Patterns of Slavic Secondary Migrations as Reflected in Fraternal Records 1895-1905

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Social, occupational and geographic mobility and their relationships to each other have fascinated historians of American social and urban history for the last two decades.[1] A low level of residential persistence, for example, has been linked to the slow development of class conciousness among American workers and an increase in the stratification of urban society.[2] Mobility studies have painted a picture of a restless nation of movers and migrants. Michael Katz and his colleagues have remarked that "mass (migratory) transiency remains the most striking and consistent finding to emerge from quantitative studies of Victorian North America".[3] In more recent years scholars have begun to call into question the extent and pervasiveness of the movement and have projected a picture of a relatively more stable urban world.[4]

One of the most serious difficulties that has faced historians of mobility is that they have been able to analyze the life stories of only a small and restricted group of people i.e. those who have stayed behind. Charles Stephenson one of the leading practitioners of quantitative social history has written that "tracing people who move outside of an area of geographic research has presented one of the greatest obstacles to studies of social and geographic mobility."[5] Recently historians have made some ingenious attempts to solve the problem by new approaches to national and state census records and by use of other kinds of public records.[6] No historian has yet attempted to use private, organizational or corporate records.

Although I have not been engaged in research on mobility, the issue has concerned me of late as a result of a new study I have begun on Slavic immigrants and their children in Detroit between the wars. Preliminary surveys of a Slovak parish and Polish parish indicates that 60%-70% of the families have at least one ancestor who migrated from the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia or the copper or iron ranges of Michigan's

upper pennisula. As Olivier Zunz has pointed out the booming auto industry and its subsidiaries transformed the city of Detroit and changed dramatically the nature of the ethnic communities of the city.[7] The new immigrants who came to Detroit had been resident in the United States for some time or were the children of immigrants. Some came as sojourners and others as settlers, but they all has an American and ethnic experience which they brought with them that not only marked their response to Detroit but also affected the communities they developed.[8] For these new settlers and their descendants the "old country" was Pennsylvania as well as Poland or Slovakia. It is, for example, difficult to understand the drive for unionization of the auto industry in the 1930's without a comprehension of the key role played by ex-miners in the auto factories.[9]

Thus a study of this secondary migration which brought tens of thousands of Slavs to Detroit is a key aspect of any larger work on the ethnic communities of the city in this century. Yet in spite of its importance almost no work has been done on this aspect of ethnic history. One of the problems is data. It is often far easier to discover where these newcomers came from in Europe than where they lived previously in the United States. In my search for a solution to this dilemma that I have turned to the use of the records of fraternal insurance companies to reconstruct the migrations of their members.

In this paper I am using the death and injury claims of the National Slovak Society housed at the Immigration History Research Center. It was known in English during the period under study as the National Slavonic Society and will so be refered to henceforth. I have chosen to look at the period 1895-1905, i.e. before the great migration to Detroit and other auto and steel centers that developed at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. This paper then will examine the patterns of persistence and secondary migration before they changed in response to the rapid and dramatic growth of the auto industry. I hope to look at that new migration to determine who came and from where in

subsequent work.

The National Slavonic Society was founded in 1890 in Pittsburgh by Mr. Peter V. Rovianek. It was open to all without regard to religion or place of origin. As a result it enrolled members from all segments of the Slovak Community including Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, as well as the unchurched. Its liberal enrollment policy, as will be noted below, may also have led to the enrollment of a considerable number of non-Slovak members. Initially, the society incorporated a number of already existing independent local benefit societies such as the Coopers Benevolent Society of Bayonne, N.J. (Assembly #16) but soon began creating its own lodges. By 1905, it included over 400 assemblies in all parts of the country. In 1909 it enrolled almost 30,000 members. Its extant injury and death claim records begin with late 1895 and are now preserved on 199 roles of microfilm.[10]

The claims records contain documentation on the history of the association of the deceased or injured member with the society. They usually include a listing of the various assemblies or lodges of which the person was a member, the dates of membership, marriage dates, often accompanied by a certificate, the place and date of birth, occupation, place and cause of death and sometimes a death certificate.[11] Also found in the files is information on funeral expenses, place of burial and correspondence, sometimes over decades, dealing with the settling of the claim.

Not all the files, of course, are so complete as to have all the information noted above. This is especially true for the earliest period 1895-1900. After 1900, the Fraternal began to standardize procedures and forms and there began to be uniformity in what was reported and/in the documents that were preserved. Even then, of course, there were occasional gaps because the lodge secretaries who were responsible for sending in the material were not professional insurance agents and were not well versed on procedures. As a result they did not fill out all of the forms or see that the attending physician or

priest completed their forms or they omitted documents or vital information because of inexperience [12] or because the data was not easily obtained.

Despite occasional lacunae the rich documentation contained in the claims files provide a valuable source for plotting patterns of secondary migration and persistence, occupational mobility and are a very useful supplement to studies of chain migration. In the case of the latter, for example, the files show that all of the eleven lodge members who were killed in a gas explosion in a coal mine in Fernie, British Columbia were recent immigrants, some coming only months before the tragedy. In some of the files are claims for payment of money advanced for the transportation over by friends or relatives in Fernie. In the case of John G., one of the dead miners, we have a detailed letter from a friend describing the amount of money sent to him in Europe for the trip ($75) and the amount of money advanced for living expenses to the deceased after his arrival ($25). The records also sometimes list the name of the employer of the deceased or injured party and the progression across the country can be traced as stops at coal mines owned by the same company. In other cases, the wills and claims include the names and locations of family, heirs and debtors and often give an excellent picture of the networks immigrants were part of and which they themselves developed. One young steel worker in Youngstown who had been in the United States a little over three years noted in his will that he was owed money by friends and relatives living in Youngstown, Cleveland and Homestead as well as in two villages in Slovakia. [13]

The files also provide insights into other aspects of the social and economic history of immigration such as the costs and norms for funerals (average $75-125), [14] name changes (Juraj Šidorjak to George Kelly, Maria Pečar to Mary Baker), [15] intermarriage patterns (mostly other Slavs but also an occasional Italian woman), [16] causes of mortality, [17] conduct of an immigrant business [18] and the unusual individual stories that give history its powerful

appeal.

In preparing the title of the paper I have refered to Slavs rather than to Slovaks because one of the suprising findings of my survey of the records is the amount of non-Slovaks who were members. Their presence signals some important questions for students of immigrant adaptation to the United States, of immigrant institutions and of the history of immigrant workers in America during this period.

While it is a precarious exercise to assign people to one or another Slavic group solely on the basis of names especially given the vagaries of spelling by English speaking officials, and employers and poor educated immigrants, as Ewa Morawska has recently pointed out.[19] Nevertheless by combining a study of surnames and given names, especially as rendered by the individual himself with birth places and other clues such as membership in national parishes it is possible to make an estimate of the non-Slovaks in the society. On the basis of the analysis of several sample periods, I estimate that about 30% of the membership were not Slovaks. A majority or close to a majority of the non-Slovaks were Czechs. The remainder were Poles, Rusyns, Croatians, Magyars, and Germans with the Poles being the largest identifiable group. These included not only Galician Poles but a surprising number from Russian Poland. Most of the Germans were born in the Kingdom of Bohemia. It is also interesting to note that lodges in some heavily Polish areas bore names such as John Sobieski Assembly (#25 Greenpoint, Brooklyn, NY).[20]

The table attached looks at the pattern of 290 moves made by members of the National Slovak Society. In most of the cases the beginning date is the date of the first enrollment in an Assembly of the Society. Joining a lodge is an act that implies, at minimum, an indication to stay for at least awhile and to join the community of one's fellows at that location. It implies that at least temporarily the person has chosen to give up a transient status.

Although the lodges issued traveling cards to introduce members who wished to go and explore prospects in other areas to members of lodges in those areas,. these were usually issued for only six months. After six months the members were urged to join a new lodge in the area to which they had moved although some retained membership in the original lodge. Their travels were documented by letters from the lodge in which they were visitors as well as by records kept by some of the home lodges.[21]

It should be noted that the data presents the patterns of movement and persistence and cannot be taken to address the question of the frequency of movement and the percentage of persistors. The reason is that the data by its very nature overstates persistence. Many who joined did not become members until they were permanently settled. Marriage records in some cases indicate that the insurance was not taken out until several years after the wedding. Secondly, large numbers of immigrants did not take out insurance and it is possible to speculate that this group may have included some of the most mobile elements of the population. Thirdly, the ferocious accident rate in mining and steel making and the poor health conditions under which many labored as well as a lack of medical care created a high mortality among the subscribers. According to a sample of several months in 1902 and 1903, twelve percent of those who died or were killed had taken out insurance less than a year before their deaths. Their work careers were too short to permit any migration.

Each move is recorded as an individual one even for those who moved several times. The vast majority of those whose migrations are recorded made only one move between the time they took out insurance and their deaths or injuries. The peregrinations of those who moved more than once are reassembled and recorded below. The table also notes the cases in which a person returned to the original starting point.[22] The migrations are broken down into three catagories: 1) those within the county, 2) those within the region,

3) those outside the region.[23] Although I have not numbered them among migrants I have noted those cases in which a person changed lodges within the same city or town. Almost all of these moves were made, as might be expected, within the large cities.[24]

I have divided the country into 37 regions or cities to help elucidate the data. These regions were drawn on the basis of geography, dominant occupation and circulation of migrants and communication patterns within them. Most of the regions are small and relatively isolated. There are several, however, that are large and significant. The three largest and key areas are:

1. The New York City - Northern New Jersey and Western Connecticut area stretching from Perth Amboy to Bridgeport.
2. The Anthracite Region of Eastern Pennsylvania
3. The Bituminous Coal Region of Western Pennsylvania

In addition there were five secondary regions of importance:

1. The steel towns of the Stuebenville - Pittsburgh - Youngstown triangle
2. The Chicago - Northern Indiana Steel making area
3. Southeastern Ohio Coal Region
4. The Western Indiana - Central Illinois-Southeastern Iowa Coal Belt
5. The Steel and Coke making region of Southeastern Pennsylvania, north of Philadelphia

The large cities of Cleveland and Philadelphia were considered as separate regions.

There is a partial geographical overlap between the Western Pennsylvania Bituminous region and the Eastern part of the Steel Industry Triangle anchored in Stuebenville, Youngstown and the Pittsburgh - Allegheny City Region. However, patterns of those in the steel towns and the members who lived in the coal towns and the coke producing cities of Uniontown and Connellsville were so different that I believe the separation is justified. All those who migrated from the

Johnstown area were miners rather than steel workers and so despite the presence of a large steel mill there, the inclusion of the city in the coal region did not dramatically affect the migration statistics. It should be noted that the inclusion of the steel workers of Johnstown in the figures for the Steel Triangle Region would have reduced persistence in that region by two percent.

Several general observations can be made about the patterns of migrations. First, there is no strong or definite pattern of movement toward a single region or city nor is there any general movement toward large manufacturing areas. Secondly, the general flow of the migration is westward. Third, the movement seems to be dictated not just by the availability of jobs but the availability of those specific jobs in which the migrants are employed. There appears to be a strong tendency for the immigrant to stay with the occupation in which he first began when he arrived. There seems to be very little crossover between steel making areas and coal mining areas. The one major shift that is evident is that 32% of the migrants from the Anthracite Region and more than 50% of those who left the region went into Bituminous coal areas. Less than 10% of migrants from Bituminous Regions moved to the Anthracite Region.

The Anthracite Region also shows the highest percentage of migration out of the region of all of the major regions. This and the lack of cross-over from Bituminous areas may reflect the relative unattractiveness of Anthracite mining. The possibility that, as one of the eastern regions with some of the oldest settlements, the area may attract more newcomers than any other who will later move on, should not be discounted as at least a partial explanation.

It must also be noted however that the New York - New Jersey - Connecticut area, another receiving area for new immigrants has one of the lowest out-of-region migration rate. It also has the lowest in-county migration rate. The

majority of the migrants in that region migrated within the region. The area also has the highest (6%) rate of people who return to their original starting location.

The large cities of Philadelphia and Cleveland attracted only scattered in-migrants and showed very few out migrants. They seemed to remain outside of intense migratory activity that was going on in the region between them. The Chicago - Northern Indiana area sent a few numbers to nearby coal mining areas but most of the out-region activity was between it and the steel making centers east (Pittsburgh area) and west of it (Pueblo, Colorado).

Isolated geographical and occupational areas such as the Minnesota and Michigan iron ranges remained relatively isolated from other centers and possibly because of the difference of conditions and techniques in each, from each other. They sent out few people and attracted no in migrants from other areas.

Certain centers such as the Central Illinois region centered on the large Slovak colony at Streater, Illinois, acted as a gateway to other regions. There was a one way stream of traffic from Streater to Jackson County, Minnesota (Assembly #118 at Lakefield, Minnesota) where Slovaks worked as farm help and established themselves as independent farmers. The migrants went there either directly or after a brief stop at Minneapolis. Streater also sent migrants further west to Western Illinois and to Pueblo, Colorado. There was also a relatively significant traffic among the western coal fields given the small Slavic population of those areas.

The records show twenty four cases - about 8% of the migrants - in which the member had moved more than once before before his death. A summary of these follow:

Place	Enrollment or Starting Date	Date of Move	Date of Death
1) Rockland Lake, NY	August 1896		
Newark, NJ		November 1898	
Philadelphia, PA		October 1899	December 1900
2) Carbondale, Iowa	May 1892		
Rock Springs, WYO		January 1895	
Fairport Harbor, OH		June 1895	
Rock Springs, WYO		December 1896	December 1898
3) Philadelphia, PA	September 1894		
Maltby, PA		December 1894	
Luzerne, PA		October 1899	December 1901
4) Whitney, PA	December 1893		
United, PA		August 1895	
Perth Amboy, NJ		May 1896	August 1898
5) Sand Coulee, CO	November 1893		
Belt, MT		December 1895	
Sand Coulee, CO		December 1896	February 1900
6) Horatio, PA	May 1890		
Beaver Falls, PA		July 1895	
Horatio, PA		June 1896	
Fayette, PA		September 1896	
Horatio, PA		June 1899	August 1901
7) Streater, IL	May 1891		
Minneapolis, MN		May 1895	
Colorado Springs, CO		June 1898	October 1898
8) Streater, IL	October 1891		
Minneapolis, MN		Unknown	
Lakefield, MN		November 1898	October 1902
9) Johnstown, PA	March 1894		
Laurelton, OH		November 1894	
Johnstown, PA		February 1896	
Benwood, W. VA		June 1898	
Johnstown, PA		February 1899	July 1899
10) Plymouth, PA	August 1894		
Wilkes-Barre, PA		July 1898	
Streater, IL		January 1899	
Freeland, PA		November 1900	July 1901
11) New York City, NY	April 1891		
Osceola Mills, PA		July 1892	
Passaic, NJ		Unknown	
Brooklyn, NY		March 1896	June 1899
12) Braddock, PA	January 1897		
Yonkers, NY		January 1898	
Bayonne, NJ		September 1899	October 1901

Place	Enrollment or Starting Date	Date of Move	Date of Death
13) Mt. Pleasant, PA	1891		
Kelly's Island, OH		January 1895	
Cleveland, OH		February 1896	July 1896
14) Byram, CT	1899		
Chester, NY		Unknown	
Newark, NJ		February 1901	January 1902
15) Duguesne, PA	May 1894		
Chicago, IL		July 1895	
Duguesne, PA		November 1897	February 1901
16) Osceola Mills, PA	July 1892		
Passaic, NJ		September 1895	
Brooklyn, NY		March 1897	September 1899
17) Chicago, IL	January 1892		
Diamond, IN		August 1893	
Clinton, IN		January 1899	1901
18) Guttenberg, NJ	October 1894		
New York City, NY		September 1895	
Guttenberg, NJ		January 1898	
New York City, NY		Unknown	October 1900
19) Rock Springs, WY	May 1893		
Frontier, WY		October 1895	
Kemmerer, WY		November 1897	June 1900
20) Duquesne, PA	May 1893		
Chicago, IL		October 1895	
Pueblo, CO		November 1897	August 1900
21) Mt. Olive, IL	1892		
Bonne Terre, MO		September 1893	
Ben's Creek, PA		December 1894	
Union, PA		July 1895	October 1899
22) Scottsdale, PA	1887		
Ben's Creek, PA		February 1895	
New York City, NY		June 1895	March 1901
23) Osceola Mills, PA	October 1896		
Passaic, NJ		June 1897	
Geahartsville, PA		July 1898	September 1899
24) Philadelphia, PA	1889 (marriage)		
Madrid, NM		October 1895 (first enrollment)	
Streater, IL		December 1897	
Gallup, NM		August 1900	January 1902

The multiple moves illustrate all of the characteristics of the migration patterns of the period under study: moves between centers with the same economic base, the special relationship that developed between certain areas (Osceola Mills - Passaic - Brooklyn), the return migration and the wide and diffuse pattern of the movements. They also illustrate the special restlessness that afflicted a minority of the immigrants that in some cases went beyond just a search for a better job. The restlessness was perhaps a more intense form of that metaphysical longing that afflicts all immigrants to some degree - the desire to find a new home. Case number 24, Vasil H. who moved his family from Philadelphia to Madrid, New Mexico to Streater, Illinois to Gallup, New Mexico is one of those men. By September, 1901 he was confined to the New Mexico State Asylum for the Insane diagnosed as "incurably insane." In January 1902 he died of severe depression and "inanation" leaving a wife and three children. He was perhaps one of those restless migrants who perhaps never became at home in America.[25]

ENDNOTES

1. See e.g. Howard Chudacoff Mobile Americans: Residential, and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Richard J. Hopkins, "Mobility and the New Urban History" Journal of Urban History#1 (February 1975); 217-227; Peter Knights, The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in Growth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). Stephen Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), Stephen Thernstrom and Peter R. Knights "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth Century America" Journal of Interdisciplinary History #1(Autumn 1970): 7-35. For an early study see Merle Curt, "The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of a Democracy in a Frontier County" (Palo Alto, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1959).

2. See e.g. Chas. Stephenson, "A Gathering of Strangers? Mobility, Social Structure and Political Participation in the Formation of Nineteenth-Century American Working Class Culture" in Milton Cantor, ed., American Working Class Culture: Explorations in American Workingclass Culture: Explorations in American Labor and Social History (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979). See also Knights, The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860...

3. Michael B. Katz, Michael D. Daucet, and Mark J. Stein, "Migration and the Social Order in Erie County, New York: 1855" Journal of Interdisciplinary History #8 (Spring, 1978):669.

4. See e.g. Donald H. Parkerson "How Mobile Were Nineteenth Century Americans?", Historical Methods, 15 (1982):99-109.

5. Chas. Stephenson "Tracing Those Who Left: Mobility Studies and the Soundex Indexes to the U.S. Census" The Journal of Urban History, 1 (November, 1974):73.

6. See ibid: 73-85; Knights, The Plain People of Boston... :103-108, David P. Davenport, "Tracing Rural New York's Out-Migrants, 1855-1860", Historical Methods, Spring 1984, 17 (1984):59-67; Donald H. Parkerson, "How Mobile Were Nineteenth Century Americans?"; Gary P. Kocolowski, "Alternatives to Record-Linkage in the Study of Urban Migration: The Uses of Naturalization Records", Historical Methods 14 (1981):139-142.

7. Olivier Zunz, The Changing Face of Inequality: Industrialization, Urbanization, and Immigrants in Detroit 1880-1920. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Although I disagree with Zunz as the results of the change, I believe he has correctly and with considerable insight identified the nature of the impact of the new auto industry on the city's ethnic communities.

8. Thomas Bell's character the Young Slovak-American "Dobie" Dobrejcak is one of those sojourners who returns to Braddock, PA after a stint in Detroit. Thomas Bell, Out of This Furnace (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976).

9. Thad Radzilowski "Ethnicity and the Organization of the UAW in Detroit" Paper read at the American Association for the Advancement of Slovic Studies, November 4, 1984, New York City, NY.

10. On the National Slovak Society and other Slovak fraternals see: Marran Mark Stolarik, Immigration and Urbanization: The Slovak Experience, 1870-1918 Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1974:69-79. Sylvia June Alexander, The Immigrant Church and Community: The Formation of Pittsburgh's Slovak Religious Institutions, 1880-1914. Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Minnesota, 1980: 187-240. Stephenie Husak "Slovak American Fraternal Cultural and Civic Organization to 1890", Joseph Krajsa, ed, Slovaks in America (Middleton, Pa: American Slovak League of America, 1978): 28-35.

11. I did not use marriage records by themselves as proof of residence at a certain place and time because immigrant workers often lived in a largely male world especially in the small mining towns and arranged marriages for themselves with young women living a considerable distance away. Passaic, NJ with its large population of Slovak women who worked in lace, garment or handkerchief factories became a major marriage center. See Sister M. Martina Tybor, SSCM "The Slovak Presence in America up to 1890" in Krajsa, ed., Slovaks in America: 1-18.

12. Claims filed on the death of the wife of a member or in the case of illness or an incapacitating injury can sometimes contain less information than the death claims of members because they were not seen as requiring as much documentation of the members total record with the society.

13. See Paid Insurance Claims, National Slovak Society, VI-176-132 (Reel #2) and VI-875-901 (Reel #8). On Slovak Chain Migration see Alexander: 66-157 and Stolarik: 35-68.

14. One 23 year old single immigrant steel worker who wrote his will after being mortally injured in an industrial accident provide $300 for a headstone and $100 for a fence around his grave in addition to instructions for an elaborate funeral that included a band and a party for his mates. See VI-176-132 (Reel #2).

15. The President of Assemble #395 in Hartshorne, Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was named John Smith. See his correspondence in Slovak VI-237-825 (Reel #7).

16. One immigrant file revealed a young Slovak in Philadelphia who had married an Irish woman in Liverpool several years before his arrival in America. VI-148-697 (Reel #6). On intermarriage patterns in one Slovak community see Thaddeus Radzilowski "Introduction" WPA Writers Project, Bohemian Flats (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society, 1986) XXII-XXIV.

17. A sampling for 1902 indicates that industrial accident was the most frequently cited cause of death followed by Tuberculosis and Typhoid Fever among men, Childbirth complications, Tuberculosis and Typhoid Fever were the three most frequent killers of women. The majority of saloon keepers died of either "acute alcoholism" or of diseases associated with alcoholism such as Cirrhosis of the Liver. See, for example, VI-82-527 (Reel #5).

18. The materials provide an excellent account of the development of an immigrant insurance company. They provide, however, very little information on the affairs of the very few businessmen included among the insured. Less than 10% were in any kind of business most of them grocers or restaurant-saloon owners. See for example VI-82-527 (Reel 5)

19. Ewa Morawska, For Bread With Butter: Life Worlds of East Central European Immigrants in Johnstown, Pennsylvania (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1895).

20. I have tried to err on the Slovak side in all cases especially those who might be identified as Rusyn. For examples see: VI-188-738 (Reel 6) VI-331-1015 (Reel 8) Croatians, VI-88-268 (Reel 3) Czech, VI-320-991 (Reel 8) German, VI-252-858 (Reel 7), VI-258-868 (Reel 7) VI-191-714 (Reel 6) Poles. One unusual case is an American named Howard Williams whose wife Jessie was also American born. III-142-647 (Reel 5). In one case a lodge secretary identified a deceased member as a Pole who recognized the familial affinity of all Slavs and was in any case learning to speak a tolerable Slovak before his death. Presumably most of the contacts that brought outsiders into the Slovak society were made at work although some may have been through church membership. The Poles were almost all miners. The Czechs on the other hand appear in largest numbers in the larger cities and most have been in the U.S. since the 1880's. A few Czechs are, however, found in Coal Miners Assemblies.

21. Traveling letters are preserved in the files of those individuals who died within six months of issuance or shortly thereafter and while still on the journey. All but one involve individuals suffering from incurable disease (TB) or injury (gunshot wound) who returned to Europe to die. This involves all the cases of those who are listed as going to Europe in the chart. The time span of the travelling letter was perhaps increased at the end of the period. I found one valid for a year in 1902.

22. A number of historians have remarked on the significance of return migration. See for example, Tamara Hareven, "Family and Work Patterns of Immigrant Laborers in a Planned Industrial Town, 1900-1930" Richard Erlich, ed., Immigrants in Industrial America, 1850-1920 (Charlottesville, Va: University Press of Virginia, 1977): 55-60.

23. Studies of mobility in the Twentieth Century show that a significant proportion of the people who move stay within the county in which they reside. At present one out of five people change their residence each year in the United States but only one in fifteen leave the county in which they reside. Parkerson, "How mobile were nineteen century Americans": 107.

24. One historian has characterized these as "movers" to distinguish them from "migrants." See ibid:99.

25. Paid Insurance Claim VI - 250-851.