seaweed, clams, cockles, gum boots (chitons—a shell fish), herring, eggs and salmon eggs, berries, and venison make up the primary foods of most Tlingit people. Fish, such as halibut, cod, herring, and primarily salmon, (king, reds, silver, and sockeye) are prepared in many forms—most commonly smoked, dried, baked, roasted, or boiled. Dog, silver, humpy, and sockeye salmon are the fish best utilized for smoking and drying. The drying process takes about a week and involves several stages of cleaning, deboning, and cutting strips and hanging the fish usually near an open fire until firm. These strips serve as a food source throughout the year, as they are easily stored and carried.

The land of southeastern Alaska is abundant with ocean and wildlife, and because of this the Tlingit people could easily find and prepare foods in the warmer seasons, saving colder months for art, crafts, and elaborate gatherings. Today, although food sources have been impacted by population and industry, the traditional foods are still gathered and prepared in traditional ways as well as in new and creative ways influenced by the various ethnic

groups who have immigrated into the area, especially Filipino (rice has become a staple of almost any Tlingit meal). Pilot bread, brought in by various seafaring merchants, is also common as it stores well, and softens, for the individual, the consumption of oil delicacies such as the eulochon and seal oils. Fry-bread is also an element of many meals and special occasions. Other influences on diet and food preparation besides standard American include Norwegian, Russian, and Chinese foods.

Other foods of the Tlingit include such pungent dishes as *xákwł'ee*, soap berries (whipped berries often mixed with fish or seal oil), seal liver, dried seaweed, fermented fish eggs, abalone, grouse, crab, deer jerky, sea greens, *-suktéitl'*—goose tongue (a plant food), rosehips, rhubarb, roots, *yaana.eit* (wild celery), and *s'ikshaldéen* (Hudson Bay tea).

TRADITIONAL GARMENTS AND REGALIA

Traditionally Tlingit men and women wore loin-cloths and skirts made of cedar bark. Because of the rainy weather in southeastern Alaska, raincoats were worn, which were also made from natural elements such as spruce root or cedar bark. Today, Tlingit people no longer wear loin-cloths and cedar bark skirts, dressing very much as other contemporary Americans. Although modern, Tlingit people display their clan or family emblem on clothing or through jewelry, as has been the custom for centuries.

The most distinctive form of ceremonial dress prior to Americanization and still the most admired is the Chilkat robe. Although called the Chilkat robe after the Chilkat tribe of Tlingit who specialized in weaving, its origin is Tsimsian. The robe is made from mountain goat wool and cedar bark strips and generally exhibits an emblem of the clan. This garment takes a weaver one to five years to make. The technique not only involves a horizontal weaving similar to that found in other cultures, but also a symmetrical and circular (curvilinear) design as well. This complex art form came dangerously close to extinction in the twentieth century, but through the perseverance of individuals in and outside the tribe there are now several weavers, elder and younger, in Tlingit and other northwest nations today. This is also true of the recently revived art of the Raven's Tail robe, another complexly woven garment of black and white worn over the shoulders in the same cape fashion as the Chilkat robe. Raven's Tail weaving of geometric and herring bone patterns is a skill that had not been practiced in nearly two centuries, but with the resurgence of cultural interest is now being practiced throughout the



This photograph shows Tlingit Indians in traditional dress.

northwest coast. Chilkat and Raven's Tail weaving is also used to make leggings, medicine bags, dance purses, dance aprons, tunics, and shirts.

In 1982 the Sealaska Heritage Foundation in Juneau began what is called *Celebration*. It occurs every even year as a gathering to celebrate culture. At Celebration today, many Chilkat robes can be seen. Chilkat robes are never worn as daily dress, but are worn with pride at potlatches, celebrations, and sometimes for burial, if the person was of a particular social stature. Chilkat robes are a sign of wealth, and traditionally if one owned such an item, he was generally a clan leader of great prestige. Giving away a Chilkat robe meant greater glory since only the wealthiest could afford to be so generous.

Modern regalia today consists primarily of the button blanket, or dancing robe, which although time consuming and expensive to make, is much more available to the people than the Chilkat or Raven's Tail robe. Russian influence played a great part in the evolution of the button blanket, since trade provided the Tlingit people with felt of usually red, black, or blue from which the button blanket is made. These robes are often intricately decorated with one's clan emblems through appliqué variations and mother of pearl (shell) button outlines or solid beading of the design. These robes are worn to display one's lineage and family crest at gatherings, in much the same way as the Chilkat robe.

Robes of any type are almost always worn with an appropriate headdress. Headdresses can be as varied and simple as a headband or as intricate and rich as a carved cedar potlatch hat, displaying one's

crest, decorated with color, inlaid with abalone shell, and finished with ermine. Russian influence inspired the sailor style hat that many women wear for dancing. These are made of the same felt as the button blanket and completed with beaded tassels. Ornamentation traditionally included some hair dressing, ear and nose piercing, labrets, bracelets, face painting, and tattooing. Most of these facets of adornment are practiced today, excluding the labret.

The formal dress of the Tlingit people is not only a show of power, wealth, or even lineage, but is an integral part of the social practices of the Tlingit. Tlingit people practice the respect of honoring the opposite clan and honoring one's ancestors in the making and handling of a garment. Importance is placed also on the maker of the garment, and the relationship of his or her clan to the clan of the wearer. Dress in Tlingit culture is an acknowledgment of all who came before.

HEALTH ISSUES

Existing traditional health-care centers consist primarily of physical healing through diet and local medicines, although this practice is rather limited. A few people today still use teas brewed from the devil's club, Hudson bay tea leaves, roots, leaves, and flowers of various plants that cleanse the body, boost the immune system, and even heal wounds and illnesses. Overall, the Tlingit people primarily use modern medical treatment through the existing federally established health-care systems.

Contemporary health-care methods are only marginally effective. Some of the Tlingit believe that people have a relationships with spirits, can communicate with animals and birds, and can learn from all life forms. Those who vocalize these experiences or abilities, however, feel vulnerable about being labelled as mentally ill. Still considered a radical idea by most modernized Tlingit and mental health specialists, this aspect of Tlingit culture is only now beginning to be discussed.

Health problems among the Tlingit are not much different than they are with other Alaska Native peoples. Extensive and continuous Indian Health Service data demonstrate their susceptibility to such illnesses as influenza, arthritis, hepatitis, cancer, and diabetes. Alcoholism is a more common disease that has taken its toll on the people, and although suicide is not as high amongst the Tlingit as it seems to be in more northern Native communities, it too has caused havoc and despair for some Tlingit communities. Providing social and emotional support for individuals as well as for the family

structure has become a concern for health-care professionals and concerned tribal citizens. Since the Alaska Natives Commission's 1994 report was released stressing the link between health and culture, more and more communities are discussing the psychology of various forms of cultural and social oppression and how to recover spiritually, mentally, and physically.

LANGUAGE

The Tlingit language is a tone language that has 24 sounds not found in English. Tlingit is phonemic in that the difference in meaning between words often depends entirely on tone. Much of the Tlingit language is guttural and some of the sounds are similar to that of German. Almost all Alaska Native languages have guttural or "back-in-the-mouth" sounds. Tlingit is unique in that it is not only guttural but has glottalized stops and a series of linguistically related sounds called glottalized fricatives. The sounds of Tlingit are difficult and varied and include not only the more familiar rolling and drawn out vowel sounds and deeper guttural sounds, but also pinched and air driven sounds with consonants which are "voiceless" (except for the "n" sound, as in "naa"). Many of the consonants have no English equivalents.

In the nineteenth century, the first attempts were made to communicate in Tlingit through writing. The Russian Orthodox Church through Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov) created the first alphabet for the Tlingit language and developed a Tlingit literacy program. The Orthodox Church supported bilingual education in its schools, but the Americans discouraged it, and ultimately sought to suppress the use of the language completely. It was not until the 1960s that a Native language literacy movement was resumed through the efforts of such linguists as Constantine Naish and Gillian Story. These linguists created the Tlingit alphabet that is more commonly used today.

Unlike the English alphabet of 26 letters, the Tlingit language has at least 32 consonants and eight vowels. The alphabet was created with not only the familiar lettering of English but also with periods, underlines on letters, and apostrophes to distinguish particular sounds. For example; the word *yéil* means Raven, and *yéil'* (with the apostrophe) means elderberry.

Tlingit grammar does not indicate concern with time, whereas English conveys some sense of time with almost any verb usage. Tlingit verbs may provide the information about an action's frequen-

cy or indicate the stopping or starting of an action. The grammatical and phonological features of the language make it a difficult one to learn if it has not been taught since birth, but it is not impossible. Unfortunately, due to past efforts to suppress the language there are not many young speakers, although the need to keep the language alive is crucial. The need to maintain indigenous languages is urgently stated in the 1994 *Final Report of the Alaska Natives Commission*: “At the core of many problems in the Alaska Native community are unhealed psychological and spiritual wounds and unresolved grief brought on by a century-long history of deaths by epidemics and cultural and political deprivation at others’ hands; some of the more tragic consequences include the erosion of Native languages in which are couched the full cultural understanding, and the erosion of cultural values.”

GREETINGS AND COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Tlingit people do not use such greetings as hello, good-bye, good afternoon, or good evening. Some common expressions are: *Yoo xat duwasaakw*—my name is; *Gunalchéesh*—Thank you; *Yak’ éi ixwiteení*—It’s good to see you; *Wáa sá iyatee*—How are you (feeling?); *Wa.éku.aa?*—Where are you going?; and *Haa kaa gaa kuwatee*—It’s good weather for us.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Tlingit society is divided into two primary (“opposite”) clans or moieties, subclans or clans, and houses. The moieties are Raven and Eagle, and all Tlingits are either Raven or Eagle by birthright. The structure is matrilineal, meaning each person is born with the moiety of their mother, which is typically the opposite of the father: If the mother is Eagle, then the father is Raven or vice versa. Traditionally moiety intramarriage was not allowed even if the two Ravens or two Eagles were not at all blood related. Today, although frowned upon, moiety intramarriage occasionally occurs without the social ostracizing of the past.

Clans exist under the Raven moiety and the Eagle moiety. Clans are a subdivision of the moieties; each has its own crest. A person can be Eagle and of the Killer Whale or Brown Bear Clan, or of several other existing clans; Ravens may be of the Frog Clan, Sea Tern Clan, Coho Clan, and so forth. Houses, or extended families, are subdivisions of the clans. Prior to contact houses would literally be

houses or lodges in which members of that clan or family coexisted. Today houses are one of the ways in which Tlingit people identify themselves and their relationship to others. Some examples of houses include the Snail House, Brown Bear Den House, Owl House, Crescent Moon House, Coho House, and Thunderbird House.

Tlingits are born with specific and permanent clan identities. Today these identities and relationships are intact and still acknowledged by the tribe. Biological relationships are one part of the family and clan structure; the other is the reincarnate relationships. Tlingit social structures and relationships are also effected by the belief that all Tlingits are reincarnates of an ancestor. This aspect of Tlingit lineage is understood by the elders but is not as likely to be understood and acknowledged by the younger Tlingit, although clan conferences are being held to educate people about this complex social system.

In Tlingit society today, even though many Tlingits marry other Tlingits, there exists a great deal of interracial marriage, which has changed some of the dynamics of family and clan relationships. Many Tlingit people marry Euro-Americans, and a few marry into other races or other tribes. Some of the interracial families choose to move away from the Tlingit communities and from Tlingit life. Others live in the communities but do not participate in traditional Tlingit activities. A few of the non-Tlingit people intermarried with Tlingit become adopted by the opposite clan of their Tlingit spouse and thereby further their children’s participation in Tlingit society.

Traditionally boys and girls were raised with a great deal of family and community support. The uncles and aunts of the children played a major role in the children’s development into adulthood. Uncles and aunts often taught the children how to physically survive and participate in society, and anyone from the clan could conceivably reprimand or guide the child. Today the role of the aunts and uncles has diminished, but in the smaller and dominantly Tlingit communities some children are still raised this way. Most Tlingit children are raised in typical American one-family environments, and are instructed in American schools as are other American children. Tlingit people place a strong importance on education and many people go on to receive higher education degrees. Traditional education is usually found in dance groups, traditional survival camps, art camps, and Native education projects through the standard education systems.

RELIGION

Traditionally, spiritual acknowledgment was present in every aspect of the culture, and healing involved the belief that an ailing physical condition was a manifestation of a spiritual problem, invasion, or disturbance. In these cases, a specialist, or shaman-*ixt'*, would be called in to combat spirit(s) *yéiks*, or the negative forces of a witch or “medicine man.” Today, anyone addressing such spiritual forces does so quietly, and most people are silent on the subject. The Indian Religious Freedom Act was passed in 1978, but to date has had little effect other than to provide some legal support for Tlingit potlatch and traditional burial practices.

Institutionalized religion, or places of worship, were not always a part of the traditional Tlingit way of life, although they are now. The Russian Orthodox and Presbyterian faiths have had the longest and most profound impact on Tlingit society and are well established in the Tlingit communities. Other religions have become popular in southeast Alaska, and a few Tlingit people are members of the Jehovah Witnesses, the Bahai's, and the fundamentalist Baptist churches.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The Tlingit economy at time of contact was a subsistence economy supported by intense trade. The cash economy and the American systems of ownership have altered the lifestyle of Tlingit people dramatically; however, many Tlingits have adapted successfully. Job seekers find occupations primarily in logging and forestry, fishing and the marine industry, tourism, and other business enterprises. Because of the emphasis on education, a significant number of Tlingit people work in professional positions as lawyers, health-care specialists, and educators. The Sealaska Corporation and village corporations created under ANCSA also provide some employment in blue collar work, office work, and corporate management. Not all positions within the corporations are held by Tlingit and Haida, as a large number of jobs are filled by non-Natives. The corporations provide dividends—the only ANCSA compensation families receive for land they have lost, but these are generally rather modest. Some of the village corporations have produced some hefty lump sum dividends out of timber sales and one-time sale of NOL's (net operating losses) sold to other corporations for tax purposes, but these wind-falls are infrequent.

Since the ANCSA bill passed in 1971, differences in wealth distribution among the Tlingit have arisen that did not previously exist. Some of the Tlingit people are economically disadvantaged and have less opportunities today to rely on subsistence for survival. Welfare reliance has become an all-too-common reality for many families, while those in political and corporate positions seem to become more financially independent. As a result shareholder dissension has increased annually and become rather public.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Tlingit and Haida people have been and continue to be very active in both community and clan politics and tribal governments as well as in state and city issues. Many Tlingits since the 1920s have won seats in the Territorial legislature, setting in motion Tlingit involvement in all aspects of politics and government. Tlingit activist and ANS leader Elizabeth Peratrovich made the plea for justice and equality regardless of race to the territorial legislature on February 8, 1945 that prompted the signing of an anti-discrimination bill. Her efforts as a civil rights leader became officially recognized by the State of Alaska in 1988 with the “Annual Elizabeth Peratrovich Day.” She is the only person in Alaska to be so honored for political and social efforts.

The ANCSA-created corporations wield a great deal of political power, and Tlingit and Haida corporate officials are often courted by legislators and businessmen. The corporations are a strong lobby group in Alaska's capital since they not only control lands and assets but represent over 16,000 Tlingit and Haida shareholders. Tlingit people cast their individual ballots based on their own choices and results show they tend to support the Democratic party. Tlingit people running for office also tend to run on a Democratic ticket.

The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 provided the first real means for traditional Tlingit law to be practiced and recognized by American government. Since 1978 several tribal courts have been created and tribal judges placed. A very active tribal court exists in Sitka with Tlingit judges presiding over civil matters brought before the court. Tribal courts in Tlingit country are not yet active in determining criminal cases as might be found in other tribal courts of the continental United States, but tribal councils are considering such jurisdiction. Tribal councils and tribal courts are much more a part of the communities than they were 20 years ago, and many issues today are addressed and resolved by Tlingit communities at this level.

Although no statistics are immediately available, many Tlingit men have fought in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam. Tlingit participation in the U.S. armed forces is common and generally supported by the families and their communities.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

In the twentieth century the Tlingit people have made many contributions. The following mentions some notable Tlingit Americans and their achievements:

ACADEMIA

Elaine Abraham (1929–), bilingual educator, was the first Tlingit to enter the nursing profession. In her early years she cared for people on the Navajo reservation during a diphtheria epidemic, and in Alaska, patients of tuberculosis and diphtheria during a time when many indigenous tribes feared modern medicine. Thereafter she served in major hospital supervisory positions and initiated such health programs as the original Southeast Health Aid Program and the Alaska Board of Health (now called the Alaska Native Health Board). An outstanding educator, she began as assistant dean of students at Sheldon Jackson College and was appointed vice-president in 1972. In Fairbanks she cofounded the Alaska Native Language Center and went on to become Vice-President of Rural Education and Extension Centers (1975). Abraham also established the Native Student Services office for Native students while teaching the Tlingit language at the Anchorage Community College. Her work in student services and indigenous understanding continues as Director of Alaska Native Studies for the University of Alaska in Anchorage.

GOVERNMENT

Elizabeth Peratrovich (1911-1958), civil rights activist, is recognized by Alaskans for her contributions to the equal rights struggle in the state of Alaska. February 17 is celebrated as Elizabeth Peratrovich Day. She is also listed in the Alaska Women's Hall of Fame (1989) and honored annually by the Alaska Native Sisterhood (which she served as Grand Camp President) and by the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Roy Peratrovich (1910-1989), Elizabeth's husband, is also honored by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and other Alaskans for his dedication to bettering the education system and for actively promoting school and social integration. His efforts frequently involved satirical let-

ters to the newspapers that stimulated controversy and debate.

William L. Paul (1885-1977) began as a law school graduate and practicing attorney and became the first Alaska Native and first Tlingit in Alaska's territorial House of Representatives. He contributed to equal rights, racial understanding, and settlement of land issues. Frank J. Peratrovich (1895-1984) received a University of Alaska honorary doctorate for public service, serving as the Mayor of Klawock and as a territorial legislator in the Alaska House and Senate. He was the first Alaska Native not only to serve in the Senate but also to become Senate President (1948).

Andrew P. Hope (1896-1968) was an active politician and contributed to the advancement of Tlingit people and social change. He was instrumental in the development of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and was one of Alaska's few Native legislators. Frank See (1915–) from Hoonah was also a notable legislator, mayor, and businessman, as was Frank Johnson (1894-1982), a teacher, legislator, and lobbyist. Frank Price was also elected to the territorial legislature.

LITERATURE AND ORATORY

Nora Marks Dauenhauer (1927–), poet, scholar, and linguist, has dedicated her work to the survival of the Tlingit language; she has stressed the importance of story in culture. Besides such published works in poetry as *The Droning Shaman*, she has edited a number of works with her husband, Richard Dauenhauer, including the bilingual editions of Tlingit oral literature, *Haa Shuka, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives* (1987), and *Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory* (1990). Together they have developed Tlingit language instruction materials, *Beginning Tlingit* (1976), the *Tlingit Spelling Book* (1984), and instructional audio tapes. She has written numerous papers on the subjects of Tlingit language oratory and culture, and she has co-authored many other articles. Another active writer is Andy Hope III, essayist, poet, and editor of *Raven's Bones Journal*.

Orators and storytellers in Tlingit history and within the society today are numerous, but some of the noteworthy include Amy Marvin/Kooteen (1912–); Chookan Sháa, who also serves as song-leader and as a lead drummer for the Mt. Fairweather Dancers; Robert Zuboff/Shadaax' (1893-1974) traditional storyteller and humorist; Johnny Jackson/Gooch Éesh (1893-1985), storyteller, singer, and orator; and Jessie Dalton/Naa Tlaa (1903–), an influential bilingual orator. Another

well-respected orator was Austin Hammond/Daanawáak (1910-1993), a traditions bearer and activist. Hammond dedicated a song to the Tlingit people just before he died for use in traditional gatherings and ceremony as the Tlingit national anthem.

PERFORMANCE AND DANCE

A widespread interest in Tlingit dancing, singing, and stories has generated the revival and development of a large number of traditional performance groups. The renowned Geisan Dancers of Haines have scheduled national and international engagements as have Kake's, Keex' Kwaan Dancers, and Sealaska Heritage Foundation's, NaaKahidi Theatre. Other major dance groups include the Noow Tlein Dancers of Sitka, led by Vida Davis, the acclaimed children's group, Gájaa Héen Dancers of Sitka, and the Mt. Fairweather Dancers (led for many years by the late T'akdeintaan matriarch, Katherine Mills). Other notable performance groups include the Tlingit and Haida Dancers of Anchorage, the Angoon Eagles, the Angoon Ravens, the Marks Trail Dancers, the Mt. Juneau Tlingit Dancers, the Mt. St. Elias Dancers, the Seetka Kwaan Dancers, the Killerwhale Clan, the Klukwan Chilkat Dancers, and the Klawock Heinya Dancers.

Gary Waid (1948–), has bridged the Western stage and traditional performance for nearly two decades, performing nationally and internationally in such productions as *Coyote Builds North America*, (Perseverance Theatre, as a solo actor), and *Fires on the Water* (NaaKahidi Theatre, as a leading storyteller); he has also performed in educational films such as *Shadow Walkers* (Alaska State Department of Education and Sealaska Heritage Foundation). Besides performing regularly in Alaska and on tour, Waid performed in New York with *Summer Faced Woman* (1986) and *Lilac and Flag* (1994), a Perseverance Theatre Production coproduced with the Talking Band. He also performs Shakespeare and standard western repertoire. David Kadashan/Kaatyé (1893-1976) was an avid musician in both Tlingit and contemporary Western music during the big band era, and became a traditional orator and song leader of standing. Archie James Cavanaugh is a jazz musician and recording artist, best known for his album *Black and White Raven* (1980), with some selections recorded with the late great Native American jazz saxophonist, Jim Pepper.

VISUAL ARTS

Nathan Jackson is a master carver who has exhibited his works—totem poles, masks, bentwood boxes and house fronts—in New York, London, Chicago, Salt Lake City, and Seattle. His eagle frontlet is the first aspect of Native culture to greet airline passengers deplaning in Ketchikan. Two of his 40-foot totem poles decorate the entrance to the Centennial Building in Juneau, and other areas display his restoration and reproduction work. Reggie B. Peterson (1948–) is a woodcarver, silversmith, and instructor of Northwest Coast art in Sitka, sharing his work with cultural centers and museums.

Jennie Thlunaut/Shax'saani Kéek' (1890-1986), Kaagwaantaan, award-winning master Chilkat weaver, taught the ancient weaving style to others, and thereby kept the art alive. Jennie has woven over 50 robes and tunics, and received many honors and awards. In 1983 Alaska's Governor Sheffield named a day in her honor, but she chose to share the honor by naming her day Yanwaa Sháa Day to recognize her clanswomen. Emma Marks/Seigeigéi (1913–), Lukaax.ádi, is also acclaimed for her award-winning beadwork. Esther Littlefield of Sitka has her beaded ceremonial robes, aprons, and dance shirts on display in lodges and museums, and a younger artist, Ernestine Hanlon of Hoonah creates, sells, and displays her intricate cedar and spruce basket weavings throughout south-east Alaska.

Sue Folletti/Shax'saani Kéek' (named after Jenni Thlunaut) (1953-), Kaagwaantaan, silver carver, creates clan and story bracelets of silver and gold, traditionally designed earrings, and pendants that are sold and displayed in numerous art shows and were featured at the Smithsonian Institute during the Crossroads of the Continents traveling exhibit. Other exceptional Tlingit art craftsmen include Ed Kasko; master carver and silversmith from Klukwan, Louis Minard; master silversmith from Sitka; and developing artists like Norm Jackson, a silversmith and mask maker from Kake, and Odin Lonning (1953–), carver, silversmith, and drum maker.

MEDIA

PRINT

Naa Kaani.

The Sealaska Heritage Foundation Newsletter; provides updates on Sealaska Heritage Foundations cultural and literary projects. English language only.

Address: 1 Sealaska Plaza, Suite 201, Juneau, Alaska 99801.

Raven's Bones Journal.

A literary newsletter; contains reports and essays on tribal and publication issues along with listings of Native American writers and publications. (English language only.)

Contact: Andy Hope III, Editor.

Address: 523 Fourth Street, Juneau, Alaska 99801.

Sealaska Shareholder Newsletter.

A bimonthly publication of the Sealaska Corporation. The primary focus is on corporate and shareholder issues, but also reports on Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimpsian achievements and celebrations. Each issue provides a calendar of cultural, corporate, and social events. (English language only.)

Contact: Vikki Mata, Director of Corporate Communications.

Address: 1 Sealaska Plaza, Suite 400, Juneau, Alaska 99801-1276.

Telephone: (907) 586-1827.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

KTOO-FM.

A local radio and television broadcast station; does a 15-minute Native report five mornings a week. "Raincountry," a weekly program on television deals with Native affairs in Alaska focusing on issues in Tlingit country and the southeast as a whole. On Mondays the station airs the "Alaska Native News," a half-hour program, and Ray Peck Jr., Tlingit, hosts a radio jazz show. No Tlingit person is otherwise on staff for these programs.

Contact: Scott Foster.

Address: 224 Fourth Street, Juneau, Alaska 99801.

Telephone: (907) 586-1670.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB)/Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS).

ANB (founded in 1912) and ANS (founded in 1915) promote community, education, and justice through a governing grand camp and operating subordinate camps (local ANB and ANS groups). Native education and equal rights are some of the many issues addressed by the membership, as are Tlingit and Haida well being and social standing.

Contact: Ron Williams, President.

Address: 320 West Willoughby Avenue, Juneau, Alaska 99801.

Telephone: (907) 586-2049.

Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska (CCTHITA).

Founded in 1965. Provides trust services through Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to Tlingit and Haida people and Tlingit and Haida villages in land allotment cases, operates health and tribal employment programs, and issues educational grants and scholarships.

Contact: Edward Thomas, President.

Address: 320 West Willoughby Avenue, Suite 300, Juneau, Alaska 99801-9983.

Telephone: (907) 586-1432.

Organized Village of Kake.

Founded in 1947 under the Indian Reorganization Act. Contracts with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to provide services to the tribe such as counseling referral, general assistance, assistance in Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) issues, education and cultural development, scholarships, and housing improvement. Through a Johnson O'Malley BIA contract they provide supplemental education and culture/language classes. The organization also handles its own tribal land trust responsibilities.

Contact: Gary Williams, Executive Director; or, Henrich Kadake, President.

Address: P.O. Box 316, Kake, Alaska 99830.

Telephone: (907) 785-6471.

Sitka Tribe of Alaska (STA).

Chartered in 1938 under the Indian Reorganization Act as the Sitka Community Association, STA is a federally recognized tribe and operates contracts under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). STA has an extensive social services program, providing counseling, crisis intervention, employment services, housing improvement, youth and education programs, economic development, and historic preservation. STA also supports a tribal court.

Contact: Ted Wright, General Manager; or, Larry Widmark, Tribal Chair.

Address: 456 Katlian Street, Sitka, Alaska 99835.

Telephone: (907) 747-3207.

Yakutat Native Association (YNA).

Founded in 1983. Provides family services to the tribe through Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) contracts. YNA's Johnson O'Malley program provides

dance instruction, runs a culture camp in the summer, and is in the processes of developing a language program.

Contact: Nellie Valle.

Address: P.O. Box 418, Yakutat, Alaska 99689.

Telephone: (907) 784-3238.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Alaska State Museum.

Houses a varied collection of southeast Alaska Indian art, with elaborate displays of traditional Tlingit regalia, carvings, artifacts, and totem designs.

Address: 395 Whittier Street, Juneau, Alaska.

Telephone: (907) 465-2901.

Sheldon Jackson Museum.

Houses Tlingit regalia, a canoe, a large spruce root basket collection, and other traditional items and artifacts including house posts, hooks, woodworking tools, bentwood boxes, and armor. The museum also contains a large variety of Aleut and Eskimo art. The museum's gift shop sells baskets and other Tlingit art.

Address: 104 College Drive, Sitka, Alaska 99835.

Telephone: (907) 747-8981.

Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center.

Shares the history of Haines, the gold rush era, and Tlingit art in the displays. The center provides books and flyers on different aspects of Tlingit art and history, as well as live demonstrations in traditional crafts.

Address: P.O. Box 623, Haines, Alaska 99827.

Telephone: (907) 766-2366.

Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center.

Displays a model panorama of the Tlingit battles against the Russians in 1802 and 1804, elaborate carved house posts, and artifacts. The center shows historic films and has a large totem park outside the structure. Classes are conducted in Tlingit carving, silversmithing, and beadwork, and artists remain in-house to complete their own projects.

Address: 106 Metlakatla, Sitka, Alaska 99835.

Telephone: (907) 747-8061.

Totem Heritage Center.

Promotes Tlingit and Haida carving and traditional art forms and designs by firsthand instruction. The center maintains brochures and other information on artists in the area as well as instructional literature.

Address: City of Ketchikan, Museum Department,
629 Dock Street, Ketchikan, Alaska 99901.

Telephone: (907) 225-5600.

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TONGAN AMERICANS

by
Amy Cooper

OVERVIEW

Tonga is an archipelago of 150 tropical islands located in the South Pacific Ocean, 36 of which are inhabited. The islands experience a cool season between May and December, and a warm season between December and May. The total land area is approximately 290 square miles. Together, the islands are known as the Kingdom of Tonga, or *Pule'anga Fakatu'i'o* and the capital is Nuku'alofa. Tonga is ruled by a constitutional monarchy that was established in 1875 and is headed by a King and a Privy Council. The population is composed of approximately 101,300 people, over 90 percent of whom are of Polynesian descent. The population is relatively homogeneous, though some Americans and people of other nations who are involved in Tonga's popular tourist trade also live on the islands. There are three primary social classes in Tonga: the King; a nobility made up of 33 families; and commoners.

HISTORY

Tongans are descended from Malaysians who settled on the main island group of Tongatapu about 3,000 years ago. Beginning in the 10th century, they were ruled by a line of sacred kings and queens called the Tu'i Tonga. The sovereign transferred power to his brother under the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua in 1470. In 1600, power was transferred to the Tu'i

Though many Tongans feel that residence in the United States relieves them from the social obligations to village chiefs and others, visiting Tongan chiefs and their families are welcomed with gifts and exclusive treatment.

This Tongan American man is a primary participant in a luau.



Kanokipolu, from whom the current rulers are descended.

The Dutch were the first to visit the islands. Jacob Le Maire arrived in 1616 and Abel Janszoon Tasman followed in 1643. In contrast to his predecessors' short stints in the islands, Captain James Cook visited the Tongans several times between 1773 and 1777. He named the Tongan islands the Friendly Islands because of the warmth shown him by the native inhabitants. In 1826, the Methodist Mission successfully introduced Christianity to Tonga, and Marists introduced Roman Catholicism in 1842. Leader Tautafa'ahau, who converted to Methodism in 1831, ended the unrest and took the title King George Tupou I in 1845 and ruled until 1893. During his reign, Tonga was unified and became an independent nation, establishing its constitution in 1875. Germany, Great Britain and the United States all recognized Tonga's independence in 1876, 1879 and 1888, respectively.

George I was succeeded by his great-grandson, George II. Under George II's reign, Tonga renounced its independence in return for protection from German invasion. In 1900, it became a British protectorate, agreeing to conduct all foreign affairs through a British consul and giving Britain veto power over its foreign policy and finances. Queen Salote Tupou III ruled from George II's death in 1918 until her death in 1965 and was succeeded by her son, who became Tautafa'ahau Tupou IV. It was during his reign that Tonga became a fully independent nation, regaining control from Britain on June 4, 1970.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In 1990, Tongan immigrants to the United States numbered approximately 17,600 people. Tongans are considered Pacific Islanders, the smallest ethnic group represented in the country. Tongan Americans are often confused with Samoans and Hawaiians, and have only been enumerated distinct from Asians and Hawaiians since 1980. It is important to note that, in 1980, there were only 6,200 Tongan Americans. The Tongan American population rose 184 percent in ten years due to continued immigration. Mormon missionaries have been most instrumental in encouraging Tongan immigration to the United States. The Mormon Church has assisted Tongans in immigration to the United States by providing student and work visas, employment, and the opportunity for Tongans of marriageable age to meet spouses.

Tongans first came to Laie, Hawaii in 1916. The number of immigrants increased dramatically at the end of World War II when they came as labor missionaries for the Hawaiian Temple, Church College and the Polynesian Cultural Center. On mainland America, Tongans have settled primarily on the west coast, with 45 percent of Tongans living in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area. Over 22 percent live in Salt Lake City or Provo. Tongan law guarantees each male eight acres of land, but Tongan men who leave the islands lose their right to land, thereby freeing land rights for other islanders. However, a shortage of land has resulted in increased immigration since the 1970s.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

HOLIDAYS

Because Tongan Americans are Christian, they celebrate the Christian holidays of Christmas and Easter. They also celebrate the traditional New Year's Day (called *Ta'u Fo'ou*) during which children go caroling, singing hymns for friends and neighbors. Tongans celebrate Sunday School Day (called *Faka Me*), which is something like a first communion celebration. *Faka Me* is celebrated on the first Sunday in May and gives the children in the church an opportunity to dress in new clothes specially made for the occasion. The families attend church and then host a feast for the children. Another important holiday is Tonga Emancipation Day, celebrated on June 4 in commemoration of Tongan independence from Britain, which was gained in 1970.



These Tongan American school children are singing at a luau celebrating a new road being built in Milolii, Hawaii.

DANCES AND SONGS

Tongans have a strong heritage of poetry, set to dance and music. The *lakalaka* is a formal, traditional line dance performed by both men and women that uses commemorates people, historical events and places. New dances and songs are composed and choreographed for special occasions by Tongan poets. A more informal type of music is called *hiva kakala* (love songs). Young women perform solo dances (*tau'olunga*) to these songs at fund raisers. The paddle dance (*me'etu'upaki*) features dancers who carry paddle-shaped boards painted or carved with abstract representations of the human body. Other popular dances include the *kailao*, which is a war dance, and the *ma'ulu'ulu* which is an action dance similar to the *lakalaka*, but is performed while seated. Tongans have also developed a high form of harmonization for hymns.

LANGUAGE

Tongan and English are both considered official languages of Tonga, and therefore much of the pop-

ulation is bilingual. English is considered a second language, and schools primarily teach Tongan. Linguistically, Tongan is related to Samoan and other Polynesian languages. Among immigrant cultures, Tongans have the highest degree of native language spoken in American households. Second generation Tongan Americans are generally more fluent in English.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Both Tongan island communities and Tongan American communities are generally organized around large family units called *kainga*. The *kainga* encompass all blood relatives and can include people other than blood relations. Tongans see themselves as members of several overlapping groups of descent, and each person has a rank within the family structure. In this complex system, Tongans trace descent through both the mother's and father's lineage, called unilineal descent, and have social obligations to both groups.

Tongan households are large and include many generations and relations. Aunts, uncles, cousins and others may all, at some time or another, live under the same roof, for the household can shift, depending on the needs of work, marriage or education. Tongans have very specific obligations to each family member, depending on rank. Though many Tongans feel that residence in the United States relieves them from the social obligations to village chiefs and others, visiting Tongan chiefs and their families are welcomed with gifts and exclusive treatment. Tongans rely on the status that their ties to the chiefs provide, and hold strongly to the protocol of social obligations. Many Tongans are also tied to large social groups, including church groups (probably the most important), sports groups, and community associations.

CELEBRATIONS

Many different family celebrations are marked in similar ways. Birthdays, weddings, funerals, graduations and chiefly installment ceremonies are celebrated within families by the exchange of painted *tapu* cloth (a cloth made of bark), pandanus mats and feasts. Women provide the *koloa*, or ceremonial wealth, which is normally redistributed at the next event. Men provide the food for the feast. Recently, as a replacement for the traditional cloth and mats, women have begun to create quilts as *koloa*. This enables Tongans who have immigrated to the United States or other countries to participate in traditional exchanges more easily, because of the difficulty in obtaining *tapu* cloth and mats outside of Tonga.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Tongan women symbolically rank lower than their husbands, but are ranked higher than their brothers. A brother and all of his children are especially obligated to support his sister and her children. Tongan women spend much of their time in same-sex groups, providing child care, participating in sports and organizing church activities.

RELIGION

Christian missionary activity has taken place since 1797 and has had a great impact on the Tongan culture. Most Tongan Americans are Christian, and are primarily Methodist. In Tonga, 47 percent of families belong to the Free Wesleyan Church. Sixteen percent of Tongans are Roman Catholic, 14 percent belong to the Free Church of Tonga, and nine percent are Mormon.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Tonga's economy is still agriculturally based, but there is a growing pattern of middle class Tongans who have been educated abroad who have started small businesses. Tonga also has a thriving tourist trade. Tongans living abroad in the United States, New Zealand or Australia, often send money to family members still living on the islands. *Kainga* participate in resource sharing characteristic of the traditional redistributive economy in Tonga. This economy is based on three core values: *'ofa* (love), *faka'apa'apa* (respect) and *fuakavenga* (responsibility). Family groups rely on traditional economic cooperation to raise money for such important occasions as weddings, funerals, graduation and home building. Tongan American family groups regularly participate in this tradition, though they are not geographically near their families. Thus, the social structure necessitates that a Tongan American living in Provo, Utah, or Los Angeles, California, fulfill an economic obligation to a relative still living in Tonga. The same Tongan American may receive goods from Tonga for an event in the future.

Tongans are generally not college educated. The 1990 census shows that most Tongan Americans are working class, employed in service occupations and technical support. Men and women are employed at almost the same rate.

MEDIA

The Tonga Chronicle.

This online newspaper provides news from Tonga and includes an archive of back issues..

Address: PO Box 197 Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga.

E-mail: tk@pacificforum.com.

Online: <http://www.netstorage.com/kami/tonga/news>.

Tonga Page.

Personal website that provides photographs, maps, facts, and links about Tonga.

Online: <http://user.cs.tu-berlin.de/~minibbjd/tonga/index.html>.

Tonga Online.

Professional website that provides current news and information about Tonga.

E-mail: kami@ender.netstorage.com.

Online: <http://www.tongaonline.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Maui Tongan Association.

A local organization supporting Tongans in Maui.

Address: PO Box 5103, Kahului, HI 96733-5103.

National Tongan American Society.

Founded in 1994, this group supporting Tongan Americans has annual membership dues of \$20.

Address: c/o Ivoni M. Nash, 1175 W. 4515 S,
Number 61, Salt Lake City, Utah 84123.

Pacific Islanders Cultural Association (PICA).

Supports Pacific Islanders in Northern California. Includes information on all Pacific Islands, links, the Northern California Outrigger Canoe Association, and Pacific Island News sources.

Address: PO Box 31238 San Francisco,
CA 94131.

Telephone: (415) 281-0221.

E-mail: webmaster@pica-org.org.

Online: <http://www.pica-org.org>.

Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC).

This organization, founded in 1963, seeks to preserve Polynesian cultures, and provides information and education about arts, crafts and lore. Sponsors several recognition awards and funds the Institute for Polynesian Studies at the Brigham Young University—Hawaii campus.

Address: 55-370 Kamehameha Hwy., Laie, HI
96762.

Telephone: (808) 293-3333 or (800) 367-7060.

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Despite Trinidad and Tobago's culturally diverse people, the family, regardless of ethnic background, fulfills certain basic roles. In the United States, it is the family's responsibility to maintain traditions and enforce strong family values in the community.

T RINIDADIAN AND TOBAGONIAN AMERICANS

by
N. Samuel Murrell

OVERVIEW

Located on the northeastern coast of Venezuela, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago comprises the two most southerly islands in the West Indies. Tobago, which lies 20 miles northeast of Trinidad, measures only 117 square miles. Trinidad, which has a land mass of 1,865 square miles, is about the size of Delaware. The Republic's capital, Port of Spain, is an important commercial center, producing beer, rum, plastics, lumber, and textiles. Chief exports of Trinidad and Tobago include oil, sugar, citrus fruit, asphalt, and coffee.

Trinidad and Tobago have approximately 1.27 million residents, most of whom live on Trinidad. While the population of Tobago is predominantly black, Trinidad supports several ethnic groups, including Asian Indians (40.3 percent), blacks (39.6 percent), Europeans, Chinese, and Lebanese (one percent). The remaining 18 percent includes individuals of mixed heritage. Roman Catholics (29.4 percent), Hindus (23.8 percent), Protestant Christians (12 percent), Anglicans (10.9 percent), and Muslims (5.8 percent) are the dominant religious groups of the islands.

The Republic's national flag has a black diagonal band edged with white on a red background. Trinidad and Tobago's national anthem "Side By Side We Stand" echoes the country's commitment to racial and ethnic diversity: "Forged from the love of liberty, / In the fires of hope and prayer, / With

boundless faith in our destiny, / We solemnly declare. / Side by side we stand. / Islands of the blue Caribbean sea, / This is our native land. / We pledge our lives to thee, / Here every creed and race / Finds an equal place, / And may God bless our nation.”

HISTORY

The history of Trinidad and Tobago is one of invasion, conquest, and colonization. On July 31, 1498, Christopher Columbus discovered the islands, which were inhabited by about 40,000 native peoples (Arawaks and Caribs) whom he called Indians. Columbus named the larger island Trinidad, in honor of the Holy Trinity, and called Tobago (the legendary island of *Robinson Crusoe*) Concepcion. The islands' native population began disappearing, largely from exposure to European diseases and poor treatment, shortly after the founding of the first city, San Josef de Quna (Saint Joseph), in 1592. By 1783 the native population was reduced to less than 1,490 people and by 1800 they were virtually extinct.

Trinidad remained an underdeveloped outpost for almost 200 years until the King of Spain issued the Cedula of Population in 1783 and began enticing planters to migrate to Trinidad with their slaves. In 1791 thousands of French colonists, fleeing the French Revolution in Saint Domingue, settled in Trinidad, bringing enslaved Africans with them. While Trinidad was largely ignored during the early years of colonization, Tobago fell to a number of European explorers. The island passed through the hands of Great Britain, France, Holland, and other invading European countries at least 22 times during its history, until it was finally ceded to Britain in 1814. In January 1889 Trinidad and Tobago united as one nation under British rule. Africans were brought to Tobago as slaves in the early 1600s but were not imported into Trinidad in great numbers until the early 1700s. After the British government abolished slavery in 1834, Asian Indian and Chinese laborers were brought to Trinidad as indentured servants. Between 1842 and 1917, over 170,000 Asian Indians, Chinese, and Portuguese (from Madeira) were enticed into working on the islands' vast plantations. Lured by the fertile soil and unexplored natural resources, many former American slaves migrated to the island as well. Consequently, by 1900 more than 70,000 blacks had settled in Trinidad and Tobago.

MODERN ERA

Trinidad and Tobago was governed by British royalists and dominated by Scottish, French, and Span-

ish colonists until its independence in 1962. Prior to independence, non-whites had little or no voice in government affairs. After World War I, however, they began protesting through strikes and demonstrations organized by such civil rights leaders as Arthur Cipriani, Uriah Buzz Butler, and others involved with the powerful Oil Field Workers Trade Union and the Manual and Metal Workers Union.

In 1947 the British Government plotted the formation of a West Indian federation, which came to fruition in 1958. They chose Port of Spain as the capital. The federation was designed to foster political and cultural solidarity and to break down economic barriers among the islands. The federation collapsed in 1961, however, when Jamaica seceded from the union, becoming an independent nation. Trinidad and Tobago attained independence on August 31, 1962, and became a republic within The Commonwealth in 1976. In 1965 Trinidad and Tobago joined the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Caribbean Free Trade Area (Carifta) which was renamed the Caribbean Community (Caricom) in 1974. Trinidad and Tobago enjoyed substantial prosperity from the 1960s to the early 1980s due to the success of the oil industry, but prices plummeted in the late 1980s, sending the country into a serious recession.

THE FIRST TRINIDADIAN AND TOBAGONIAN IMMIGRATION IN AMERICA

Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigration to the United States, which dates back to the seventeenth century, was spasmodic and is best studied in relation to the major waves of Caribbean immigration. The first documented account of black immigration to the United States from the Caribbean dates back to 1619, when a small group of voluntary indentured workers arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, on a Dutch frigate. The immigrants worked as free people until 1629 when a Portuguese vessel arrived with the first shipload of blacks captured off the west coast of Africa. In the 1640s Virginia and other states began instituting laws that took away the freedom of blacks and redefined them as chattel, or personal property. Trinidad, like many other islands in the British West Indies, served as a clearinghouse for slaves en route to North America. The region also acted as a “seasoning camp” where newly arrived blacks were “broken-in” psychologically and physically to a life of slavery, as well as a place where they acquired biological resistance to deadly European diseases.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Since the turn of the twentieth century, there have been three distinct waves of Caribbean immigrants into the United States. The first wave was modest and lasted from about 1900 to the 1920s. Between 1899 and 1924, the number of documented, English-speaking Caribbean immigrants entering the United States increased annually from 412 in 1899 to 12,245 in 1924, although the actual number of Caribbean residents in the United States was probably twice as high. Immigration fell substantially after 1924 when the U.S. government established national quotas on African and Caribbean countries. By 1930 there were only 177,981 documented foreign blacks in the United States—less than two percent of the aggregate black population. Approximately 72,200 of the foreign blacks were first-generation emigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean.

Most Trinidadians and Tobagonians who entered the United States during that period were industrial workers, civil servants, laborers, and former soldiers disillusioned by the high unemployment rate in Trinidad and Tobago after World War I. The number of new arrivals dropped significantly during the Great Depression (1932-1937) when more blacks returned to the Caribbean than came to the United States. Only a small number of professionals and graduate students migrated to America prior to World War II, some with the intention of staying for a short time on a student or worker's visa, and others planning to remain permanently.

The second and weakest immigration wave from the Caribbean to the United States was rather sporadic and occurred between the late 1930s and the passage of new immigration policies in the 1960s. As late as the 1950s, the number of Trinidadians and Tobagonians arriving in the United States was low in comparison to other foreign countries. This was partially due to the passage of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which reaffirmed the quota bill and further restricted Caribbean immigration to America. The differential treatment of African and Caribbean peoples by immigration authorities, in contrast to Europeans, also discouraged the migration of Trinidadians and Tobagonians. After the Republic achieved independence in 1962, only 100 Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants were permitted to enter the United States annually.

Still, a small group, mainly from Trinidad's middle class, migrated between the waning of the Depression and the changing of U.S. immigration laws. This group consisted mainly of white-collar workers, students, and people joining their families already living in the United States. With the open-

ing of a U.S. Naval Base on Trinidad in 1940, Trinidadian and Tobagonian military personnel were stationed in the U.S. Virgin Islands and Florida, and some served under U.S. and British command in Europe. After World War II, some of these soldiers migrated to America in search of jobs and improved economic opportunity. Because of laws restricting immigration, only 2,598 documented Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants entered the United States between 1960 and 1965.

The third and largest wave of Caribbean immigration began in 1965 and continues into the present. It was greatly influenced by the American civil rights movement, which exposed the racism inherent in U.S. immigration policy. The 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Reform Act, which established uniform limits of no more than 20,000 persons per country annually for the eastern hemisphere, enabled Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants to seek legal immigration and naturalization status in larger numbers. A clause in the Act of 1965, which gave preference to immigrants whose relatives were already U.S. citizens and therefore capable of sponsoring immigrants, also encouraged many Trinidadian and Tobagonian residents to migrate to the United States.

From 1966 to 1970, 23,367 Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants, primarily from the educated elite and rural poor classes, legally migrated to the United States. From 1971 to 1975, the figure climbed to 33,278. It dropped to 28,498 from 1976 to 1980, and only half that amount between 1981 and 1984, when the Reagan administration began placing greater restrictions on U.S. immigration policy. Less than 2,300 Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants arrived in 1984 and that number scarcely increased during President Reagan's second term of office. A few European-Trinidadians migrated during the latter half of the twentieth century, primarily because they were losing their grip on political power in the Republic with the rise of nationalism and independence. The majority of those immigrants came to the United States because Britain had restricted immigration from the Commonwealth islands to the British Isles. A larger number migrated in the late 1980s when oil prices fell, sending the Republic into a deep recession. Trinidadians and Tobagonians are now the second largest group of English-speaking immigrants in the United States.

SETTLEMENT

A total of 76,270 Trinidadians and Tobagonians, who reported at least one specific ancestry, are doc-

umented in the 1990 U.S. Census. Of this number, 71,720, or 94 percent, of the aggregate are first generation Trinidadian Tobagonian Americans, and the remaining 4,550 are of the second generation. There were 58,473 such persons in the northeast, 1,760 in the midwest, 18,215 in the south, and 3,822 in the west. Regionally, there were 3,746 Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants in New England, 48,727 in the middle Atlantic, 1,523 in east north central United States, 237 in the west north central, 15,096 in the south Atlantic, 549 in east south central, 2,570 in the west south central, 446 in the mountain region, and 3,376 in the Pacific region. The largest percentage of Trinidadians and Tobagonians live in the northeast and the smallest percentage in the midwest. They ranked sixth in the 1965-1980 census report of newcomers into New York City, and rank eighth in the city's 15 largest ethnic groups. By 1982, over half of the Trinidadians and Tobagonians in America resided in New York City.

According to the 1990 Census, the six states that have the largest Trinidadian and Tobagonian populations are: New York (42,973), Florida (7,500), Maryland (4,493), New Jersey (4,245), California (3,100), and Massachusetts (2,590). Family connections, employment opportunities, racial tolerance, access to higher education, and weather conditions are some of the reasons given for the heavy concentration of Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants on the eastern seaboard.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants generally select one of two options: they either make a quick livelihood in the United States before returning home, or they join American society permanently, usually immersing themselves in black culture and working for the betterment of African American and Caribbean American communities. Many of the early Trinidadians and Tobagonians aged 35 and older did return to their native land. Later immigrants often chose the second option and increasingly became part of the distinctly Caribbean community in New York City and Florida.

Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants have had to adjust in a number of ways while assimilating into American society. First, those who are permanent residents must adjust nationally, which often means giving up their Trinidad and Tobago citizenship and strong ties to Caribbean nationalism for American citizenship and values. Secondly, they

must adjust to the cultural traditions, social roles, and stereotypes of the racial and ethnic groups with which they identify. Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants of the first and second waves arrived in the United States at the height of Jim Crow segregation and, consequently, suffered tremendous racial prejudice. Even though they came from a society where racial categories and stereotypes were not unknown, they resented having to fight virtually every social, political, and economic issue in American society. Third, they must adjust to severe variations in weather patterns, particularly in the north, which, for older generations, is especially difficult. Some immigrants have also had to adjust to life in some of America's roughest neighborhoods. Although friends, relatives, and other sponsors advise them of dangerous neighborhoods, many become casualties of urban crime. Traditionally "safe" Caribbean neighborhoods in New York City, for example, have become battle zones for gangs and drug dealers. Moreover, Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants living in non-Caribbean communities often feel isolated; they carry the dual burden of speaking with a foreign accent and being visibly identifiable as a minority in a European-based society. Finally, these immigrants come from a country where they represented the majority and many of them were highly respected leaders. In the United States, however, they must adjust to their new status of "resident aliens."

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Trinidad and Tobago is a multi-faceted country with a perfusion of customs and traditions that meet to form the "Trinibago" culture. Two of the most dominant cultures in Trinidad and Tobago are mixed-black (often called Creole) and Asian Indian. The first is a mixture of African, English, Spanish, and French cultures. Spanish influence is evident in the islands' music, festivals (especially the Parang festival), and dance. Even though France never occupied Trinidad, French planters on the island left their unmistakable mark in terms of language, religion, and class consciousness. The Republic's Asian Indian culture is celebrated through *Divali* (Festival of Lights), *Hosay* (Muslim New Year festival), East Indian music, and various philosophical beliefs and practices foreign to western cultures. For example, everyone is expected to take off their shoes at the door before stepping inside an Indian Muslim house, and new homes are often blessed in a special ceremony. There are rites for conception, birth, puberty, marriage, death, and the planting and harvesting of crops.

CUISINE

Trinidadians and Tobagonians have retained many of their cooking traditions in the United States, although eating habits have changed somewhat to better suit America's fast pace. Breakfast often varies from a full meal to a very light one and may include fresh coconut water and coconut jelly. Because Trinidad and Tobago is a highly Westernized nation, oatmeal, cornflakes, cocoa, coffee, and rolls are also common breakfast foods. Lunches and dinners generally consist of meat, rice, green vegetables, and fruits. One popular Trinidadian and Tobagonian dish is *pelau*, or rice mixed with pork or chicken and various local vegetables. *Calaloo* (a green, leafy vegetable that is served cooked) is sometimes combined with taro, dasheen, or tania leaves, okra, pumpkin, and crab to make a dish called calaloo and crab. Other popular dishes are dumpling and pig-tail or cow-heel soup, *souse* (well-cooked pickled pigs feet), and chicken stew. Most dishes contain meat or fish, although many of the favorites in Trinidad and Tobago (manicou, tatoo, venison, armadillo, lappe, quenk, duck, shark, flying fish, shrimp, kingfish, chip-chip, and cascadou) are not readily available in the United States. Such vegetables as pumpkin, cabbage, onion, and *melongene* (eggplant) are also well liked. Coconut ice cream and fruits are popular Trinidadian and Tobagonian desserts. Many meals, especially during special occasions, are served with *mauby* (a drink made from the bark of a tree), Guinness stout, and Carib and Stag beers.

Asian Indian dishes of Trinidad and Tobago include *roti* (usually made of beef, chicken, or goat with potatoes and spices wrapped in flat bread), *dal-pori* (balled spiced dough usually accompanied by a sauce), channa, and curry goat. Two special dishes of Tobago are curry crab and dumplings and *accra*, which is seasoned salt fish pounded and shaped into small cakes and fried. Some foods are eaten seasonally, in keeping with harvest time and religious traditions. Trinidadians and Tobagonians in the United States often substitute their native dishes with American foods, and prepare traditional foods only when dining with family or during special occasions.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

In their homeland, Trinidadians and Tobagonians wear a variety of clothing suited for the tropics. In the United States, however, only people of Asian Indian descent have retained their unique cultural dress. Blacks from the Republic have no special costumes, except for carnival dress, which cuts across racial and ethnic lines. Carnival costumes are elaborate and costly, ranging in form, shape, size, design,

and taste; some festival clothing is simply massive and requires the support of cars and trucks, while other pieces may consist of loin cloths and beads. Carnival costuming in Trinidad and Tobago and in New York City (where a Carnival takes place every year) is an extremely expensive cultural and commercial affair, providing department, fabric, hardware, and other stores with hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue every year. Designers Peter Minshall, Peter Samuel, and Edmond Hart are especially well-known in the United States for their costume talents.

DANCES AND SONGS

In New York City and Miami it is not uncommon to hear *paring* (music sung in Castilian) and *chawta* (Asian Indian drumming and vocals) in predominantly Caribbean neighborhoods. But the most popular Trinidadian and Tobagonian music in the United States is calypso and *soca* (a derivation of calypso). These sounds are known for their fast beat, heavy percussion, and social expression.

Calypso originated in Trinidad among African slaves in the 1800s. Although it has its roots in African oral traditions, it was sung in French dialect until 1883 when calypsonians began singing in English. Calypsonians play an important role in Caribbean society, functioning as poets, philosophers, and social commentators within social, political, and religious circles. The Mighty Sparrow's "Jean and Dinah," which won the Carnival crown in 1956, represents the linkage between calypso, society, culture, and politics. Sparrow's 1962 calypso, "Model Nation," captures the feelings of Trinidadians and Tobagonians toward their newly achieved status of independence: "The whole population of our little nation / Is not a lot; / But, oh what a mixture of races and culture / That's what we got; / Still no major indifference / Of race, color, religion, or finance; / It's amazing to you, I'm sure, / We didn't get our independence before."

During the 1980s, calypso also became a forum for discussing women's rights. Although they may be less popular than The Mighty Sparrow, such female calypsonians as Singing Francine, Lady Jane, Twiggy, and Denise Plummer have established their voices in Trinidadian and Tobagonian society. Their message is two-fold: women should not tolerate abuse and men should treat women as equals, especially in domestic partnerships.

Trinidad and Tobago is known for its lively rhythmic dances set to the tunes of calypso and steelband music. Immigrants from the Republic perform a variety of dances, including ballet, folk danc-



This colorfully costumed woman is performing in the West Indian American Day Parade.

ing, limbo, wining, hula hoop, *gayelle* (stick dancing), and *mocojumbi* (a costumed dancer on stilts). Jump up, a celebrative, emotionally charged, and physically exhausting dance, has a free-for-all style, and is usually performed during Carnival.

HOLIDAYS

Special holidays celebrated by Trinidadians and Tobagonians include: Emancipation Day (August 1), Independence Day (August 31), Republic Day (September 24), and Boxing Day (December 26). Other popular festivals in Trinidad and Tobago are *Phagwa* (honoring the Hindu god Lord Krishna), *Divali* (a Hindu celebration with millions of lights honoring Mother Laskami), and *Hosay* (the Muslim New Year festival). However, Carnival is perhaps the best known of Trinidadian and Tobagonian holidays; it takes place from Friday through Tuesday before Ash Wednesday of the Lenten season.

Carnival was introduced to Trinidad by the French as an urban festival celebrated by the upper class until emancipation. It then became a festival for all classes, allowing people to break from their normal routine and, through calypso, indirectly attack and ridicule the government. Preparation for this festival begins immediately after Christmas and Panorama (the Grand Steel Drum tournament), or one week before Carnival. On the first night of Carnival there is a “pan around the neck” competition. The “junior carnival” takes place on Saturday and the “panorama finals” on Saturday night. On Sunday night, able calypsonians vie for the title of

“calypso monarch” at the *Dimanche Gras*, and the “King and Queen of Carnival” are named. (In 1994 Americans were able to view the *Dimanche Gras* via satellite.) Monday and Tuesday see lots of “carnivalling,” or dancing and masquerading with fantastic costumes. On the final day of Carnival, celebrants drink and dance to the point of exhaustion.

In the United States Carnival is a method by which Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants maintain their Afro-Caribbean heritage. It was first celebrated in New York in the 1920s as a privately sponsored indoor family affair during the pre-Lenten season, but later evolved into New York City’s Labor Day Carnival (called West Indian Day Carnival). The celebration, modeled after Trinidad and Tobago’s Carnival, is one of the largest scheduled street events in New York, rivaling Saint Patrick’s Day and Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parades. The celebration, held since 1969, was first organized by Jesse Wattle on the streets of Harlem and was moved to the Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn a few years later by Rufus Gorin. The festival features four nights of concerts, a steel band contest, and children’s pageants on the grounds of the Brooklyn Museum. The Labor Day Carnival climaxes with a lengthy procession on the Eastern Parkway. Its overall purpose is to promote unity among Caribbeans and Americans.

PROVERBS

Many of the proverbs in Trinidad and Tobago are European in origin but some sayings from Afro-

Caribbean and Asian Indian cultures have been preserved as well. British-inspired proverbs include: In for a penny, in for a pound; A penny wise and a pound foolish; and, Make hay while the sun shines. Popular Afro-Caribbean sayings include: Do not cut you nose to patch you bottom; If you see you neighbor house catch fire wet yours; No money no love; A man who cannot rule his house is *tootoolbay*; What you head consent you bottom pay for; and Don't dance with two left feet. Two common Asian Indian proverbs are: Corn "nuh" grow where rain "nuh" fall; and Don't trust you neighbor unless you neighbor trusts you.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no documented medical problems unique to Trinidadians and Tobagonians in the United States or in Trinidad and Tobago. A few cases of leprosy were found in Trinidad and Tobago but these were isolated and did not pose a national threat to either the Republic or the United States. During the 1970s, alcohol and drug abuse was relatively low but it has increased steadily in the last decade. In 1987 alcoholism was named the most serious drug abuse problem in the nation with marijuana and cocaine following close behind.

The average life expectancy in Trinidad and Tobago is 73 years for women, and 68 years for men. Major causes of death among adults include heart disease, cerebrovascular disease, malignant neoplasms, and diabetes mellitus. The infant mortality rate is relatively low; 17 of every 1,000 babies die in their first year. In the United States, life expectancy among Trinidadians and Tobagonians has decreased somewhat due to socio-economic, health, and crime conditions. Most Trinidadians and Tobagonians use either free or low-cost medical care provided by the government of Trinidad and Tobago, and, compared to other developing countries, they enjoy relatively good health. Some families living in the United States have health insurance coverage through their jobs. The unemployed must depend upon the good will of others and the U.S. government.

LANGUAGE

As a former British colony, the official language of Trinidad and Tobago is English, although Hindi is also spoken widely in Indian communities, both in the Republic and in the United States. French, Spanish, and English patios are also common, as well as Hindustani, a dialect of Phojpuri Hindi. Trinidadians and Tobagonians speak English with a wide

variety of accents and innovations due to the impact of Spanish, French, Indian, and African languages. The styles of English therefore range from standard British English, usually spoken in formal conversations, to the more common Trinidad English, a mixture of Spanish, French, British, and African. It must be noted, however, that no sharp break exists between Trinidad English and standard English.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Trinidadian and Tobagonian greetings include: "Wah happenen day?" (casual); "How is the daughter doing?" (casual); "Take care daughter" (good-bye to a young woman friend); "Good morning" (with a heavy accent on morning); "good evening;" "good night;" "Merry Christmas;" "Happy holiday;" "Happy Birthday;" "Happy Easter" (Some Christians say "Christ is Risen"); "Happy New Year;" "Good luck;" and "God's speed." Some devout Hindus and Muslims greet with the name *Krishna* or *Allah*, respectively.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Despite Trinidad and Tobago's culturally diverse people, the family, regardless of ethnic background, fulfills certain basic roles. In the United States, it is the family's responsibility to maintain traditions and enforce strong family values in the community. Traditionally, Trinidadian and Tobagonian men were the sole providers of income for their families while women were held accountable for raising children and managing the home. Since the mid-1970s, however, family planning and sexual abuse legislation have enabled Trinidadian and Tobagonian women to enjoy the same educational, professional, and proprietorial rights as men. Many of these women have entered traditionally male-dominated fields such as medicine, law, and journalism. In the United States, where two-income families are often the rule rather than the exception, Trinidadian and Tobagonian women often work as office clerks, nurses, and domestics. They also participate in community government, money management, and child care.

Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants with legal status are often active in civic and political affairs and take a keen interest in their children's education by joining the Parent Teacher Association, attending school board meetings, and participating in neighborhood watch programs. There is a high literacy rate among Trinidadian and Tobagonian

ian immigrants in the United States, resulting from the high premium they place on education. In fact, they are often critical of the American education system, which contrasts sharply with the strong British educational system of their homeland. Some Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants try to shield their children from racism and miseducation by sending them to private schools either taught or founded by Caribbean people. St. Mark's Academy, founded in Crown Heights, New York, in 1977 by a Guyanese man, has educated hundreds of Caribbean students, many of whom are now leaders in their communities.

WEDDINGS

In ancient Indian traditions, Hindu authorities prescribed eight different forms of marriages, or *ashrams*, but only two of these were ever practiced among Trinidadian and Tobagonian Asian Indians. The more traditional of these, which is no longer practiced, was called *aqua* (matchmaker) and dictated that parents choose their children's partners. Such marriages took place at a young age, usually puberty because it was believed that postponing the wedding of a daughter for too long would bring bad luck. The ritual itself (*panigrahana* and *homa*) involved performing a *saptapadi* (a seven-steps ritual) around a fire. While the selection process occurred when the children were very young, the couple usually did not know their mate's identity until they became teenagers. In most traditional Hindu weddings, the groom is not allowed to see his bride until late in the ceremony, after she exchanges her yellow sari for a red one.

In modern times, Hindu marriages involve bargaining between the two sets of parents and a change of status for the bride and groom. Often there is a short preliminary ceremony, or *chheka*, during which the family priest and the father of the bride travel to the house of the prospective groom to deliver a dowry. By accepting the token sum, the groom is obligated to marry the young woman. The main ceremony takes place at the bride's home, and friends and relatives assist in setting up the *mantra* (nuptial tent). The wedding is followed by a large reception, with music, jokes, singing, chanting, beating drums, and the throwing of oil, rice, and flowers in the air. Often there is another ceremony and feast at the groom's home. Muslim marriages allow the groom up to four wives but Hindu weddings join only two people and their families. Because of their legal entanglements and non-Christian nature, Muslim marriages were not recognized in Trinidad and Tobago before 1930, and Hindu weddings were not considered legal before

1946. In the United States, Trinidadian and Tobagonian Muslims and Hindus marry according to U.S. laws but retain some of their ceremonial traditions.

Most Afro-Caribbean weddings follow Christian traditions. There is an engagement period which lasts from a few months to many years. Traditionally, the bride's parents were responsible for supplying the bride's dress and the cost of the reception, and the groom and his parents provided the ring and the new home. In the United States this practice varies. In some cases, the parties are already living together and the wedding ceremony only legalizes the relationship in the eyes of the law and the community. In Trinidad and Tobago, young working women occasionally rent a flat and invite a man to live with them. Lovers who are strict Christians, however, generally do not live together before marriage. In the wedding ceremony, the bride wears white, symbolizing chastity, and large numbers of people are invited to observe the event. In Trinidad and Tobago, most wedding receptions are community events, marked by large quantities of food and rum.

BAPTISMS

Trinidadians and Tobagonians generally practice two forms of baptism: infant baptisms and adult baptisms. Among the more traditional Christian denominations (Catholics, Anglicans,

Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Methodists), infants are baptized by sprinkling water on their heads. When they reach the age of accountability, a confirmation ceremony is performed. In other Protestant Christian and Afro-centric Christian traditions, the infants are blessed at a dedication ceremony and baptized after their faith in Christ is confessed voluntarily. The subjects are dipped into a river, the sea, or a baptismal fount near the sanctuary by a minister or an elder of the Church. Shangoes and Spiritual Baptists often dip blind-folded individuals three times into the river or sea. Some of these baptismal practices operate underground in the United States.

FUNERALS

Because of the multifaceted nature of its religious culture, Trinidad and Tobago have many different funeral practices. Since Hindus believe that death cannot harm the immortal soul, a dying person is administered a tulsi leaf and water. Asian Indians in Trinidad and Tobago began cremating their dead after 1930 and the practice was carried over to the United States. The funeral is an elaborate ceremony and males may shave their heads,

leaving only a lock of hair in the center, on the tenth day of mourning for an immediate family member.

Afro-centric religions (Obeah, Shango, and Shouter Baptist) and Christians bury their dead after performing special rites or conducting a formal funeral church service. A Catholic priest recites the last rites to a dying member of the Church and may offer mass for a soul that may have departed to purgatory before making peace with God. On the night before the funeral, there is a wake for the dead, during which friends and family come to offer condolences, sing dirges, and drink rum. Afro-centric religions have a Nine Night service to ensure that the shadow of the deceased does not return on the ninth evening after death to visit family members. This practice is occasionally performed after Christian, Muslim, and Hindu deaths as well.

INTERACTION WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Given their peculiar circumstances, Trinidadians and Tobagonians have adjusted remarkably well to American society by establishing strong social, religious, economic, and political ties with both black and white communities and institutions, a dualism which often puzzles many African Americans. Both Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants and native-born blacks often misunderstand one another as a result of stereotypes and misconceptions. This often leads to interracial conflict. Nonetheless, in Crown Heights, Flatbush, and other New York City neighborhoods, Trinidadians have some of the largest churches and most successful businesses in the black community, and are a vital part of the city's economy.

RELIGION

Because of British, Spanish, and French influences, most Trinidadian and Tobagonian citizens are associated, in some way, with Christianity. People of Asian Indian descent on the islands practice Hindu and Islam. Still, a small number of people (nine percent) follow the African-centered religions of Shango, Rada, Spiritual Baptist, Obeah, and Rastafari. Shango and Spiritual Baptist, also known as "Shouters," are the two most common Afro-centric religious traditions, although Rastafari is growing in popularity. Trinidadian Shango, which is part of the legacy of African traditional culture and religion, incorporates a mixture of Catholic rituals and elements of African spiritual beliefs. Spiritual Baptists place great emphasis on participatory worship, while the Shango religion focuses on animal sacri-

fices, drums, and supernatural manifestations. "Obeah people," sometimes called "shadow catchers," believe they have supernatural powers and can control the spirits of the living and the dead. Followers of this religion believe that they can harness a shadow by forcing it to do specific protective tasks. Because of the negative stigma that other religious groups and the general Trinidadian and Tobagonian public have attached to these folk religions, it is difficult to tell how many immigrants are Spiritual Baptist, Shango, or Obeah followers in the United States. In order to be inconspicuous, many followers of such religions meet in private.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Economically, Trinidadian and Tobagonian experiences in the United States have been mixed. Individuals who are not living in America legally, as well as those who are waiting for legal status, tend to be exploited by employers and landlords. Conversely, legal immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago, who are often well educated, work in a variety of occupations.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Caribbean people have been active in American politics since the early 1800s. After slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834, a number of Trinidadians, Jamaicans, and Barbadians supported the African repatriation movement and worked for the abolition of slavery in collaboration with their black counterparts in the United States. This political activity led to what became known as the Pan-African Movement, supported by W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and others. The Trinidad-born attorney, H. Sylvester Williams, who had ties to the United States, was one of the leaders of the first Pan-African Congress which met in London in 1900.

During the 1920s, Caribbean immigrants were drawn to Socialist and Black Nationalist groups in the United States; the majority of the members in Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association were from the West Indies. Caribbean American political activity reached a new level in the mid-1930s when Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants began playing an important role in the Democratic party in New York. Mervyn Dymally, a Trinidadian immigrant, founded the Caribbean Action Lobby to mobilize ethnic ties into a political interest group focusing on international and local relations. The first black to serve as Lt. Governor in

California and the first foreign-born person elected to the U.S. Congress, he was a leading proponent for aid to the English-speaking Caribbean. Other notable politicians were Maurice Gumbs, the founder of The Harriet Tubman Democratic Club, and Ernest Skinner, who ran for City Council in Flatbush, New York, in 1985. While Skinner lost the election, he paved the way for other West Indian Americans.

George Padmore, the great pan-Africanist who was highly decorated in Ghana, founded the International African Service Bureau. In the 1930s and 1940s Padmore, C.L.R. James, and Eric Williams joined W. E. B. DuBois and others in criticizing foreign interference in Africa and discrimination against blacks in the United States. In the 1960s Trinidadian Stokely Carmichael (1941- ; also known as Kwame Toure), a black nationalist and civil rights organizer, served as a major force behind the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). His two books, *Black Power Politics of Liberation in America* and *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism*, are highly regarded in political circles. In the late 1960s, the Black Power Movement in the United States attracted the Caribbean's urban poor and many organizations were formed throughout Trinidad and Tobago using its slogan. Among these were the Black Panthers, the African Unity Brothers, the African Cultural Association, and the National Freedom Organization.

MILITARY

Trinidad's rich deposit of oil and its strategic location have attracted many foreign powers over the years, most notably the United States. In 1940 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt leased three strategic military bases in British-Caribbean territories (one of which was Trinidad and Tobago) from Winston Churchill's British government. The Americans then built a sizable air strip in Port of Spain and a superb naval installation at Trinidad's well-placed deep-water harbor at Chaguaramas Bay. These actions resulted in increased employment and major development projects (through the U.S. Navy and Public Works Department), including the building of roads and bridges for wartime operations, and the recruitment of many Trinidadians and Tobagonians by the U.S. Navy during World War II. Furthermore, American interest in the Republic eased the immigration process to the United States. Many Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants who have become naturalized U.S. citizens continue to serve in the U.S. military, though in smaller numbers than during World War II. Because few of these individuals identify themselves

as Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants, it is difficult to accurately access their number in the U.S. armed forces.

RELATIONS WITH TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The government of Trinidad and Tobago does not allow for Trinidadians and Tobagonians to hold dual citizenship abroad. Therefore, naturalized U.S. citizens do not vote in the Republic's elections. Nonetheless, whether they are U.S. citizens or temporary residents, most Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants maintain constant communication with their home country. They read the *Trinidad Guardian*, the *Punch*, the *Bomb*, the *Express*, and other national papers and watch news programs broadcast over satellite dishes. Temporary residents also vote in Trinidad and Tobago's general elections and remit funds regularly to family and relatives in the Republic.

Historically, the U.S. government has maintained good diplomatic relations with Trinidad and Tobago, which in recent years has received federal loans to recover from its economic recession. In spite of strained diplomatic relations between the U.S. government and the late Prime Minister, Eric Williams, over the closing of the U.S. naval base in Chaguaramas in the 1970s, the oil boom in Trinidad (between the 1960s and the early 1980s) kept Trinidadians and Tobagonians among America's favorite peoples of the Caribbean Basin.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Trinidadians and Tobagonians have enriched American culture in many ways. The following individuals are most notable.

ACADEMIA

Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans were among the first blacks to enter American academy. Eric Williams, the late Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and Vice Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, taught at Howard University and gave lectures at several other distinguished American colleges and universities. His books *Capitalism and Slavery* and *Columbus to Castro* have been reprinted dozens of times since they were first published in the 1940s and continue to attract interest in the United States. The works of C.L.R. James (one of Trinidad and Tobago's first political philosophers) and Stokely Carmichael, have likewise inspired political thinking on American campuses.

FILM, TELEVISION, THEATER, AND VISUAL ARTS

Errol John is an internationally acclaimed actor and playwright who produced the well-known *Moon On A Rainbow Shawl*. Geoffrey Holder (1930–), an outstanding American producer, director, and choreographer was born in Port of Spain and has lived in the United States for over 50 years. In 1975 he won a Tony Award for directing and designing costumes for *The Wiz*. Other Trinidadian artists who are well known in the United States include: Boscoe Holder, Noel Vaucrosson, Pat Chu Foon, painter M. P. Aladdin, and sculptor Francisco Cabrallo.

JOURNALISM

Trinidadians have been involved in American journalism since the early 1800s. The literary genius and political scientist C. L. R. James edited the *International African Opinion* and wrote many books on Caribbean and American history and politics. One of James' most renowned works is *Black Jacobins*, which documents the black struggle in the Haitian Revolution. John Stewart, a popular Trinidadian writer who did his undergraduate and graduate study in the United States, was also a lecturer for California State University.

LITERATURE

Several of Trinidad and Tobago's most brilliant minds have left their indelible marks on North American and Caribbean literature. V. S. Naipaul (Vidiadhar Surajprasad), Trinidad's premier novelist, is well known in the United States as a prolific writer of nonfiction and fiction whose works often address violent race relations. Born in Trinidad in 1932, he has studied, traveled, lectured, and written in the United States. Among his nonfiction writings are the following: *Finding the Center*, *Among the Believers*, *The Return of Eva Peron with the Killings in Trinidad*, *India: A Wounded Civilization*, *The Overcrowded Barracoon*, *The Loss of El Dorado*, *An Area of Darkness*, *Middle Passage*, and *A Turn in The South*. This last book gives an elegant, but disturbing first-hand encounter of the darker side of American race relations and racial injustice in Atlanta, Charleston, Selma, Birmingham, Tallahassee, Nashville, Tuskegee, and other southern cities. Naipaul's fiction is equally impressive and includes: *The Enigma of Arrival*, *A Bend in the River*, *Guerrillas*, *In a Free State*, *A Flag on the Island*, *The Mimic Men*, *Mr. Stone and the Knights Companion*, *A House for Mr. Biswas*, *Miguel Street*, *The Suffrage of Elwira* and *The Mystic Masseur*, and more recent works.

Lynn Joseph, a Trinidadian-born author who migrated to the United States during her college years, writes children books for Trinidadians and Tobagonians in the United States and the Caribbean.

MUSIC

Trinidadian Tobagonian American Denise Plummer became the World's Calypso Queen in 1992-1993. Billy Ocean (1950–), a well-known Trinidadian recording artist from London, won fame in the United States with the hit single "Caribbean Queen." Many less well-known Trinidadians and Tobagonians have studied and taught classical music and dance in American colleges and universities. Carol LaChapelle, for example, is a highly regarded educator who teaches choreography at the School for the Performing Arts in New York City.

SPORTS

Trinidad and Tobago's primary sports are cricket and soccer but basketball, netball, table tennis, track and field, golf, horse racing, and water sports are also popular. Among the Republic's most famous athletes is Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (1947–), born Ferdinand Lewis Alcindor, Jr., a first-generation Trinidadian American who became one of the greatest centers in basketball history and was named Most Valuable Player by the National Basketball Association six times. Lesley Stewart and Claude Noel were well-known boxers who lived in the United States and had many title fights in Las Vegas, Atlantic City, and elsewhere. Sir Larry Constantine, who lived for a short time in the United States, was one of the world's greatest cricket players. Hasley Crawford, a sprinter who lived and trained in the United States, was a 1978 Olympic gold medalist for Trinidad and Tobago.

MEDIA

There are many periodicals, papers, radio stations, and television networks in the United States that cater to the Caribbean population.

PRINT

Cimmarron.

A quarterly journal established in 1985 by the City University of New York's Association of Caribbean Studies to discuss and publish issues of importance to Caribbean Americans.

Enquiry.

A quarterly publication established in 1970 by Trinidad & Tobago Association; contains items of interest to the West Indian community.

Contact: C. J. Mungo, Editor.

Address: 380 Green Lanes, London, N4, England.

Everybody's.

A New York magazine, founded in 1977 by a Grenadian who lived in Trinidad and New York, it reflects the demographic interest and views of the American Caribbean community.

New York Carib News.

Founded in 1981, it is a weekly newspaper tabloid that covers Caribbean politics in New York.

RADIO

KISS-FM, WBLS, and 95.2.

These New York stations play calypso at designated hours.

WLIB.

A New York Caribbean radio station that plays music from Trinidad and Tobago and other countries.

TELEVISION

CSN, the Caribbean Station Network.

This station is a major news center in New York.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

Governments of Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Christopher-Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. Objects are to promote cooperation and understanding among member states; integrate the economies of member states through the Caribbean Common Market; coordinate the foreign policies of member states; harmonize the policies of member states concerning commerce, health, education, and social affairs. Maintains reference library of 50,000 books, periodicals, and archival material. Publishes *CARICOM Perspective* three times a year.

Contact: Edwin W. Carrington, Secretary General.

Address: Bank of Guyana Building, P.O. Box 10827, Georgetown, Guyana.

Telephone: (2) 69281.

There are a number of important Trinidadian and Tobagonian organizations in the United States: Trinidad Alliance; Caribbean Action Lobby (founded by Mervyn Dymally); West Indian American Day Carnival Association (founded by Rufus Gorin in New York); West Indian Cricket Club (with branches in Ohio, New York, Washington, D.C., Florida, and other states); Brooklyn Council for the Arts, and Trinidad and Tobago-New York Steel Band Club. There is also the Caribbean American Chamber of Commerce and the Caribbean American Media Studies Inc., which is dedicated to the study and dissemination of information about recent West Indian immigrants.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Carib Culture Center.

Contact: Laura B. Moreno, Assistant Director.

Address: 408 West 58th Street, New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 307-7420.

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TURKISH AMERICANS

by
Donald Altschiller

OVERVIEW

Slightly smaller than Texas and Louisiana combined, Turkey straddles both Europe and Asia, bordering Greece, Bulgaria, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Its location on two continents has been a crucial factor in its variegated history and culture. The country's area of almost 300,000 square miles includes almost 10,000 square miles of European Turkey, known as Thrace, and approximately 290,000 square miles of Asian Turkey, known as Anatolia or Asia Minor. Lying between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, modern Turkey spans bustling cosmopolitan centers, pastoral farming communities, barren wastelands, placid Aegean islands and steep mountain ranges.

Turkey's population is estimated at 59 million people, with an annual growth rate of 2.5 percent. Istanbul, Ankara, and Adana are the largest cities. The population has been a racial melting pot since prehistoric days. Settled or ruled by Hittites, Gauls, Greeks, Macedonians, and Mongols, Turks became the decisive influence, introducing a Mediterranean-Mongoloid admixture into the country's ethnic composition. It is difficult to describe the appearance of an average Turk. The individual may be blond and blue-eyed or round-headed with dark eyes or hair. Some Turks have long-headed Mediterranean looks while others possess Mongoloid features with high cheekbones.

In Turkey family life centers around the male head of the household as he is the one who traditionally provides for his family. Children are expected to obey their parents, even after reaching adulthood, and must also show respect for all persons older than themselves, including older siblings.

Almost 98 percent of the population is Muslim. Turkey, however, is a secular state and Jews and Christians can fully practice their religious faiths. Kurds, who are also mainly Muslims, are the largest ethnic minority in Turkey. Other minorities include Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.

HISTORY

The Turks, who did not arrive in the Anatolian Peninsula until the eleventh century, are relative newcomers to a land that had seen many successive civilizations before their arrival. Beginning around 2000 b.c., pre-Hittites, Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans had lived or ruled in the region. After the collapse of Roman power in the west about 450 a.d., Anatolia became the heartland of the Byzantine Empire (a Greek continuation of Roman rule in the eastern Mediterranean).

Originally nomadic peoples from the steppes of Central Asia, Turkish tribes began moving west toward Europe around the first century a.d. In the middle of the 400s, the first group, known as the Huns, reached western Europe. Others established kingdoms in Turkestan and Persia before the 900s, by which time they had converted to Islam. In the late 900s a new Turkish dynasty, the Seljuqs, came to power in Turkestan and then Persia, from where they began to make incursions into Anatolia in the early 1000s. In 1071 the Seljuqs crushed the Byzantine army at Manzikert in eastern Anatolia, capturing the emperor himself. This important battle marked the effective end of Byzantine power in Anatolia, and the beginning of Turkish dominance.

The main branch of the Seljuqs continued to rule in Persia and Mesopotamia (Iran and Iraq), while another branch known as the Seljuqs of Rum (Rome), quickly penetrated the entire Anatolian Peninsula. Of the original population, some fled to Constantinople or the west, a few remained Christian under the generally tolerant rule of the Muslim Turkish tribes, but over the centuries most converted to Islam. Gradually, too, these former Christians, mostly Greek or Armenian speakers, began to speak Turkish, melding with the dominant Turks, whom they had originally outnumbered.

During the 1100s the Seljuqs contended with the Byzantines and with Christian Crusaders from Europe for control in Anatolia, especially along the Aegean coast, from which the Byzantines and the Crusaders had driven the Turkish tribes for over 200 years. The strongly centralized Seljuq state reached the peak of its power in the early 1200s; shortly thereafter local internal revolts, combined with the Mongol invasions from the east, began to

erode its authority. By the early 1300s it had collapsed completely.

Of the ten local emirates, or kingdoms, that arose in Turkish Anatolia after the Seljuq's disintegration, one quickly came to preeminence: that of Osman, who ruled in northwestern Anatolia and founded the Osmanli or Ottoman dynasty. Osman's son, Orhan, expanded his father's dominions in Anatolia and in the 1350s undertook the first Ottoman conquests in Europe, wresting several towns in eastern Thrace from the Byzantines and crushing the Bulgars and Serbs in battle. His successors Murad and Bayezid continued the string of Asian and European conquests.

By the early 1400s the territory of the once mighty Byzantine Empire had been reduced to a small island of land around Constantinople surrounded by Ottoman territory. As Ottoman power had increased, so had the pomp of those who wielded it. Murad, for example, had taken the title *sultan* (meaning "authority" or "power"), rather than the less majestic *bey* or *emir*, which were military ranks. Ottoman capitals also became increasingly grand. Muhammad II undertook a massive building program in Constantinople, constructing houses, baths, bazaars, inns, fountains, gardens, a huge mosque, and an imperial palace. He also encouraged the original inhabitants who had fled to return—Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, many of whom were craftsmen, scholars, or artists—and made trade agreements with Venetian and Florentine merchants. Renamed Istanbul, the city became a hub of culture and commerce.

The Ottoman Empire reached its peak under Muhammad's great-grandson, Suleiman, who took power in 1520. During his rule, the vast Ottoman Empire controlled huge areas of northern Africa, southern Europe, and western Asia. Shortly after Suleiman's death in 1566, however, Ottoman might began to wane. A series of military defeats, internal conflict, and the Empire's inability to successfully counter European political, scientific, and social developments resulted in the loss of most of its territory outside Anatolia. After World War I, when Turkey was defeated by the Allies, its position was further weakened.

MODERN ERA

Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), a Turkish World War I hero later known as "Ataturk" or "father of the Turks," organized the Turkish army, drove the Greeks from Turkey, and founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923. After assuming the office of president, Ataturk began a series of revolutionary

reforms which transformed Turkey into a modern nation. In a symbolic break with the Ottoman past, he moved the capital from Istanbul to Ankara, the heartland of his nationalist movement. Ataturk replaced religious law with civil, criminal, and commercial laws based on those of Switzerland. Ataturk also encouraged Turks to dress like Europeans. He outlawed the wearing of the *fez* and even promoted ballroom dancing at state functions.

Language reform also transformed the political culture of the country in revolutionary ways. Ataturk changed the Islamic call to prayer from Arabic to Turkish and replaced the Arabic alphabet, in which Turkish had been written, with a modified Latin alphabet. Historians believe that language reform was generally a positive development. Literacy is now more commonplace. Modern Turkish is apparently more adaptable to scientific and technical language than Ottoman Turkish and the language gap between economic classes has also been reduced.

From a one-party system under Ataturk's Republican Peoples' Party, Turkey's government evolved into a parliamentary democracy which, despite interference from the military in the early 1970s, has largely managed to maintain its independence from the powerful army.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The history of Turkish American immigration to the United States is not well documented and is generally unknown. Although many immigrants came to America to flee religious or political persecution, the primary motivation of many Turks was economic or educational opportunity.

Precise statistics on Turkish American immigration are difficult to obtain. According to U.S. government statistics, the number of immigrants from the Ottoman Empire was minuscule from 1820 through 1860, averaging less than 20 per year. The majority of these individuals (86 percent) returned to Turkey following the establishment of the Republic by Ataturk. Although about 360,000 immigrants from Ottoman Turkey came between 1820 and 1950, only an estimated 45,000 to 65,000 immigrants were Muslim Turks. The majority of arrivals were from the numerous ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire, primarily Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Syrians.

Some historians believe that a large percentage of early Turkish Americans were illiterate but their literacy rate was much higher than that of the Ottoman Empire. According to historian Talat Sait Halman, most of the well-educated immigrants in this group eventually returned to Turkey but the

less-educated remained in the United States. These remaining Turks, some studies indicate, retained their Turkish customs throughout the 1940s and 1950s without assimilating into the lifestyle of their newly adopted country.

Unlike the earlier wave of immigrants, the post-World War II generation was highly educated and included almost 4,000 engineers and physicians. These numbers would have undoubtedly been higher but strict U.S. immigration regulations—which were enforced from the mid-1920s until 1965—placed an annual quota of 100 on Turkish immigrants. Again, many of these professionals returned to Turkey after living in the United States for a brief period.

Since the 1970s, the number of Turkish immigrants has risen to more than 2,000 per year. Members of this most recent immigrant group vary widely. Many opened small businesses in the United States and created Turkish American organizations, thus developing Turkish enclaves, particularly in New York City. Still others came for educational purposes. Estimates of the total population of Turkish Americans vary widely, ranging from 100,000 to 400,000.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

From the beginning of Turkish immigration to the United States, many immigrants have settled in or around large urban centers. The greatest number have settled in New York City, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Rochester. Other concentrations of Turkish Americans may be found along the East Coast in Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, and some have ventured into Minnesota, Indiana, Texas, and Alabama. Many of these communities are served by various local community associations. Membership totals are hard to obtain but range from 50 members to almost 500 members.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The early Turkish immigrants were almost entirely male. In the culture of Anatolian Turkey, men did not feel comfortable bringing their wives and families until they were able to plant secure economic roots in the United States. Many Americans, however, believed that the Turks were prohibited from bringing their wives because of other reasons. According to Frank Ahmed, author of *Turks in America: The Ottoman Turk's Immigrant Experience*, the *Salem Evening News* falsely claimed that the

Heripsima Hovnanian is welcomed to the United States by 31 members of her family in this 1961 photograph. A bill signed by President Kennedy enabled her to enter the country.



Turks did not bring their wives because of Islamic religious strictures. The newspaper wrote extensively about the sizable Turkish community on the North Shore of Boston, including the towns of Peabody, Salem, and Lynn.

These immigrants often settled into rooming houses. Frequently, a Turk would rent the house and sublease rooms to his fellow countrymen. Although the accommodations were spare, the newly arriving immigrants somewhat replicated their village life. They ate Turkish food (pilaf, lamb, vegetable dishes) and slept on mattresses without a bedstead.

Although they were hardworking and industrious, many Turks did not escape the prejudice frequently directed at newcomers. Occasionally, they were called “Ali Hassans” or “Abdul Hamids” and some newspapers would ridicule the “terrible Turk” or Islam. Among the Turks, however, there was much tolerance for Turkish minorities, especially Turkish Jews, who were fully accepted and respected by their recently arriving compatriots.

Turks obtained work in factories in New York, Detroit, and Chicago and also in the New England

leather industry. Sizable numbers worked in Massachusetts, in the leather factories of Lynn and Salem and the wire factories of Worcester. Forced to work long hours at low pay in unsanitary and unsafe conditions, some Turkish workers were involved in strikes against management, who generally viewed the Turks as “good workers.”

Because of the precarious situation in Turkey and concern for their families, most Turks—one estimate was 35,000—stayed for a decade or less and then returned to their Anatolian villages before the Great Depression. A small number of Turks stayed in the United States, learned English, and married American women. According to one estimate, only a few hundred remained in this country.

As a result, the diminished Turkish American community became more close-knit. Social life revolved around coffee houses and benevolent societies. In Peabody, Massachusetts, coffee houses on Walnut Street became a congregating place for the Turks living in the area. It was here that community members would exchange news about their villages while sipping Turkish coffee and noshing on sweet pastry.

CUISINE

Turkish food is widely regarded as one of the world's major cuisines. It is noted for its careful preparation and rich ingredients. A typical Turkish meal begins with soup or *meze* (hors d'oeuvres), followed in succession by the main course (usually red meat, chicken, or fish), vegetables cooked in olive oil, dessert, and fresh fruit. Turkish coffee completes the feast and is served in small cups.

Favorite soups include wedding soup, which combines chicken and beef broth, eggs, lemon, and vegetables; lentil soup, which flavors the basic bean with beef broth, flour, butter, and paprika; and *tarhana* soup, which is made with a dried preparation of flour, yogurt, tomato, and red pepper flakes. Although most meals begin with soup, tripe soup—featuring a sauce of vinegar and garlic—is served after a complete dinner and is usually accompanied by alcoholic drinks.

Borek, which is a pastry roll filled with cheese or ground meat, and *dolma*, made from stuffed grape leaves, green pepper or eggplant are most often served prior to the meal. The *meze* tray features salads and purees, but may also include eggplant, caviar, lamb or veal, fried vegetables with yogurt sauce, and a wide variety of seafood.

The main course sometimes consists of seafood, which may be grilled, fried, or stewed. *Kofte* (meatballs) are another specialty, served grilled, fried, or stewed with vegetables. Fresh vegetables are widely used, served either hot or cold. Vegetables cooked with olive oil are essential to Turkish cuisine. Eggplant, peppers, green beans, and peas are the primary vegetables cooked with olive oil, which is also used as a main ingredient in salads. Rice pilaf, which sometimes contains currants and pine nuts, is served as a side dish. Buttermilk, made of yogurt and water, is preferred with meat dishes. *Rakl*, a drink similar to anisette, is often consumed as an alternative to wine.

The final touch to a meal is a tray of fresh fruits, including peaches, apples, pears, raisins, figs, oranges, and melons. Dessert treats include: *baklava*, a flaky pastry dipped in syrup; *bulbul yuvasi*, thin pastry leaves with walnut filling and lemon peel syrup; *sekerpare*, sweet cookies; and *lokma*, Turkish fritters. Puddings are also popular, including *muhallebi*, milk pudding, and *sutlac*, rice pudding.

At the beginning or end of a meal, it is customary to hear “Afiyet Olsun,” which means, “May what you eat bring you well-being.” To praise the chef, one says “*Elinize saglik*,” or “Bless your hands.”

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Along with his many other reforms, Ataturk succeeded in making Western-style dress, at least among men, widespread in Turkey. Consequently, Turkish Americans dress no differently than most other Americans. Ataturk also outlawed the traditional *fez*, a brimless, cone-shaped, red hat and made brimmed felt hats mandatory, because with them on men could not touch their foreheads to the ground in prayer. Traditional dress for women requires that they be covered from head to foot. Most Turkish garments are made from wool. The *kepenek*, a heavy hooded mantle shaped from a single piece of felt, sheltered herders from the rain and cold, as well as served as a blanket and tent.

HOLIDAYS

Turkey observes both civil and religious holidays. While dates for civil holidays are determined by the same calendar used in the United States, religious holidays are set by the Muslim lunar calendar, resulting in observance on different days each year. Offices of the Turkish government are closed on all these days, and frequently a day or two before or after as well. In the United States many Turkish Americans celebrate New Year's Day on January 1 and National Sovereignty and Children's Day on April 23. This holiday commemorates the founding of the Grand National Assembly in 1923. At the same time, Ataturk proclaimed it a day to honor children, making it a unique international holiday. Ataturk's birthday is honored on May 19 (officially known as Ataturk Memorial and Youth and Sports Day) and his death is commemorated on November 10. In Turkey, this day is marked by a national moment of silence throughout the nation at precisely 9:05 a.m., the time of Ataturk's death. Victory Day (August 30) celebrates the victory over the Greeks in 1922 and Turkish Independence Day (October 29) recognizes the proclamation of the Republic by Ataturk in 1923. A unique American tradition, begun on April 24, 1984, is Turkish American Day, during which Turkish Americans march down New York's Fifth Avenue.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHERS

There are many conflicts between Turkish Americans and Armenian Americans, stemming from the tragic genocide of an estimated 1.5 million Armenians by Turks perpetrated more than 70 years ago. Between 1973 and the mid-1980s, Armenian terrorist organizations assassinated several Turkish diplomats in Los Angeles and Boston. These violent actions declined by the late 1980s.

The armour featured in this photograph, taken during a Turkish parade in New York City, dates back to the fourteenth century.



LANGUAGE

Like Mongolian, Korean, and Japanese, Turkish is part of the Ural-Altai linguistic group. More than 100 million people living in Turkey and Central Asia speak Turkic languages. During the Ottoman era, Turkish was written in Arabic script, from right

to left. Ottoman Turkish borrowed heavily from other languages, and its varying forms of Arabic script made it difficult to use.

Ataturk eliminated Arabic script, substituting the Latin alphabet with some letter modifications to distinguish certain Turkish sounds. Many Arabic

and Persian loan words were removed, while words from European languages were phoneticized. The alphabet consists of 29 letters—21 consonants and eight vowels. Six of these letters do not occur in English. Turkish has no genders and there is no distinction between he, she, and it. The Turks are very expressive and often use “body language” to communicate.

There are several Turkish American organizations and community centers in the United States that teach the Turkish language to the children of Turkish Americans. Despite this effort, relatively few second- and third-generation Turkish Americans speak Turkish, a trend that will greatly affect the future of this community.

GREETINGS AND OTHER COMMON EXPRESSIONS

Common expressions among Turks and Turkish Americans include: *Merhaba*—Hello; *Gun aylin*—Good Morning; *Iyi aksamlar*—Good Evening; *Nasilsiniz*—How are you?; *Iyiyim*—I’m fine; *Tesekkür ederim*—Thank you; *Saatler olsun!*—May it last for hours! (said to one after a bath, shave, or haircut); *Gecmis olsun!*—May it be in the past! (said in case of illness).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In Turkey family life centers around the male head of the household as he is the one who traditionally provides for his family. Children are expected to obey their parents, even after reaching adulthood, and must also show respect for all persons older than themselves, including older siblings. Parental authority in Turkey is so great that parents often arrange for the marriages of their children. The extended family is of extreme importance in Turkey as family members often work in the same business. Men dominate in community affairs. Women are expected to manage the household. In the United States, while the roles of men and women have changed somewhat, the Turkish American family remains close-knit.

There are many political factions in Turkey, which are often reflected in the Turkish American community. All Turkish Americans, however, are united in their concern for Turkey and take great pride in their ethnic heritage. Many Turks living in the United States refuse to abandon their Turkish citizenship. Those who do apply for American visas are generally ostracized by the community.

RELIGION

Most Turkish Americans practice Islam, or “submission to god.” In 610 a.d., according to Muslim belief, the angel Gabriel ordered Muhammad to recite the Word of God as it was delivered to him. This was the same basic message that had earlier been revealed to the Jews and later to the Christians, but the Word had been misinterpreted over the years and had to be restated. Over a period of 22 years, Muhammad received revelations from the angel, revelations incorporated in the Muslim holy book, the *Koran*. This is a detailed guide to behavior toward God, fellow humans, and the self. Islam therefore provides the basis of personal identity and social life to its followers.

There are five basic requirements of the faith known as the Pillars of Islam: Confession that there is “no god but God” and that Muhammad is the messenger of God; Daily prayer (five times); Giving of alms; Fasting in daylight hours for the Muhammadan month of *Ramadan*; and, Pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime.

Prayers are said five times daily wherever one finds oneself, but on Friday the community gathers at the mosque for noon prayer. The religion also bans the eating of pork, drinking alcohol, gambling, and usury (lending money with excessive interest). There are also specific laws concerning marriage, divorce, and inheritance. In some representations, art representing human figures is discouraged. The prophet Muhammad is never portrayed unless veiled, even in motion pictures.

Islam is further divided into two major sects: *Sunni* and *Shi'ite*. Most Turkish Americans, as well as the majority of Muslims in general, are *Sunni* Muslims. They believe that the community as a whole is the guardian and guarantor of Islamic law. This law, *shari'a*, is based on four sources, which in descending order of importance are: the *Koran*, the examples and teachings of the prophet, communal consensus on Islamic principles and practices, and reasoning by analogy. In later years the consensus was reduced to a consensus of religious scholars. This four-pronged determinant of the law provides great unity, but also provides for a variety of interpretations. Perhaps the most graphic example of this is the treatment of the law relating to modesty among women. In some places this law is accommodated by the wearing of a veil in public; in others, simply by avoiding male company when possible; and in others, is left to the discretion of local leaders.

In the United States, many Turkish Americans worship in Arab or Pakistani mosques. Very few

have converted to Christianity or Judaism. One notable exception is Halouk Fikret (1895-1965), who was born to a prominent Muslim family in Turkey, immigrated to the United States, and, in the 1920s, became a Presbyterian minister.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Early Turkish immigrants to the United States were predominantly from Turkey's rural community. They settled in large, industrial cities and found employment as unskilled laborers. The majority came to earn money so that they could improve their economic situation and that of their families in Turkey. After the 1950s, a well-skilled and highly educated class immigrated to the United States, the majority being medical doctors, engineers, and scientists. Today, Turkish Americans are visible in virtually every field. The majority are professionals and enjoy a middle-class lifestyle.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Before the 1970s, there was very little Turkish American involvement in American politics. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, however, mobilized many individuals because of U.S. government support for the Greeks. Nonetheless, the small Turkish American community was not able to counter the influence of the much larger and more powerful Greek American organizations. Turkish Americans proudly point to Turkey's membership in NATO and its military and political support of the U.S. government during the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Turkish Americans have made numerous contributions to American society, particularly in the fields of education, medicine, and science. Others, including Tunç Yalman, artistic director of the Milwaukee Repertory Theater, and Osmar Karakas, who was awarded the 1991 National Press Award for the best news photograph, have contributed significantly to the arts. The following individuals are especially notable.

MUSIC

Arif Mardin (1932–) is one of the major popular music producers and arrangers in America. His clients include Aretha Franklin, the Bee Gees,

Carly Simon, Roberta Flack, and Bette Midler. Born into a prominent Istanbul family, he received a scholarship and B.A. in music at Boston's Berklee School of Music in 1958. After briefly meeting Ahmet Ertegun at the Newport Jazz Festival, he joined Atlantic Records and is currently its Vice President.

Chief Executive Officer of Atlantic Records, Ahmet Ertegun (1924–) is an influential force in the music business. The son of Turkey's ambassador to the United States, he attended St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. The young Ahmet always loved jazz, especially the music of black musicians. He and his brother Nesuhi promoted jazz concerts in Washington, D.C., at locales ranging from the Jewish Community Center, the National Press Club, and even the Turkish embassy. Duke Ellington and Lester Young attended some of these informal jazz sessions. He soon invested \$10,000 with a record collector friend and started Atlantic Records. Now, four decades later, it is a conglomerate worth \$600 million. Ertegun has been dubbed the "Greatest Rock 'n' Roll Mogul in the World."

SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS

Feza Gursey (1921-1993) was the J. Willard Gibbs Professor Emeritus of Physics at Yale University. He contributed major studies on the group structure of elementary particles and the symmetries of interactions. Professor Gursoy helped bridge the gap between physicists and mathematicians at Yale. He was the winner of the prestigious Oppenheimer Prize and Wigner Medal.

MEDIA

PRINT

ATS Bulletin.

Quarterly newsletter of the American Turkish Society.

Address: 850 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 319-2452.

Turkish Newsletter.

Monthly publication of the Turkish American Association.

Contact: Inci Fenik, Editor.

Address: 1600 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, New York 10019.

Telephone: (212) 956-1560.

The Turkish Times.

Biweekly newspaper of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations. Covers Turkish American issues with news articles, editorials, and business information.

Contact: Dr. Ugur Akimci, Editor.

Address: 1602 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 303,
Washington, D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (202) 483-9090.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

American Turkish Friendship Council (ATFC).

Devoted to increasing understanding of commercial, defense, and cultural issues involving the United States and Turkey; provides information on the history and economical and social advancement of Turkey.

Contact: G. Lincoln McCurdy, Executive Director.

Address: 1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite
1020, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Telephone: (202) 783-0483.

American Turkish Society (ATS).

Founded in 1949, the ATS has a membership of 400 American and Turkish diplomats, banks, corporations, businessmen, and educators. It promotes economic and commercial relations as well as cultural understanding between the people of the United States and Turkey.

Contact: Lara Tanbay, Executive Director.

Address: 850 Third Avenue, 18th Floor, New York,
New York 10022.

Telephone: (212) 583-7614.

Fax: (212) 583-7615.

E-mail: ameriturk@aol.com.

Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA).

Founded in 1979, the ATAA has approximately 10,500 members and coordinates activities of regional associations for the purpose of presenting an objective view of Turkey and Turkish Americans and enhancing understanding between these two groups.

Contact: Guler Koknar, Executive Director.

Address: 1601 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,
Suite 303, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Telephone: (202) 483-9090.

Fax: (202) 483-9092.

E-mail: assembly@ataa.org.

Website: <http://www.ataa.org/>.

Federation of Turkish-American Associations (FTAA).

Founded in 1956 and composed of about 30 local organizations of Turkish Americans, it works to advance educational interests and to maintain and preserve knowledge of Turkey's cultural heritage.

Contact: Egemen Bagis, Executive Director.

Address: 821 United Nations Plaza, Second Floor,
New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 682-7688.

Fax: (212) 687-3026.

E-mail: info@ftaa.org.

Website: <http://www.ftaa.org/>.

Turkish American Association (TAA).

Founded in 1965, the TAA has approximately 15,000 members and promotes cultural relations between the United States and Turkey.

Contact: Inci Fenik, Secretary.

Address: 1600 Broadway, 48th Street, Suite 318,
New York, New York 10019-7413.

Telephone: (212) 956-1560.

Fax: (212) 956-1562.

Turkish Women's League of America (TWLA).

Founded in 1958, the TWLA comprises Americans of Turkish origin united to promote equality and justice for women. The organization encourages cultural and recreational activities to foster relations between the people of Turkey, the United States, and other countries, including the new Turkish republics of the former Soviet Union.

Contact: Ayten Sandikcioglu, President.

Address: 821 United Nations Plaza, Second floor,
New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 682-8525.

Fax: (212) 215-5310.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Ahmed, Frank. *Turks in America: The Ottoman Turk's Immigrant Experience*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Columbia International, 1986.

Halman, Talat Sait. "Turks," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Hostler, Charles Warren. *The Turks of Central Asia*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.

Spencer, William. *The Land and People of Turkey*. New York: J.P. Lippincott, 1990.

Religious tolerance is an important aspect of present-day Uganda. Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, and others practice their religion freely.

UGANDAN AMERICANS

by
Olivia Miller

OVERVIEW

The Republic of Uganda is bordered by Sudan to the north, Kenya to the east, Lake Victoria, Tanzania, and Rwanda to the south, and Congo (formerly Zaire) to the west. The name Uganda is the Swahili term for Buganda, the homeland of the nation's largest ethnic group, the Baganda. British colonizers adopted the name when they established the Uganda Protectorate, centered in Buganda, in 1894. Uganda has great natural beauty, with an incredible variety of mammal species and birds. Winston Churchill called the country the "Pearl of Africa." Uganda's tropical forests, tea plantations, rolling savannahs, and arid plains are home to half of Africa's bird species.

Uganda's land area is 91,459 square miles (236,880 square kilometers), about the size of Oregon, and it lies across the equator. Its topography varies from the lush and fertile shores of Lake Victoria in the southeast to semidesert in the northeast. Uganda is fairly flat but high, with an average altitude of 3,280 feet above sea level. The capital city, Kampala, is on the shores of Lake Victoria. The White Nile, flowing out of the lake, winds through much of the country.

Uganda's population of 21 million is made up of a complex and diverse range of peoples, including the Baganda, Langi, Acholi, Pygmy, Europeans, Asians, and Arabs. The Baganda make up the largest portion of the population, about 16.7 percent. Eng-

lish is the official language, and many people speak Swahili and Arabic as well. There are more than 40 indigenous languages. Sixty-six percent of the population are Christian, evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant, 16 percent are Muslim, and 18 percent follow indigenous belief systems. The flag has six horizontal stripes—two each of black, yellow, and red—with the national emblem, the crested crane, in a centered white circle.

HISTORY

The ancestors of today's Bantu-speaking people, who include the Baganda and other groups, were likely the earliest occupants, about the fourth century A.D., of the low-lying plateau north of Lake Victoria. The population gradually moved southwest and developed a way of life based on farming and herding. Kingdoms of the Baganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, and Busoga peoples emerged, and they remained strong from the fourteenth century until the nineteenth century. Uganda's inland location kept it isolated from Arab and European trading until the nineteenth century. When Arab traders reached the interior of Uganda in the 1830s, they found several kingdoms with well-developed political institutions dating back several centuries. Buganda dominated the region, while Bunyoro was its greatest rival.

The first traders came in search of slaves and ivory. In the 1860s, British explorers arrived, seeking the source of the Nile River. Protestant missionaries arrived in 1877, followed by Catholic missionaries came in 1879. Baganda converts to Christianity and Islam clashed with their ruler and eventually overthrew him. The kingdom then separated along Catholic and Protestant lines. This weakening of Buganda came during a period in which European interest in the area was growing. Imperial powers from Europe soon attempted to conquer Buganda and its neighbors. After the Treaty of Berlin in 1890 defined the various European countries' spheres of influence in Africa, Uganda, Kenya, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba became British protectorates, and colonial agents established the Uganda Protectorate in 1894.

Colonial administrators introduced coffee and cotton as cash crops and adopted a policy of indirect rule, giving the traditional kingdoms autonomy, but favoring the recruitment of Baganda tribespeople for civil service. Few Europeans settled permanently in Uganda, but Pakistanis, Indians, and Goans arrived in large numbers. Agricultural production increased dramatically during World War I, and during the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1930s and

1940s, native Ugandans began to agitate for economic and political self-determination. In the mid-1950s schoolteacher Milton Obote, a member of the Langi people, created a loose coalition that led Uganda to independence in 1962.

MODERN ERA

In October 1962, with the coming of independence, ethnic and regional rivalries beset newly formed political parties. Obote, assisted by his army chief of staff Idi Amin, crushed the opposition, and became president, abolishing the Bagandan monarchy. Obote rewrote the constitution to consolidate virtually all powers in the presidency, and then began to nationalize, without compensation, \$500 million worth of foreign assets. Obote fled after a military coup in 1971, and Uganda endured eight years of mass murder and destruction under the government of Idi Amin. Amin's main targets were the Acholi and Langi tribespeople, the professional classes, which included intellectuals and entrepreneurs, and the country's 70,000-strong Asian community. In 1972, all Asians were given 90 days to leave the country with nothing but the clothes that they wore. The economy disintegrated because the Asian population had been the backbone of trade, industry, and health care. The education system suffered lasting damage. Government-sanctioned brutality became commonplace. Amin went to war with Tanzania in 1978, then fled Uganda the following year, when the Tanzanian military pushed into the heart of his country. In 1980, Milton Obote returned from exile to resume control. Between half a million and a million people perished during the reigns of Amin and his successors from 1971 to 1986. Armless, legless, and facially disfigured torture victims survive in the population today.

Rebels drove Obote from office in 1985. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, leader of the National Resistance Army, set up a new government in January 1986. Museveni stated his goal of bringing peace and security to Uganda. He won strong support from citizens. About 300,000 Ugandan refugees returned from across the Sudanese border.

In the 1990s, Uganda worked to recover from two decades of instability and civil war. A new constitution was ratified on July 12, 1995. Museveni won democratic, nonpartisan elections in 1994, and again in 1996. International leaders saw the 1996 elections as Uganda's final step towards rehabilitation, and U.S. President Bill Clinton visited the country. At the end of the twentieth century, Uganda had set up new economic development projects and export initiatives, and renewed its commitment

to education and social services. However, at the same time, it faced a severe epidemic of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). About 20 percent of Uganda's population was infected with the AIDS virus. By 1998, more than a million Ugandans had died of AIDS.

THE FIRST UGANDANS IN AMERICA

The first Ugandan Americans likely arrived as slaves, seized by or traded to Arabs between 1619 and 1865. According to the 1860 census, there were 4.4 million African Americans among a total U.S. population of 36 million people. Immigration records show that 857 Africans came to the United States between 1881 and 1890.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

Immigration records from 1975 cite Ugandans separately from other Africans and show the arrival of 859 immigrants, most fleeing Idi Amin's terror. Of note is the fact that African Asians, a group encompassing all brown-skinned people, usually Indians, Pakistanis, and Goans, are counted in a separate category from Ugandans. In 1976, 359 Ugandans arrived, and 241 came in 1977. Immigration fell to less than 150 each year in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a time of political stability in Uganda. The number of Ugandan refugees granted permanent residence status in the United States between 1946 and 1996 was generally less than 50 per year, with the exceptions of 1993, when 87 were admitted, and 1994, when 79 were admitted. Only ten Ugandan refugees were admitted in 1996. In 1998, 215 Ugandans were winners of the DV-99 diversity lottery. The diversity lottery is conducted under the terms of Section 203(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and makes available 50,000 permanent resident visas annually to persons from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Ugandan immigrants often join family members already in the United States. Immigrants with professional employment are geographically scattered, though significant communities have developed in metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, Sacramento, Dallas, and St. Petersburg. Some newly arrived Ugandans receive assistance from Catholic Social Services and other humanitarian relief agencies.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Because English is Uganda's official language, many Ugandan Americans do not face significant language barriers. Refugees who lived in rural areas, however, find American culture is very different from what they left behind. American life poses challenges for those who have not seen escalators, refrigerators, traffic lights, and scan-your-own grocery checkouts. Many Ugandans immigrate for better educational opportunities.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Ugandan culture is a mixture of various traditions and practices. In Uganda, people may break into song and dance, even in the streets, when they hear good news. If you are invited to someone's home, it is polite, but not required, to bring a gift for your host or hostess. Wives are automatically included in invitations unless it is specified otherwise. In conversation, most topics can be discussed freely, and national and world affairs and the arts are the most popular topics.

The West has traditionally viewed Ugandans as passive people. Their willing servitude and non-aggressive behavior results from centuries of tribal structure that discouraged individual self-promotion. The culture of the Baganda was authoritarian, and obedience to the king was crucial. David Lamb wrote in *The Africans* that "one's well-being depended on an allegiance to a man or a group of tribal barons, and that attachment did not include the right to question. The tradition of giving all power to a village chief, the era of colonialism, and the repressiveness of men like Obote and Amin had taught them obedience, even servitude. They had learned the art of survival."

PROVERBS

Ugandans share many proverbs with other Swahili-speaking African peoples. Several sayings reflect the experience of living among abundant wildlife. Here are examples: The country rooster does not crow in the town; Do not speak of a rhinoceros if there is no tree nearby; When two elephants fight it is the grass that suffers; The one who has not traveled widely thinks his mother is the only cook; The person who is tired will find time to sleep; Return to old watering holes for more than water for friends and dreams are there to meet you; Abuses are the result of seeing one another too often; Caution is not cowardice for even the ants march armed; Every

beast roars in its own den; Haste does not result in prosperity; The hunter in pursuit of an elephant does not stop to throw stones at birds; If the hours are long enough and the pay is short enough, someone will say it's women's work; If the hyena eats the sick man, he will eat the whole one; The talker will lead the dog to the meat market; Visitors' footfalls are like medicine for they heal the sick; When the master is absent, the frogs hop into the house.

CUISINE

Most people in Uganda, except for a few who live in the city centers, produce their own food. Women and girls have sole responsibility for meal preparation. Men and boys aged 12 and older are not even expected to sit in the kitchen, which is separate from the main house. The women cook food on an open fire, using wood for fuel. Most families eat two meals a day, lunch and supper. Breakfast is just a cup of tea or a bowl of porridge.

When a meal is ready, all members of the household wash their hands and sit down on floor mats. They have to wash their hands before and after the meal because most Ugandans eat with their hands. At mealtime everybody is welcome; visitors and neighbors who drop in are expected to join the family in the meal. The women serve the food, cutting it up into small pieces for each member of the family. Sauce, which is usually a stew with vegetables, beans, butter, salt, and curry powder, is served to each person on a plate. Sometimes fish or beef stew is served.

Normally the family says a short prayer before eating. During the meal, children speak only when asked a question. It is bad manners to reach for salt or a spoon. It is better to ask someone sitting close to it to pass it. It is also bad manners to leave the room while others are still eating. Everyone shows respect by staying seated until the meal is over. Leaning on the left hand or stretching one's legs while at a meal is a sign of disrespect and is not tolerated. People usually drink water at the end of the meal. It is considered odd to drink water while eating. When the meal is finished, everyone in turn compliments the mother by saying, "Thank you for preparing the meal, madam." No dessert is served.

Ugandan main dishes usually center on beef, goat, mutton, or fresh fish and the starch that comes from *ugali*, or maize meal. *Ugali* is cooked into a thick porridge until it sets hard, and it is served in flat bricks. One of the more interesting dishes is *mkate mayai*, meaning bread eggs. Originally an Arab dish, it is wheat dough spread into a thin pancake, filled with minced meat and raw egg, and then

folded into a neat parcel and fried. A staple food is *matoke*, a dish of green cooking bananas, boiled then steamed and mashed, to which water has been added. Other food crops include millet bread, cassava, sweet potatoes, white potatoes, yams, beans, peas, groundnuts (peanuts), cabbage, onions, pumpkins, and tomatoes.

Ugandans grow some fruits, such as oranges, papaws (papayas), lemons, and pineapple, and these often serve as between-meal snacks. Groundnuts are an important part of the diet. They are roasted, pounded to a pulp, and then made into a sauce that may accompany meat, *matoke*, or vegetables. Groundnut stew consists of meat strips cooked with onions and tomatoes, to which peanut butter and milk are added to create a sauce. The dish is served over rice. *Nsima* is a pasty bread-like dish made from cornmeal and water that is boiled to form a paste that is served with meat, poultry, fish, or vegetables. Ugandans also fry bananas in very hot peanut oil.

Drinks include *pombe*, a fermented banana beer, and *waragi*, a millet-based alcoholic beverage. A popular Ugandan-American dessert is peanut orange cake, made from a typical cake batter with orange peel, vinegar, and one and a half cups of peanut butter added.

MUSIC

Each tribe has its own musical history. Songs have been passed down from generation to generation. *Ndigindi* (lyre), *entongoli* (harp), *amadinda* (xylophone), and *lukeme* (thumb piano) are common musical instruments in Uganda.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Uganda does not have a national costume. However, the *busuti* or *gomasi*, colorful saris, are typical clothing. The style varies from one tribe to another. For men, the *kanzu*, an ankle-length robe, used to be regarded as the national dress. It was replaced by the safari suit, then by Western-style shirts and pants.

DANCES AND SONGS

Music and dance play a large role in Ugandan culture. Each tribe has specific dances, such as the Imbalu dances of the Bagisu people on the slopes of Mount Elgon and the Runyeye dances native to the area around Masindi. Traditional story songs tell tales of magic birds and animals, with songs and narrative interwoven. W. Moses Serwadda, a musician, folklorist, and faculty member at Makerere University in Uganda, compiled a book, *Songs and*

Stories from Uganda, of traditional work and game story songs and lullabies. The songs appear in the original Luganda language, with phonetic pronunciation, English translation, and an explanation of the story or purpose of each.

HOLIDAYS

Uganda celebrates many Christian holidays, including Christmas, Easter, and Good Friday. The Muslim population honors Islamic holidays. Hari Raya Puasa, the sighting of the new moon, signifies the first day of the Muslim calendar and the end of Ramadan, the fasting month. The entire country observes Women's Day in early March. There are also several holidays associated with independence and events during the civil wars: NRM (National Resistance Movement) Anniversary Day is January 26; Martyrs' Day is June 3; Heroes' Day is June 9; and Independence Day is October 9.

HEALTH ISSUES

Because Uganda has a poor health care system, Ugandans who have immigrated to America typically receive of much better health care than those in their native country. Health insurance coverage by an employer is a valued benefit of life in America. Life expectancy in Uganda in 1998 was only 37 years.

AIDS has devastated Uganda. In the 1980s, the country had the highest reported incidence of the disease, more than 15 cases per 100,000 people. By mid-1990, 17,400 AIDS cases had been diagnosed in Uganda, and the number doubled every six months. At that time officials also reported that more than 790,000 people had tested positive for the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which is believed to cause AIDS. They estimated this figure at 1.3 million by the year's end. Those who were HIV-positive included more than 25,000 children under the age of 15. Officials estimated that 20 percent of infant deaths in Kampala were HIV-related. Also, 22 percent of women seeking prenatal care at Kampala's Mulago Hospital, the nation's largest, were infected with HIV, as were many tuberculosis sufferers. Uganda's first confirmed AIDS deaths occurred in 1982, with seventeen deaths in the southern district of Rakai. By 1989, AIDS had occurred in every part of Uganda.

LANGUAGE

Uganda had 47 languages; 46 remain in use, while one is extinct. Many Ugandans live among people

who speak other languages. Uganda's three major language groups are Bantu, Central Sudanic, and Nilotic. Uganda's population groups are usually categorized by language. Following independence, Bantu-language speakers comprised roughly two-thirds of the population. British colonizers brought their language to Uganda in the late nineteenth century. Uganda adopted English as its official language after it became independent. It is the language of business, government, and education. Most Ugandans speak an African language as well. Following independence, Bantu-language speakers comprised roughly two-thirds of the population. Swahili is especially common. Also, numerous people speak Arabic.

In Swahili, which is a Bantu language, vowels are pronounced as they are in Spanish or Italian. Every letter is pronounced. Exceptions to this rule include "dh," which is pronounced "th" as in "this"; "ny," pronounced as "ni" in "onion"; "ng," pronounced as in "singer"; "gh," pronounced as the "ch" in Scottish Loch; and "ch," pronounced as in "church." In most words, the emphasis is on the next-to-last syllable.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Habari is the typical greeting, meaning "hello." *Karibu* is a Swahili expression of hospitality. Handshaking is common. When faced with problems that are annoying or even disastrous, Ugandans respond with "*Shauri ya Mangu*," Swahili for "It is God's will."

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Ugandan Americans tend to establish single-family homes where children learn reverence for God and their family. The choice of a marriage partners is up to the individual. Ugandan immigrants take part in community and school events in much the same way as other Americans. The children of Ugandan Americans assimilate into American culture.

Uganda has a wide variety of cultures, traditions, and lifestyles. The largest cultural group, the Baganda people, have historically emphasized blood ties through the clan system. Clan members all have at least one male ancestor in common. Clan councils once regulated many aspects of Baganda life, including marriage and land use. The British were impressed with the Baganda system of governance, and appointed members of the group to important positions during the colonial period.

Some Baganda customs have persisted into the late twentieth century. The Baganda have traditionally sent their children to live with people of higher social standing in the group. This was done to create ties between groups and to provide avenues for social mobility for their children. In the 1980s, the Baganda continued to believe this was an excellent way to prepare children for adulthood.

EDUCATION

Many Ugandans immigrated to the United States to obtain a better education. The literacy rate in Uganda in 1993 was 62 percent. While not compulsory, education is highly regarded. Education is divided into four levels: primary, seven years; lower secondary, three or four years; upper secondary, two years; and postsecondary, consisting of university, teachers' colleges, or commercial training. Traditionally, there has been a fee for primary and lower secondary schooling; thereafter, education is free. In early 1997, the Ugandan government launched the Universal Primary Education Program as a step toward free primary education for all citizens. Under this program, four children per family could attend primary school at any public school at government expense.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women traditionally have been subordinate to men, despite the substantial economic and social responsibilities of women in Ugandan society. Their fathers, brothers, and husbands hold authority over them. As late as the 1980s, women in some rural areas had to kneel when speaking to a man. This was the case even though women not only had significant domestic responsibilities but also contributed to the economy through agricultural work. Polygamous marriage practices also disadvantaged women.

Women's rights groups began organizing even before Uganda became independent. In 1960, the Uganda Council of Women called for marriage, divorce, and inheritance laws to be put in writing and publicized. The violence during Idi Amin's rule created hardships for women, as public services, schools, hospitals, and markets often became inaccessible. They had to take care of their families in extreme conditions. These difficulties, however, may have forced women to become more independent. Ugandan women's activism has continued. The Uganda Association of Women Lawyers set up a legal aid clinic in early 1988 to defend women's property and custody rights. The Museveni admin-

istration promised to end discrimination against women. In 1987, Museveni appointed Joyce Mpanga minister for women and development in 1987, and she pledged that the government would improve women's wages, job opportunities, and status. In the 1990s, women became increasingly involved in government. They had five percent of the seats in parliament and five cabinet positions. There was also a woman vice president.

Women still, however, had a higher illiteracy level—55.1 percent—than men, who had a 36.5 percent illiteracy rate. Fewer women received higher education. About 45 percent of the children enrolled in primary schools were girls. Only three percent of persons attending technical institutions were female.

FUNERALS

Ugandan Americans follow the funeral customs of the United States and bury their dead in caskets after a ceremony. In Uganda, funerals take place quickly, and the dead are often wrapped in a shroud of bark cloth and buried outside of town. Family members are responsible for transporting and burying the body. In the Luwero area, only a whole body can be buried. People who found the bones of relatives killed by Amin did not bury them because of the traditional taboo associated with the burial of bones.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Ugandan Americans have largely lived peaceably with other minorities. The Baganda people have a tradition of tolerance, more so than many other African societies. Even before the arrival of Europeans, many of this group's villages had residents from outside Buganda. Some had come to the region as slaves, some as migrant workers, but by the early twentieth century, many settled in as farmers. Marriage outside the Baganda ethnic group was fairly common. Also, since Uganda became independent, all governments have officially opposed discrimination based on ethnicity. However, in practice, they did not always stick to this position, as indicated by Amin's expulsion of Asians.

RELIGION

Most Ugandan Americans are Christians, as about two-thirds of Uganda's population is Christian. The remaining third practices indigenous religions or follows Islam. Before Idi Amin expelled Asians from

Uganda, many Muslims lived in Jinja, one of the places on which Mahatma Gandhi chose to have his ashes scattered. Religious tolerance is an important aspect of present-day Uganda. Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, and others practice their religion freely.

About 19 percent of Ugandans follow local religions. These may include belief in a creator, as well as in ancestral and other spirits. Prayers and sacrifices convey respect for the dead, who are thought to help the living. Some religious practitioners serve as mediators between the living and the dead. In the Bunyoro region, those who worship spirits believe them to be the early mythical rulers, the Chwezi, so their faith is sometimes known as the Chwezi religion. The Lugbara people of northwestern Uganda believe ancestors influence the fate of the living and communicate with them.

In the Tepeth society in northeastern Uganda, religion and politics are intertwined. Clan elders and priests admit chosen men to a cult called Sor, which makes sacrifices in hopes of enhancing fertility, gaining favorable weather, and warding off illness. This belief system holds that both women and men receive messages from spirits, but claims women cannot see these messengers. Women, however, have the right to perform certain religious rituals.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Ugandan Americans sometimes have difficulty adapting to the American work ethic, which defines time as money. Ugandans value relationships and nonaggression. They are not generally financially ambitious, but are content with whatever circumstances they have. Europeans and Asians in Uganda often accused Ugandans of being culturally inferior and lazy, when in fact, their values were simply different.

Still, Ugandans in America have pursued a variety of occupations. Because agriculture is an important sector to Uganda's economy, employing over 80 percent of the work force, many Ugandan Americans have farming backgrounds. However, numerous Ugandan Americans are professionals and intellectuals who fled Amin's reign of terror. They work as physicians, in other health care specialties, as teachers, and as journalists.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Ugandan Americans have joined other Africans in organizations such as the National Summit on

Africa to influence U.S. policy toward Uganda. A major piece of Africa-related legislation, the African Growth and Opportunity Act, was before Congress in 1999. The bill was designed to encourage the import of goods from sub-Saharan Africa by allowing them to come into the United States duty-free and in unrestricted quantity. The House of Representatives passed the bill in July 1999, but observers were uncertain that the Senate would pass it as well and send it to President Clinton so that he could sign it into law. African American legislators were split over the bill. Some believed it would help African workers, while others feared it would encourage multinational companies doing business in Africa to exploit these same workers.

RELATIONS WITH UGANDA

For most of the twentieth century, the United States had no significant interests in Uganda. However, some U.S. companies did business with Uganda. The U.S. government has largely avoided involvement in internal Ugandan politics. It has provided some economic aid. Ugandan leaders have sought to persuade the United States to expand this assistance. After Britain ended trade with Uganda in 1973, in response to Amin's expulsion of Asians, the United States briefly became Uganda's primary trading partner. Difficulties with the Amin administration soon led the United States to withdraw its Peace Corps volunteers and cut off economic assistance. In November 1973, after repeated public threats against U.S. embassy officials and the expulsion of Marine security guards responsible for protecting U.S. government property and personnel, the United States closed its embassy. In 1978 Congress put an embargo U.S. trade with Uganda.

Relations improved after Amin's fall. In mid-1979, the United States reopened its embassy. Relations with successor governments were cordial, although Obote and his administration took exception to strong U.S. criticism of Uganda's human rights situation. Relations between the United States and Uganda have been good since Museveni assumed power, and the United States has welcomed his efforts to end human rights abuses and to pursue economic reform.

In the early to mid-1980s, the United States provided about \$10 million in assistance to Uganda annually, mostly in the form of humanitarian aid—such as food, medical supplies, hospital rehabilitation, and disaster relief—and agricultural equipment needed to promote economic recovery. The U.S. Agency for International Development funds a multifaceted development program at a level of

about \$50 million per year, both direct assistance and Food for Peace commodities. The U.S. Information Agency sponsors a cultural exchange program aiding the National Theater and other cultural institutions, bringing Fulbright professors to teach at Makerere University, and sponsoring U.S. study and tour programs for many government officials. Peace Corps volunteers in Uganda work in small enterprise development, natural resources management, and education. Museveni visited Washington in October 1987 and February 1989 for consultations with the president and members of Congress.

In 1997, two University of Florida professors attended the dedication of Uganda's Makerere-Florida Linkage House of the Center for Human Rights and Peace, which works for human rights for street people, teaches human rights courses to university students, and sponsors internships allowing students to work for in human rights organizations. The Makerere-Florida Linkage House includes facilities available to University of Florida researchers.

President Clinton visited Uganda in March of 1998 and while there announced a two-year \$120 million U.S. gift to Uganda to promote education and democracy. Another \$61 million was designated to go toward meals for schoolchildren. New American business activities in Uganda include Coca-Cola's opening of a bottling plant in the western part of the country in November 1998.

In March of 1999, Hutu rebels from neighboring Rwanda kidnapped 14 tourists and killed eight in the group, including two Americans, four Britons, and two New Zealanders who came to see the rare mountain gorillas of Uganda's Bwindi National Park. The U.S. government advised Americans to cancel flights to Uganda until further notice.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Larry Kaggwa, professor of journalism at Howard University in Washington, D.C., is a native Ugandan and a veteran journalist and educator. He has written for the *Asbury Park Press* in New Jersey, *The Washington Post*, Hearst Newspapers, the *Oakland Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Hartford Courant*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *Florida Times Union*. He has presented scholarly papers in forums across the country and is dedicated to developing daily newspapers at historically black universities. Kaggwa is adviser to the student chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists.

Namu Lwanga, a native Ugandan living in the United States, has a degree in ethnomusicology and has mastered and performs a wide variety of Ugandan traditional instruments. She also wrote, acted in and produced plays in Uganda before coming to the United States. A recipient of the 1996 Parents' Choice Award for her *Web of Tales* video, Lwanga is a storyteller, musician, and dancer who produces videos, albums, and performances that focus on Ugandan traditional movements. She won the Kenyan International Music Festival with an ensemble composition based on Uganda's war-torn past.

MEDIA

The Monitor.

The largest daily newspaper in Uganda, with a circulation of 30,000, is on the AfricaNews Website and is one of only two newspapers in Africa on the Internet.

Online: <http://www.africanews.com>.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Permanent Mission of Uganda to United Nations.

Address: Uganda House, 336 East 45th Street,
New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 949-0110.

Uganda North America Association.

Encourages fellowship among Ugandans living in North America; fosters social, cultural, and business contacts; has local chapters in major cities and sponsors an annual convention.

Contact: Sam Kiggwe, President.

Address: Atlanta Chapter, P.O. Box 54136,
Atlanta, Georgia 30308.

Telephone: (770) 623-6873.

Online: <http://www.angelfire.com/nj/unaa/cmtee.html>.

Ugandan Embassy.

Diplomatic representation in United States.

Contact: Chief of mission, Ambassador Stephen Kapimpina.

Address: 5909 16th Street, N.W., Washington,
D.C. 20011.

Telephone: (202) 726-7100 through 7102; or
(202) 726-0416.

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U KRAINIAN AMERICANS

by
Marianne P. Fedunkiw

Because the United States has modeled itself as a “melting pot” for newly arrived immigrants, Ukrainian Americans have become assimilated more thoroughly and more quickly than their neighbors to the north, the Ukrainian Canadians.

OVERVIEW

Ukraine is officially named Ukrayina, which means “borderland.” After Russia, it is the second-largest country in Europe in area. It is comparable, both in population (about 52 million) and size (233,089 square miles) to France. It is bordered by the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, Moldova, and Romania to the south; Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland to the west; Belarus to the north; and Russia to the north and northeast.

Of its population, 73 percent are of Ukrainian ethnic origin. The country’s official language, since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, is Ukrainian. The capital city is Kiev, and the national flag has two broad horizontal bands of blue and yellow, the blue on top representing the sky and the yellow representing fields of wheat.

Although most of western Ukraine is agricultural—it is a country that has served as the “breadbasket of Europe”—there are large petroleum and natural gas fields as well. Major industrial products include refined sugar, iron, steel, tractors, cement, glass, paper, and fertilizer.

HISTORY

The earliest evidence of human settlement in Ukraine dates back 150,000 years. Early inhabitants of the territory included the Balkans, the Cimmeri-

ans (the first nomadic horsemen to appear in Ukraine in about 1500 to 1000 B.C.), the Scythians (early seventh century B.C.), and colonies set up by the Greek Empire (by the fourth century B.C.).

The direct ancestors of Ukraine's population today were the Slavs. The Slavs made their way into the Balkans in the early seventh century A.D. By the middle of the ninth century, however, what was to become known as Kievan Rus was still relatively underdeveloped. Much of the ensuing progress is attributed to the Varangians (or Vikings or Normans) who visited Rus in the mid-ninth century.

Following the reign of Oleh, Prince Ihor, and then his wife Olha ruled. Olha took over leadership when her husband, Ihor, was killed and their son Sviatoslav was still too young to rule. Her influence was especially apparent years later when her grandson Volodymyr became prince. Olha had converted from paganism to Christianity in 955 and, with Volodymyr, is credited with bringing Christianity to a pagan land in 988.

The reign of Jaroslav the Wise (1036-1054) is often seen as the pinnacle in the history of Kievan Rus. Among his contributions were more than 400 churches in Kiev alone, and the establishment of *Ruska pravda* (Rus' Justice), the basic legal code of the country. Jaroslav's reign was followed by a period of relative decline, beginning with feuds among his sons and grandsons. Jaroslav divided his kingdom among his sons with the idea that the eldest hold a position of seniority in maintaining unity, but Kiev declined as the political and economic center of Ukraine as each principality lived almost autonomously. Eventually Kiev fell to the Mongols in 1240, under Ogodei Khan and Batu, the latter being the grandson of Genghis.

From the latter half of the thirteenth century until the sixteenth century, Ukraine fell under the rule of first Lithuania (Grand Prince Algirdas moved in to occupy Kiev in 1362) and then Poland, led by Casimir the Great (1310-1370). Ukrainians, or Ruthenians (from Rus', as they called themselves during this period), preferred to be ruled by the Lithuanians, who treated them as equals. In 1385, to consolidate power against a growing Muscovy, an alliance between Lithuania and Poland was struck. Thus, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were years of struggle to keep Ukrainian lands from Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania, as well as free of the *boyars* or noblemen who tried to take control. At the heart of many of these battles was religion—since Poland was overwhelmingly Catholic and even Lithuania converted to Catholicism in 1385, the Orthodox Ukrainians were effectively shut out.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth cen-

turies were periods of recolonization in Ukraine, particularly in the provinces of Kiev and Bratslav. In 1569 the regions of Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav (Podillia) were annexed to the Kingdom of Poland. Another part of this development included a new society which grew out of the plains of the Dnieper River—the Cossacks. These men were free, as opposed to the serfs of the sixteenth century, and organized to fend off marauding Tatars. They ruled for decades, freeing Ukraine from Polish rule and helping to defend the country from Turkish, Tatar, and other invaders. One of the most notable of the Cossack leaders (hetmans) was Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who ruled from 1648 to 1657. During this time he led an uprising and mass peasant revolt against the ruling Poles. This led to a new ruling state with the hetman as leader and a tumultuous relationship with Russia in order to fight Poland. There was also a treaty signed with Muscovy in 1654 to help protect against invaders. After Khmelnytsky died in 1657, Ukraine's position weakened and it was eventually betrayed by its ally, Russia, who entered into an agreement with Poland which divided Ukraine between Russia and Poland.

Ukraine often tried to loosen the grip of Russia and Poland. In 1708-1709 Hetman Ivan Mazepa led the Cossacks to fight alongside Sweden's King Charles XII in the Swedish king's war with Russia's Peter I. But the Swedes and Cossacks lost, and Peter destroyed the hetman's capital and the hetmanate itself. By the late seventeenth century, in any case, not much was left of the hetmanate—only about one-third of that which Khmelnytsky controlled in his heyday as leader.

MODERN ERA

In the late eighteenth century, Russia annexed much of eastern Ukraine, taking the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podillia away from Poland, and taking the Crimea from the Turks. This transfer meant not only that the Orthodox religion could be practiced (it had been persecuted under Polish rule), but that by 1831 Russian became the official language, replacing Polish. This remained basically unchanged until 1918.

Austria gained possession of much of western Ukraine, including the province of Ruthenia and what had been Galicia, also in the late eighteenth century, and it remained Austrian land until the end of World War I. The bid for a free Ukraine was a never-ending one. A major figure was the nationalistic poet and painter Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). This influential figure, born a serf, established the Ukrainian language as a language of

literature, and his work tells the story of the glories and sufferings of the nation—all of this during a time when Ukrainian was banned from schools, books, and the performing arts.

World War I saw the Ukraine caught between the Austrians and Russia, each as potential allies against the other. By 1915-1916, little of Ukraine was left in Russian control. When the Bolsheviks overthrew the Czar and later the provisional government in 1917, Ukraine was poised for freedom. On January 22, 1918, Ukraine declared itself to be independent of Russia and used the help of German and Austrian troops to clear Russians from Ukraine. But the tenuous alliance with Germany and Austria quickly broke down, and freedom was short-lived. By April 1918 a new government, acceptable to the Germans, was set up. Galicia, which had freed itself of Austrian rule, found itself independent in 1918—but that was brief too, and it soon fell to Poland. Four years of war followed, and the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) reconquered Ukraine in 1922 and made it one of the original republics. Aside from being lost and won during the Second World War, Ukraine remained part of the USSR until the USSR was dissolved in 1991.

THE FIRST WAVE OF UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Although individual Ukrainians had come to the United States earlier, the first mass wave immigrated in the late nineteenth century, coinciding with the period of American industrialization. This group, numbering more than 350,000, began to arrive in 1877 as strikebreakers to work the Pennsylvania mines. Most of them came from western Ukraine, particularly the Lemko and Transcarpathian regions. In search of prosperity, they read advertisements which promised earnings ten to 20 times greater than they could hope for in the Ukraine. So they left their families, traveled to the ports of Bremen, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, and were packed into steerage on ships for the long journey to America.

When they reached the immigration check at Ellis Island, they waited in fear since a good number each trip were sent back. Those who made it through concentrated in the factories, steel mills, and foundries in Cleveland, Akron, Rochester, Buffalo, Syracuse, Chicago, and Detroit, as well as in Pennsylvania cities. Before World War I, 98 percent of Ukrainians settled in the northeastern states, with 70 percent in Pennsylvania. Men who had left wives and children in Ukraine first worked and then, when they could support them, brought their

families over. They settled in urban villages near other Slavs, Poles, Jews, and Slovaks, seeking a sense of community to replace the one they had left. Their lives centered on the neighborhood church, saloon, general store, and boarding houses.

Unlike the Ukrainian Canadians, few of the early Ukrainian Americans farmed. By the time the first wave crossed the ocean, most of the free land had been distributed already and these new immigrants had no money to buy land. There were, however, isolated groups such as the Stundists (Baptist Evangelicals) who did farm, first in Virginia then in North Dakota. There were also small groups who chose to follow Orthodox priest Ahapii Honcharenko (1832-1916)—often considered the first nationality-conscious Ukrainian—to Alaska in the 1860s and Dr. Nicholas Sudzilovsky-Russel to Hawaii in 1895. Sudzilovsky-Russel was elected to the Hawaiian Senate in 1901 and, in this position, greatly aided more than 375 Ukrainians who were lured to Hawaii by dishonest agents and forced to work as slaves on plantations until they paid the costs of their four-month sea voyages. Eventually they were released from their contracts, and most returned to North America.

THE SECOND WAVE: BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

This wave of immigrants, covering the period between the two world wars, was considerably smaller than the first, numbering only about 15,000. It was also different in that these were immigrants who were aware of and vocal about their nationalism and politicized to the point of infighting. Until that time, Ukrainian Americans tended to be polarized along religious lines; now there were socialists and conservatives on either end of the political spectrum. Furthermore, assimilation had gained momentum by the time of the second wave, and adjustments to clothing and language came more quickly than to the first immigrants.

THE THIRD WAVE: DISPLACEMENT AFTER WORLD WAR II

The final major wave was one of refugees following the Second World War. These often well-educated Ukrainians (including 2,000 university students, 1,200 teachers and scholars, 400 engineers, 350 lawyers, and 300 physicians) had fled their homes during the war and had little interest in returning while the Soviet government was in place. They saw both the United States and Canada as temporary homes, although most would never return to live in the Ukraine.

Most of these immigrants had spent time in the postwar refugee camps in Austria and Germany. Eight of these DP (displaced person) camps housed two-thirds of the Ukrainian refugees, with the rest in private accommodation. Between 1947 and 1951, these DPs were resettled, with the greatest number (80,000) going to the United States (30,000 went to Canada, 20,000 to Australia, and the same number to Great Britain, 13,000 to Brazil and Argentina, and 10,000 each to Belgium and France).

The DPs concentrated in large cities, particularly New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Rochester, Syracuse, Buffalo, and Cleveland. They gravitated to neighborhoods where Ukrainian Americans already lived, where churches and a community infrastructure had been set up by previous immigrants. This newest group enjoyed the benefits of often being better educated, and of social assistance systems, schools, and immigrant aid societies already in place. Although educated, professionals may have had to work in menial jobs until they grasped the language and had enough money to set up as doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Some found the adjustment difficult and never returned to their professions and instead took jobs administering Ukrainian institutions and organizations, many of which were brought from Ukraine by the immigrants.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Before World War II, 98 percent of Ukrainian Americans settled in the northeastern United States with almost three-quarters in Pennsylvania. Between the wars, the numbers in Pennsylvania dropped, while the Ukrainian American populations of New York and New Jersey grew (especially that of New York City) and sizable communities sprang up in Ohio and Illinois.

The 1990 Census of Population states that 740,803 individuals reported their ancestry as Ukrainian, or 0.3 percent of the total. Of those who said they were Ukrainian Americans, just over two-thirds listed it as “first ancestry.” It is interesting to note that the census also gave, as ethnicity choices, Carpath Rusyn, Central European, Russian and Slavic; when many of the first Ukrainians arrived in America, they were identified with labels other than Ukrainian, including some of these choices.

The majority of Ukrainian Americans, the census notes, settled in the Northeast. The state with the greatest number is Pennsylvania (129,753 reported in 1990), followed by New York (121,113), and New Jersey (73,935). Although regionally, the fewest number of Ukrainians are to be found in the

American West, California is the fourth-ranked state with 56,211 reported in 1990.

INTERACTIONS WITH SETTLED AMERICANS

Because the first wave of Ukrainians came as strike-breakers, there was tension between them and the established English, Irish, and Welsh miners in the area. Ukrainians were also the first large group of non-English-speaking immigrants, and so they stood out as “different”—they spoke a foreign language, ate different food, and, at least upon arrival, wore different clothes. They also tended to group together, further isolating themselves from the Americans. This, however, changed quickly with the generation of children who grew up in America. It was not unusual for these children, who played in the streets with other non-Ukrainian children, to pick up the language and customs quickly and assimilate thoroughly.

Discrimination, though, was part of life at the start. Ukrainians were called “Hunkies” (having come from the Hungarian part of the Austrian empire) or “Bohunks” (a derivative of Bohemians) by those who reviled these immigrants, who were often illiterate, dirty with miner’s dust, and willing to do work no one else would to get a foothold toward a better life. In fact, in his *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History*, Orest Subtelny notes that this so-called “scum of Europe” were thought to be contaminating once civilized towns in Pennsylvania by forcing out those who had given stability to the area: the English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish. In fact, in 1897 a discriminatory measure passed the state of Pennsylvania, which required that nonnaturalized American miners and workers pay an additional tax.

KEY ISSUES

The most striking issue is the state of the free Ukraine since it gained its independence in 1991, with the breakup of the USSR. The country must deal with new governments and democracy as well as with the transition to economic and social independence. Much of the infrastructure of business and government has been redesigned entirely, and Ukrainian Americans are eagerly monitoring the progress of change.

Another concern is the continuing effects of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in eastern Ukraine in the 1980s. Considerable aid, both financial and material, has been coordinated to aid victims, particularly the orphans, of the disaster.

There has always been great interest in events “in the old country.” Ukrainian American organiza-

tions based in the United States have, for decades, been formed to make political pleas on behalf of those in the occupied homeland and to send material and financial aid. This included marches on the White House protesting the Polish Occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1922 and a 1933 march by Detroit Ukrainian Americans to protest the Soviet man-made famine that year.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Because the United States has modeled itself as a “melting pot” for newly arrived immigrants, Ukrainian Americans have become assimilated more thoroughly and more quickly than their neighbors to the north, the Ukrainian Canadians. This is in part because the first immigrants moved to heavily populated urban centers where they tended to get “lost” more readily among other immigrants and American citizens. As the decades have passed, too, the number of new immigrants has dropped. Couple this with the thoroughness of assimilation—in 1980, less than 17 percent of people of Ukrainian descent said Ukrainian was their primary language—and the future of the Ukrainian American community can seem uncertain.

This does not, however, mean that all is bleak. Through church, cultural, and political-business organizations, Ukrainian Americans and their children and grandchildren have places to go to celebrate their heritage. This is aided by the fact that traditionally Ukrainian Americans have not moved far from their original settlement sites in the northeastern states of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. Some of the strongest organizations, too, are those which were established early in the history of immigration. The most forward-thinking have changed with the times and deemphasized nationalist concerns in favor of drawing members with cultural, business, and social activities. Credit unions, youth organizations, and professional and business clubs are strong in the communities they serve.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND STEREOTYPES

One of the most common misconceptions about Ukrainian Americans is that they were Russians, Poles, Hungarians, or Austrians. This was the case because depending on when they arrived, Ukraine was occupied by Russia or the USSR, Poland, or the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Before Ukraine adopted Christianity in 988, the inhabitants believed in pagan gods who ruled over the sun, stars, and moon. Folk beliefs are still connected to the sun, stars, and moon, as well as to dreams, the seasons, and agriculture. In fact, many of the pagan customs blended, over time, with Christian beliefs. These centered on the family (e.g., birth, marriage, and funeral customs), the community, and seasonal agricultural rites.

Songs and folk tales play a significant role in these ancient customs. There are specific songs for harvest festivals, New Year’s celebrations, and Christmas and Easter, all celebrating both pagan beliefs and Christian traditions. Songs and music have always been important to the Ukrainian Americans; the earliest settlers, who had little money, often spent their rare free hours gathered together playing and singing. This has continued, not only in established choirs and ensembles, but as part of Ukrainian youth groups, camps, and Saturday language classes. The language classes are also a place where children of immigrants have been taught about their country’s history, geography, and culture.

Examples of ancient customs still practiced today include the spring rites and songs (*vesnianky*) and the traditions associated with the harvest or Kupalo festival in which young maidens make wreaths of wildflowers, and set them afloat in a nearby stream; their fortune is determined by the young man who retrieves the wreath while facing the spirits of the night. Often these are still practiced by Ukrainian American youth at summer camps or through youth organizations and cultural festivals.

PROVERBS

Proverbs are a rich part of the Ukrainian culture and are handed down from generation to generation: A smart man seeks all from himself, a fool looks for everything in others; Fear God—and you will not fear any person; He who thinks rarely always has time to talk; Snow falls upon a pursuit that is put off; A wise man does not always say what he knows, but a fool does not always know what he says; Life is the road to death; It is difficult to learn to thank God if we cannot thank people; The rich man is not he who has great riches but he who squanders little money; A good heart does not know pridefulness; Brotherhood is greater than riches; A black dog or a white dog is still a dog.

These young dancers from the United Ukrainian organization are performing the Zaporozhian Knight's Battle at the 1946 National Folk Festival in Cleveland, Ohio.



CUISINE

Ukrainian cooking is a robust mix of meat, vegetable, and grain dishes. It is similar to, and has been influenced by, the cuisine of Poland, Russia, Turkey, Hungary, Romania, and Moldova. Although the selection and availability of food is more varied for Ukrainian Americans than it is for Ukrainians, many of the traditional foods survive in the United States.

Breads figure prominently in both immigrant and Ukrainian households—Ukraine is, after all, known as the “breadbasket of Europe”—and particular breads such as *paska* for Easter are featured during the holidays and at weddings, often decorated with braids or birds of dough. Bread is featured as a ceremonial ingredient in all special occasions, whether to bring divine blessing to the start of a farm task, to welcome guests to a celebration, or to symbolically part with the dead at the *tryzna*, or wake.

The dishes most readily associated with Ukrainians are likely *borscht* (a soup of red beets), *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls), *pyrohy* or *varenyky* (dough dumplings filled with potatoes and cheeses, sauerkraut, or various fruits such as cherries), and *kielbasa* (smoked sausage). The potato is the most readily used vegetable in traditional Ukrainian cooking, although garlic, onions, cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, and beets are also staples. Mushrooms are also a common ingredient, used to spice up a meal and often included in stuffings.

The best showcase for traditional Ukrainian cuisine is the Christmas Eve meatless meal prepared for January 6 (under the Julian calendar for traditional-

ists). This meal features 12 courses, symbolic of the 12 apostles present at the Last Supper. The meal begins with *kutya* (cooked wheat, ground poppy seed, and honey) and then moves on to pickled herring or pickled mushrooms, *borscht*, one or more preparations of fish, *holubtsi* with buckwheat or rice, *varenyky* with sauerkraut or potatoes, beans with prunes, sauerkraut with peas, baked beets, mushroom sauce, and ends with a dessert of pastries—*makivnyk* (poppy seed cake), *khrusty* (fried bands of dough cookies sprinkled with icing sugar), *pam-pushky* (doughnuts), *medivnyk* (honey cake) or *compote* (stewed dried fruit).

There is a religious context to Ukrainian festive dinners. At Christmas, a place is set at the table to welcome the spirits of dead relatives. And at Easter, the food that makes up the ceremonial meal is taken to church in a basket decorated with the finest embroidered linens to be blessed.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Although today Ukrainians dress in clothes basically indistinguishable from the rest of modern Europe, there are traditional costumes of Ukraine, which vary from region to region. In Kuvijovyc and Struk's *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Ukrainian folk dress is divided into five different regional forms: the Middle Dnieper region, Polisia, Podillia, central Galicia and Volhynia, and Subcarpathia and the Carpathian Mountain region.

The first region around the Dnieper River is characterized by women wearing a *plakhta* (a wrap-

around skirt), a *kersetka* (a blouse with wide sleeves and a bodice), and an *ochipok* (a headdress), while the men wore cut shirts. These clothes date back to the time of the ruling hetmanate.

In Polisia the clothes date back even further, to the princely era. It is here that the well-known Ukrainian embroidered blouse ablaze with red and a colorful woven skirt is worn by the women. Men dress in a shirt worn outside their trousers and a grey woolen cap (*maherka*) or a tall felt hat (*iolomok*).

The third region, Podillia, is recognized by the women's multicolored, embroidered blouses and the men's mantle. In central Galicia and Volhynia, linen is a popular fabric, and women wear corsets and head wraps which resemble turbans. The men don caftans, felt overcoats, or jackets. Finally, one of the most recognizable and colorful costumes comes from the Carpathian Mountain region, or Lemkivschyna. Women's skirts are decorated with folds and pleats, while men wear tunics and *leibyks*—the Lemko felt vests.

The greatest showcase for native folk dress for Ukrainian Americans is at dance festivals. The swirling ribbons of color and flashes of billowing satin pants tucked into red boots mix with the linen shirts, laced leather slippers, and felt hats as dancers representing different regions of Ukraine share the stage.

DANCES AND SONGS

There is a rich history of Ukrainian music. Some of the oldest traditions survive to this day through Christmas carols, originally sung in pagan times to celebrate the first long day of the season, and the Easter songs, or *hayivky*, also known as songs of spring. There were also songs to herald the arrival of summer and the harvest.

During the era of Cossack rule, other forms of music arose. The lyrico-epic “dumas” told of the struggles of the Cossacks. Music flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—there were even organized singing guilds. Notable composers include Semen Artemovsky, author of the opera *Zaporozhian Beyond the Danube* (written in 1863), and Mykola Lysenko (1842-1912), who collected thousands of folk songs in addition to composing original songs and operas. In the United States, the first Ukrainian American choir was organized in 1887 in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania.

Traditional instruments include the *bandura* or *kobza*, whose strings are plucked to make music; the free-reed wind instrument (*sopilka*); the stringed percussion dulcimer, or *tsymbaly*, played by hitting the strings with small hammers; and the violin.

Ukrainian folk dance differs in style and costume, depending on the region being represented and the occasion being celebrated. While dancers from central Ukraine wear bright pants, embroidered shirts, and swirling skirts and aprons, Hutsul dancers from the Carpathian mountain region wear linen trousers tucked into leather slippers and felt hats, and brandish long wooden axes over which the men leap or on which they balance the women. Dance themes deal with relations between men and women as well as particular occupations such as the dances of reapers, cobblers, coopers, and smiths.

Among the most popular dances, though, are the *hopak* and *kozachok*. The *hopak* was first danced by the Cossack of the Zaporhizian Sich in the sixteenth century and spread to the rest of Ukraine. Today it is predominantly associated with the Kiev region and incorporates both male and female dances. It is a fast-tempoed, improvised dance with complex acrobatic movements with the men leaping over one another and high into the air, while the women spin and step around them.

The *kozachok* also originated during the Cossack period in the sixteenth century. It is a folk dance with male and female roles, and often begins with a slow, melodic introduction before breaking into a quick tempo. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was performed, not only in Ukraine, but also in the royal courts of Russia, France, Hungary, and Poland. Both the *hopak* and *kozachok* are standards of Ukrainian folk dance today.

The 1920s and 1930s were decades of growth in Ukrainian dance, theater and music in the United States. A number of theaters and music halls, beginning with the first in New York City in 1924, were opened. Ukrainian American singers and dancers performed in a concert commemorating the bicentennial of George Washington's birth in 1932, and the New York Association of Friends of Ukrainian Music was created in 1934. Another highlight of the period was a performance by more than 300 Ukrainian American dancers from Vasile Avramenko's dance school at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City in 1931.

HOLIDAYS

Ukrainian Americans all celebrate the same holidays but at different times, depending on which calendar they use. The major holidays are religious. According to the “old” or Julian calendar, Christmas is celebrated January 7, with the ritual dinner the night before. Easter cycles and falls on a different weekend each year. For those who adhere to a more modern model, Christmas and Easter would

This Ukrainian
American woman
is demonstrating
the art of painting
Russian Easter eggs.



still be celebrated in a Ukrainian church, in the respective rite, but on December 25 and whatever weekend “English Easter” falls on.

One occasion Ukrainians do not traditionally celebrate is birthdays. More important are the “name days,” days during the year which are named for certain saints. For example, friends would gather to help celebrate the name day of any Stephens or Stepany on January 9 by the Julian calendar, St. Stephen’s Day.

The other major holiday is on January 22, commemorating the establishment of a free Ukraine on that date in 1917.

HEALTH ISSUES

There are no known afflictions specific to ethnic Ukrainians, although the most recent immigrants from the Chernobyl area are wary of the radiation exposure they received during the reactor meltdown of the late 1980s.

To some degree, folk medicine retains its place in the community in both attitude and practice. The mentally challenged were often considered to be “God’s people.” Physical diseases were often driven out by squeezing or sucking or were “frightened away” by shouting or beating. Diseases could also be “charmed away” by using magic incantations and prayers or treated with medicinal plants or, more “traditionally,” using baths, bleeding (using leeches or cupping), or massages. These methods tended to fall out of favor as Ukrainians were assimilated into the American mode of health care.

Ukrainians have readily joined the American medical establishment. In addition to the health-care professionals who emigrated to the United States, Ukrainian Americans are well represented in the medical fields, including dentistry and chiropractic. In fact, regional associations of physicians were quick to spring up in the major northeastern centers of Ukrainian American concentration.

LANGUAGE

Ukrainian belongs to the Slavic group of Indo-European languages. It is the second most widely spoken language of the 12 surviving members of this group. Historically, there used to exist a literary language called Old Church Slavonic which was common to all of Ukraine, in addition to the dialects of the regions. Unlike other languages such as German or English, the three main dialect groups—northern, southeastern and southwestern—are not particularly different from each other. The alphabet is made up of 33 Cyrillic characters, the last of which is a character which does not stand alone but follows various consonants to soften the sound. Each letter has a particular sound so reading is relatively simple, words being pronounced phonetically.

Ukrainian was the primary language of almost all first-generation Ukrainian Americans. Because of the political situation which they left at home, many also spoke Polish, Russian, or German. In 1980 less than 17 percent listed their primary language as Ukrainian. The Ukrainian language is taught in several universities and colleges, including Stanford University, University of Chicago, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Harvard University, University of Michigan, and Kent State University. Ukrainian language collections can be found in many public libraries including those in Denver, New York, Brooklyn, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Cleveland.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Common Ukrainian greetings based upon the time of day include: *Dobredeyn*—Good day; *Dobry ranok*—Good morning; and *Dobra nych*—Good night. Other often used expressions include: *Diakoyu*—Thank you; *proshu* (used both for “please” and “you’re welcome”), and *dopobachynya* (literally, “until we see each other again”, although more commonly translated as “goodbye”). For festive occasions the phrase *mnohaya lita* is used, which means “many happy years”; a corresponding song entitled “*Mnohaya lita*” is the standard birthday

song as well as being used for toasts for any happy occasion such as an anniversary or wedding.

There are standard, specific greetings and replies for Christmas and Easter. During the Christmas season, a visitor would enter a home saying, *Christos rodevsia*—Christ is born, and the host's reply would be *Slavim yoho*—Let us praise him. At Easter the greeting changes to *Christos voskrys*—Christ has risen, and the reply changes to *Voistenu voskrys*—He is risen indeed.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Particularly during the early waves of immigration, men came to America, settled, and then brought over their wives and children. Those who were single, after getting a job and a place to live, often sought to start a family and tended to seek a woman who was of the same ethnic background, if only for ease of communication. With each passing generation there has been a greater tolerance and incidence of marriage outside the Ukrainian culture. Similarly, divorce was and is still relatively rare; it made little economic sense in the beginning and was forbidden in the Catholic faith to which the majority of immigrants subscribed.

Because of geography and time, finding a wife or husband was not always easy. Dating, for early immigrants, was a quick practice centered on Ukrainian community social events—these new Americans worked long hours and had relatively little free time. The couple might attend a dance in a church hall or a concert. Even today, *zabavas* (dances) are prime meetings places for young people.

Around the turn of the century, Passaic, New Jersey, had a high concentration of single Ukrainian women. Most women were employed as domestics, often far from the foundry towns in large coastal cities. Some men left a wife behind in Ukraine and married again in America. A newspaper story published in 1896 told of such a case one step more unusual—the immigrant from Galicia left a wife there and married once in New Jersey and again in Michigan. After being arrested and then returning to his wife in Ukraine, he discovered his two children had grown to number four.

Like many other European immigrants, as the first generation of Ukrainian Americans aged, they often lived with one of their children to serve as babysitters for grandchildren, thereby freeing the parents to work. This also helped to continue the culture and language, and many children went to school speaking only Ukrainian.

Although the duties may have differed, both boys and girls were expected to help with household chores, especially in households where part of the income came from taking in boarders. Considerable responsibility fell on the older siblings to take care of those younger, and much was expected of them so that they could become successful and productive American citizens.

WEDDINGS

Weddings are a major celebration beginning with the negotiations for the bride's hand in marriage. The groom's family appoints a *starosty* (negotiator), who serves as an intermediary between the families of the prospective bride and groom. Originally, this figure did much of the work, even to haggling over the dowry of the bride. Today, if couples wish to include a *starosty*, it is more a symbolic role for a close relative or family friend and often translates into serving as master or mistress of ceremonies.

Before the wedding, a shower or *divych vechir* (maidens' evening) is hosted by the close friends and relatives of the bride. These are often large gatherings of women held in community banquet halls, although today they may be smaller, more intimate affairs hosted in homes. The groom and bride attend and sit beneath a wreath, after a full meal, opening the gifts which guests have brought.

One wedding day custom that is often retained is a blessing, at the home of the bride's parents, that precedes the church wedding ceremony. The bride, groom, and members of the immediate family join a priest to bless the impending union. Then everyone moves on to the church where a ceremony, which may include a full mass, takes place. During the ceremony there are certain customs, which are still kept up, such as placing crowns or wreaths of myrrh on the heads of the pair or binding the bride's and groom's hands with a long embroidered linen called a *rushnychok* and then having the priest lead them about the altar three times. The bride may also say a prayer at the altar and give a gift of flowers to the Virgin Mary, in hopes that she will bless the bride as both wife and mother.

Ukrainian wedding celebrations are large—it is not unusual to have more than 300 guests filling a church hall or banquet room—alive with song and dance, and lots of food. At the beginning of the reception, the bride and groom are greeted with bread and salt by their godparents. The bread represents the wish that they should never know hunger and the salt that they should never know bitterness. After the greeting, the newlyweds and their attendants sit at the head table and dinner begins.

A wedding dinner today reflects the tastes of the couple and their families and can include favorite Ukrainian and American dishes—*perogies* and roast beef. Although many couples have some sort of wedding cake, they may also have a traditional *kolach*; this is a bread with decorative flour, stalks of wheat and braids of dough adorning the top. The name is derived from the word *kolo* which means a circle, a symbol of eternity.

After dinner the dancing starts. Dancing is an integral part of any Ukrainian wedding, and there are a number of traditions built around the dancing segment. At one point in the evening, the bride's veil is removed and replaced with a kerchief, symbolizing her change from maiden to married woman. As the guests watch, encircling the bride and groom, the veil is then placed by the bridesmaids on the heads of single women in the circle who dance with their boyfriends, their fiancés, or groomsmen. Some couples also choose to incorporate throwing the bouquet and garter into the festivities.

BAPTISMS

Within the first year of a baby's birth, the child is christened. Close family friends or relatives are chosen as godparents and participate in the religious ceremony. This is a festive occasion which is often followed by a banquet hosted by the new parents. The link between godparent and child is maintained throughout the child's life and often the godparents are simply referred to as *chresna* (godmother) and *chresny* (godfather) for years after.

FUNERALS

Ukrainians are ritualistic and religious in their funeral rites as well. The actual religious ceremony and burial are preceded by one or two *panachydy*. These brief evening ceremonies are held in the funeral home, and friends and family of the deceased join for a memorial service. The ceremony is conducted by a priest and ends with the singing of the funeral song, "Vichnaya Pam'yat" (Ever Remembered).

The funeral itself is a religious occasion and can include a funeral mass in a church. Family and friends then accompany the casket to the gravesite (few people are cremated) and then repair to a church or community hall or family member's home for a *tryzna* (funeral remembrance luncheon).

One of the most significant features of a Ukrainian funeral is that the memorial service is repeated 40 days after the person dies, and then again annually. There is also a festival, originally associated with the pagan cult of the dead, called

Zeleni *sviata* or Rosalia, which is dedicated to visiting and celebrating the dead. It is held 50 days after Easter, and today people meet at the cemetery to have a special mass said in honor of the dead.

EDUCATION

Education for the initial immigrants was a luxury few could afford. With each new wave, Ukrainians came to the United States with more and more education. Many of the artists and professionals who arrived between the wars had been educated in Europe and, as soon as they learned English, were able to pursue their work in the United States. There was also a growing number who studied at American schools and whose children were encouraged to do the same, both boys and girls. Wherever possible, children were educated in parochial schools because religion played a large role in their lives. Those who went on to post-secondary education tended to concentrate in the professions: medicine, law, engineering, graduate studies, and the arts.

Ukrainian American students decided to establish a network based on their common ethnic background soon after the third major wave of immigration. For example, the Federation of Ukrainian Students Organization of America, based in New York City, held its first congress April 10-12, 1953. This included 22 regional and university associations of students across America.

In addition to supporting religion, Ukrainian Americans also support political causes, the arts, sports, and education. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, which was founded in the United States in 1947 and included Albert Einstein among its members in the 1950s, supports science and research activities; the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., founded in 1940, coordinates legal and material support for Ukrainians in Europe while raising the profile of Ukraine in America; and the Ukrainian National Association of America, originally established in 1894 as a fraternal benefit society to provide insurance to Ukrainian immigrants, supports the social education and welfare of Ukrainian immigrants while providing aid to the "old country."

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

As well as raising their families, women played a large role by adding to the family income, working as domestics, taking in boarders, working in kitchens or factories, or contributing to the family business. This was hard work; for example, working as a domestic meant seven-day work weeks, almost 13 hours each day, with just Sunday evenings free.

Women were also responsible for maintaining the language and culture, specifically through festive occasions such as Christmas and Easter. The wife and mother would spend hours baking and cooking the multicourse celebratory dinners, participating in the religious life of her family and community, and serving on various women's nationalistic committees.

Many women joined the organizations whose purpose was to promote Ukrainian interests in the diaspora. In addition to joining those groups which accepted men, women also formed their own associations such as the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Inc. (a national nonpartisan, nonsectarian organization founded in 1925), whose purpose is to unite women of Ukrainian birth and descent living in the United States to promote their common philanthropic, educational, civic, and artistic interests in addition to assisting Ukrainians in Europe, the Ukrainian Women's Alliance, and the United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America. The first congress of Ukrainian Women in America was held in New York in 1932. Women's organizations managed to combine Ukrainian and American interests (celebrating the birthdays of female poet Lesia Ukrainka along with those of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln in February) and tended to be less insular than men's organizations.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Even in their early settlement patterns, new Ukrainian immigrants tended to settle near other immigrants, particularly others from Eastern and Central Europe such as Polish, Russian, and Jewish immigrants. Because of the similarities in language (and the fact that many Ukrainians emigrated while their country was under the occupation of Russia, Poland, or Austro-Hungary), Ukrainians, Poles, and Russians could communicate easily even before they learned English. It also gave them the sense of community which they had left behind when they crossed the ocean to America.

RELIGION

Most Ukrainian Americans belong to one of two faiths, Catholic (Eastern, or Byzantine, Rite) and Eastern Orthodox. The Catholics are greater in number, almost twice as numerous as the Orthodox group. The first Ukrainian Catholic church in the United States, St. Michael the Archangel, was built in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, in 1885 under the direction of the Reverend Ivan Volansky, an immigrant priest who had arrived the year before.

In the late nineteenth century there was a struggle within the Church and in 1899 the Reverend Volansky was called back to Lviv by his superiors, who had buckled under pressure from Vatican authorities who said that Volansky was an Eastern Rite Catholic and that the Latin Rite American Catholic bishops opposed the organization of separate Ukrainian Catholic parishes. This led some Ukrainians to switch to the Russian Orthodox faith. Finally, in 1913 the Vatican acceded to the demands of Ukrainian Catholics in the United States and established an exarchate which made all Ukrainian Catholic parishes, which numbered more than 200 at the time, a separate administrative unit which reported only to the Pope.

The Ukrainian Orthodox church in America was set up in 1928 by ex-Catholic Ukrainians. In addition, thousands of Catholic Ukrainians converted to the Russian Orthodox church after the consecrated priest of a Minneapolis parish, Alexis Toth, who was a widower, was not accepted by the Roman Catholic archbishop (because he had been married). Toth broke away to join the Orthodoxy; his 365 parishioners followed him, and tens of thousands of immigrants from Galicia, Lemkivschyna, and Transcarpathia filled out the ranks.

Ultimately, there were many battles among the dominant religious groups, which included Byzantine Rite Catholic Ruthenians/Ruthyns as they called themselves, Ukrainian Catholics, and Orthodox "Russians." Today the Ukrainian Catholic church (Byzantine Rite) and Orthodoxy remain strong in the United States.

There are also Ukrainian Protestants, including the Stundinst sect, a Baptist denomination which settled in the United States in 1890. This group settled first in Virginia and then went west to North Dakota, where they established a settlement called Kiev, named after the city in which they had lived in Ukraine.

In 1905 Ukrainian Protestants founded the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America. In 1922, the Union of Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Churches was established to consolidate the Ukrainian Protestant parishes.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Most of the early immigrants of the late nineteenth century worked in the steel mills and foundries of the northeastern states. Within the ethnic urban communities where they lived, other entrepreneurial Ukrainian Americans opened grocery or general

stores, butcher shops, and taverns. Women contributed to the family income by taking in boarders and doing their laundry and cooking. Overall, it was characteristic of this first generation of settlers to remain in the job, or at least the industry, with which they began.

Although their pay was not substantial, Ukrainian Americans as a group rarely took advantage of government assistance (where available) or unemployment benefits. They were also among the most law-abiding immigrants—in his *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History*, Orest Subtelny notes that between 1904 and 1908, only 0.02 percent were accused of breaking any law.

By the time of the second immigration wave between the world wars, there was a shift in employment trends. Second-generation Ukrainian Americans had greater opportunity for higher education, and the second influx of immigrants tended to be better educated themselves. From that point forward, the university graduation rate grew, with medicine, law, engineering, and teaching being the principal professions. This is reflected in the growth of Ukrainian American professional and business clubs across the United States. For example, membership in the Society of Ukrainian Engineers in America grew from 82 members at the end of 1949 to 363 just five years later.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Ukrainian Americans were involved in local, state, and national politics from the earliest years of mass immigration. Dr. Nicholas Sudzilovsky-Russel was elected to and became presiding officer of the Hawaiian senate on February 10, 1901.

In 1925, George Chylak began a five-year term as mayor of Oliphant, Pennsylvania. Mary Beck (Mariia Bek), born in 1908 in Ford City, Pennsylvania, was the first woman elected to the Detroit Common Council. She served as the council's president from 1952 to 1962 and was the acting mayor of Detroit from 1958 to 1962.

In state politics, the lawyer O. Malena took a seat in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1932, the lawyer S. Jarema won a seat in the New York legislature in 1935, and Judge John S. Gonas (born 1907) took a seat in the Indiana legislature in 1936. Gonas was also a senator from 1940-1948 and a Democratic candidate for vice president in 1960.

Ukrainian Americans also garnered the attention of government rather quickly. On March 16, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed April 21 a day “upon which the people of the United

States may make such contributions as they feel disposed to aid the stricken Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in the belligerent countries,” following discussion in Congress on the Ukrainian cause. And it was President Dwight D. Eisenhower who unveiled a stature of poet and nationalist Taras Shevchenko in Washington, D.C., to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the poet's birth.

Ukrainians, although some belonged to Communist organizations such as the Haidamaky (established in 1907 in New York), tend to be conservative in their politics and, therefore, tend to support the Republican party. But in 1910, the Ukrainian National Association of America (UNA) actually encouraged people to vote for the socialists since neither Republicans nor Democrats were addressing the concerns of the workers. Leftist factions included the Ukrainian Workers Association which broke away from the UNA in 1918 and the Ukrainian Federation of Socialist Parties in America. The other choice for Ukrainian Americans in the 1920s was the conservative-monarchist Sich movement.

Ukrainian Americans are also involved in supporting political change in Ukraine itself. Demonstrations were frequent in the 1920s and 1930s and included the participation of thousands of men, women, and children: the White House was picketed in 1922 on the issues of Polish occupation of Eastern Galicia; about 20,000 Ukrainian Americans marched in Philadelphia in 1930 to protest this same Polish occupation of Western Ukraine; and a 1933 march in Detroit was held to protest the Soviet-induced famine in Ukraine.

MILITARY

Early records reveal that Ukrainian Americans served in George Washington's army during the American Revolution. Mykola Bizun, Ivan Lator, Petro Polyn, and Stephen Zubley are just some of the Ukrainian names that are listed in Washington's register. There was also a group that fought in the Union Army during the American Civil War. Officers Joseph Krynicky, Ivan Mara, and Andrey Ripka served, and the Union dead included Ukrainian Americans Julius Koblansky, Petro Semen, and I. H. Yarosh. All of this, however, was relatively limited involvement since the major waves of immigration were to follow.

Most significant for the Ukrainian Americans during the years of World War I was the concurrent bid for a free Ukraine. World War I was heralded as an opportunity to defeat Austria or Russia, both of which ruled parts of Ukraine at the time. The Federation of Ukrainians in America was formed in

1915 to inform the American public about Ukrainian goals. In 1917—the same year that President Woodrow Wilson declared April 21 as “Ukrainian Day”—dreams were realized and the Ukrainian Peoples Republic was established. But Wilson supported the Russian empire, and not long after, the free Ukraine fell. In addition, many Ukrainians, particularly in Canada, were deemed to be Austrian citizens and, hence, on the wrong side; thousands were incarcerated as enemy aliens.

During World War II thousands of Ukrainian Americans served in the armed forces. Nicholas Minue of Carteret, New Jersey, was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his single-handed destruction of a German machine gun position. Nestor Chylak, Jr., who went on to be an American League baseball umpire, received the Purple Heart and Silver Star and was almost blinded during the Battle of the Bulge. And Lt. Colonel Theodore Kalakula was awarded the Silver Star and two oak leaf clusters for saving medical supplies during a Japanese air raid and for his attack against the Japanese after the company commander had been wounded. Kalakula was also the first Ukrainian American graduate of West Point.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Ukrainian Americans, in all areas of endeavor, have made lasting contributions to American life. Some of these individuals and their accomplishments follow.

ACADEMIA

George Kistiakovsky (1900-1982), a research chemist, immigrated in 1925 to the United States, where he became a research fellow at Princeton University, after which he joined the faculty of Harvard University in 1930. He was the author of more than 200 articles on chemical kinetic gas-phase reactions, molecular spectroscopy, and thermochemistry of organic compounds. He received many awards including the U.S. President's Medal of Merit in 1946, the Exceptional Service Award of the U.S. Air Force in 1957, and the National Medal of Sciences from the president in 1965. He also served as a consultant to the Manhattan Project, the initiative to develop the atomic bomb in the early 1940s and was appointed head of the explosives division of the Los Alamos Laboratory. In 1959 he was named Special Assistant for Science and Technology by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Kistiakovsky's daughter, Vera (born in 1928 in Princeton, New Jersey) is an accomplished academ-

ic in her own right. She completed her Ph.D. in nuclear chemistry at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1952 and became a professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1963.

Other Ukrainian American academics include George Vernadsky, (1897-1972) a historian at Yale University from 1946-1956 and author of a five-volume history of Russian and a biography of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky; Stephen Timoshenko (1878-1972), a specialist in theoretical and applied mechanics, vibration, and elasticity who taught at the University of Michigan and Stanford University from 1927 to 1960; Lew Dobriansky, (born 1918 in New York City), economist and author of *Decisions for a Better America*, published in 1960; and Myron Kuropas (born 1932 in Chicago), professor of educational foundations at Northern Illinois University and special assistant for ethnic affairs to President Gerald Ford in 1976-1977. Kuropas has written several books on Ukrainians in North America including *To Preserve a Heritage: The Story of the Ukrainian Immigration in the United States*, published in 1984.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Ukrainian Americans who found their way to Hollywood include director Edward Dmytryk (1908–) and Academy Award winner Jack Palance. Dmytryk directed a number of Hollywood films including *Murder My Sweet*, *Crossfire*, and *The Caine Mutiny*.

Jack Palance, born Walter Palahniuk on February 12, 1920, in Lattimer, Pennsylvania, made his first film, *Panic in the Streets*, in 1950. He began his career as a professional boxer in the 1940s after he returned from a tour of duty in the U.S. Army Air Corps. He made his stage debut on Broadway in *Silver Tassel* in 1949, and also appeared in stage productions of *Julius Caesar*, *The Tempest* and *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Among his more than 50 films are *Shane*, *Batman*, and *City Slickers*, for which he won an Academy Award as Best Supporting Actor in 1991. He had his own television series, “Bronk,” in 1975, and appeared on various programs over more than four decades.

One of the most versatile individuals in Ukrainian dance and film was Wasyl Avramenko. Born in 1895 in Stebliv, Ukraine, he founded the First School of Ukrainian National Dances in Kalisz, Poland, in 1921. After he immigrated to the United States he directed performances at the Metropolitan Opera House, the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, the White House in 1935, and took dance tours to Brazil, Argentina, Australia, and Israel throughout

the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. He established his own dance studio in New York in 1952. Avramenko also did work in film; in 1936, he organized a Ukrainian film company and produced two movies using the texts of two Ukrainian classic plays, *Zaporozhetz Za Dunaem* (*The Cossack from Beyond the Danube*) and *Natalka Poltavka* (*Natalka from Poltava*).

William Tytla (1904-1968) made his mark in Hollywood animation. He was born in Yonkers, New York, and worked at Walt Disney Studios as an animator, creating Dumbo and the Seven Dwarfs before moving to Paramount, Famous Studios, and Twentieth Century-Fox, where he was director of a cartoon series including Popeye, Little Audrey, and Little Lulu.

Among others in this area of the arts were: Nick Adams, born Adamschock (1931-1968); Anna Sten, born Stenski-Sujakevich (1908-1993), star of *The Brothers Karamazov* and *Nana*; and 1940s Hollywood leading man, John Hodiak (1914-1955) who was married to actress Anne Baxter and starred in Alfred Hitchcock's *Lifeboat* with Tallulah Bankhead and *The Harvey Girls* opposite Judy Garland.

JOURNALISM

There are many Ukrainian Americans who have contributed to a rich heritage of Ukrainian-language journalism in the United States. Reverend Ivan Volansky (1857-1926) published *Ameryka*, the first Ukrainian newspaper in the United States in 1886.

Because of the rapid growth of the Ukrainian press in the United States, there are hundreds of women and men who could be listed here. A partial list includes: Cecelia Gardetska (born 1898), who worked on journals in Ukraine and America including *Nashe Zhitia* (*Our Life*) in Philadelphia and served as the head of the Department of Journalists for the Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations in the United States; Bohdan Krawciw (born 1904), who in addition to editing more than 15 journals and newspapers was general editor of Volume 2 of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, published in 1971; and Volodymyr Nestorovych (born 1893), also an editor of a number of Ukrainian-language newspapers in the United States, although he was an engineer and economist by occupation.

LITERATURE

Tania Kroitor Bishop, born Shevchuk, published *An Overture to Future Days* in 1954. This volume of poetry was written in both English and Ukrainian. Bishop also translated other works from Ukrainian into English.

A circle of young poets who called themselves the New York Group of Poets, among them Bohdan Boychuk (1927–), Patricia Kylyna (P. Warren), Yurii (George) Tarnavsky (1934–), and B. Pevny (1931–), published its first volume of modern poetry in 1959. Boychuk became a U.S. citizen in 1955 and worked as an engineer in addition to publishing plays and poetry.

MUSIC

Professor Alexander Koshetz (1875-1944) directed the first concert of Ukrainian church music to an American audience at Carnegie Hall, New York City, in 1936. Hryhorii Kytastyi (1907-1984), musical director, composer and bandurist, is the author of more than 30 melodies of Ukrainian songs for solo and choir with bandura (a traditional stringed instrument) or piano accompaniment. He directed the Bandurists Ensemble in numerous concerts throughout Europe, the United States, and Canada.

Other notables in music include: Nicholas Malko, director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra from 1945 to 1957; Mykhailo Haivoronsky (1892-1949), composer and founder of the United Ukrainian Chorus in the United States in 1930; Paul Pecheniha-Ouglitzky (Uhlytsky) (1892-1948), double-bass player, composer, and conductor, who lived and worked in New York and was orchestrator for NBC radio; and Virko Baley (1938–), pianist, composer, champion of Ukrainian modern music and chamber music, and conductor of the Las Vegas Symphony Orchestra.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Aeronautical engineer Igor Sikorsky, born in Kiev in 1889 (d. 1972), immigrated to the United States and formed the Sikorsky Aero Engineering Company in 1923. This company built the S-29, the first twin-engine plane made in the United States. Sikorsky is also credited with designing the first helicopter (the VS-300, first flown in 1939) and the S-40 (the first large American four-engine clipper, built in 1931).

Michael Yarymovich (1933–) served as chief scientist of the U.S. Air Force and assistant director to the Apollo Flight Systems in the 1960s. In 1975, he was appointed Assistant Administrator for Laboratory and Field Coordination of the Energy Research and Development Administration.

SPORTS

Many Ukrainian Americans became successful in the National Hockey League (NHL). Terry Saw-

chuk (1929-1970) was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1971 with 103 career shutouts as a goalie having played 21 seasons with Detroit and Toronto. Bill Moisenko (d. 1994), a right wing for the Chicago Black Hawks, was selected for the all-star team in 1947 and scored a record three goals in 21 seconds in one 1952 game. New York Ranger teammates Walter Tkaczuk and Dave Balon were two-thirds of the NHL's highest scoring line during the 1969-1970 season. And in 1971, Johnny Bucyk, Vic Stasiuk, and Bronko Horvath formed the famous "Uke" line in the all-star game. More recently, Ukrainian American hockey players have included Mike Bossy, Dale Hawerchuk, and Mike Krushelyski.

In baseball, there was umpire Nestor Chylak, Jr. (1922-1982). Chylak was born in Peckville, Pennsylvania and studied engineering at Rutgers University before going to war from 1942 to 1946. He was nearly blinded at the Battle of the Bulge and was awarded the Silver Star and Purple Heart. His major league officiating career spanned three decades, from 1954 to 1978, when he retired as an umpire in the American League.

Football was another sport in which Ukrainian Americans excelled. Bronko (Bronislav) Nagurski (1908-1990) was a famous tackle for the Chicago Bears in the 1930s and 1940s. He helped lift the Bears from ninth to third place in the league and was an all-league player for three consecutive years. Nagurski was elected to the National Football Hall of Fame in 1951. He also made a career as a professional wrestler and won the world heavyweight title in 1937 and 1939. Charles Bednarick, center for the Philadelphia Eagles from 1949 until 1962, was elected to the National Football Hall of Fame in 1967.

Ukrainian American boxers included Steve Halaiko, a member of the 1932 U.S. Olympic team and Golden Gloves champion; and John Jadick, junior heavyweight champion in the 1930s. Wrestler Mike Mazurki (1909-1990) (born Michael Mazurski) went on to a career in films in the 1940s. In the 1960s there were golfers Mike Souchak and Steve Melnik, and soccer star Zenon Snylyk, a member of the 1964 U.S. Olympic soccer team and World Cup team.

VISUAL ARTS

Two of the best-known Ukrainian American artists celebrated their birthdays one day apart. Edward Kozak was born January 26, 1902, in Hirne, Ukraine. Having studied at the Art Academy in Lviv he immigrated to the United States, becoming a citizen in 1956. In addition to participating in exhibitions across the United States, Canada, and

Europe, he has illustrated a number of books and from 1951-1954 was a performer on WWJ-TV in Detroit. He established his own painting studios in Detroit and Warren, Michigan, in 1950 and for his efforts in educational films was twice awarded first prize by the American Teachers' Association. Fellow artist Jacques Hnizdovsky, born January 27, 1915, in Pylypcze, Ukraine, studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw and Zagreb before settling in New York City in 1949. His career has included a number of one-man shows in North America and Europe. He is best known for his woodcuts, and his work is featured in collections in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the White House, and the Museum of Modern Arts, Spain.

Another influential figure in the arts community was sculptor Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964), who settled in the United States in 1923. He opened his own art school in New York City in 1939 and served as sculptor in residence at a number of American universities. At the time of his death, he had just completed his 199th one-man exhibition.

Ukrainian American artists established their own association in 1952. More than 100 painters, graphic artists, and sculptors were part of the original group, which included Kozak, Hnizdovsky, Michael Moroz, Michael Cheresnovsky (1911-), and Nicholas Mukhyn.

Yaroslava Surmach-Mills is another well-known artist. Born in New York City in 1925, she graduated from the Cooper Union Art School and has worked as an art instructor, as art editor for *Humpty Dumpty Magazine*, and as an illustrator for numerous children's books. Her work, "Carol Singers," was chosen as a UNICEF Christmas card design in 1965.

MEDIA

PRINT

America.

Published by the Providence Association, an insurance company, it is a weekly tabloid with separate issues in Ukrainian and English, with a circulation of about 6,000. First printed in 1912, this Catholic paper covers politics, sports, and news about Ukraine and the United States.

Contact: Osip Roshka, Editor.

Address: 817 North Franklin Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19123.

Telephone: (215) 627-0233.

Narodnia Volya.

Published by the Ukrainian Fraternal Association (UFA). First printed in 1911, this weekly publication has a circulation of about 3,000. There are two editors, one for the Ukrainian pages and another for *The Ukrainian Herald*—the English-language section. The paper includes a literary section, news from Ukraine and the United States as it concerns Ukrainian Americans, and updates on the life of the Association. The UFA also publishes an English-language quarterly called *Forum* on the arts and history of Ukraine.

Contact: Nicholas Duplak, Ukrainian Editor; or Serge Kowalchuk, Jr., English Editor.
Address: 440 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, Pennsylvania 18503.
Telephone: (717) 342-8897.

New Star Ukrainian Catholic Newspaper.

The organ of the St. Nicholas Diocese in Chicago, this bulletin of church news has a circulation of 3,500 and is published in both Ukrainian and English every three weeks.

Contact: Ivana Gorchynsky, Editor.
Address: 2208 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622.
Telephone: (312) 772-1919.

Svoboda.

A daily Ukrainian-language newspaper with a circulation of 14,000, it includes local and Ukrainian news stories and advertisements. A weekly English-language newspaper, *Ukrainian Weekly*, is published out of the same location.

Contact: Zenon Snylyk, Editor of *Svoboda*; or Roma Hadzewych, Editor of *Ukrainian Weekly*.
Address: 2200 Route 10, Parsippany, New Jersey 07054
Telephone: (201) 434-0237.

Ukrainian News.

Originally published in Germany in 1944, this Detroit-based paper has an international circulation. It is published weekly by the Bahriany Foundation (a foundation of writers named for Ukrainian writer and political leader Ivan Bahriany). The content includes news as well as literary articles.

Contact: Serhiy Kozak, Editor.
Address: 19411 West Warren Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48228.
Telephone: (313) 336-8291.

RADIO

WCEV and WVVX.

“Ukrainian Variety Hour,” hosted by Maria Chychula from 9:00 to 10:00 a.m. daily on FM 103.1, and on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday evenings, 7:00 to 8:00 pm on AM 1450. She has been hosting these cultural radio programs since the late 1960s.

Contact: Maria Chychula.
Address: 2224 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622.
Telephone: (312) 278-1836.

WHLD (1270).

“Sharvan’s Ukrainian Radio Program,” hosted by Wasyl Sharvan for more than 45 years, is a weekly program that airs from 1:30 to 4:30 p.m. on Saturdays and includes commentary, news, and music.

Contact: Wasyl Sharvan.
Address: 701 Fillmore Avenue, Buffalo, New York 14212.
Telephone: (716) 895-0700.

WNZK.

“Song of Ukraine,” “Slovo,” and “Ukrainian Catholic Hour” comprise three hours of Ukrainian programming weekly for the more than 100,000 Ukrainian Americans in the metro Detroit area. “Song of Ukraine” is a commentary program, airing Tuesdays at 9:00 p.m.; “Slovo,” airing Fridays at 8:00 p.m., is a program hosted by and for new immigrants; and “Ukrainian Catholic Hour,” airing on Saturdays at noon, combines information, sermons, and music for Catholics of the Byzantine Rite.

Contact: Jerry Tertzakian.
Address: 1837 Torquay, Royal Oak, Michigan 48073.
Telephone: (810) 557-3500.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States.

Founded in 1950, it was established to organize and sponsor scholars pursuing Ukrainian studies. The facilities include a museum and library which has material on the history of Ukrainian immigration to the United States and books on Ukrainian history and literature. It also publishes a scholarly journal, *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences*.

Contact: Prof. William Omelchenko,
Vice-President.
Address: 206 West 100th Street, New York,
New York 10025-5018.
Telephone: (212) 222-1866.
Fax: (212) 864-3977.

Ukrainian American Youth Association.
Operates summer camps and offers various cultural and recreational activities.

Contact: Stefa Hryckowian, President.
Address: 136 Second Avenue, New York,
New York 10003.
Telephone: (212) 477-3084.

Ukrainian Catholic Church.
First parish in the United States, established in 1885 in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania.

Contact: Archbishop Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk.
Address: Archdiocese of Philadelphia,
827 North Franklin Street, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania 19123.
Telephone: (215) 627-0143.

Ukrainian National Women's League of America.
A non-partisan, non-sectarian organization that sponsors educational scholarships and cultural events.

Contact: Anna Krawczuk, President.
Address: 108 Second Avenue, New York,
New York 10003.
Telephone: (212) 533-4646.
Fax: (212) 254-2672.
E-mail: unwla@worldnet.att.net.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America.
Founded in 1928 by Ukrainians who emigrated from Russia, Bukovina, Galicia, and Poland.

Contact: Father F. Istochyn, Secretary to the
Archbishop.
Address: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St.
Vladimir, 6729 North Fifth Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19126.
Telephone: (212) 927-2287.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.
Established January 22, 1968, with financial and moral support from large numbers of Ukrainian

Americans, Ukrainian Studies at Harvard began in 1957.

Contact: Prof. Roman Szporluk, Director.
Address: Harvard University, 1583 Massachusetts
Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.
Telephone: (617) 495-4053.
Fax: (617) 495-8097.
E-mail: huri@fas.harvard.edu.
Website: <http://www.sabre.org/huri>.

Shevchenko Scientific Society.
Founded in 1947 in New York City to support research and to assist immigrant Ukrainian scholars in adjusting to life in the United States, it was named for the famous nineteenth-century Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. The society organizes scientific sessions, lectures, and conferences as well as maintaining archives and a library.

Contact: Leonid Rudnytsky, President.
Address: 63 Fourth Avenue, New York,
New York 10003.
Telephone: (212) 254-5130.

Ukrainian Center for Social Research
Independent, nonprofit research center. Examines history, problems, and present status of people of Ukrainian origin, focusing on demographic, social, cultural, economic, and related issues.

Contact: Eugene Fedorenko, Director.
Address: 203 2nd Ave. New York,
New York 10003.
Telephone: (212) 477-1200.
Fax: (212) 777-7201.

Ukrainian Institute of America.
Founded in 1948, the Institute maintains a permanent exhibition of Ukrainian folk arts, sponsors lectures, concerts and conferences, and houses a Ukrainian historical gallery. It was established with funds from Volodymyr Dzus, a wealthy Ukrainian industrialist.

Contact: Volodymyr Barenecki, President.
Address: 2 East 79th Street, New York,
New York 10021.
Telephone: (212) 772-8489.

Ukrainian Museum-Archives Inc.
Established in 1952, the archives emphasize the period of the Ukrainian Revolution and Ukrainian immigration to the United States after World War II. The archives include about 20,000 volumes in addition to archival materials.

Contact: Stepan Malanczuk, Director.
Address: 1202 Kenilworth Avenue, Cleveland,
Ohio 44113.
Telephone: (216) 781-4329.

Ukrainian National Museum.

Established in 1958 through the merger of the Ukrainian Archive-Museum in Chicago and the Ukrainian National Museum and Library of Ontario, Canada.

Address: 2453 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago,
Illinois.

Telephone: (312) 276-6565.

SOURCES FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Encyclopedia of Ukraine, five volumes, edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyc and Danylo Husar Struk. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984-1993.

Kuropas, Myron B. *The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations 1884-1954*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Subtelny, Orest. *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Ukraine and Ukrainians Throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora, edited by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko. Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc., 1994.

Ukrainians in North America, edited by Dmytro M. Shtohryn. Champaign, Illinois: Association for the Advancement of Ukrainian Studies, 1975.

Werstman, Vladimir. *The Ukrainians in America 1608-1975*. New York: Oceana Publications, 1976.

URUGUAYAN AMERICANS

by
Jane E. Spear

Although Uruguayans constituted 43 percent of all immigrants to the United States coming from Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s, they only made up a small part of the large U.S. Hispanic population.

OVERVIEW

Uruguay is a country in South America that measures 68,037 square miles (176,216 square kilometers), approximately the size of the state of Oklahoma. It is located along the South Atlantic Ocean coast of South America, between Argentina to the west, and Brazil to the northeast, sitting south of the Equator. The official name of Uruguay is the “Oriental Republic of Uruguay,” or, Republica Oriental del Uruguay. The word Oriental refers to its eastern position on the South American continent. The republic consists of 19 departments, which are divisions similar to states. Montevideo, in the department of the same name, is the country’s largest city.

Uruguay’s population by 1999 was 3.2 million. Eighty-six percent of the population was of white European descent, 6 percent was black, and 8 percent was *mestizo*, an ethnic mixture of white and indigenous descent. At that time, the life expectancy was 69.3 years for men; and, 75.7 years for women. The country enjoyed a literacy rate of 95 percent of the population over the age of 15. An estimated 66 percent of Uruguayans are Roman Catholics, although Uruguayan society was secularized early in its history as an independent republic. Church and State were officially and legally separated in 1917. Less than half of the adult population regularly attended church by the late 1980s.

Other Protestant denominations coexist with and have the same legal status as the Catholic

church, although Catholics are significantly in the majority. In 1856, Italian immigrants founded one denomination, the Waldensian Evangelic Church of the River Plate, or Río de la Plata, in both Uruguay and Argentina. The Waldensian church began during a religious revival near Lyon, France during the twelfth century, predating the Protestant Reformation that swept through Europe in the sixteenth century. The church is named for the founder of the movement, Valdo, or Valdesius. The 15 Waldensian churches in Uruguay join with 8 in Argentina with a total membership of 15,000.

The flag and coat of arms of Uruguay were both adopted in 1830. The sun is represented on each of them. On the flag it sits in the upper left-hand corner. The flag's nine blue stripes over a white background represent the number of divisions the country was originally divided into upon gaining independence. The symbols on the coat of arms are scales, which symbolize equality and justice; a horse and ox, which represent liberty and plenty; and the hill of Montevideo, representing strength.

HISTORY

The Charrua Indians were the largest group of indigenous inhabitants in the land area that was to become Uruguay. In 1516 when the Spanish navigator Juan Díaz de Solís landed on Uruguayan shores, the Charruas immediately killed him and his crew. Uruguay did not possess the gold, uranium, and other precious metals abundantly present in other South American countries, in demand by the Spanish conquistadors as well as other Europeans. Because of that, very few Europeans had any interest in developing settlements there. Not until Portuguese soldiers arrived from Brazil in 1680 did Europeans begin to settle permanently. The Spanish colonists who founded Montevideo in 1726 did so more to prevent Portuguese expansion into Uruguay than for an interest in the land. During much of the early to mid-1700s the Portuguese and Spanish battled for control of the entire area. By 1777, the year following the United States' declaration of independence from England, the Spanish had managed to settle most of Uruguay. It then became a Spanish colony, a section of the Viceroyalty of La Plata. La Plata included Argentina, Paraguay, and portions of Brazil, Bolivia, and Chile. The natives battled with the Europeans during this period, and were defeated. Those who escaped either death in battle or death by the hitherto unknown diseases the Europeans had brought with them retreated to the interior regions of the South American continent. This accounts for the predominance of the white race in Uruguay even in modern times.

José Gervasio Artigas was a soldier who organized his own army to fight for freedom from Spanish colonial rule. In 1811 Artigas' near-defeat of the Spaniards when he laid siege to Montevideo was thwarted when Portuguese troops arrived from Brazil and attacked the Uruguayan and the Spanish armies. Neither Artigas nor his followers would submit to Portuguese or Spanish rule, so they fled inland to neighboring Paraguay and Argentina, nearly emptying Uruguay of people. When the Spanish surrendered in 1814 and ended Spanish rule, Artigas captured Montevideo for Uruguay. Only two years later, in 1816, the Portuguese again attacked, and this time the struggle lasted four years. At that time the Portuguese made Uruguay a part of Brazil, and Artigas went into exile.

By 1825, when a group of Uruguayan patriots known as "The Immortal Thirty-Three" staged a rebellion against Brazil, the renewed fight for Uruguayan independence emerged. Their armies gained control of the countryside within months, with the support of Argentina. Due to British intervention sparked because of a blockade that threatened British trade, Argentina and Brazil recognized Uruguay as an independent republic. The country adopted its first constitution in 1830. José Fructuoso Rivera became the nation's first president. In 1835 Manuel Oribe followed as second president, but an attempt by Rivera to regain power in 1836 began a civil war. Rivera's troops, known as the Colorados, who were from the cities, and Oribe's troops, the Blancos, primarily landowners from the rural areas, fought for 16 years, until 1852, when the Colorados defeated the Blancos. The two groups eventually developed into Uruguay's two major political parties, and the struggles between the two forces continued for much of the rest of the nineteenth century, with power shifting back and forth between them. The Colorados had gained control in 1865 with Brazil's help. The Blancos subsequently received assistance from Paraguay. Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay then joined forces against Paraguay into what was called "The War of the Triple Alliance," defeating Paraguay in 1870. The Colorados became the dominant party, as immigrants flowed into Montevideo from all over South America and Europe.

MODERN ERA

While some Colorado leaders were dictators, under the rule of the liberal Colorado José Batlle y Ordóñez, Uruguay entered an era of social and governmental reform. Batlle held to democratic ideals, and advocated social justice for all. During his leadership, new laws established free education, minimum wages and

workers' rights, and free medical care for the poor as well as marriage and divorce legislation. The government took benevolent control of public utilities and factories and established national banks and railroads. It was during his term in office that the church and state were officially separated.

With its stable domestic economy and social welfare programs, Uruguay prospered even during the Great Depression and World War II, when its products, especially meat and wool, were in demand by the Allies, with whom they joined forces. Uruguay had cut all diplomatic ties with Germany, Japan, and Italy in 1942 but did not declare war on them until 1945, near the end of the conflict, and no Uruguayan troops fought in World War II. When the United Nations was founded in 1945, Uruguay became a charter member.

When Uruguayans approved a new constitution in 1951 that abolished the presidency and set up a nine-member National Council of Government. The intention of the new government was to allow the Colorados and the Blancos to share power. But by the next year Uruguay's economy began to collapse. Foreign trade was no longer prosperous due to a loss of agricultural exports. Both inflation and the cost of social programs grew rapidly. The grave economic situation continued into the 1960s. Many Uruguayans left for other countries, principally Argentina, the United States, Australia, Spain, Brazil, and Venezuela. By 1967, the inefficient National Council was abolished in favor of the re-establishment of the presidential government.

Economic downturn gave rise to political unrest. One group of urban guerrillas known as the Tupamaros kidnapped and murdered many Uruguayan officials. When President Juan María Bordaberry was elected in 1972, he declared war on the Tupamaros. He crushed the movement in a few months, but by 1973 Bordaberry was president in name only. The military took control of the government and suspended the constitution. They replaced Bordaberry in 1976 with Aparicio Méndez. General Gregorio Alvarez succeeded him in 1981. At this time, many of the country's artists, intellectuals and politicians, were persecuted for espousing beliefs different from those of the military regime, and consequently went into exile abroad, mostly to Spain, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw political unrest throughout Latin America. Uruguay maintained the highest ratio of political prisoners to its general population throughout the world while other Latin American governments also committed crimes against their people that encouraged some to flee to the United States.

Many Uruguayans who left the country for political reasons chose to return in 1984 when Julio María Sanguinetti, the leader of the Colorado Party, was elected president, signaling a return to civilian government. Sanguinetti faced all of the same problems that the nation had faced since the 1960s, only this time they were worse. Major economic problems, including inflation, foreign debt, and unemployment, were major issues. In 1989 Luis Albert Lacalle won the presidency, and the Blanco party returned to dominance. His plans to privatize companies, taking them out of government control, and his call for smaller wage increases worried the workers, who organized strikes in opposition to such plans. In 1992 the voters rejected the plans to privatize, and in 1994 Sanguinetti was reelected to the presidency.

In 1996, Uruguay XXI, a "non-state public entity" designed to develop Uruguay's economy internationally, was established by law. As Minister of Economy and Finance Luis A. Mosca explained in a special feature titled "Uruguay, A Country to Watch," in the June 5, 1998 edition of the *New York Times*, the mission of Uruguay XXI was "to foster the internationalization process of the Uruguayan economy by promoting investments and the export of goods and services within the general framework provided by the government's economic policy." In 1991, Uruguay joined Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay to form MERCOSUR, the southern common market. Until the mid-1990s, China was the largest foreign investor in Uruguay; however, the MERCOSUR alliance began to change that. Uruguay also made agreements with Chile and Bolivia and continues to extend its economic rebuilding efforts to the other South American countries and elsewhere around the world. In addition, President Sanguinetti signed a trade agreement with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt in 1998.

The concerns at the end of the twentieth century were over social welfare policies, such as social security and an inefficient workforce. Sanguinetti moved immediately to reform the social security system when he took office in 1994. According to Calvin Sims, writing for the *New York Times* on February 19, 1995, "The basic problem was the high ratio of people who depend on or work for the state. About 1.1 million of Uruguay's 3.1 million people are registered workers, while 700,000 people no longer in the work force receive pensions. Uruguay has more than one retired person for every two workers, and about 37 percent of the state budget goes to the bankrupt social security system." Moreover, the pace of economic reform was too slow, according to some observers. The fear remained that Uruguay, suffering from its hesitancy to priva-

tize, would lag behind its free trade partners and neighbors Argentina and Brazil and would be unable to compete effectively. Uruguay's poor economy could lead to an increase in emigration.

THE FIRST URUGUAYANS IN AMERICA

Before the 1960s, the economy of Uruguay provided its citizens with middle-class affluence, and emigration was limited. With a comfortable standard of living, adequate employment opportunities, a favorable social welfare and health insurance system, and democratic freedoms, the need to leave was not pressing. On the whole, even the poorest of the Uruguayans enjoyed certain benefits that kept them satisfied enough to stay in their own country. For those who left the cultural and recreational opportunities of the cities, where 85 percent of all Uruguayans lived, the proposition of going to neighboring countries such as Argentina, with its familiar language and proximity to the home country, was more appealing than moving to the United States. Those who pursued business or educational opportunities in the United States and elsewhere, often returned home, never forsaking their Uruguayan citizenship.

Two factors changed the complacency of Uruguayans. First, there were economic and political problems in Uruguay after World War II, particularly money and employment crises during the 1960s and 1970s. Second, an oppressive military regime took control of the government. Now, there were motivating factors to leave Uruguay, and the people leaving Uruguay in vast numbers were the ones that the country could least afford to lose—well-educated professionals and the young. This, too, marked the beginning of the social security crisis. As the aging population retired, and young people left the country, the burden on the country's financial resources grew. Of Uruguay immigrants from 1963 to 1975, 17.7 percent of them were aged 14 years or younger, 68 percent of them were between the ages of 15 and 39, and only 14.3 percent were over 40 years old. The continued employment problems of the late 1980s represented yet another impetus for the youth of Uruguay to seek employment and new lives elsewhere. Some of them went to the United States, but the largest population of Uruguayan emigrants continued to reside in Argentina.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

The most significant wave of Uruguayan immigration to the United States occurred in the 1960s and

1970s. An estimated 180,000 Uruguayans left between 1963 and 1975, when the country's economy suffered a devastating slump. Then, according to statistics from the General Directorate of Statistics and Census of the Republic of Uruguay, between 1975 and 1985, during the period of oppressive military control, 150,000 Uruguayans left the country. And, as late as 1989, only 16,000 of these citizens had returned to their native country. When these two figures are added together, the emigration figure stands at approximately one-tenth of the population.

By the mid-1990s 10 percent of the U.S. population, an estimated 27 million people, was of Hispanic origin. Although Uruguayans constituted 43 percent of all immigrants to the United States coming from Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s, they only made up a small part of the large U.S. Hispanic population. The most successful Uruguayan immigrants went to New York City, New Jersey, and Long Island. Two other significant centers of Uruguayan American population are Washington, D.C., and Florida.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Uruguayan Americans are as diverse as their native counterparts in Uruguay. For educated and sophisticated Uruguayan professionals, fitting into a cosmopolitan lifestyle in New York demanded little adjustment, except to climate. In their own country, Uruguayans of several different classes lived a Westernized, cultured existence. The large Spanish-speaking population in the United States has ensured that a variety of multilingual resources are easily at hand, thus reducing cultural adjustments due to language barriers.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Many of the customs of other Latin American nations are observed in Uruguay. When people greet each other, they usually shake hands. Public embraces and the use of first names are used only among close friends and family members. Meetings even among friends are formal, whether in public places or corporate settings. The eased sense of time among Latin Americans is apparent among Uruguayans—meetings often do not start on time, and no one is reprimanded or considered ill-mannered for being late. Even in informal social settings polite custom requires that if invited to a Uruguayan's home, the visitor should send flowers

or chocolates to the hostess ahead of time rather than at the time of the visit. Conversation in Uruguay in polite social settings does not include politics. The much-loved national pastime of football, known as soccer in the United States, is always a safe topic. Uruguayans in the United States also tend to follow Uruguayan football and their national teams.

CUISINE

Uruguayans are mainly of European descent and this is reflected in their cuisine, which is strongly influenced by Spanish and Italian cooking. Uruguayans love meat, especially beef, largely due to the large number of cattle they raise. In the 1990s, it was estimated that cattle and sheep *estancias*, or farms, took up four-fifths of the country's land. Their taste for meat is reflected in a traditional meal of *parrillada criolla*, a barbecued mixture of *chorizo*, a Latin American sausage, *rinones*, or kidneys, and strips of beef. Another meat specialty is *marcilla dulce*, a blood sausage mixed with orange peels and walnuts. *Milanesa* is deep-fried steak that has been breaded with Italian-seasoned crumbs. Because much of the population is of Italian heritage, pasta is usually served daily, and is an integral element of a good meal. Uruguayans prefer freshly made pasta to the dry pasta popular in the United States. Another dish reflecting their Italian roots is *faina*, made with chickpea flour and boiled with oil and salt, similar to polenta (boiled cornmeal) in texture.

Other favored dishes include *buseca*, which is soup made with calf's tripe, haricot or other white beans, peeled tomatoes, garlic, and Parmesan cheese. It combines Hispanic influences, from the Mexican soup *menudo*, made with tripe, hominy, and chili powder, with Italian elements, adding cheese and garlic to the soup. Potato *fritatas*, made with eggs and potatoes, and *pascualina*, a Uruguayan spinach pie made with Spanish olive oil and cheddar cheese, are two other dishes enjoyed by Uruguayans. Favorite sweet treats include *Masas surfidas*, the term given to many varieties of pastries, and *pasta frola*, a pastry cake spread with quince preserves, and varieties of fresh fruit, such as grapes and citrus fruits.

Yerba mate, or simply *mate*, is a beverage of green tea. Sometimes, a special ceremony surrounds the drinking of mate. A hollowed-out gourd or a china cup is almost filled with the green tea. A metal straw is inserted, and boiling water is then poured over the leaves. The mate is passed around to friends and family seated in a circle, with each person adding more hot water as it is passed.

Between 1973 and 1985, the period of military control, people met one another in public squares for this tea ceremony. The ceremony provided a subterfuge, allowing citizens to congregate with less fear that the military police would arrest them on charges of illegal political conspiracy.

DANCES AND SONGS

Uruguayans appreciate many forms of music, whether it comes from the popular guitar, introduced by Spanish settlers, and the songs of the *gauchos*, or from a formal orchestra. In addition to the guitar, the accordion is also played along with many of the traditional folk songs and dances. From its African slave ancestral population, *candombe* reigns as the most popular dance in Montevideo. The drumbeats of the Afro-Uruguayans reach their loudest and most festive during the Uruguayan Mardi Gras celebration.

Uruguayans enjoy opera, as well as the tango. In 1917 Uruguayan composer Gerardo H. Matos Rodríguez wrote *La Cumparsita*, a tango, a music form as loved in Uruguay as it is in neighboring Argentina, where the tango claims its home. In the United States, the Uruguayan American Chamber of Commerce was a sponsor of The Millennium Gala Concert of the Nations, featuring the Symphonium Europae, on November 29, 1999, at the Lincoln Center New York City.

HOLIDAYS

In Uruguay, the church and state are separate, and therefore holidays are secularized (non-religious). For instance, Christmas Day is celebrated as "Family Day" rather than as a religious holiday. Other holidays that Uruguayans celebrate include Kings' Day (January 5), commemorating the visit of the Three Kings, with presents sometimes exchanged; Semana de Turismo, or Tourism Week, which coincides with Easter; Desembarco de los Treinta y Tres (Landing of the 33, April 19), commemorating the fight by 33 Uruguayan patriots for independence from Portuguese-Brazilian occupation in 1825; Labor Day (May 1); Artigas's Anniversary (June 19), celebrating the national hero José Gervasio Artigas, who began the struggle for independence in 1811; and Todos Santos, or All Souls Day, on November 2. Mardi Gras, or *Carneval*, is celebrated in Uruguay as in other Latin American countries, although not with as much vigor as it is in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil.

LANGUAGE

Spanish is the official language of Uruguay. As much as one-third of the population is of Italian descent in the coastal areas, and Italian is widely spoken in these regions. A colloquial tongue known as *Rio de la Plata* consists of Spanish with Italian influences is also used. English is taught in schools and is heard frequently, especially in the coastal areas, where tourism was flourishing at the end of the 1990s.

When adjusting to life in the United States, Uruguayans often find Spanish is the language, next to English, most frequently spoken. Because of this, some Uruguayans do not find their adjustment to life in the United States as difficult as it is for other immigrants.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

As early as 1900, the patriarchal tradition was beginning to disappear in Uruguay. Following the legal decree making divorce legal in 1907, on which divorce could be filed by a wife on the grounds of the cruelty of her husband, and in 1912 when women needed no specific reason to file at all, women became socially emancipated. By 1919, women were allowed to keep their own bank accounts separate from their husbands, and they were already beginning to enter the workforce. Because of the other reforms of José Batlle as early as 1902, health care extended to nearly the entire population of the country.

Uruguay became country with a large middle class long before World War I. Family ties remained strong, particularly among the rural population, where birth control was not as widely practiced and the families were much larger. Also in the rural areas, some of the more traditional *machismo*, an aggressively strong masculine character associated with patriarchy, prevailed. Still, with a pronounced equality between spouses more predominant in Uruguay than in other Latin American countries, and with education considered a priority for both males and females, the tone of family life centered around the bonds of parents and children. Among the working classes, it was common to find married children in their thirties still living with their parents, and perhaps grandparents, in an extended family setting. However, among the more affluent Uruguayan Americans this practice was infrequent.

EDUCATION

At the end of the twentieth century, Uruguay had a literacy rate of nearly 95 percent for people over 15 years of age. Education is mandatory by law for children between the ages of 6 to 15 years, and public education is free to all Uruguayans through the university level. However, rural communities have only elementary-level schools, so children must go to the cities to attend high school or university. There is only one university in Uruguay, the University of the Republic in Montevideo, which has approximately 35,000 students, but there is also a teacher training institute and a nationwide system of vocational, or trade, schools. Education is prized in their native land, and consequently many Uruguayan Americans pursue education and professional careers in the United States.

BAPTISMS

Baptisms are particularly common among the rural peoples of Uruguay. Babies had godfathers, or *compadres*, who were usually of a better social class. This was part of the practice known as *compadrazgo*, which was intended to provide important social connections for the children as they grew and into their adult life. The godfather would help the godchild find employment when necessary, and the godchild would provide a vote for the godfather when necessary. Among Roman Catholic Uruguayan immigrants, each child to be baptized traditionally has two godparents, a man and a woman, charged with the task of nurturing them spiritually and assisting the parents in raising the child in the faith.

WEDDINGS

The long history of the separation of church and state in Uruguay from its independence in 1828 to even before the formal declaration of its policy in 1917 established a tradition of civil marriage in the country. From 1837, civil marriage was recognized by the government, which diminished the influence of the Catholic Church. Yet weddings, particularly among those who are practicing Roman Catholics, continue to be celebrated traditionally with both religious and civil ceremonies. Among Uruguayans in the United States, celebrations are dependent on the individual disposition of the couple and family and their religious practices.

RELIGION

The Spanish explorers brought the Roman Catholic religion with them to Uruguay. The faith

did not play as important a role as it did with Uruguay's neighbors, even in the early colonial days. Uruguay's indigenous population resisted the conversion imposed upon the natives of other areas, giving the Catholic Church less influence in Uruguay. After independence in 1828, the secular influence pervaded. Still, the Catholic population enjoyed their own parochial schools and even their own political party and movements. The Union Civica del Uruguay (Civic Union of Uruguay) was founded in 1912, although it never won any significant percentage of the national vote. The party changed its name to the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party, or PDC) in 1962, along with the increasingly progressive trends of Catholicism following Vatican II. The second conference of Latin American Bishops, held in Mexico in 1979, had a radical impact on Uruguay. The bishops called for a "preferential option for the poor," inspiring Uruguayan Catholics to provide temporary hospice for the radical Tupamaros when they were given amnesty in 1985.

Other faiths represented in Uruguay include Protestantism and Judaism. Protestant denominations grew in prominence throughout the twentieth century. By the late 1980s, the Protestant population in Uruguay was estimated at two percent or slightly higher. From 1960 to 1985, the number of Protestants increased in Uruguay by 60 percent. The Jewish population of Uruguay settled primarily in Montevideo and accounted for approximately two percent of the population. Beginning in 1970, the Jewish population began to decrease, mostly due to emigration.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

The majority of Uruguayans have long held a middle-class lifestyle, with women as likely to be in the labor force as men. Many citizens who emigrated to the United States and elsewhere left because economic conditions did not allow them to continue to maintain their affluence and secure employment. Regarding those who left Uruguay from 1963 to 1975, the following statistics were available: 12.8 percent of the emigrants were professionals, technicians, managers, and administrators; 16 percent were office employees; 12.4 percent were salespeople; and 47.6 percent were drivers, skilled and unskilled workers, and day laborers. The divisions of labor and professions for those Uruguayan Americans living in the United States were not

determined officially by the U.S. government census figures.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Uruguayans, whether living at home or abroad, follow the politics of their native land. For many of the political exiles of the 1980s, democratic freedoms were crucial to their decision to leave. The return of those freedoms likewise were a major factor in their decision to return.

Uruguayans, under the direction of David P. Michaels and President Sanguinetti, formed the Uruguayan American Chamber of Commerce (UACC) in 1996 to further business and economic ties between the United States and Uruguay. The UACC has offices in Miami, Florida, and in New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Embassy of Uruguay to the United States.

Contact: The Honorable Dr. Alvaro Diez de Medina, Ambassador.

Address: 2715 M Street, N.W., 3rd floor, Washington, D.C. 20007.

Telephone: (202) 331-1313.

Fax: (202) 331-8142.

Uruguayan American Chamber of Commerce.

Founded 1996.

Contact: David P. Michaels.

Address: 1710 First Avenue, Suite 333, New York, New York, 10128.

Telephone: (212) 722-6587.

Fax: (212) 996-2580.

Online: <http://www.uruguaychamber.com>.

Uruguayan-American Foundation (Washington, D.C., and northern Virginia area).

Contact: Mr. Mario Casilla.

Telephone: (703) 821-0614.

Fax: (703) 821-1323.

Uruguay Trade Bureau.

Contact: Minister Enriqueta Suzacq.

Address: 747 Third Avenue, 21st floor, New York, New York 10017.

Telephone: (212) 751-7137/7138.

Fax: (212) 758-4126.

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VENEZUELAN AMERICANS

by
Drew Walker

Venezuelan Americans are great fans of baseball. Unlike other South American countries, baseball rather than soccer is the national sport.

OVERVIEW

Venezuela is situated on the northern coast of South America. It is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea to the north, Brazil to the south, Colombia to the west and southwest, and Guyana to the east. The capital of Venezuela is Caracas, and other major cities include Valencia, Barquisimeto, Maracaibo, and Ciudad Guayana. Venezuela is the sixth-largest country in South America and has a population of about 10,800,000. The land of Venezuela can be divided into three main regions: coastal mountains, plains, and forest. The coastal mountains are confined to a small part of the north of the country, while the plains and forest areas make up most of the landscape. The Orinoco River divides the country between north and south.

HISTORY

Archaeologists estimate that the first people arrived in present-day Venezuela around 14,000 B.C. By the time the Spanish arrived at the end of the fifteenth century, there were an estimated half a million Indians living in this region, constituting a number of cultural groups and speaking languages derived from the three main linguistic families of Arawak, Carib, and Chibcha. In 1498, Christopher Columbus was the first European to arrive in Venezuela. At first assuming the land to be a large island, Columbus traveled east along the coast, where he encountered

the wide mouth of the great Orinoco River. Knowing that no island could produce such a large river and outflow, Columbus realized that he was encountering a landmass much larger than he had assumed. When another explorer, Alonso de Ojeda, arrived a year later, he sailed westward along the coast. Ojeda observed houses that Indians had been built on stilts above the coastal water. These houses reminded Ojeda of the great Italian city of Venice, and he named this land "Venezuela," which in Spanish means "Little Venice." From 1500 to 1541, a series of Spanish settlements arose on the coast of Venezuela. Over the following centuries, the European and African populations in Venezuela continued to grow.

MODERN ERA

As the Spanish empire grew in South America and the Caribbean, Venezuela moved from the control of one province to the next until 1717. In that year, Venezuela was placed under the control of the viceroyalty of the Virreynato de la Nueva Granada in the Colombian city of Bogotá. Due to its difficult climate and the perceived lack of gold and other resources, Venezuela was largely ignored by the Spanish empire, while other countries such as Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia received the bulk of its attention and resources.

By the end of the eighteenth century, resistance to colonial rule in Venezuela grew. In 1806, a revolution began, headed by Francisco de Miranda. After trying to establish an alternative government in the capital city of Caracas, de Miranda was arrested and sent to Spain, where he died in prison a few years later. With the loss of Miranda, Simon Bolívar, a man who was to become the national hero of Venezuela, took control of the independence movement. Commanding a revolutionary army, Bolívar battled the Spaniards in Venezuela but did not succeed in ousting them from power. Withdrawing into Colombia and then Jamaica, Bolívar waited until 1817 to resume his battle for independence.

In 1817, Bolívar returned to Colombia and won a series of winning battles against Spanish forces. In August of 1819, Colombia became an independent nation. At a conference held later that year, Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela were united into one state named Gran Colombia. In 1821, Bolívar and his army defeated the Spanish in Venezuela and won its independence. He and his deputy, Antonio José de Sucre, amassed a large army which liberated Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia by 1824. In 1829, Gran Colombia was split up into three separate countries.

Following Bolívar's death in 1830, a series of dictators ruled over Venezuela. During this time periods of civil war, political, and economic instability were frequent. It was not until the second decade of the twentieth century, when oil was discovered in Venezuela, that economic and social stability began to grow. By the end of the 1920s, Venezuela had become the largest exporter of oil in the world, yet the wealth obtained from these exports was confined to a tiny elite group while the majority of Venezuelans lived in poverty. Between 1935 and 1945, there was a great deal of civil unrest in Venezuela, as people demanded governmental reform and a more equitable distribution of Venezuela's oil wealth. In 1945, Rómulo Betancourt, the leader of the *Acción Democrática* (Democratic Action) party took over the government. These changes led to the creation of a new constitution in 1947 and to the election of well-known novelist Rómulo Gallegos as Venezuela's first democratically elected president. This new democratic regime had been in power only six months when a coup toppled the government, and a military officer named Marcus Pérez Jiménez took over. Pérez Jiménez was overthrown in 1958 and, through a coalition of civilians and military officers, Rómulo Betancourt was elected president. After a series of careful constitutional, economic, and social reforms, Betancourt stepped down in 1963. He was followed by a series of democratically elected presidents.

THE FIRST VENEZUELAN IN AMERICA

There is no clear record of early settlement by Venezuelans in the United States. However, many migrations between South America and the United States did occur. It is also known that many European settlers first lived in Venezuela, only to immigrate to the United States. Therefore, it is possible that many Venezuelans arrived in the United States as European immigrants from South America.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

In the nineteenth century, nearly ten times as many South Americans as Central Americans came to settle in the United States. From 1910 to 1930, the numbers of South Americans entering the United States each year was over 4,000. Most of these people were concentrated in urban areas of the northeastern United States, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. However, there are few definite figures as to how many of these immigrants came from Venezuela. Many Venezuelans entered the United States for schooling and remained after graduation, and they are frequently joined by relatives. Since

the early 1980s, the opportunity to earn higher salaries, and economic fluctuations in Venezuela have attracted increasing numbers of Venezuelan professionals to the United States.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to 1990 census figures, the states with the most Venezuelan Americans were: Florida, with 12,362; New York, with 5,559; California, with 4,575; Texas, with 3,295; New Jersey, with 2,130; Massachusetts, with 1,403; and Maryland, with 1,257. Urban areas such as Miami, New York City, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., have the greatest concentrations of Venezuelan Americans.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Venezuelan American population consists of a mixture of different social groups, reflecting the diversity in their homeland. Among middle-class immigrants, some 70 percent have a combined European, Indian, and African ancestry. Approximately 21 percent of Venezuelan Americans identify themselves as white, 8 percent as black, and 1 percent as Indian. Many Venezuelan Americans are descendants of Europeans from Spain, Italy, and Portugal. Venezuelan Americans often live in Latino communities within large metropolitan areas.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Depending on an individual's family history, his or her traditions may reflect those of several different ethnic groups. The culture of Venezuelan Americans is heavily influenced by the Spaniards. Many cultural forms found within the Venezuelan American community are also seen among Caribbean peoples and Colombian Americans. It is often difficult to separate the religious elements of Venezuelan American culture from the more secular elements.

Venezuelans have long been influenced by American and European popular culture. These influences are more important place in Venezuelan culture than in that of its neighbors, and Venezuelan immigrants place a great deal of emphasis on popular culture. Baseball is a passion for many Venezuelan Americans, and they are often loyal supporters of hometown teams. Television programs, both in Spanish and English, are a great source of entertainment for Venezuelan Americans. *Telenovelas*, or soap operas, are particularly popular.

CUISINE

Many types of traditional cuisine are found within the Venezuelan American community. Venezuelan cuisine has a good deal in common with that of other Latin American and Caribbean countries. Among the many foods enjoyed are *arepas*, which are small pancakes made from corn. Arepas are often stuffed with different fillings, including beef, shrimp, ham, sausage, eggs, salad, avocado, and octopus. Another specialty is the *empanada*, a crescent-shaped, deep-fried turnover made of cornmeal, which is stuffed with chicken (*empanada de pollo*), cheese (*empanada de queso*), or beef (*empanada de carne*). A Venezuelan dish that is often served during Christmas is *hallaca*, which consists of chopped beef, pork, or chicken with vegetables and olives. This mixture is folded into a corn dough, wrapped in banana leaves, and steamed. A popular Venezuelan drink is *tizana*, which consists of chopped fruit and fruit juice. The types of fruit that are used to make tizana include papaw, banana, watermelon, cantaloupe, orange, and pineapple.

MUSIC

The Venezuelan American community listens to many forms of traditional and popular music. Perhaps the most well known type of Venezuelan music is a rhythm called the *joropo*. Featuring the music of an accordion, harp, *cuatro venezolano* (a small, guitarlike instrument), and maracas, the *joropo* is accompanied by an energetic dance performed by couples. Venezuelan Americans enjoy a full range of popular music: rock, salsa and other Caribbean forms, pop, country, Latin jazz, and classical.

DANCES AND SONGS

The *joropo* musical form is accompanied by a song called "Alma Llanera," which has become the unofficial national anthem of Venezuela. Although folk dance is taught and performed by some Venezuelan Americans, most prefer modern dance. Parties, concerts, and nightclubs featuring salsa or merengue often provide Venezuelan Americans with opportunities to dance.

HOLIDAYS

For many Venezuelan Americans, Carnival is the main festival of the year. Many Venezuelan Americans visit Venezuela during Carnival to reunite with family and friends. In the United States, groups gather to celebrate with music, drinking, singing, and dancing.

HEALTH ISSUES

As a group, Venezuelan Americans possess no significant health problems. Some Venezuelan Americans prefer to visit practitioners of traditional medicine. Traditional medical remedies are readily available in many areas with large Hispanic American populations.

LANGUAGE

Although there are more than 25 Indian languages spoken in Venezuela, Spanish and English are the predominant languages of the Venezuelan American community. Most Venezuelan American children grow up using Spanish with their families and speak the language fluently. Some Venezuelan Americans speak “Spanglish,” Spanish combined with a liberal usage of English words.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

While greetings vary among Venezuelan Americans, the standard greetings are: *Hola* (oh-la) for “Hello,” *Buenas días* (boo-ay-nas dee-ahs) for “Good morning,” *Buenas tardes* (boo-ay-nas tar-days) for “Good afternoon,” *Buenas noches* (boo-ay-nas no-chays) for “Good evening” or “Good night.”

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

Family ties are strong among Venezuelan Americans. Children are taught at an early age to view the family as the key unit of society. The heavy reliance on family ties and connections is a great strength for Venezuelan Americans, but may sometimes limit the ability of individuals to assimilate into the greater society and economy of the United States. The connection between family and community dynamics is often strong, and the pull of the family leads to concentrations of Venezuelan Americans in urban areas in which cultural, business and political networks may form that otherwise might not exist.

EDUCATION

As a group, middle-class Venezuelan Americans share a proportionately higher education level than many other Hispanic American groups. Venezuelans have not found great difficulty in achieving success in English-speaking institutions of higher education. The teaching and preservation of the Spanish language is often regarded as a family prior-

ity, and many Venezuelan Americans try to ensure their children’s fluency in Spanish.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The role of women in the Venezuelan American community is complex and varied. Traditionally, women were expected to submit to the will of male family members, and had the tasks of housekeeping, child-raising, and the moral education of the family. In these tasks, the women of the family shared in a great deal of the labor, drawing on networks in their villages, neighborhoods, and extended families. The home was often considered the private realm of the family and women its keepers, while the public realm was the place of men. The degree of conformity to these roles varied from urban to rural settings and between classes.

Many Venezuelan American women are active in the workforce. They are engaged in a variety of professions, including business, social work, and teaching. Possessing a high degree of literacy, many Venezuelan American women and their female children have found greater opportunities than their mothers and grandmothers did in Venezuela.

BAPTISMS

Venezuelan Americans are admitted into the Catholic Church through the sacrament of baptism. Catholic doctrine states that unless a person is reborn through water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. The rite begins with formal declarations made by the priest on behalf of the church, and by the parents and godparents on behalf of the child. The parents and the priest then trace the sign of the cross on the forehead of the child. The priest, parents, godparents, and those attending pray together, and several passages are read from the Scriptures. The priest then blesses the baptismal water. The parents and godparents renounce Satan and profess their faith. Water is poured over the child’s head, as a sign that she or he has been cleansed of original sin. The child is then anointed with *chrism*, a consecrated oil, and placed in a white baptismal garment. A candle is lit and, after a final prayer before the altar, the priest blesses all in attendance.

COURTSHIP

Opportunities for courtship are abundant within the Venezuelan American community. Single people meet and mix at school parties, weddings, festival celebrations, and nightclubs. Groups of young

men and women often meet in clubs to dance and listen to music. In most instances, young people are allowed to choose whom they wish to date. However, dating outside of one's race or social class is often frowned upon by parents and other family members.

WEDDINGS

The majority of Venezuelan Americans marriages are performed by the Catholic Church. The priest, bride, groom, and wedding party all gather before the altar. The priest welcomes the couple and the congregation. This is followed by prayers and readings from both the Old and New Testaments. After the Gospel is read, the priest delivers a homily (sermon) based on the Scripture readings. He often speaks of the mystery of marriage, the dignity of love in marriage, the grace given by the sacrament, and the responsibilities of a married couple. The rite of marriage is then performed, with marriage vows according to Catholic custom. Following the wedding Mass, a celebration is held. The wedding couple receives gifts, traditional dishes are served, and entertainment is provided. In some cases, the wedding celebration lasts for several days.

INTERACTIONS WITH OTHERS

Venezuelan Americans frequently interact with other ethnic minorities, particularly other Hispanic groups. Interaction often takes place at festivals, concerts, and religious activities. Business, community work, and politics also offer opportunities to meet other Latin American and Caribbean people.

RELIGION

While the vast majority of Venezuelan Americans are Catholic, their attendance at Mass and other official religious functions is infrequent when compared with other Hispanic groups. However, Venezuelan Americans are quite religious. Many Venezuelan religious traditions exist, forming a complex synthesis of the religious and the secular, the official and the unofficial. Some secular persons are often revered as "saints" because of their good works and the positive impact that they had on others. For example, Simon Bolívar is honored as a great man and pictures of him often occupy a prominent place in the homes of Venezuelan Americans.

Other important figures include Dr. José Gregorio Hernández. Hernández was a medical doctor who had an illustrious career before his death in 1918. Considered to have had an unusual ability to heal,

Hernández is venerated for inspiring health and healing. His image and story have made Hernández so famous that he is being considered for canonization as a Catholic saint. Another powerful image and figure is that of María Lionza. In a form of spirituality and imagery that mixes Catholic belief, traditional Afro-Venezuelan folk culture, and native Indian myth, the mysterious figure of Lionza is the center for many complex rituals about food, fortune, healing and safety. Lionza is referred to as "the Queen" or the "Spirit Queen" by her followers, and she, like Hernández, is seen as a figure of inspiration.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Venezuelan Americans are prominent in a variety of professions, particularly banking and the petroleum industry. They are often valued for their expertise in these areas. Venezuelan Americans also occupy important positions within the television, publishing, and radio industries.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Many Venezuelan Americans have established careers in local politics and government. A growing number of Venezuelan Americans are also pursuing government service on the federal level. The political allegiances of Venezuelan Americans extend across the entire spectrum of American politics.

RELATIONS WITH FORMER COUNTRY

Venezuelan Americans maintain strong ties with Venezuela. Whether in business, family, or community life, Venezuelan Americans closely monitor events within Venezuela. Visits to the homeland are relatively frequent among first-generation immigrants, and visits by Venezuelans to relatives in the United States are also quite common.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART

Carolina Herrera is a prominent fashion designer. Internationally known, Herrera was inducted into the Fashion Hall of Fame in 1981, and received the MODA Award for Top Hispanic Designer in 1987.

Thomas Zapata (1961–) attended Lawrence University and the Pratt Institute in New York, where he received a master's degree in architecture

in 1984. Zapata earned a master's degree in building design at Columbia University. He was the winner of the Collegiate Schools of Architecture National Design Award for his work on the Schibsten Ditten Project in 1989. In 1990, he received the Design Award from the Canadian National Royal Trust Office Complex. Zapata also took third prize in the National Architecture Competition.

EDUCATION

Ralph Morales is a prominent educator in the field of nutrition. Born in Los Angeles in 1940, Morales received a B.S. degree from La Sierra College in 1966, an M.S. degree from Loma Linda University in 1971, and a Ph.D. from Kansas State University in 1978. He has served as a assistant professor at Arizona State University, associate professor at the State University of New York, and a professor at San Francisco State University and California State University at Chico. Morales is noted for his many publications in the field of dietetics, and received an Outstanding Service Award from the American Dietetic Association in 1987.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND THEATER

Iliana Veronica Lopez de Gamero is a Venezuelan American who has achieved fame as a ballet dancer. Born in 1963, Lopez de Gamero has danced with the San Francisco Ballet, the Ballet Corps of the Cleveland Opera House, and as a soloist for the Berlin Opera House and the Düsseldorf Opera House. She was a finalist at the IV International Ballet Competition in Moscow in 1981, and was principal dancer of the Miami City Ballet in 1987.

JOURNALISM

Radamés Jose Soto is a notable Venezuelan American journalist. Born in 1959, he studied journalism at the University of Miami, and received a bachelor's degree in 1982. Soto worked as a news reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* from 1984 until 1986. He then pursued a career in television journalism, working for Channel 47 in New York and WPIX in New York. Soto has been nominated for the Irene Taylor Award, and won the 1989 ACE Award for best journalist. Another figure in the field of journalism is Ricardo Aranbarri. Born in 1959, he studied television production at Emerson College in Boston, from which he received a bachelor's degree in 1985. He has worked as an assistant producer for Venezolna De Television and for Venevision, and as a broadcast journalist and producer for WXTV in Seacucus, New Jersey.

MUSIC

Singer and lyricist Mariah Carey was born in New York City in 1970. Her debut album, *Mariah Carey*, soared to number one on the *Billboard* charts and remained there for more than five months. Seven million copies of the album were sold, and four singles from the album reached number one on the pop charts. Carey has released several other successful albums, and has become one of the most popular recording artists in the world.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Venezuelan American scientist Francisco Dallmeier (1953–) is a leading ornithologist (a biologist who studies birds). Dallmeier attended the Universidad Central de Venezuela and Colorado State University, where he received a master's degree in wildlife ecology in 1984, and a Ph.D. in 1986. Dallmeier served as director of the La Salle University Museum of Natural History from 1973 to 1977, biologist and educational coordinator for INELMECA from 1977 to 1981, program manager for the Smithsonian Institute's Man and the Biosphere Biological Diversity Program from 1986 to 1988, acting director of this program from 1988 to 1989 and then director from 1989 on. He is a prominent figure in the area of biodiversity research in the United States.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Federico Moreno (1952–) immigrated to the United States with his family in 1963. He attended the University of Notre Dame, and received a bachelor's degree in government. After teaching at Atlantic Community College and Stockton State College, Moreno attended law school and earned his law degree from the University of Miami. After two years at a private law firm, Moreno worked as a public defender. For four years, he maintained a private law practice. In 1986, Moreno became a judge in Dade County, Florida, and later served for three years as a judge in Florida's Circuit Court. In 1990, President Bush appointed Moreno to the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida.

Ana María Distefano is a Venezuelan American and a prominent government official. Born in 1951, Distefano attended the University of Pittsburgh, where she received a bachelor's degree in 1983. After several positions in the private sector, she came to work for the United States Department of Commerce in its Minority Business Development Agency and later in the public information office of its Bureau of the Census. Distefano has received

awards and honors from the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, the Hispanic Association of Media Arts and Science, the National Association of Black Journalists, the Public Relations Society of America, and other organizations.

SPORTS

Venezuelan Americans are great fans of baseball. Unlike other South American countries, baseball rather than soccer is the national sport. Baseball was first introduced to Venezuela as a result of the oil boom of the early twentieth century. The sport quickly spread from oil workers' camps to every city, town, and village across the country. Many Venezuelan Americans enjoy playing baseball and actively support major and minor league Venezuelan teams.

Many current and former professional baseball players in the United States are Venezuelan Americans. Among these are Luis Aparicio, one of baseball's greatest shortstops. Aparicio holds records for number of games played by a shortstop, double plays, and assists. He was Rookie of the Year in 1956 and played on All-Star teams from 1958 to 1964 and from 1970 to 1972. In 1984, Aparicio was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. Dave Concepción, another talented shortstop, played with the Cincinnati Reds from 1970 to 1988, was named captain of the Reds in 1973, played in three World Series, and was a member of All-Star teams in 1972 and from 1975 to 1982.

Other Venezuelan American baseball players include: Alvaro Espinoza, an infielder who has played for the Minnesota Twins and New York Yankees; Andrés José Galarraga, a first baseman for the Atlanta Braves and 1993 National League batting champion; Ozzie Guillén, who was both the American League Rookie Player of the Year and Rookie of the Year in 1985, and a member of the 1990 American League All-Star Team; Carlos Alberto Martínez, who played for the Chicago White Sox in 1988; Carlos Narcis Quintana, who joined the Boston Red Sox in 1988; Manny Trillo, second baseman for the National League All-Star team in 1979, 1981, and 1982, National Silver Slugger team 1980 and 1981, and member of the National League All-Star Team in 1977 from 1981 to 1983; Omar Vizquel, a shortstop with the Cleveland Indians and six-time Gold Glove winner; and Bo Díaz, who appeared in five World Series games and was named to both the 1981 American All-Star team and the 1987 National League All-Star team.

VISUAL ARTS

Marisol Escobar is a prominent Venezuelan American sculptor and painter. During the 1960s, Escobar gained international fame as a sculptor. Known for her strong political commitments and overproduced eccentricity, she created works that sparked controversy, changing in inspiration and style greatly over the following decades. Escobar's works can be found both in private art collections and in art museums. In the 1990s, she continued to produce new work, and became active in public education concerning the spread and treatment of AIDS.

MEDIA

PRINT

There are eight Spanish-language newspapers published daily in the United States, each including coverage of the Venezuelan American community. Two are published in New York, two in Miami, one in Chicago, and three in El Paso, Texas. The Spanish-language newspapers that are most widely read by Venezuelan Americans are *El Diario/La Prensa* and *Noticias del Mundo*, which serve the New York area; *El Nuevo Herald* and *El Diario de las Américas* in Miami; and *El Mañana* in Chicago.

Two popular Spanish-language magazines among Venezuelan Americans are *Temas* and *Réplica*. Three English-language magazines, *Hispanic*, *Hispanic Business*, and *Hispanic Link*, are also widely read. Two bilingual magazines, *Vista* and *Saludos Hispanos*, are also well-received. Academic and professional journals of interest to Venezuelan Americans include *Americas Review*, *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *Journal of Hispanic Policy*, and *Latino Studies Journal*.

RADIO

There are approximately 35 AM and 115 FM radio stations that broadcast Spanish-language programming in the United States. In addition, 75 AM and 15 FM stations dedicate significant portions of their air time to Spanish-language programming. Most of these stations include news, music, and other programs of interest to the Venezuelan American community.

TELEVISION

In many major American cities, there are television stations that broadcast exclusively in Spanish. These stations are also available to other areas through cable and satellite television. They offer a wide vari-

ety of news, entertainment, and educational programs for both Venezuelan Americans and the larger Hispanic community in the United States.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Embassy of Venezuela.

Address: 2445 Massachusetts Avenue, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20008.

Telephone: (202) 797-3800.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Florida Museum of Hispanic and Latin American Art.

Address: 4006 Aurora Street, Coral Gables,
Florida 33146.

Telephone: (305) 444-7060.

Fax: (305) 261-6996.

Online: <http://www.latinoweb.com/museo/>.

Museum of Latin American Art.

Address: 628 Alamitos Avenue, Long Beach,
California 90802.

Telephone: (562) 437-1689.

Fax: (562) 437-7043.

Online: <http://www.molaa.com/index.htm>.

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V IETNAMESE AMERICANS

by
Carl L. Bankston III

The extended family
is the heart of
Vietnamese culture,
and preservation of
family life in their
new home is one of
the most important
concerns of Viet-
namese Americans.

OVERVIEW

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a long, narrow, “S”-shaped country of 127,243 square miles (329,556 square kilometers). It extends about 1,000 miles from southern China southward to the Gulf of Thailand. It is bordered on the west by Laos and Cambodia and on the east by the south China Sea. At the center of the “S,” Vietnam is less than 30 miles wide. The northern and southern parts of the country are somewhat wider, with the north reaching a maximum width of 350 miles.

This southeast Asian nation has a population of about 75 million people. The ethnic Vietnamese, who make up nearly 90 percent of the population, are thought to be descendants of peoples who migrated into the Red River Delta of northern Vietnam from southern China. There are also about three million members of mountain tribes, found mainly in the Central Highlands and in the Annamese Cordillera mountain chain in the north; about two million ethnic Chinese, most of whom live in large cities; about 500,000 Khmer, or ethnic Cambodians; and about 50,000 Cham, descendants of a Malayo-Polynesian people who dominated the area that is now southern Vietnam before the arrival of the Vietnamese.

Religions include Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Roman Catholicism, Cao Dai (a mixture of aspects of Roman Catholicism and various Asian religions), Hoa Hao (a Vietnamese offshoot of

Buddhism), Islam, Protestantism, and animism. Most Vietnamese practice the mutually compatible religions of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. About three million are Catholics, concentrated in the southern part of the country. About one million practice the Cao Dai religion and about one million belong to the Hoa Hao sect. The number of Protestants is small, and they are mostly found among the tribesmen of the mountains, where American and European missionaries were active until recently. Almost all of the Cham are Muslims.

The country's official language is Vietnamese and the capital city is Hanoi. The official flag is red with a large yellow star in the center, but many Vietnamese Americans object to this flag, viewing it as an emblem of the communist government. They identify instead with the flag of former South Vietnam, which is yellow with three horizontal red stripes in the center.

EARLY HISTORY

Although the Vietnamese are newcomers to North America, they are heirs to a culture far older than the United States, and even older than any of the national societies of Europe. The first known historical records of the Viets in the Red River Delta of what is now northern Vietnam were written by the Chinese in the second century B.C. Vietnamese archaeologists have traced their civilization back even further, to the Phung-Nguyen culture that existed before 2000 B.C.

While the village constituted the basis of rural Vietnamese folk culture, many of the nation's formal institutions were introduced from the great neighbor to the north, China. Even the name of the country is derived from Chinese: "Viet" is a variant pronunciation of the Chinese word "Yueh", which designates the "hundred" tribes that populated the southern region of China, and "Nam," which is the same as "nan" in Chinese and means "south." Vietnam's close but troubled relations with its huge northern neighbor have shaped many of its political and social structures and have, in recent years, played a crucial role in the creation of a refugee crisis.

As the Chinese empire of the Han dynasty extended its control over the area to the south, the Viets accepted Chinese administrative designations for their territory and the local rulers were redefined as prefectural and district officers. Despite some early rebellions against Chinese rule (one in particular was instigated by the Trung sisters, who remain Vietnamese national heroes for their struggles against the Chinese in the first century A.D.), Vietnam was a part of the Chinese empire until the suc-

cessful war for independence in the tenth century. Despite the adoption of Chinese forms of government, Chinese written characters, and Chinese-style Buddhism, the Vietnamese have continued to be wary of their powerful neighbor.

Until the fifteenth century, the Vietnamese occupied only the northern part of what we now know as Vietnam. The southern portion constituted the empire of the Cham, Champa, and part of the Khmer, or Cambodian, territory. By 1471, however, under the rulers of the Le dynasty (modeled after the Chinese "emperors"), Vietnam succeeded in conquering almost the whole of Champa. This success not only brought the newly enlarged country into conflict with the Khmers, but it also gave the country its present elongated shape, wide at the top and bottom and exceedingly narrow in the middle where the mountains that run down its center approach the sea coast. This geographical feature, often described as two heads and a little body, divided the country into two regions.

MODERN ERA

While Vietnam's early history was dominated by its struggles with neighboring China, modern Vietnam has been greatly influenced by France. Vietnam's early contacts with Europe were primarily forged through Catholic missionaries, particularly Jesuits, who arrived in 1615, after they had been prohibited from entering Japan. France, as the most powerful of Catholic nations in the seventeenth century, was especially active in supporting these religious endeavors, through the Societe des Missions Etrangeres. Alexandre des Rhodes, a French Jesuit, along with some of his Portuguese colleagues, was instrumental in creating a new system of writing, which was later adopted throughout Vietnam. This form of writing became known as *quoc ngu*—national language—and uses the Latin alphabet to transcribe phonetically the Vietnamese spoken language. This system was adopted throughout Vietnam in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Through the work of missionaries, the French gained influence in Vietnam long before the arrival of a single French soldier or administrator. When a peasant rebellion, known as the *Tay-son*, reunified the country in 1788 under the rule of a rebel leader who had himself proclaimed emperor, the surviving heir of the southern Nguyen family, Nguyen Anh, sought the assistance of France. Because of the revolution in France, this claimant to the throne received only token French ships and volunteer troops that nonetheless helped him reestablish himself at Saigon in 1789. The French also constructed

forts for him and trained his troops, which contributed to Nguyen Anh's success in taking control of the entire country by 1802.

Nguyen Anh's son, the Emperor Minh-mang, facilitated a revival of the Confucian religion to reestablish order in the country and to support his own position as an emperor. The spread of Catholicism presented a danger to the Confucian order in the eyes of Minh-mang, who consequently initiated a policy of persecution against Catholics in 1825.

By the nineteenth century, the French were struggling to catch up to other European countries in the competition for colonies. The French Emperor Napoleon III took up the cause of the Catholics in Vietnam and used their persecution as a pretext for invading the country. His envoys seized Saigon and the three surrounding provinces in 1862. Minh-mang's grandson, Tu-duc, had to choose between opposing a rebellion in the north and effectively fighting the French. In 1863 he officially ceded the three provinces to France and agreed to the establishment of a French protectorate over Vietnamese foreign relations. In the 1880s, following a war between France and China, which still claimed sovereignty over Vietnam, the French extended their control over the rest of Vietnam. They held the southern part, known as Cochinchina, as a colony, and central and northern Vietnam—respectively named Tonkin and Annam—as protectorates. The two latter territories were placed under the nominal rules of the emperors of the Nguyen dynasty, whom the French tightly controlled and manipulated.

As in other parts of Southeast Asia, the system of colonial domination created in the late nineteenth century was maintained until the rise of an Asian imperial power, Japan. A variety of Vietnamese nationalist movements had developed in response to French rule. The anti-imperialist stance expressed in Lenin's analysis of colonialism attracted some, including the young man who joined the French Socialist Party in 1920 and later became known by the adopted name of Ho Chi Minh. Following the surrender of France to Japan's ally, Germany, Ho Chi Minh's forces were left as the only effective resistance to Japan in Vietnam.

When Japan surrendered in August 1945, the Communist-dominated nationalist organization called the Viet Minh staged the August Revolution and easily seized power. The last of the French-controlled Vietnamese emperors, Bao-dai, abdicated and Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of Vietnam, proclaiming the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on September 2, 1945. Japanese forces remained in Vietnam, however, and

the Allies moved in to disarm them and send them home. China, still under the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai Chek, was given the task of disarming the Japanese in northern Vietnam, while the British were assigned to the territory south of the sixteenth parallel. While the Chinese allowed the Viet Minh to retain control of Hanoi and the north, the British helped the French seize control of the south and reestablish French colonial power. After the British left in January 1946 and the Chinese left in the spring of that same year, the country was again divided into north and south.

At first the French and the new Vietnamese government accepted one another, albeit uneasily, as neither was prepared for open conflict. In March 1946, Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement with the French in which he accepted the deployment of French troops in the north, while France agreed to recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on the condition that this state would remain part of the Indochinese Federation (including the parts of Vietnam under direct French rule, Cambodia, and Laos) within the French Union. Ho Chi Minh and the French also agreed to hold a popular referendum to decide whether Cochinchina should join Vietnam or remain a French colony.

France was not interested in seeing a truly independent power in Vietnam, and the Viet Minh had no desire to see their country continue under colonial rule. In late 1946 and early 1947, tensions between the two sides erupted into combat and the first Vietnam War began. In February 1947, following the Battle of Hanoi, France reoccupied Hanoi and the Viet Minh once again assumed the position of guerrillas, fighting in the mountains.

It was a long time before either side was able to gain a decisive victory. In the late 1940s France, realizing that it could not win the war militarily, added a political dimension into the conflict, accusing the Viet Minh of fighting for communism and not for independence. France created a State of Vietnam, at the head of which they placed the former emperor Bao-dai, to whom they granted more independence than what they agreed to give Ho Chi Minh in 1946. The United States and other non-communist countries quickly recognized the new Vietnamese state, while China, the Soviet Union, and other communist countries recognized the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In one single move, France succeeded in transforming their war of colonial re-conquest into an anti-communist crusade, and made an imperialist conflict into a quasi-civil one. Despite their machinations, the move did not help them on the battlefield. In the early 1950s, the growing army of

the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, under the command of General Vo Nguyen Giap, began a series of offenses against the French. They achieved a famous victory at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. The French defeat at Dien Bien Phu led to an international conference on Vietnam in Geneva, which resulted in a cease fire and a temporary division of the country into North Vietnam, governed by Democratic Republic from Hanoi, and South Vietnam, which was entrusted to the French and their State of Vietnam with Bao-dai as the Chief of State and Ngo Dinh Diem as the Prime Minister in Saigon. Some South Vietnamese who sympathized with Ho Chi Minh's government moved north. About one million northerners, between 600,000 and 800,000 of whom were Catholics, fled south on U.S. and French aircraft and naval vessels.

Ngo Dinh Diem proved to be an energetic leader, putting down armed religious sects and criminal groups. He also demanded that France remove all its troops from Vietnam. In 1955, Diem organized and won elections that forced Bao-dai to abdicate. Diem proclaimed Vietnam a Republic with him as its first president. Supported by the United States, Diem refused to take part in the elections for national re-unification that had been promised by the Geneva Conference, which led to terrorism and other forms of resistance to his regime in many parts of South Vietnam.

RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM

Before 1975, there were almost no Vietnamese people in the United States, but the destinies of Vietnam and the United States became increasingly intertwined during the 1950s and 1960s. Since the war, the Vietnamese have become one of the largest Asian American groups. The American government began to show an interest in Vietnam during World War II, when it gave supplies and other forms of assistance to Ho Chi Minh's anti-Japanese forces. After the war, however, containment of international communism became America's primary foreign policy objective, and the Americans became increasingly dedicated to preserving the anti-communist South Vietnamese government of Ngo Dinh Diem in order to keep the North Vietnamese from taking over the whole country.

Diem was a Catholic, and he relied heavily on Catholic support, alienating the Buddhist majority. This created opportunities for the North Vietnamese-supported insurgents, who organized themselves into the National Liberation Front. Their members became known as the Viet Cong. Many volunteer agencies based in the United States,

including CARE, Catholic Relief Services, and Church World Services, became active in South Vietnam in the 1950s in response to the social disruption of war. It was through these organizations that many of the South Vietnamese were first acquainted with Americans and American culture.

In 1961 President Kennedy sent military advisors to South Vietnam to assist the beleaguered Diem government. Diem became increasingly unpopular in his own country, however, and in 1963 he was overthrown by a military coup, apparently with the knowledge and consent of the American government. The new leaders of South Vietnam proved less able to maintain control than Diem and by 1965, with the South Vietnamese government on the verge of collapse, President Johnson sent in ground troops.

American military and political leaders believed they were winning the war through the end of 1967. At the beginning of 1968, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops launched the *Tet* offensive, which convinced American leaders that victory, if possible at all, would not be quick or easy. It also increased the American public's opposition to the war. In 1973 the Paris peace talks ended with the United States agreeing on a timetable for withdrawing its troops and turning the war over to the South Vietnamese army. The South Vietnamese government was no better prepared to defend itself than it had been in 1965, and in April 1975 the South Vietnamese capital of Saigon fell to an invasion of North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front troops.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

On April 18, 1975, less than two weeks before the fall of Saigon, President Ford authorized the entry of 130,000 refugees from the three countries of Indochina into the United States, 125,000 of whom were Vietnamese. This first large group of Vietnamese in America has become known as "the first wave." Those in the first wave who arrived in the mid- to late-1970s, typically had close ties with the American military and therefore tended to be the elite of South Vietnam. According to data collected by the United States Department of State in 1975, over 30 percent of the heads of households in the first wave were trained in the medical professions or in technical or managerial occupations, 16.9 percent were in transportation occupations, and 11.7 percent were in clerical and sales occupations. Only 4.9 percent were fishermen or farmers—occupations of the majority of people in Vietnam. Over 70 percent of the first wave refugees from this overwhelmingly rural nation came from urban areas.

During the months of April and May 1975, six camps opened in the United States to receive refugees and prepare them for resettlement. After refugees were interviewed, given medical examinations, and assigned to living quarters, they were sent to one of nine voluntary agencies, or VOLAGs. These VOLAGs, the largest of which was the United States Catholic Conference, assumed the task of finding sponsors, individuals, or groups who would assume financial and personal responsibility for refugee families for up to two years.

Despite the fact that many first wave arrivals were from privileged backgrounds, few were well-prepared to take up a new life in America. The majority did not speak English and all found themselves in the midst of a strange culture. The American refugee agencies attempted to scatter them around the country, so that this new Asian population would not be too visible in any one place, and so that no one city or state would be burdened with caring for a large number of new arrivals. Nevertheless, although at least one percent of the southeast Asian population in 1976 resided in each of 29 states, California had already become home to the largest number of refugees, with 21.6 percent of all the Southeast Asians in the United States.

The beginning of the first wave in 1975 was followed by smaller numbers, with only 3,200 Vietnamese arriving in 1976 and 1,900 in 1977. These numbers increased dramatically in 1978 as a result of an enlarged resettlement program developed in response to the lobbying of concerned American citizens and organizations; 11,100 Vietnamese entered the country that year. Political and economic conditions in Vietnam at this time drove large numbers of Vietnamese from their country, often in small unseaworthy boats. News of their hostile reception in neighboring countries and their sufferings at the hands of pirates created pressure in the United States to expand further the refugee program. Then in January 1979 Vietnam invaded neighboring Cambodia and the following month war broke out between Vietnam and China. As a result the number of Vietnamese admitted to the United States in 1979 rose to 44,500. Many of this second wave were Chinese citizens of Vietnam. As the war continued, the number of fleeing Indochinese rose steadily. Some were Cambodians or Laotians but Vietnam, with its larger population, was the homeland of the majority of refugees. In 1980, 167,000 southeast Asians, 95,200 of whom were Vietnamese, arrived in the United States. They were followed in 1981 by 132,000 southeast Asians, 86,100 of whom were Vietnamese.

Unlike the first refugees, the second wave came overwhelmingly from rural backgrounds and

usually had limited education. Indeed, they appear to have been the least educated and the least skilled of any legal immigrants to the United States in recent history. Their hardships were increased by their time of arrival: 1980 was a year of high inflation rates, and 1981 to 1983 saw the most severe economic recession of the previous 50 years.

While first wave refugees came directly to the United States, those in the second wave tended to come through refugee camps in southeast Asia. Agencies under contract to the United States Department of State organized classes to teach English and familiarize refugees with American culture. VOLAGs were still charged with finding sponsors prior to resettlement.

By the early 1980s, secondary migration (moving a second time after arriving in the United States) had somewhat concentrated the Vietnamese American population in states with warmer weather. By 1984, over 40 percent of these refugees were located in California, mostly in the large urban centers. Texas, the state with the next largest number of southeast Asians, held 7.2 percent. This trend toward concentration continued throughout the 1980s, so that the 1990 census showed 50 percent of Vietnamese Americans living in California, and a little over 11 percent living in Texas. Other states with large numbers of Vietnamese were Virginia, Washington, Florida, New York, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.

The number of Vietnamese and other Indochinese coming to the United States never again reached the high points of 1980 and 1981. The influx did continue, however, with roughly 24,000 Vietnamese reaching America every year through 1986. Many of those leaving Vietnam for the United States in the 1980s emigrated legally through the Orderly Departure Program (ODP). This was a program formed by the governments of the United States and Vietnam, despite the fact that there were no formal diplomatic relations between the two countries, which allowed those interviewed and approved by U.S. officials in Vietnam to leave the country. Two of the groups in which the United States was particularly interested were the former South Vietnamese soldiers, who were in prisons and re-education camps, and the Amerasians, the roughly 8,000 children of American fathers and Vietnamese mothers who had been left behind at the end of the war. Although an estimated 50,000 Vietnamese were resettled in the United States through the Orderly Departure Program between late 1979 and 1987, refugees also continued to pour out of Vietnam by boat and on land, across war-torn Cambodia to Thailand.

Vietnamese immigrants to this country during the Vietnam War included many children.



Although the number of Vietnamese to enter the United States diminished in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the group continued to grow as a part of American society. While the 1980 U.S. census placed the number of Vietnamese in this country at 245,025, the 1990 census listed 614,545. This increase of over 150 percent made the Vietnamese America's fifth largest Asian group. Because they have large families (the average number of persons in Vietnamese families in 1990 was 4.36 compared with 3.06 for white Americans and 3.48 for African Americans), by the year 2000 the Vietnamese are expected to be the third largest group among Asians and Pacific Islanders, outnumbered only by Chinese and Filipinos.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

When the first group of Vietnamese arrived in the United States, there was concern about how well this large group of people, from a vastly different culture with limited English and traumatic experiences of war, would fit into American society. The Vietnamese remain newcomers; nearly half are immigrants who arrived after 1980 and only 18.6 percent of Vietnamese living in the United States were born here. Despite these obstacles, their adaptation has been rapid. By 1990 almost three-fourths of Vietnamese in the United States could speak English well or very well. Only 20.5 percent did not speak English well, and only 4.7 percent could not speak English at all. There were differences between those

who arrived before 1980 and those who arrived after 1980, but both groups showed high levels of English-language ability. Among the pre-1980 immigrants, 86.9 percent reported that they could speak English well or very well and only 2.0 percent reported that they could not speak English at all. Among the post-1980 immigrants, 62.8 percent said that they could speak English well or very well, and 7.3 percent said that they could not speak English at all.

Despite the general success in adapting to the new country, many Vietnamese Americans continue to face hardships. Nearly a quarter lived below the poverty level in 1990. Moreover, many Vietnamese have had to face prejudice and discrimination from other sectors of the American population.

Maintaining Vietnamese traditions is a major concern in most Vietnamese American communities and adult Vietnamese Americans often worry that their children may be losing distinctive cultural characteristics. Since Vietnamese Americans are such new arrivals, it is difficult to judge to what extent these concerns are justified. Some Vietnamese Americans have made a conscious effort to assimilate completely into American society (for instance, by changing the last name "Nguyen" to "Newman" or "Winn"), but most retain their sense of ethnicity. Those who live in areas largely populated by Vietnamese typically remain more culturally distinctive than those who reside in suburban areas, surrounded by Americans of other ethnic backgrounds.

American views of the Vietnamese have been dominated by American involvement in the Vietnam War. Books and movies about Vietnam and the Vietnamese, such as the films *Apocalypse Now* and *The Deer Hunter*, tend to be ethnocentric, addressing the American experience in Vietnam, rather than Vietnamese life. Vietnamese Americans are often stereotyped in the popular press as chronic overachievers or desperate refugees. These stereotypes may lose some of their force as the Vietnamese presence in America continues.

CUISINE

Rice is the basis of most Vietnamese meals. In fact, the word *com* (pronounced "gum"), which means "cooked rice," is also used to mean "food" in general. In Vietnamese, to ask "have you eaten yet?" one literally asks "have you eaten rice yet?" Rice is eaten with a variety of side dishes, which are usually quite spicy. Popular dishes include *ca kho* (braised fish, pronounced "ga khaw"), *ca chien* (fried fish, pronounced "ga cheeyen"), *thit ga kho sa* (chicken braised with lemon grass, pronounced "tit ga khaw

sa”), *thit bo xao* (stir-fried beef, pronounced “tit baw sow”), and *suon xao chua ngot* (sweet and sour spare ribs, pronounced “sow chewa ngawt”). Egg rolls, known as *cha gio* (“cha yaw”), are served with many Vietnamese meals and at almost all Vietnamese festive occasions. A rice noodle soup, *pho* (“fuh”), is one of the most popular breakfast and lunch foods. Vietnamese restaurants have become common in the United States, and their delicious foods are one of the most widely appreciated contributions of Vietnamese Americans to American life.

TRADITIONAL DRESS

Vietnamese men, even in Vietnam, long ago adopted western dress. Women, however, still wear the traditional *ao dai* (pronounced “ow yai”) on most special occasions. The *ao dai* consists of a long mandarin-collared shirt that extends to the calves, slit at both sides to the waist. This is worn over loose black or white pants. *Ao dais* may come in many colors, and their flowing simplicity makes them among the most graceful forms of dress.

The conical Vietnamese hat known as the *non la* (literally, “leaf hat”) may be seen often in areas where large numbers of Vietnamese Americans reside. Designed for protection from the hot sun of southeast Asia, the *non la* is light and provides comfortable shade when working outdoors.

HOLIDAYS

The most important Vietnamese holiday is *Tet*, which marks both the beginning of the lunar New Year and the beginning of spring. *Tet* usually falls in late January or early February. In traditional families, a ceremony may be held on the afternoon before *Tet*, during which deceased ancestors are invited to come back and spend the festival days with the living. As in the western New Year, fireworks may be heard at midnight, heralding the coming year. Several young men dressed up as a dragon, the symbol of power and nobility, perform the dragon dance on the streets or other open spaces. The dragon dance also has become an important part of the cultural exhibitions in schools and other places. On the morning of *Tet*, families awaken early and dress in their best clothes. People offer each other New Year wishes and give the children lucky red envelopes containing money. *Tet* is considered a time for visiting and entertaining guests, and non-Vietnamese are heartily welcomed to most of the celebrations and ceremonies.

Many Vietnamese Americans, especially Buddhists, also celebrate the traditional holiday of

Trung Nguyen, or “Wandering Souls Day,” which falls in the middle of the seventh lunar month. On this holiday, tables are filled with food offered to the wandering souls of ancestors. In some cases, money and clothes made of special paper may be burned at this time.

Trung Thu, or the “Mid-Autumn Festival”, held on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month is one of the loveliest of Vietnamese holidays. Bakers in Vietnamese communities begin to prepare weeks before the festival by making moon cakes of sticky rice. People fashion lanterns of cellophane paper in many different shapes, and place candles inside. On the night of the festival, children form a procession and travel through the streets with their bright lanterns, dancing to the beat of drums and cymbals.

In 1994, Congress designated May 11 as the annual Vietnam Human Rights Day. Each year, the day is used to remind the world that Vietnam remains under communist rule and that the Vietnamese struggle for freedom continues. In 1995, Congress sponsored a rally at the Hart Senate Office building on Capitol Hill.

PROVERBS

Like the proverbs of many other peoples, traditional Vietnamese proverbs form a treasury of popular wisdom, offering insights into the society and into its beliefs about how relations among people are or ought to be. The following are a few of the countless proverbs that have been quoted by generations of Vietnamese people: Birds have nests, people have ancestors; If a branch is broken from a tree, the branch dies; Big fish eat little ones; From our own thoughts we can guess the thoughts of others; Even the fierce tiger will not devour its kittens; The city has its laws, the village has its customs; The law of the Emperor must give way before the customs of the village; The higher one climbs, the more painful the fall; Life is ten times more valuable than wealth; Chew when you eat, think when you speak.

HEALTH ISSUES

Many older Vietnamese suffer from the strains of war and exile. Younger Vietnamese, who sometimes find themselves straddling two cultures, express confusion over discrepancies between the expectations of their parents and those of the larger society. Nevertheless, Vietnamese Americans as a whole do not exhibit mental health problems that prevent them from functioning in American society.

Vietnamese Americans generally have a high opinion of the American medical establishment.

The profession of medical doctor is the most highly rated by Vietnamese Americans in terms of prestige, and it is a source of great pride to Vietnamese American parents to have a child who is a doctor or a nurse.

Tuberculosis was a serious problem among Vietnamese refugees to the United States, but they were kept in refugee camps overseas until it was determined that the disease was cured. As a result, the incidence of tuberculosis among Vietnamese Americans now appears to be very low.

LANGUAGE

Vietnamese is generally a monosyllabic language. Two or more one-syllable words may be joined together, however, usually connected by a hyphen, to form a compound word. Vietnamese is a tonal language; the meanings of words are determined by the pitch or tone at which the words are spoken. Several of these tones are also found in English, but English does not use the tones in the same way. In Vietnamese, the sound “*ma*” pronounced with a falling tone and the sound “*ma*” pronounced with a low rising tone are actually two different words. The first means “but” and the second means “tomb.” There are six of these tones in Vietnamese. In modern written Vietnamese, which uses the romanized system of writing introduced by European missionaries, the tones are indicated by diacritical marks, or marks written above and below the vowel in each syllable. A word without any mark is spoken with a mid-level tone. When the word has an acute accent over the vowel, it is pronounced with a voice that starts high and then rises sharply. When the word has a grave accent over the vowel, it is pronounced with a voice that starts at a low level and then falls even lower. A tilde over the vowel indicates a high broken tone, in which the voice starts slightly above the middle of the normal speaking voice range, drops and then rises abruptly. A diacritical mark that looks like a question mark without the dot at the bottom is written over a vowel to indicate the low rising tone that sounds like the questioning tone in English. A dot written under a vowel means that the word should be pronounced with a voice that starts low, drops a little bit lower, and is then cut off abruptly. Most non-Vietnamese who study the language agree that the tones are the most difficult part of learning to speak it properly.

One of the most interesting features of Vietnamese is its use of status-related pronouns, a feature that it shares with many other Asian languages. While English has only one singular first-person, one singular second-person, and two singular third-

person pronouns, Vietnamese has words that perform the function of pronouns. The word that is used for a pronoun depends on the relationship between the speaker and the person addressed. When a student addresses a teacher, for example, the word used for “you” is the respectful “*thay*,” which means “teacher.” Many of the words used as pronouns express family relations, even when the Vietnamese are speaking with non-family members. Close friends are addressed as “*anh*” (“older brother”) or “*chị*” (“older sister”). To address someone more politely, especially someone older than oneself, one uses the words “*ong*” (literally, “grandfather”) or “*ba*” (literally, “grandmother”). In this way, the fundamental Vietnamese values of respect for age, education, and social prestige and the central place of the extended family in Vietnamese life are embodied in the language itself.

The dialect of northern Vietnam, known as *tieng bac*, is slightly different from that of southern Vietnam, known as *tieng nam*. One of the most notable differences is that the Vietnamese letter “*d*” is pronounced like the consonant “*y*” in the southern dialect and somewhat like the “*z*” in the northern dialect. Although the southern dialect is more common among Vietnamese Americans, many Vietnamese Americans who are from families that moved south in 1954 speak the northern dialect.

Although many of Vietnamese Americans speak English well and use it outside the home, the vast majority retain the Vietnamese language. In 1990, about 80 percent of those who identified themselves as Vietnamese in the U.S. census said they spoke Vietnamese at home, while another 4.7 percent said they spoke Chinese, and only 14.1 percent reported speaking English at home. Even among those who came to the United States before 1980, over 70 percent reported speaking Vietnamese at home. Vietnamese Americans generally regard their language as an important part of their cultural identity, and make efforts to pass it on to their young people.

GREETINGS AND OTHER POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some common Vietnamese greetings and expressions are: *Chao ong* (“jow ohm”)—Hello (to an older man or to one to whom one wishes to show respect); *Chao anh*—Hello (to a male friend); *Chao ba* (“jow ba”)—Hello (to an older woman); *Chao co* (“jow go”)—Hello (to a younger woman); *Di Dao* (“dee dow”)—Where are you going? (commonly used as a greeting); *Ong* (or *anh*, *ba*, *co*, depending on the gender and relationship of the person addressed) *manh gioi khong* (“ohm mahn yoi

kohm”)—Are you well? (used in the sense of the English “How are you?”); *Cam on* (“gahm ung”)—Thank you; *Khong co gi* (“kohm gaw yi”)—You’re welcome (literally the expression means: “that is nothing!”); *Chuc mung nam moi* (“chook meung nam meuey”)—Happy New Year. Since Vietnamese uses tones and also contains some sounds not found in English, the suggested pronunciations are only approximate.

LITERATURE

Until the twentieth century, the greater part of Vietnamese literature was written in Chinese characters. A smaller portion of their literature was written in *chu nom*, a writing system that uses a combination of Chinese characters to transcribe Vietnamese sounds. The Vietnamese people have a wealth of folktales that were usually passed on by storytelling, although many were collected in anthologies in *chu nom*. The folktales include stories about animals, fairy tales, fables with moral lessons, Buddhist legends, and stories about historical figures. There are several good collections of Vietnamese folktales in English that can be enjoyed by children and adults alike. Among these are *Under the Starfruit Tree: Folktales from Vietnam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), collected by Alice M. Terada; *The Beggar in the Blanket and Other Vietnamese Tales* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), retold by Gail Graham; and *The Wishing Pearl and Other Tales of Vietnam* (New York: Harvey House, 1969), translated by Lam Chan Quan and edited by Jon and Kay Nielsen.

The earliest works of formal literature composed in *chu nom* are poems that date from the Tran dynasty in the thirteenth century A.D. The most important early Vietnamese author, however, was Nguyen Trai, a poet of the early 1400s, who was heavily influenced by Chinese models. Ironically, Nguyen Trai served as a minister in the court of the Vietnamese ruler Le Loi (also known as the Emperor Le Thai To), who waged a successful war of liberation against China. This emperor was himself a poet and his writings are included in one of the first anthologies of Vietnamese poetry, which is still read today.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were something of a golden age for narrative and lyric verse in *chu nom* characters. The six- and eight-syllable verse known as *luc-bat* became the most important and widely used literary form at this time. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the poet Nguyen Du used the six-eight syllable *luc-bat* to compose the long narrative *Kim Van Kieu*, or the *Tale of Khieu*, which is considered the national

literary masterpiece of Vietnam (translated into English by Huynh Sanh Thong and published in the United States by Yale University Press, 1983).

The early- to mid-twentieth century saw a flowering of Vietnamese literature, due largely to the spread of the *quoc ngu*, or romanized system of writing. The older Chinese-based writing system was difficult to learn and to use, and the new writing made mass literacy possible, creating new readers and writers. In the twentieth century also, western forms of literature, such as the novel, journalism, and literary criticism, took root. Two of the most popular contemporary novelists in Vietnam are Duong Thu Huong, whose novel *Paradise of the Blind* (translated into English by Nina McPherson and Phan Huy Duong, William Morrow and Co, 1993) became the first novel from Vietnam to appear in English in the United States, and Bao Ninh, *The Sorrow of War*, which also appears in English (translated by Phan Thanh Hao and edited by Frank Palmos, New York: Pantheon Books, 1995).

Vietnamese Americans, struggling to adjust to life in a new country and a new language, are only beginning to establish a literature of their own. Most Vietnamese communities have their own newspapers, which frequently offer poems and stories in Vietnamese. The memoir has become an important literary form for Vietnamese American authors attempting to reach a wider English-speaking audience. Two important memoirs by Vietnamese American authors are *The Vietnamese Gulag* (Simon and Schuster, 1986), by Doan Van Toai, and *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places* (Doubleday, 1989), by Le Ly Hayslip. The latter work has also been made into a film by Oliver Stone, and Hayslip has published a second memoir entitled *Child of War, Woman of Peace* (Doubleday, 1993). Jade Ngoc Quang Huynh’s *South Wind Changing: A Memoir* (Graywolf Press, 1994), which tells of the author’s youth and university education in Saigon, imprisonment in a reeducation camp, flight to America, and his efforts to become a writer, met with great critical acclaim.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The extended family is the heart of Vietnamese culture, and preservation of family life in their new home is one of the most important concerns of Vietnamese Americans. While American families are generally nuclear, consisting of parents and their children, the Vietnamese tend to think of the fam-

This Vietnamese American girl is performing at the Lotus Festival in Los Angeles.



ily as including maternal and paternal grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. Traditionally-minded Vietnamese Americans think of all social relations on the model of family relations. Many Vietnamese Americans have taken on family patterns similar to the nuclear families of other Americans, but many of them still attempt to retain close ties with their

extended families, so that even when adult children marry and leave the household, parents often encourage them to live nearby.

Older and newly arrived Vietnamese Americans often display indirectness and extreme politeness in dealing with others. They will tend to avoid looking other people in the eyes out of respect, and

they frequently try not to express open disagreement with others. U.S.-born Vietnamese youth often have the mannerisms and cultural traits of other American adolescents, which sometimes leads to intergenerational conflict, and to complaints by older people that the younger people are “disrespectful.”

Vietnamese American family ties are strong and their families generally remain intact, despite the strains of exile and adaptation to a new country. In the 1990 U.S. census, 84 percent of Vietnamese people over 15 years of age who had been married were still married. Only 5.3 percent were divorced and only 4.5 percent were separated.

Although Vietnamese Americans often express a distaste for public assistance, most Vietnamese families who arrive in the United States as refugees receive public assistance for about six months from the time of arrival. In 1990, about a fourth of Vietnamese American families were receiving some form of public assistance.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Dating is almost unknown in Vietnam, where couples are almost always accompanied by chaperons, and many Vietnamese American parents feel very uncomfortable with the idea of their daughters going out alone with young men. Still, American-style dating has become fairly common among young Vietnamese Americans. Most Vietnamese Americans marry within their ethnic group, but Vietnamese American women are much more likely to marry non-Vietnamese than are Vietnamese American men.

EDUCATION

Education is highly valued in Vietnamese culture, and the knowledge attained by children is viewed as a reflection on the entire family. In a study of achievement among southeast Asian refugees, Nathan Caplan, John K. Whitmore, and Marcella H. Choy found that with both grades and scores on standardized tests, Vietnamese American children ranked higher than other American children, although they did show deficiencies in language and reading. Even Catholic Vietnamese Americans usually attend public schools. Both males and females pursue higher education. A degree in engineering is by far the most popular degree, although this occupation tends to be pursued by males more than by females.

The high value placed on learning leads a large proportion of young Vietnamese Americans to pur-

sue higher education. Almost half of Vietnamese Americans between the ages of 18 and 24 in 1990 were in college, compared with 39.5 percent of white Americans and 28.1 percent of black Americans in the same age group. High school dropout rates among young Vietnamese Americans were also lower than those of other Americans. Only 6.5 percent of Vietnamese Americans from ages 16 to 19 were neither enrolled in high school nor high school graduates, compared to 9.8 percent of white American youth and 13.7 percent of black American youth.

MALE-FEMALE RELATIONS

Vietnamese culture is patriarchal, but relations between male and female Vietnamese in the United States have become much more egalitarian. Vietnamese families strongly encourage higher education for both young men and young women. Still, almost all community leaders are men and young Vietnamese American women often voice frustration at the expectation that they should be primarily wives and mothers, even if they work outside the home.

It is common for Vietnamese American women to work outside the home (55.8 percent contribute to the labor force), but they are often employed in low-paying, marginal, part-time jobs. Although over 90 percent of the female civilian labor force for this group was currently employed in the 1990 census, only 66.6 percent were employed full-time.

RELIGION

Although Buddhism is the religion of the overwhelming majority of people in Vietnam, probably about 30 percent of Vietnamese Americans are Catholics. The rituals and practices of Vietnamese Catholics are the same as those of Catholics everywhere, but some observers, such as Jesse Nash, author of *Vietnamese Catholicism* (New Orleans, Art Review Press, 1992) have claimed that the Vietnamese Catholic outlook is heavily influenced by Confucianism.

Vietnamese Buddhists are almost always Mahayana Buddhists, the general school of Buddhism found in China, Japan, Korea, and Tibet. Vietnamese Buddhism is heavily influenced by the tradition known in Vietnamese as *Tien*, which is more commonly known in the West by its Japanese name *Zen*. This discipline emphasizes the achievement of enlightenment through meditation. Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Zen master who was

nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by Martin Luther King, Jr., is widely known in the United States, even outside the Vietnamese American community, for his stories, poems, and sermons.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Vietnamese Americans may be found in almost all occupations, but they seem to show a preference for technical jobs, such as electrical engineering and machinery assembling. In the southern states along the Gulf Coast, Vietnamese fishermen and shrimpers play an important role in the fishing industry. High rates of employment have helped to earn Vietnamese Americans a reputation for being hard-working and energetic. In 1990, male Vietnamese Americans over the age of 26 had an unemployment rate of only 5.3 percent and even second-wave refugees, with an unemployment rate of only 6.3 percent, showed less joblessness than most others in the country.

About ten percent of Vietnamese Americans were self-employed in 1990. According to a United States census report on minority-owned businesses, in 1987, Vietnamese in America owned 25,671 firms, with 13,357 employees. This means that the number of Vietnamese-owned businesses had increased by about 415 percent since 1982. Of these businesses, 46 percent (11,855 firms) were in California and a little over one-fifth of these businesses (5,443) were in Texas. This remarkable growth in business ownership among Vietnamese Americans appears to have continued into the 1990s, suggesting that they are adapting well to the U.S. economy.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Vietnamese Americans are not yet heavily involved in American politics. Most Vietnamese American communities have a branch of the Vietnamese American Voters' Association, a decentralized set of grass-roots groups that functions primarily to prepare Vietnamese people to apply for U.S. citizenship and to advise Vietnamese Americans on voting in local elections.

The relationship between Vietnam and the United States is the major political issue for most Vietnamese Americans, and it is a highly divisive one. Some Vietnamese Americans favor closer relations to Vietnam, feeling that this will lead to greater prosperity for their parent country and con-

tribute to its liberalization. Others strongly oppose any relations between the United States and Vietnam, in the belief that any relations between the two countries help to support the current socialist Vietnamese government.

Young Vietnamese Americans have only begun to serve in the American military. Nevertheless, military service is popular among new college graduates. Vietnamese American cadets at the major American military academies, although few in number, have received widespread attention in the media.

Many Vietnamese Americans remain concerned with the political situation in Vietnam. In Garden Grove, California, a group of Vietnamese American youngsters formed the group "Movement for Human Rights in Vietnam by 2000." In 1999, Nguyen Dan Que, a medical doctor and former political prisoner, announced that "I am going to organise—and this is a challenge to the [Vietnamese] government—a meeting of former political prisoners in Vietnam." In April 1999, approximately 800-1,000 Vietnamese Americans rallied on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, D.C., to express their concern about Vietnam.

Political emotions can run very high in Vietnamese American communities. In Westminster, California, Truong Van Tran, an electronics store owner in an area known as Little Saigon put up a poster of Ho Chi Minh in his shop. After a few eventless months, someone complained to Tran's nephew, who was working at the store. Tran responded with a pointed letter to a local group of anti-communist Vietnamese Americans. Soon afterward Tran faced protesters outside his store. The owner of the mall took the matter to Orange County Superior Court where the judge ordered Tran to take the poster down until she could review the matter further. In February of 1999 the court ruled that Tran had the First Amendment right to display the poster despite the mall owner's claims to his right to orderly business. When Tran returned to his store with the Ho Chi Minh poster, an angry mob of 200 Vietnamese immigrants assaulted him. Tran left the scene in an ambulance. He later told the *New York Times*, "I have a right to hang whatever picture I like in my store. I know the law in this country."

Santa Ana, California, was the site of a flap over a Vietnamese American art show. The Bowers Museum of Cultural Art put on an exhibit of Vietnamese art called "A Winding River" that contained some works that seemed to promote communism. The communist symbols and images sparked controversy and inspired many Vietnamese immi-

grants in the area to picket and protest the exhibit. Laura Baker, the Bowers Museum curator of Asian art, told the *New York Times* that the public protests had doubled attendance at the exhibit.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Because the arrival of Vietnamese Americans is so recent, they have only begun to make their mark on American culture.

ACADEMIA

Huynh Sanh Thong is a scholar and translator of Vietnamese literature. Thong was the first editor of *The Vietnam Forum* and *Lac Viet*, two series of collections of literary works on Vietnamese history, folklore, economics and politics. Both of these collections are part of The Southeast Asian Refugee Project of the Yale Council on Southeast Asia Studies.

ART AND ENTERTAINMENT

Dustin Nguyen, born Nguyen Xuan Tri in Saigon, fled with his family to the United States in 1975 when he was 12 years old. Nguyen graduated from high school in Missouri and attended Orange Coast College in California, where he became interested in acting. He moved to Hollywood to pursue this interest and became famous for the character he played on the T.V. series *21 Jump Street* from 1986 to 1990.

JOURNALISM

Andrew Lam is an associate editor with the Pacific News Service. The son of a South Vietnamese army officer, he fled Vietnam with his family in 1975, the day before Saigon fell. He has published essays and news stories in a wide variety of publications. His memoir "My Vietnam, My America" (published in the December 10, 1990 issue of *The Nation*), gives a young Vietnamese American's reflections on his dual heritage.

MILITARY

Jean Nguyen and Hung Vu, in 1985, became the first Vietnamese immigrants to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point. Both had arrived in the United States just ten years earlier, unable to speak English.

MEDIA

PRINT

Most Vietnamese American communities have small Vietnamese-language newspapers with limited circulation. However, there are only a few national publications that are accessible to the public at large.

Across the Sea.

A magazine published twice a year by Vietnamese American Student Publications.

Contact: Jeffrey Hung Nguyen and Quyen Le, Editors.

Address: 700 Eshleman Hall, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, California 94720.

Gia Dinh Moi (New Family).

Monthly Catholic magazine in Vietnamese.

Address: 841 Lenzen Avenue, Third Floor, San Jose, California 95126-2736.

Horizons: Of Vietnamese Thought and Culture.

A magazine for Vietnamese American young adults.

Contact: Huy Thanh Cao, Editor.

Address: 415 South Park Victoria, Suite 350, Milpitas, California 95035.

International Association for Research in Vietnamese Music.

Address: P.O. Box 16, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Telephone: (216) 382-2917.

Fax: (440) 677-4434.

E-mail: iarvm@aol.com.

Journal of Vietnamese Music: Nhạc Viet.

Formerly *Nhac Viet Newsletter*. Published by International Association for Research in Vietnamese Music; a research journal focusing on the music of Vietnam and Asia.

Contact: Dr. Sara Stone Miller, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 16, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Telephone: (216) 677-9703.

Khang Chien.

A monthly Vietnamese-language magazine covering events and developments in Vietnam.

Contact: Nguyen Trong Thuc, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 7826, San Jose, California 95150.

Telephone: (408) 363-1078.

Fax: (408) 363-1178.

Nguoi Vet.

Daily newspaper in Vietnamese.

Contact: Do Ngoc Yen, Publisher.

Address: 14891 Moren Street, Westminster,
California 92683.

Telephone: (714) 892-9414.

Fax: (714) 894-1381.

Thoi Luan.

A weekly Vietnamese community newspaper.

Contact: Do Dien Duc, Publisher.

Address: 1685 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles,
California 90026.

Telephone: (213) 483-8817.

Tin Viet.

Weekly Vietnamese community newspaper.

Contact: Nguyen Thuong Hieb, Editor.

Address: 9872 Chapman Avenue, Suite 12,
Garden Grove, California 92641.

Telephone: (714) 530-6521.

Van Hoc.

A major Vietnamese American literary magazine entirely in Vietnamese.

Address: P.O. Box 3192, Tustin, California 92680.

Vietnam Daily Newspaper.

Daily community newspaper serving the greater San Francisco area.

Contact: Giang Nguyen, Publisher.

Address: 575 Tully Road, San Jose,
California 95111.

Telephone: (408) 292-3422.

Fax: (408) 292-4088.

The Viet Nam Forum.

A journal published by the Southeast Asian Refugee Project of the Yale Council on Southeast Asian Studies. This project was founded as an archive for written material by refugees from Southeast Asia. The Council also publishes *Lac Viet*, a series of anthologies of works on Vietnamese history, folklore, economics, and politics.

Contact: Dan Duffy, Editor.

Address: Yale Council on Southeast Asian
Studies, Box 13A Yale Station, New Haven,
Connecticut 06520.

The Viet Nam Generation.

A press established for the purpose of publishing scholarship and literature about the war in Viet-

nam; it also publishes material on contemporary Vietnamese Americans.

Address: 18 Center Road, Woodbridge,
Connecticut 06525.

Viet Nam Hai Ngoai.

Monthly Vietnamese magazine.

Contact: Dinh Thach Bich, Editor and Publisher.

Address: P.O. Box 33627, San Diego, California
92103-0580.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Vietnamese Americans have formed a wide variety of organizations during the short time they have been a part of American society. Most of these exist to help newly arrived Vietnamese adjust to American society, but they also provide information about Vietnamese American culture, business, and other aspects of Vietnamese life in this country.

Center for Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement.

Provides services to newly arrived Indochinese refugees.

Contact: Vu-Duc Vuong, Executive Director.

Address: 875 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco,
California 94109.

Telephone: (415) 885-2743.

Federation of American Cultural and Language Communities (FACLC).

A coalition of ethnic organizations representing Americans of Armenian, French, German, Hispanic, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Sicilian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese descent; works to address areas of common interest to ethnic communities; seeks to further the rights of ethnic Americans, especially their cultural and linguistic rights. Publishes quarterly newsletter.

Contact: Alfred M. Rotondaro, Executive
Director.

Address: 666 11th Street, N.W., Suite 800 NIAF,
Washington, D.C. 20001.

Telephone: (202) 638-0220.

National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans.

Seeks to: provide equal educational opportunities for Indochinese-Americans; advance the rights of

Indochinese-Americans; acknowledge and publicize contributions of Vietnamese and other Indochinese in American schools, culture, and society; encourage appreciation of Indochinese cultures, peoples, education, and language. Facilitates the exchange of information and skills among Indochinese professionals and other professionals working with Indochinese Americans. Works toward legislative needs of Indochinese-Americans in education, health, social services, and welfare.

Contact: Ms. Kimoanh Nguyen-lam, President.
Address: 1250 Bellflower Boulevard, Long Beach, California 90840.
Telephone: (562) 985-5806.
Fax: (562) 985-4528.
E-mail: kclam@csulb.edu.

Vietnamese American Civic Organization.

Promotes the participation of Vietnamese Americans in voting and other civic activities.

Contact: Hiep Chu, Executive Director.
Address: 1486 Dorchester Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02122.
Telephone: (617) 288-7344.

Vietnamese American Cultural and Social Council.

Devoted to the social welfare of Vietnamese Americans, as well as to the maintenance of Vietnamese culture in America.

Contact: Paul Phu Tran, Executive Director.
Address: 1211 Garbo Way, Suite 304, San Jose, California 95117.
Telephone: (408) 971-8285.

Vietnamese American Cultural Organization.

Concerned with furthering Vietnamese culture and traditions in the United States.

Contact: Father Joseph Hien.
Address: 213 West 30th Street, New York, New York 10001.
Telephone: (212) 343-0762.

Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce in America.

Serves minority groups; provides help with small businesses.

Contact: Tuong Ngyen, Executive Director.
Address: 9938 Bolsa Avenue, Suite 216, Westminster, California 92683.
Telephone: (714) 839-2257.

Vietnamese Fishermen Association of America.

Represents the interests of the large number of Vietnamese Americans who fish off the Pacific and Gulf Coasts.

Contact: John Nguyen, Executive Director.
Address: 570 Tenth Street, Suite 306, Oakland, California 94607.
Telephone: (510) 834-7971.

Vietnamese Heritage Society (VHS).

Works to preserve Vietnamese culture and heritage and to increase understanding between ethnic groups.

Contact: Trang T. Le, President.
Address: 9750 West Wheaton Circle, New Orleans, Louisiana 70127.
Telephone: (504) 254-1857.

Vietnamese Senior Citizens Association.

Vietnamese individuals 50 years of age and older. Offers social and cultural assistance and fellowship to members. Sponsors community events including the Tet festival (a celebration of the Vietnamese New Year) and ceremonies commemorating Vietnamese national heroes and deceased relatives of members. Maintains cemetery for members.

Contact: Linh Quang Vien, President.
Address: 3813 Wildlive Lane, Burtonsville, Maryland 20866

Vietnam Refugee Fund.

Community and professional volunteers who provide assistance and staff programs aimed at the smooth resettlement of Vietnamese refugees into the U.S. Offers counseling, seminars in crosscultural understanding, job information and placement service, and translation and interpretation. Intervenes on behalf of Vietnamese refugees and residents in legal matters; assists in organizing citizenship classes. Operates Vietnamese-language radio program in Washington, DC, area.

Contact: Dao Thi Hoi, Coordinator.
Address: 6433 Nothana Drive, Springfield, Virginia 22150.
Telephone: (703) 971-9178.
Fax: (703) 719-5764.

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VIRGIN ISLANDER AMERICANS

by
Lolly Ockerstrom

OVERVIEW

Known until 1917 as the Danish West Indies, the U.S. Virgin Islands rise out of the Caribbean waters 1,100 miles (1,770 kilometers) south of Miami and 40 miles (64 kilometers) east of Puerto Rico. They cover a total of 165 square miles. To the north lie the Bahamas, while to the south rests Haiti. Part of the Greater Antilles chain, the Virgin Islands are composed of 68 volcanic islands and cays, which are small islands made chiefly of coral. The three main islands are St. Thomas, St. John's, and St. Croix. All are rugged and mountainous. The British Virgin Islands of Tortola, Virgin Gorda, Anegada, and Jost Van Dyke are located farther east and cover 59 square miles.

Since the end of World War II, tourism has been the most important industry on the islands. Renowned for their breathtaking white sandy beaches, numerous cays, and exotic fauna, the Virgin Islands are a popular tourist destination, particularly for those interested in diving, sailing, and sport fishing. The average yearly temperature is 80 degrees Fahrenheit (25 degrees centigrade); trade winds help to keep the temperature moderate. By the late 1990s the population totaled 102,000, with the majority living in the capital city of Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas. The annual rate of population growth is 2.5 percent. The population density is 76 persons per square mile.

As citizens of a U.S. territory, Virgin Islanders have a relationship to the United States unlike that of other immigrant groups. Islanders claim allegiance to two distinct cultural identities, as they are simultaneously Virgin Islanders and U.S. citizens.

Island mythology abounds with tales from pirate days, of Bluebeard and island ghosts, which are exploited to promote tourism. The islands also have had a long and painful history of colonialism and slavery under Danish rule. One result is that the majority of Virgin Islanders are of African descent, while the rest are of European or mixed heritage. The United States purchased the Virgin Islands in 1917 from Denmark for \$25 million. The official language is English, although Spanish and Creole are also widely used. The currency is the U.S. dollar. Known as “America’s Paradise,” the Virgin Islands claim a culture that is Afro-Euro-Caribbean.

HISTORY

Native peoples inhabited the Virgin Islands thousands of years before Christopher Columbus came to the islands on his second voyage to the New World in 1493. The Arawaks are thought to have arrived on the islands about 100-200 A.D., while the Ciboneys came between 300 and 400 B.C. The Caribs arrived much later, about 100 to 150 years before Columbus. The Arawak and Carib Indians originated in Central America and traveled to the Virgin Islands through what is now Trinidad and the Lesser Antilles. It is not known where the Ciboneys originated. Various theories hold that they moved south from Florida, north from South America, or east from Central America. There was no firsthand contemporary study of any of these people, but twentieth-century archaeological studies have made it possible to reconstruct the social and cultural patterns of the first Virgin Islanders. Ancient *petroglyphs*, or rocks incised with figures hundreds of years ago, exist throughout the region. They have provided the only written record of these earlier times.

The Arawaks, Caribs, and Ciboneys crafted articles from stone, shell, bone, and wood. They also worked with other natural materials from the local environment, including hemp, fiber, grass, cotton, and skins, to fashion such everyday items as bowls, mortars and pestles, flints, and celts. The Arawaks and the Caribs produced pottery from yellow and red clay, although the Ciboneys do not appear to have worked in clay at all. Only the Caribs made mats from grasses. All three tribes were fish-eating cultures, and all were hunters and gatherers who crafted dugout canoes from cedar and silk-cotton trees to use for transportation. The Arawaks were the most skilled in cultivating the soil to grow crops. Of the three groups, the Caribs were the most warlike. Their principal weapons were bows used with poisoned arrows. The Arawaks preferred spears. Both the Carib and the Arawak tribes used javelins and clubs as well.

Around 1550, the native tribes were forced off the islands when Charles V of Spain declared them enemies. By the time the Danes arrived on St. Thomas in 1672, very few natives remained. The Danes established trade and commerce on the islands, developing plantations for growing sugar, cotton, coffee, and livestock, which demanded a continuous supply of cheap labor. This led to the use of indentured white servants and black slaves brought in from Africa.

The Danes ran a flourishing slave trade that began in 1672 and continued until a massive uprising on St. Croix in 1848 that ended slavery in the Virgin Islands. During that period, 100,000 people of African descent were forcibly transported to work as field laborers on Danish plantations. While most came directly from Africa, others came from neighboring Caribbean islands. It is estimated that in 1778, the slave population on St. Croix was 22,867, with another 4,634 on St. Thomas and 2,454 on St. John. Referred to as “*kamina* folk,” they labored in the plantation fields. The Creole word *kamina* signified both the piece of land being cultivated and the black people who performed the work. Historian Isaac Dookhan theorized that had the Spanish not driven the native peoples from the Virgin Islands, enslaved Africans might never have been forced to come to the Virgin Islands. But the Arawaks, Caribs, and Ciboneys did vanish, and African slaves were captured and brought to the islands. As a result, as Dookhan noted, every aspect of life in the Virgin Islands was dominated by slavery. Class distinctions developed based on degrees of color, wealth, and education; a white ruling class emerged and suppressed the black laboring class; and the economy became dependent on the presence of slaves to work the plantations to produce food commodities for trade. The slave history of the Virgin Islands created difficult social conditions for all residents well into the twentieth century. However, in rereading Virgin Islands history, historians are recognizing a strong tradition of protest and resistance from which the *kamina* folk created a distinct culture of survival.

MODERN ERA

Competition from other sugar-producing nations, including European sugar-beet growers, began to have a negative impact on the Virgin Islands’ plantation-based economy during the nineteenth century. Following the abolition of slavery, plantation growers hired indentured servants and other laborers. To reduce operating expenses in order to remain competitive, growers began to exploit their workers, leading to a massive labor revolt on St. Croix in 1878. Despite attempts by the Danish government

to improve conditions, agriculture and trade continued to decline. At the outbreak of World War I, Denmark could no longer afford to maintain the islands. Denmark and the United States began discussions regarding the purchase of the Virgin Islands as early as 1863, but negotiations broke off when the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the purchase proposal. Talks resumed in 1914. Denmark and the United States signed treaties, and on March 31, 1917, control of the Virgin Islands was transferred to the United States.

The United States wanted the islands chiefly to defend access to the Panama Canal and to prevent the Germans from acquiring a strategic position in the Caribbean during the World War I. U.S. naval officers governed the Virgin Islands from 1917 until 1931, when the United States appointed Dr. Paul D. Pearson as the first civilian governor. He set up ambitious programs to invigorate the islands' economy. The Virgin Islands Company was established to encourage homestead farming, revive the sugar-cane industry, and improve the port of St. Thomas. But while social services improved during the first years of U.S. ownership, the Virgin Islands remained impoverished as a result of continued failures in trade and agriculture since the nineteenth century. When Herbert Hoover became the first U.S. president to visit the Virgin Islands in 1931, he characterized the islands as the "effective poor-house" of the United States.

During World War II, the U.S. Virgin Islands took on strategic military importance as the United States routed convoys through the Caribbean. Military bases were constructed on the islands, warships were anchored in the Virgin Islands' harbors, and roads were built. Agricultural laborers left farming first for construction, then for jobs relating to tourism. Sugar production was phased out in 1966, and the Tourist Development Board was established in 1952. By 1954 more than 60,000 tourists visited the Virgin Islands, spending an estimated \$4 million. When Cuba was closed to Americans in 1959, the number of tourists coming to the Virgin Islands rose to 200,000. By 1999 the number rose to two million. Tourism transformed the islanders' way of life, not always in positive ways. The rapid rise in tourism during the 1960s placed strain on the existing infrastructure, which was unable to keep up with new demands. Traditional ways of life were severely disrupted. Inadequate planning for future needs resulted in damage to the environment, racial tension, and rising crime rates. During the 1970s Virgin Islands' Governor Juan Luis and the Virgin Islands Chamber of Commerce identified crime as the islands' most severe problem. The crime rate did not begin to fall until the late 1970s.

Tax laws and subsidies favorable to industry have attracted new businesses to the islands. These include watch assembly operations, textile manufacturing, and oil refining. Immigrants from other Caribbean islands have come to the Virgin Islands seeking employment. Other newcomers, from the U.S. mainland, have come to retire. Between 1950 and 1970, the population of the Virgin Islands mushroomed from 26,665 to 63,200. By the end of the twentieth century, it had reached 102,000.

THE FIRST VIRGIN ISLANDERS IN AMERICA

The 1920s, the first full decade of U.S. ownership, were economically depressed years in the Virgin Islands. Lacking a viable economic system following the decline of plantation agriculture and trade, the islands remained impoverished. The U.S. prohibition act, in effect from 1919 to 1933, had been extended to the Virgin Islands and had hurt the rum production industry. Even after the appointment of a new governor in 1931, and the establishment of new programs to stimulate economic growth, unemployment was still widespread. In 1934 rioting broke out in St. Thomas. Whites continued to be assigned to positions of leadership and power, while black Virgin Islanders remained unemployed, adding more stress to already strained race relations. As a result, many Virgin Islanders emigrated to New York and other eastern seaboard cities in search of employment and relief from oppression.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

As a slave-trading colony of Denmark during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Virgin Islands, then known as the Danish West Indies, were a destination for slaves and slaveowners. People who came to the islands rarely left unless they were returning to Denmark or another part of Europe. Not until after the United States purchased the islands did Virgin Islanders come to the U.S. mainland. Many Virgin Islanders who emigrated settled on other Caribbean islands such as Puerto Rico, where they found employment. Later emigrants from the Virgin Islands to the mainland United States were often students enrolled in colleges and universities. The number of Virgin Islanders coming to the continent was small. Government statistics on immigration and the Virgin Islands concentrate on the number of alien workers brought to the islands, especially during the 1970s economic boom, rather than the number of Virgin Islanders emigrating to the mainland.

These Virgin
Islander students
are taking a break
from their daily
school lessons.



ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

As citizens of a U.S. territory, Virgin Islanders have a relationship to the United States unlike that of other immigrant groups. Islanders claim allegiance to two distinct cultural identities, as they are simultaneously Virgin Islanders and U.S. citizens. Culturally, Virgin Islanders have developed art forms, clothing, cuisine, and traditions unique to their region and its Caribbean and African history. Economically, the Virgin Islands remain dependent on the United States. Politically, the relationship is troubled. The United States granted the islanders citizenship in 1927, but did not allow them a delegate to the U.S. Congress until 1972. Although Virgin Islanders are U.S. taxpayers, they are unable to vote in presidential elections because the Virgin Islands are not a state.

During the late 1960s, issues of acculturation and assimilation for many black Virgin Islanders became a reversal of the usual immigrant experience. Large numbers of whites from the U.S. mainland migrated to the island, threatening to overwhelm

Virgin Islanders and their culture. Marilyn Krigger, a professor at what was then the College of the Virgin Islands, maintained that black students at the college experienced a serious crisis of identity as a result of this migration. Chief among the students' observations was that faculty members were mostly white Americans from the mainland. Public school teachers, also from the mainland, were largely unaware of local history, customs, foods, and other aspects of island life. The distinctive history and culture of the Virgin Islands became endangered. Unlike immigrant ethnic groups struggling to maintain a balance between their cultural past and their new homeland in the United States, U.S. Virgin Islanders had to struggle for cultural survival on their own land.

Separate black and white communities began to emerge as a result of economic disparities. There were great discrepancies between blacks' and whites' wages and status in business. Educational segregation developed as whites sent their children to expensive private schools out of the reach of most black Virgin Islander families. All-white residential areas appeared as well. An atmosphere of distrust and hatred arose.

For those Virgin Islanders who came to the U.S. mainland, cultural identity remained a troublesome issue. They have struggled to balance their identity as U.S. citizens with memories of Virgin Islands life. Because most black Virgin Islanders are descendants of slaves, they have tended to identify with black mainlanders.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Culturally, Virgin Islanders belong to the larger group of Caribbean islands, which for centuries have been a crossroads for trade, commerce, and military maneuvers for people from all over the world. Many different cultures from Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australia have brought their own traditions to the Virgin Islands. These have further enriched the already complex tapestry of Caribbean island traditions.

PROVERBS

Virgin Islanders are fond of the saying, “What a *kallaloo!*” The word *kallaloo* actually means a soup of seaweed and greens, but islanders use the word to refer to any kind of mess. Another word frequently invoked is *limin’*, which means lying back and enjoying the day.

CUISINE

Several different cultures have left an imprint on the Virgin Islands, producing a national cuisine that represents a wide range of tastes and traditions. Seafoods, chutneys, and curries are all typical of Virgin Islands fare. Baked plantains are common, as are chicken legs, *kallaloo*, johnny cakes (unleavened fried bread), and cassava bread. *Souse*, a stew served at all festivities, is made of a pig’s head, tail, and feet and flavored with lime juice. Fish is either fried or boiled and eaten with *fungi*, a cornmeal dumpling. Conch is cooked in garlic sauce and served hot or cold in salads or as a main dish, as well as in chowder or as a fritter. The native tannia root is cooked into a soup. Paté turnovers, pastries filled with spiced beef or salt fish are served at sidewalk stalls. Sugar cakes, desserts of sugar and fresh coconut, are very popular among natives and tourists alike.

More than 250 species of plants, exotic fruits, nuts, and vegetables are produced on the Virgin Islands. Among them are coconuts, grapes, soursop, mamee, custard apple, sugar apple, cashew, and papaya. Cassava, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes are also native to the Virgin Islands, as are several species of squash, beans, and cacao.

When Columbus and the Spaniards arrived in 1493, explorers introduced new foods to the islands, including sugar cane, which became one of the most important trade crops during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Oregano and cumin arrived from Europe; lemons, oranges, and bananas came from the Canary Islands. The British introduced fruit buns, ginger beer, and breadfruit. The Dutch brought with them from Indonesia more spices: nutmeg, mace, cloves, and cinnamon. The French contributed methods of preserving fruits using rum, which became the drink of the Caribbean. Virgin Islands’ bay rum became one of the most important export products for Islanders.

Other drinks of the Virgin Islands include *maubi*, made from the bark of the maubi tree with herbs and yeast added. Cruzan rum, one of the Virgin Islands’ biggest exports, has been distilled on the island of St. Croix since the seventeenth century. Other popular island drinks are soursop, made of this fruit plus milk, water, sugar, and spices, and the piña colada.

African slaves who worked the plantations were granted plots of their own on which to grow food, and they began to incorporate food from the Virgin Islands into more familiar recipes from Africa. They cooked with plantains, yams, beans, and okra, as well as salt pork and salt fish. To add flavor, they used chili peppers, which are high in vitamins A and C. The scotch bonnet, a type of pepper grown on the Virgin Islands, is said to be more than 50 times hotter than a jalapeno. When slavery was abolished, indentured servants were brought from Asia, and they brought with them curries from East India and stir-fried cuisine from China.

MUSIC

Caribbean calypso music, steel drums, and reggae are well-known to music lovers throughout the world. The precursor of the calypso was known as *kareso*, a term most likely derived from the African word *kaiso*, which means “bravo.” The word is used to signify approval for a singer. Quelbe, which is unique to St. Croix, is a percussion music made by scraping corrugated gourds. It is sometimes referred to as scratch music.

DANCES AND SONGS

The most famous folk dance of the Virgin Islands is the quadrille. A square dance of French origin, it was changed to fit local musical rhythms and tastes. The quadrille is performed by four couples and danced in rhythms of 6/8 and 2/4 times. Dancers wear period costumes: for women, dresses with layers of ruffles; for

men in dark pants, white shirts, and cummerbunds. A scratch band provides music, and dancers respond to the commands of a caller. The quadrille is considered the true folk dance of the Virgin Islands. It declined in popularity during the fifties and sixties, but regained favor during the 1970s, partly through the performances of the Milton Payne Quadrille Dances of Christiansted, in St. Croix. This group formed in 1969. One year later the Mungo Niles Cultural Dancers were founded, and their goal was to promote the culture of the Virgin Islands. The group provided free weekly dance instruction throughout the Virgin Islands and went on tour to New York and Washington, D.C., during the 1980s. Other well-known dance groups include the St. Croix Heritage Dancers and the St. Croix Cultural Dancers.

HOLIDAYS

The major holiday in the Virgin Islands is Carnival, which occurs during the last two weeks of April on St. Croix and during June on St. Thomas. It has been a Caribbean tradition for many years. In the Virgin Islands, Carnival devotes the first week to calypso song competitions and the second to community activities, which include parades, marches, singing, and dancing. Streets are filled with stalls selling local foods, drinks, and produce. The festivities begin with the opening of the Calypso Tent, where song competitions take place. At the end of the first week, judges announce the new calypso king or queen, a much-sought-after honor. During the second week, attractions include the Children's Village, offering ferris wheel, merry-go-round, and other rides, and *J'ouvert*, a 4:00 a.m. tramp through town ending with fireworks at the harbor. A children's parade traditionally takes place on the Friday of the second week, lasting from 10:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m. An all-day adults' parade is held the following day. Each parade is filled with dance troupes, floats, music, and exotic costumes that reflect the year's chosen theme. The famed Mocko Jumbi Dancers, wearing elaborate costumes with head-dresses, perform traditional African dances on 17-foot-high stilts. They are thought to represent spirits hovering over the street dancers.

Carnival is cultural rather than religious. It boosts both local pride and the local economy, and it is financed by a government grant. The holiday's popularity waned during the first half of the twentieth century, but was revived in 1952 by a radio personality known as Mango Jones, who later served as delegate to Congress. American novelist Herman Wouk wrote of Carnival in his famed *Don't Stop The Carnival*: "Africa was marching down the main street of this little harbor town today; Africa in

undimmed black vitality, surging up out of centuries of island displacement, island slavery, island isolation, island ignorance; Africa, unquenchable in its burning love of life."

Other Virgin Islands holidays are related to hurricane season. The fourth Monday in July is Hurricane Supplication Day, and it is marked by special church services in which celebrants pray for safety from the storms that at times have ravaged the islands. The holiday is thought to have originated from fifth-century English rogation ceremonies, which followed a series of storms, although Rogation Day is also a Christian feast day preceding Ascension Day. The word rogation, coming from the Latin *rogare*, means to beg or supplicate. Islanders mark the end of hurricane season in October with Hurricane Thanksgiving Day, featuring church services in which participants express thanks for having been spared during the season.

Christmas and Easter are important holidays in the Virgin Islands, as Christianity is predominant among the islands' many religious traditions. Other holidays include New Year's Day, January 1; Three Kings' Day, January 6; and U.S. Independence Day, July 4. Holidays with variable dates include Martin Luther King Day in January; Presidents' Day in February; Memorial Day in May; Labor Day in September; Columbus Day in October; and Veterans' Day in November. Residents celebrate Virgin Islands Thanksgiving in October and the U.S. Thanksgiving in November.

Several holidays honor Virgin Islands' history. During the 1990s, islanders observed Emancipation Day on July 3 to mark the date Virgin Islands slaves gained freedom from Danish colonists on St. John. The festivities, held at Coral Bay, St. John, included storytelling, games, and music, along with sales of native foods and plants. Participants characterized the celebration as a cultural and spiritual gathering. They expressed a desire to emphasize local culture and history rather than entertainment. March 31, Transfer Day, marks the day ownership of the Virgin Islands passed from Denmark to the United States. June 16 is Organic Act Day, recognizing the islands' constitution. Liberty Day, which celebrates freedom of the press, is on November 1.

LANGUAGE

The majority of Virgin Islanders speak English, although the 1990 census reported that more than 25 percent spoke a language other than English in the home. Spanish and Creole are widely spoken. Linguistic field workers also reported that islanders

speak several varieties of Dutch, English, and French Creole.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

The 1990 census found that family size in the Virgin Islands was 3.1 persons, typical of family size in the United States. The total number of households was 32,020; 23,012 of these were classified as “families.” Of these, 13,197 were reported to be families in which both husband and wife were present. Family structure tends to be traditional, with men considered heads of families and women in charge of child care. Although an increasing number of women engage in paid employment, they tend to work part-time or in cottage industries, allowing them to work at home and take care of small children. Virgin Islanders have worked hard to overcome social problems related to the rapid rise in tourism and have retained pride in their distinctive history and culture. They have struggled to gain more political autonomy, but have expressed their desire for the islands to remain part of the United States.

EDUCATION

The Virgin Islands ranks among the world’s most literate regions, with a 98 percent adult literacy rate, although this was not always the case. The 1990 U.S. Census reported that of 55,639 resident Virgin Islanders over the age of 25, 14,021, or 25 percent, held a high school diploma. Fifteen percent, or 8,421, held a bachelor’s degree or higher. In 1995, enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools numbered almost 40,000. School attendance is compulsory between the ages of five and 16; the government provides free public education for these students. The Department of Education also provides free lunches for all public school students. In conjunction with New York University, schools of the islands conduct a teacher training program.

The College of the Virgin Islands was founded in 1962 as a junior college. In 1972 it became the University of the Virgin Islands. Located on St. Thomas, it is the only university in the islands. In 1996 the university reported enrollment of 2,949. Seventy-six percent of the students were female. This prompted discussion among islanders over why young Virgin Islands men were not seeking higher education. Jessica Dinisio reported in *Uvision* that many Virgin Islanders attributed the low number of enrollments among young men to cultural and societal pressures. Young men were expected to enter

the work force and earn money. Others felt that the numbers represented a growing desire among young women to attain economic independence.

The university offers programs in agriculture and natural resources and in home economics, among other subjects. The Cooperative Extension Service produces publications and coordinates television and radio programs. Late 1990s’ publications included *Agriculture and Food Fair Bulletins*; *Eco-Educational Tours*; *Protecting Your Water Quality Through a Home and Farm Assessment*; *Recipes for a Non-Toxic Household*; *Traditional Medicinal Plants of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John*; *Growing Mangoes*; *A Bibliographic Guide to Agriculture in the U.S. Virgin Islands, including Danish West Indies: Origins to 1987*.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

As in other parts of the world, gender roles in the Virgin Islands are changing as more women join the labor force. As Hilde Kahne and Janet Z. Giele have reported in *Women’s Work and Women’s Lives: The Continuing Struggle Worldwide*, important socioeconomic transformations have taken place in Latin America and the Caribbean since the post-World War II period, resulting in the emergence of new roles for women. Women have benefited from lower fertility rates, smaller family sizes, increased educational opportunities, and greater participation in the labor force. However, despite some gains, women in the Virgin Islands have also suffered from poverty and inequities in income. Islanders have continued to view women’s earnings from work outside the home largely as supplemental income. They also continued to regard uncompensated work such as child care, cooking, and cleaning as women’s work.

The rapid shift from rural to urban communities between 1940 and 1970 in the Virgin Islands and elsewhere in the Caribbean slowed somewhat in the 1970s, although by then major social and economic changes had occurred. Domestic service remains the largest occupation for Caribbean women generally, although street peddling, known as “higgling,” has become more prominent in the eastern Caribbean. Higglers travel among the islands to sell fresh produce or to market handcrafted items. Women with small children frequently become employed doing piecework at home, which allows them to remain with their children, though it also enables employers to exploit women. Whatever their employment, women in the Virgin Islands are contributing increasingly to the economies of their households.

RELIGION

The Virgin Islands are primarily Christian and Protestant, but have many religious denominations, a legacy of having received many waves of immigrants from Denmark, Holland, England, France, and Africa. The principal Christian denominations are Anglican, Christian Mission, Wesleyan, Lutheran, Baptist, Methodist, Reformed and Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventist, Church of God in Christ, and the Apostolic Faith. Danish Lutheranism has a particularly large number of adherents. Chapels and churches representing many different faiths exist side by side in the islands. When Puerto Ricans began to come to the Virgin Islands to seek employment, they brought Catholicism with them. Moravian missionaries arrived during the colonial period of the seventeenth century, and their presence is still felt. Many Virgin Islanders are faithful readers of the Bible. Attending church services on Sundays is very much a part of island life. Gospel singing is a much-loved activity that expresses the spiritual dimensions of islanders. There is a sizable Jewish population in the islands as well.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Although their economy is historically agricultural, the Virgin Islands lack sufficient rain and high-quality soil to support large-scale agricultural production. On St. Croix and St. John, sorghum, fruit, and vegetables are produced, and leaves from the bay tree forest on St. John are used for making bay rum. Cattle raised on St. Croix are exported to Puerto Rico. These are small-scale operations, however. Agriculture has not supported the Virgin Islands economically since the nineteenth century. Tourism is the mainstay of the economy, with 30 percent of Virgin Islanders working in the tourist trade. The territory's largest single employer, though, is Hess Oil Virgin Islands, the biggest oil refinery in the world, located on St. Croix. Otherwise, manufacturing is on a small scale, and most products are exported to the continental United States. Exports include petroleum products, alumina, chemicals, clocks and watch parts, meat, and ethanol. Fishing in island waters is for sporting rather than commercial endeavor. The median income for Virgin Islanders in 1990 was \$24,036. Virgin Islanders who come to the U.S. mainland frequently do so for the purposes of furthering their education or to seek employment in fields not found on the Virgin Islands.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The United States granted residents of the Virgin Islands citizenship in 1927. From 1917 to 1931, the islands were under the authority of the U.S. Navy. In 1931 the U.S. Department of the Interior took administrative responsibility, with the president appointing a governor. A legislature of 15 locally elected members from the three main islands has been in place since 1954. Members are elected for two-year terms. Virgin Islanders won the right to vote for their own governor in 1970, and the governor is elected for a four-year term. Since 1972 islanders have elected one delegate to the U.S. Congress. The delegate is allowed to vote on House of Representatives committees and speak in debate on the floor of the House, but is not allowed to vote on bills. Virgin Islanders may not vote in U.S. presidential elections.

Several constitutional conventions have dealt with Virgin Islands voting and legislative rights. The Organic Act of 1936, which established constitutional government for the islands, granted universal suffrage. Also in 1936, the first political party on the islands was organized. Since the purchase of the Virgin Islands by the United States, islanders have continued to agitate for more home rule. While expressing their opposition to any form of annexation by a U.S. state, islanders have also made it clear they are opposed to independence from the United States. The Virgin Islands remain an unincorporated territory rather than an autonomous territory.

Virgin Islanders tend to view themselves as islanders. Those who come to the mainland United States often think of their move as temporary. Students in particular anticipate returning to the Virgin Islands once they have completed their education, even though many express concern that employment prospects in the islands are limited.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

Virgin Islander artists as a whole are identified with Caribbean arts, literature, and music. Notable contributors are performing artists living in the Virgin Islands rather than on the mainland and are known locally for folk music, calypso, jazz, and blues. Studies of Caribbean literature do not concentrate on Virgin Islanders, instead offering critical readings of work by such well-known writers as Derek Walcott of St. Lucia; V.S. Naipaul of Trinidad; and Jamaica Kincaid of Antigua. Anthologies such as *The Routledge Reader in*

Caribbean Literature (1996, edited by Alison Donnell and Sarah Lawson Welsh) and the *Oxford Book of Caribbean Short Stories* (1999, edited by Stewart Brown and John Wickham) have not included Virgin Islanders among their collections. The Virgin Islands Humanities Council has published short, amateur collections of Virgin Island poetry, but Virgin Islands writers have not yet drawn critical attention to their work.

Tim Duncan (1976–) made a strong impression in his first two years of play for the San Antonio Spurs of the National Basketball Association. Only a year after graduating from Wake Forest University, Duncan won Rookie of the Year honors in 1998. In 1999 he helped lead his team to the NBA championship en route to receiving the Finals Most Valuable Player award. Other significant professional honors include: unanimous Rookie of the Year (1998), All-NBA First Team (1999), All-NBA Defensive First Team (1999).

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) was one of the leading figures in the formation of the Pan-Africanism movement. Blyden was born in the Virgin Islands and later moved to Liberia. He served as a government official in various roles and his writings helped to form the basis of the movement.

Almeric Christian (1919–) is a pioneering lawyer and judge. Christian, born in the Virgin Islands, moved to the United States and attended Columbia University and later its law school. Upon passing the bar, Christian established a successful private practice. Eventually he was appointed a circuit court judge for the Third Circuit, and then to chief judge.

Kelsey Grammer (1945–) is one of the most popular television stars in the United States. Grammer, born in the Virgin Islands, made his television breakthrough as Dr. Frasier Crane on the hit show *Cheers*. Grammer received an Emmy Award nomination for his work on *Cheers*, and when the show ended its successful run in 1993, Grammer and NBC collaborated on the show *Frasier*. The show was a continuation of Grammer's *Cheers* character and won him several Emmy Awards.

Camille Pissaro (1830-1903) was one of the leading Impressionist painters of the late nineteenth century. Pissaro was born in the Virgin Islands, traveling to Paris for schooling. His parents eventually conceded to let him pursue his interest in painting, and in 1855 he returned to France. In the 1860's Pissaro began to paint in the Impressionist style, participating in all of the Impressionist shows between 1874 and 1886. Pissaro achieved high critical acclaim by the 1890s.

Roy Innis (1934–) is one of the foremost civil rights leaders in the United States. Innis, born on St. Croix, came to the United States and was educated at the City College of New York. In the early 1960s Innis became involved in the Civil Rights Movement and joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). In 1968 he became the head of the group.

MEDIA

St. Thomas This Week (Including St. John).

Free guide published weekly by the U.S. Virgin Islands Department of Tourism.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Association of Virgin Islanders Abroad (AVIA).

Shomari A. Moorehead developed the association in 1999 to provide nonresident Virgin Islanders with a way to network with one another.

Online: www.shomari.com/avia/about_avia.html.

U.S. Virgin Islands Department of Tourism.

Government office to distribute information about the Virgin Islands to tourists.

Address: 444 North Capitol Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20001.

Telephone: (202) 624-3590.

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Welsh American

culture still blooms in

singing festivals,

which stem from the

traditional Welsh

eisteddfod, which

calls for Welsh

writing and oratory.

WELSH AMERICANS

by
Evan Heimlich

OVERVIEW

Wales, the western, mountainous peninsula of the island of Great Britain, occupies an area just slightly larger than the state of New Jersey. Wales is shaped roughly like a rectangle with a section taken out of the west side—Cardigan Bay, facing Ireland across the Irish Channel. North of Cardigan Bay the island of Anglesey and the Lleyn peninsula jut westward; to the south, also stretching west, lies the larger Pembroke peninsula. Bounded by water on three sides, Wales itself constitutes a peninsula with its eastern border formed by England. Much of the terrain is mountainous. In the northwest is the rugged Snowdonia range, named for Mount Snowdon, at 3,560 feet the highest in Britain south of Scotland. Lesser mountains and hills run south through central Wales into Pembroke and the famous coalfields of South Wales.

Principal cities and towns lie mostly along the coast. Through these busy seaports come the ore and slate from Welsh mines and quarries. Notable seaports spread from Cardiff, Wales' capital and largest city, which lies on the Bristol Channel in the south, to Caernarfon ("car-nar-vin") and Bangor opposite Anglesey in the north. The Welsh climate is temperate and wet.

The country was named after its inhabitants. The Welsh trace their ancestry to two distinct groups of people—the Iberians who arrived from southwestern Europe in Neolithic times and the

Celtic tribes who arrived on the island in the late Bronze Age. Fierce fighters, they resisted the Anglo-Saxon invaders, who could not understand their language and called them *wealas* (strangers). They called themselves *Cmry* (fellow countrymen); and, although populations and cultures overlap between Wales and England, Wales and its culture remain distinct. Wales occupies about 8,000 square miles and is the size of a small New England state. Since virtually all farms are no more than 50 miles from the shore, Wales has maintained its own connections with the outside world.

HISTORY

With the collapse of Roman power in the 400s, Germanic tribes from Northern Europe began settling in southeastern Britain. Most numerous were the Angles and the Saxons, related peoples who became the English. The Celts resisted this long influx of alien settlers but were gradually pushed west. By about 800, they occupied only Britain's remotest reaches where their descendants live today: the Highland Scots, the Cornish of the southwest coast, and the Welsh. The Irish are also Celtic.

Over the coming centuries, the Welsh, isolated from other Celts, developed their own distinctive culture. However, their identity would always be shaped by the presence of their powerful English neighbors. Wales became a western refuge from the invasion and conquest by hostile tribes from Europe, as well as for puritanical dissenters against English culture. Not only did this refuge lie farther west than most conquerors could effectively extend, its geography made it inaccessible. Later, Wales became a site from which England extracted resources and prefigured the position that colonial America assumed.

The Roman empire took Wales along with Britain in the first century A.D.: "Wales, however, was always a frontier area of the Empire, and remained scarcely changed throughout the Roman period of occupation," except by the introduction of Christianity (George Edward Hartman, *Americans from Wales* [New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978], pp. 27-28; cited hereafter as Hartman). In the fifth century A.D., early Welsh Christianity blossomed with the monasteries of St. David. Historically, in literature and legend, Germanic invaders took what is now England, isolating the Celts in the mountainous area of Wales.

In the late eighth century, Anglo-Saxon invaders—who were not yet Christians—built Offa's Dike (named after Offa, the Anglo-Saxon king of Mercia), a physical, earthen barrier to keep Welsh

people from raiding eastward. This boundary still marks the separation between Wales and England.

In 1066, William the Conqueror defeated the English and, with his French-born Norman nobles and knights, took power in England and determined to subdue the unruly Welsh. Over the next century, the Normans built a series of wooden forts throughout Wales from which Norman lords held control over surrounding lands. In the late 1100s, they replaced the wooden strongholds with massive, turreted stone castles. From about 1140-1240, Welsh princes such as Rhys ap Gruffydd and Llewellyn the Great rose up against the Normans, capturing some castles and briefly regaining power in the land. After Llewellyn's death in 1240, Welsh unity weakened. The English King Edward I conquered Wales in the late 1200s, building another series of massive castles to reinforce his rule. The Welsh successfully resisted the invaders for hundreds of years, until in 1282, they were brought under the political jurisdiction of England under Edward I. Under Edward and his successors, Welsh revolts continued against the English. Most important was the rebellion of Owain Glyndwr in the 1400s. Despite his failure, Glyndwr strikes a heroic chord in Welsh memory as the last great leader to envision and fight for an independent Wales.

During the 1400s, the Welsh increasingly became involved in English affairs, taking part in the War of the Roses. In 1485, a young Welsh nobleman named Henry Tudor won the Battle of Bosworth Field against King Richard III, thus securing his claim to the English throne. The Welsh rejoiced at having a Welshman as king of England. King Henry VII, as he was called, restored many of the rights that the Welsh had lost under English occupation. Under his son, Henry VIII, Wales and England became unified under one political system. Elizabeth I, daughter of Henry VIII, was the last Tudor monarch. When she died in 1603, English language, law, and customs had become entrenched in Welsh life. Since that time, the history of the Welsh people has been closely tied to that of their English neighbors. Wales has become a highly industrialized mining region of Great Britain. About four of five Welsh people have adopted English as their language. Yet the Welsh remain a people apart, proud, independent-minded, and always conscious of their own national character.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES

As explorers, migrants, settlers, and missionaries, the Welsh people—themselves descended from Europe's seekers of western refuge—led early waves

of westering Europeans to America. Myths of their ancestors' independence prompted them, as did Anglican labeling of their Christianity as Dissent. Generally, Welsh people came to the United States within waves of British migrants. Many valued religious freedom, especially Welsh emigrants whose Christianity did not conform to the Church of England. Furthermore, explorations, rich lands, and higher-paying industrial jobs lured them from Wales to America. Some important early British settlers in North America—including Pilgrims and founders of the United States—were Welsh or Anglo-Welsh, and not English at all.

Popular belief in pre-Columbian contact between Wales and the New World supported Welsh migration to America. According to this popular belief, centuries before Columbus, Welsh migrants had crossed the Atlantic, reached North America, and mixed with Indians. Thus some Welsh missionaries sought to reunite with and Christianize their long-lost cousins.

In Wales, many published reports circulated from those who claimed to have found Welsh Indians in North America. Though no one ever proved the legends, they nevertheless helped propel Welsh immigration. They also motivated important exploration. For example, in 1792 (seven years before the Louis and Clarke Expedition), John Evans, a Welsh Methodist, searched for Welsh Indians in the northern reaches of the Missouri River (David Williams, *Cymru Ac America: Wales and America* [Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976], pp. 7, 19); cited hereafter as Williams). Contemporary artifacts commemorate the legend. According to a plaque to Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd on the wall of the Fine Arts Center of the South in Mobile, Alabama, visitors can see where Prince Madoc, the Welsh explorer of America, is believed to have arrived with three ships. Also, the plaque of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which is located on the public strand of Mobile Bay, reads: "In memory of Prince Madoc, a Welsh explorer, who landed on the shores of Mobile Bay in 1170 and left behind, with the Indians, the Welsh language." (David Greenslade, *Welsh Fever: Welsh Activities in the United States and Canada Today* [Cowbridge, Wales: D. Brown and Sons, 1986], p. 17; cited hereafter as Greenslade). Although the various claims of the existence of Welsh-speaking Indians have not been proved, the finding (after Columbus) of Americans descended from Welsh and Indian ancestors offers some corroboration. However, even discounting the legendary Madoc, the Welsh came to the American continent early, relative to other Europeans.

After Britain's Religious Toleration Act of 1689, Welsh emigration subsided until agricultural economics motivated a late eighteenth-century wave. Welsh farmers had reaped poor harvests for years when they heard of America's expansion into the fertile Ohio valley; meanwhile in Wales, acts of British parliament enclosed commons and open moorlands. Concerned by the streams of emigrants leaving Wales, the British government passed measures to prevent skilled workmen from emigrating.

As industrialists built America's factories, skilled industrial workers migrated in large numbers from Wales to America beginning in the 1830s. Near the end of that century, skilled industrial workers mostly took over from their farming countrymen as newly arrived Welsh Americans. These workers, many of whom developed their industries, came here mostly from southern Wales, Britain's main source of coal and iron.

Knowledgeable Welsh industrialists came here to fill positions in ironworks not only as workers, but also as industrial pioneers and leaders. After David Thomas perfected techniques of burning anthracite coal to smelt iron ore, an American coal company in 1839 brought him from Wales to the great anthracite coalfields in Pennsylvania, where he developed America's anthracite iron industry. The new industry drew the Welsh by the thousands. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Scranton recorded nearly 5,000 natives of Wales, and more than 2,000 in Wilkes-Barre, who came to mine coal for David Thomas' process (Williams, p. 81). From the time of the Civil War to the end of World War I, Scranton claimed the largest concentration of Welsh people in the world outside Wales and England (William D. Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh 1860-1920* [Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1993], p. xvi; cited hereafter as Jones).

Another segment of Welsh American migration followed the tinplate-production industry. Glamorganshire, in southern Wales, dominated the world market as the main producer of tinplate until America, a principal market for Welsh tinplate, captured for itself the role of tinplate producer. To protect its own young tinplate industry, America's 1890 McKinley Tariff raised prices of imported tinplate, throwing the Welsh industry into a depression and effectively drawing hundreds of workers from Wales to its new tinplate works (Williams, p. 85). The Welsh American tinplate producers centered in Philadelphia and Ohio, monopolized their industrial science, and then dominated the field for several generations. Many Welsh immigrants developed into important figures of the industry business,

becoming executives and capitalists in their own right (Hartman, p. 86). In addition to their major roles in the development of American coal, iron, and steel industries, Welsh Americans in the mid-nineteenth century also built the American slate industry. Immigrants from North Wales prospected for and dug America's early slate quarries along the borders between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and between New York and Vermont.

Robert D. Thomas, a Congregational minister, authored what became for the Welsh of the post-Civil War period a convenient and detailed guidebook in their own language concerning the available land opportunities in America. After its publication in 1872, *Hanes Cymry America* ("History of the Welsh in America") became popular in Wales and probably figured in encouraging further emigration.

Immigration of Welsh farmers in the closing decades of the nineteenth century swelled America's Welsh communities into the tens of thousands, until about 1890, when the immigration of Welsh farmers to America ebbed. Australia and other destinations began to draw their share of emigrant farmers from Wales who were forced from their farms because they opposed the Anglican Church in Wales. Their emigration helped to improve the harvests by balancing the Welsh population level (Hartman, pp. 75-76).

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

At first, Welsh Americans settled in or near British colonies, among fellow Welsh Americans who shared their religious denomination, such as Baptist, Methodist, or Quaker. Many tried to found a new homeland for their people. Following the missionaries and farmers were the skilled industrial workers and artisans. Baptists led the way. John Miles, founder of the first Baptist church in Wales in 1649, suffered religious persecution as a Baptist, both before and after he led Welsh Baptists to Massachusetts in 1662. Though at first the colony refused to tolerate them, eventually Massachusetts granted them land, where they established the town of Swansea and the First Baptist Church, which stands today as the oldest Welsh church in America.

Two decades after Baptists first arrived, Welsh members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, founded the second and much larger Welsh group settlement in America. Quakers suffered the worst religious persecutions in Wales, because they professed to value their "inner light" over Church and Bible. Many people of all classes joined the Quakers

in England, among them William Penn, who supposedly had a Welsh grandfather. In 1681, Penn obtained a vast tract of territory south of New York. "He [said] that he originally intended to call it New Wales, as it was 'a pretty hilly country,' but the authorities in London did not like the name, and it was called Pennsylvania" (Williams, pp. 24-25). Penn led the Quakers there, including many from Wales, and Pennsylvania became the heart of Welsh settlement.

Preacher Morgan John Rhys founded a new homeland for Welsh Americans in western Pennsylvania where they could live together and preserve their language and customs. Although Beulah, the center of the settlement that he established, has not survived, Ebensburg, its second township, has lasted. Meanwhile, Philadelphia, with its large Welsh population, soon flourished and became one of the most important cities in America.

“There was a man that came around every morning and every afternoon, with a stainless steel cart, sort of like a Good Humor cart. And the man was dressed in white and he had warm milk for the kids. And they would blow a whistle or ring a bell, and all the kids would line up, and he had small little paper cups and every kid got a little warm milk.”

Donald Roberts, 1925, cited in *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience*, edited by Ivan Chermayeff et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

American regions from New York to Wisconsin and Minnesota to Oregon offered Welsh immigrants work in their traditional occupations and drew concentrations of descendants of Welsh shepherds and dairy farmers. After the Civil War, in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Kansas, men entered trades and Welsh American young women found service work in private homes. Some Welsh American fruit growers became pioneers of orchard industries in the Pacific Northwest. Copper workers came to Baltimore, silver miners to Colorado, and prospectors for gold, after 1849, rushed to California. Slate quarrymen came to New England and the Delaware Valley. Because so many Welsh immigrants were coal miners, they came in the greatest concentrations to the coal regions of Pottsville, Wilkes-Barre, and Scranton. Steelworkers came to Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Chicago. (Islyn Thomas, *Our Welsh Heritage* [New York: St. David's Society of New York, 1972], p. 27). Scranton led Welsh American communities in maintain-

ing a Welsh American identity. On the 1990 census, two million Americans reported their ancestry as Welsh.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Welsh Americans, like other British Americans, spread throughout the United States. Americans reporting Welsh ancestry on the 1990 census, in fact, divide evenly between the Northeast, Midwest, South, and West—more evenly than any other European-American group. Early Welsh American Baptists, who first settled in Massachusetts, branched out to other places. They moved to Pennsylvania because it was especially tolerant of their religion. Others bought land in what is now the state of Delaware, which they called the Welsh Tract.

Some Welsh settlers sought not only toleration, but further isolation, to ensure that their children did not lose their national characteristics. To escape Anglo-Americanization, Ezickiel Hughes, of Paddy's Run, Ohio, a sponsor of Welsh immigrants, "decided to place his colony in the open waste lands of Patagonia," at the remote, under-colonized southern tip of South America, where it still exists (Williams, p. 73). Other intramigration followed economic opportunities, such as the move of the industrial town of Lackawanna from Pennsylvania to western New York. Largely accepted by dominant Anglo-Americans, Welsh Americans frequently dominated their industries; non-Welsh coal miners often complained that Welsh American supervisors favored their brethren. Irish American workers suffered categorically at the hands of some Welsh American mining bosses (Jones, p. 37).

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

In America, as in Wales, members of this ethnic group forged their identity through their churches, language, and education. Traditional Welsh American ethnic identity, which depended also on the domination of particular fields of employment, has since flourished in singing festivals.

Especially since nineteenth-century modernization linked the Welsh to England and Welsh Americans to America, the two minority groups have acculturated to the respective cultural dominance of England and America. When England industrialized Wales, extracting its abundant coal and iron ore, it divided the inhabitants into a rural group in which Welsh was spoken and an urban group in which English was the primary language.

Late in the nineteenth century, battles over Welsh culture moved into the field of education as England prohibited Welsh public schools from teaching in Welsh. The Welsh maintained their culture, though, through their traditional Sunday schools and through nationalism. Although the Welsh fought and won from the British the legal right to use their own language in courts and schools, the use of the Welsh language declined.

Welsh traditional beliefs, attitudes, and customs stem largely from the strength and nonconformity of Welsh churches. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Wales, religious nonconformity preserved Welsh identity when it "arrested the inroads of Anglicanization and the complete absorption of Wales into England" (Hartman, p. 26). Although this resurgent nationalism was crucial for Welsh identity, it was less important to Welsh American identity. At Sunday Schools, Welsh churches campaigned to perpetuate the Welsh language by teaching men, women, girls, and boys to read their Bible in Welsh. Because of the Sunday School movement, many Welsh Americans became literate in their own language. Welsh culture has struggled not only against the English church, but also against the English language. The Welsh flag itself displays a red dragon who legendarily champions the ancient Welsh language. The dragon, called *Y Ddraig Goch*, which is said to keep the faith that "three things, yea four, will endure forever, the earth, the sea, the sky and the speech of the *Cymry*," leads the Welsh people "in an unending war for the perpetuation of [their] language" (Thomas, p. 49).

Welsh American communities waxed and waned with their churches. At first, as new territories opened in North America, Welsh missionary work expanded to fill the opportunities to convert new souls. In eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, Quaker, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches anchored communities in which Sunday Schools helped shaped Welsh American identities; nevertheless, these early Welsh Americans eventually became Americanized in their habits and English in their speech. During the nineteenth century, however, an increasingly Welsh-minded clergy led Welsh American congregations. Their work, coupled with frequent exchanges of visitors from Wales and between Welsh American communities, drew together a Welsh American identity which better resisted acculturation.

Toward the turn of the twentieth century, in Scranton and elsewhere, Welsh Americans acculturated. More immigrants joined occupations outside their traditional industries. The contexts of their

ethnic identities also changed as Eastern European and Italian immigrants entered the coal mines: to the newcomers, Welsh immigrants and Welsh Americans seemed more similar than ever to Anglo, Yankee, or established “mainstream” Americans. Churches, organizations, and festivals sustain Welsh American culture. America’s Welshness manifests itself in placenames such as Bangor, Bryn Mawr, and Haverford. Welsh American places include not only Scranton, but small towns such as Emporia, Kansas, and Cambria, Wisconsin, population 600, “a stronghold of Welshness” near Madison, which bears Welsh street signs (Greenslade, pp. 68, 87).

SONGS

Welsh American culture still blooms in singing festivals, which stem from the traditional Welsh *eisteddfod*, which calls for Welsh writing and oratory. The *eisteddfod* arose in 1568, when Queen Elizabeth commissioned a qualifying competition to license some of “the multitude of persons calling themselves minstrels, rhymers and bards” (Thomas, p. 24). At the end of the eighteenth century, Romanticism revived Welsh cultural promotion and the *eisteddfod*. Today, the United States usually sends the largest delegation of “Welshmen in Exile” to the annual *eisteddfod* in Wales. The “exiles” march in ranks by country to the singing of the Welsh nostalgic hymn, “*Unwaith Eto Yng Nghymru Annwyl*” (“Once Again in Dear Wales”). The revived *eisteddfod*, popular in Wales since 1819, features reconstructed Druidic rites, in “an atmosphere of mysticism always associated with the Celtic spirit” (Hartman, p. 143).

Since the 1830s, Welsh Americans also compete in their own *eisteddfod*. Especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, and Utah, strong traditions of *eisteddfod* have inspired expert choirs in their performances of Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, and other classical composers of sacred music. Utica sponsors the oldest continuously *eisteddfod* in the United States. However, because few Welsh Americans speak or write in Welsh, Welsh Americans focused on singing and mostly replaced the *eisteddfod* with the *Gymanfa Ganu* or Welsh singing festival. The *Gymanfa Ganu* started in Wales in 1859 and spread through America by the 1920s. Unlike in Wales, where each church denomination sponsors its own *Gymanfa Ganu*, Welsh American ones include all denominations. The National *Gymanfa Ganu* Association of the United States and Canada, founded by Welsh Americans, represents the only successful attempt at forming an all-over national association of Welsh Americans. It originated at Niagara Falls with a gathering of 2,400



Welsh American
Tom Jones was
recognized with a
star on the
Walk of Fame in
Hollywood,
California, in 1989.

Welsh Americans and meets at key American centers each year on Labor Day.

CUISINE

Welsh cuisine uses the basic ingredients of dairy products, eggs, seafood, lamb or beef, and simple vegetables such as potatoes, carrots, and leeks. A national symbol, leeks are waved at rugby football matches by Welsh fans. The leek is Wales’ most popular vegetable, being featured in soups and stews. One favorite dish, Anglesey Eggs, includes leeks, cheese, and potatoes. Welsh Rabbit (often called Rarebit by the English) combines eggs, cheese, milk, Worcestershire sauce, and beer. The rich melted mixture is poured over toast.

CLOTHING

The Welsh dress much as Europeans and North Americans do, though perhaps a bit more formally than the latter. Among young people, however, jeans, a t-shirt, and running shoes are as common in Wales as everywhere else. Traditional costumes, commonly worn at events such as an *eisteddfod*, feature colorful stripes and checks, with a wide-brimmed hat for women that looks like a witch’s hat with the top half of the cone removed.

LANGUAGE

Cymraeg, the Welsh language, has long been a separate branch of Indo-European languages. It

descends from Celtic and relates closely to Breton, the language of Brittany, to Highland Scots Gaelic, and to Irish Gaelic. The language looks difficult to an outsider; it also sounds strange with lilting, musical tones in which one word seems to slur into the next. And in a sense, it may—the first letter of a word may change depending on the word before it. This is called *treiglo*, and it achieves a smoothness treasured by the Welsh ear. Welsh also contains elusive sounds such as “ll” (in the name Llewellyn or Lloyd, for example), which is pronounced almost like a combination of “f,” “th,” and “ch,” though not quite. Welsh words nearly always accent their second-to-last syllable.

The Welsh language’s age and its supposed migratory path across Eurasia prompts some linguists to make extraordinary claims about etymologies of certain words. For example, the ancient name for the Caucasian chain of mountains forming an immense barrier between Europe on the north and Asia to the south, may come from the same words as the Welsh “Cau,” which means “to shut up, to fence in, to encompass”, and “Cas,” which translates as “separated” or “insulated” (Jenkins, p. 55).

The Welsh alphabet uses the letters “a, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, ng, h, l, ll, m, n, o, p, ph, rh, r, s, t, th, u, w,” and “y” to make such words such as: *Cymru* (Wales); *Cymry* (Welsh people); *Ninnau* (We Welsh), the title of a Welsh American periodical; *noson lawen* (an informal evening of song, recitation, and other entertainment); *te bach* (light refreshments, usually tea and Welsh cakes); *cymdeithas* (society); *cwrs Cymraeg* (Welsh language course); and *bore da, syr* (good morning, sir). Welsh spelling lacks silent letters; in different words, too, the same letter nearly always has the same sound. The Welsh language, which lacks the letter “k,” always sounds “c” as the English “k”: thus “Celt” is pronounced “Kelt.”

Celt, which first referred to “a wild or covert,” and the people who lived there, became a loose term to refer to a grouping of disparate peoples living in certain areas of Great Britain. Romans called *Cymry* who lived on open plains Gauls, which the *Cymry* pronounced as Gaels, and the Saxons, in turn, as *Wael*s or Wales, home of the *Wael*sh or Welsh (Jenkins, pp. 38, 40, 97).

Welsh surnames have their own story. When English law in 1536 required Welshmen to take surnames, many simply added an “s” to their father’s first name. Common first names such as William or Evan (the Welsh equivalent of John) begot the common surnames of Williams and Evans.

The Welsh pride their language on its musical-

ity and expressiveness, and cherish traditional oratorical skills of poets and priests. In literature, the canonization of poet Dylan Thomas is a matter of Welsh American pride. Thomas wrote and recited in Wales and America English-language poems that drew from Welsh culture and preaching styles. The art of oral storytelling which flourished in medieval Wales left as its written legacy the *Mabinogion* (translated into English by Jeffrey Gantz). Preachers of sermons mastered versions of a chanting style “marked by a great variety of intonations” called *hwyl* and each preacher characteristically followed “his own peculiar melody” through a major key to climax in a minor key (Hartman, p. 105). With their *hwyl*, Welsh preachers led congregations in fervent evangelical revivals.

RELIGION

In pre-Christian Wales, the Druids (a special class of leaders) dominated a religion in which Celts worshipped a number of deities according to rites associated with nature (Hartman, p. 27). However, Welsh and Welsh American identities have centered on religious traditions of strictness, evangelicalism, and reform. From the breach between Welsh and Anglican churches stemmed modern Welsh nationalism itself. Also, Mormonism and scattered versions of pre-Christian paganism figure in Welsh American religion.

The patron saint of the Welsh, St. David (born circa 520) “organized a system of monastic regulations for his abbey ... which became the awe of Christian Britain because of its severity of discipline” (Hartman, p. 28). St. David’s Day commemorates his death. On the first day of March, Episcopalian churches such as St. David’s Episcopalian Church in San Diego (the cornerstone of which comes from St. David’s Cathedral in Wales) hold memorial services (Greenslade, p. 33). For all denominations of Welsh Americans, the day represents an occasion for the annual rallying of Welsh consciousness.

As Welsh churches pitted their religious fundamentalism against the English establishment, their progressivism foreshadowed contributions of Welsh Americans to American puritanism and progress. Around the year 1700, when English rule still dominated Welsh religion, the reform movement came from within the church and received its great stimulus from the pietistic evangelism introduced by John Wesley and George Whitfield. Soon these men, and Welshmen of similar beliefs, were emphasizing the necessity of abundant preaching within the church and the need for experiencing a rebirth

in religious conviction as a necessary part in the salvation of the individual.

After this evangelical Methodism spread through Wales, Welsh Methodists split from Wesley and from English Methodists and followed Whitfield into Calvinism, calling themselves Calvinist Methodists. Welsh Methodists, furthermore, withdrew from the Anglican Church and precipitated a consolidation of Welsh culture. "Within a few decades, the Calvinist-Methodists, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists had won over the great majority of the masses of Wales from the established [Anglican] church," and at Sunday Schools taught Welsh people to read the Bible (Hartman, p. 33).

Welsh Christian nonconformists shared fundamentalism and puritanism, yet did not lack for internal controversy. Unifyingly, their shared religion demanded "rigid observance of the marriage vows, discouragement of divorce, austere observance of conduct of life generally" and the strict reservation of Sundays for religious activities; on the other hand, divisive religious differences arose "over the issues of church organization, Calvinism, and infant baptism" (Hartman, pp. 103-104). Congregations and denominations guarded their independence.

In America, as in Wales, Welsh churches pioneered Sunday Schools; children and adults attended separate classes in which teachers used Socratic methods of questioning. Welsh American churchgoers sang hymns and testified, respectively, on Tuesday and Thursday nights, and regularly held *gymanwas*, preaching festivals.

The first groups of Welsh converts to Mormonism came to America in the 1840s and 1850s. Mormon founder Joseph Smith converted Captain Dan Jones to the religion, then sent him on a mission to Wales. Captain Jones in turn converted thousands, most of whom resettled in Utah and contributed much to Mormon culture. As a prime example, Welsh Americans founded the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

Since the 1960s, versions of Celtic nature-worship have gained popularity in America and Britain. Two members of the Parent Kindred of the Old Religion in Wales brought Hereditary Welsh Paganism to the United States in the early 1960s. Today, Welsh Pagans can be found in Georgia, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, California, and West Virginia. Welsh pagans form circles with names like The Cauldron, Forever Forests, and *Y Tylwyth Teg*. Members take symbolic Welsh names like Lord Myrddin Pendevig, Lady Gleannon or Gwyddion, Tiron, and Siani. Welsh pagans in America also use the Welsh language in their rituals. Although the

Druids, who led the pre-Christian Welsh religion, have not survived, some of their practices have.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Welsh Americans traditionally worked in farming or, during the Industrial Age, in the heavy industries of coal, iron, and steel. Because these industries had developed earlier in Wales, immigrants tended to know their work better than workers from elsewhere. Thus Welsh immigrants took leading roles in America's developing industries. Welsh American industrial bosses especially preferred to hire Welsh American workers, and more specifically, ones from their own religious denomination. As a result, Welsh Americans dominated coal mining, and many coal mines filled mostly with a particular denomination of Welsh Americans. Bosses themselves held membership in the Freemasons. Across the coal region, though only men worked as miners and bosses, boys, girls, and women worked around the mines.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

George Washington once noted, "Good Welshman Make Good Americans" (Thomas, p. 27). In the founding of the United States of America, cultural history positioned Welsh immigrants as American revolutionaries. The Welsh, who already tended to resent English control, were strongly inclined toward revolution in France, Britain, and America. The United States can trace the derivation of its trial-by-jury system through England to Wales. Though it is unclear exactly where Welsh culture contributed to the founding moments of America, Welsh Americans claim the Welshness of Jeffersonian principles, especially that certain rights are inalienable, that rights not assigned to governments are reserved for the people, and that church and state must remain separate. In February of 1776, one month after the publication of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, a Welshman, Dr. Richard Price, published in London *The Nature of Civil Liberty*, appealing "to the natural rights of all men, those rights which no government should have the power to take away"; five months later, Welsh American Thomas Jefferson published similar ideas in the Declaration of Independence (Williams, p. 45).

For decades, nearly 75 percent of Welsh immigrants became citizens, higher than any other group

(Williams, p. 87). In accord with their religion, Welsh Americans have helped to lobby for temperance, Prohibition, and Sabbath-enforcing Blue Laws. Welsh American abolitionists included workers on the underground railroad, such as Rebecca Lewis Fussell (1820-1893), and authors such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Author Helen Hamilton Gardiner (1853-1925) joined several other Welsh American leaders in the fight for women's suffrage.

Welsh Americans also have been labor leaders. In 1871, Welsh American coal miners led their union in a historic strike in which they protested a 30 percent wage decrease, ultimately to no avail. They won only disapproval and prejudice from more established classes of Americans (Jones, p. 53).

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ART AND ENTERTAINMENT

Illustrator Alice Barber Stephens (1858-1932), and architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959); pioneer film-producer D. W. Griffith (1875-1948); Bob Hope (1903–); talk show host Dick Cavett (1936–); stage and screen actor Richard Burton (1925-1984); actor Ray Milland (1907-1986); actress Bette Davis (1908-1989).

EDUCATION

Elihu Yale launched Yale University; Morgan Edwards and Dr. William Richards established Brown University; Carey Thomas (1857-1935) founded and served as president of Bryn Mawr College. Catharine E. Beecher (1800-1858), sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, founded seminaries for women. Helen Parkhurst (1887-1973), originator of the Dalton Plan of individualized student contracts, established the Dalton School in New York.

EXPLORERS

In the 1780s Jacques Clamorgan, a Welsh West Indian, whose real name was Charles Morgan, led an important scientific exploration of the West before Lewis and Clark; Clamorgan ventured up the Missouri for the fur-trading Spanish who wanted to ally with the Mandans, who seemed to be the remaining Welsh Indians. Meriwether Lewis himself was Welsh American, as was frontiersman Daniel Boone, and John Lloyd Stevens, who discovered Mayan ruins and authored travel narratives.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Luther Hammond Lewis founded the Big Brother Movement. Roger Williams (born in Wales in 1599) was the first European to establish a democracy on this continent, based upon the principles of civil and religious liberty, at Providence plantations, Rhode Island. Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), was the greatest Welsh American colonial patriot, whose ancestors came from the foot of Mount Snowden in Wales to the colony of Virginia. Another Welsh American, Gouverneur Morris (1752-1816), later wrote the final draft of the Constitution of the United States. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall (1755-1835) fathered American constitutional law. Welsh American presidents of the United States include not only James Monroe and Calvin Coolidge, but moreover, Abraham Lincoln. Robert E. Lee, General of the Confederate Army, and Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, also were Welsh Americans. So were Supreme Court Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, Secretaries of State Daniel Webster and William H. Seward, and first Lady Hillary Clinton. At least 30 state governors also were Welsh American.

LITERATURE

Emlyn Williams, actor and playwright, author of *The Corn Is Green*; Jack London (1876-1916), author of *The Call of the Wild* and *White Fang*; Kate Wiggin (1856-1923), author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*; and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

MEDICINE

Medical scientist Alice Catherine Evans (1881-1975), first woman president of the society of American Bacteriologists; pioneer nutritionists Mary Swartz Rose (1874-1941) and Ruth Wheeler (1877-1948); as well as women's health reformer Mary Nichols. Mary Whiton Calkins (1863-1930), was the first female president of the American Psychological Association, and became the first president of the American Philosophical Association.

MILITARY

Spirited Welsh Americans led the American Revolutionary War. Robert Morris (1734-1806) financed the American effort, in which Major General Charles Lee, born in Wales in 1731, served as second in command to Washington. General "Mad Anthony" Wayne (born in 1745), a Pennsylvania-born Welsh American, fought the Battle of Monmouth.

General Isaac Shelby (born in 1750), a Maryland-born Welsh American, fought with his father, Evan Shelby, and other Welsh generals and soldiers in 1774 at the Battle of Point Pleasant, New Jersey.

MUSIC

Opera star Margaret Price; popular vocalists Shirley Bassey and Tom Jones, known as the "Welsh Elvis."

RELIGION

Welsh preacher Morgan John Rys, who came to America in 1794, preached that slavery contradicted the principles of the Christian religion and the rights of man; he also stirred controversy by preaching a sermon in which he said that no land should be taken from the Red Indians without payment.

MEDIA

PRINT

The Bard.

Published in Phoenix, Arizona, by the Annwn Temple of Gwynfyd, a circle of hereditary Welsh pagans.

Ninnau.

Monthly magazine containing news and information for Americans and Canadians of Welsh ancestry.

Contact: Arturo Lewis Roberts, Editor and Publisher.

Address: 11 Post Terrace, Basking Ridge, New Jersey 07920.

Telephone: (908) 204-0704.

Fax: (908) 221-0744.

E-mail: 73541.2554@compuserve.com.

Welsh Studies.

Address: Edwin Mellen Press, 415 Ridge Road, Box 450, Lewiston, New York 14092.

Telephone: (716) 754-2788.

Fax: (716) 754-4056.

Y Drych (The Mirror).

Monthly newspaper on Welsh social and political news; also covers Welsh events in the United States and Canada; includes regular cultural, genealogical, and Welsh-language features.

Contact: Mary Morris Mergenthal, Editor.

Address: P.O. Box 8089, St. Paul, Minnesota 55108-0089.

Telephone: (612) 642-1653.

Fax: (612) 642-0170.

Yr Enfys (The Rainbow).

Published since 1949 by Undeb Y Cymry Ar Wasgar (Wales International), it is the only international periodical for Welsh exiles.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

National Welsh American Foundation (NWAFF).

Has bestowed charitable awards since 1980, and lobbies for a Presidential proclamation of the first of March as the official Welsh American Day.

Contact: Wilfred Greenway.

Address: 216-03 43rd Avenue, Bayside, New York 11361.

Telephone: (212) 224-9333.

Welsh American Historical Society.

Contact: Mildred Jenkins, Secretary.

Address: c/o Welsh American Heritage Museum, 412 East Main Street, Oak Hill, Ohio 45656.

Welsh Associated Youth of Canada and the United States (WAY).

Launched in 1970 to involve young Welsh Americans in their heritage; a decade later, the Welsh National Gymanfa Ganu Association board of trustees granted WAY a permanent seat.

Contact: Claire Tallman.

Address: P.O. Box 3246, Ventura, California 93006.

Welsh Harp Society of America.

Founded by the St. David's Society of Kansas City in 1984.

Contact: Judith Brougham.

Address: 4202 Clark, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

Telephone: (816) 561-6066.

Welsh Heritage Week.

Contact: Anne Habermehl.

Address: 3925 North Main, Marion, New York 14505.

Telephone: (315) 926-5318.

Welsh National Gymanfa Ganu Association (WNGGA).

Contact: David E. Thomas.

Address: 5908 Hansen Road, Edina, Minnesota 55436.

Telephone: (612) 920-1454.

Welsh Society.

Seeks to keep alive Welsh culture and heritage; assists immigrants to the United States from Wales; maintains charitable programs.

Contact: Daniel E. Williams, Secretary.

Address: 450 Broadway, Camden,
New Jersey 08103.

Telephone: (609) 964-0891.

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Institute.**

Contact: Donna Lloyd-Kolkin.

Address: 1352 American Way, Menlo Park,
California 94025.

Telephone: (415) 565-3320.

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YEMENI AMERICANS

by
Drew Walker

OVERVIEW

Yemen (in Arabic, al-Yaman or al-Jumhuriyah al-Yamaniyah) is situated in the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. It is bordered by Saudi Arabia to the north, Oman to the east, the Gulf of Aden to the south, and the Red Sea to the west. The northern border with Saudi Arabia is part of a vast desert and remains mostly uncharted. Yemen's total land area is estimated to be around 156,000 square miles (405,000 square kilometers), which is slightly smaller than the state of California. The land of Yemen can be divided into five major regions: the highlands in the east, the eastern and northeastern desert regions, the central mountains (known as the Yemen Highlands), the western mountains, and the coastal plain found in the northwest. The population of Yemen lives in all of these zones, the altitudes of which range from sea level to more than 10,000 feet. In different areas adequate rainfall and good soil provide for significant agricultural production. Throughout the country, the temperature ranges greatly, from the hot desert to cool mountainous climates.

HISTORY

The long and rich history of Yemen extends back beyond three thousand years. From about 1000 B.C. most of the area today known as Yemen was ruled by three successive historical groups, the Mineans, the

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Sabaeans, and the Himyarites. These three groups or kingdoms derived their status and wealth through the trade in spices and other products such as frankincense and myrrh. Both frankincense and myrrh were forms of gum taken from trees that covered much of Yemen's lands. These substances had medicinal properties and were highly valued in the ancient world for their ritual and healing powers. With the introduction of the camel as a means of transportation in the eleventh century B.C., large caravans carried these products from their center of production in the city of Qana (today Bir 'Ali) to the great markets of Gaza in Egypt. Also included in these caravans were gold and other fine goods that arrived in Yemen by sea from India.

The early trade of the Mineans eventually gave way to the Sabaeans around 950 B.C. As a result, the Sabaean capital of Ma'rib attained great status and became a center of early Yemeni culture. Sabaean control lasted for the next 1,400 years, and they maintained an impressive agricultural system in addition to their trade in spices and other goods. To provide irrigation for their farmlands the Sabaeans built a great dam at Ma'rib in the eighth century, which stood for more than a thousand years.

The Himyarites succeeded the Sabaeans, establishing their capital at Dhafar. Trading from the port of al-Muza on the Red Sea, the Himyarites controlled trade in the region until the first century B.C., when the Romans conquered it. The spread of Christianity in the ancient Mediterranean world diminished the popularity of ritual fragrances. The lack of demand for the region's spices combined with Roman domination eventually led to the demise of Yemeni wealth in the spice trade. By the fourth century A.D. both Christianity and Judaism had been introduced into Yemen, and the Ethiopians occupied the region from early on in that century.

In 570 A.D., after centuries of neglect, the great dam at Ma'rib broke for the last time and was subsequently abandoned by the Sabaean kingdom, which had for centuries been losing influence in the region. By this time the Himyarites had established an alliance with Persia, which led to the expulsion of the Ethiopian occupation forces. It was not long after these events that Islam came to Yemen in the early to mid-seventh century. After centuries of exploitation by Christians and Jews in Yemen, the spread of Islam was quick and decisive. The Prophet Muhammad sent his son-in-law to be governor, leading to the establishment of the mosques in Janadiyah and Sana'a', still today the two most famous mosques in Yemen. From this point on Yemen was ruled by a series of Muslim holy men and

governors known as *caliphs* and *imams*. A series of rulers from differing groups came to rule Yemen over the following centuries, founding different dynasties. Most prominent among these groups was an Iraqi Shi'ite sect introduced in the ninth century known as the Zaydi.

A turning point in the history of Yemen occurred around the early fifteenth century, when reputedly one Sheik 'Ali ibn 'Umar' introduced a Yemeni specialty—named coffee—as a beverage to the greater Mediterranean world. It was at this point that Yemen became an area of conflict between the Ottoman Empire, the Egyptians, and various European countries over the trade in coffee. At first providing an economic boom that lasted for centuries in some areas of Yemen, by the eighteenth century coffee was being grown and sold elsewhere around the world. The result was yet another rapid decline in the position of Yemen in the world economy.

By 1517 the Zaydi imams of Yemen could no longer resist the forces from outside and were absorbed for the first time into the Ottoman Empire, a period of domination which lasted until 1636.

MODERN ERA

In the nineteenth century Britain and other European powers began to occupy different parts of the Middle East. In 1839 the British, deciding that Yemen was of strategic value to their empire, occupied the coastal port of Aden. As the century progressed the Ottomans moved back into northern Yemen while the British fortified their presence in the south. By an agreement in 1904 that put into writing that which had existed for decades, Yemen was divided into northern and southern areas, with the Ottomans (Turks) controlling the north and the British the south. However, in 1911, following a sustained series of local insurrections, the Turks eventually granted autonomy to North Yemen under the rule of the Zaydi imam, and in 1919 the British granted autonomy of the south to Imam Yayha, who was named king. In 1925 North Yemen became an independent state.

Imam Yayha did not recognize the distinction between north and south, and pressed hard against the British and neighboring Saudis to gain complete control over all of Yemen. Yayha eventually consolidated his power in the north and ruled until 1948, when he was assassinated. His successor and son, Ahmad, fought against the continuing presence of the British in Aden. He formed a brief alliance with Egypt and Syria, but had little success. When Ahmad died in 1962, his son Muhammed al-Badr had no sooner come to rule than he was ousted.

ed in a coup led by a military officer named Colonel Abdullah al-Sallal. Al-Sallal proclaimed Yemen a republic named the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR), and he sought control over all of Yemen's territories under this new rubric. Backed by the Saudis, the imam who al-Badr had deposed of had fled to the mountains in the north to form a royalist army. Attacking the forces of the YAR, who were backed by Egypt, these royalists waged a civil war for eight years, until the Saudis and Egyptian agreed to end their support and to arrange an election in which the people of the YAR could decide their own form of government. When this plan failed in 1966, the civil war resumed. By 1967 the Egyptians had withdrawn and YAR leader al-Sallal was overthrown and sent into exile, succeeded by Abdul Rahman al-Iryani. At this time, after years of street fighting, the British finally pulled out of Aden. Adding to the drastic changes that year, with the collapse of the YAR in the south, was the founding of a new state named the People's Republic of South Yemen on the 30th of November. Establishing a firm division between north and south by 1970, the southern government once again changed its name, to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). During the 1970s the two Yemens engaged in a series of short border wars, which after much other turmoil resulted in the drafting of a constitution establishing the unification of north and south. It was not until May 1990 that the full merger finally took place, creating a unified country named the Republic of Yemen.

THE FIRST YEMENIS IN AMERICA

There is no specific record of when the first Yemeni Americans arrived in the United States. It is most likely that the first Yemenis came shortly after the Suez canal was opened in 1869. By 1890 there are records of a small number immigrating, and there are also records showing that some Yemenis obtained U.S. citizenship by fighting in the First World War.

SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRATION WAVES AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Many early Yemeni immigrants first settled within pre-existing Lebanese and Palestinian communities in cities such as New York. After orienting themselves to their new surroundings many Yemenis set off for the Midwest and West, where the labor force was quickly growing. Working as farm laborers in California's San Joaquin Valley and as factory workers in Detroit, Canton, Weirton, and Buffalo, many Yemeni Americans prospered in the 1920s. During

the depression of the 1930s the flow of Yemeni immigration slowed dramatically but resumed again in greater numbers after the end of the Second World War in 1945. One route of immigration into the United States was through Vietnam, where many Yemenis had worked in warehouses, shops, and on the docks as watchmen. Through a loophole in the immigration laws, many Yemeni immigrants who were not literate in their mother tongue (which was a requirement for all immigrants entering into the United States) could bypass regulations and thus be admitted. Patterns of Yemeni immigration were often in the form of chain migration, in which already established immigrants would secure visas for their relatives in Yemen. With the elimination of a quota system for immigration in 1965, Yemenis gained easier access to entrance and work visas, leading to a great increase in the numbers of immigrants. In the years of immigration before 1970, nearly all immigrants from Yemen were adult males.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The population of Yemen mainly speaks Arabic but a small number of other linguistic and cultural groups such as the Mahra, and ethnic immigrant minorities including Somalis and Ethiopians, are also represented. Religion is a major factor in the separation of Yemeni society into subgroups. Among those of the Islamic faith the Sunni sect is the largest, followed by a Shi'ite minority and an even smaller group known as the Isma'ilis. In addition to religious differences, tribal differences play an important social role. Despite the great number of younger men who emigrate abroad to work and often return with foreign practices, Yemenis maintain much of their cultural heritage.

Among Yemeni Americans cultural traditions are maintained to various degrees in the communities in which they live. In places like Detroit or New York a great deal of Yemeni cultural activity can easily be found and participated in. There is overall a strong resistance to acculturation and assimilation. Despite this resistance, however, many Yemeni immigrants adopt American customs and attitudes, which work in complex ways to modify their identities in the United States and in Yemen.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

Yemeni culture and its traditions and customs among Yemeni Americans are a rich mixture of Islamic influences and more ancient traditions and

practices. Most Yemeni Americans are aware of and take great pride in the long history of their peoples. In many places Yemeni culture displays a mixture of complex traditions that are not seen in the cultures of its neighbors. Yemeni Americans are proud of the beauty of the landscape of Yemen and of their great achievements in architecture and construction, its images often decorating the walls of gathering places and homes. In addition to their traditional skill as builders, Yemeni Americans also point to a reputation for fine craftsmanship that has endured for thousands of years. Most Yemeni Americans adhere to the Islamic faith, and it is there that many of the most subtle and profound traditions, customs and beliefs are found. Christian, Jewish, and other minority influences also add to the cultural and religious diversity of Yemeni Americans.

Different social scientists have noted that within the twentieth century the practice of young men emigrating alone and working abroad after marriage has itself become a custom. Emigrating to many parts of the world, these men form what in many ways has become a key tradition in the lives of men and women in Yemeni society. Among the Yemeni American population one finds a great number of such emigrants, often between the ages of 18 and 45, who maintain economically vital links between Yemen and the United States. The sacrifice made by these emigrants is honored and respected in Yemeni society.

Another Yemeni custom practiced by Yemeni Americans, and is a part of various social situations, is the chewing of a substance called *qat*. *Qat* is the name of a seedless plant that grows up to 20 feet high and grows best between 3,000 and 6,000 feet above sea level. Its leaves are harvested throughout the year in Yemen and neighboring countries. When chewed, *qat* is said to have a stimulant and euphoric effect. *Qat* is chewed like tobacco. In the United States a bundle of *qat* sells for \$30 to \$35. It is estimated that Yemeni Americans may spend as much as \$3 million a year on *qat*. Many Yemeni American celebrations are thought to be incomplete without it.

PROVERBS

Yemeni proverbs include: *La budd min Sana'a wa lau taal al-safr* (You must visit Sana'a, however long the journey takes); *Min ratl hakya tafham wiqya* (From a pound of talk one gets but an ounce of understanding); *Ya gharib kun adib* (A foreigner should be well behaved); *Jaarak al-qarib wa la akhuk al-ba'id* (Look to your neighbor who is near you rather than to your distant brother); *Kun namla wa takul sukr* (Work

like an ant and you'll eat sugar); *Man maat al-yaum salim min dhanb bukra* (He who dies today is safe from tomorrow's sin); *Yaddi fi fumuh wa yadduh fi 'aini* (My fist is in his mouth, but his fist is in my eye, meaning "six of one, half a dozen of the other"); *La sadiq illa fi waqt al-dhiq* (A friend in time of need is a friend indeed); *Qird fi 'ain ummuh ghaz-aal* (A monkey in its mother's eye is like a gazelle, meaning love is blind); *Lau kan al-kalaam min fidha fa al-samt min dhahab* (If speech is of silver, then silence is golden); *'Asfoor fil yadd wa la 'ashra fi al-shajarah* (A bird in hand is worth ten in a tree); *Ma ghaab 'an al-nadhr ghaab 'an al-khaatir* (Out of sight, out of mind); *Idha sahibak 'asl la talhusuh kulluh* (If you have honey, don't lick the pot clean); and *Tal'ab bi hanash wa taquluh dudah* (You play with a snake and call it a worm).

CUISINE

Yemeni Americans usually consider lunch the main meal of the day. While at home many Yemeni Americans eat the traditional way—without utensils and using bread to scoop up the food.

The national dish of Yemen, widely cooked in the United States, is *salta*. *Salta* is a heavily spiced chicken or lamb stew served with lentils, beans, chickpeas, and coriander, all on a bed of rice. Another dish is *shurba*, a more soupy stew made with lentils, fenugreek, or lamb. There are many kinds of bread, of which the most popular made-at-home bread is *khubz tawwa*. In addition, *lahuh*, a pancake-like bread made from sorghum, is eaten on special occasions. *Bint al sahn* is a sweet bread dipped in honey and clarified butter.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

Many Yemeni Americans wear traditional clothing around the house and at special secular and religious gatherings. Yemen is well-known and esteemed for its production of beautiful textiles and for the importation of fine textiles from around the world. Traditionally, however, these fine fabrics were often reserved for the rich, who could afford them, and garments made from them long served as markers of class and wealth. Today, however, many Yemeni Americans can afford what used to be materials that only the rich had access to.

For men of the highlands, the most distinctive and important article worn was the *djambia*, a curved dagger. Different forms of these daggers were used to distinguish classes, and each class was forbidden to wear the wrong dagger. The traditional garment of men from the Tihama area of Yemen is

an embroidered skirt, or *futah*, which is wrapped around the hips and fastened with a belt. In the highlands regions a shorter, calf-length skirt was worn with a jacket, belt, and dagger.

With the exception of an outfit (introduced some fifty years ago) consisting of a black skirt, veil and head covering known as the *sharshaf* or the loose black coat known as the *abaya*, the traditional clothing of women varied a great deal. The veil is an important traditional part of women's clothing. While a controversial subject among women and between men and women today, the veil had the effect of a status symbol. Brightly colored cotton dresses with very wide long sleeves, including brass and silver adornment, were commonly worn in different areas.

DANCES AND SONGS

Music and song are varied in the Yemeni American community, and Yemeni Americans are more or less traditional in their tastes, depending on their access to different forms of music. Traditional music from Yemen, available on compact discs all over the world, consists of small-scale performances of an accompanied voice, strongly related to poetic expression. A range of instruments are used in the accompaniment, including a plucked string instrument called an '*ud*, as well as percussion instruments.

The position of Yemen as a vital crossroads between the traffic of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea led to a great variety in musical expression. Like much of Yemeni culture, the music is often distinct from that of its neighboring Arab lands. Local accents, rhythms and modes of everyday speech and its poetic forms figure strongly in the distinctive styles of Yemeni music and song. In Yemeni American culture and in Yemen, different poetic and musical forms are used in different settings, with special forms such as *razfah* and *balah* heard at wedding celebrations, for example.

HOLIDAYS

Many Yemeni Americans gather to celebrate Yemeni holidays when possible. Among these are May 1, which is International Labor Day; May 22, which is the Yemeni Day of National Unity; September 26, which is Revolution Day; October 14, which is National Day; and November 30, Yemeni Independence Day. Of great importance to many Yemeni Americans are the religious holidays of the Islamic faith. While these holidays begin and end at different times each year, the dates for the Roman calendar year 1999 (which is the Muslim year 1420)

are listed below. The Islamic year, made up of twelve months of 29 or 30 days each, contains a total of 353 or 354 days and is based on the lunar cycle. Each month traditionally began with the sighting of a new moon.

Ramadan: December 20, 1998–January 18, 1999

The sighting of the new moon, which in the United States is monitored by the Islamic Society of North America, begins the observance of Ramadan, the most important holiday of Islam, which lasts an entire month. It is a time for inner reflection, self-control, and devotion to God. It is a personal time arranged through social means, Ramadan takes on different meanings for every individual each year of his or her life. During Ramadan Muslims are urged to read the Koran or to spend more time listening to its recitation in a mosque.

The most prominent ritual of Ramadan is the required fasting during daylight hours, which entails abstaining from food, drink, smoking, and sexual activity. Nothing may be eaten during this month between the rising and setting of the sun. If an individual is ill, traveling, or pregnant, however, strict fasting need not be observed, with the understanding that he or she will later try to make up for this lapse.

The last ten days of Ramadan are thought to be of special significance, particularly the 27th night. The end of Ramadan and the beginning of the 'Eid-ul-Fitr festival is a time for mutual congratulation and greetings. Two of the most universal Arabic greetings are '*Eid mubarak* (a blessed 'Eid) and '*Kullu am wa antum bi-khair*' (may you be well throughout the year).

'Eid-ul-Fitr: January 19, 1999

This festival, the Festival of Fast-Breaking, takes place immediately after the end of Ramadan. Often likened to Christmas, it is a time for obligatory charity and generosity. Yemeni Americans may wear holiday attire, attend a special community morning prayer, and visit friends or relatives. Although the celebration lasts three days, most of the main festivities occur on the first day.

Hajj: March 18–March 26, 1999

The *hajj* is a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, when Muslims from all over the world converge on Mecca, Islam's holiest site. With roughly two million Muslims participating each year, the *hajj* is thought to be the world's largest international gathering, during which God is worshiped at the Sacred House called the Kabah. Few Yemenis in the United States undertake the *hajj*, but it is obligatory to make the pilgrimage at least once in every Muslim's lifetime; thus great efforts to attend should be made if conditions permit.

'Eid-ul-Adha: March 27, 1999

Known as the Festival of Sacrifice, 'Eid ul-Adha celebrates the commemoration of Prophet Abraham's willingness to sacrifice everything for God, including the life of his son Ishmael. God's sparing of Ishmael through the substitution of a sheep in his stead is celebrated by slaughtering an animal and distributing its meat among family, friends, and the needy. Traditionally this provided the means by which many poor Muslims were able to enjoy the uncommon luxury of eating meat during the four days of the festival.

HEALTH ISSUES

Among the health issues within the Yemeni American community, the chewing of *qat* has recently come to the forefront. Thought to have negative addictive effects, different Yemeni Americans are starting to question the wisdom of its excessive use. In addition, as in many newer immigrant communities, the issue of health insurance is perhaps the most important health care issue faced by Yemeni Americans.

LANGUAGE

The official language of Yemen and that spoken by the vast majority of Yemeni Americans is Arabic. Among the population of Yemeni Americans one can find a variety of Arab dialects, including the following: the Sanaani or Northern Yemeni dialect, spoken by some 7,600,000 in Yemen; the Ta'izzi-Adeni or Southern Yemeni dialect, spoken by approximately 6,760,000 in Yemen; the Hadrami dialect, spoken by approximately 300,000 in Yemen; the Mehri dialect spoken by nearly 58,000; and the Judeo-Yemeni dialect, spoken by approximately 1,000. In the population of Yemen overall the literacy rate is estimated to be between 25 percent and 39 percent. Amongst the literate, there is a standard form of Arabic which one finds used for education, official purposes, books, newspapers and formal speeches.

GREETINGS AND POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

Some common greetings and expressions in Arabic are as follows, and they are pronounced roughly as they are spelled: *Ahlan!* (Hello!); *Sabah il-kheyr* (Good morning); *Sabah in noor* (to return someone's wish good morning); *Keyf il-hehl?* or *Keyfek?* (How are you?); *Tamam, Ilhandulillah* or *Bi kheyr, ilhandulillah* (Fine); *It sharafna* (Nice to meet you);

Ma'assalama (Goodbye); *Minfadlak* or *minfadlik* (Please); *Shukran!* (Thank you); *Al-fi shukr* (Thank you very much); *Na'am* (Yes); *La* (no); and *Yala!* (Let's go!).

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

In many parts of Yemen it is still not uncommon for young men of 16 years to marry, produce children, and emigrate. Spouses and children often remain behind as the money obtained from work is sent from the United States families back home. This money is often used to purchase land and help develop a homestead for the family. In the United States many male immigrants live in inner-city apartments or houses with several other men in the same situation. Whether as single men or in family groups, a great many Yemeni immigrants live in communities with high Arab populations and frequent places where Yemenis congregate.

While very important in Yemen itself, the practice of Islam takes on different degrees of importance in America, depending on one's work and living situations and access to religious centers. In areas with larger Arab populations, access to newspapers, magazines, books, and other media in Arabic help maintain a sense of community and common interest.

EDUCATION

While the educational levels of Yemeni Americans range across the spectrum, many first-generation immigrants have a standard education and are employed as laborers in farm and factory work. Knowledge of the Koran and other sacred literature is highly respected, as is higher education. Since the 1970s a growing number of Yemenis have come to the United States to pursue college degrees.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The role of women in the Yemeni American community is complex due to the great disproportion of males to females within the population. The position of a woman in Yemeni society varies according to her age, social class, and occupation. The practice of veiling depends on what part of Yemen she comes from. A woman's educational level has a strong influence on how she relates to older women, who are often less educated. In addition to home-making, women have traditionally taken part in farming activities and also business ventures. Con-

flicts between economic necessity and tradition often arise for Yemeni American women. In more traditional families, barriers of language and customs regarding the roles of women in public can lead to an existence more cloistered and isolated than that of non-Yemeni women.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDINGS

Although the number of traditional weddings in the Yemeni American community is small, those that do take place are impressive social events. Often the match between a bride and bridegroom are still selected by their respective parents. Due to the traditional Yemeni separation of the sexes, most often a man relied on advice and information from his mother, sisters, and aunts in choosing a bride. When looking for a wife, the family of the groom helps the man determine the right candidate from his neighborhood or village or within his own family among his cousins (a practice that Islamic law allows). While the mother evaluates the women of the potential brides' families, the father does the same for the men of these families, and they discuss their impressions.

When they reach an agreement on a candidate, a date is set for the future groom and his father to visit the house of the potential bride's family in order to discuss the matter. At this time the potential bride has a chance to look at the man; if very traditional, she may serve tea to the visitors. It is often the case that the man will know very little if anything about his bride-to-be and that the young woman will know much more about him. During this meeting the father of the man asks the father of the bride-to-be if he agrees to the union. At this time it is the custom for the father of the woman to ask for time to discuss it with his wife, daughter, and other family members. After some time, if the father of the woman agrees, a time is scheduled for the ceremony of the betrothal, held on a Thursday or a Friday.

The groom and his father, accompanied by three or four male friends or relations bringing raisins, qat, and other gifts, pay a visit to the house of the father of the bride. An engagement ring is handed over to the father of the bride along with a gift of clothes for the mother and bride. Dates for the wedding are considered, and a bride price is decided upon. It is the custom that the greatest share of the bride price, which is paid by the father of the groom, is later spent purchasing jewelry and clothing for the bride. Valuables bought with this money are the bride's alone and often remain her prized possessions for many years afterward. The

actual ceremony of the betrothal is quite informal, with a great deal of conversation concerning the firm promises between the two families to marry their children.

The wedding lasts for at least three days. In the presence of a scholar of Islamic law called a *qadi*, papers of marriage are signed. In this ceremony it is the custom for the groom to ask his future father-in-law "Will you give me your daughter in marriage?" The father of the bride answers, "Yes, I will give you my daughter to be your wife." The *qadi* then asks the father of the bride if his daughter agrees to the arranged marriage. After answering that she agrees, the groom and father of the bride clasp right hands. As they do this the *qadi* lays a white cloth over their hands and recites the first *sura* of the Koran known as the *fatiha*.

The celebration of the marriage is then inaugurated when the father of the groom throws a handful of raisins onto the carpet. All those present at the ceremony try to pick up as many raisins as possible—they are thought to be signs of a happy future for the newlyweds. It is another custom for all those present at the wedding to give money, whose sums are announced, one after the other, by a crier.

The most important and most public part of the wedding celebrations takes place on the Friday following the marriage ceremony. At this time a lavish feast is prepared including a variety of meats. Lunch is a big affair that day, as is the gathering of men to chew qat and socialize. Women guests often help out in the extensive preparations for the feast. After going to midday prayers in a group, the men march through the street with the groom, who is dressed in a special costume and carrying a golden sword, singing, beating drums and making merry. That afternoon the *qadi* joins the men and recites poems and imparts moral knowledge, interspersed with breaks of music.

While this takes place, all the women gather at the house of the bride while a makeup artist arranges the bride's hair and paints fine patterns on her hands and feet. The palms of the bride's hands and the soles of her feet are painted red with henna dye. The women eat sweets together at this time. Music is played during this gathering as well.

When the sun sets and evening prayers have ended, the men take to the street to arrange for a part of the festivities called the *Zaffa*. Standing in a line outside the house the groom, his father and his brothers face toward the groom's house. In another line stands the *qadi*, who gives recitations. During this time the men slowly, step by step, approach the house, all the while singing. While they are doing

this all of the women climb onto the surrounding roofs trilling loudly in a high pitch, mixing with the singing of the men to make the greatest noise. When the groom gets near the house he runs and jumps over the threshold into the house, after which the guests dance for a bit and go home, ending the official part of the ceremony. If the bride has not yet arrived, she arrives soon afterward accompanied by her father, brothers, and other male relatives. At this time she enters the house of her husband she is officially a member of her new husband's family.

RELIGION

Most Yemeni Americans are Muslims. In the traditional practice of Islam, the observance of daily rituals and prohibitions are mandatory, especially the practice of praying five times a day. The first is the morning prayer. If there is a local mosque, men attend this prayer there. The morning ends with the midday prayer, which takes place when the sun has reached its highest point in the sky. After this people eat their midday meals. When the sun is at a 45 degree angle to the surface of the earth, it is time for the afternoon prayer. The next prayer of the day, the evening prayer, takes place at sunset. About an hour or more later, when the sky is completely dark, the last prayer of the day is done. When possible, Yemeni Americans make every effort to follow these prayer rituals, although in many work situations in the United States this simply cannot be done.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Employment and economic traditions among Yemeni Americans varied throughout the twentieth century. Earlier, in the second half of the twentieth century, many worked as factory workers in industries such as automobile manufacturing. Later, farm work became an occupation for many. More recently, Yemeni Americans have worked as small local merchants, and a number of others are working as scholars and attending universities for higher degrees. Yemeni Americans are often proud to boast of their strong work ethic.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

A number of Yemenis earned U.S. citizenship by fighting for the United States in the First World War.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS

ACADEMIA

Dr. Nasser Zawia is Assistant Professor in the Department of Pharmacology and the Division of Environmental Health at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Zawia also heads various committees on drug use and is an adviser to the governor of Tennessee on the issue of drugs. Zawia's primary research focus is on the adverse effects of environmental agents on the development of the brain. Zawia also worked as a staff fellow at the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS/NIH). Known for his work on heavy metals and developmental gene expression, Zawia has written extensively in the field of toxicology and is widely published in both national and international journals.

JOURNALISM

Mr. Shaker Alashwal is the founder of the Yemeni American League for college students and graduates. He is also co-editor of *Yemen News*, a community newspaper for Yemeni Americans. In addition to his work as a community organizer and editor, Alashwal is a writer who has published in local and international newspapers on issues relating to Yemen and Yemenis in America.

LITERATURE

The poet Ali Mohammed Luqman was born in Aden, in 1918. Luqman became interested in writing early, beginning to write poetry while still in his teens. In 1936 he went to India, where he attended al-Ghira Muslim University. Afterward he attended the American University of Cairo, earning a bachelor's degree in journalism in 1947. Returning to Aden, Luqman became the editor of his father's newspaper, *Fatat al-Jezira*. In 1943 he published his first collection of poetry, entitled *Overwhelmed Melody*. Luqman is noted for being the first poet to introduce Arabic poetic plays in the region of Aden. Although he produced a great deal of work in poetry, Luqman wrote in many other genres of literature. In many cases throughout his life political circumstances forced him at times to write anonymously. When political turmoil erupted in southern Yemen he moved to Taiz in northern Yemen and then to the United States, where he died in December 1979, among his wife and four sons.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Tawfig Jabr Hassan, MD, is a successful physician affiliated with Oakwood Hospital, in Dearborn, Michigan. Tawfig is also the city commissioner for the City of Dearborn. Abdullah Faris works as a high-tech engineer in California's Silicon Valley.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Mr. Ali Alazzani is an accomplished and well-known Yemeni activist. He has been the leader of different Yemeni and Arab American organizations. He is currently retired and acts as an educational consultant for the Department of Education for the State of California.

Saleh Muslah, M.D., M.A.C.P., was appointed consultant to the Governor John Engler of Michigan on issues concerning Michigan's Arab American communities.

Ms. Ashwaq al-Qassim was a champion of peace, a promoter of dialogue and an advocate of tolerance in and outside of the Yemeni American community. Ms. al-Qassim redefined the word "dedication" and was a great thinker on the subject of ethics. Al-Qassim was an activist, a human rights advocate, artist, and co-founder of Bosnia Link. In addition, she was a founder and a supporter of many nonprofit and non-governmental organizations.

MEDIA

Online newspapers published for the Arab American community and of interest to Yemeni Americans include the following. More information and URLs can be found in the media website for Yemen at <http://www.al-bab.com/yemen/media/med.htm>.

Yemeni Issues.

Newsletter of the Yemeni American League (in English).

Yemen Times.

Published weekly on Mondays (in English). Established in 1991, it has become highly influential. In 1995 the paper and its editor/publisher, Professor Abd al-Aziz al-Saqqaf, won the National Press Club's International Award for Freedom of the Press.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Yemen American Cultural Center.

Address: 2770 Salina, Dearborn, MI 48120.

Telephone: (313) 841-3395.

Fax: (313) 841-3395 or (313) 843-8973.

Online: www.eli.wayne.edu/CommunityOrgs/YemenAmCC.html.

Yemen American League Chapter and Contacts. New York.

Contact: Shaker Alashwal.

Address: 198 Court Street # 6, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

E-mail: YALNET@aol.com.

New Mexico.

Contact: Abdullah Sofan.

E-mail: Abdulla@zia.net.

Detroit.

Contact: Abdulwali Altahif, and Haffiz Azzubair.

E-mail: YALNET@aol.com.

Yemen Links on Arab.Net.

Set of links ranging from homepages of Yemeni American students to websites of Yemen newspapers.

Online: www.arab.net/links/yn/welcome.html

YemenNet.

Comprehensive news site about Yemen affairs around the world. Includes a Yemen internet search engine.

Online: www.yemennet.com.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

American Institute for Yemeni Studies.

Contact: Dr. Maria deJ. Ellis, Executive Director.

Address: P.O. Box 311, Ardmore PA 19003-0311.

Telephone: (610) 896-5412.

Fax: (610) 896-9049.

E-mail: aiys@aiys.org.

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YUPIAT

by
Oscar Kawagley

OVERVIEW

An estimated 86,000 Native people inhabit 87 percent of the Alaskan land mass, or 493,461 square miles. Approximately one-fourth of the Alaskan Native or Yupiat (pronounced “yu-pee-at”) live in the southwest area of the state. This floodplain of the Yukon and the Kuskokwim Rivers composes the Arctic and Subarctic region. Villages are located along the Bering Sea and Bristol Bay coasts as well as the delta of the two rivers. There are approximately 21,415 Yupiat living in 62 villages, although the majority are concentrated in the villages of Bethel and Dillingham. Approximately 40 to 50 percent of the populace are non-Native in these two villages.

The Native people of Alaska migrated from Asia. Anthropologists theorize that they originated in Mongolia because their physical features resemble those of Mongoloids. According to Yupiat creation mythology, the Yupiat were created by the Raven in the area in which they are presently located.

Approximately 32 percent of Alaska Native people have migrated to Anchorage (the biggest city in Alaska) and the Matanuska-Susitna area. Most of these people are looking for opportunities for a better life and living. Many live in poverty because they do not possess marketable skills. Many Alaskan Native people are now campaigning for an educational system that respects their own languages, ways of knowing, skills, and problem-solv-

The Yupiat people
believe that
everything of
the earth possesses
a spirit. Having a
spirit means that
all things possess
consciousness or
awareness; and
having awareness
means that they are
mindful of who
they give themselves
to and how they
are treated.

ing methods and tools. They feel this will lead to a Native state of well-being with a positive identity and cultural pride leading to self-reliance, self-determination, and spiritual strength.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Yupiat people did not readily accept education in the coastal, Yukon and Kuskokwim delta villages. The resistance was led by shamans, village leaders, and elders. It was not the superior knowledge, weapons, or methods of non-Natives that defeated the leaders, but the diseases that members of the dominant society brought with them. The Yupiat people had no resistance to these new illnesses. The shamans, who treated ailments using spiritual methods, stood by helplessly while many of their people succumbed to these foreign diseases. Whole villages were wiped out, orphaning many children and young adults. It was during this time that the missionaries were able to establish their churches and orphanages, building schools to teach a different language and way of life. The cognitive and cultural imperialism of the dominant society forced the Yupiat to conform to this system. Under the teachings of the missionary-teachers, the youngsters were faced with corporal punishment for using their mother tongue and practicing their strange ways. Being told their language and ways were inferior mentally scarred many students. To this day, the Yupiat people suffer many psycho-social problems.

The goal of traditional Yupiat education was to teach the youth to live in harmony in the human world, as well as the natural and spiritual worlds. It was their belief that everything in the universe (plants, animals, rivers, winds, and so forth) had a spirit, which mandated respect. Everything possessing a spirit meant that everything had a consciousness or awareness, and therefore must be accorded human respect. The Yupiat did not practice pantheism; they merely treated everything with respect and honor. Such a way of life led the Yupiat to possess only that which was absolutely necessary and taught them to enjoy to the utmost the little they had. The Yupiat people have been bombarded by Western society's institutions for a little over 100 years. These strange outside values and ways have wreaked havoc with their world view. Most Yupiat are aware of who they are and where they came from, but the continuing barrage of foreign values and ideas causes confusion. The clash of Western and Yupiat values and traditions has caused many Yupiat people to suffer from a

depression that is spiritual in nature. There is a need for them to regain harmony with Nature. This is what fosters their identity.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

In the past, Yupiat clothing was made from the pelts of such animals as Alaskan ground squirrels, muskrat, mink, land otter, wolf, beaver, red fox, caribou, and moose, in addition to fish and waterfowl skins. Yupiat women made parkas, pants, boots, and gloves from these skins. For special occasions, the women wore squirrel-skin parkas with many designs and tassels on them. A well-made parka shows that the owner has fine skills; if a woman with a beautiful parka is of marrying age, parents of young men assess her as a possible wife for the son.

The Yupiat people observe the Western holidays, although they practice Yupiat singing and dancing. In this way they have begun to YUPIAKIZE many of the Western holidays. Of the several original ceremonies, it is only the Messenger Feast that is still observed. The celebration, which takes place in the spring, experienced a resurgence around 1990. None of the other traditional ceremonies are practiced anymore. The reason may be that few elders remain remember the songs and dances. All traditional ceremonies required singing songs in a prescribed order, and making changes was taboo. Often these require very elaborate paraphernalia such as masks, drums, clay lamps, food, and designated leaders with special costumes. Much time was spent in preparation for the performances. The rehearsals for traditional ceremonies were not to be observed by the villagers.

The Yupiat people have returned to practicing their songs and dances, which are a form of prayer. Since Yupiat culture is based on oral traditions, songs have been passed down from generation to generation for centuries. Five dominant ceremonies and several minor ceremonies are observed throughout the year. The dominant ceremonies are: *Nakaciuq* (Bladder Festival), *Elbriq* (Festival of the Dead), *Kevgiq* (invitation ceremony), *Petugtaq* (request certain items), and *Keleq* (invitation). These were ceremonies of thanksgiving to the *Ellam Yua* (Spirit of the Universe) and Mother Earth for the many gifts. Ceremonies focus on three things: centering or balancing within oneself and with the world; reciprocation to the plants and animals that must be killed in order to live; and expression of joy and humor. All Yupiat rituals and ceremonies incorporate meditation on the integration of the human, natural, and spiritual worlds.

CUISINE

The Yupiat region is rich with waterfowl, fish, and sea and land mammals. Salmon are a staple source of food and are caught in setnets, or drifting downriver. The nets are let out of a boat perpendicular to the river shoreline and allowed to drift downriver for approximately one-half mile. When the net is pulled in, fishers remove their catch. The fish are taken to the fish camp, where they are unloaded into holding boxes. The fish are beheaded and split by the women. The split fish are hung to dry. When the surface of the flesh begins to harden, they are moved to the smoke house where they are smoked and preserved for winter use. Some of the fish are salted, frozen, or buried underground for later use. Today about half the food is supplied by subsistence activities; the other half is purchased from the commercial stores.

The tundra provides berries for making jams, jellies, and a Yupiat delicacy commonly called Eskimo ice cream—a concoction of vegetable shortening, berries, and sugar. Today there are many variations of this dessert. Yupiat women have incorporated many new ingredients, such as raisins, strawberries, dried peaches, apples, and mashed potatoes to create innovative and tasty mixtures.

HEALTH ISSUES

Traditionally the Yupiat people were a healthy people in spite of occasional famines and diseases. Presently, the two biggest problems with the growing population are water and sewage. Water from the rivers and lakes is no longer potable as a result of pollution. Wells must be drilled and sewage lagoons built, but there are inherent problems as well. The land on which this must take place is marshy and presents difficulties for control. Federal and state agencies are constantly asked to grant more funding for these activities. However, the matter becomes more problematic each year. The solutions require expensive undertakings.

Suicide among young Yupiat men is high. This is generally attributed to problems Native youth have with identity and finding a meaningful place in society. The Bethel and Dillingham region has a wide range of chronic health problems, including otitis media, cancer, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, tooth and gum disease, obesity, and sexually transmitted diseases. The Yupiat people are only now beginning to have a role in stemming these maladies.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Dillingham and Bethel regions is Yupiat. There are four dialects: Yupiat of the delta

region; Cupiaq of the coastal; Suqpiaq of the Alaska Peninsula; and Siberian Yupiat of St. Lawrence Island. These dialects are becoming grammatically impoverished. There has been much debate among the Yupiat over whether their language should be taught at home or in the schools. As a result, English is becoming the dominant language. Some villages still prefer to speak primarily Yupiat and regard English as the second language. Even these villages, however, are losing pieces of language. The younger generation communicates mainly in English. For the first time in the history of the Yupiat people a generation gap is steadily widening. The Yupiat people realize their world view is imbedded in the language; that its webbing is ineluctably intertwined in the nuances, inflections, and subtleties of the words. Therefore many Yupiat people wish the language be revived, retaught, and maintained by parents, village members, and the schools.

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DYNAMICS

According to Yupiat tradition, the father is the head of the family but the mother's role as preparer of food is equally important. She tends to the plants and animals, giving proper care and observing taboos. In Yupiat culture, plant and animal foods have consciousness and are aware of how the woman takes care of them. If pleased with the care, they give of themselves to the hunter again after reincarnation. Some of these beliefs are still observed by traditional families.

Many traditions are being lost, however, due to the pressure to make money and to satisfy advertisement-induced "needs." As with the dominant society, divorce and one-parent families are on the rise among Yupiat people. The number of single teenage mothers has increased. The nuclear family, which was once very important to Yupiat people, today is crumbling. Few Yupiat youth really know who the members of their extended family are. This knowledge was important for survival in the past.

Traditionally there was no dating among the Yupiat people. Marriages were arranged by parents. Today many Yupiat people date and fall in love. Only very traditional families arrange marriages. With new modes of transportation, such as, three- and four-wheelers, snow machines, airplanes, and boats with powerful outboard motors, Yupiat people can visit loved ones in distant villages.

In times past, men and women had very distinct roles in the village. The men were providers, the women were caregivers. Children were trea-

sured by the parents, as they were insurance that the elders would be taken care of in later years. Father, grandfather, and males of the extended family and community educated the boys. Mothers, grandmothers, and women of the extended family and community taught the girls. It was said that the community raised the children.

EDUCATION

Today education of the young is haphazard. Many young people do not want to learn and do not see the value of traditional ways. The schools provide inferior schooling for Native youth. They graduate without mastering either the Yupiat language or English. They are usually very weak in mathematics and the sciences. Many do not pursue higher education, which accounts for the growing number of high school graduates in the villages who are unable to acclimate to the subsistence way of life and the outside world. The majority of the few who enter the universities end up as drop-outs. Only about 2.3 percent have made it through institutions of higher learning. Nevertheless, they are taxing the village need for housing, subsistence products, recreational facilities, health services, general assistance, and so forth.

All village schools are publicly funded by the state of Alaska. Ancillary funds are received from the federal government, required by such laws as the Indian Education, Johnson-O'Malley, Title VII Bilingual, and the Migratory Education acts. Today, there is a growing number of Yupiat students dropping out of elementary and high schools because they do not see any value in the knowledge and skills taught there. The cognitive and cultural imperialism of the dominant society is alive and well. Those few that do make it through the universities do not return to their villages for their new knowledge and skills cannot fit into the community nor does a position exist. It might be said that there is a brain drain from the delta. Many students who enroll in the University of Alaska system will register in education programs. When successfully completed they have the opportunity to return to their home villages to teach. Most graduate students will continue in education, working for a master's degree in administration (for a principal's certificate) or in cross-cultural education. A few will enroll in anthropology. There are very few Native students who enroll in mathematics and the sciences.

The Yupiat elders, community members, parents, teachers' aides, teachers, and university professors have been pioneers in exploring mathematics and the sciences in Yupiat thought. This effort

attempts to use the Yupiat skills and ways of thinking as the basis for mathematics and sciences curricula. Yupiat people have begun to realize they have knowledge which is not understood by the dominant society. Schooling has been based on the outside world with a concomitant feeling that what the Yupiat know is of little importance. Today the Yupiat are challenging this train of thought and have taken a keen interest in changing it. They are promoting education that focuses on their language, knowledge, and skills from elementary through high school. Making their community their laboratory will edify and strengthen the identity of the Yupiat youth. This will be their most important contribution to education, arts, mathematics, sciences, industry, and government.

RELIGION

The Yupiat people believe in a *Ellam Yua* ("thlam yu-a"), a Spirit of the Universe. The most important god, however, is the Raven, the creator of earth and human beings. The Raven-god is given powers of the spirits, yet has the weaknesses of human beings. It has provided many wonderful things for the Yupiat such as the sun, moon, and stars for light, and life for all the earth's inhabitants. But the Raven possesses human frailties such as greed, making mistakes, hurting others and itself. It is the indomitable trickster and often has other animals and humans play tricks. The Raven is a survivor. It, as a pronoun designating the Raven, is fitting because it changes in form to a human, a plant, and is often a messenger in its existing form.

The Yupiat people believe that everything of the earth possesses a spirit. Having a spirit means that all things possess consciousness or awareness; having awareness means that they are mindful of who they give themselves to and how they are treated. A hunter who cares for and heeds taboos, and whose wife does the same, will be a successful provider. The animals will give of themselves to the hunter knowing that they will be well taken care of. Since the Yupiat people believe that everything in nature has a spirit, some anthropologists say that they are pantheistic. This is not the case. Because animals and other things possess spirits means they are honored and respected, but not necessarily worshipped. The purpose of this spirituality is to live in harmony with everything of the human, natural, and spiritual worlds. To live in harmony is to be balanced in living and doing things that feel right in the heart.

Medicine people were specialists among the Yupiat people. Some specialized in bone healing, others used herbs for curing diseases, still others

called upon spirits of animals, such as the bear and eagle, or spiritual beings for aid. Yupiat people believed that animal spirits and spirit helpers lived on the moon. Powerful medicine people would experience out-of-body travel to the moon, the sea, the spiritual world, other villages, animal kingdoms, and other far-off places. They were citizens of two worlds—the earth and places where the spirits dwelled. They travelled readily and learned much from their experiences, which they conveyed to their village.

The Yupiat people believed human beings were inherently good, which is quite different from most modern day religions. If a person did something wrong, the community would seek out some activity to help the wrongdoer correct his or her behavior, to become rehabilitated, and again become a positive member of the community. This differs from the punishment that is dispensed by the modern-day justice system.

Since the Yupiat people had to kill living things in order to survive, they developed rituals and ceremonies to regain a sense of peace with the world and its creatures. This was their method of reciprocation to Mother Earth. The Yupiat people could never become vegetarians because they needed the animal protein and fat to live in a harsh environment.

Land is important to the Yupiat people, for human beings and spirits occupy the same space. The land is described in action words, therefore it is a process, on-going and dynamic. By careful and patient observation the Yupiat people learned how they are to interact with other people, nature, and the spirits. Nature became their metaphysic. Today, the Yupiat people are not living as close to nature and, as a result, suffer from a spiritual depression.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC TRADITIONS

Well over 50 percent of villagers qualify for government assistance. Yupiat unemployment is as high as 80 percent in some villages. Jobs are scarce and the Alaska Native Commission claims that the few subsidized public service positions are generally occupied by transient or permanently settled non-Natives. The regional and village corporations, created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, are barely surviving, unable to develop business ventures from natural resources that are accessible to transportation and do not require a large initial capital investment. The main industries in the Bethel and Dillingham regions are seasonal fisheries and government-funded jobs. These regions are not rich

in natural resources. Some small pockets of gold, platinum, and cinnabar exist. Profiting from such resources, however, conflicts with the Native concept of living in harmony with nature. Mining activities require that the surface of the environment be altered and make it unproductive for animal habitats, berries, and edible plants. Thus corporate leaders in the Yupiat community are reluctant to invest in ventures that will alter the environment.

Since the women's role requires them to stay in the village, some have assumed leadership roles as village corporations' presidents. The men's role requires them to leave the village for subsistence hunting and trapping. Traditionally a man and woman have always been a team. It makes sense that women assume some of the modern roles, which a growing number are doing. Many women have become bilingual teachers and counseling aides in the schools. Others are community health aides and practitioners. These women generally receive a rudimentary introduction to health practices, including diagnosis, medication, and emergency care from the Kuskokwim Community College in Bethel. As they advance, they receive more training. If they encounter a situation about which they know little, they call a physician in the Public Health Service Hospital in Bethel. Critical situations require the patient be transported to the hospital with one of the many local air services. The female aides with their nurturing ways and knowledge of traditional healing practices are well suited to this service. If modern treatment and pharmaceuticals do not work, the Yupiat practitioners often try Yupiat treatments. Often, the two treatments will work in concert to heal the patient. The health practitioners are the bridge between the patient and the medical doctor.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Yupiat people were governed by egalitarianism whereby each member of the village had the same rights and responsibilities. They had a traditional council composed of elders who held meetings to address problems and issues affecting the village. They chose a chief, a servant-leader who often was the best hunter-provider in the village. The chief and council would address a problem, striving for consensus to arrive at a solution. Sometimes there would be an issue that no one agreed upon. It would be tabled for the next meeting. If, at the succeeding meeting, there still was no agreement, the matter would be dropped. The chief was kept in power as long as he or she used common sense and did not become arrogant or try to make decisions on his or

her own. The chief was strictly a servant of the people and was expected to uphold their will.

Several forms of governmental entities usually operate within the modern village, which is confusing to the local people as well as agents of other institutions. Villagers and agents wonder with which entity they are supposed to work. Each village has a traditional or Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) council, a municipal office funded by the state of Alaska, a health center funded by the federal government, and a village corporation. Each has a prescribed function within the village. The IRA or tribal council was established under the auspices of the federal government, the health center is under the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation funded by the federal Indian Health Service, and the village corporation established under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) has responsibilities for business ventures and village lands.

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Act has had the biggest impact on the Yupiat villages. This law allows the Yupiat villages to contract services operated by the federal government, including schools, social services, general assistance, child welfare, health services, and game management. Many of these services have been taken over by regional corporations or by organized clusters of villages. Funding for these activities is always a problem. The sources are consistently looking for ways to cut programs.

The Yupiat region belongs to the Alaskan Federation of Natives, Inc. (AFN), which is a statewide organization representing all Native regions. This organization functions year-round with one annual meeting of representatives from every region. They try to address all issues affecting the Alaskan Native people. They present many resolutions to various government agencies and institutions whose activities affect the Native people. The Yupiat people are always well represented. Being from a region where there are many elderly people who do not speak English, they have purchased communications technology that translates English to Yupiat for the duration of the meeting. They are the only native group to use translators. This shows the importance given to the AFN annual meeting by the Yupiat people.

The people of the Bethel and Dillingham regions vote heavily democratic. The majority of the Alaskan Native people belong to the Democratic Party.

MILITARY

Since World War II, many Yupiat men have joined the armed forces. Today, many young men are

members of the Army National Guard. Most villages have a guard unit. The headquarters of the 297th Infantry Battalion is in Bethel. It provides opportunities for income as well as training. Many Yupiat young men have become officers.

MEDIA

RADIO AND TELEVISION

KYUK-AM (640) and KYUK-TV (Channel 4). Has many tapes of Yupiat songs, myths, legends and stories, and videotapes of the Yupiat people.

Contact: Joe Seibert, General Manager
Address: 640 Radio Street, Pouch 468, Bethel, Alaska 99559.
Telephone: (800) 478-3640; or (907) 543-3131.
Fax: (907)543-3130.
E-mail: joe_seibert@ddc-alaska.org.

MUSEUMS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

Alaska State Museum.
Address: 395 Whittier Street, Juneau, Alaska 99801-1718.
Telephone: (907) 465-2901.
Fax: (907) 465-2976.

Anchorage Museum of History and Art.
Address: 121 West Seventh Avenue, Anchorage, Alaska 99501.
Telephone: (907) 343-4326.

Institute of Alaska Native Arts, Inc.
Address: Box 70769, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.
Telephone: (907) 456-7406.
Fax: (907) 451-7268.

Sheldon Jackson Museum.
Address: 801 Lincoln Drive, Stika, Alaska 99835.
Telephone: (907) 747-5222.
Fax: (907) 747-5212.

UAF Museum.
Address: 907 Yukon Drive, P.O. Box 756960, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-6960.
Telephone: (907) 474-7505.
Fax: (907) 474-5469.

Yugtarvik Museum.

Address: Bethel, Alaska 99559.

Telephone: (907) 543-3521.

Fax: (907) 543-3596.

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Identifies American ethnic groups on national, regional, and city scales, providing good annotations, maps, and statistical data based on the 1980 U.S. Census.
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A

A. Magazine, 1738
AAI (Arab American Institute). *See* Arab American Institute
AAUG (Arab American University Graduates, Inc.), 118, 1726
Abbasid dynasty, 1716
Abbott, Robert S., 49
Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem, 1792
Aboakyer festivals, 726
Abolitionist movements. *See* Slavery and slaves
Abortion rights, 1239, 1243
Abourezk, James, 119
Abraham (Biblical figure), 970, 1031
Abraham, Elaine, 1773
Abu-Jaber, Diana, 1059
A.C. Nielsen Company, 520
ACAASU (Atlantic Coast Asian American Student Union), 761
Academic contributions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans— notable individuals and groups
Acadia, 1–2
Acadians, 1–15
 acculturation and assimilation, 4–22

 associations, museums, and research centers, 14–15
 employment and economics, 11–12
 family and community, 10–11
 health, 8–9
 history, 1–2
 immigration and settlement, 3
 language, 9–10
 media, 13–14
 notable individuals and groups, 12–13
 politics and government, 12
 religion, 11
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 5–8
Acculturation. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “acculturation” e.g., Armenian Americans—acculturation
Acoma Pueblos, 1479. *See also* Pueblos
Açorda (Food), 1467
Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), 30, 691, 1199, 1806, 1808
Act of Union (1815), 1326
Ad sitja i fastunni (Game), 890
Adams, Sir Grantley Herbert, 202
Adangbe (People), 724
ADC (American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee), 1124
Adedokun, Titilayo Rachel, 1322
Adjuja, Peter, 636
Adler, Alfred, 182
Adobo (Food), 630
Adolescence, 1550
Adoption, 1076, 1424, 1425, 1768
Adultery, 444, 963, 1618
Adzohu dancing, 725
AEC (Atomic Energy Commission), 914
AF (Attiyeh Foundation), 1726
Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, 1293
Affirmative action, 42
Afghan Americans, 16–27
 acculturation, 18–19
 associations, museums, and research centers, 26–27
 employment and economics, 23
 family and community, 21–23
 health, 20
 history, 17
 immigration and settlement, 17–18
 language, 21

- media, 25
- notable individuals and groups, 24–72
- politics and government, 24
- religion, 23
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 18–20
- Afghanistan, 16–17, 24
- AFN (Alaskan Federation of Natives, Inc.), 1898
- AFRC (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council), 1612
- Africa, 28–30, 32, 36, 41
- African Americans, 28–54
 - acculturation, 32–33
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 52–54
 - comparison to Gypsy Americans, 803
 - employment and economics, 42–43
 - family and community, 37–41
 - health, 35–36
 - history, 29–31
 - immigration and settlement, 31–32
 - language, 36
 - media, 51–52
 - military, 46–47
 - notable individuals and groups, 47–51
 - politics and government, 43–46
 - relations with Nicaraguan Americans, 1307
 - religion, 41–42
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 33–34
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 33–35
- African Grove Theater, 689
- African Growth and Opportunity Act (1999), 1810
- African National Congress (ANC), 1662–1663
- Afrocentrism, 40
- Afternoon tea, 434
- Agana, Guam, 756, 758. *See also* Guam
- Agassiz, Louis Rodolphe, 1711
- Aggrey, James Emman, 729
- Agiasmos (Holy Water), 1168
- Agosín, Marjorie, 383
- Agricultural industry. *See* Farms and farming
- Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), 633
- Aguiar-Veléz, Deborah, 1498
- Aguila, Pancho, 1308
- Aguinaldo, Emilio, 624
- Aguirre, Carlos Llerene, 1441
- Aguirre, Francisco, 1309
- Aguirre, Horacio, 1309
- AHEPA (American Hellenic Education Progressive Association), 742
- AHF (American-Hungarian Federation), 876–877
- Ahijados (Godchildren), 1202
- Ahvakana, Larry, 915
- Aiahockatubbee (Choctaw leader), 409
- Aid, governmental. *See* Government aid
- AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). *See* Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
- A'iga (Samoan family), 1552–1553
- Aiken, Martha, 915
- AIM (American Indian Movement), 1349, 1626, 1628–1629
- Ainse, Sally, 1360
- AISES (American Indian Science and Engineering Society), 245
- Aiso, John Fujio, 1026
- AIWA (Asian Immigrant Women Advocates), 1085
- Akan (People), 723, 726
- Akerman, John, 1110
- Akhtar, Muhammad, 1398
- Akicitas (Fraternal society), 1626
- Aksum Kingdom, 613
- Akuru kiyaweema ceremonies, 1683
- Alacitas (Holiday), 257
- Aladura churches, 1320
- Alamo Navajo, 1260
- Alarcón, Graciela Solís, 1442
- Alashwal, Shaker, 1890
- Alaska, 1521, 1763–1764, 1893
- Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), 1765–1775
- Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971) (ANCSA), 914, 1766, 1772
- Alaskan Federation of Natives, Inc. (AFN), 1898
- Alazzani, Ali, 1891
- Albania, 55–56
- Albanian (Language), 58
- Albanian Americans, 55–66
 - acculturation, 57
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 65–66
 - employment and economics, 61
 - family and community, 59–60
 - history, 56
 - immigration and settlement, 56
 - language, 58
 - media, 64–65
 - notable individuals and groups, 62–64
 - politics and government, 62
 - religion, 60–61
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 57–58
- Albanian Congressional Caucus, 62
- Albanian Orthodox Church, 60
- Albion* (Newspaper), 581
- Albiu, Olga, 1498
- Alcohol and alcoholism. *See also* Beer; Wine
 - Afghan Americans, 20
 - Apaches, 101
 - Creeks, 440
 - Inuit, 911

- Mexican Americans, 1199
- Ojibwa, 1343
- Sioux, 1625
- Alegría, Claribel, 1544
- Alegría, Fernando, 383
- Aleiya (Nez Percé leader), 1292
- Alfauzan, Abdullah Muhammad, 1560
- Alfombras, 772
- Alfonsín, Raúl, 124
- Alfonso I, King, 1462
- Alfonso III, King, 1462
- Algeria, 67–69, 76
- Algerian Americans, **67–78**
 - acculturation, 70
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 77–78
 - employment and economics, 75
 - family and community, 72–74
 - health, 71
 - history, 68–69
 - immigration and settlement, 69
 - language, 71–72
 - media, 76–77
 - notable individuals and groups, 76
 - politics and government, 75–76
 - religion, 74–75
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 70–71
- Algonquian (Language), 244
- Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), 657
- Aliens for Better Immigration Laws, 851
- Aliens, illegal. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Guatemalan Americans—immigration and settlement
- All Hail, Liberia Hail* (National anthem), 1131
- All Indian Pueblo Council, 1484
- All Saint’s Day Eve, 942
- Allen, Horace, 1075
- Allen, Paula Gunn, 1486
- Allende, Isabel, 383
- Allende, Salvador, 374
- Allilueva, Svetlana, 705
- All-Indian Rodeo, 1287
- All-Serb Congress (Chicago, Illinois), 1586
- Almibares (Food), 1304
- Almsgiving, 571
- Aloha (Greeting), 821
- Alphabets
 - Arabic, 1254
 - Armenian, 139
 - Lao, 1096
 - Thai, 1746
 - Tibetan, 1757
 - Turkish, 1800
- ALS (Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis), 760
- Alternative and folk medicine, 8–9, 84, 312, 367, 943
- Althingi (Icelandic parliament), 885, 894
- Alvarado, Juan Velasco, 1436
- Alvarez, Julia, 533
- Amaia’ko ezpata (Dance), 212
- AMARA (American Arabic Association), 1409
- Amaya, Dionisa, 695
- Ambul thiyal (Food), 1684
- Ameche, Don, 994
- American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), 1124
- American Arabic Association (AMARA), 1409
- American Civil War
 - African Americans, 47
 - Czech Americans, 507
 - French Americans, 663
 - Hungarian Americans, 878
 - Irish Americans, 947
 - Jewish Americans, 1045
 - Swedish Americans, 1699
- American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA), 742
- American Indian Movement (AIM), 1349, 1626, 1628–1629
- American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES), 245
- American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1041
- American Lebanese Syrian Associated Charities, 1120
- American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), 1435
- American Revolutionary War
 - Acadians, 12
 - African Americans, 47
 - French Americans, 663
 - Irish Americans, 947
 - Iroquois, 957
 - Swedish Americans, 1699
- American Rusyn Bulletin, 348
- American Samoa, 1547–1549
- American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), 75, 118, 1409, 1726
- American-Hungarian Federation (AHF), 876, 877
- American-Kenyan Educational Corporation, 1068
- Amharic (Language), 617
- Amin, Idi, 1805
- Amish, **79–94**
 - acculturation, 80, 82
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 93–94
 - employment and economics, 91
 - family and community, 85–89
 - future of society, 92–93
 - health, 84
 - history, 79–80

- immigration and settlement, 80
- language, 84–85
- media, 93
- politics and government, 92
- religions, 90–91
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 80–83
- Amistad* (Ship), 1613
- Amistad Research Center, 817
- Ammann, Jakob, 80
- Ammann, Othmar, 1710
- Amulets, 60
- Amytrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS), 760
- Anabaptists, 80
- Anastasoff, Christ, 297
- ANB (Alaska Native Brotherhood), 1765, 1775
- ANC (African National Congress), 1662–1663
- Ancestral Puebloans, 1261
- ANCSA (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971), 914, 1766, 1772
- Andean music, 558–559
- Andersen, Morten, 521
- Anderson, Marian, 49
- Anderson, Mary, 1699
- Andersons, Edgars, 1110
- André, John, 1710
- Andrica, Theodore, 1515
- Angi (Ceremonial fire), 1278
- Angkor period, 306
- Anglo-Burmese Wars, 300
- Angola, 30
- Ang-Sam, Sam, 316
- Anh Nguyen, 1848
- Ani-Kutani, 362
- Anishinabe (People), 1341
- Anka, Paul, 328
- Ankrah, Joseph A., 722
- Antelope (Animals), 726
- Anthony, Marc, 1498
- Anti-Semitism, 1034–1035. *See also* Racial and cultural discrimination
- Anzac Day (Holiday), 169
- Ao dai (Clothing), 1853
- Apache Crown Dance, 100
- Apaches, **95–107**
 - acculturation, 99
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 106–107
 - employment and economics, 102–103
 - family and community, 99, 102
 - health, 101
 - history, 96–98
 - immigration and settlement, 98
 - language, 102
 - media, 105–106
 - notable individuals and groups, 103–105
 - politics and government, 103
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 99–100
- Aparicio, Luis, 1845
- Apartheid, 30, 1662–1663. *See also* Racial and cultural discrimination; Racial segregation
- Aphrodite (Goddess), 488
- APN (National People's Assembly), 73
- Apostolic Church (Armenian), 141
- Appalachia, 1573
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 729
- APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance), 1435
- Aquino, Benigno S., Jr., 626
- Aquino, Corazon, 626
- Arab American Institute (AAI), 1122, 1124, 1410, 1726
- Arab American University Graduates, Inc. (AAUG), 118, 1726
- Arab Americans, **108–122**
 - acculturation, 111–112
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 120–122
 - comparison to Lebanese Americans, 1117, 1122
 - differences from Chaldean Americans, 357
 - employment and economics, 117
 - family and community, 114–116
 - history, 108–109
 - immigration and settlement, 109–110
 - language, 113–114
 - media, 120
 - notable individuals and groups, 118–119
 - politics and government, 118
 - relations with Americans, 110–111
 - relations with Moroccan Americans, 1255
 - religion, 117
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 112
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 112–113, 116–117
- Arab Film Festival, 119
- Arab people, 1402–1403
- Arab Women's Council (AWC), 1726
- Arabic (Language), 1118
 - Algerian Americans, 71–72
 - Arab Americans, 113–114
 - Chaldean Americans, 357
 - Druze, 536
 - Egyptians, 570
 - Iraqi Americans, 932
 - Israeli Americans, 976
 - Jordanian Americans, 1056–1057
 - Morocco, 1254
 - Palestinians, 1405–1406
 - Saudi Arabians, 1562
 - Syrian Americans, 1721
 - Yemeni Americans, 1888
- Arab-Israeli conflict, 1402–1403

- Arab-Isreali War, 110
- Arafat, Yasser, 1403
- Arai, Clarence Takeya, 1026
- Aranbarri, Rocardo, 1844
- Arawaks (People), 196, 687, 1001, 1490, 1864
- Arbenz Guzman, Jacobo, 765
- Arbeter Ring (Labor union), 1044
- Arbulu, Maria Azucena, 1441
- Arceneaux, Thomas J., 13
- Archipenko, Alexander, 1827
- Areka ka (Musical group), 311
- Arenas, Reinaldo, 482
- Arepas (Food), 1841
- Arevalo, Juan Jose, 765
- Argentina, 123–124, 130
- Argentinean Americans, **123–132**
- acculturation, 125
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 131–132
 - employment and economics, 130
 - family and community, 128–130
 - history, 124
 - immigration and settlement, 125
 - language, 128
 - media, 131
 - notable individuals and groups, 131
 - religion, 130
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 125–127
- Arguello, Roberto, 1309
- Arias, Arturo, 780
- Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 807
- Ariyoshi, George Ryoichi, 1026
- Arizona, 95, 97, 1479–1480
- Armed forces. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Irish Americans—*notable individuals and groups*
- Armed Forces movement (Portugal), 1463
- Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), 1612
- Armenia, 133–134
- Armenian (Language), 139–140
- Armenian Americans, **133–146**
- acculturation, 137
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 144–145
 - employment and economics, 142
 - family and community, 140
 - history, 133–134
 - immigration and settlement, 135–136
 - language, 139–140
 - media, 143–144
 - notable individuals and groups, 142–143
 - politics and government, 142
 - relations with other Americans, 137
 - relations with Turkish Americans, 1799
 - religion, 141
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 137–138
- Armenian Apostolic Church, 141
- Armenian Catholic Church, 141
- Armenian studies (Academic discipline), 140
- Armour, John David, 664
- Arnarson, Ingolfur, 885
- Arnerich, Mateo, 463
- Arpilleras (Crafts), 382
- Arranged marriages. *See also* Matchmakers
- Arab, 114
 - Bangladeshi, 192
 - Eritrean, 597
 - Japanese, 1016
 - Nez Percé, 1289
 - Sierra Leonean, 1617
 - Trinidadian and Tobagonian, 1789
- Arrao, Claudio, 383
- Arthritis, gout, 630
- Artigas, José Gervasio, 1832
- Artists. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—*notable individuals and groups*
- Asante (People), 722
- Asawa, Ruth, 1025
- Ash Wednesday, 890, 1210
- Ashe, Arthur, 51
- Ashkenazic Jews, 973, 1031, 1252. *See also* Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans
- Asian American Heritage Council of New Jersey, 1232
- Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), 1085
- Asian Indian Americans, **147–160**
- acculturation and assimilation, 150
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 159
 - employment and economics, 154–155
 - family and community, 153
 - health, 152
 - history, 147–149
 - immigration and settlement, 149–150
 - language, 152–153
 - media, 158–159
 - notable individuals and groups, 156–158
 - politics and government, 155
 - relations with India, 155–156
 - religion, 154
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 150–152
- Asim, Waheed, 24
- al-Assad, Hafiz, 1716
- Assembly of First Nations Resource Centre, 1362
- Assimilation. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “acculturation,” e.g., Armenian Americans—*acculturation*

- Association of Arab American University
 Graduates, 1124
- Associations and organizations. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “associations, museums, and research centers” e.g., Acadians—associations, museums, and research centers
- Associations, building and loan, 506
- Assumption Day (Holiday), 233
- Astrology, 1226
- Asturias region, 1672
- Atahualpa (Incan ruler), 554, 1434
- Ataturk (Turkish leader), 490, 1796–1797, 1799
- Athabaskan (Language), 102, 1260, 1263
- Athabaskan (People), 1764
- Athletes. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
- Atlantic Coast Asian American Student Union (ACAASU), 761
- Atoka Agreement (1897), 408
- Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), 914
- Atsimewu drum (Musical instrument), 724
- Attiyeh Foundation (AF), 1726
- Attneave, Carolyn, 370
- Attucks, Crispus, 47
- Auctions, 86
- Audubon, John James, 665, 816
- Augustana Synod Church, 1696
- Aung San (Burmese leader), 300
- Ausbund* (Hymn collection), 90
- Australia, 161–165
- Australia Day, 169
- Australian Americans, 161–172
 - acculturation, 167
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 171–172
 - employment and economics, 170
 - family and community, 168, 170
 - history, 162–165
 - immigration and settlement, 165–167
 - language, 169
 - media, 171
 - notable individuals and groups, 170–171
 - politics and government, 170
 - religion, 170
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 167–169
- Austria, 173–174
- Austrian Americans, 173–185
 - acculturation, 176
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 184–185
 - employment and economics, 180
 - family and community, 179
 - health, 178
 - history, 173–175
 - immigration and settlement, 175–176
 - language, 179
 - media, 183
 - notable individuals and groups, 181–183
 - politics and government, 180
 - religion, 179–180
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 176–178
- Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867), 867
- Austro-Hungarian empire, 461, 867
- Authors. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
- Ava period, 299
- Avila, Pedro Arias de, 1413
- Avramenko, Wasył, 1825
- AWC (Arab Women’s Council), 1726
- AWOC (Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee), 633
- Awooner, Kofi Nyidevu, 730
- Ayarma people, 256
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, 920
- Ayensu, Edward, 730
- Aylwin, Patricio, 374
- Aymará (Language). *See* Quechua (Language)
- Ayoungman, Vivian, 248
- Ayurvedic medicine, 152, 1394. *See also* Folk medicine
- Azerbaijan, 134
- Azikiwe, Nmamdi “Zik,” 1314
- Aztecs (People), 1298
- B**
- Babaginda, Ibrahim, 1314
- Babenberg empire, 174
- Babín, Maria Teresa, 1498
- Babishvili, Vladimir, 705
- Baca, Lorenzo, 103
- Bacalodo (Food), 1493
- Bachi, Pedro, 1607
- Baci rituals, 1097
- Baekeland, Leo, 237
- Baez, Alberto Vinicio, 1218
- Baganda (People), 1808–1809
- Bagels, 223
- Bagratiya, Teymuraz, 705
- Bahai (Religion), 925
- Bahasa Indonesian (Language), 902
- Bahasa Malaysian (Language), 1177
- Baigais gads (The Year of Terror), 1102
- Baila music, 1685
- Bajan (Dialect), 200–201
- Bakarade (Sculpture), 216
- Baker, Sidney, 169

- Balanchine, George, 704
- Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de, 1413
- Ballads, 1572
- Banana industry. *See* Fruit industry
- Banana republics, 688
- Bananas, 558
- Bandak, Lily, 1059–1060
- Bande, Andrés, 383
- Bandelier, Adolphe, 1711
- Bangla (Language), 191
- Bangladesh, 186–188
- Bangladeshi Americans, **186–194**
- acculturation, 189
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 194
 - employment and economics, 193
 - family and community, 191–192
 - health, 191
 - history, 187–188
 - immigration and settlement, 188–189
 - language, 191
 - media, 193
 - notable individuals and groups, 193
 - politics and government, 193
 - religion, 192–193
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 188–190
- Banks and banking, 561
- Banks, Dennis, 1350
- Bansuri (Musical instrument), 1275
- Bantu (Tribe), 1063, 1661
- Bantu languages, 1808
- Bañuelos, Romana Acosta, 1217
- BAOC (Belarusan Autocephalous Orthodox Church), 225
- Baptisms, 79, 676, 1511, 1639, 1822. *See also* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Venezuelan Americans—family and community
- Baptist Church, 280, 761, 1108, 1512, 1875
- Baptist War, 1001
- Bar mitzvah (Coming of age ceremony), 1039
- Barbadian Americans, **195–205**
- acculturation, 198–199
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 204
 - employment and economics, 202
 - family and community, 201
 - history, 196–198
 - immigration and settlement, 198
 - language, 200–201
 - media, 204
 - notable individuals and groups, 203–204
 - politics and government, 202–203
 - relations with Barbados, 203
 - religion, 202
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 199–200
- Barbados, 195–198, 202–203
- Barbulescu, Constanin, 1516
- Barlow, Ed, 249
- Barmbrack cakes (Food), 942
- Barnes, Jim, 414
- Barragan, Napoleon, 564
- Barrios, Augustín, 1429
- Barrow, Errol Walton, 202
- Bartholemew (Apostle), 141
- Barve, Kumar, 157
- Bascailluz, Martin, 216
- Baseball, 530–531, 1303, 1845
- Baskets, 1614
- Basque (Language), 213, 215
- Basque Americans, **206–218**
- acculturation, 209–210
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 217–218
 - employment and economics, 215
 - family and community, 213–214
 - health, 213
 - history, 206–207
 - immigration and settlement, 207–209
 - language, 213
 - media, 217
 - notable individuals and groups, 215–217
 - politics and government, 215
 - relations with Basque country, 215
 - religion, 215
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 210–212
- Basque Country, 206–207, 215, 655–658, 1671–1672
- Basques, 1672
- Bassiouni, M. Sherif, 573
- Bastille Day (Holiday), 1368
- Bastis, Christos G., 743
- Batik cloth, 900–901
- Battle, José y Ordóñez, 1832
- Batuque (Dance), 340
- Bavarian culture in America, 713
- Baz, Farouk Al, 573
- Beads and beadwork, 959, 1356, 1754
- Beamer, Keola (Keolamaikalani Breckenridge), 829
- Beans, 378, 1356
- Bearden, Romare, 51
- Beaubrun, Theodore, 816
- Beaulieu, Wilford, 681
- Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant, 457
- Beef, 126, 1207. *See also* Meats
- Beer, 177, 231
- Begay, Fred, 1269
- Begay, Harrison, 1268
- Begum, Yasmine, 24
- Bekwerban marriages, 618
- Belanger, J. William, 679
- Belarus, 219–221, 225

- Belarusan (Language), 224
 Belarusan American Association, 225
 Belarusan Americans, **219–227**
 acculturation, 222
 associations, museums, and research centers, 226–227
 family and community, 224–225
 history, 220–221, 225
 immigration and settlement, 221–222
 language, 224
 media, 226
 notable individuals and groups, 225–226
 relations with Belarus, 225
 religion, 225
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 223–224
 Belarusan Autocephalous Orthodox Church (BAOC), 225
 Belarusan Orthodox Church, 225
 Belgian American Educational Foundation, 236
 Belgian Americans, **228–239**
 acculturation, 230
 associations, museums, and research centers, 238–239
 family and community, 231, 234–235
 health, 233
 history, 229
 immigration and settlement, 230
 language, 233
 media, 238
 notable individuals and groups, 236–237
 politics and government, 235–236
 relations with Belgium, 236
 religion, 235
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 230–233
 Belgium, 228–229, 236
 Beliefs, cultural. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Polish Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
 Belisle, Alexandre, 681
 Belize, 687
 Belize Settlement Day, 691
 Bell, Thomas, 1643
 Bellecourt, Clyde, 1350
 Bells, 1755
 Belly dancing, 1253
 Belushi, James, 63
 Belushi, John, 63
 Bemelmans, Ludwig, 182
 Bengali (Language), 191
 Bennett Law, 715
 Bennett, Lerone, 30
 Bennett, Robert LaFollette, 1361
 Bennett-Coverly, Louise, 1012
 Benoit, Josaphat, 681
 Benson, Ezra Taft, 1245
 Bentsen, Lloyd, 521
 Berber (Language), 72
 Berbers (People), 69, 1250
 Berets, 211. *See also* Hats
 Bering, Jonassen, 513
 Berlin Airlift, 717
 Berlin Wall, 717
 Bernardez, Jorge, 694
 Berotte Joseph, Carole M., 815
 Berra, Yogi, 996
 Bertsolari (Poets), 211
 Bessarabia, 1506–1507
 Best Men (Wedding party), 60, 293
 BET (Black Entertainment Television), 48
 Betancourt, Rómulo, 1840
 Bethune, Mary McLeod, 38
 Bethune-Cookman College, 38
 Bettencourt, José de Sousa, 1473
 Bevins, Susie, 915
 Bhagwati, Jagdish, 156
 Bharata natyam (Dance), 1685
 Bhavsar, Natvar, 156
 Bhutto, Benazir, 1391
 Bicoy, Bernaldo D., 636
 Biddington, Jill, 167
 Big Hill (Person), 915
 Bii (Dance), 1228
 Bikel, Theodore, 980
 Bilingual education, 715–716, 826, 1078, 1205
 Bilingualism, 423, 669, 1201
 Bingo industry, 413
 Birch bark, 1342
 Biron-Peloquin, Marthe, 681
 Birth and birthdays. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Albanian Americans—family and community
 Birthing practices, 84, 773
Bishinik (Periodical publication), 415
 Bishop, Maurice, 749
 Bishop, Tania Kroitor, 1826
 Bisteeya (Food), 1253
 Biyelgee (Dance), 1228
 The Black drink, 442
 Black English, 36
 Black Entertainment Television (BET), 48
 Black History Month, 35
 Black lung disease, 1650
 Black pudding (Food), 199
 Blackfeet Community College, 245
 Blackfeet Reservation (Montana), 242
 Blackfoot (Language), 244
 Blackfoot (People), **240–251**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 250–251
 employment and economics, 247–248
 family and community, 244–245

- health, 244
- history, 241–242
- language, 244
- media, 250
- notable individuals and groups, 248–250
- politics and government, 248
- religion, 246–247
- settlement, 242
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 243–244
- Blackfoot Sun Dance, 244, 246–247
- Blades, 1055
- Blanco party (Uruguay), 1832
- Blankets, 856
- Blaxploitation films, 33
- Bliatout, Bruce (Thow Pao), 841
- Bloom syndrome (Disease), 1037
- Blow guns, 959
- Blue Lake (Sacred land), 1627
- Blues music, 49
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, 1871
- Boarding houses, 292, 1510, 1636
- Boarding schools, 1264
- Boats and boating, 5
- Bobbitt, Lorena, 565
- Bodhran, Ahimsa Timoteo, 1257
- Boer War, 1661
- Boers (People), 1661
- Bolívar (Ecuadoran leader), 554–555
- Bolívar, Simón, 418, 1435, 1840
- Bolivia, 252–254
- Bolivian Americans, **252–261**
 - acculturation, 254
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 261
 - employment and economics, 259
 - family and community, 257–258
 - history, 253–254
 - immigration and settlement, 254
 - language, 257
 - media, 260–261
 - notable individuals and groups, 259–260
 - politics and government, 259
 - religion, 258
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 255–257
- Bolshevik Revolution, 1521
- Bomba (Costa Rican custom), 433
- Bön (Religion), 1759
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 657, 1463
- Bonfires, 8
- Bonilla, Frank, 1498
- Boone, Daniel, 1571
- Boort (Boarding houses), 292, 1510, 1636
- Bordaberry, Juan María, 1833
- Borel (Person), 216
- Borg, Joseph, 1187
- Borge, Victor, 520
- Borglum, Gutzon, 521
- Borgnine, Ernest, 994
- Borshch (Food), 1525
- Bos chhoung (Games), 311
- Bosnia, 262–263, 270, 1592
- Bosnian (Language), 268
- Bosnian Americans, **262–271**
 - acculturation, 265–266
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 271
 - employment and economics, 270
 - family and community, 268–269
 - history, 263–264
 - immigration and settlement, 264–265
 - language, 268
 - media, 270
 - notable individuals and groups, 270
 - politics and government, 270
 - relations with Bosnia, 270
 - religion, 269
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 266–268
- Bosnian War, 263
- Bossart, Karel, 237
- Boston, Massachusetts, 941
- Boston Massacre, 47
- Botero, Fernando, 427
- Botha, P.W., 1663
- Bottle dances, 1425
- Boucher, Georges-Alphonse, 681
- Boucher, Jean-Claude, 679
- Boucheries (Boucherings), 10
- Boudinot, Frank, 370
- Boudreau, Louis, 682
- Bougainville, Louis de, 1365, 1548
- Boulmerka, Hassiba, 74
- Boulpaep, Emile, 237
- Bourgeois, Ulric, 683
- Bouteflika, Abdelaziz, 69
- Bowers Museum of Cultural Art, 1858
- Bowheads, 908
- Bowls, singing (Musical instrument), 1755
- Bozanski lonac (Food), 266
- Bozich (Holiday), 1589–1590
- Bracero workers, 1212
- Brademas, John, 744
- Brainerd, David, 959
- Braithwaite, E.R., 791
- Brancusi, Constantin, 1516
- Brandeis, Louis, 508, 1046
- Brandon, Neil, 167
- Brass bands, 1165
- Brat (Cloaks), 942
- Brault, Gerard J., 680
- Brazil, 272–273, 280–281
- Brazilian Americans, **272–283**
 - acculturation, 274–275

- associations, museums, and research centers, 282
- employment and economics, 280
- family and community, 278–279
- health, 277
- history, 273
- immigration and settlement, 273–274
- language, 277
- media, 281–282
- notable individuals and groups, 281
- politics and government, 280–281
- religion, 279–280
- stereotypes and misconceptions, 274–275
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 275–277
- Brazilian Portuguese (Language). *See* Portuguese (Language)
- Brcin, John David, 1594
- Breads
 - Afghan American, 19
 - Belgian, 232
 - Bosnian, 266
 - Bulgarian, 294
 - Ethiopian, 617
 - Garifuna, 690
 - Sicilian superstition, 1600
 - Ukrainian American, 1818
 - Yemeni American, 1886
- Breechcloths (Clothing), 960
- Brenner, Victor D., 1147
- Brennivin (Beverage), 888
- Bridal showers, 1511
- Brides, war, 628
- Bridge building, 1434
- Briere, Eloise, 680
- Brit milah (Circumcision), 1039
- British and Colonial Foreign Gazette* (Newspaper), 581
- British-American* (Periodical), 583
- British-American Citizen* (Periodical), 583
- Broderick, Amelia, 1619
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 38–39
- Brown, William Henry, 689
- Browne, Vee, 1268
- Bruce, Robert, 1568
- Brujos (Folk healers), 1305
- Brumidi, Constantino, 996
- Bryant, Lane, 1146
- Bubonic Plague, 1326
- Buddha (Gautama), 1748
- Buddhism. *See also* name of specific type of Buddhism, e.g., Theravada Buddhism
 - Asian Indian Americans, 154
 - Indonesian Americans, 903
 - Japanese Americans, 1021
 - Korea, 1083
 - Korean Americans, 1083
 - Laotian Americans, 1094, 1096–1098
 - Malaysian Americans, 1178
 - Mongolian Americans, 1230
 - proverbs, 1684
 - Taiwanese Americans, 1736
 - Vietnam, 1857
- Buddhist Rains Retreat, 301
- Buffalo, 243
- Buffalo meat, 243. *See also* Meats
- Buganda (People), 1805
- Buha (Piaute belief), 1381
- Buhari, Muhammadu, 1313
- Building and loan associations, 506
- Bujig (Dance), 1228
- Bukovac, Vlaho, 471
- Bulgaria, 284–287
- Bulgarian (Language), 292
- Bulgarian Americans, 284–298
 - acculturation, 289
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 297–298
 - employment and economics, 295
 - family and community, 292–294
 - history, 285–287
 - immigration and settlement, 287–289
 - language, 292
 - media, 297
 - notable individuals and groups, 296–297
 - politics and government, 295
 - religion, 294–295
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 289–291
- Bulgarian and Macedonian Immigrant Society, 295
- Bulgarian Orthodox Church, 294–295, 1168
- Bulgarian-Macedonian National Educational and Cultural Center, 1171
- Bun Day (Holiday), 890
- Bundestag parliament, 709
- Burchevii workers. *See* Migrant workers
- Burchinov, Djab Naminov, 1231
- Burdeau, George, 250
- Burgbrennen (Holiday), 1154
- Burkqas (Garments), 190
- Burma, 299–301
- Burmese (Language), 302–303
- Burmese Americans, 299–304
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 304
 - family and community, 303
 - history, 299–301
 - immigration and settlement, 301
 - language, 302–303
 - media, 303
 - religion, 303
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 301
- Burnham, Linden Forbes Sampson, 785

Business professionals. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—*notable individuals and groups*
Busk festivals, 441–442, 960–961
Button blanket, 1769
Byzantine Rite Catholicism, 347, 349–350, 1512–1513, 1640, 1823

C

Caballeros de Dimas-Alang (Organization), 632
Cabral, Amilcar, 336
Cabral, Ana Maria, 336
Cabral, João Sérgio Alvares, 1473
Cabrenas, José, 1499
Cabrera, Lydia, 481
Cachupa (Food), 338
Caciquism (Land-ownership system), 623–624
Cadiens. *See* Acadians
Cadillac, Antoine de Lamothe, 670
Cafés, 292
Cairene Arabic (Language), 570
Cajuns. *See* Acadians
Caldos, 771
Calendars, 592, 1731
California, 1391, 1465, 1523, 1673, 1730
California Gold Rush, 165, 208, 375, 388, 659. *See also* Gold mining
California State University, 1541
Caliphs (Leaders), 930
Callas, Maria, 744
The Calling of the Turtles, 1368
Caló (Language), 1200
Calvin, John, 656
Calvinism (Religion), 874, 875, 1879
Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church, 902
Calypso music, 751, 1786
Cambodia (Country), 305–308
Cambodian (Language), 312
Cambodian Americans, **305–318**
 acculturation, 309–311
 associations, museums, and research centers, 317–318
 employment and economics, 314–315
 family and community, 313
 health, 311–312
 history, 306–308
 immigration and settlement, 308–309
 language, 312
 media, 316–317
 notable individuals and groups, 312, 316
 politics and government, 316
 religion, 313–314
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 311
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 311

Camels, 592–593
Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, 1024
Camp settlements, 3
Camp Verde Reservation, 97
Camps, concentration, 709, 1023, 1446
Canaan. *See* Israel
Canada, 248, 319–322, 668–671, 680
Canadian Americans, **319–332**
 acculturation, 323–324
 associations, museums, and research centers, 331–332
 employment and economics, 326
 family and community, 325
 health, 324
 history, 320–322
 immigration and settlement, 322–323
 language, 324–325
 media, 329–331
 notable individuals and groups, 327–329
 politics and government, 326–327
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 323–324
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 324
Canals, 1413–1414
Cancer, 35
CANF (Cuban American National Foundation), 480
Canja de galinha (Food), 338
Cannibalism, 1365
Canoes, 823, 1342
Canoncito Navajo, 1260
Canseco, José, 482
Cantonese (Language), 394–395
Canzonerie, Tony, 1607
Cape Verde, 333–336, 341
Cape Verdean Americans, **333–344**
 acculturation, 337–338
 associations, museums, and research centers, 343–344
 employment and economics, 341
 family and community, 340
 health, 339
 history, 334–337
 immigration and settlement, 337
 language, 339–340
 media, 342–343
 notable individuals and groups, 341–342
 politics and government, 341
 relations with Cape Verde, 341
 religion, 340
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 338–339
Capra, Frank, 994, 1607
Capraro, Nino, 1606
Cardenas-Jaffe, Veronica, 778
Cardinal, Douglas, 249
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 273, 281

- CARECEN (Central American Refugee Center), 1544
- Carew, Jan, 791
- Carey, Mariah, 1844
- Carib Indians, 196, 687, 749, 1864
- Caribou, 907, 913
- Carlos, Don, 207
- Carmichael, Stokely, 1791
- Carnatic music, 151
- Carnaval festival (Brazilian), 277
- Carnegie, Andrew, 1570
- Carnival, 1786, 1787, 1841, 1868
- Carpathian Rus', 345–346
- Carpatho-Rusyn Americans, **345–354**
- acculturation, 347–348
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 353
 - employment and economics, 350–351
 - family and community, 348–349
 - history, 345–346
 - immigration and settlement, 346–347, 1522
 - language, 348
 - media, 353
 - notable individuals and groups, 352–353
 - politics and government, 351–352
 - religion, 349–350
- Carranze, Nicolás, 1544
- Carrel, Alexis, 665
- Carriere, Joseph Medard, 680
- Carter, Kate Bearnson, 894
- Cartier, Jacques, 320, 658, 669
- Caruana, Patrick P., 1187
- Carvalho, Otelo Saraiva de, 1463
- Carvings, tree, 216
- Casals, Pablo, 1678
- Casinos. *See* Gambling and gaming
- Cassava (Food), 1130
- Cassavetes, John, 743
- Castaneda, Carlos, 1442
- Caste systems, 757, 1277, 1395, 1686
- Castedo, Montserrat, 382
- Castilla, Ramón, 1435
- Castillo, George, 690, 695
- Castillo, Rhodel, 695
- Castro, Fidel, 474–475
- Catechism. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Belgian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Catholic 21* (Newspaper), 1083
- Catholicism. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Brazilian Americans—religion
- Cattle industry, 12, 102
- Cayuga (People). *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- CCP (Convention People's Party), 722
- Ceausescu, Nicholae, 1505
- Cecilia (Poet), 762
- Celadon pottery, 1077
- Celebration (Tlingit tradition), 1769
- Cemeteries, 456
- Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN), 1545
- Central American Resource Center, 1545
- Centro Presente (Organization), 1545
- Cepeda, Orlando, 1499
- CERA (Commission for Eritrean Refugee Affairs), 598
- Cerezo Arevalo, Marco Vinicio, 766
- Česnica (Bread), 1590
- Ceviche (Food), 558
- Ceylon, 1681–1682, 1688–1689
- Cha, Dia, 842
- Chador (Clothing), 267, 923
- Chadri (Clothing), 20
- Chain migrations, 712, 1599, 1637
- Chairs, 723
- Chakra (Wheels), 147
- Chakri, Chao Phraya, 1742
- Chaldean (Language), 357
- Chaldean Americans, **355–361**
- acculturation, 357
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 361
 - employment and economics, 360
 - family and community, 357–359
 - history, 356
 - immigration and settlement, 356–357
 - language, 357
 - media, 361
 - politics and government, 360–361
 - religion, 359
- Chaldean Catholic Church, 359
- Chalidze, Valeri, 705
- Chamorro, Guillermo Ortega, 1308
- Chamorro, Violeta Barrios de, 1298
- Chamorros. *See* Guamanian Americans
- Chamoru (Language), 760
- Champagne brothers (Octave, Eusebe, and Philias), 682
- Champlain, Samuel de, 669
- Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam, 158
- Chang-Díaz, Franklin, 435
- Chang-lin Tien, 1737
- Channukah (Holiday), 976, 1036
- Chants and chanting, 617, 1754
- Chanute, Octave, 664
- Chao Fa (Religion), 840
- Chap ch'ae (Food), 1078
- Chapter (Navajo government), 1260, 1266
- Chaquis messengers, 1434
- Charango (Musical instrument), 256

Charles IV, Emperor, 498
 Charlotte, Grand Duchess, 1152–1153
 Charr, Easurk Emsen, 1085
 Charter of Privileges (Cape Verdean), 334
 Chartier, Armand, 680
 Chase, Loretta, 64
 Chatoyer, Joseph, 688
 Chaul Chnam (Holiday), 311
 Chavchadze, David, 705
 Chavchavadze, Paul, 705
 Chávez, César, 1217
 Chavín civilization, 1432
Chbab (Literary work), 312
 Chea, Alvin, 791
 Checkerboard (Territory), 1260
 Chekrezi, Constantine A., 62
 Cherian, Joy, 157
 Cherokee (Language), 368
 Cherokee-Baptist Church, 368
 Cherokees, **362–372**
 acculturation, 364–365
 associations, museums, and research centers, 371–372
 employment and economics, 368–369
 family and community, 365–366
 health, 367
 history, 362–364
 language, 368
 media, 371
 notable individuals and groups, 369–371
 politics and government, 369
 religion, 368
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 365, 366–367
 Chevrolet, Louis Joseph, 1712
 Cheyenne River Reservation tribal council, 1627
 Chhurpi (Food), 1275
 Chi pao (Clothing), 1733
 Chiang, Doug, 1738
 Chiapas, Mexico, 767
 Chicago, Illinois, 1140
 Chicano movement, 1197, 1215
 Chicha (Drink), 558
 Chickasaws (People), 408
 Chicken (Meat), 1252. *See also* Meats
 Chicoine, Stephen, 1129
 Chief Joseph (Old), 1283, 1292
 Chief Joseph (Young), 1284, 1292
 Chiefs (Leaders)
 Joseph (Old), 1283, 1292
 Joseph (Young), 1284, 1292
 Samoan, 1554–1555
 Yupiat, 1897
 Chigan (Beverage), 1227
 Chilaquiles, 771
 Children and childrearing. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and

community,” e.g., Iroquois Confederacy—family and community
 Children’s Day, 1799
 Chile, 373–374, 382
 Chilean Americans, **373–385**
 acculturation, 376–377
 associations, museums, and research centers, 384–385
 employment and economics, 381
 family and community, 380–381
 health, 379–380
 history, 373–374
 immigration and settlement, 374–376
 language, 380
 media, 384
 notable individuals and groups, 382–384
 politics and government, 381
 relations with Chile, 382
 religion, 381
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 377–379
 Chilean Independence Day, 379
 Chilkat robe, 1769
 Chimú kingdom, 1433
 China, 386–388
 Chinatowns, 390, 393
 Chinese (Language), 394–395
 Chinese Americans, **386–403**
 acculturation, 390–392
 associations, museums, and research centers, 401–402
 employment and economics, 396–397
 family and community, 395–396
 health, 393
 history, 387–388
 immigration and settlement, 388–390
 language, 394–395
 media, 400–401
 notable individuals and groups, 399–400
 politics and government, 397–398
 religion, 396
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 392–393
 Chinese calendars, 392
 Chinese Ecuadorans, 563. *See also* Ecuadoran Americans
 Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 1075
 Chinese Malaysians, 1175, 1178. *See also* Malaysian Americans
 Chinese New Year, 1177, 1733
 Chinggis Khan Ceremony, 1227
 Chiricahua Apaches, 97. *See also* Apaches
 Chisholm, Shirley, 203
 Cho, Margaret, 1086
 Choban salatasi (Food), 489
 Choctaw (Language), 410
 Choctaw Civil War, 406
 Choctaw Indian Agency, 408

- Choctaw Indian Fair, 412
 Choctaw Removal Treaty, 407
 Choctaws, **404–416**
 acculturation, 409
 associations, museums, and research centers, 415
 employment and economics, 412–413
 family and community, 411–412
 history, 405–409
 language, 410
 media, 415
 notable individuals and groups, 414–415
 politics and government, 413
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 409–410
 Chokofa (Rotunda), 439
 Cholera, 1438
 Cholo (Chicano youth), 775
 Chopin, Kate O'Flaherty, 457
 Choy, Herbert Y.C., 1086
 Chretien, Alfred J., 678
 Christian, Almeric, 1871
 Christian Democratic party (Uruguay), 1837
 Christian Reformed Church (CRA), 548
 Christianity. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "religion," e.g., Indonesian Americans—religion
 Christmas
 Amish, 83
 Arab Americans, 117
 Argentinean Americans, 127
 Austrian Americans, 177
 Chileans, 379
 Croatian Americans, 465
 Czech Americans, 502
 Danish, 515
 Liberian Americans, 1131
 Mexican Americans, 1210
 Norwegians, 1330
 Serbians, 1589–1590
 Slovak Americans, 1638
 Syrian Americans, 1720
 Christmas Eve
 Acadians, 8
 Belarusans, 224
 Czech Americans, 502
 Danish Americans, 515
 Mexican Americans, 1210
 Polish Americans, 1451
 Ukrainian Americans, 1818–1819
 Christophe, Henri, 806
 Christowe, Stoyan, 297, 1164, 1170
 Chu nom (Language), 1855
 Chuan, Leekphia, 1743
 Chung, Myung-Whun, 1086
 Chunjie (Holiday), 1733
 Church burnings, 42
 Church dancing, 594
 Church districts, 85
 Church of Cyprus, 493
 Church of England, 586. *See also* Episcopalianism
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 513.
 See also Mormons
 Church of Norway, 1333
 Church of Scotland, 1574
 Church of Sweden, 1696
 Church sanctuaries, 741
 Church schools. *See* Parochial schools
 Churches, 117, 1528. *See also* name of specific denomination, e.g., Byzantine Rite Catholicism
 Chylak, Nestor, Jr., 1827
 Ciardi, John, 995
 Ciboney Indians, 1864
 Cigar-making, 505
 Cinca, Silvia, 1515
 Cinco de Mayo celebrations, 1208
 Cinque, Sangbe Peh, 1619
 Circle dances, 594
 Circumcisions, 977, 1039, 1255. *See also* Female circumcisions
 Cirrhosis, liver, 1199
 Citizenship, dual, 564, 1109, 1866
 Civic Union of Uruguay party, 1837
 Civil Rights Act (1957), 44
 Civil Rights Act (1964), 43
 Civil rights and Civil Rights movements, 33, 44–46, 103, 398, 1195
 Civil War, American. *See* American Civil War
 Civil War, Liberian, 1128
 CKAV (Coalition for Korean American Voters), 1085
 Clamorgan, Jacques, 1880
 Clans, 1573, 1771
 Classical music, 49
 Clemente, Roberto Walker, 1499
 Clergy, 1513
 Clinica Monsenor Oscar A. Romero, 773
 Clinton, Bill, 46, 742, 1760
 Clitoridectomies. *See* Female circumcisions
 Clothing, traditional. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "traditions, customs, and beliefs," e.g., Algerian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
 Clowns, 1481
 Coal mining
 Carpatho-Rusyn Americans, 350
 Croatian Americans, 468
 Navajos, 1266
 Scottish Americans, 1573
 Slovenian Americans, 1650
 Welsh Americans, 1879
 Coalition for Korean American Voters (CKAV), 1085

- Coats, 702
- Cocaine, 253
- Cochiti Pueblos, 1479. *See also* Pueblos
- Cockfighting, 629, 1303
- Cocoa trade, 722
- Coconuts, 690, 822, 1684
- Code of Leke Dukagjini, 59
- Codes, family, 59, 738
- Code-switching, 1201
- Coelho, Peter “Tony,” 1472
- Coffee, 489, 558, 593
- Coffeehouses, 292
- Coining (Medical technique), 312
- Cold War, 164, 709, 717
- Collor de Mello, Fernando, 273, 280
- Colombia, 417–419
- Colombian Americans, **417–428**
- acculturation, 421
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 428
 - employment and economics, 425–426
 - family and community, 423–424
 - health, 422
 - history, 418–419
 - immigration and settlement, 419–420
 - language, 423
 - media, 427
 - notable individuals and groups, 426–427
 - politics and government, 426
 - religion, 424–425
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 421
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 421
- Colón, Jesús, 1499
- Colón, Miriam, 1499
- Colon, Mirtha, 695
- Colorado political party, 1423, 1832
- Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC), 1289, 1293
- Columbian Independence Day, 421
- Columbus, Christopher, 687, 784, 1783, 1839
- Comanche Nation (Native American), 96, 98
- Commission for Eritrean Refugee Affairs (CERA), 598
- Common Market policy, 577
- Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962), 786
- Communion services, 90
- Communism (Political ideology)
- Bulgaria, 287
 - Estonian Americans, 603, 608
 - German Americans, 717
 - Guyana, 785
 - Hungary, 868, 877
 - Macedonia, 1162, 1169
 - Russian Americans, 1525
 - Soviet Union, 1521
- Community dynamics and customs. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Syrian Americans—family and community
- Community Service Organization (CSO), 1214
- Compadrazgo (Social system), 631, 1540, 1836
- Concentration camps, 709, 1023, 1446
- Condolence ceremonies (Oneida), 1358
- Confucianism (Religion), 1072, 1178
- Congregationalist Church, 761
- Congressional Hispanic Caucus, 1217
- Conkie (Food), 199, 788
- Conservative Judaism, 1043. *See also* Judaism
- Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association, 391
- Constitutions, 408, 966
- Construction industry, 965, 1697
- Contras (Nicaraguan guerillas), 1298, 1308
- Convention People’s Party (CCP), 722
- Conzemius, Eduard, 1158
- Cook, James, 162, 820, 1778
- Cook, Katsi, 967
- Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth, 1629
- Copán Classic period, 844–845
- Coppola, Francis Ford, 994
- Coptic (Language), 572
- Coptic Christianity, 571, 572
- Coral Castle, Florida, 1110
- Cordero, Helen Quintana, 1485
- Corky Gonzales (Organization), 1215
- Corn
- Chilean cooking, 378
 - Creek cooking, 441
 - Ecuadoran cooking, 558
 - Hopi culture, 856
 - Iroquoian cooking, 960
 - Iroquoian culture, 958
 - Nicaraguan cooking, 1304
- Corn Mother (Hopi spiritual figure), 857
- Corn Planting Ceremony (Iroquoian), 961
- Corpi, Lucha, 1218
- Cortés, Hernan, 845
- Corteville, Peter, 236
- Cortina, Juan Nepomuceno, 1194
- Cortina War, 1194
- Cosby, Bill, 34
- The Cosby Show* (Television show), 34
- Cossacks, 1814
- Costa (Food), 558
- Costa Rica, 429–430
- Costa Rican Americans, **429–436**
- acculturation, 431
 - family and community, 434
 - health, 433
 - history, 430
 - immigration and settlement, 430–431
 - language, 433–434

- notable individuals and groups, 435
- religion, 435
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 431–433
- Costumes, traditional. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Algerian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Cote, Adelard, 683
- Cottage industries, 91
- Cotton industry, 31, 32, 568
- Coucou (Food), 199
- Coughlin, Charles E., 1035
- Council of Energy Resource Tribes, 861
- Council of Twelve, 1241
- Count Roger, 1184
- County of Oneida v. Oneida Indian Nation*, 1355
- Courtship. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Acadians—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Couscous (Food), 70, 1252
- Coutinho, Joaquim de Siquera, 1471
- Cow industry, 12, 102
- Coyotes (Illegal immigrants), 1300
- CRA (Christian Reformed Church), 548
- Crafts, traditional. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Belarusan Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Cranes (Animal), 1020
- Crawfish, 6. *See also* Fish and seafood
- Credit unions, 679
- Creditors, 1043
- Creek (Language), 443
- Creeks (People), **437–449**
 - acculturation, 439–441
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 448–449
 - employment and economics, 445
 - family and community, 443–444
 - health, 442–443
 - history, 437–439
 - language, 443
 - media, 448
 - notable individuals and groups, 447–448
 - politics and government, 446–447
 - religion, 444–445
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 440–441
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 441–442
- Cremation, 153, 1747
- Creole (Language), 454, 811–812
- Creoles, **450–459**
 - acculturation, 451–452
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 458–459
 - Cuban history, 474
 - employment and economics, 456–457
 - family and community, 455–456
 - history, 451
 - language, 454
 - media, 458
 - notable individuals and groups, 457–458
 - politics and government, 457
 - relations with Acadians, 3, 7
 - religion, 456
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 452–453
- Crests, 1767
- Cricket (Sport), 752, 1006
- Crigler-Najjar syndrome, 84
- Crime. *See also* Domestic abuse; Mafia (Sicilian)
 - African Americans, 36
 - Italian Americans, 986, 988
 - Jamaican Americans, 1006, 1010
 - Russian Americans, 1525
 - Virgin Islands, 1865
- Crisafi, Antonio, 1598
- Cristo-Loveanu, Elie, 1516
- CRITFC (Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fisheries Commission), 1289, 1293
- Crkvenoslovenski (Language), 1588
- Croatia, 460–462, 469, 1592
- Croatian (Language), 466–467
- Croatian Americans, **460–472**
 - acculturation, 465
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 472
 - employment and economics, 468
 - family and community, 467–468
 - health, 466
 - history, 461–464
 - immigration and settlement, 264–265
 - language, 466–467
 - media, 471
 - notable individuals and groups, 469–471
 - politics and government, 468–469
 - relations with Croatia, 469
 - religion, 468
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 465–466
- Crocodile Dundee* (Film), 167
- Cronyn, Hume, 328
- Crop cultivation. *See* Farms and farming
- Crop Over celebrations, 200
- Crossmas (Holiday), 891
- Crowfoot (Blackfoot leader), 248
- Crown Colony governments, 1001
- Crown Dance, Apache, 100
- Crowns (Headdress), 1468
- The Crusades, 971, 1716
- Cruz, Pedro dela, 636
- Cruz, Victor Hernández, 1499
- Cry ceremonies, 1380
- CSO (Community Service Organization), 1214
- Cuba, 473–475, 481

Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), 480

Cuban Americans, **473–485**
 acculturation, 476
 associations, museums, and research centers, 484
 employment and economics, 479–480
 family and community, 476, 477, 478
 health, 477
 history, 474–475
 immigration and settlement, 475–476
 language, 477–478
 media, 483–484
 notable individuals and groups, 481–482
 politics and government, 480
 relations with Cuba, 481
 religion, 479
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 477

Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (1996), 480

Cueca dances, 378

Cuisine. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Liberian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs

Cults, religious, 787

Cultural discrimination. *See* Racial and cultural discrimination

Cultural stereotypes and misconceptions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “stereotypes and misconceptions,” e.g., Spanish Americans—stereotypes and misconceptions

Cultural traditions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Jamaican Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs

Cumbia music, 421, 1539

Cumming, Alfred, 1236

Cuomo, Mario, 995

Curanderos (Healers), 773, 1198

Curry powders, 1684

Curtis Act (1898), 447

Customs, cultural. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Arab Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs

Cuy (Meat), 558

Cymraeg (Language), 1877–1878

Cypriot Americans, **486–496**
 acculturation, 488
 associations, museums, and research centers, 495
 employment and economics, 494
 family and community, 491–493
 health, 490
 history, 487–488

immigration and settlement, 488
 language, 490–491
 notable individuals and groups, 495
 politics and government, 494
 relations with Cyprus, 494–495
 religion, 493–494
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 488–490

Cyprus, 486–487, 494–495

Cyrillic alphabet, 348

Czar Dusan Silni, 1580

Czar Lazar, 1590

Czech (Language), 503

Czech Americans, **497–510**
 acculturation, 500–501
 associations, museums, and research centers, 509–510
 employment and economics, 505–506
 family and community, 503–505
 health, 503
 history, 498
 immigration and settlement, 498–499
 language, 503
 media, 508–509
 notable individuals and groups, 507–508
 politics and government, 506
 religion, 505
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 501–502

Czech Republic, 497–498

D

Da Graca, Jose Gomes, 342

Da Me Molat Ne Se Zhenam (Song), 1238

Daal bhaat (Food), 1275

Daily family prayer, Mormon, 1238

Dainas (Songs), 1105

Dairy industry, 1709

Dalai Lama, 1751, 1752, 1760

Dallmeier, Francisco, 1844

Dalmatians (People), 463–464

Damasco, Carl, 633

DaMatta, Roberto, 281

Damian, Samuel, 1505

Damoz marriages, 618

Dan, Adam, 520

Dance of the Dust, 232

Dancing and dances. *See* name of specific dance, e.g., Guozhan (Dance); subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” or “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Algerian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs

Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty, 407

Daniels, Victor, 370

Danish (Language), 517, 1331

Danish Americans, **511–524**

- acculturation, 514
- associations, museums, and research centers, 523–524
- employment and economics, 519
- family and community, 518
- history, 512–513
- immigration and settlement, 513–514
- language, 517
- media, 522
- notable individuals and groups, 519, 520–521
- politics and government, 519
- relations with Denmark, 519
- religion, 518–519
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 515–516, 518
- Danish National Church, 518
- Dao Yang, 842
- Dari (Language), 21
- Das, Taraknath, 188
- Dashnags (Political party), 142
- Dating. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Arab Americans—family and community
- Dauenhauer, Nora Marks, 1773
- Dauenhauer, Richard, 1773
- Davis, Ossie, 48
- Dawes Act (1887), 1348
- Day of the Children, 1492
- Day of the Three Wise Men, 127, 1676
- Day of Tradition, 126
- Daynuah, Jacob M., 1135
- Dayton Peace Accord, 270
- Daytona Institute, 38
- De Leon Carpio, Ramiro, 766
- De Pauw, Charles, 236
- De Sintra, Pedro, 1127
- De Soto, Hernando, 406
- De Veuster, Joseph Damien, 237
- Debo, Angie, 409
- Debtara (Musicians), 617
- Deepavali (Holiday), 1177
- Deer Dance, 772
- Deganawidah (Iroquoian hero), 956
- Del (Clothing), 1227
- Deloria, Vine, Jr., 1629
- Demjanovich, Miriam Teresa, 353
- Democratic party (United States), 742, 947, 1044, 1335
- Denbigh culture, 907
- Dengjie (Holiday), 1733
- Denmark, 511–512. *See also* Danish Americans
- Dennis, Benjamin G., 1135
- Deportations, 2, 794
- Der Seropian, Kristapor, 135
- Derbakke (Musical instrument), 1117
- Derby Dam, 1377
- The Derg (Political rulers), 591
- Deshler, David William, 1075
- Detroit, Michigan, 230, 356, 359, 1182, 1184
- Devil dances (Ritual), 1685
- Dewhurst, Colleen, 328
- Dharma (Hindu belief), 1395
- Dhiro (Food), 1275
- Dia Cha, 842
- Día de los Reyes Magos (Holiday), 1676
- Diabetes, 1199
- Diablada dances, 256
- Diasporas. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Israeli Americans—immigration and settlement
- Díaz, Lozano, 846
- DiDonato, Pietro, 994
- Diego, Juan, 1209
- Dievturi (Religion), 1108
- Dilowa Gegen Khutukhtu, 1225
- DiMaggio, Joe, 996, 1608
- Dimije (Clothing), 267
- Dirndl (Clothing), 177
- Discrimination, racial and cultural. *See* Racial and cultural discrimination
- Displaced persons. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Laotian Americans—immigration and settlement
- Distefano, Ana María, 1844
- Ditka, Mike, 1456
- Diversity lotteries (Immigration), 1683, 1753, 1806
- Divorce
 - Irish Americans, 944
 - Koreans, 1082
 - Lebanese, 1119
 - Mormons, 1239
 - Moroccans, 1254
 - Slovaks, 1639
 - Thais, 1747
- Diwali (Holiday), 152
- Djab Naminov Burchinov, 1231
- Djambia (Clothing), 1886
- Djangar* (Book), 1226
- Dmytryk, Edward, 1825
- Dnieper River clothing style, 1818
- Doe, Samuel K., 1127
- Doi, Isami, 1025
- Dolmas (Food), 266
- Domestic abuse, 1020. *See also* Crime
- Domestics, live-in, 750
- Domingo, W.A., 1010
- Dominican Americans, 525–533
 - acculturation, 528–529
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 533

- employment and economics, 531–532
- family and community, 529–531
- health, 529
- history, 525–526
- immigration and settlement, 526–528
- language, 529
- notable individuals and groups, 532–533
- politics and government, 532
- religion, 531
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 529
- Dominican Day Parade, 529
- Dominican Republic, 525–526
- Dominus, John, 464
- Donibane dances, 212
- Doninelli, Aida, 780
- Doody, Margaret Anne, 327
- Dorfman, Ariel, 383
- Dos Passos, John Roderigo, 1472
- Douglass, Frederick, 48
- Dowa dancing, 725
- Dowries, 1133, 1229
- Dozier, Edward P., 1484
- DPs (Displaced persons). *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Laotian Americans—immigration and settlement
- Dragan of Ohrid, 1163
- Dragnich, Alex N., 1593
- Dragon Boat Festival, 392, 1733
- Dragoti, Stan, 63
- The Drama of King Shotoway* (Play), 689
- Dravidians, 147
- Dreams and dreaming, 1346, 1356
- Dred Scott v. Sanford*, 43
- Dress codes, 925
- Dress, traditional. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Algerian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Dresses, 243, 1405
- Driving Hawk, Virginia, 1629
- Droughts, 333, 335
- Druecker, Johann, 1159
- Druecker, Joseph, 1159
- Drug trade, 253, 421, 1006
- The Drum is the Heart* (Film), 244
- Drums (Musical instrument)
 - Blackfoot, 243
 - Eritrean, 594
 - Garifuna, 848
 - Ghanaian, 724–725
 - Liberian American, 1131
 - Nepalese, 1275
 - Nez Percé, 1285
- Druze (Religion), 538–539
- Druze Americans, 534–540
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 539–540
 - employment and economics, 539
 - family and community, 537–538
 - history, 535–536
 - immigration and settlement, 536
 - language, 536–537
 - media, 539
 - notable individuals and groups, 539
 - politics and government, 539
 - religion, 538–539
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 536
- D’Souza, Dinesh, 157
- Du Bois, W.E.B., 44
- Dual citizenship, 564, 1109, 1866
- Duan Wu festivals, 392
- DuBois, W.E.B., 1314
- Dubuque, Hugo, 678
- Duchy of Courland, 1102
- Dueling, 410
- Dugu (Garifuna tradition), 690
- Dukakis, Olympia, 743
- Dukepoo, Frank C., 863, 1486
- Dulce de leche (Food), 126
- Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral (Agana, Guam), 756
- Duncan, Isadora, 1575
- Duncan, Tim, 1871
- Dunham, Katherine, 48
- Dupont de Nemours, Eleuthère Irénée, 664
- Durant, Will, 680
- Durocher, Leo, 682
- Duroselle, Jean-Baptiste, 656
- Dutch (Language), 233, 546
- Dutch Americans, 541–552
 - acculturation, 544–545
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 551–552
 - employment and economics, 549
 - family and community, 546–547
 - health, 546
 - history, 542
 - immigration and settlement, 543–544
 - language, 546
 - media, 551
 - notable individuals and groups, 549–551
 - politics and government, 549
 - religion, 547–548
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 545–546
- Dutch, Pennsylvanian (Language), 84–85
- Dutch Reformed Church, 547, 1668
- Dutch West India Company, 542
- Duvalier, Francois “Papa Doc,” 807
- Duvalier, Jean-Claude “Baby Doc,” 807
- Dymally, Mervyn, 1790

E

- EAA (East Africa Association), 1063
Earl of Carlisle, 196
Earl of Pembroke, 196
East Africa Association (EAA), 1063
East Germany, 708–709, 717
East Indian Americans. *See* Asian Indian Americans
Easter
 Amish, 83
 Arab Americans, 117
 Belarusans, 224
 Bosnians, 266
 Lebanese, 1118
 Macedonians, 1166
 Mexican Americans, 1210
 Polish Americans, 1451
 Serbians, 1590
 Ukrainians, 1819
Eastern Orthodox Church
 Arab Americans, 117
 Carpatho-Rusyn Americans, 349–350
 Gypsy Americans, 801
 Lebanese Americans, 1120
 Macedonian Americans, 1168
 Romanian Americans, 1512–1513
 Ukrainian Americans, 1823
Easurk Emsen Charr, 1085
Ebonics, 36
Economic traditions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “employment and economics,” e.g., Amish—employment and economics
Ecuador, 553–556
Ecuador Day, 559
Ecuadoran Americans, **553–566**
 acculturation, 557–558
 associations, museums, and research centers, 566
 employment and economics, 562–563
 family and community, 560–561
 history, 554–556
 immigration and settlement, 556–557
 language, 559–560
 media, 565–566
 notable individuals and groups, 561, 564–565
 politics and government, 564
 religion, 562
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 558–559
Edmunds Act (1882), 1236
Edmund-Tucker Act (1887), 1236
Education. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” or “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—family and community
EELC (Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church), 607
Egg decorating, 1590
Egg hoppers (Food), 1684
Egusi soup, 1316
Egypt, 567–568, 572, 972
Egyptian Americans, **567–574**
 acculturation, 568
 associations, museums, and research centers, 573–574
 employment and economics, 572
 family and community, 570–571
 health, 569
 history, 567–568
 immigration and settlement, 568
 language, 570
 media, 573
 notable individuals and groups, 572–573
 politics and government, 572
 relations with Egypt, 572
 religion, 571–572
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 569
Eid al-Adha (Holiday), 71, 116, 1562, 1888
Eid al-Fitr (Holiday), 116, 152, 1562, 1720, 1887
Einstein, Albert, 1047
Eisenhower, Dwight, 716
Eisteddfod (Musical tradition), 1877
Ekemode, O.J., 1322
El Dia de los Inocentes (Holiday), 1492
El Dia de los Tres Reyes (Holiday), 1494
El Norte (Film), 780
El Rescate (Organization), 1545
El Salvador, 1534–1535, 1543. *See also* Salvadoran Americans
Elderly, 812
Elia, Andrew, 63
Elia, Dimitria Tsina, 63
Eliade, Mircea, 1515
Elizabeth I, Queen, 576, 1873
Elizabeth II, Queen, 577
Elizabeth, Queen of Aragon, 1466
Elopement, 839
Emancipation Day (Virgin Islands), 1868
Emch (Healer), 1228
Emmigration. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Yemeni Americans—immigration and settlement
Empanadas (Food), 378
Emperor Charles IV, 498
Emperor Dusan Silni, 1580
Emperor Haile Selassie, 614
Emperor Le Thai To, 1855
Emperor Minh-mang, 1849
Employment. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “employment and economics,” e.g., Amish—employment and economics
Endo, Mitsuye, 1024
Endogamous marriages, 84, 114, 358. *See also* Interracial and intercultural marriages

- Enesco, George, 1515
- L'Enfant, Pierre Charles, 663
- Eng, Phoebe, 1738
- England, 575–578
- English (Language). *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “language,” e.g., Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans—language
- English Americans, **575–589**
- acculturation, 581–583
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 587–588
 - family and community, 584–586
 - health, 584
 - history, 576–578
 - immigration and settlement, 578–580
 - language, 584
 - media, 587
 - notable individuals and groups, 587
 - politics and government, 586
 - religion, 586
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 583–584
- English Language Amendment, 1201
- English, Pidgin (Language), 1317
- Ensalata rusa (Food), 433
- Entertainment. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
- Environmental issues, 828
- Epiphany (Holiday), 127, 675, 1168, 1676
- Episcopalianism, 170, 585, 586, 790
- EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front), 598
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 1122–1123
- Erdrich, Louise, 1350
- Eriin gurban naadam (Festival), 1227
- Eritrea, 590–592, 599
- Eritrean Americans, **590–600**
- acculturation, 592
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 600
 - employment and economics, 598
 - family and community, 596–597
 - health, 595
 - history, 591–592
 - immigration and settlement, 592
 - language, 595–596
 - media, 600
 - notable individuals and groups, 599–600
 - politics and government, 598–599
 - relations with Eritrea, 599
 - religion, 597
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 592–595
- Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), 598
- Eritrean Sport Federation in North America (ESFNA), 599
- Ertegun, Ahmet, 1802
- Esaki, Leo, 1026
- Escalante, Jaime, 260
- Escobar, Marisol, 1845
- Escualdun Gazeta* (Newspaper), 216
- ESFNA (Eritrean Sport Federation in North America), 599
- Eskimos. *See* Inuit
- Esquipulas Process (Peace plan), 430
- Estefan, Gloria, 482
- Estensoro, Hugo, 260
- Estonia, 601–602, 609
- Estonian (Language), 605–606
- Estonian Americans, **601–612**
- acculturation, 603–604
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 611–612
 - employment and economics, 608
 - family and community, 606–607
 - health, 605
 - history, 601–602
 - immigration and settlement, 602–603
 - language, 605–606
 - media, 611
 - notable individuals and groups, 609–610
 - politics and government, 608–609
 - relations with Estonia, 609
 - religion, 607–608
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 605
- Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC), 607
- Etcheverry, Marco, 260
- Ethiopia, 613–614, 620
- Ethiopian Americans, **613–621**
- acculturation, 615–616
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 620–621
 - employment and economics, 619
 - family and community, 617–618
 - health, 617
 - history, 613–614
 - immigration and settlement, 614–615
 - language, 617
 - relations with Ethiopia, 620
 - religion, 619
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 617
- Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 619
- Etzioni, Amitai, 980
- Euskara (Language), 213, 215
- Euzkadi region, 1672
- Evangelical Lutheran Church, 893
- Evert, Chris, 1159
- Evil eye superstitions, 735, 1466. *See also* Superstitions
- Evinrude, Ole, 1336
- Ewe (People), 723

Excommunication. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Amish—religion
 Exiles, 2, 794
Exodus (Book), 112
 Exporting industry, 903, 1186, 1440
 Expressions and greetings. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “language,” e.g., Arab Americans—language
 Expulsion of 1755, 2
 Eyring, Henry, 1245

F

Face masks, 961, 1755
 Fado songs, 1468
 Fair Play Committee (FPC), 1024
 Fais-dodo parties, 10
 Faka Me (Holiday), 1778
 Faldur (Headdress), 889
 False faces, 961, 1755
 Familial dysautonomia (Disease), 1037
 Family codes, 59, 738
 Family dynamics. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under “family and community,” e.g., Indonesian Americans—family and community
 Family feuds, 1573
 Family home evenings, 1238
 Famines, 335, 336
 Faria, Harold José Periera de, 1472
 Farm Labor party, 1698
 Farmer, Gary Dale, 967
 Farms and farming, 1697. *See also* Sharecropping
 Acadian, 12
 Africa, 29
 Amish, 91
 Apache, 102
 California, 1391
 Cherokee, 366
 Creek, 443
 Croatian American, 463
 Czech American, 505
 Danish American, 519
 Dutch American, 549
 Egyptian, 568
 Eritrea, 598
 Filipino American, 632–634
 Hawaii, 822–823
 Hopi, 856, 860
 Kenyan American, 1065
 Luxembourger American, 1156
 Mexican American, 1212, 1215
 Norwegian American, 1333
 Pueblo, 1483
 Swiss, 1709

Virgin Islands, 1870
 Welsh American, 1875
 Farsi (Language), 922, 924
 Fasching (Custom), 176
 Fasci movement (Sicily), 1599
 Fascism, 987
 Fashion and fashion designers. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” or “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
 Fasting, 571, 595, 1562, 1565
 Fat Tuesday, 8
 FATS (Firearms Training Systems, Inc.), 1668
 FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigations), 1628–1629
 Feast of Ignatius of Loyola, 212
 Feast of Lots, 976
 Feast of Mother of God of Zyrovicy, 224
 Feast of Our Lady of Guadelupe, 1209–1210
 Feast of Sacrifice, 1720
 Feast of St. Euphrosynia, 224
 Feast of the Dead (Huron), 1357
 Feast of the Epiphany. *See* Epiphany (Holiday)
 Feast of the Sacrifice. *See* Eid al-Adha
 Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), 1628–1629
 Federation of Ukrainian Students Organization of America, 1822
 Feet, 1744
 Feijoada (Food), 276
 Female circumcisions, 1067, 1133, 1317, 1616
 Fengshui (Asian tradition), 1731
 Ferlinghetti, Lawrence, 995
 Fermi, Enrico, 996
 Fernandez, Mary Joe, 533
 Fernandez-Baca, Jaime A., 1442
 Ferraro, Geraldine, 995
 Festa (Holiday), 1183
 Festa de Senhor da Pedra (Holiday), 1467
 Festa do Iemenja (Holiday), 276
 Feste (Holiday), 992, 1601
 Festival of Abundance, 257
 Festival of Freedom, 976, 1037
 Festival of Lights, 1177
 Festival of Sacrifice. *See* Eid al-Adha
 Festival of the Blessed Sacrament, 1466
 Festival of the Booths, 1037
 Festival of the Holy Ghost, 1466
 Festival of the Light, 976, 1036
 Festival of Weeks, 976
 Festivals. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Jamaican Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
 Fez hats, 1253
 Field, Cyrus, 1576
 Fifty-sixers (Immigrant group), 876, 877

- Fighting, 10
- Figueira, Mathias, 1473
- Fiji. *See* Pacific Islands
- Fijian (Language), 1369
- Filipino Americans, **622–637**
- acculturation, 628–629
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 637
 - employment and economics, 632–634
 - family and community, 630–632
 - health, 630
 - history, 623–626
 - immigration and settlement, 626–628
 - language, 630
 - media, 636–637
 - notable individuals and groups, 635–636
 - politics and government, 634
 - religion, 632
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 629–630
- Films. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under “notable individuals and groups” e.g., African Americans—*notable individuals and groups*; specific type of film, e.g., Blaxploitation films
- Finland, 638–639, 648
- FinnFest USA, 643
- Finnish (Language), 644
- Finnish Americans, **638–654**
- acculturation, 641–642
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 652–653
 - employment and economics, 647
 - family and community, 645–646
 - health, 644
 - history, 638–639
 - immigration, 639–641
 - language, 644
 - media, 650–652
 - notable individuals and groups, 648–650
 - politics and government, 647–648
 - relations with Finland, 648
 - religion, 646–647
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 642
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 642–644
- Firearms Training Systems, Inc. (FATS), 1668
- Firewalking, 1368
- First Albanian Teke Bektashiane, 61
- First Balkan War, 1162
- First communion. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Belgian Americans—*traditions, customs, and beliefs*
- First Day of Summer (Holiday), 891
- First Filipino Regiment, 635
- First Infantry Regiment, 635
- FIS (Islamic Salvation Front), 69
- Fish and seafood
- Barbadian cooking, 199
 - Chilean cooking, 378
 - Ecuadoran cooking, 558
 - Japanese wedding customs, 1021
 - Portuguese cooking, 1467
 - Yupiat cooking, 1895
- Fishing. *See also* Hunting
- Acadians, 12
 - Hawaii, 823
 - Iceland, 886, 893
 - Nez Percé, 1284, 1290, 1291
 - Norwegian Americans, 1334
- Five Pillars (of Islam), 571–572, 934, 1256, 1407, 1565, 1801
- Five Tribes of the Iroquois. *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- Flags, national. *See* National flags
- Flamenco music, 1676
- Flemish (Language), 233
- Flemish Belgians. *See* Belgian Americans
- Flengingardagur (Holiday), 890
- Fletcher, James Chipman, 1245
- Flint Affair, 677
- Floda, Liviu, 1515
- Flores, Justin Mejia, 695
- Flores, Patrick F., 1218
- Florida, 1673
- Fluoridation, 1241
- Folk dancing. *See* name of specific dance, e.g., Guozhan (Dance); subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” or “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Algerian Americans—*traditions, customs, and beliefs*
- Folk medicine. *See also* Ayurvedic medicine
- Belgian American, 231
 - Blackfoot, 244
 - Costa Rican, 432
 - Creek, 442
 - Czech American, 503
 - El Salvadoran, 1539
 - Guatemalan American, 773
 - Gypsy American, 799
 - Haitian American, 810–811
 - Hawaiian, 824
 - Hmong American, 836–837
 - Mexican American, 1198
 - Mongolian, 1228–1229
 - Navajo, 1262
 - Nicaraguan, 1305
 - Ojibwa, 1343
 - Oneida, 1356
 - Paiute, 1379
 - Samoan, 1551
 - Tibetan, 1756
 - Tlingit, 1770

- Ukrainian American, 1820–1821
 Yupiat, 1896
 Folk schools, 518
 Folk tales. *See* Stories and storytelling
 Foods. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Barbadian Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs; specific type of food, e.g., Gumbo
 Foofoo (Food), 788
 Football (Soccer), 752, 770, 1834
 Forbes, Kathryn, 1336
 Ford, Glenn, 327
 Foreign language instruction. *See* Bilingual education
 Formosan Association for Public Affairs, 1736
 Fort Apache Reservation, 97
 Fort Apache Timber Company, 102
 Fortresses, 1434
 Fortune-telling, 797, 800–803
 Forty-eighters (Immigrant group), 175, 178
 Forty-niners (Immigrant group), 868, 870, 875
 Four Noble Truths (of Buddhism), 314
 Foustanela (Clothing), 736
 Fox, Michael J., 328
 Fox, William, 878
 FPC (Fair Play Committee), 1024
 France, 655–658
 Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de, 1423
 Francis, Lee, 1486
 Franco, Francisco, 207
 Frankincense, 1883
 Fraternal organizations, 678, 1641
 Free-Soil party, 1334
 French (Language)
 Acadians, 5, 9–10
 Belgians, 233
 Canada, 324–325
 Creoles, 454
 French, 662
 French-Canadian Americans, 675
 Haitian Americans, 811
 French Americans, **655–667**
 acculturation, 660
 associations, museums, and research centers, 665–666
 employment and economics, 663
 family and community, 662
 health, 662
 history, 656–657
 immigration and settlement, 657–660
 language, 662
 media, 665
 notable individuals and groups, 663–665
 politics and government, 663
 religion, 663
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 661
 French and Indian War, 656
 French-Canadian Americans, **668–685**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 684–685
 employment and economics, 678–679
 family and community, 675–677
 health, 675
 history, 669–671
 immigration, 671–673
 language, 675
 media, 683–684
 notable individuals and groups, 680–683
 politics and government, 679–680
 relations with Canada, 680
 religion, 677–678
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 673–675
 French-Canadians, 3
 French National Assembly, 662
 French Polynesia, 1364–1366, 1371–1372, 1777–1778
 French Revolution, 657
 Fruit industry, 633, 688, 845–846
 Fruits, 1065. *See also* specific type of fruit, e.g., Coconuts
 Fujimori, Alberto, 1436
 Fulani empire, 1313
 Funan (Territory), 306
 Funk, Casimir, 1456
 Fur trade. *See* Trade and trading
 Furuseh, Andrew, 1336
 Fuster, Illeana, 849
- G**
- Ga (People), 724
 Ga-Adangbe (People), 724
 Gage, Nicholas, 743
 Gagnon, Ferdinand, 681
 Gagnon, Rene A., 680
 Galbraith, John Kenneth, 327
 Galicia region, 1672
 Gallatin, Albert, 1711
 Gallaudet, Thomas, 664
 Gamarra, Eduardo A., 259
 Gambling and gaming, 958, 1341, 1347, 1359, 1483
 Gandhi, Indira, 148
 Gangs, street, 1540
 Garamendi, John, 215
 Garand, John C., 682
 Garbo, Greta, 1700
 Garcia, Cristina, 482
 Garcia, Jose, 532
 García-Borras, Thomas, 1678
 García-Buñuel, Luis, 1678
 Garifuna (Language), 691–692, 849

- Garifuna Americans, **686–697**
 acculturation, 689–690
 associations, museums, and research centers, 696–697
 employment and economics, 693
 family and community, 692–693, 849
 health, 691
 history, 687–689
 immigration and settlement, 689
 language, 691–692
 media, 697
 notable individuals and groups, 693–696
 relations with former countries, 694
 religion, 693
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 690–691, 847
- Garifuna Arrival Day, 691
- Garifuna Masses (Roman Catholic), 693
- Garifuna music, 848
- Garifuna Sick Aid Association, 692
- Garifuna World website, 694, 696
- Garinagu Americans. *See* Garifuna Americans
- Garment industry, 532
- Garvey, Marcus, 1010, 1314
- Garza, Jose L., 104
- Gaucher disease, 1037
- Gaucho (Clothing), 126
- Gautama Buddha, 1748
- Geechee (People), 1613–1614, 1617, 1618
- Gelassenheit (Amish value system), 81
- Gender roles. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Arab Americans—family and community
- General Allotment Act (1887), 1348
- General Strike (1906), 639, 640
- Genital mutilation. *See* Female circumcisions
- Gentlemen’s Agreement (1907), 1016, 1075
- George, Peter T., 1171
- George, Phil, 1291
- Georgescu-Roegen, Nicholas, 1515
- Georgia (Country), 699–700, 704
- Georgian (Language), 703
- Georgian Americans, **699–707**
 acculturation, 701
 associations, museums, and research centers, 706–707
 employment and economics, 704
 family and community, 703–704
 health, 703
 history, 700
 immigration and settlement, 700–701
 language, 703
 media, 706
 notable individuals and groups, 704–705
 relations with Georgia, 704
 religion, 704
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 701–702
- Georgian Orthodox Church, 704
- Geothals, George Washington, 237
- German (Language), 179, 714, 715, 1708
- German American Alliance, 715
- German Americans, **708–720**
 acculturation, 713
 associations, museums, and research centers, 719
 family and community, 715–716
 history, 708–709
 immigration and settlement, 710–713
 language, 714
 media, 718–719
 notable individuals and groups, 717–718
 politics and government, 716–717
 relations with Germany, 717
 relations with Luxembourger Americans, 1156
 religion, 716
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 713–714
- German, Pennsylvanian (Language), 84–85
- German Poles, 1447. *See also* Polish Americans
- German reunification (1990), 709, 717
- Germany, 708–709, 717
- Gerrard, Forrest J., 250
- Ghaffari, Mohammed, 923
- Ghana (Country), 721–722, 729
- Ghana (Singing), 1183
- Ghanaian Americans, **721–730**
 acculturation, 723
 associations, museums, and research centers, 730–731
 employment and economics, 729
 family and community, 727–728
 health, 726
 history, 722
 immigration and settlement, 723
 language, 726–727
 notable individuals and groups, 729–730
 politics and government, 729
 relations with Ghana, 729
 religion, 728–729
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 723–726
- Gheg (Language), 58
- Ghosananda, Maha, 316
- Ghost Dance (Religion), 1378, 1382
- G.I. Forum, 1214
- Giamatti, A. Bartlett, 994
- Giannini, Amadeo P., 994
- Gibran, Khalil, 1123
- Gibson, Althea, 51
- Gignoux, Régis François, 663
- Giguere, Joseph-Emile Chambord, 682
- Gilpin, Charles, 48
- Giuliani, Rudolph W., 995
- Gladstone, James, 249
- Glutaric aciduria (Disease), 84

- Glyndwr, Owain, 1873
- Godparents
- Costa Rican, 434
 - Creole, 455
 - Cuban American, 478
 - French-Canadian, 676
 - Georgian, 703
 - Greek, 738
 - Guyanese, 789
 - Maltese, 1185
 - Mexican American, 1202
 - Serbian, 1591
 - Uruguayan, 1836
- Goiter disease, 1276
- Goizueta, Roberto, 482
- Gold mining, 1283. *See also* California Gold Rush
- Gold trade, 722
- Golden Jubilee celebration (Queen Victoria), 583
- Goldenberg, Isaac, 1441
- Goldman, Emma, 1147
- Goldman, Francisco, 780
- Gomes, Alfred J., 341
- Gomez, Andres, 565
- Gomez, Elsa, 532
- Gómez-Lobo, Alfonso, 382
- Gongsuo organizations, 391
- Gonner, Nicholas, 1159
- Gonsalves, Paul, 341
- Gonzalez, Aida, 565
- González, Angel, 1678
- Gonzalez, Jim, 778
- Good Friday, 8, 200, 431, 1210
- Goodwine, Marquette, 1619
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 1521
- Gordon, Roxy, 414
- Gorman, Carl Nelson, 1268
- Gorman, Rudolf Carl, 1268
- Gorin, Robert, 237
- Gospodarz (Landowner), 1450
- Gotanda, Philip Kan, 1025
- Gottschalk, Louis Moreau, 458
- Gourieli-Tchkonia, Artchil, 705
- Gout arthritis, 630
- Government. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “politics and government,” or “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Polish Americans—politics and government
- Government aid, 92, 348, 648, 1541, 1857
- Government employment, 1265
- Gowds (Musical instrument), 1131
- Graça, Marcelino Manoel de, 1473
- Grammas, Alex, 744
- Grammer, Kelsey, 1871
- Gran Orient Filipino (Organization), 632
- Grand Apacheria, 98
- Grand Duchess Charlotte, 1152–1153
- Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide, 1152
- Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 220
- Grand Medicine Dance, 1346
- Grand Medicine Society (Religion), 1346
- Grand View Seminary (Des Moines, Iowa), 518
- The Great Hieroglyphic Stairway, 845
- Great Laestadian Migration (1864-1895), 640
- Great Migration (1888-1914), 464
- Greater Syria, 1115, 1120
- Greece, 732–734
- Greek Americans, **732–747**
- associations, museums, and research centers, 746–747
 - employment and economics, 741
 - family and community, 738–739
 - history, 733–734
 - immigration and settlement, 734–735
 - language, 737
 - media, 744–746
 - notable individuals and groups, 742–744
 - politics and government, 742
 - religion, 739–741
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 735–737
- Greek Catholicism. *See* Byzantine Rite Catholicism
- Greek Independence Day, 736
- Greek language (Modern), 490, 491, 737
- Greek Orthodox Church, 493, 738, 739–741
- Green Corn Festivals, 441–442, 960, 961
- Green, Len, 415
- Greene, Graham, 967, 1360
- Greene, Lorne, 327
- Greer, Pedro Jose, 482
- Greetings and expressions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “language,” e.g., Arab Americans—language
- Grenada, 748–749, 753
- Grenadian Americans, **748–754**
- acculturation, 751
 - family and community, 753
 - history, 749
 - immigration and settlement, 749–751
 - language, 752–753
 - politics and government, 753
 - religion, 753
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 751–752
- Gretzky, Wayne, 329
- Grocery store industry, 360, 529, 532
- Groundnuts (Food), 1807
- Grundtvig, Nicolai Frederik Severin, 518
- Grundtvigian Church, 518
- gSoba Rig-pa (Tibetan medicine), 1756
- Guahan, 755–757, 762
- Guam, 755–757, 762
- Guam Commonwealth Act, 762
- Guamanian Americans, **755–763**
- acculturation, 758

associations, museums, and research centers, 763
 employment and economics, 761
 family and community, 760–761
 health, 760
 history, 756–757
 immigration and settlement, 757–758
 language, 760
 media, 762–763
 notable individuals and groups, 762
 politics and government, 762
 religion, 761
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 758–760
 Guan (People), 723
 Guano (Fertilizer), 1432
 Guarani (Language), 1425, 1426
 Guardian Spirit Dance, 1286
 Guatemala, 687, 764–766, 778
 Guatemalan Americans, **764–782**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 781–782
 employment and economics, 776–777
 family and community, 774–776
 health, 773
 history, 765–766
 immigration, 766–771
 language, 773–774
 media, 780–781
 notable individuals and groups, 778–780
 politics and government, 777–778
 relations with Guatemala, 778
 religion, 776
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 771
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 771–772
 Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), 766
 Guayasamin, Oswaldo, 564
 Guerra, Waldir, 1544
 Guilds, ladies, 349
 Guinea pigs (Meat), 558
 Gulanger, Clu, 370
 Gulf War, 110, 360–361, 931
 Gullah (Language), 1132, 1616
 Gullahs (People), 1613–1614, 1617, 1618
 Gumbos, 6, 453
 Guns, blow, 959
 Guozhan (Dance), 1758
 Gupte, Pranay, 157
 Cursey, Feza, 1802
 Gurudwaras (Temples), 154
 Gusle (Musical instrument), 1587
 Gutul (Clothing), 1227
 Guy Fawkes Day (Holiday), 586
 Guyana, 783–785, 791
 Guyanese Americans, **783–792**
 acculturation, 787
 associations, 792

employment and economics, 790
 family and community, 789–790
 health, 788
 history, 784–785
 immigration and settlement, 785–786
 language, 788
 notable individuals and groups, 791
 politics and government, 791
 relations with Guyana, 791
 religion, 790
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 787–788
 Gwila dances, 594
 Gymanfa ganu (Musical tradition), 1877
 Gypsy Americans, **793–804**
 acculturation, 796–797
 associations, museums, and research centers, 803–804
 employment and economics, 802
 family and community, 800–801
 health, 799
 history, 793–794, 801
 immigration and settlement, 794–796
 language, 799–800
 notable individuals and groups, 803
 politics and government, 803
 religion, 801
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 797
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 798–799, 802–803
 Gyuvech (Food), 290

H

Habitants (French Canadian settlers), 669
 Habsburg empire, 174, 498, 867
 Hadzidedic, Nijaz, 265
 Haggis (Food), 1572
 Hairstyles, 441, 857
 Haiti, 805–807
 Haitian American Coalition, 815
 Haitian American Political Organization, 814
 Haitian Americans, **805–818**
 acculturation, 808–809
 associations, museums, and research centers, 817
 employment and economics, 814
 family and community, 812–813
 health, 810–811
 history, 806–807
 immigration and settlement, 807–808
 language, 811–812
 media, 816
 notable individuals and groups, 815–816
 politics and government, 814–815
 religion, 813–814
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 809–810

- Haitian Voodoo, 811, 814
Haj (Pilgrimage), 572, 1562, 1565, 1887
al-Hakim, bi-Amrih Alla, 535, 538
Hall, Prince, 203
Hallaca (Food), 1841
Halloumi (Food), 489
Halloween, 942
Hammelsmarsch (Custom), 1155
Hammond/Daanawaa, Austin, 1774
Han dynasty, 387
Hanai (Custom), 825
Handball, 217
Handshaking, 230, 1129
Handsome Lake (Person), 1358
Haney, Enoch Kelly, 447
Hangin, John Gombojob, 1225, 1231
Hangul (Alphabet), 1080
Hanifi, Mohammed Jamil, 25
Hanihara, Masanao, 1016
Hannukah (Holiday), 976, 1036
Hansen, Marcus Lee, 520
Hanson, Anton, 609
Hanson, Howard, 1700
Hanson, John, 1698
Haozouis, Blossom, 104
Harald the Fariheaded, 885
Haraszthy, Ágoston, 868
Hardin, Helen, 1485
Hare-Hawkes-Cutting bill (1931), 625
Hari Raja (Holiday), 901
Hari Raya Puasa (Holiday), 1177
Härm, Richard, 610
Harner, Nellie Shaw, 1384
Harrell, Beatrice, 414
Harris, Joel Chandler, 1619
Harris, Wilson, 791
Harrison, Richard B., 48
Hart-Cellar Immigration Reform Act (1965), 750, 1784
Harvest Festival (Iroquoian), 961
Harvey, Laurence, 1147
Hassa, Tawfig Jabr, 1891
Hassler, Ferdinand, 1711
Hat industry, 1653
Hataali, 1263
Hatcegan, Vasile, 1515
Hatfield and McCoy feud, 1573
Hats, 168, 256. *See also* name of specific hat, e.g., Berets
Haudenosaunee (People). *See* Iroquois Confederacy
Hausa (Language), 1317
Hausa (People), 1319
Hawaii, 627, 819–821, 1015–1016, 1464
Hawaiian (Language), 825
Hawaiian Provisional Battalion, 1024
Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA), 627
Hawaiians, 819–831
 acculturation, 821
 associations, museums, and research centers, 829–830
 employment and economics, 827
 family and community, 825–826
 health, 824–825
 history, 819–821
 language, 825
 media, 829
 notable individuals and groups, 829
 politics and government, 828
 religion, 826
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 821–824
Hawayanos (People), 630
Hawkins, Benjamin, 440
Hawley, Henry, 196
Hay, James, 196
Hayakawa, Sessue, 1025
Hayakawa, S.I., 1026
Hayashi, Harvey Saburo, 1026
Hay-Ban-Vanilla Treaty (1903), 1413
Hayslip, Le Ly, 1855
HDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum), 868
Headdresses, 1769
Healing, folk. *See* Folk medicine
Health. *See* subheading of specific cultural group, e.g., Barbadian Americans—health
Health clinics, 773
Health insurance
 Amish, 84
 Belgian Americans, 233
 Canada, 324
 Dutch Americans, 546
 English, 584
 Irish Americans, 943
 Nicaraguan Americans, 1305
 Polish Americans, 1452
Hebrew (Language), 976, 1038
Hechicería (Folk healers), 1305
Heder (School), 1040
Heiau (Temple), 826
Heimskringla (Newspaper), 895
Helms-Burton Act, 480
Hemoglobin disorder, 490
Hemon, Aleksandar, 270
Hendin, Josephine Gattuso, 1607
Henius, Max, 521
Hennepin, Louis, 237
Henni, Johann Martin, 1711
Henri I (Haitian ruler), 806
Henriques, Alfonso, 1462
Henry, Gregory A., 791
Henry the Navigator, Prince, 1462

- Henry VII, King, 1873
- Hensley, William L., 915
- Hepburn, Katherine, 1576
- Herding, sheep. *See* Sheep ranching
- Hernández, José Gregorio, 1843
- Heroism, 19
- Herrera, Carolina, 1843
- Hersholt, Jean, 520
- Herzegovina, 262–263
- Herzegovinian Americans. *See* Bosnian Americans
- Herzl, Theodore, 971
- Hevra kadisha ceremonies, 1040
- Hiawatha (Iroquoian hero), 956, 960
- Hiawatha* (Poem), 960
- Hide tanning, 245
- Hieroglyphics, 570, 844–845
- High blood pressure, 35, 1368
- High German (Language), 712
- High schools, 40, 911
- Highlife music, 1316
- Hijab (Clothing), 1720
- Hijackings, 110, 972
- Hijuelos, Oscar, 482
- Hill, Charlie, 1360
- Hill, Joan, 448
- Hill, Norton S., Jr., 1360
- Hill, Richard, 967
- Hillman, Sydney, 1147
- Hindenburg, Field Marshal von, 709
- Hindi (Language), 152–153
- Hinduism
 - Asian Indian Americans, 154
 - Bangladeshis, 187, 193
 - Indonesian Americans, 903
 - Malaysian Americans, 1178
 - Pakistani Americans, 1396
- Hines, Gregory, 48
- Hin-mut-too-yah-lat-kekht (Nez Percé leader), 1284, 1292
- Hinojosa, Rolando, 1218
- Hiragana characters (Japanese), 1020
- Hispaniola, 525–526
- History. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under “history,” e.g., German Americans—history
- Hitler, Adolph, 709
- Hitrec, Joseph, 470
- HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus). *See* Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
- Hmong Americans, **832–843**
 - acculturation, 834
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 842–843
 - employment and economics, 841
 - family and community, 838–840
 - health, 836–837
 - immigration and settlement, 834
 - language, 837–838
 - media, 842–843
 - notable individuals and groups, 841–842
 - politics and government, 841
 - religion, 840
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 834–836
- Hmong New Year, 835–836
- Hmoob Dawb (Language), 837
- Hnizdovsky, Jacques, 1827
- Ho Chi Minh, 1849
- Hogan, Paul, 167
- Holder, Geoffrey, 1792
- Holiday Inn Worldwide, 1759
- Holidays. *See* name of specific holiday, e.g., Mardi Gras; subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Israeli Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Holm, Celeste, 1336
- The Holocaust, 709, 1446. *See also* Nazis
- Holst, Herrman Eduard von, 609
- Holy Week, 431
- Homassatubbee (Choctaw leader), 409
- Homowo festivals, 725
- Honduran Americans, **844–852**
 - acculturation, 847
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 852
 - employment and economics, 850–851
 - family and community, 849–850
 - health, 848–849
 - history, 844–846
 - immigration and settlement, 846–847
 - language, 849
 - media, 852
 - notable individuals and groups, 851
 - politics and government, 851
 - religion, 850
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 847–848
- Hondurans Against AIDS (Organization), 691
- Honduras, 686, 844–846
- Hooee, Daisy Nampeyo, 862
- Hoover, Vaino, 649
- Hopak (Folk dance), 1819
- Hope, Andrew P., 1773
- Hopi (Language), 858
- Hopi Way (Way of life), 854
- Hopis (People), **853–865**
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 864–865
 - employment and economics, 860
 - family and community, 858–859
 - health, 858
 - history, 854–855
 - language, 858
 - media, 864
 - notable individuals and groups, 861–864

- politics and government, 860–861
 - population, 1480
 - religion, 859–860, 1482
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 855–857
 - Horse ranching, 6, 1283
 - Horse trading, 802
 - Hosokawa, William K. “Bill,” 1026
 - Hostos, María de, 1491
 - House, Gordon, 1362
 - Houser, Allan, 104
 - Houses and housing, 443, 536, 795
 - Houston, Texas, 770, 774, 776
 - Houston, Velina Hasu, 1026
 - How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (Film), 809
 - Howe, LeAnn, 414
 - Howe, Oscar, 1630
 - Hoyt, Hugh Desmond, 785
 - HRF (Hungarian Reformed Federation), 875
 - HSPA (Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association), 627
 - Huaqiao (Migration), 388
 - Huaren (Migration), 388
 - Huascar del Pinal, Jorge, 779
 - Huayna Capac (Incan ruler), 1434
 - Hughes, Langston, 49
 - Huguenots (Protestant group), 656, 659, 663
 - Huiguan organizations, 391
 - Huks (Political group), 626
 - Hula (Dance), 824
 - Hull, Brett, 329
 - Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). *See* Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
 - Human sexuality, 537
 - Hung Vu, 1859
 - Hungarian (Language), 872–873
 - Hungarian Americans, **866–883**
 - acculturation, 871
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 880–882
 - employment and economics, 875–876
 - family and community, 873–874
 - health, 872
 - history, 867–868
 - immigration and settlement, 868–871
 - language, 872–873
 - media, 879–880
 - notable individuals and groups, 878–879
 - politics and government, 876–877
 - religion, 874–875
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 871
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 872
 - Hungarian Calvinist Church, 875
 - Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), 868
 - Hungarian Reformed Federation (HRF), 875
 - Hungary, 866–868
 - Hungry Ghost Festival, 1177
 - Hunter-Gault, Charlayne, 49
 - Hunting. *See also* Fishing; Whaling
 - Acadians, 11
 - of buffalo, 243
 - Hopi, 856
 - Inuit, 907–908, 913
 - Huppah (Canopy), 1039
 - Hurja, Emil, 649
 - Hurricanes, 846
 - Hurricane Supplication Day, 1868
 - Hus, Jan, 498
 - Hussein, King, 1053
 - Hussein, Saddam, 931, 932, 934
 - Huston, John, 1575
 - Huynh Sanh Thong, 1859
 - Hwang, Henry, 400
 - Hwyl (Chanting style), 1878
 - Hyangga (Poetry), 1077
 - Hygiene, 798
 - Hypertension, 35, 1368
 - Hyun, Peter, 1086
 - Hyung-Soon, Kim, 1086
- I**
- I Won't Get Married* (Song), 1238
 - Iacocca, Lee, 994
 - Ibanez, María Elena, 426
 - IBEA (Imperial British East Africa Company), 1063
 - Ibos (People), 1313, 1319
 - Iceland, 884–886, 894
 - Icelandic (Language), 891
 - Icelandic Americans, **884–896**
 - acculturation, 887
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 896
 - employment and economics, 893
 - family and community, 892–893
 - health, 891
 - history, 885–886
 - immigration and settlement, 886–887
 - language, 891
 - media, 896
 - notable individuals and groups, 894–895
 - politics and government, 894
 - relations with Iceland, 894
 - religion, 893
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 887–891
 - Icelandic Lutheran Church, 893
 - Iceland's National Hymn* (Song), 890
 - Icons (Religious), 1589
 - Id al-Fitr (Holiday), 1316
 - Idul Fitri (Holiday), 901
 - Ieyasu, Tokugawa, 1015
 - Ifoga (Ceremony), 1553
 - Iftikhar, Samuel, 1397

Iggiagruk (Person), 915
 Ignatius of Loyola Feast, 212
 Igwebuike, Donald, 1322
 IHS (Indian Health Service), 367
 Ik, Kim Young, 1087
 Ilitch, Mike, 1171
 Illegal aliens. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Guatemalan Americans—immigration and settlement
 Illegal trade. *See* Trade and trading
 Illiteracy. *See* Literacy
 ILWU (International Longshoremen and Warehousemen’s Union), 628, 633
 IMMEX (Interactive Multimedia Exercises), 695
 Immigration. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Yemeni Americans—immigration and settlement
 Immigration Act of 1921, 734
 Immigration Act of 1924, 734, 1163, 1598
 Immigration Act of 1965, 419, 1017, 1076
 Immigration Act of 1990, 778, 1736
 Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 643
 Immigration quota laws, 1076
 Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), 777, 847, 1300
 Immigration Restriction League, 1583
 The Immortal Thirty-Three (Uruguayan patriots), 1832
 Immunizations, 84
 Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC), 1063
 Importing and exporting industry, 903, 1186, 1440. *See also* Trade and trading
 Imqaret (Food), 1183
 Imquarrun fil forn (Food), 1183
 IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), 286, 1162
 Incan empire, 373, 554, 1433–1434
 Incident at Oglala, 1628–1629
 Indentured servants, 30, 196, 578, 784. *See also* Slavery and slaves
 Independence Day, 277, 379, 421, 736, 788
 India, 147–148, 155–156. *See also* Asian Indian Americans
Indian Country Today (Newspaper), 1361
 Indian Health Service (IHS), 367
 Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA), 103, 248, 1360, 1383, 1898
 Indian Self-Determination Act, 369
 Indian Self-Determination and Education Act, 1382, 1898
 Indiantown, Florida, 770–771, 777
 Indonesia, 897–898, 903–904, 1175
 Indonesian (Language), 902

Indonesian Americans, **897–905**
 acculturation, 900
 associations, museums, and research centers, 904–905
 employment and economics, 903
 family and community, 901–902
 history, 898–900
 language, 902
 media, 904
 politics and government, 904
 religion, 902–903
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 900–901
 Indus Valley civilization, 1389
 Infant mortality, 35
 Injera (Food), 593, 617
 Innis, Roy, 1871
 Inouye, Daniel K., 1025, 1026
 Insurance, health. *See* Health insurance
 Interactive Multimedia Exercises (IMMEX), 695
 Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), 286, 1162
 International Longshoremen and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU), 628, 633
 International Order of Runeberg, 652
 The Internet, 170, 694, 696, 1619
 Internment (Wartime), 1023–1025
 Interracial and intercultural marriages. *See also*
 Endogamous marriages
 Acadians, 10
 African Americans, 40–41
 Arab Americans, 114
 Cherokees, 364
 English Americans, 579
 Filipino Americans, 634
 Jews and non-Jews, 1039
 Mexican and Anglo Americans, 1202
 Nicaraguan Americans, 1306
 Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1385
 Inti (Incan god), 1433
 Intifada uprising, 1402
 Inuit, **906–917**
 acculturation, 909
 associations, museums, and research centers, 916
 employment and economics, 913
 family and community, 911–912
 health, 911
 history, 907–909
 language, 911
 media, 916
 notable individuals and groups, 915
 politics and government, 913–915
 religion, 912–913
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 910–911
 Inupiaq (Language), 911
 Inupiat Inuit. *See* Inuit
 Ipiutak site (Inuit), 907

- IRA (Indian Reorganization Act). *See* Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA)
- Iran, 918–920
- Iranian Americans, **918–928**
- acculturation, 921–922
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 927–928
 - employment and economics, 926
 - family and community, 924–925
 - history, 919–920
 - immigration and settlement, 920–921
 - language, 924
 - media, 927
 - notable individuals and groups, 926–927
 - politics and government, 926
 - religion, 925–926
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 923
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 923
- Iraq, 929–931, 934
- Iraqi Americans, **929–935**
- acculturation, 932
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 935
 - differences from Chaldean Americans, 355
 - family and community, 933
 - health, 932
 - history, 929–931
 - immigration and settlement, 931–932
 - language, 932
 - media, 934–935
 - relations with Iraq, 934
 - religion, 933–934
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 932
- IRCA (Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986), 777, 847, 1300
- Ireland, 577, 936–937, 948. *See also* Northern Ireland
- Iribarren, Rene, 383
- Irish (Language), 943–944
- Irish Americans, **936–953**
- acculturation, 940
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 951–953
 - conflict with Italian Americans, 991
 - employment and economics, 946
 - family and community, 944–945
 - health, 943
 - history, 936–937
 - immigration and settlement, 937–940
 - interest in Northern Ireland, 948
 - labor movements, 948
 - language, 943–944
 - media, 950–951
 - notable individuals and groups, 947, 949–950
 - politics and government, 947
 - religion, 945–946
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 940–942
- Iroquoian (Language), 962–963
- Iroquois Confederacy, **955–969**, 1358. *See also* Oneidas (People)
- associations, museums, and research centers, 968–969
 - employment and economics, 965
 - family and community, 961–962, 963–964
 - health, 962
 - history, 955–958
 - language, 962–963
 - media, 968
 - notable individuals and groups, 966–967
 - politics and government, 965–966
 - religion, 964
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 960
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 958–961
- Ishtaboli (Game), 410
- Islam, 1115, 1121, 1723. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Iraqi Americans—religion
- Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), 69
- Island Caribs (People), 687
- Isleta del Sur Pueblos, 1481. *See also* Pueblos
- Israel, 970–972, 977, 979, 1030, 1045, 1400–1403
- Israeli Americans, **970–981**. *See also* Jewish Americans
- acculturation, 973
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 981
 - employment and economics, 979
 - family and community, 977–978
 - health, 976
 - history, 970–972
 - immigration and settlement, 972–973
 - language, 976
 - media, 980
 - notable individuals and groups, 979–980
 - politics and government, 979
 - religion, 977, 978
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 974–976
- Issei (People). *See* Japanese Americans
- Issues, social
- See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Apache—family and community
- Ista-Mitra* (Film), 1274
- Italian (Language), 990, 1602
- Italian Americans, **982–999**. *See also* Sicilian Americans
- acculturation, 987–988
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 997–999
 - employment and economics, 992–993
 - family and community, 990–991
 - health, 989
 - history, 982–983

immigration and settlement, 984–987
language, 990
media, 996–997
notable individuals and groups, 994–996
politics and government, 993–994
religion, 991–992
traditions, customs, and beliefs, 988–989
Italy, 982–983. *See also* Sicily
Itliong, Larry, 633
Iwamatsu, Jun Atushi, 1026
Iwamatsu, Makoto, 1025

J

Jackson, Andrew, 363, 407
Jackson County, Missouri, 1235
Jackson Heights, New York, 557
Jackson, Jesse, Sr., 48
Jackson, Nathan, 1774
Jacobites, 1568
Jacobs, Jack, 448
Jacques I (Haitian ruler), 806
Jaffrey, Madhur, 156
Jagiellonian dynasty, 1446
Jainism (Religion), 154
Jamaica, 1000–1003, 1011
Jamaican Americans, **1000–1013**
 acculturation, 1003–1004
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1013
 employment and economics, 1010
 family and community, 1007–1009
 health, 1006
 history, 1001–1002
 immigration and settlement, 1002–1003
 language, 1006, 1007
 media, 1013
 notable individuals and groups, 1006, 1011–1012
 politics and government, 1010–1011
 religion, 1009–1010
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1009
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1004–1006, 1006–1007
James, C.L.R., 1792
Jani (Holiday), 1106
Japan, 1014–1015
Japanese (Language), 1019–1020
Japanese Americans, **1014–1029**
 acculturation, 1017–1018
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1028
 employment and economics, 1022
 family and community, 1020–1021
 health, 1019
 history, 1015

immigration and settlement, 1015–1017
language, 1019–1020
media, 1027
notable individuals and groups, 1025–1027
politics and government, 1023–1025
religion, 1021–1022
traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1018–1019
Jaroslav the Wise, 1814
Jausoro, Jim, 216
Javacheff, Christo, 296
Jay, John, 664
Jazz music, 49
JDL (Jewish Defense League), 1045
Jean, Wyclef, 816
Jean-Louis, Marc, 816
Jellebyas (Clothing), 594
Jemez Pueblos, 1479. *See also* Pueblos
Jemison, Mae C., 50
Jennings, Peter, 328
Jewelry
 Asian Indian, 151
 Eritrean, 594
 Guyanese, 790
 Jordanian American, 1056
 Pakistani American, 1393
 Palestinian, 1405
 Sri Lankan, 1684
Jewish Americans, **1030–1051**. *See also* Israeli Americans; Jewish people; Judaism
 acculturation, 1033–1034
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1049–1050
 employment and economics, 1043–1044
 family and community, 1038–1041
 health, 1037
 history, 1031–1032
 immigration and settlement, 1032–1033
 language, 1038
 media, 1048–1049
 notable individuals and groups, 1045–1048
 politics and government, 1044–1045
 relations with Israel, 1045
 relations with Israeli Americans, 978
 religion, 1041–1043
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1034–1035
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1035–1037
Jewish Defense League (JDL), 1045
Jewish New Year, 975, 1036
Jewish people. *See also* Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans; Judaism
 Arab conflict, 1401–1403
 Austrian, 176
 Cape Verdean, 335
 Hungary, 866
 Iranian, 920
 Moroccan, 1250, 1251, 1252

Polish, 1446
 Russian, 1521–1522, 1523
 Uruguayan, 1837
The Jewish State (Book), 1045
 Jhilli (Dance), 1276
 Jicarilla Apaches, 97, 99
 Jicarilla Reservation, 97
 Jihad (Islamic teaching), 934
 Jim, Rex, 1269
 Jin Hi Kim, 1077
 Jinarakkhita, Bhikku Ashin, 903
 Jinnah, Mohammed Ali, 1390
 Jinns (Spirits). *See* Spirits
 Job training programs, 369
 Jodido (Nicaraguan word), 1306
 John Canoe dances, 691
 John Paul II, Pope, 761
 John VI, King (Portugal), 1463
 Johnson, James Weldon, 50
 Johnson, Philip, 1266
 Johnson, Viena Pasanen, 649
 Johnson-Reed Quota Act (1924), 1717
 Jojola, Ted, 1484
 Jokes, 1449
 Jones Act (1916), 625
 Jones, Jim, 787
 Jones, Mary Harris “Mother,” 948
 Jordache Enterprises, Inc., 979
 Jordan, 1052–1053, 1059
 Jordan National Committee for Women, 1058
 Jordanian Americans, **1052–1061**
 acculturation, 1054
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1060
 employment and economics, 1059
 family and community, 1057–1058
 health, 1056
 history, 1053–1054
 immigration and settlement, 1054
 language, 1056–1057
 media, 1060
 notable individuals and groups, 1059–1060
 politics and government, 1059
 relations with Jordan, 1059
 religion, 1058
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1054–1056
 Joropo music, 1841
 Joseph, Carole M. Berotte, 815
 Journalists. *See* subheading of specific cultural
 group under, “notable individuals and groups,”
 e.g., Yemeni Americans—notable individuals
 and groups
 Jovanovich, William “Ilya,” 1593
 Judaism, 1041–1043. *See also* Jewish Americans
 Dutch Americans, 547
 Israeli Americans, 974, 975–976, 978

Lithuanian Americans, 1145
 Russian Jews, 1527
 traditions, 1035
 Juht, Ludvig, 610
 Juliá, Raúl, 1499
 Julien, Percy Lavon, 50
 Jumaa (Prayers), 117
 Juneteenth (Holiday), 35
 Jung, Carl Gustav, 1708

K

Kabbah, Ahmad Tejan, 1612
 Kabotie, Fred, 862
 KACC, Inc. (Kenyan-American Chamber of
 Commerce), 1068
 Kachar, George, 1586
 Kachina dancers, 1481
 Kachinas (Spirits), 857
 Kádár, János, 868
 Kafene (Cafés), 292
 Kaftan (Clothing), 1253
 Kaggwa, Larry, 1811
 Kahane, Meir, 110
 Kainga (Tongan social structure), 1779, 1780
 Kaipai (Musician), 1135
 Kal kidan bekwerban marriages, 618
 Kal kidan marriages, 618
 Kalabari (People), 1320
 Kalakula, Theodore, 1825
 Kalamatianos (Dance), 737
 Kalmyk Mongolians, 1225
 Kamal, Mustafa, 490
 Kamehameha (Hawaiian ruler), 820, 821
 Kamen, George, 297
 Kamina folk (Slaves), 1864
 Kamja guk (Food), 1078
 Kamrany, Nake M., 25
 Kanagawa, Tooru J., 1026
 Kang, Younghill, 1087
 Kanji characters (Japanese), 1019
 Kanjobals, 769, 770–771, 774
 Kansas, 1424
 Kanthoul, Vora, 316
 Kanuche (Food), 366
 Kanuni I Leke Dukagjinit (Family code), 59
 Kapaaka, Lydia Kamekaha, 464
 Kaplan, Mordecai M., 1045
 Kapu (Social group), 820, 825
 Karabin, Gabro, 470
 Karadjíć, Vuk Srefanović, 1588
 Karandjeff, Henry, 297
 Kareso music, 1867
 Karma (Religious belief), 314, 1098
 Karras, Alex, 744
 Karthli (Language), 703

- Kartvelishvili, Alexander, 705
 Kashrut, 974, 1035
 Kasone festival, 301
 Kassem, Abdul Karim, 930
 Katakana characters (Japanese), 1020
 Katxupa (Food), 338
 Kaukkonen, Amy, 647
 Kava (Beverage), 1367, 1548, 1554, 1555
 Kaxarranka dances, 212
 Kazan, Elia, 743
 KCA (Kikuyu Central Association), 1063
 Kehillah communities, 1041
 Kellog, Laura Cornelius "Minnie," 1361
 Kemal, Mustafa. *See* Atatürk (Turkish hero)
 Kennedy, David M., 1245
 Kennedy, John F., 45
 Kenny, Maurice, 967
 Kente cloth, 725
 Kenya, 1062–1064, 1068
 Kenyan African Union, 1063
 Kenyan Americans, **1062–1070**
 acculturation, 1064
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1068
 employment and economics, 1068
 family and community, 1067
 health, 1066
 history, 1063–1064
 immigration and settlement, 1064
 language, 1066–1067
 relations with Kenya, 1068
 religion, 1067–1068
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1065–1066
 Kenyan People's Union (KPU), 1064
 Kenyan-American Chamber of Commerce (KACC, Inc.), 1068
 Kerensky, Alexander, 1530
 Kermis (Holiday), 232
 Kerouac, Jean-Louis "Jack," 681
 Khaleegy (Dance), 1562
 Khamhaeng, Ram, 1742
 Khan, Altan, 1224
 Khan, Amanullah, 1398
 Khan, Chinggis, 1224
 Khan, Khubilai, 1224
 Khan, Mohammad Asad, 1397
 Khan, Ogedei, 1224
 Khanjar (Clothing), 1055
 Khemisti Law, 73
 Khmelnytsky, Bohdan, 1814
 Khmer (Cultural Group). *See* Cambodian Americans
 Khmer (Language), 312
 Khmer Rouge, 306–308, 312
 Khoisan people, 1661
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 920
 Khoomi (Singing), 1228
 Khorana, Har Gobind, 158
 Khurul (Assembly of Monks), 1231
 Khutukhtu, Dilowa Gegen, 1225
 Khwan (Spirits), 1097
 Kidi drum (Musical instrument), 725
 Kidwell, Clara Sue, 414
 Kievan period, 1520
 Kiirmes (Celebration), 1157
 Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), 1063
 Kikuyu tribe, 1063
 Kilkson, Rein, 610
 Kilts, 942, 1572. *See also* Skirts
 Kim, Elaine H., 1086
 Kim Hyung-Soon, 1086
 Kim Il Sung, 1073, 1074
 Kim, Jin Hi, 1077
 Kim Song-Je, 1073, 1074
 Kim Young Ik, 1087
 Kim Young-Sam, 1074
 Kimchi (Food), 1078
 King Alfonso I, 1462
 King Alfonso III, 1462
 King Boris III (Bulgaria), 286
 King Dom João, 273
 King George Tupou I, 1366, 1778
 King Henry VII, 1873
 King Hussein, 1053–, 1059
 King Ibn Saud, 1559
 King John VI (Portugal), 1463
 King Manuel I, 1462
 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 46
 King Menilek II, 613
 King Mongkut, 1742
 King Norodom, 306
King of the Gypsies (Film), 797
 King Shaka, 1661
 Kingston, Maxine Hong, 399
 Kinotitos (Community), 742
 Kinship systems, 191, 1687
 Kintala (Gypsy spirituality), 801
 Kinzua Dam, 960
 Kiowa Apaches, 98. *See also* Apaches
 Kirkland, Samuel, 1358
 Kirkop, Oreste, 1187
 Kirovski, Jovan, 1171
 Kirtland, Ohio, 1235
 Kistiakovsky, George, 1825
 Kistiakovsky, Vera, 1825
 Kiswahili (Language), 1066
 Kitans, 1224
 Kitb al-kitab (Marriage contracts), 114
 Kitcha (Food), 593
 Kivas (Ceremonial chambers), 855, 857
 KIWA (Korean Immigrant Worker Advocates), 1085

- KKK (Ku Klux Klan), 676
 Klerk, F.W. de, 1663
 Klezmer music, 975
 Klompen (Shoes), 232
 Knights of Kaleva, 641
 Knights of Malta, 1181, 1185
 Kocak, Michael, 1643
 Kolach (Food), 1822
 Kolacy (Food), 1638
 Koldt bord (Cold table), 1330
 Kolo (Dance), 1587
Kombi (Newspaper), 62
 Konaks (Houses), 56
 Kong, Luís John, 1441
 Konitza, Faik, 63
 Konkee (Food), 199, 788
 Konscak, Ferdinand, 463
 Koosa (Food), 1118
The Koran (Sacred book), 1407, 1565
 Korea, 1071–1074, 1085
 Korea Society (New York City, New York), 1084
 Korean (Language), 1080
 Korean Americans, **1071–1090**
 acculturation, 1077
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1088–1090
 employment and economics, 1083–1084
 family and community, 1080–1082
 health, 1080
 history, 1072–1074
 immigration and settlement, 1074–1076
 language, 1080
 media, 1087–1088
 notable individuals and groups, 1085–1087
 politics and government, 1084–1085
 relations with Korea, 1085
 religion, 1082–1083
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1079
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1077–1079
 Korean Immigrant Worker Advocates
 (KIWA), 1085
 Korean War, 1073
 Korean Youth and Community Center of
 Los Angeles, 1081
 Korjus, Miliza, 610
 Korsi, Demetrio, 1419
 Koryllos, Polyvios, 744
 Koryo dynasty, 1072
 Korzybski, Alfred, 1455
 Kosher foods, 974, 1035
 Kosinski, Jerzy, 1455
 Kossuth immigrants, 868, 870
 Kossuth, Lajos, 876
 Kostoweh (Headdress), 1356
 Kotzebue (Trading fair), 911
 Kountz, Samuel L., 50
 Kouse (Root), 1285
 Kozachok (Folk dance), 1819
 Kozak, Edward, 1827
 Kozinga (Taiwanese leader), 1728
 KPU (Kenyan People's Union), 1064
 Krahn, Fernando, 382
 Kransekake (Food), 1330
 Krastins, Augusts, 1110
 Kregel, Louis, 550
 Krio (Language), 1616
 Kriolu (Language), 339–340
 Kris (Gypsy social body), 800
 Kristofor, Kole, 56
 Krossemessa (Holiday), 891
 Krou Khmer (Healers), 312
 Krsna Slava (Holiday), 1590
 Kru (Language), 1132
 Kruesi, John Heinrich, 1712
 Krupa, Gene, 1456
 Ku Klux Klan, 676
 Kubelík, Rafael, 507
 Kuccia (Holiday), 224
 Kuka, King, 249
 Kuleta (Amulets), 60
 Kumina (Religion), 1009
 Kumstvo (Godparenthood), 1591
 Kundak, Josip, 463
 Kuo yu (Language), 1734
 Kuropas, Myron, 1825
 Kusnasosro (Indonesian leader), 898
 Kwa languages, 726
 Kwan (Community group), 1764
 Kwanzaa (Holiday), 35
 Kwela music, 1665
 Kye (Korean tradition), 1084
 Kym (Godparent), 1167
 Kyma (Godparent), 1167
 Kytastyi, Hryhorii, 1826

L
 La Alianza Federal de Mercedes
 (Organization), 1215
 La Cadie, 1–2
 L.A. Eight, 111
 La Farge, John, 664
 La Perouse (Explorer), 1548
 La Purísima (Holiday), 1303
 La Raza Unida (LRU), 1215
 La Sobremesa (Argentinean custom), 126
 Labi, Lanla, 1129
 Labor Day Celebration, 412
 Labor laws, 1427–1428
 Labor movements and unions, 1880
 Arab American, 118
 Canadian American, 326

- Croatian American, 468
 Estonian American, 608, 609
 Filipino American, 628, 633–634
 Finnish American, 647
 French-Canadian American, 679
 German American, 716–717
 Guatemalan American, 777
 Irish American, 948
 Italian American, 993
 Japanese American, 1023
 Jewish, 1044
 Lithuanian American, 1140, 1145, 1146
 Norwegian American, 1334
 Romanian American, 1514
 Salvadoran American, 1543
 Serbian American, 1592–1593
 Sicilian American, 1606
 Slovak American, 1641
 Swedish American, 1699
- Labor, wage, 827
 Lacalle, Luis Albert, 1833
 Lacayo, Gloria, 1309
 Lacayo, Rolando Emilio, 1308
 Lace-making, 232
Lâche pas la Patate (Book), 9
 Lacrosse, 439
 Ladeira, Ernest, 1472
 Ladera Heights, California, 847
 Ladies guilds, 349
 Ladies of Kaleva, 641
 Ladino (Language), 976
 Ladzekpo, Dzidzorgbe, 730
 Ladzekpo, Kobla, 730
 Laestadian Migration of 1864-1895, 640
 Laestadius, Lars Levi, 640
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 663
 Lagather, Robert, 1593
 LaGuardia, Fiorello, 995
 Laguna Pueblos, 1479. *See also* Pueblos
 Lajeunesse, Albaninee Emma, 682
 Lajoie, Napoleon, 682
 Lajoie, Philippe-Armand, 681
 Lakew, Book, 616
 Lam, Andrew, 1859
 Lama, Cheojey, 1228
 Lamb (Meat), 1252
 Lambro, Donald, 63
 Lame Bull's Treaty, 242
 Land reform, 556, 1436
 Land Reform, Idle Lands, and Settlement Act, 556
 Langlais, Bernard, 683
 Languages. *See* name of specific language, e.g.,
 French (Language); subheading of specific
 cultural group under "language," e.g., Slovenian
 Americans—language
 The Lantern Festival, 1733
- Lanusse, Armand, 457
 Lao (Language), 1095–1096
 Lao Family Community, Inc., 842
 Laos, 1091–1092
 Laotian Americans, **1091–1100**
 acculturation, 1093–1094
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1099–1100
 comparison to Hmong Americans, 840
 employment and economics, 1098
 family and community, 1096–1097
 health, 1095
 history, 1091–1092
 immigration and settlement, 1092–1093
 language, 1095–1096
 media, 1099
 notable individuals and groups, 1099
 politics and government, 1098
 religion, 1097–1098
 traditions, customs, and beliefs,
 1094–1095, 1097
- Laredo, Jaime, 260
 Larose, Dieudonne, 816
 Lassen, Peter, 513
Latcho Drom (Film), 797
 Latvia, 1101–1102
 Latvian (Language), 1105, 1106–1107
 Latvian Americans, **1101–1113**
 acculturation, 1104–1106
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1111–1112
 employment and economics, 1109
 family and community, 1107–1108
 health, 1106
 history, 1102
 immigration and settlement, 1102–1103
 language, 1106–1107
 media, 1111
 notable individuals and groups, 1110
 politics and government, 1109
 religion, 1108
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1105
- Lau v. Nichols*, 1201
 Lauder, Afferbeck, 169
 Laureta, Alfred, 636
 Lavalava (Clothing), 1551
 Lavallee, Calixa, 682
 Lawrence, Helen L.C., 1472
 Lawrence, Jacob, 51
 Laws, family, 59, 738
 Lawyer (Nez Percé leader), 1292
 Laxalt, Robert, 216
 Lazar, Czar, 1590
 Le Grand Dérangement, 2
 Le Loi, 1855
 Le Ly Hayslip, 1855

- Le Travailleur* (Newspaper), 681
- Leaders, community. *See* name of specific cultural group under “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Acadians—notable individuals and groups
- League of Haudenosaunee. *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 1214
- League of Patriots (Organization), 1497
- Leal, Luis, 1218
- Lebanese Americans, **1114–1125**
- acculturation, 1116–1117
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1124
 - employment and economics, 1121
 - family and community, 1119–1120
 - health, 1118
 - history, 1115
 - immigration and settlement, 1116
 - language, 1118
 - media, 1123
 - notable individuals and groups, 1122–1123
 - politics and government, 1121–1122
 - religion, 1120–1121
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1117–1118
- Lebanese Civil War, 1115, 1116
- Lebanon, 1114–1115
- Lebaran (Holiday), 901
- Lee, Ang, 1738
- Lee, Marie G., 1087
- Lee, Sammy, 1087
- Lee Teng-hui, 1729
- Lee, Wen Ho, 400
- Lee, Yuan-tse, 1738
- Leedskalnin, Edward, 1110
- Leekphia, Chuan, 1743
- Leeks (Vegetable), 1877
- Lefevre, Camiel, 237
- Legends, 6, 1368
- Leguizamo, John, 427
- Lehaie, Jean-Charles Houzeau de, 237
- Lei (Adornment), 823, 826
- Leiserson, William, 610
- Lejeune, Iry, 8
- Lellep, Otto, 610
- Lemko Americans. *See* Carpatho-Rusyn Americans
- L'Enfant, Pierre Charles, 663
- Leppik, Elmar, 610
- Leprosy, 825, 1276
- Lescaze, William, 1710
- Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 1413
- Letts. *See* Latvian Americans
- Letzeborger Gard (Military unit), 1155
- Letzebuergesch (Language), 1155
- Levantine Bedawi Arabic (Language), 1056
- Lewis and Clark expedition, 1283
- Lewis, Anna, 413
- Liberation Theology movement, 424, 1541–1542
- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 1682
- Liberia, 1126–1128, 1134
- Liberian Americans, **1126–1137**
- acculturation, 1129
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1136–1137
 - employment and economics, 1134
 - family and community, 1132–1133
 - health, 1132
 - history, 1127–1128
 - immigration and settlement, 1128
 - language, 1132
 - media, 1135–1136
 - notable individuals and groups, 1134–1135
 - politics and government, 1134
 - relations with Liberia, 1134
 - religion, 1134
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1129–1131
- Liberian Civil War, 1128
- Liberian National Anthem, 1131
- Licchavis (Leaders), 1273
- Life expectancy, 36
- Limbo dancing, 752
- Lin, Maya Ying, 400
- Linares, Guillermo, 533
- Lind, Jenny, 1700
- Lind, John, 1698
- Lindberg, Charles, Jr., 1700
- Lindbergh, Charles, Sr., 1698
- Linn, Charles, 639
- Lionza, María, 1843
- Lipan Apaches, 96. *See also* Apaches
- Literacy
- Albanian Americans, 57
 - Asian Indian Americans, 149
 - Jordanian Americans, 1057
 - Macedonian Americans, 1167
 - Nepalese, 1277
 - Samoan Americans, 1556
- Literature. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Cambodian Americans—notable individuals and groups
- Lithuania, 1138–1139, 1146
- Lithuanian (Language), 1142
- Lithuanian Americans, **1138–1150**
- acculturation, 1141
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1149–1150
 - employment and economics, 1145
 - family and community, 1143
 - health, 1142
 - history, 1138–1139
 - immigration and settlement, 1139–1141
 - language, 1142

media, 1147–1149
 notable individuals and groups, 1146–1147
 politics and government, 1145–1146
 relations with Lithuania, 1146
 religion, 1144–1145
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1141–1142
 Lithuanian National Catholic Church, 1144
 “Little Italies,” 985–986
 Little, Malcolm, 50
 Little People (Cultural group), 623
 Live-in domestics, 750
 Liver cirrhosis, 1199
 Livestock industry, 1267
 Loan and building associations, 506
 Locke, Alain, 47
 Loewi, Otto, 182
Logberg-Heimskringla (Newspaper), 894
 Logs, yule, 1589
 Loi, Le, 1855
 Loincloths, 856, 960
 Loloma, Charles, 862
 Loloma, Otellie, 862
 Lomahaftewa, Linda, 414, 864
 Lombardi, Vincent, 996
 London, Jack, 1079
 Long, Emily, 895
 Longda (Wooden object), 1758
 Longhouse (Religion), 964, 1290, 1358
 Longhouses (Native American), 958, 959, 1355
 Looking Glass (Nez Percé leader), 1292
 Lopez de Gamero, Illiana Veronica, 1844
 Lopez, Jennifer, 1499
 Los Angeles, California

- Armenian Americans, 136
- Australian Americans, 166
- Basque Americans, 208
- Guatemalan Americans, 768, 769
- Iranian Americans, 926
- Salvadoran refugees, 1536
- Thai Americans, 1743

 Los Angeles riots, 1079
 Los Quince celebrations, 129
 Losángeles, José, 1678
 Lotteries, diversity (Immigration), 1683, 1753, 1806
 Lou Gehrig’s disease, 760
 Louis, Adrian C., 1384
 Louisiana

- Acadians, 2, 3, 12
- Creoles, 451
- French-speaking, 9

 Louisiana Creoles, 451. *See also* Creoles
 Lowry, Annie, 1384
 LRU (La Raza Unida), 1215
 LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), 1682
 Luau (Celebration), 821, 823
 Lucas, Anthony, 470

Luc-bat, 1855
 Luciafest celebrations, 1694
 Luddi (Dance), 1393
 Lukashenko, Alexander, 221
 LULAC (League of Latin American Citizens), 1214
 Lunar calendars, 1731
 Lungi (Clothing), 190
 Lunt, Alfred, 650
 Luqman, Ali Mohammed, 1890
 Luria, Salvador, 996
 Lutefisk (Food), 1330
 Lutheranism (Religion)

- Danish Americans, 518–519
- Estonian Americans, 607
- Finnish Americans, 646–647
- German Americans, 716
- Hungarians, 874
- Icelanders, 893
- Latvian Americans, 1108
- Lithuanian Americans, 1144
- Norwegian Americans, 1333
- Slovak Americans, 1640
- Swedes, 1696

 Luxembourg, 1151–1153, 1158
 Luxembourger Americans, **1151–1160**

- associations, museums, and research centers, 1160
- family and community, 1156
- history, 1151–1153
- immigration and settlement, 1153
- language, 1155
- media, 1160
- notable individuals and groups, 1158–1159
- politics and government, 1157
- relations with Luxembourg, 1158
- religion, 1157
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1153–1155

 Luxembourgeois (Language), 1155
 Lwanga, Namu, 1811
 Lyman, Amy Brown, 1244
 Lyons, Oren, 966
 Lyu-Volckhausen, Grace, 1086

M

MacAlpin, Kenneth, 1568
 Macarewa, Fredy Lowell, 903
 MacDonald, Flora, 1571
 Macedonian (Language), 1166
 Macedonian Americans, **1161–1172**

- acculturation, 1164
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1171–1172
- employment and economics, 1168–1169
- family and community, 1167–1168

- history, 1162–1163
- immigration and settlement, 1163–1164
- language, 1166
- media, 1171
- notable individuals and groups, 1170–1171
- politics and government, 1169
- relations with Macedonia, 1169–1170
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1165–1166
- Macedonian Orthodox Church, 1168
- Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO), 1170
- Macedonian Pig Dance, 1167
- Macedonian Political Organization (MPO), 295
- Macedonian Valley Bridal Dress, 1165–1166
- Macedo-Romanians, 1507
- Machismo (Social value), 1415
- Machu Picchu (Incan fortress), 1434
- MacMurray, Fred, 1576
- MacNeil, Robin, 328
- Macro-Siouan (Language), 1625
- Madal (Musical instrument), 1275
- Madero, Francisco, 1191
- Mafia (Sicilian), 1598, 1600. *See also* Crime
- Magai, Sir Milton, 1611
- Magazines. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “media,” e.g., Arab Americans—media
- Magellan, Ferdinand, 623
- Magloube (Food), 1055
- Magyarization, 1635
- Magyars (People), 870
- Mahalet dances, 594
- Mahayana Buddhism, 314
- Maids of Honor, 293
- Maine, 672
- Maintenance bilingual instruction technique, 1201
- Makerere-Florida Linkage House of the Center for Human Rights and Peace, 1811
- Malay (Country), 1173–1175
- Malay (Language), 1177
- Malays (People), 623
- Malaysia, 1173–1175
- Malaysian Americans, **1173–1179**
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1178–1179
 - family and community, 1177
 - history, 1174–1175
 - language, 1177
 - religion, 1178
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1175–1177
- Malcolm X, 50
- MALDEF (Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund), 1216
- Malden, Karl, 1593
- Malheur Indian Reservation, 1376
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1455
- Malkovich, John, 1593
- Mallery, Suzanne Toombs, 1562
- Malnutrition, 1539
- Malta, 1180–1181, 1186
- Maltese (Language), 1184
- Maltese Americans, **1180–1189**
 - acculturation, 1182
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1188
 - employment and economics, 1186
 - family and community, 1184–1185
 - health, 1184
 - history, 1181–1182
 - immigration and settlement, 1182
 - language, 1184
 - media, 1187
 - notable individuals and groups, 1187
 - politics and government, 1186
 - relations with Malta, 1186
 - religion, 1185–1186
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1182–1184
- Malushi, Shqipe, 64
- Mama Ocllo (Incan figure), 1433
- Mamluk people, 930
- Manchevski, Milcho, 1170
- Manchus (People), 1728
- Manco Capac (Incan ruler), 1433
- Mandarin (Language), 394–395, 1734
- Mandela, Nelson, 1662
- Mandu (Food), 1078
- Mangione, Jerre, 995
- Mankiller, Wilma P., 364
- Manlapit, Pablo, 633
- Manuel I, King, 1462
- Mao Tse-tung, 388, 1729
- Maori tribe, 163
- MAPA (Mexican American Political Association), 1215
- Maple sugar, 1342
- Maragoli tribe, 1067
- March First Movement, 1073
- Marciano, Rocky, 996
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 626
- Mardi Gras, 8
- Mardin, Arif, 1802
- Margolis, Maxine, 280
- Mariam, Megista Haile, 614
- Marianapolis College, 1143
- Marichal, Juan, 533
- Marie Adelaide, Grand Duchess, 1152
- Marimba, 770, 771
- Marín, Luis Muñoz, 1491
- Maronite Church, 1120, 1722
- Maronites, 493
- Maroons (People), 1001
- Marquis of Pombal, 1462
- Marrain (Godmother). *See* Godparents

Marriage engagement, 676
 Marriages. *See* name of specific type of marriage, e.g., Interracial and intercultural marriages; subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Amish—family and community
 Marshall, Paul, 204
 Marshall, Thurgood, 48
 Marti, Jose, 475
 Martin, Agnes, 329
 Martin, Peter, 521
 Martin, Ricky, 1498
 Martin, Tony, 1473
 Martinez, Anita, 694
 Martinez, Bob, 482
 Martinez, Dennis, 1309
 Martinez, Maria Montoya, 1484
 Martinovanje celebrations, 1650
 Martyrs, religious, 80
 Mary Help of Christians Shrine, 1652
 Masayeva, Victor, Jr., 1485
 Masjid (Gathering place), 1121
 Masked dances (Cambodian), 311
 Masks, face. *See* Face masks
 Mason, James O., 1244
 Massachusetts, 672, 673, 1875
 Masses (Roman Catholic), 693
 Mata, Eduardo, 1218
 Mataele, Foloi Manuma’a, 1372
 Matchmakers, 1039, 1183, 1789. *See also*
 Arranged marriages
 Mate (Beverage), 126, 1835
 Mathabane, Mark, 1668, 1669
 Matrifocal cultures, 692, 1481
 Matrilineal cultures, 102, 364, 411, 758, 1481
 Mau (Samoan resistance movement), 1549
 Mau Mau uprising, 1063
 Maury, Matthew Fontaine, 665
 Mawei (Social unit), 1616
 Maximo, Antonieta, 695
 Mayan
 civilization, 845
 culture, 764–765, 767
 empire, 1298
 language, 765, 773–774
 religion, 776
 Maynard, Robert Clyve, 203
 Mazuha Koshina, 1630
 Mazzanovich, Antonio, 464
 McCarran-Walter Act (1952), 111, 1017
 McCarran-Warren Act (1965), 786
 McCarthy, Nobu, 1025
 McCoy and Hatfield feud, 1573
 McDonald, Julie Jensen, 520
 McFee, Malcolm, 242
 McGillivray, Alexander, 439

McGuire, Peter James, 948
 Meats, 6, 113, 1207, 1835. *See also* name of specific meat, e.g., Beef
 Mecca (Holy city), 572, 933, 1558. *See also* Islam
 Medeiros, Humberto Sousa, 1473
 Media. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “media,” e.g., African Americans—media
 Medical insurance. *See* Health insurance
 Medical profession, 1080
 Medicine and medical issues. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “health,” or “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., Amish—health
 Medicine bundles, 246
 Medicine, folk. *See* Folk medicine
 Mediterranean anemia, 1184
 Meeting houses, Mormon, 1242
 Mehta, Zubin, 157
 Meidung (Amish custom), 91
 Melara, Julio, 851
 Melchior, Lauritz, 521
 Melkite/Greek Catholic Church, 1120
 Melo, Sebastião José de Carvalho e, 1462
 Menarche rituals, 856, 964, 1378
 Mende (People), 1617
 Mendes, John, 1472
 Mendez, Hermann, 779
 Menehune (Legendary characters), 821
 Menendez, Robert, 482
 Menilek II, King, 613
 Mennonites, 1708
 Menor, Benjamin, 636
 Mensef feasts, 1055
 Mental health. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “health,” e.g., Amish—health
 Merchant, Ismail, 156
 Merchant marines, 188
 Merchant, Natalie, 1607
 Merchants, street. *See* Street peddlers
 MERCOSUR (Organization), 1833
 Merengue (Dance), 1494
 Mescal (Food), 99
 Mescalero Apaches, 103. *See also* Apaches
 Mescalero Reservation, 97
 Messenger Feast, 1894
 Messengers, 1434
 Mestizos (People), 624, 1296, 1439
 Mestrovic, Ivan, 471
 Metalious, Grace DeRepentigny, 681
 Methodism (Religion), 247, 1021, 1879
 Metis (People), 321
 Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), 1215
 Mexican Americans, 1190–1221
 acculturation, 1195–1197
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1220–1221

- employment and economics, 1211–1213
 family and community, 1202–1208, 1211
 health, 1198–1199
 history, 1190–1192
 immigration and settlement, 1192–1193
 language, 1200–1201
 media, 1218–1219
 notable individuals and groups, 1217–1218
 politics and government, 1213–1217
 relations with Anglo-Americans, 1193–1195
 religion, 1208–1210, 1211
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1197
 Mexican Independence Day, 1207
 Mexican Spanish (Language), 1200–1201
 Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), 1216
 Mexican-American War, 1192
 Mexico, 1190–1192, 1196
 Meyer, Adolf, 1710
 Mez (Beverage), 593
 Meze (Food), 489
 Miami, Florida
 Colombian Americans, 420, 425
 Cuban Americans, 475
 Haitian Americans, 808
 Nicaraguan immigrations, 1299, 1300, 1301
 Michigan, 289. *See also* Detroit, Michigan
 Mid-Autumn Festival, 1733
 Middle Passage, 31
 Middle Verde Reservation, 97
 Mide (Religion), 1346
 Midewiwin (Religion), 1346
 Midsummer's Day, 1694
 Mid-Winter Festival (Iroquoian), 961
 Mieng, Xieng (Person), 1096
 Miesko (Person), 1445
 Migrant workers, 295, 633, 848, 1140, 1212
 Migration and Refugee Services, 1100
 Migrations of humans. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "immigration and settlement," e.g., Yemeni Americans—immigration and settlement
 Mihailovič, Draža, 1581
 Mikaelson, Ben, 260
 Milanov, Zinka, 470
 Milatovich, Antonio, 464
 Mili, Gjon, 63
 Military. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "notable individuals and groups," e.g., Irish Americans—notable individuals and groups
 Milk, 593
 Miller, Lucas Miltiades, 744
 Milles, Carl, 1701
 Millet system, 1120
 Million Man March, 46
 Million Woman March, 46
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 263, 1582
 Miłosz, Czesław, 1455
 Minh-mang, Emperor, 1849
 Minimum wage laws, 1556
 Mining, coal, 1266
 Mining, silver, 253, 464
 Mining, tin, 253
 Minneconjou Sioux, 1626. *See also* Sioux
 Miramy (Novel), 791
 Miranda, Carmen, 1472
 Miranda, Francisco de, 1840
 Miscegenation. *See* Interracial and intercultural marriages
 Misconceptions, racial. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "stereotypes and misconceptions," e.g., Spanish Americans—stereotypes and misconceptions
 Miskitos (People), 1300
 Missionaries
 Croatia, 462–463
 Korea, 1075
 Mormons, 1237
 Pacific Islands, 1366
 Samoa, 1549
 Sicily, 1604
 Slovenia, 1647, 1655
 Vietnam, 1848
 Mississippi, 407
 Mistral, Gabriela, 383
 Mitchell, Keith, 749, 753
 Mittelholzer, Edgar, 791
 Mitzvot (Jewish belief), 1035
 Miyatake, Toyo, 1025
 Mkate mayai (Food), 1807
 Mladineo, Ivan, 470
 MNR (National Revolutionary Movement), 253
 Mochi (Food), 1019
 Mochica civilization, 1432
 Mockett Law, 716
 Modern Greek (Language), 490, 491, 737
 Moghul dynasty, 148
 Mogogo (Food), 593
 Mohawk (People). *See* Iroquois Confederacy
 Mohawk, John, 966
 Mohr, Nicholasa, 1499
 Moi, Daniel Arap, 1064
 Mokofisi, Sione Ake, 1372
 Moldavian Romanians, 1506–1507
 Mole-Dagbane (People), 723
 Molina, Gloria, 1218
 Molly Maguires, 948
 Molokan Christianity, 1523, 1528
 Momoh, Joseph Saidu, 1612
 Mondale, Walter, 1336
 Mongkut, King, 1742
 Mongolia, 1223–1224

- Mongolian Americans, **1223–1233**
 acculturation, 1226
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1232–1233
 employment and economics, 1231
 family and community, 1228, 1229
 health, 1228
 history, 1224
 immigration and settlement, 1225
 language, 1228–1229
 media, 1232
 notable individuals and groups, 1231
 politics and government, 1231
 religion, 1230–1231
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1226–1228
- Mongolian tea, 1226
- Mongoloid spots, 1305
- Monks, 313, 1748–1749
- Montana Indian Manufacturer's Network, 248
- Montana Inter-Tribal Policy Board, 250
- Monti, Luigi, 1607
- Moob Leeg (Language), 837
- Moon Cake festivals, 1177
- Moore, Colin, 791
- Moore, Edwin Stanton, 447
- Morales, Ralph, 1844
- Morant Bay Rebellion, 1001
- Moravian Brethren Church, 505
- Moreno, Federico, 1844
- Moreno, Rita, 1499
- Mori, Toshio, 1026
- Moriarty, Chouchulain, 375
- Morin khuur (Musical instrument), 1228
- Morita, Noriyuki "Pat," 1025
- Mormonism, 886, 1879
- Mormons, **1234–1248**
 assistance of Tongans, 1778
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1247
 employment and economics, 1243
 family and community, 1238–1240
 health, 1240–1241
 history, 1235–1238
 immigration, 513
 media, 1245–1247
 notable individuals and groups, 1244–1245
 politics and government, 1243
 religion, 1241–1242
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1240
- Moroccan Americans, **1249–1257**
 acculturation and settlement, 1252
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1257
 employment and economics, 1256
 family and community, 1254–1255
 history, 1250–1251
 immigration and settlement, 1251–1252
 language, 1254
 notable individuals and groups, 1257
 politics and government, 1256
 relations with Morocco, 1256
 religion, 1256
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1252–1254
- Morocco, 1249–1251, 1256
- Morphy, Paul, 457
- Morrison, Scott Kayla, 415
- Morse, Samuel, 1576
- Morton, Ferdinand "Jelly Roll," 458
- Moses (Biblical figure), 1031
- Mosques, 570
- Mossi-Grunshi (People), 723
- Moss-picking, 12
- Mother of God of Zyrovicy Feast, 224
- Mother's Day, 502
- Motor neuropathy, 1056
- Motrat Qirijazi (Organization), 59
- Mounds (Native American), 405
- Mount Illimani legend, 255
- Mount Rushmore National Memorial, 521
- Mountain Spirit Dance (Apache), 100
- Movements, labor. *See* Labor movements and unions
- MPO (Macedonian Patriotic Organization), 1170
- MPO (Macedonian Political Organization), 295
- Mucopolipidosis IV (Disease), 1037
- Mud bugs, 6
- MUGAMA (Mujeres Garinagu en Marcha), 693
- Mugama: Garifuna Women on the March (Organization), 850
- Muhammad (Prophet), 154, 934, 1559
- Muhammad II (Turkish leader), 1796
- Muhammed, Murtala Ramat, 1313
- Muharram (Holiday), 923
- Muir, John, 1572
- Mujahideen (People), 20
- Mujeres Garinagu en Marcha (MUGAMA), 693
- Mujib, Sheikh, 187–188
- Mukerji, Dhan Gopal, 157
- Mullah (Islamic leaders), 19
- Muller, Nicholas, 1159
- Munk, Jens, 513
- Munoz, John Joaquin, 779
- Murayama, Makio, 1026
- Murdoch, Rupert, 171
- Muscogee Nation. *See* Creeks (People)
- Museums. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "associations, museums, and research centers," e.g., Arab Americans—associations, museums, and research centers
- Museveni, Yoweri Kaguta, 1805
- Mushrooms, 501
- Music. *See* subheading of specific cultural group

under, “notable individuals and groups,” or “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups; specific type of music, e.g., Blues music
 Musica nacional (Musical style), 559
 Musical instruments. *See* name of specific type of musical instrument, e.g., Drums (Musical instrument)
 Muskogean languages, 410, 443
 Muskrats, 11
 Muslims. *See* Islam
 Mussolini, Benito, 1598
 Mustard oil, 1274
 Mutton, 1055
 Muumuu (Clothing), 823
 Myalism (Religion), 1009
 Myanmar, 299–301
 Myanmar Americans. *See* Burmese Americans
 Mylonas, George, 742
 Myrrh, 1883
 Myths, 6, 1368
 Myung-Whun Chung, 1086

N

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), 44, 53
 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 53
 Naadam Festival, 1227
 Naca Omincia (Tribal council), 1626
 Nacas (Fraternal society), 1626
 Nacatamal (Food), 1304
 Nader, Ralph, 119, 1123
 Nagaret (Musical instrument), 594
 Nagurski, Bronko, 1827
 Naipaul, V.S., 1792
 Nair, Mira, 156
 Nakash Brothers, 979
 Nalalpata (Headdress), 1687
 Nalukataq (Holiday), 910
 Nam June Paik, 1086
 Naming practices, 1039. *See also* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Hopis (People)—family and community
 Nampeyo (Person), 862
 Nanih Waiya (Choctaw mound), 405
 Nanji, Azim A., 921
 Napoleon (Leader), 657, 1463
 Nara (People), 596
Narodni List (Newspaper), 465
 Naser (Musician), 1135
 Nasii (Family representative), 1511
 Nasser, Gamal Abdal, 568
 Nassi, Thomas, 63
 Nation Elders’ Program, 1359

National Assembly (Governmental body), 598
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 44, 53
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 53
 National Association of Arab Americans, 118, 1124, 1726
 National Basque Monument, 216
 National Coalition for Haitian Rights, 808, 814, 815
 National Council of La Raza, 1501
 National Dance Theater Company (NDTC), 1012
 National Day (Nigeria), 1316
 National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), 633
 National flags
 Costa Rican, 429
 Druze, 535
 Guamanian, 756
 Laotian, 1091
 Maltese, 1184
 Tibetan, 1751
 Uruguayan, 1832
 Wales, 1876
 National Gymanfa Ganu Association, 1877
 National Heroes Day, 1005
 National People’s Assembly (APN), 73
 National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), 253
 National Sioux Council, 1627
 National songs, 594
 National Union of Algerian Women, 73
 National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW), 597
 National Urban League, 53
 Nationalism and Nationalist movements
 Albanian American, 62
 Italian American, 986
 Latvian American, 1109
 Lithuanian American, 1143, 1144, 1146
 Scottish, 1575
 Nationalist party (Taiwan), 1729
 Nationalista party (Philippines), 625
 Native American Church, 1262
 Native Baptist Church, 1009
 Native Hawaiians, 828
 Nauvoo, Illinois, 1235
 Navajo Agricultural Products Industry, 1266
 Navajo Code Talkers, 1266–1267
 Navajo Community College, 1264
 Navajo Indian Irrigation Project (NIIP), 1266
 Navajo Nation, 1260
 Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute, 1268
 Navajos, **1259–1271**
 acculturation, 1262
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1270–1271

- employment and economics, 1265–1266
 family and community, 1263–1264
 health, 1262–1263
 history, 1259–1260
 immigration and settlement, 1260–1261
 language, 1263
 media, 1270
 notable individuals and groups, 1268–1269
 politics and government, 1266–1267
 relations with the United States, 1267–1268
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1262
- Navaratri (Holiday), 152
- Navarre kingdom, 206
- Nawruz (Holiday), 20
- Nazca civilization, 1432
- Naziism, 919
- Nazis, 263, 461, 709, 1446
- NDTC (National Dance Theater Company), 1012
- Ne Win, General, 300
- Neakok, Brower, 915
- Neble, Sophus, 520
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 148
- Neimann-Pick disease, 1037
- Nemanjic, Stefan, 1580
- Nemours, Eleuthère Irénée Dupont de, 664
- Nepal, 1272–1273
- Nepalese Americans, **1272–1281**
 acculturation and assimilation, 1274
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1279–1281
 employment and economics, 1279
 family and community, 1277–1278
 health, 1276
 history, 1273
 immigration and settlement, 1273–1274
 language, 1276–1277
 politics and government, 1279
 religion, 1279
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1274–1276
- Nepali (Language), 1276–1277
- Neruda, Pablo, 383
- Nettleford, Rex, 1012
- Neuropathy, motor, 1056
- Nevers, Lorenzo de, 682
- New England, 578. *See also* name of specific place, e.g., Boston, Massachusetts
- New England Company, 549
- New Mexico, 95, 97, 1479–1480
- New Netherland Colony (Company), 549
- New Order Amish, 80. *See also* Amish
- New Orleans, Louisiana, 452–453
- New Religion (Religion), 964
- New Sweden, 639
- New Yam Festival (Holiday), 1317
- New Year, Chinese, 1177, 1733
- New Year, Hmong, 835–836
- New Year's Day, 34, 379, 1018–1019, 1733
- New Year's Eve, 890
- New York (State), 1354, 1355, 1357, 1359
- New York City, New York
 Argentinean immigrants, 125
 Colombian immigrants, 425
 Dominican immigrants, 527
 Ecuadoran immigrants, 557
 Guyanese immigrants, 786
 Haitian American political activity, 814
 Puerto Rican Day parades, 1498
 Puerto Rican immigrants, 1491, 1492
 Russian immigrants, 1523
 Spanish immigrants, 1673
 St. Patrick's Day celebrations, 941
 Syrian immigrants, 1718
- New Zealand, 161–165
- New Zealander Americans, **161–172**
 acculturation, 167
 associations, museums, and research centers, 171–172
 employment and economics, 170
 family and community, 168, 170
 history, 162–165
 immigration and settlement, 165–167
 language, 169
 media, 171
 notable individuals and groups, 170–171
 politics and government, 170
 religion, 170
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 167, 168–169
- Newspapers. *See* name of specific newspaper, e.g., *Albion* (Newspaper); subheading of specific cultural group under, “media,” e.g., Arab Americans—media
- Nez Percé, **1282–1294**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1293–1294
 employment and economics, 1290–1291
 family and community, 1287–1289
 history, 1283–1284
 language, 1287
 media, 1293
 notable individuals and groups, 1291–1292
 politics and government, 1291
 religion, 1290
 settlement, 1285
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1285–1287
- Nez Percé-Portrait of a People* (Film), 1285
- NFWA (National Farm Workers Association), 633
- Ng, Franklin, 1737
- Ngafi nagafi (Clothing), 1370
- Ngarn sop (Cremation), 1747
- Ngo Dinh Diem, 1849–1850
- Ngor, Haing, 316
- Nguyen, Anh, 1848

- Nguyen, Dustin, 1859
 Nguyen, Jean, 1859
 Nguyen Trai, 1855
 Nguyen, Trung, 1853
 Niagara movement, 44
 Nicaragua, 687, 1295–1298
 Nicaraguan Americans, **1295–1311**
 acculturation, 1302
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1310–1311
 employment and economics, 1307
 family and community, 1306–1307
 health, 1305
 history, 1296–1298
 immigration and settlement, 1298–1301
 language, 1305–1306
 media, 1309–1310
 notable individuals and groups, 1308–1309
 politics and government, 1308
 religion, 1307
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1301–1302
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1302–1304
 Nielsen, Arthur C., 520
 Nigeria, 1312–1314, 1321
 Nigerian Americans, **1312–1324**
 acculturation, 1315
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1323–1324
 employment and economics, 1321
 family and community, 1317–1320
 health, 1317
 history, 1313–1314
 immigration and settlement, 1314
 language, 1317
 media, 1322–1323
 notable individuals and groups, 1322
 politics and government, 1321
 relations with Nigeria, 1321
 religion, 1320
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1315–1317
 NIIP (Navajo Indian Irrigation Project), 1266
 1946 Boys (Contracted workers), 628
 Nisei (People). *See* Japanese Americans
 Niumataiwalu, Viliame, 1372
 Nizamoff, Christo N., 1170
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 722
 Nnaji, Bartholemew, 1322
 Noah, Mordecai M., 1046
 Nobel Peace Prizes, 430
 Noche de Gritería (Holiday), 1303
 Noerdinger, Jean, 1158
 Nofo fa'apouliuli (Custom), 1554
 Noguchi, Isamu, 1025
 Noli, Fan S., 62
 Nomadic life, 1757
 Non la (Clothing), 1853
 Non-denominational churches, 790
 Non-Intercourse Act (1790), 1355
 Nonpartisan League, 1334
 Noriega, Manuel, 1414
 Normans (People), 1873
 Norodom, King, 306
 Norse American Centennial, 1329
 Norsemen (People), 512
 North American Indian Days Celebration, 244
 North Korea, 1071–1074, 1085
 Northern Ireland, 948, 1568–1569. *See also* Ireland
 Northern Navajo Fair, 1262
 Northrup, Jim, Jr., 1350
 Norton, Joshua, 1669
 Norway, 1325–1326, 1335
 Norwegian (Language), 1331–1332
 Norwegian Americans, **1325–1338**
 acculturation, 1328
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1337–1338
 employment and economics, 1333–1334
 family and community, 1332–1333
 health, 1330
 history, 1325–1326
 immigration and settlement, 1326–1328
 language, 1331–1332
 media, 1337
 notable individuals and groups, 1335–1337
 politics and government, 1334–1335
 relations with Norway, 1335
 religion, 1333
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1329–1330
 Norwegian Constitution Day, 1329
 Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, 1333
 Novello, Antonia, 1499
 Novena (Religious ritual), 693
 Nuclear waste, 911
 Nuclear weapons, 1074
 NUEW (National Union of Eritrean Women), 597
 Nukema, Anthony, 863
 Numa (Language), 1379–1380
 Nurmi, Maila, 650
 Nurske, Ragnar, 609
 Nuts (Food), 759, 1807
 Nuunamiut (People). *See* Inuit
 Nuyoricán (Dialect), 1495
 Nyiramasuhuko, Pauline, 30
- O**
 Oahlaná Laulima project, 1369
 Obea (Religion), 1790
 Obesity, 1368
 Obote, Milton, 1805
 Odeh, Alex, 110

- Odwira festivals, 726
- O'Higgins, Bernardo, 374
- Oil industry
- Acadians, 5
 - Alaska, 914
 - Grenadians, 750
 - Iran, 919
 - Navajos, 1266
 - Saudi Arabia, 1565
 - Venezuela, 1840
- Oil spills, 556
- Oinkari Basque Dancers, 212
- Ojeda, Alonso de, 1839
- Ojibwa, **1339–1352**
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1351
 - employment and economics, 1347
 - family and community, 1344–1346
 - health, 1343
 - history, 1339–1340
 - language, 1343–1344
 - media, 1350–1351
 - notable individuals and groups, 1350
 - politics and government, 1347–1349
 - religion, 1346–1347
 - settlement, 1340
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 1341
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1341–1343
- Ojibwa (Language), 1343–1344
- Ojibwa (People), 1341
- Oklahoma
- Apaches, 95, 97–98
 - Cherokees, 362
 - Choctaws, 405, 409, 413
- Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, 447
- Okoye, Christian, 1322
- Okra soups, 1316
- Olajuwon, Hakeem, 1322
- Olanna, Melvin, 915
- Old Believers Church, 1523
- Old Order Amish, 80, 81. *See also* Amish
- Old Person, Earl, 249
- Old Slavonic (Language), 1588
- Olha (Ukrainian leader), 1814
- Olid, Cristóbal de, 845
- Olivares, Eddy O. Rios, 1308
- Olmos, Edward James, 1217
- Oneida (Language), 1357
- Oneidas (People), **1353–1363**. *See also* Iroquois Confederacy
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1362–1363
 - employment and economics, 1358–1359
 - family and community, 1357–1358
 - health, 1356
 - history, 1354–1355
 - language, 1357
 - media, 1362
 - notable individuals and groups, 1360–1362
 - politics and government, 1359–1360
 - religion, 1358
 - settlement, 1355
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1355–1356
- Onon, Urgunge, 1225
- Onondaga (People). *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- Ontario, Canada, 1359
- OPA (Utah Office of Polynesian Affairs), 1370
- Opera, 392, 1096
- Operation Boulder, 110
- Oral literature, 856, 1096
- Oratory, 409, 1552
- Orden Hijos de América (OSA), 1214
- Order of the Sons of America (OSA), 1214
- Orderly Departure Program, 1851
- Ordination (Religious), 693, 1748–1749
- Ordnung (Amish belief system), 90
- Oregon, 1376
- Organizations and associations. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “associations, museums, and research centers” e.g., African Americans—associations, museums, and research centers
- Organized crime. *See* Crime
- Orhan (Turkish leader), 1796
- Oribe, Manuel, 1832
- Orthodox calendars, 592
- Orthodox Christian Old Believers Church, 1523, 1528
- Orthodox Christianity, 595. *See also* name of specific type of Orthodox Christianity, e.g., Russian Orthodox Church
- Orthodox Church of America, 352, 1529
- Orthodox Judaism, 1042. *See also* Judaism
- Ortiz, Alfonso, 1484
- Ortiz, Simon J., 1485
- Ortiz-Buonafina, Marta, 778
- Oruro (Holiday), 257
- OSA (Orden Hijos de América), 1214
- Osato, Sono, 1025
- Oskudagur (Holiday), 890
- Otavaleño Indians, 562–563. *See also* Ecuadoran Americans
- Ottoman empire, 1401, 1716, 1796
- Our Lady of Guadalupe feasts, 1209–1210
- Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church (Manhattan, New York), 279
- Ouzo (Liquor), 736
- Ovens, 232
- Oweidat, Abdullah Ahmed, 1560
- Owens, Louis, 414

P

- Pa ndau (Handicraft), 841
PAC (Polish American Congress), 1455
Pachacuti (Incan ruler), 1433
Pachamama (Incan Earth Mother), 255
Pacific American Foundation, 1370, 1371
Pacific Islander Americans, **1364–1374**
 acculturation, 1367
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1373
 employment and economics, 1371
 family and community, 1369–1370
 health, 1368–1369
 history, 1365–1366
 immigration and settlement, 1366–1367
 language, 1369
 media, 1372
 notable individuals and groups, 1372
 politics and government, 1371
 relations with Pacific Islands, 1371–1372
 religion, 1370–1371
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1367–1368
Pacific Islands, 1364–1366, 1371–1372, 1777–1778
Pacino, Al, 1607
Paczki (Food), 1451
Paczki Day (Holiday), 1451
Padakkam (Pendants), 1687
Padmore, George, 1791
Padrinos (Godparents), 770
Padrone (Supervisor), 632
Pagan period, 299
Paganism, 1591, 1879
Paha Sapa (Sacred land), 1627
Pahlavi, Shah Mohammed Reza, 920
Pahos (Prayer feathers), 857
Pai, Margaret K., 1085
Paik, Nam June, 1086
Paiutes (People), **1375–1388**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1385–1387
 employment and economics, 1382
 family and community, 1380
 health, 1379
 history, 1376–1377
 language, 1379–1380
 notable individuals and groups, 1384–1385
 politics and government, 1383–1384
 religion, 1381–1382
 settlement, 1377
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1377–1379
Paj ntaub (Handicraft), 841
Pakistan, 18, 187–188, 1389–1391, 1397
Pakistani Americans, **1389–1399**
 acculturation, 1392
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1398–1399
 employment and economics, 1396–1397
 family and community, 1394–1395
 health, 1394
 history, 1389–1391
 immigration and settlement, 1391–1392
 language, 1394
 media, 1398
 notable individuals and groups, 1397–1398
 politics and government, 1397
 relations with Pakistan, 1397
 religion, 1395–1396
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1392–1393
Palacio, Andy, 690
Palacio, Clifford, 688, 694
Palance, Jack, 1825
Pale of Settlement, 1521
Palestine. *See* Israel
Palestinian Americans, **1400–1411**
 acculturation, 1404–1405
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1409–1410
 employment and economics, 1407
 family and community, 1406
 history, 1400–1403
 immigration and settlement, 1403–1404
 language, 1405–1406
 media, 1409
 notable individuals and groups, 1408
 politics and government, 1407–1408
 religion, 1407
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1405
Palestinian Arabs, 972
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), 972, 1402
Pali alphabet, 303
Pallais, Nadia, 1309
Palm Sunday, 1590
Paloheimo, Yrjo, 649
Pan-African movement, 1010
Pan-Albania Federation of America, 62
Panama, 1412–1414, 1419
Panama Canal, 1413–1414
Panamanian Americans, **1412–1421**
 acculturation, 1415
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1420–1421
 employment and economics, 1418
 family and community, 1416–1417
 health, 1416
 history, 1413–1414
 immigration and settlement, 1414–1415
 language, 1416
 media, 1420
 notable individuals and groups, 1419
 politics and government, 1418–1419
 relations with Panama, 1419

- religion, 1418
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1415–1416
- Pane, Laurie, 166
- Pan-Hellenic Union (Organization), 742
- Panić, Milan, 1594
- Pao, Vang, 842
- Papadopoulos, George, 733
- Papandreou, George, 734
- Papashvily, George, 705
- Papnicolaou, George, 744
- Paracas civilization, 1432
- Paraguay, 1422–1423, 1428
- Paraguayan Americans, **1422–1430**
 - acculturation, 1424
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1429–1430
 - employment and economics, 1427–1428
 - family and community, 1426–1427
 - health, 1425
 - history, 1423
 - immigration and settlement, 1424
 - language, 1425–1426
 - media, 1429
 - notable individuals and groups, 1429
 - politics and government, 1428
 - relations with Paraguay, 1428
 - religion, 1427
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1424–1425
- Parastas (Religious service), 1511
- Paredes, Americo, 1217
- Paribar (Social unit), 1277
- Parkas, 1894
- Parker, Arthur C., 966
- Parochial schools
 - Amish, 89
 - French-Canadian American, 672
 - German American, 715
 - Jewish, 1035, 1040
 - Lithuanian American, 1143
 - Mexican American, 1204
 - Norwegian, 1333
 - Russian-language, 1525
- Parra, Violet, 383
- Parsi (Religion), 154, 1396
- Parti Quebecois (PQ), 671
- Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Political party), 1837
- Pasha, Midhat, 930
- Pashmina (Clothing), 1275
- Pashto (Language), 21
- Pass, John, 1187
- PASSO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations), 1215
- Passover (Holiday), 976, 1037
- Pastas, 126, 1835
- Pastel de choclo (Food), 378
- Pastitsi (Food), 1183
- Pastore, John O., 995
- Patois (Language), 1006
- Patronat (Professional association), 75
- Paul (Apostle), 1184, 1185
- Paul, William L., 1773
- Pau-Llosa, Richard, 481
- Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer, 1384
- Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920), 867
- Peanuts, 1807
- Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, 821
- Pearson, Lester B., 322
- Pearson, Paul D., 1865
- Peddlers, street. *See* Street peddlers
- Peerson, Cleng, 1326
- Peh, Sangbe, 1619
- Pei, I.M., 400
- Peloquin, C. Alexander, 682
- Pelota (Sport), 217
- Peltier, Leonard, 1350, 1629
- Pen League, 109
- Peña (Chilean custom), 383
- Penet, Pierre, 1358
- Penn, William, 1875
- Pennsylvania, 710
- Pennsylvanian Dutch (Language), 84–85
- Pennsylvanian German (Language), 84–85
- Pensionado Act (1930), 627
- Pentecostal Church, 280
- People's Anti-Japanese Liberation Army (Political group), 626
- People's National Congress (PNC), 785
- People's Progressive Party (PPP), 785
- People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), 749
- People's Temple (Cult), 787
- Pepian, 772
- Pepper-pot (Food), 199
- Peratrovich, Elizabeth, 1772, 1773
- Peratrovich, Frank J., 1773
- Peratrovich, Roy, 1773
- Perea, Robert L., 1630
- Perez, Hugo, 1544
- Pérez Jiménez, Marcus, 1840
- Perez-Firmat, Gustavo, 481
- Periera, William L., 1472
- Period of Three Kingdoms, 1072
- Perlman, Yitzhak, 979
- Perón, Juan Domingo, 124
- Perpich, Rudolph G., 470
- Perrin, Warren A., 2
- Persia, 918–920
- Persian Gulf War, 110, 360–361, 931
- Personalismo (Social value), 1415, 1675
- Peru, 1431–1436, 1440–1441
- Peruvian Americans, **1431–1443**
 - acculturation, 1436–1437
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1443

- employment and economics, 1440
 family and community, 1438–1439
 health, 1438
 history, 1432–1436
 language, 1438
 media, 1442–1443
 notable individuals and groups, 1441–1442
 politics and government, 1440–1441
 religion, 1440
- Petersen, Esther, 521
 Petion, Alexandre, 806
 Petrakis, Henry Mark, 743
 Phejaiti (Dance), 1276
 Phi (Spirits), 1098
 Phibul, Songkhram, 1743
 Philipp, Emanuel Lorenz, 1711
 Philippine Islands, 622–626
 Philistines, 1401
 Phillip, Arthur, 163
 Philotimo (Greek value), 738
 Phinney, Archie, 1291
 Phoenicians, 1115, 1250
 Phommasouvanh, Banlang, 1099
 Physical stress, 1082
 Pía (Artist), 382
 Piasts (People), 1446
 Piccolo, Francesco, 1604
 Pickford, Mary, 327
 Pico-Union district, Los Angeles, California,
 768, 769
 Picture bride systems (Marriage), 1016, 1020, 1075
 Picuris Pueblos, 1479. *See also* Pueblos
 Pidgin English (Language), 1317
 Pietist movement, 1696
 Pilson, George, 1335
 Pinault, David, 919
 Pindzhur (Food), 1165
 Pine Ridge Reservation, 1626, 1628–1629
 Pinochet, Augusto, 374, 375, 376
 Pioneer Day (Holiday), 1240
 Pipil people, 1535
 Pirogues (Boats), 5
 Pisco (Food), 378
 Pissaro, Camille, 1871
 Pit houses, 1482
 Pittsburgh Agreement (1918), 1642
 Pittsburgh Principles, 1042
 Pizarro, Francisco, 1434
 Plantains, 772
 Plantations, 827
 Plasaj (Haitian wedding), 813
Plessy v. Ferguson, 38
 Plexus, 1358
 PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization),
 972, 1402
 Plummer, Christopher, 328
 PNC (People's National Congress), 785
 Poarch Creeks (People), 445. *See also*
 Creeks (People)
 Poetry, 1118
 Point Hope settlement (Inuit), 907
 Pojoaque Pueblos, 1479. *See also* Pueblos
 Pol Pot syndrome, 312
 Pol sambol (Food), 1684
 Poland, 1032, 1139, 1445–1446, 1455
 Pole beans, 1356
 Polish (Language), 1452
 Polish American Congress (PAC), 1455
 Polish American Democratic Organization, 1454
 Polish Americans, **1445–1460**
 acculturation, 1449
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1458–1460
 comparison to Lithuanian Americans, 1143
 employment and economics, 1454
 family and community, 1452–1453
 health, 1452
 history, 1445–1446
 immigration and settlement, 1447–1449
 language, 1452
 media, 1456–1458
 notable individuals and groups, 1455–1456
 politics and government, 1454
 relations with Poland, 1455
 religion, 1453–1454
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1450–1451
 Polisia clothing style, 1819
 Political Association of Spanish-Speaking
 Organizations (PASSO), 1215
 Political asylum. *See* subheading of specific cultural
 group under, “immigration and settlement,”
 e.g., Guatemalan Americans—immigration
 and settlement
 Politics. *See* subheading of specific cultural group
 under, “politics and government,” or “notable
 individuals and groups,” e.g., Polish Americans—
 politics and government
 Polka music, 501
 Pollos (Illegal immigrants), 1300
 Polyandry marriages, 1757
 Polygamy, 1235, 1236
 Polygyny, 840
 Polynesia. *See* Pacific Islands
 Polynesian Cultural Center, 1557
 Polynesians, 819
 Pombal, Marquis of, 1462
 Pony Express, 1376
 Pope John Paul II, 761
 Popoff, Frank, 296
 Popovich Brothers, 1586
 Popular music, 190
 Populist movement, 1575

Pork, 113, 1207. *See also* Meats

Pork Filled Players (Comedy troupe), 761

Portugal, 1461–1463

Portuguese (Language), 277, 339, 1469

Portuguese Americans, **1461–1476**

- acculturation, 1464–1466
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1475
- employment and economics, 1471
- family and community, 1469–1470
- health, 1469
- history, 1462–1463
- immigration and settlement, 1463–1464
- language, 1469
- media, 1473–1475
- notable individuals and groups, 1471–1473
- politics and government, 1471
- religion, 1470
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1466–1469

Portuguese Presbyterian Church (Jacksonville, Illinois), 1470

Posey, Alexander Lawrence, 447

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 1305

Potato Famine (1845-1851), 939

Potatoes, 223, 558

Poticas (Food), 1649

Potlatches, 910, 1767–1768

Powwows, 1287, 1380, 1624

Powderly, Terrence V., 948

Powell, Colin, 48, 1011

Powell, John, Jr., 196

PPP (People's Progressive Party), 785

PQ (Parti Quebécois), 671

Prabhakar, Vijay, 158

Pran, Dith, 316

Prayer, 571, 1238, 1395

Presbyterianism, 1574, 1641

Prescod, Samuel Jackman, 197

Presidency of Albanian Muslim Community Centers, 61

PRG (People's Revolutionary Government), 749

Priestley, Jason, 328

Prince Artchil Gourieli-Tchkonია, 705

Prince Henry the Navigator, 1462

Prince Sihanouk, 306–307

Prince Teymuraz Bagration, 705

Prince William the Salient, 542

Prince Yupanqui, 1433

Prishlets (Organization), 295

Prisoners, 578

Private schools, 1333

Prohibition movement (United States), 1335

Project Help, 692

Prophet Dance, 1290

Proposition 187, 847

Proshtupilnik (Bulgarian custom), 293

Protestant Reformation, 656

Protestantism. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Armenian Americans—religion

Proulx, E. Annie, 681

Proum, Im, 316

Proverbs. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Jamaican Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs

Prvovencani, Sava, 1580

Prvovencani, Stefan, 1580

PTSD (Post-traumatic stress disorder), 1305

Puagants (Healers), 1379

Puberty ceremonies, female, 856, 964, 1378

Puberty ceremonies, male, 964

Public assistance. *See* Government aid

Public offices (Political), 92, 1216

Public schools, 9, 1204

Public service employment, 1265–1266

Public speaking, 409, 1552

Puchero (Food), 1425

Puckshenubbee (Choctaw leader), 407

Pueblo Revolt (1680), 854

Pueblos, **1477–1488**

- acculturation, 1481
- and Apaches, 96
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1487–1488
- employment and economics, 1483
- family and community, 1481–1482
- history, 1477–1481
- language, 1481
- media, 1486
- notable individuals and groups, 1484–1486
- politics and government, 1483–1484
- religion, 1482
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1481, 1482

Puerto Rican Americans, **1489–1503**

- acculturation, 1492
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1501–1502
- employment and economics, 1497
- family and community, 1495–1496
- health, 529, 1495
- history, 1490–1491
- immigration and settlement, 1491–1492
- language, 1495
- media, 1500–1501
- notable individuals and groups, 1498–1499
- politics and government, 1497–1498
- religion, 1496–1497
- stereotypes and misconceptions, 1493
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1492–1494

Puerto Rican Day, 1498

Puerto Rico, 527, 1489–1491

Pulitzer, Joseph, 182
 Punta rock music, 690
 Punto guanacasteco dances, 433
 Pupin, Michael, 468, 1594
 Puppeteering, 901
 Pupusas (Food), 1539
 Puracas (Fortresses), 1434
 Purim (Holiday), 976
 Pushmataha (Choctaw leader), 407, 409
 Pyramid Lake, California, 1377

Q

al-Qassim, Ashwaq, 1891
 Qat (Chewable plant), 1886, 1888
 Qawaali music, 1393
 Qi (Asian belief), 1731
 Qin dynasty, 387
 Qoyawayma, Al, 863
 Quadrille dances, 1867
 Quakers, 38, 1875
 Quebec, 668–671
 Quechua (Language), 257, 559, 1438
 Queen Elizabeth I, 576, 1873
 Queen Elizabeth II, 577
 Queen Elizabeth of Aragon, 1466
 Queen Liliuokalani (Hawaiian ruler), 821
 Queen Salote, 1366
 Quelbe music, 1867
 Querry, Ronald Burns, 414
 Quetzal (Bird), 765
 Quezon, Manuel, 625
 Quiceneros, 770
 Quilting, 1574
 Los Quince celebrations, 129
 Quinceañero (Birthdays), 557
 Quintal, Claire, 680
 Quoc ngu (Language), 1848
 Quorums of Seventies, 1241
 Quraeshie, Samina, 1397
 Quraishi, Mohammed Sayeed, 1398

R

Rabbit (Meat), 1877
 Rabie, Mohamed, 1408
 Racial and cultural discrimination. *See also* Anti-Semitism; Apartheid
 Australia, 168
 Cuban Americans, 477
 Czech Americans, 500
 Filipino Americans, 628–629
 Finnish Americans, 641
 Garifuna Americans, 690
 Gypsy Americans, 795–796

Haitian Americans, 809
 Honduran Americans, 847
 Italian Americans, 985
 Jamaican Americans, 1004
 Japanese Americans, 1017
 Korean Americans, 1085
 Muslims, 1391
 Polish Americans, 1449
 Sicilians, 1599–1600
 Slovenian Americans, 1649
 Turkish Americans, 1798
 Racial segregation, 38–39, 690, 1195, 1205. *See also* Apartheid
 Racial stereotypes and misconceptions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “stereotypes and misconceptions,” e.g., Spanish Americans—stereotypes and misconceptions
 Radio stations and networks. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “media,” e.g., Arab Americans—media
 Rag-dung (Musical instrument), 1755
 Rai music, 71
 Railroad industry, 1168
 Rakija (Beverage), 1587
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 784
 Ram Khamhaeng, 1742
 Rama I (Person), 1742
 Rama IV (Person), 1742
 Ramada festivals, 379
 Ramadan (Holiday)
 Arab Americans, 116
 Moroccans, 1254
 Muslim Bosnians, 268
 Nigerians, 1316
 Palestinians, 1407
 Saudi Arabians, 1562, 1565
 Syrian Americans, 1720
 Yemeni Americans, 1887
 Ramah Navajo, 1260
 Ranas (People), 1273
 Ranching, cattle, 12, 102
 Ranching, horse, 6, 1283
 Ranching, sheep. *See* Sheep ranching
 Randolph, A. Philip, 50
 Rannus, Voldemar, 610
 Rao, Narasimha, 148
 Rape, 30
 Raphael de Luxembourg, 1153
 Rarebit (Food), 1877
 Rasmussen, Christian, 520
 Rastafarianism, 753, 1010
 Ratjay, Baron Ivan, 462
 Raven-God, 1896
 Raven’s Tail robe, 1769
 Raw, Charles, 236
 RBC (Reservation Business Council), 1349

- RCA (Reformed Protestant Dutch Church), 547–548
- Reamker* (Poem), 312
- Rebane, Hans, 607, 1108
- Rebata, Virginia Patricia, 1441
- Rebildfest (Holiday), 518
- Reconstructionist Judaism, 1043. *See also* Judaism
- Red Lake Reservation, 1349
- Red-Eagle, Philip H., Jr., 1630
- Redemptioner immigration systems, 710
- Reed, Rex, 9
- Refalosa dances, 379
- Reform Judaism, 1042. *See also* Judaism
- Reformation, Protestant, 656
- Reformed Church of Holland, 547, 1668
- Reformed Protestant Dutch Church (RCA), 547–548
- Refugee Act (1980), 614, 777
- Refugees. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Laotian Americans—immigration and settlement
- Reggae music, 1005
- Reina, Carlos Roberto, 846
- Reincarnation, 539, 839, 1748, 1771
- Reindeer, 909
- Reinhardt, Max, 183
- Relative Friends* (Film), 1274
- Religion. *See* name of specific religion, e.g., Calvinism; subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Jamaican Americans—religion
- Religious cults, 787
- Religious martyrs, 80
- Religious orders, 1143, 1144
- Removal Act (1835), 363
- Removal Treaty (1832), 446
- Reno, Janet, 521
- Repatriation, 32, 527, 634, 1003, 1194
- Republic of Armenia, 133–134
- Republic of Indonesia, 897–898, 903–904, 1175
- Republican movement (Portugal), 1463
- Republican party, 609, 1335, 1698
- Research centers. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “museums and research centers,” e.g., Arab Americans—museums and research centers
- Reservation Business Council (RBC), 1349
- Resistance movements, 765–766
- Reunification of Germany (1990), 709, 717
- Revere, Paul, 664
- Reverse migration, 640
- Revolutionary United Front (RUF), 1612
- Revolutionary War, American. *See* American Revolutionary War
- Reyes, Dagoberto, 1544
- Reynolds, Allie P., 448
- Reza, Shah, 919
- Rhee, Syngman, 1073, 1075
- Rhys, Morgan John, 1875, 1881
- Ribaut, Jean, 658
- Ribbon shirts, 1356
- Ribot-Canales, Verónica, 131
- Rice, 1852
- Afghan American diets, 19
- Bangladeshi American diets, 190
- Laotian cooking, 1094
- Ojibwa diets, 1343
- Sierra Leonean diets, 1615
- Riel, Louis, 321, 671
- Riel Rebellion, 321
- Riis, Jacob A., 520
- Rimur (Music), 888
- Ringgold, Faith, 51
- Rios Montt, Efraim, 766
- Rivera, Geraldo, 1499
- Rivera, José Fructoso, 1832
- Rizal, Jose, 624
- Road building, 598, 1433
- Roberts, Sheila, 1669
- Robinson, Rose, 863
- Rock, Howard, 915
- Rodation Days (Holiday), 502
- Rodriguez, Agustin, 532
- Rodriguez, Alfred, 1678
- Rodríguez, César, 1442
- Rodriguez, Chi Chi, 1499
- Rodríguez, Paul, 1217
- Rogation Day (Holiday), 233
- Rogers, Francis Mile, 1472
- Rogers, Will, 370
- Roggeveen, Jacob, 1548
- Roles of women. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Arab Americans—family and community
- Rom. *See* Gypsy Americans
- Roma. *See* Gypsy Americans
- Roman Catholicism. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Brazilian Americans—religion
- Romani (Gypsy language), 799–800
- Romania, 1504–1505, 1514
- Romanian (Language), 1509–1510
- Romanian Americans, **1504–1519**
- associations, museums, and research centers, 1517–1518
- employment and economics, 1513
- family and community, 1510–1511
- health, 1509
- history, 1505
- immigrations and settlement, 1505–1507
- language, 1509–1510
- media, 1516–1517

notable individuals and groups, 1514–1516
 politics and government, 1513–1514
 relations with Romania, 1514
 religion, 1512–1513
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1508
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1508–1509
 Romanized Popular Alphabet (RPA), 837–838
 Romney, George, 1245
 Romnichal. *See* Gypsy Americans
 Rooming houses, 1798
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 44, 993, 1159, 1454
 Rosario del Niño (Costa Rican custom), 431
 Rose, Wendy, 863
 Rosh Hashanah (Holiday), 975, 1036
 Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana, 483
 Ross, John, 363–364
 Ross Party, 363
 Rotundas, 439
 Round dances, 1378
 Royal Road, 1433
 Rozins, Fricis, 1103
 RPA (Romanized Popular Alphabet), 837–838
 Rubinstein, Helena, 705
 Rubio, Raimundo, 382
 RUF (Revolutionary United Front), 1612
 Rufino Barrios, Justo, 765
 Ruiz, Arnold, 848
 Rumschpringen (Amish custom), 82
 Russia, 1139, 1520–1521, 1530
 Russian (Language), 1525
 Russian Americans, 1520–1533
 acculturation, 1523–1525
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1532
 employment and economics, 1529
 family and community, 1526–1527
 history, 1520–1521
 immigration and settlement, 1521–1523
 language, 1525
 media, 1531–1532
 notable individuals and groups, 1530–1531
 politics and government, 1529
 relations with Russia, 1530
 religion, 1527–1529
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1525
 Russian Orthodox Church, 1528–1529
 Russian Orthodox Church of America, 352, 1529
 Russo-Japanese War, 1073
 Russwurm, John B., 1010, 1012
 Rusyn (Language), 348
 Rusyn Americans. *See* Carpatho-Rusyn Americans
 Ruthenia, 345–346
 Ruthenian Americans. *See* Carpatho-Rusyn Americans
 Rwanda, 30

S
 Saarinen, Eliel and Eero, 649
 Sabots (Clothing), 232
 Saduzay, Ahmad Khan, 17
 Saetta, Saverio, 1598
 Safran, Nadav, 979
 Sagić, Djordje, 1593
 Sahaptian (Dialect), 1287
 Said, Edward, 118, 1408
 Sa-i-kup'ok-dong (April 28 riots) (1992), 1080
 Saint Euphrosynia Feast, 224
 Saint John's Eve, 1469
 Saint Lucia Day, 1694
 Saint Sava, 1580
 Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, 675
 Saipata (Nepalese custom), 1278
 Sakadas (Contracted workers), 628
 Sakamoto, James Yoshinori, 1026
 Sakiestewa, Weaver Ramona, 864
 Sala (Prayer), 571
 Salads, 1252
 Salame, Soledad, 382
 Salazar, António de Oliveira, 1463
Salem Evening News (Newspaper), 1797
 Salem, George, 1408
 al-Sallal, Abdullah, 1884
 Salmon (Food), 1895
 Salolampi Language Village, 643
 Salote, Queen, 1366
 Salsa (Dance), 1494
 Salt Lake Temple, 1236
 Salta (Food), 1886
 Salutos, Theodore, 742
 Salvadoran Americans, 1534–1546
 acculturation, 1538
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1545
 employment and economics, 1542
 family and community, 1540–1541
 health, 1539
 history, 1535–1536
 immigration and settlement, 1536–1538
 language, 1540
 media, 1544
 notable individuals and groups, 1544
 politics and government, 1543
 relations with El Salvador, 1543
 religion, 1541–1542
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1538
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1538–1539
 Salvatierra, Luis, 382
 Salwar kameez (Clothing), 1393
 Sammartino, Peter, 994
 Samoa, 1547–1549
 Samoan (Language), 1552

- Samoan Americans, **1547–1557**
 acculturation, 1549–1550
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1557
 family and community, 1552–1556
 health, 1551–1552
 history, 1548–1549
 language, 1552
 media, 1557
 notable individuals and groups, 1556
 politics and government, 1556
 religion, 1556
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1550–1551
- San Carlos Reservation, 97
- San Felipe Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
- San Francisco Bay area, 18, 1134
- San Francisco, California, 1079
- San Ildefonso Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
- San Juan Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
- San Martín (Ecuadoran leader), 554–555
- Sanabria, Monsignor, 435
- Sanchez, Carol Lee, 1486
- Sánchez, George I., 1217
- Sánchez, Oscar Arias, 430
- Sanctuaries, church, 741
- Sanctuary Movement, 768
- Sand painting (Navajo tradition), 1263
- Sandalwood trade, 820
- Sanderville, Richard, 248
- Sandia Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
- Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF), 1298
- Sandoz, Mari, 1710
- Sandwiches, 516
- Sandzén, Birger, 1701
- Sanguinetti, Julio María, 1833
- Sansei (People). *See* Japanese Americans
- Sanskritization (Social migration), 1277
- Santa Ana Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
- Santa Clara Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
- Santa Claus, 379
- Santeria (Religion), 479, 531, 1497
- Santo Domingo, 525–526
- Sapeto, Guisepe, 591
- Sarangi (Musical instrument), 1275
- Saris (Clothing), 788, 1275
- Sarit, Thanarat, 1743
- Satyagraha movement, 1390
- Satyagraha protests, 148
- Saud, King Ibn, 1559
- Saudi Arabia, 1558–1559, 1566
- Saudi Arabian Americans, **1558–1566**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1566
 employment and economics, 1565
 family and community, 1563–1564
 health, 1562
 history, 1559
 immigration and settlement, 1559–1561
 language, 1562
 media, 1566
 politics and government, 1565–1566
 religion, 1564–1565
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1561–1562
- Saudi Student Houses, 1560
- Saum (Fasting), 571
- Sauna, 644
- Saund, Dalip, 149, 156
- Sava, Saint, 1580
- Savage, Augusta, 51
- SAVAK (State Organization for Intelligence and Security), 921
- Savalas, Telly, 743
- Schaff, Philip, 1711
- Scheckter, Jody, 1668
- Schembri, John, 1187
- School segregation. *See* Racial segregation
- Schools. *See* specific type of school, e.g., Parochial schools
- Schueberfouer (Holiday), 1155
- Science and technology. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans— notable individuals and groups
- Scorse, Martin, 994
- Scotch-Irish Americans. *See* Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans
- Scotland, 577, 1567–1568
- Scott, Dred, 43
- Scott, Lizabeth, 352
- Scottish and Scotch-Irish Americans, **1567–1578**
 acculturation, 1569–1572
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1577–1578
 employment and economics, 1574
 family and community, 1573–1574
 health, 1573
 history, 1568–1569
 immigration and settlement, 1569
 language, 1573
 media, 1577
 notable individuals and groups, 1575–1576
 politics and government, 1575
 religion, 1574
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1571
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1572–1573
- Scottish clans, 1573
- Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1874
- Seafood. *See* Fish and seafood
- Second Filipino Infantry Battalion, 635
- The Secret History of the Mongols* (Book), 1226
- Security professionals, 1134
- Segura, Francisco “Panco,” 565

- Seigureh (Musical instrument), 1615
- Selassie, Haile, 591, 614
- Seljuqs dynasty, 1796
- Semana Santa (Holy Week), 431, 772, 1303
- Semites (People), 929
- Sena, Jorge de, 1472
- Sender, Ramón, 1678
- Seneca (People). *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- Senna, Aytron, 279
- Sentinelle Affair, 677
- Senungetuk, Joseph, 915
- Separtists, 671
- Sephardic Jews, 973, 978, 1031, 1033, 1252. *See also* Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans
- Sequoyah (Cherokee leader), 368, 370
- Serbia, 1579–1582
- Serbian (Language), 467, 1588
- Serbian Americans, **1579–1596**
- acculturation, 1583–1584
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1595–1596
 - employment and economics, 1591
 - family and community, 1584–1586, 1588–1589
 - history, 1579–1582
 - immigration and settlement, 264–265, 1582–1583
 - language, 1588
 - media, 1594–1595
 - notable individuals and groups, 1593–1594
 - politics and government, 1591–1593
 - religion, 1589–1591
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1586–1588
- Serbian National Defense (SND), 1586
- Serbian National Federation (SNF), 1585–1586
- Serbian Orthodox Church, 269, 1580, 1589–1591
- Serbian Orthodox Diocese of North America, 1589
- Serbian Singing Foundation (SSF), 1587
- Serbian Sisters Circles (Organization), 1586
- Serbo-Croatian (Language), 268
- Seriki, Olusola, 1322
- Serrano Elias, Jorge, 766
- Services, worship. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Amish—religion
- Seskaquaptewa, Eugene, 863
- Settlement patterns. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Chinese Americans—immigration and settlement
- Setton, Ruth Knafo, 1257
- Sevdalinka music, 267
- Seven Drums (Religion), 964, 1290, 1358
- Seven Years’ War, 656
- Seventh Day Adventist Church, 756, 761, 903
- Shabat (Jewish Sabbath), 1038
- Shadow dramas, 901
- Shagari, Alhaji Shehu, 1313
- Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, 920
- Shah, Reza, 919
- Shahada, 934, 1565
- Shahidi, Salam, 1398
- Shaka Zulu (Person), 1661
- Shalala, Donna, 119
- Shalhoub, Tony, 118
- Shalikashvili, John, 704
- Sham al-Nassim (Holiday), 569
- Shamanism, 836–837, 840, 1082
- Shamans, 911
- Shamma (Clothing), 617
- Shang dynasty, 387
- Shango (Religion), 1790
- Sharecropping, 32, 336, 623. *See also* Farms and farming
- Shar’ia (Muslim law), 1396
- Shari’ah (Muslim teaching), 1256
- Sharpe, Sam, 1001
- Shatner, William, 328
- Shavuot (Holiday), 976
- Shawls, 942
- Sheep ranching, 208, 209, 215
- Sheikh Mujib (Bangladeshi leader), 187–188
- Shenai music, 153
- Shenandoah, Joanne, 1361
- Shepherd-Towner Act, 1241
- Shevardnadze, Eduard, 700
- Shevchenko, Taras, 1814
- Shia Muslims. *See* Shiite Muslims
- Shiite Muslims. *See also* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Saudi Arabian Americans—religion
- Arab Americans, 117
 - Iranians, 919, 925–926
 - Iraqi, 930, 933
 - Saudi Arabians, 1564
- Ship-building industry, 1548
- Shipping industry, 1334
- Shiva (Mourning), 1040
- Shoes, wooden, 232
- Shore, Henrietta, 329
- Shqip (Language), 58
- Shrove Monday (Holiday), 890
- Siam, 1741–1743
- Siamese Americans. *See* Thai Americans
- Sicilian (Dialect), 1602
- Sicilian Americans, **1597–1609**. *See also* Italian Americans
- acculturation, 1599–1600
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1608
 - employment and economics, 1605–1606
 - family and community, 1602–1604

- health, 1602
- history, 1598
- immigration and settlement, 1598–1599
- language, 1602
- media, 1608
- notable individuals and groups, 1607
- politics and government, 1606
- relations with Sicily, 1607
- religion, 1604–1605
- stereotypes and misconceptions, 1600
- traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1600–1601
- Sicily, 1597–1598, 1607. *See also* Italy
- Sickle cell anemia (Disease), 36, 1562
- Sienkiewich, Aleksandr, 225
- Sierra Leone, 1610–1612
- Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), 1612
- Sierra Leonean Americans, **1610–1621**
 - acculturation, 1613–1614
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1620–1621
 - employment and economics, 1618
 - family and community, 1616–1618
 - health, 1615–1616
 - history, 1610–1612
 - immigration and settlement, 1612–1613
 - language, 1616
 - media, 1619
 - notable individuals and groups, 1619
 - politics and government, 1619
 - religion, 1618
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1614–1615
- Siesta (Custom), 126
- Sign language, 800
- Sihanouk, Prince, 306–307
- Sikhism, 154
- Sikorsky, Igor, 1826
- Silko, Leslie Marmon, 1486
- Silla dynasty, 1072
- Silni, Czar Dušan, 1580
- Silver mining, 253, 464
- Silversmithing, 1264
- Silverwheels, Jay, 967
- Simenon, Georges, 237
- Simpson, Jerry, 326
- Sinan, Rogelio, 1419
- Sinatra, Frank, 995, 1607
- Singers (Navajo healers), 1263
- Singing bowls (Musical instrument), 1755
- Sinh (Clothing), 1095
- Sinhala (Language), 1685
- Sinhalese people, 1682
- Sinmin-hoe (New People's Society), 1075
- Sino-Tibetan languages, 1756
- Sintra, Pedro de, 1127
- Sioux, **1622–1633**
 - acculturation, 1624
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1631–1632
 - employment and economics, 1627
 - family and community, 1626
 - health, 1625
 - history, 1623–1624, 1628–1629
 - language, 1625
 - media, 1630
 - notable individuals and groups, 1629–1630
 - politics and government, 1627
 - religion, 1626–1627
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1624
- Sioux (Language), 1625
- Sioux (Religion), 1626–1627
- Sirica, John J., 995
- Sisters Qirijazi, 59
- Sitake, Manisela "Monty" Fifita, 1372
- Sitka, Alaska, 639
- Siwakoti, Hari, 1274
- Six Days War (1867), 1402
- Six Nations. *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- Six Tribes of the Iroquois. *See* Iroquois Confederacy
- Sjodahl, Carl, 639
- Skiing, 1337
- Skiing industry, 103
- Skinner, Ernest, 1790
- Skirts, 177, 1095, 1744, 1886. *See also* name of specific type of skirt, e.g., Kilts
- Sky City, New Mexico, 1479
- Slavery and slaves. *See also* Indentured servants
 - Africa, 29
 - African Americans, 31–32, 37, 43
 - Barbados, 196–197
 - Brazil, 273
 - Cape Verde, 335
 - Cherokee, 366
 - Creek, 439
 - Cuba, 474
 - Ghana, 722
 - Guyana, 784
 - Jamaica, 1001
 - Nigeria, 1313, 1314
 - Scottish Americans, 1575
 - Sierra Leone, 1611, 1612–1613
 - Trinidadian and Tobagonian, 1783
 - Virgin Islands, 1864
- Slavonic Illyrian Mutual and Benevolent Society, 463
- Šljivovica (Beverage), 1587
- SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council), 300–301
- Slovak (Language), 1638–1639
- Slovak Americans, **1634–1645**
 - acculturation, 1637
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1644–1645
 - employment and economics, 1641

- family and community, 1639–1640
 health, 1638
 history, 1635
 immigration and settlement, 1635–1637
 language, 1638–1639
 media, 1643–1644
 notable individuals and groups, 1642–1643
 politics and government, 1641–1642
 relations with Slovakia, 1642
 religion, 1640–1641
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1637–1638
- Slovak League of America, 1642
- Slovakia, 1634–1635, 1642
- Slovenia, 1646–1647, 1654
- Slovenian (Language), 1651
- Slovenian Americans, **1646–1659**
 acculturation, 1649
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1657–1658
 employment and economics, 1653
 family and community, 1651–1652
 health, 1650–1651
 history, 1647
 immigration and settlement, 1648
 language, 1651
 media, 1656–1657
 notable individuals and groups, 1647, 1654–1655
 politics and government, 1653–1654
 relations with Slovenia, 1654
 religion, 1652
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1649–1650
- SLPP (Sierra Leone People's Party), 1612
- Small businesses, 1079, 1858
- Smet, Father de, 237
- Smith, Al, 1454
- Smith, Elijah, 1362
- Smith, John, 221
- Smith, Joseph, Jr., 1235
- Smocks (Clothing), 725
- Smoke Signals (Sculpture), 104
- Smørrebrød (Food), 516
- Snake Dance, 857
- Snake Indian War, 1376
- Snapshake greetings, 1129
- SND (Servian National Defense), 1586
- SNF (Serbian National Federation), 1585–1586
- SNLF (Sandinista National Liberation Front), 1298
- Snow, Carol, 967
- Snow, Eliza R., 1244
- Soa (Family representative), 1554
- La Sobremesa (Custom), 126
- Soccer, 752, 770, 1834
- Social issues. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Apache—family and community
- Social organization. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community,” e.g., Apache—family and community
- Social taboos, 796, 798, 800
- Socialism (Political ideology), 1044
 Finnish Americans, 641, 647
 Guyana, 785
 Latvian Americans, 1109
 Lithuanian Americans, 1145, 1146
 Macedonian Americans, 1169
 Swedish Americans, 1698
- Socialist movements, 603, 608
- Socialist party (United States), 1334
- Sofrito spices, 1493
- Sogo drum (Musical instrument), 725
- Sol (Holiday), 1079
- Solvay, Ernest Rebecq, 237
- Somoza, Anastasio, 1297–1298
- Song festivals, 605
- Song-Je, Kim, 1073, 1074
- Songkhram, Phibul, 1743
- Songs. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Polish Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
- Songs, national, 594
- The Sons of St. George (Organization), 583
- Sookhwan rituals, 1097
- Sotho (People), 1664
- Soto, Radamés Jose, 1844
- Sotomayor, Antonio, 260
- Soul food, 34
- Soups
 Greek, 736
 Liberian, 1130
 Nicaraguan, 1304
 Nigerian, 1316
 Russian, 1525
 Turkish, 1799
- Sousa, John Philip, 1472
- Souse (Food), 199
- South Africa, 30, 1660–1663
- South African Americans, **1660–1670**
 acculturation, 1664
 employment and economics, 1668
 family and community, 1666–1667
 history, 1661–1663
 immigration and settlement, 1663–1664
 language, 1666
 media, 1670
 notable individuals and groups, 1668–1669
 politics and government, 1668–1669
 religion, 1668
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1664–1666
- South Korea. *See* Korea
- South Pacific Islands. *See* Pacific Islands

- South-East Asia Center, 843
- Sowa (Beverage), 593
- Spain, 1671–1672
- Spanish (Language). *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “language,” e.g., Mexican Americans—language
- Spanish Americans, **1671–1680**
- acculturation and settlement, 1674
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1679–1680
 - employment and economics, 1678
 - family and community, 1677
 - immigration and settlement, 1672–1674
 - language, 1676–1677
 - media, 1679
 - notable individuals and groups, 1678
 - politics and government, 1678
 - religion, 1677
 - stereotypes and misconceptions, 1675
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1674–1676
- Spanish-American War, 624
- Sparrow, Mighty, 1786
- Speck, Frank G., 444
- Spirit houses, 1746
- Spiritism (Brazilian), 277, 280. *See also* Folk medicine
- Spirits and supernatural phenomena
- Afghan Americans, 19
 - Buddhist, 1098
 - Haitian Americans, 811, 813
 - Hmong Americans, 837–810
 - Laotian Americans, 1097
 - Nez Percé, 1286, 1290
- Spiritual Baptist (Religion), 1790
- Spitzer, Leo, 259
- Spokespeople, 412
- Sports. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
- Sprinkling Day, 502
- Square dancing, 1572
- Squares, town, 439
- Sri Lanka, 1681–1682, 1688
- Sri Lankan Americans, **1681–1690**
- acculturation, 1683
 - associations, museums, and research centers, 1689
 - employment and economics, 1688
 - family and community, 1686–1688
 - history, 1682
 - immigration and settlement, 1682–1683
 - language, 1685
 - politics and government, 1688
 - religion, 1688
 - traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1683–1685
- SSF (Serbian Singing Foundation), 1587
- St. Basil’s Day, 490
- St. David’s Day (Holiday), 1878
- St. Joseph’s Day, 989
- St. Jude Children’s Research Hospital, 1120
- St. Nicholas Day, 233, 466, 1155
- St. Patrick, 941
- St. Paul, 1184, 1185
- St. Thorlak’s Day (Holiday), 891
- St. Urho’s Day, 644
- St. Vincent (Country), 688
- Stahel, Julius H., 878
- Stalin, Joseph, 700
- Stallone, Sylvester, 994
- Stanceu, Charlie, 1516
- Standard Fruit and Steamship Company, 845
- Staniukynsa, Antanas, 1144
- Starosty (Family representative), 1821
- State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 300–301
- State Organization for Intelligence and Security (SAVAK), 921
- Steel drum music, 752
- Stefan the First Crowned (Person), 1580
- Steichen, Edward, 1159
- Stella, Frank, 996
- Stereotypes, racial. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “stereotypes and misconceptions,” e.g., Spanish Americans—stereotypes and misconceptions
- Stevens, Ingalls, 1283
- Stevens, Siaka, 1612
- Stews, 1130
- Stickball (Game), 410
- Stoicheff, Boris P., 1170
- Stokowski, Leopold, 1455
- Stomp grounds, 365
- Stone, Sylvia, 329
- Stools, 723
- Storefront churches, 850
- Stories and storytelling
- Acadian, 6
 - Afghan American, 19
 - Guamanian, 758
 - Hawaiian, 821
 - Icelandic, 888
 - Laotian, 1096
 - Nicaraguan, 1302
 - Ojibwa, 1341
 - Salvadoran, 1538
 - South African, 1664
 - Vietnamese, 1855
- Strank, Michael, 1643
- Strasser, Valentine, 1612
- Strawberry Festival (Iroquoian), 961
- Street gangs, 1540

- Street peddlers
 Jewish, 1043
 Lebanese, 1116, 1121
 Otavaleño, 563
 Palestinian, 1407
 Syrian, 1723
- Stress, physical, 1082
- Strikes, labor. *See* Labor movements and unions
- Students. *See* subheading of specific cultural group
 under, “family and community,” e.g., Indonesian
 Americans—family and community
- Studi, Wes, 370
- Subcarpathian Rus’, 345–346
- Sudan, 615
- Sudden Unexpected Nocturnal Death
 Syndrome, 837
- Suffrage. *See* Voting and voting rights
- Sugar industry
 Barbados, 197
 Guyana, 784
 Hawaii, 823, 827
 Koreans, 1074–1075
 Virgin Islands, 1864
- Sui, Anna, 400
- Suicide, 872, 1895
- Sui-Tang era, 387
- Suk (Religion), 1067
- Sukarno (Indonesian leader), 898
- Sukju namul (Food), 1078
- Sukkah (Temporary home), 1037
- Sukkot (Holiday), 976, 1037
- Suleiman (Turkish leader), 1796
- Summer Solstice ceremonies, 857
- Sumrall, Amber Coverdale, 967
- Sun Dance, 244, 246–247, 1626
- Sunday School Day, 1778
- Sung, Kim Il, 1073, 1074
- Sunrise Dance (Apache), 100
- Sunrise Park Ski Area, 102
- Suomi College, 646
- Suomi Synod, 646
- Supernatural phenomena. *See* Spirits and
 supernatural phenomena
- Superstitions
 Acadian, 6
 African American, 33
 Chilean, 377
 Czech, 501
 Greek, 735
 Guyanese, 787
 Hawaiian, 821
 Italian American, 992
 Nicaraguan, 1303
 Nigerian, 1315
 Portuguese, 1466
 Romanian, 1508
- Sicilian, 1600
- Sri Lankan, 1683
- Taiwanese, 1731
- Sur Sudha (Musical group), 1275
- Surmach-Mills, Yaroslava, 1827
- Surnames. *See* Naming practices
- Sutter, John August, 1706
- Suyitapis (Blackfoot belief), 243
- Suzman, Paul, 1668
- Suzzallo, Henry, 469
- Svecenski, Louis, 470
- Svenskarnas Dag (Holiday), 1694
- Sviraj musicians, 267
- Swados, Elizabeth, 1147
- Swahili (Language), 1067, 1808
- Sweat lodges, 1346
- Sweden, 1691, 1699
- Swede’s Day, 1694
- Swedish (Language), 1694–1695
- Swedish Americans, **1691–1703**
 acculturation, 1693
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1701–1703
 employment and economics, 1697–1698
 family and community, 1695
 health, 1694
 history, 1691
 immigration and settlement, 1692–1693
 language, 1694–1695
 media, 1701
 notable individuals and groups, 1699–1701
 politics and government, 1698–1699
 relations with Sweden, 1699
 religion, 1696–1697
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1694
- Sweet Name of Mary Cathedral (Agana,
 Guam), 756
- Swirbul, Leon “Jake,” 1110
- Swiss Americans, **1704–1714**
 acculturation, 1707
 associations, museums, and research
 centers, 1712–1713
 family and community, 1708
 health, 1708
 history, 1704–1705
 immigration and settlement, 1705–1706
 language, 1708
 media, 1712
 notable individuals and groups,
 1710–1712
 politics and government, 1709–1710
 religion, 1708–1709
- Swiss Benedictine Congregation, 1709
- Swiss Mennonites, 1708
- Swiss national holidays, 1708
- Swiss Reformed Church, 1709

Switzerland, 1704–1705
 Sympathetic magic, 1747
 Synagogues, 1041
 Syngman Rhee, 1073, 1075
 Syria, 1715–1716
 Syrian Americans, **1715–1726**
 acculturation, 1718
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1726
 employment and economics, 1723
 family and community, 1721–1722
 health, 1721
 history, 1716–1717
 immigration and settlement, 1717–1718
 language, 1721
 media, 1725
 notable individuals and groups, 1724–1725
 politics and government, 1724
 religion, 1722–1723
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1719–1720

T

Tabernacles, Mormon, 1242
 Tabinshwehti (Burmese leader), 299
 Taboos, social. *See* Social taboos
 Tae kwon do, 1078
 Tagalog (Language), 630
 Tahiti. *See* Pacific Islands
 Tahitian (Language), 1369
 Tahnahga (Person), 967
 Tailfeathers, Gerald, 248
 Taiwan, 1727–1729, 1737
 Taiwanese Americans, **1727–1740**
 acculturation, 1731
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1739–1740
 employment and economics, 1736
 family and community, 1734–1735
 health, 1734
 history, 1728–1729
 immigration and settlement, 1729–1730
 language, 1734
 media, 1738–1739
 notable individuals and groups, 1737–1738
 politics and government, 1736
 relations with Taiwan, 1737
 religion, 1735–1736
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1731–1733
 Takamine, Jokichi, 1027
 Talaysva, Don C., 861
 Talese, Gay, 995
 Taliban (Islamic group), 17
Talmud (Sacred book), 1041
 Talon, Jean, 669
 Tamal (Food), 1304

Tamales (Food), 433, 771
 Tamborito dances, 1416
 Tamburica, 267, 1586
 Tamburitsa, 465
 Tamburitza, 267, 1586
 Tamil (Language), 1685
 Tamil (People), 1682, 1683, 1688
 Tan, Amy, 399
 Tanguay, Eva, 680
 Tanning, hides, 245
 Taoism, 1178
 Taos Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
 Ta'ovala (Clothing), 1368, 1370
 Tapahonso, Lucy, 1269
 Taqiyah (Shiite belief), 926
 Tarag (Beverage), 1227
 Taro, 822
 Tartans (Scottish), 1572
 Tattoos and tattooing, 441, 594
 Tatuniwa wuritagu (Garifuna ceremony), 690
 Taufu'ahau (Tongan leader), 1778
 Taxation, 92
 Taylor, Charles, 1127, 1128
 Taylor Grazing Act (1934), 209
 Taylor, Richard Edward, 329
 Tay-Sachs disease, 1037
 Tazaungdaing (Holiday), 301
Ta'ziyeh plays, 923
 TCCSC (Tibetan Cultural and Community Service Center), 1753
 Tea, afternoon, 434
 Teas, 19, 126, 1226
 TEC (Tribal Executive Committee), 1349
 Technology contributions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
 Tekakwitha, Kateri, 964
 Television personalities. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
 Television stations and networks. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “media,” e.g., Arab Americans—media
 Temne (People), 1611
 Temperance movement (United States), 1335
 Temples, 396, 1231, 1242
 Temporary Protected Status (TPS), 778
 Tenant farming. *See* Sharecropping
 Teng-hui, Lee, 1729
 Tepeth (People), 1810
 Ternina, Milka, 470
 Terrill, Ross, 167
 Terrorism, 110, 921, 972
 Tesich, Steve, 1593

- Tesla, Nikola, 1594
 Tet (Holiday), 1853
 Tetrault, Maximilienne, 680
 Teutonic Order, 601
 Tewanima, Louis, 864
 Texas, 1479, 1481
 Thaddeus (Apostle), 141
 Thadingyut (Holiday), 301
 Thai (Language), 1746
 Thai Americans, **1741–1750**
 acculturation, 1744
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1749–1750
 employment and economics, 1749
 family and community, 1746–1748
 history, 1742–1743
 immigration and settlement, 1743
 language, 1746
 media, 1749
 notable individuals and groups, 1749
 politics and government, 1749
 religion, 1748–1749
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1744–1746
 Thai Dam (People), 1743
 Thailand, 1741–1743
 Thaipusam (Holiday), 1177
 Thalassemia, 1184
 Thanarat, Sarit, 1743
 Thanksgiving holidays (Grenadian), 752
 Thanks-to-the Maple Festival (Iroquoian), 961
 Thankwan nak ceremonies, 1748
 Thao, Xoua, 841
The Long Night of White Chickens (Book), 780
 Theater contributions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
 There Comes the Alabama (Song), 1666
 Therevada Buddhism
 Burmese Americans, 303
 Cambodian Americans, 313–314
 Laotian Americans, 1096
 Sri Lanka, 1688
 Thais, 1748–1749
 Thibeau, Victor, 1158
 Thief Treaty (1863), 1283
 Third Reich, 174, 176
 Thlunaut/Shax’saani Keek’, Jennie, 1774
 Thobes (Clothing), 1561
 Thomas, Dylan, 1878
 Thompson, Daniel, 967
 Thong, Huynh Sanh, 1859
 Thorpe, Jim, 864
 Thorrablot (Holiday), 891
 Thracians (People), 285
 Three King’s Day, 1494
 Three Sisters, 958, 1356
 Thu, Trung, 1853
 Thule (People), 907
 Ti leaves, 821
 Tiahuanaco culture, 253, 1432
 Tiare (Flower), 1368
 Tibet, 1751–1752, 1759–1760
 Tibetan (Language), 1756–1757
 Tibetan Americans, **1751–1762**
 acculturation, 1753
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1760–1762
 employment and economics, 1759
 family and community, 1757–1758
 health, 1756
 history, 1752
 immigration and settlement, 1752–1753
 language, 1756–1757
 media, 1760
 notable individuals and groups, 1760
 politics and government, 1759
 relations with Tibet, 1759–1760
 religion, 1758–1759
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1753–1756
 Tibetan Buddhism, 1758
 Tibetan Cultural and Community Service Center (TCCSC), 1753
 Tibetan medicine, 1756
 Tibetan Women’s Association (TWA), 1758
 Tibeto-Burman languages, 1756
 Tieng bac (Language), 1854
 Tieng nam, 1854
 Tigren (People), 597
 Tigrigna (Language), 595–596
 Tigrigna (People), 594
 Tijerina, Reis López, 1215
 Tin mining, 253
 Tingsha (Musical instrument), 1755
 Tinkers (Tinsmiths), 802
 Tinplate-production industry, 1874
 Tipis, 243
 Tito, Josip Broz, 263, 1582
 Tito, Marshal, 461, 469
 Tiyospaye (Community group), 1626
 Tkach, Joseph W., 353
 Tlingit, **1763–1776**
 acculturation, 1766–1767
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1775–1776
 employment and economics, 1772
 family and community, 1771
 health, 1770
 history, 1764–1766
 language, 1770–1771
 media, 1774–1775
 notable individuals and groups, 1773–1774

politics and government, 1772–1773
 religion, 1772
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1767–1770
 Tlingit (Language), 1770–1771
 Toasts, 703
 Tobago, 1782–1794
 Tobagonian Americans. *See* Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans
 Todadaho (Onondaga chief), 956
 Tohe, Laura, 1269
 Tokle, Torger, 1337
 Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1015
 Tolbert, W.R., 1127
 Tolstoy Foundation, 1527
 Tonga, 1777–1778. *See also* Pacific Islands
 Tongan (Language), 1369, 1779
 Tongan Americans, **1777–1781**
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1781
 employment and economics, 1780
 family and community, 1779–1780
 history, 1777–1778
 immigration and settlement, 1778
 language, 1779
 media, 1780
 religion, 1780
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1778–1779
 Tongs (Secret societies), 395
 Tonoan languages, 1481
 Tooyalakekt, Heinmot, 1283
 Topa Inca (Incan ruler), 1433
 Toradze, Alexander, 705
Torah (Sacred book), 1041
 Torres, Jordan, 105
 Torsion dystonia (Disease), 1037
 Tortillas, 771
 Tosk (Language), 58
 Totems (Native American), 1344
 Toth, Alexis, 352
 Tonicapan, 770, 777
 Touceda, Julian Albert, 851
 Tourism industry, 827
 Australia, 167
 Fiji, 1372
 Malta, 1180
 Nez Percé, 1290
 Virgin Islands, 1865
 Towels, 224
 Town squares, 439
Toyota v. United States, 628
 TPS (Temporary Protected Status), 778
 Trade and trading. *See also* Importing and exporting industry
 Acadian, 12
 Arctic, 908, 909

Cherokee, 364
 Ghanaian, 722
 Inuit, 911
 Maltese, 1186
 Ojibwa, 1340
 Oneida, 1354
 Trade, slave. *See* Slavery and slaves
 Trading fairs, 911
 Trading posts, 1264
 Traditions, cultural. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “traditions, customs, and beliefs,” e.g., Yemeni Americans—traditions, customs, and beliefs
 Trai, Nguyen, 1855
 Trail of Tears, 363, 367
 Traipen (Food), 1154
 Traje tipico, 772
 Tran, Truong Van, 1858
 Trask, Haunani-Kay, 829
 Treasure-hunting, 6
 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, 407
 Treaty of Fort Harmar, 1354
 Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1354
 Treaty of Kiel (1814), 1326
 Treaty of San Stefano, 286
 Treaty of Spanish Forks (1865), 1376
 Treaty of Union (1707), 1568
 Treaty party (Cherokee), 363
 Treaty with the Choctaw (1830), 404, 405
 Tree carvings, 216
 The Tree of Peace (Oneida), 1355
 Tremblay, Pierre-Amedee, 682
 Trepaza (Music), 1165
 Tribal courts, 1772
 Tribal Executive Committee (Nez Percé), 1291
 Tribal Executive Committee (TEC), 1349
 Tribal religions. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “religion,” e.g., Blackfoot (People)—religion
 Triesault, Ivan “John,” 610
 Trinidad and Tobago, 1782–1794
 Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans, **1782–1794**
 acculturation, 1785
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1793
 employment and economics, 1790
 family and community, 1788–1790
 health, 1788
 history, 1783
 immigration and settlement, 1783–1785
 language, 1788
 media, 1792–1793
 notable individuals and groups, 1791–1792
 politics and government, 1790–1791

relations with Trinidad and Tobago, 1791
 religion, 1790
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1785–1787
 Tripe, 1467
Trisayion (Prayers), 739
 Trujillo, César Gaviria, 419
 Truman, Harry S, 44, 716
 Trung Nguyen, 1853
 Trung Thu, 1853
 Truong Van Tran, 1858
 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 29
 Tryggvadottir, Nina, 895
 Tsagaan Sar (Holiday), 1227
 Tsakiris, George, 743
 Tsampa (Flour), 1753
 Tse-tung, Mao, 388, 1729
 Tuberculosis, 101, 1199, 1854
 Tubman, Harriet, 50
 Tubman, William V.S., 1127, 1131
 Tucker, Wallace Hampton, 414
 Tu-duc, 1849
 Tuekakas (Nez Percé leader), 1283, 1292
 Tungusic tribes, 1115
 Tupou I, King George, 1366, 1778
 Turkey (Country), 1795–1797
 Turkey (Food), 772
 Turkish (Language), 490, 491, 1800–1801
 Turkish Americans, **1795–1803**
 acculturation, 1797–1798
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1803
 employment and economics, 1802
 family and community, 1801
 history, 1796–1797
 immigration and settlement, 1797
 language, 1800–1801
 media, 1802–1803
 notable individuals and groups, 1802
 politics and government, 1802
 religion, 1801
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1799
 Turlington, Christy, 1544
 Turner, Lorenzo, 36
 Turning Stone Casino, 1359
 Turtles, 1368
 Tuscarora (People), 957
 Tuskegee Institute, 38
 Tuunsaq (Spirits), 913
 TWA (Tibetan Women's Association), 1758
 Twelfth Night (Holiday), 890
 Twersky, Amos, 979
 Txapella (Hats), 211
 Tydings-McDuffies Act (1934), 625
 Tyroleans (People), 175
 Tytla, William, 1826
 Tzedakah (Philanthropy), 1041

U
 UDF (United Democratic Front), 1668
 UFW (United Farmworkers of America), 1215
 Uganda, 1804–1806, 1810–1811
 Ugandan Americans, **1804–1812**
 acculturation, 1806
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1811
 employment and economics, 1810
 family and community, 1808–1809
 health, 1808
 history, 1805–1806
 immigration and settlement, 1806
 language, 1808
 media, 1811
 notable individuals and groups, 1811
 politics and government, 1810
 relations with Uganda, 1810–1811
 religion, 1809–1810
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1806–1808
 Uighurs, 1224
 Uipi, Filia “Phil,” 1372
 Ukeleles, 823
 Ukraine, 1813–1815, 1816
 Ukrainian Americans, **1813–1830**
 acculturation, 1817
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1828–1830
 employment and economics, 1823–1824
 family and community, 1821–1823
 health, 1820
 history, 1813–1815
 immigration and settlement, 1815–1816
 language, 1820–1821
 media, 1827–1828
 notable individuals and groups, 1825–1827
 politics and government, 1824–1825
 relations with Ukraine, 1816
 religion, 1823
 stereotypes and misconceptions, 1817
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1817–1820
 Ullah, Najib, 25
 Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, 1244
 ULRSA (Union and League of Romanian Societies of America), 1513–1514
 Umialik (Family head), 911
 Underground Railroad, 43
 Undocumented immigrants. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “immigration and settlement,” e.g., Guatemalan Americans—immigration and settlement
 UNFA (Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes), 73
 Ung, Chinary, 316
 Unger, David, 780
 UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association), 1010

Uniate Church, 117
 Union and League of Romanian Societies of America (ULRSA), 1513–1514
 Union Civica del Uruguay (Political party), 1837
 Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes (UNFA), 73
 Unions, labor. *See* Labor movements and unions
 Unitas, Johnny, 1147
 United Democratic Front (UDF), 1668
 United Farmworkers of America (UFW), 1215
 United Jewish Appeal, 1041
 United Kingdom, 575–578
 United States English (Organization), 1201
 United States of America Constitution, 966
 Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 1010
 University of Asmara, 596
 University of Minnesota Immigration History Research Center, 643
 University of the Virgin Islands, 1869
 Upphltur (Vest), 889
 Uqqals (Religious elite), 538
 Uralic-Altai (Languages), 1229
 Uranium mining, 1266
 Urbanization, 795, 802
 Urbina, Nicasio, 1308
 Urdu (Language), 1394
 Uris, Leon, 112
 URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity), 766
 Uruguay, 1831–1833, 1837
 Uruguayan Americans, **1831–1838**
 acculturation, 1834
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1837
 employment and economics, 1837
 family and community, 1836
 history, 1832–1833
 immigration and settlement, 1834
 language, 1836
 politics and government, 1837
 relations with Uruguay, 1837
 religion, 1836–1837
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1834–1835
 Urus-Ova (Celebration), 1227
 U.S.S. *General Sherman* (Ship), 1072
 Utah Office of Polynesian Affairs (OPA), 1370
 Ute Indians, 1380

V

Vaccinations, 1241
 Vajras (Prayer wheels), 1753–1754
 Valdez, Luis, 1217
 Valdivieso, Pedro M., 1442
 Valenzuela, Arturo, 382

Vallbona, Rima de, 435
 Vallee, Hubert Prior “Rudy,” 680
 Vallenato music, 421
 Valley Bridal Dress, Macedonia, 1165–1166
 Valparaiso University, 1143
 Valtman, Edmund, 610
 Vampira, 650
 Van Biesbroeck, Georges, 237
 Van de Poele, Karel, 237
 Vang Pao, 842
 Vanoff, Nick, 1170
 Vardoulakis, Mary, 743
 Varonka, Jazep, 225
 Vaska, Lauri, 610
 Vasquez-Ajmac, Luis Alfredo, 778
 Vassallo, Paul, 1187
 Vatra organization, 62
 Veblen, Thorstein, 1335
 Vedas (Sacred texts), 1395
 Vegetables, 1799
 Veils, 1887
 Velarde, Pablita, 1485
 Velarde, Stacey, 103
 Vellam (Best Men), 60
 Velorios (Funeral party), 1303
 Velvet Revolution, 1635
 Venezuela, 1839–1840, 1843
 Venezuelan Americans, **1839–1846**
 acculturation, 1841
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1846
 employment and economics, 1843
 family and community, 1842–1843
 health, 1842
 history, 1839–1840
 immigration and settlement, 1840–1841
 language, 1842
 media, 1845
 notable individuals and groups, 1843–1845
 politics and government, 1843
 relations with Venezuela, 1843
 religion, 1843
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1841
 Vermont, 672
 Vesak (Holidays), 301
 Véspera de São João (Holiday), 1469
 Vetra, Gundars, 1110
 Vezina, Elie, 679, 681
 Vicuna, Cecilia, 383
 Vidovdan (Holiday), 1590
 Vientiane (Lao dialect), 1095
 Viet Cong, 1850
 Viet Minh, 1092, 1849
 Vietnam, 1847–1850
 Vietnam Human Rights Day, 1853
 Vietnam War, 833–834, 1092, 1850

Vietnamese (Language), 1854
 Vietnamese Americans, **1847–1862**
 acculturation, 1852–1853
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1860–1861
 employment and economics, 1858
 family and community, 1855–1857
 health, 1853–1854
 history, 1848–1850
 immigration and settlement, 1850–1852
 language, 1854
 media, 1859–1860
 notable individuals and groups, 1859
 politics and government, 1858
 religion, 1857
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1855
 Vigil, Padre, 1298
 Vikings, 512
 Vincent, Michaelle, 815
 Vincenti, Carlson, 103
 Violent crime. *See* Crime
 Virgin Islander Americans, **1863–1871**
 acculturation, 1866–1867
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1871
 employment and economics, 1870
 family and community, 1869
 history, 1864–1865
 immigration and settlement, 1865
 language, 1868
 media, 1871
 notable individuals and groups, 1870–1871
 politics and government, 1870
 religion, 1870
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1867–1868
 Virgin Islands, 1863–1865
 Visayan (Language), 630
 Visual artists. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “notable individuals and groups,” e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
 Viveiros, Bernie de, 1473
 Vizenor, Gerald, 1350
 VOLAGs (voluntary agencies), 1851
 Volansky, Ivan, 1823
 Volleyball, 561
 von Erlach, Theobald, 1705
 Vööbus, Arthur, 609
 Voodoo, 811, 814
 Voting and voting rights
 African American, 43
 Amish, 92
 Asian Indian American, 155
 Cuban American, 476, 480
 Ecuadoran American, 564
 Finnish American, 647

Mexican American, 1216
 Navajo, 1268
 Pakistani American, 1397
 Swiss, 1705
 Virgin Islander, 1870
 Voting Rights Act (1957), 44
 Vow women, 246–247
 Vu, Hung, 1859

W

Wage labor, 827
 Wagiameme Performing Troupe, 692, 694
 al-Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn, 1559
 Wahhabi movement, 1559. *See also* Islam
 Wai greetings, 1744
 Waid, Gary, 1774
 Wajang kulit dances, 901
 Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony, 1016
 Wakes, 258, 434, 944, 1303
 Waldensian Evangelic Church of the River Plate, 1831
 Wales, 577, 1872–1873. *See also* Welsh Americans
 Walker, William, 1297
 Walla Walla Council (1855), 1283
 Wallis, Samuel, 1365
 Walloon (Language), 233
 Walloon Belgians. *See* Belgian Americans
 Wampum (Native American material), 959, 1356
 Wanaragua (Dance), 691
 Wanichugu Dance Company, 694
 War brides, 628
 War of 1812, 321
 War of Independence (Algeria), 68
 Ward, Russell, 167
 Warhol, Andy, 352, 508
 Washington, Booker T., 38, 44
 Waso (Holiday), 301
 Water Festival (Cambodian), 311
 Watering of the Banyan Tree festival, 301
 Watts race riot, 46
 Wauneka, Annie Dodge, 1268
 Way of the Cross (Good Friday custom), 8
 Weah, George, 1135
 Weaving, 1264
 Websites. *See* The Internet
 Weddings. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, “family and community” e.g., Albanian Americans—family and community
 Wee’kwetset ceremonies, 1286
 Weil, Theodore Alexis, 609
 Weimar Republic, 709
 Welch, James, 249
 Welch, Raquel, 260
 Welfare. *See* Government aid
 Wellaamotkin (Nez Percé leader), 1283, 1292

Wells, Emmaline Blanche, 1244
 Welsh Americans, 1872–1882
 acculturation, 1876
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1881–1882
 employment and economics, 1879
 history, 1873
 immigration and settlement, 1873–1876
 language, 1877–1878
 media, 1881
 notable individuals and groups, 1880–1881
 politics and government, 1879–1880
 religion, 1878–1879
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1877
 Welter, Dominik, 1157
 Wen Ho, Lee, 400
 Werfel, Franz, 182
 West Germany, 708–709, 717
 West Indian Carnival, 199
Western British American (Periodical), 583
 Western Samoa, 1547–1549
 Whaling, 908–909, 910, 913. *See also* Hunting
 Whaling festivals, 910
 Wheeler-Howard Act. *See* Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA)
 Wheelock, Martin, 1362
 White, Elizabeth Q., 861
 White, Helen, 705
 White, John, 462
 White Month (Holiday), 1227
 White Sunday (Holiday), 1551
 Whiteman, Roberta Hill, 966, 1361
 Wicasa wakan (Healer), 1626
 Wickmann, William, 886
 Wigilia (Dinner), 1451
 Wigwams (Dwellings), 1341, 1342
 Wild rice, 1343. *See also* Rice
 William B. Eardmans Publishing Company, 550
 Williams, Dwayne, 337
 Williams, Eric, 1791
 Williams, Hank, 8
 Williams, John, 1549
 Wilson, Norma F., 1308
 Winder, Mary Cornelius, 1361
 Wine
 Australian, 168
 Austrian American, 177
 Basque, 211
 Chilean, 378
 Cypriot, 489
 Portuguese, 1468
 Winnemucca, Sarah, 1384
 Winsor, Jacqueline, 329
 Winter, Andrew, 610
 Winter Solstice ceremonies, 857
 Winther, Sophus Keith, 520
 Winthrop, Jonathan, 337

Wipulasara (Person), 1683
 Wirz, Henry, 1711
 Wisconsin
 Belgian Americans, 230
 Norwegian immigrants, 1327
 Oneidas, 1354–1354, 1358, 1360
 Wisconsin Indian Lawyers League, 1362
 Wittgenstein, Paul, 182
 Wolf, Kirsten, 895
 Women's political party (Iceland), 892
 Women's roles. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "family and community," e.g., Arab Americans—family and community
 Wooden shoes, 232
 Woody, Elizabeth, 1268
 Word of Wisdom (Religious doctrine), 1240–1241
 Work. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "employment and economics," e.g., Amish—employment and economics
 Work ethics, 1675
 Workmen's Circle (Labor union), 1044
 World renewal ritual (Hmong culture), 835
 World War I, 47, 236, 506, 507, 549
 World War II
 Australians, 164
 Austrian Americans, 180
 Czech Americans, 506, 507
 Filipino Americans, 635
 Garifuna, 688
 Guamanians, 757
 Hungarian Americans, 876
 Italian Americans, 987
 Koreans, 1073
 Lithuanians, 1139
 Norwegian Americans, 1335
 Sicilian Americans, 1600, 1606
 World Zionist Organization (WZO), 971
 Worship services. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "religion," e.g., Amish—religion
 Wovoka (Religious founder), 1378, 1382, 1385
 Wright, Muriell, 414
 Writers. *See* subheading of specific cultural group under, "notable individuals and groups," e.g., African Americans—notable individuals and groups
Writings by Western Icelandic Women (Book), 895
 Wuorinen, Charles, 650
 Wyakin (Guardian spirit), 1286, 1290
 WZO (World Zionist Organization), 971

X

X, Malcolm, 50
 Xemein'go Dantyza dances, 212
 Xhosa (People), 1664, 1667
 Xia dynasty, 387

Xieng Mieng (Person), 1096
Xiong, Lee Pao, 1099
Xiong, William Joua, 1099
Xoua Thao, 841

Y

Yang, Dao, 842
Yankoff, Peter Dimitrov, 297
Yaqona (Beverage), 1367
Yarymovich, Michael, 1826
Yasbeck, Amy, 118
Yayha, Ahmad, 1884
Yayha, Imam, 1884
Yemen, 1883–1884
Yemeni Americans, **1883–1892**
 acculturation, 1885
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1891
 employment and economics, 1890
 family and community, 1888–1889
 health, 1888
 history, 1883–1885
 immigration and settlement, 1885
 language, 1888
 media, 1891
 notable individuals and groups, 1890–1891
 politics and government, 1890
 religion, 1890
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1885–1888
Yepremian, Garo, 493
Yi dynasty, 1072
Yiddish (Language), 976, 1034, 1038
Yin Li (Calendar), 392
Yoga, 152
Yom Kippur (Holiday), 975, 1036
Yoruba (Language), 1317
Yoruba (People), 1315, 1318, 1319
Young, Brigham, 1235–1237
Young, Loretta, 1158
Young-Sam, Kim, 1074
Yule logs, 1589
Yunus, Muhammad, 193
Yupanqui, Prince, 1433
Yupiat, **1893–1899**
 acculturation, 1894
 associations, museums, and research centers, 1898

 employment and economics, 1897
 family and community, 1895–1896
 health, 1895
 language, 1895
 media, 1898
 politics and government, 1897–1898
 religion, 1896–1897
 traditions, customs, and beliefs, 1894–1895
Yupiat (Language), 1895

Z

Zachos, John Celivergos, 742
Zadonu Group (Organization), 730
Zadruga (Family unit), 1589
Zah, Peterson, 1268
Zakarpats'ka. *See* Ruthenia
Zakarpats'kan Americans. *See* Carpatho-Rusyn Americans
Zakat (Almsgiving), 571, 1565
Zanco, Charles, 513
Zapata, Thomas, 1843
Zappa, Frank, 995
Zar possession (Illness), 1562
Zatkovich, Gregory, 351
Zawia, Nasser, 1890
Zayma dances, 594
Zhongchiu jie (Holiday), 1734
Zhou dynasty, 387
Zia Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
Zibergs, Jekabs, 1108
Zimdin, William, 610
Ziolkowski, Korczak, 1456
Zionism, 971
Zionist movement, 1045
Zograffoff, Boris, 1170
Zohn, Harry, 176
Zorba dancing, 737
Zoroastrianism (Religion), 154, 1396
Zuberoa'ko Maskarada dances, 212
Zubly, John J., 1707, 1711
Zuckerman, Pinchas, 979
Zukor, Adolph, 878
Zul (Celebration), 1227
Zulu (People), 1661, 1664, 1667
Zuñi Pueblos, 1480. *See also* Pueblos
Zwingli, Huldrych, 1709

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