

Department of History
University of Wisconsin—Madison
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History 403
Immigration and Assimilation in US History
Syllabus and Abstract of Lessons

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Introduction

History 403 examines immigration to the part of North America now known as the United States, interactions among and within the various movements of people who have gone there, and the extent to which those waves have or have not formed a single, new nationality and culture. It treats those topics from the beginning of the Age of Exploration to the present day. History 403 focuses on the experiences of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans as well as on those of the Europeans who constituted the majority of the immigrant flows before 1970. The course covers the histories of those who came voluntarily, those who arrived in bondage, and those who migrated under other forms of duress.

The goal of History 403 is to answer a series of basic questions. Who came, and why did they leave their native countries? When did various ethnic and racial groups reach North America, where did they land, and where did they go after landing here? How, across the eras, did the residents whose families had come to America in earlier years, or decades, or centuries receive newcomers? How did the immigrants respond to the unfamiliar environment in which they suddenly found themselves? To what extent did the immigrants and their offspring become part of the mainstream of American society? Which of their Old World practices and values—if any—survived in the New World? Of what importance is immigration in the present era, and how may it affect the future? The questions seem straightforward, but complicated problems of definition, measurement, and judgment lie beneath their appearance of simplicity.

Advisories

History 403 is an online course available this summer for three credits. The format enables me to organize materials more efficiently, to integrate diverse kinds of media more effectively, and to convey a greater amount of information in the time available. Serious online courses require at least as much work as regular offering and, if you are willing to engage actively with the material, have great potential for enriching your learning experience. Do not, however, allow the different form of contact, to fool you; online is neither a synonym for “blow-off” nor a signal that the instructor will be less able to tell how much work you are or are not doing.

Students enrolling primarily to complete their ethnic studies requirement may not find History 403 to be what they wanted. The course existed before the university imposed that requirement. Immigration and immigration policy as well as ethnic and racial group relations have always been central to my professional interests, and I do not approach them with any objective other than presenting balanced and nuanced analyses. You, however, should have no problem in recognizing how the course pursues the goals of the ethnic studies requirement: becoming aware of history’s impact on the present, learning to recognize and question assumptions, gaining consciousness of your identity and those of others, and preparing for effective participation in a multicultural society.

If you chose 403 only for convenience or in the expectation of having to expend only minimal effort on a general education offering, you will be unhappy. For our mutual benefit, please consider other options. You can find a list of offerings that meet the ethnic studies requirement through the Course Guide tab of “MyUW.”

History 403 is an intermediate course – not an elementary one. It will be fast-paced and comprehensive. Those enrolled should already know the basic facts, trends, and issues relating to the broad issues of the American past. If your knowledge of U.S. history is weak, you will find yourself not only confused but also bored because you will not grasp the broader context into which the specialized information in the course must be fit.

The approach in History 403 is analytical rather than narrative, social scientific rather than humanistic, and empirical rather than emotional. You will frequently encounter evidence in the form of numbers and graphs. If you dislike subjects like economics and sociology, you will be ill at ease in this course. Moreover, History 403 may

help you place your own experience in a larger context, but it is not a course in family heritage or ethnic culture.

The goal of the lectures and the readings is to help you think deeply about a set of issues that will probably affect American society for the next half-century—the bulk of the remainder of your lives. My goal is to enhance your ability to analyze difficult and complex matters. In pursuing it, I shall less often point out conflicts between good and bad options than present situations in which multiple desirable goals are at least partly incompatible with each other. The course will neither provide easy answers nor promote a particular point of view. You will be disappointed if you come to it looking either for information to reinforce a strongly held political ideology—of the left or right—or for an opportunity to promote one.

Course Outline

Days 1 to 10

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sizable numbers of Europeans migrated to the region that later became the United States. The coming of the Europeans had disastrous demographic consequences for the existing native population. Although the English composed a plurality of the colonial immigrants to settlements along the East Coast of North America, large numbers of men and women from the outlying districts of the British Isles and from the nations of the continent joined them in the New World. So too did many involuntary Black migrants from Africa.

For a variety of reasons, immigration to the United States remained at a modest level for approximately a half century after the War of Independence. Between the 1830s and the Civil War, however, hordes of Irish and German immigrants arrived. Substantial numbers of Canadians, Scandinavians, and other Britons joined the influx after that conflict. The course will discuss the general reasons behind this surge and the specific causes for the emigration from the “donor” countries.

The arrival of the immigrants posed a series of serious challenges to the vision of a good society that the Americans were articulating in the middle of the nineteenth century. The newcomers helped to transform the urban environment, and the visible poverty of some of them raised fears that economic opportunities were declining. Likewise, the presence of a high percentage of Roman Catholics among the new arrivals threatened the inclination of American Protestants to identify the U.S. with the land of

the millennium. Nevertheless, the immigrants of the pre-war era and of the following decades survived “nativist” resistance, and adapted to their new lives in the United States.

Commentators began calling those Europeans who came to America before 1890 “Old Immigrants” after an exceptionally heavy stream of immigration began flowing to the United States from other source countries late in the nineteenth century. European peoples, such as Italians, Jews, and Slavs, whose cultures were unfamiliar to the population of the United States, formed the largest and most visible freshly arriving “New Immigrant” communities. Natives of Japan and several other Asian nations also arrived, and this block will examine their experiences, as well as those of the Chinese, who came to the United States during the era of the Old Immigration but encountered similar hostility.

The later arrivals seemed “new” not only as cultural groups but also in terms of the economic and social roles that they played while the U.S. entered an age of heavy industry. Contemporary commentators found this second phase of nineteenth century immigration to be undesirable in its demographic characteristics and socioeconomic features. Although many blamed contemporaries blamed newcomers themselves for the problems perceived, historians have rejected that judgment.

The United States took the first serious steps toward severely restricting the right of people to enter this nation when, in 1882, it “temporarily” blocked further immigration by unskilled Chinese laborers. Over the next four decades, a formidable restrictionist movement sought political mechanisms to identify and exclude undesirable immigrants. For some activists, the search gradually shifted from efforts to ferret out individually unfit applicants for admission to attempts to exclude whole nationalities and races that “scientific” evidence supposedly deemed backward.

Days 11 to 20

A policy of sharply limited immigration, with access to entry tied to ethnic background, emerged as the law of the land after World War I. The impact of restriction helped shape labor recruitment policies during and after the Depression. It also affected the experiences of American racial minorities during World War II, even as that conflict began to undermine the ideology behind restriction.

Restrictive immigration policies adopted in the 1920s remained in force until the 1960s. In the intervening years, America's immigrant populations did without the reinforcement of continuing arrivals from abroad. The nation's ethnic groups became increasingly composed of persons whose families had been in the United States for at least two generations. Those people spoke English, shed many of the outward styles that had underlined the alien status of their forebears, and increasingly shared in mainstream experiences. The socioeconomic and other gaps separating groups of white Americans from each other grew less wide, and the importance of ethnic and even of religious divisions in the population seemed to wane.

Due, in part, to the high level of "Americanization" that had been achieved, important shifts in American attitudes took place by the mid-1960s. Legislation removed the patently discriminatory ethnic features of immigration policy. Contrary to the prediction of the experts, immigration subsequently rose again, with nations in Asia and Latin America becoming the principal sources of the new influx.

Contemporary immigration to the United States has several components. Approximately 700,000 legal immigrants constitute the largest part of the permanent influx. Twice that number of people may enter the United States each year without proper documents, but probably only one out of five of them will stay indefinitely in the country. The number fluctuates with world conditions, but approximately 100,000 persons arrive annually as refugees. The criteria for admitting refugees differ from those for admitting immigrants, but the newcomers can usually soon adjust their legal status to that of permanent residents.

President Donald Trump has pursued stronger efforts to prevent would-be immigrants from entering the United States without documentation and for removing those present illegally who have committed serious crimes after arriving. He has also called for closer examination of the backgrounds of people seeking to come to the United States, especially from countries. Opposition groups have thwarted most of his programs, although the Supreme Court refused to overrule his initiative to impose a temporary ban on movement from seven nations hostile to this nation or without stable governments until the administration establishes new vetting criteria. Remembering the French saying, "*plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose,*" which English speakers render as "the more things change, the more they remain the same," is a good idea.

The current wave of immigration has reignited concerns about the ability and willingness of new arrivals to accept existing American political, social, and cultural

norms. Prejudice exists and bad incidents happen, but today's newcomers have more protections against discrimination than their predecessors enjoyed. Partly because of the Civil Rights Movement's effort to reduce prejudice and partly as a concession to the intractability of racial issues, commentators in the post-1965 era came to accept the idea that demographic diversity and deep cultural differences are inevitable and perhaps desirable features of American life.

An argument remains about what is proper balance between the unity required by national security and the variation accompanying a heterogeneous population. Scholars have competing judgments both about the actual nature of the "new ethnicity" celebrated by multiculturalists and about its implications for the future. Some see it as a permanent and perhaps dangerous roadblock to the integration all groups, and others deem it a transient phenomenon that, like past episodes, will culminate in the acceptance of a common culture expressed in various but compatible ways.

Learn@UW

"Canvas" is the on-line courseware used to support History 403. Your "My UW" homepage has a link to Learn@UW. You can also reach the appropriate page through the URL <https://coursedashboard.learnuw.wisc.edu/>. Use your UW-Madison NetID and your UW-Madison NetID password. Once you have logged in, you will see a list of the courses you are taking that are using Learn@UW software. If you do not see that list, click on the ">" to the right of the heading "2020 — Summer."

Click on "History 403" to go to the homepage for the course, which is set as the "Modules" component of Canvas. The first module contains a copy of this syllabus and a link to a PDF version of it. Separate modules follow for each day of the summer session, and the lectures for those days appear as subcategories of them. Clicking on a lecture title will take you to a separate page. There you will find an introduction to the topic, a list of topics to be covered, and one or more questions to keep in mind as you listen to and review the lecture. Below those items and under the heading "Lecture," a link to the narrated PowerPoint presentation appears. Links are also present to a PDF of black-and-white copies of the lecture slides and script as well as to any assigned reading.

To open a lesson in a new tab or to open a narrated lecture in a new tab, right click the link. That will facilitate your navigation around the site. Any click on a lecture script or on a reading will open the document in a new tab.

Except when you are viewing a lecture, reviewing a script, or reading an assignment, you will always see a list of tools at the left of the Canvas screen. Besides Modules, other tools of importance for History 403 are Announcements, Quizzes, and Grades. If the need arises, Announcements will contain supplementary messages to the class, but those will also come to you via email. Quizzes links to the exams for the course, and Grades reports to each student the scores that person has earned. Links to the examinations also appear under the Assignments tool. Clicking on Modules will always return you to the course homepage.

Chat is the final Canvas tool requiring explanation. It provides a means for the instructor to exchange messages with the class. Chat is the best forum for students to ask questions that may be of general interest to members of the class. Setting Chat to send new message alerts is a good idea.

Readings

History is a book-oriented discipline, but the readings for this class are scholarly articles. Several reasons lay behind the choice. Books attempt to give full coverage to a subject, and articles attempt to provide insight by dissecting a particular aspect of it. Relying on articles enables us to examine the core arguments about more topics, albeit at the cost of giving less thorough treatment to any single issue. Moreover, UW's access to articles that are available online keeps the cost of course materials remarkably low.

A list of the ten assigned articles appears as *Appendix II* to this syllabus. The homepage for each lesson with an assigned reading has a link to the PDF for it. Links to all the articles also appear under the heading "Readings" in the Assignments tool.

Examinations

History 403 includes two equally weighted, non-cumulative examinations. Each exam has three parts that total to 100 points. The average of a student's total scores over the two examinations will determine the final grade. The mid-term will

cover Days 1 to 9, which take up the first two weeks of instruction. The end-term will cover Days 11 to 19, which take up the final two weeks of the session.

Please note that, although the course officially begins on Tuesday, May 26, I have assigned the first lessons for the preceding day. Otherwise, there would not be enough time to cover all the necessary material. As compensation, the Fridays at the end of each two-week block have no lectures scheduled. Those Fridays serve instead as the first days during which the mid-term and end-term examinations are respectively available.

The mid-exam will be available from 12:01 AM on Friday, June 5, through 11:59 PM on Sunday, June 7. The end-term will be available from 12:01 AM on Friday, June 19, through 11:59 PM on Sunday, June 21. Both exams will have the same format. All parts will be online. You may take all the parts together or take each of them separately. You may take the parts in any order and at any time over the days when they are available.

Part I consists of objective questions based on the quiz questions at the end of each lesson {30 points}. The questions appear only in the narrated form of the lessons. They do not appear with the scripts of the lectures.

Part II covers the supplemental readings {30 points}. Each two-week block of the course includes five readings. On each exam, Canvas will randomly present each student with two questions about those five readings. Each student will need to answer ONE of those questions. Once again, different students will see different pairs of questions, but all questions should be of similar difficulty. You should be able to write a well-focused answer in about 300 words. All potential questions on the readings for each exam appear under the heading "Examination Preparation" in the Assignments tool. You may read them online or download PDFs containing them.

Part III will ask students to answer FOUR out of seven short essays questions {40 points total}. The seven questions that each student sees will come randomly from a pool of approximately fifty questions for each exam. Different students will see different sets of questions, but all questions should be of similar difficulty. You should be able to write a well-focused answer for each question in about 200 to 300 words. All potential questions on the lectures for each exam appear under the heading "Examination Preparation" in the Assignments tool. You may read them online or download PDFs containing them.

Tight and strict time limits exist for completing Part I on both exams. I have no mechanism to prevent students from trying to look up answers. If you choose not to prepare, do not expect to be able to look up the answers for more than a handful of the objective questions. Likewise, if you are prepared but are not sure of the answer to one or two questions, feel free to check your notes in the time left over. That procedure should help insure fair testing conditions for all students.

Parts II and III will also have longer time limits. Conscientious students can minimize that source of pressure if they have prepared answers that they can paste into the answer boxes. Check with DoIT to make sure that the browser you prefer is compatible with all Canvas features, including cutting and pasting.

Contacting the Instructor

This is an online course, and I shall not be physically available for office hours. As noted, the Chat tool is an appropriate means for asking questions and resolving general issues. I hope also to be readily available through email at tjarchde@wisc.edu.

Appendix I: Lessons

Day 1 (May 25)

1. Exploration and Encounter
2. The Fate of the Indigenous Peoples
3. Early English Settlement

Day 2 (May 26)

4. Regional Variations in English Settlement
5. Bound Labor
6. Migrant Groups, 1715-1815

Day 3 (May 27)

7. American Nationalism
8. The Roots of International Migration
9. The Irish Famine

Day 4 (May 29)

10. German Immigration
11. Scandinavian Immigration
12. Immigrants and Know-Nothings

Day 5 (May 30)

13. Immigrants and Other Minorities
14. The Civil War Era
15. Non-Immigrant Minorities in the Gilded Age

Day 6 (June 1)

16. Immigrants and American Labor
17. Americanization
18. Chinese Immigration

Day 7 (June 2)

19. Early Controls on Immigration
20. The New Immigration
21. Southern European Immigration

Day 8 (June 3)

22. Jewish Immigration
23. Slavic Immigration
24. Japanese Immigration

Day 9 (June 4)

25. Labor's Concerns about the New Immigration
26. Eugenics and Immigration

Day 10 (June 5-7) Mid-Term Exam

Day 11 (June 8)

27. Immigration and Naturalization Legislation
28. World War I

29. Contested Meanings of "Assimilation"

30. Immigrants and Radicalism

Day 12 (June 9)

31. Restriction in the 1920s
32. American Ethnics: 1920s & 1930s
33. African Americans in the Postwar Era

Day 13 (June 10)

34. The Jewish Issue: 1930s through World War II
35. American Japanese in World War II
36. Mexicans in the U.S. before Mid-Century

Day 14 (June 11)

37. African Americans in World War II
38. Refugees & Immigrants in the Early Cold War
39. Ethnic Gains by Mid-Century

Day 15 (June 12)

40. Protestant, Catholic, Jew
41. Immigration Act Amendments, 1965
42. The Civil Rights Movement: To the March on Washington

Day 16 (June 15)

43. Civil Rights Legislation
44. Black Power and White Backlash
45. Affirmative Action

Day 17 (June 16)

46. Refugees
47. Undocumented Immigration
48. Managing Undocumented Immigration

Day 18 (June 17)

49. Immigration Policy since 1990
50. Economic & and National Security Issues

Day 19 (June 18)

51. Current American Population Statistics
52. Assimilation and Ethnic Identity

Day 20 (June 19-21) End-Term Exam

Appendix II: Readings

Day 1: Lesson 3

Lipman, Andrew. "'A meanes to knitt them togeather': The Exchange of Body Parts in the Pequot War." *William & Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2008): 3-28.

Day 3: Lesson 9

Anbinder, Tyler. "Moving beyond 'Rags to Riches': New York's Irish Famine Immigrants and Their Surprising Savings Accounts." *Journal of American History* 99, no. 3 (2012): 741-770.

Day 5: Lesson 15

Stremlau, Rose. "'To Domesticate and Civilize Wild Indians': Allotment and the Campaign to Reform Indian Families, 1875—1887." *Journal of Family History* 30, no. 3 (2005): 265-86.

Day 6: Lesson 18

Batzell, Rudi. "Free Labour, Capitalism and the Anti-Slavery Origins of Chinese Exclusion in California in the 1870s." *Past & Present* 225, no. 1 (2014): 143-186.

Day 9: Lesson 25

Gratton, Brian. "Race or Politics? Henry Cabot Lodge and the Origins of the Immigration Restriction Movement in the United States" [plus commentaries]. *Journal of Policy History* 30, no. 1 (2018): 128-166.

Day 11: Lesson 29

Wegner, Kathryn L. "Progressive Reformers and the Democratic Origins of Citizenship Education in the United States during the First World War." *History of Education* 42, no. 6 (2013): 713-728.

Day 12: Lesson 33

Logan, John R., et al. "Emergent Ghettos: Black Neighborhoods in New York and Chicago, 1880-1940." *American Journal of Sociology* 120, no. 4 (2015): 1055-1094.

Day 15: Lesson 40

Herzog, Jonathan. "America's Spiritual-Industrial Complex and the Policy of Revival in the Early Cold War." *Journal of Policy History* 22, no. 3 (2010): 337-365.

Day 15: Lesson 41

Massey, Douglas S. and Karen J. Pren. "Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America." *Population Development Review* 38, no. 1 (2012): 1-29.

Day 17: Lesson 48

Martin, David A. "Resolute Enforcement Is Not Just for Restrictionists: Building a Stable and Efficient Immigration Enforcement System." *Journal of Law and Politics* 30, no. 4 (2015): 411-464.

Appendix III: The Fine Print

In an attempt to have syllabi meet a common standard, to do for colleges what education schools have done for K-12 institutions, and to provide cover in case of lawsuits, the university administration now demands that instructors include certain information in those documents. If the preceding pages have not clearly conveyed the necessary points, the following should meet the expectations.

Course Learning Outcomes:

a. General:

Learn essential information about the formation of the population of the United States from pre-colonial times to the present.

Analyze commonalities in the experiences of all migrant groups as well as particularities in the experiences of each.

Recognize the multiple dimensions of political, economic, and social tensions.

Be able to put current developments and policy debates in historical context.

Be able to assess evidence and draw your own conclusions without the expectation of having to match them to those of the instructor.

Appreciate that human life is messy, often involving competition between alternative positive values rather than conflict between good and evil, although those battles do occur.

b. Ethnic Studies:

Become aware of history's impact on the present.

Learn to recognize and question assumptions.

Gain consciousness of your identity and those of others.

Prepare for effective participation in a multicultural society.

[Caveats from the instructor: The third point under *b.* should not mean that your ethnic or racial background must determine your identity, although either or both may do so or may contribute to its shape. Your identity should be your choice. The final point under *b.* implies that U.S. society is multicultural. The adjective is well intentioned, but commentators have applied “multicultural” to several social models that specialists believe differ in important respects from each other. You will need to shape your own description of the society that the undoubtedly diverse elements of the population are building].

Number of Credits:

Three. That is simple enough. History also counts toward the Social Studies requirement, the Ethnic Studies requirement, and requirements for the History major.

How the Course Meets the Credit Hour Policy Standards:

The course contains fifty-two lessons, not all of which are equal in length. Together, however, they provide the equivalent of three, fifty-minute lectures delivered over forty-five lessons in a fifteen-week semester. In addition, a non-credit quiz that will require students to review the material follows each lesson. Students must also do required readings and, in order to be ready for two, equally weighted exams, must prepare essay answers about them and about 100 questions drawn from the lectures. Those activities should take up the two hours of work expected outside the classroom for each hour of in-class instruction.

Information about Rules, Rights, and Responsibilities; Academic Integrity; Accommodations for Students with Disabilities; Diversity and Inclusion:

Please refer to the fourth item under the Course Documents accessed through the Assignments tab in Canvas. It contains the appropriate information, expressed in the language of the law, as well as links to other documents that more fully develop relevant details.

Abstracts for Every Lesson

Lesson 1 attempts to establish the historical context in which the European exploration of the territory that became the United States takes place. It examines the end of efforts of Islamic societies to control or subjugate the European continent, the rise of European states eager to extend their own influence, technological developments that made long-range oceanic voyages more feasible, and the conquest by Europeans of various regions of the Western Hemisphere.

Lesson 2 examines the consequences of Europeans' explorations for the societies they conquered. It describes the process as one of encounter rather than of discovery. Without discounting the abuses suffered by the indigenous peoples, the lesson also highlights the internal problems that made the colonized societies vulnerable to defeat and near collapse. The extent of demographic destruction was especially noteworthy in what modern people call Mexico, Central America, and South America. Be aware, however, that the subsequent arrival of Europeans in what we call the United States and Canada had analogous effects.

Lesson 3 gets us closer to the focus of the course by examining why England sought colonies in the Western Hemisphere and outlining early English efforts at exploration and settlement. Note that the eventual importance of the North American mainland to the story was not necessarily clear from the beginning. The Caribbean Islands -- perhaps surprisingly from a later perspective -- were a centrally important part of the English imperial world. Different patterns in the development of the mainland and the islands would be important in determining why the former eventually sought independence from England.

Lesson 4 examines variations among different areas settled or eventually acquired by the English. Popular thinking about colonial America draws, to a large degree, on images of the New England region. Focused on the creation of the United States, it mostly neglects, for example, any consideration of the island colonies in the Atlantic and Caribbean. Keeping regional distinctions in mind can make us aware of the alternative paths that development might have taken and of the tensions involved in building a single nation from diverse communities.

Lesson 5 looks at the role that various kinds of bound free labor played in the growth of the colonies. Migrating to an unfamiliar, distant environment was not an enticing idea for many people. Recruiting a work force was a necessity for making the colonial experiment a success. Forcing some people to become the laborers who grew the crops that offered the greatest profit but required attention beyond the abilities of a typical sole farmer became part of the answer to that conundrum. Paying the costs of migration for people willing to work off that debt encouraged those with especially poor prospects in Europe to take the risk of relocation, whether to engage in agriculture or other pursuits.

Lesson 6 focuses on the increasing diversity of European people who came to the English colonies during the eighteenth century. From the perspective of the modern times, they may not seem that different from the English. Indeed, many came from what geographers call the

"British Isles." Those differences, however, were substantial in the minds of contemporaries. By the time of the American Revolution, perhaps only half of the residents of the United States were of distinctly English origin.

With **Lessons 7, 8, and 9** the course begins to examine the era of large-scale immigration that occurred in the nineteenth century. European migration and African forced migration to the Western Hemisphere had already been a phenomenon for two centuries. The emergence of the United States as a single, independent created by revolution, however, added an additional dimension to the story.

Lesson 7 looks at the United States in the half century after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Immigration continued during the period but at a level kept low by the American Revolution, by the wars of the Napoleonic Era, and by a subsequent economic crisis. During the decades in question, Americans spent considerable energy developing a sense of identity that would hold the nation together and distinguish its politics and culture from that of Europe. By the time the volume of immigration picked up after 1825, newcomers to the United States would encounter a society still in the process of formation but with increasingly strong feelings about what being an American entailed.

Lesson 8 is fundamentally important. It attempts to present an overall framework for understanding the circumstances that create the drive to leave some nations in order to go to others. The forces at play took hold first in the British Isles and other nations in the western part of Europe. In time, they would reach southern and eastern parts of the continent. Similar developments occurred in Asia, although their main effects stayed in the Pacific region with just a modest impact reaching the United States by early in the twentieth century. Even the migrations currently happening in the world stem from the same set of causes.

Lesson 9 deals with the Irish Famine and its consequences. That ecological and economic disaster amplified and intensified a movement of people that probably would have occurred in any case in response to the general causes mentioned in Lesson 8. The poverty of the Irish immigrants and the rush with which they arrived made their coming a less than welcome development. Moreover, the Irish almost uniquely two of the challenges that many immigrant groups would embody. They were culturally different, especially in religion, from the host population, and they were key to the growth of a mostly low-skilled work force that made possible the nation's industrial development and that would make factory workers rather than independent artisans the main producers of material goods.

Lesson 10 examines German immigration to the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century. People from German-speaking territories had come to America during the colonial era, especially in the eighteenth century. Dislocations associated with the movement of the German states toward unification gave additional impetus to emigration after the Napoleonic Wars. German immigrants included a Protestant majority and a Catholic minority. They typically had more resources available to them than Irish mover had. Those facts lessened, but did not eradicate, the concerns raised by their arrival.

Lesson 11 turns the focus to the immigration from Scandinavia, which began before the Civil War but peaked after it. The Scandinavian nations included Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland. Common factors affected all those nations, and the experience of each had its own special features. Note that the high point of Finnish emigration came after that for the other states. Many Finns left in a later era when Russians, Poles, and other neighbors to the east were on the move.

Lesson 12 discusses the reaction of the host population to the pre-Civil War immigrants. As the conflict over the potential westward extension of slavery grew more serious, existing political alliances began to fracture, allowing a faction that was mainly anti-Catholic but generally uneasy with immigration to come momentarily to the fore. Feelings of prejudice and fear like those prompted by the new arrivals of the 1840s and 1850s would re-appear with each succeeding wave of immigrants.

Separating the story of immigrants to the United States from the history of other groups in the nation is unwise and impossible. All groups interacted with one another, sometimes cooperatively and often in conflict. Ethnicity and race are separate concepts. They, however, have become increasingly interrelated in with the passage of time.

Lesson 13 examines the experiences of African-Americans, Native Americans, and Mexicans in the decades before the Civil War. Immigrants undoubtedly faced hardships and discrimination, but they had better prospects than enslaved African Americans and by Native Americans facing displacement. "Race" has always been an inexact concept, and its meaning was especially diffuse in the nineteenth century. The lesson looks critically at struggles of modern historians to deal with the term in its older context. It also addresses the incorporation of the West into the United States, which added further the complexity of the population.

Lesson 14 centers on the Civil War era. Popular history describes the participation of immigrants in defending the nation as an important step in gaining societal acceptance. Even today, calling attention to the loyalty and sacrifices of ethnic, religious, and racial groups underlies part of the argument in behalf of their claim to equal rights. To some extent, Lesson 14 reinforces that kind of thinking, but it also undermines the idea that the Civil War eradicated all feelings of hostility to the immigrant population.

Lesson 15 returns to the story of non-immigrant minority groups. It demonstrates that the Civil War had only limited success in affording protections to the African Americans freed by the conflict. It also brings to a conclusion the story of the subjugation of the Native American peoples of the western states. The lesson reveals that ironies fill the pages of history. For complicated reasons, American thinkers had different expectations for Native Americans than for African Americans. The most marginalized of citizens, including African Americans as well as immigrants, played key roles in the Indian Wars. People who defined themselves as "friends of the Indians" fostered plans that further undercut Native American autonomy and cultures.

Lesson 16 examines the relationship between immigrants and the existing work force, especially insofar as the movement to organize labor was under way. Sometimes immigrants take

work that native workers shun (e.g., canal and railroad building); sometimes they are partly unwitting participants in technological developments that change existing modes of production, often to the disadvantage of current employees. Having enough immigrants to prevent bottlenecks in the economy helps raise the standard of living; in times of inadequate growth or contraction; having more than enough immigrants can drive down wages, as the law of supply and demand continues its function.

Immigrants and their Americanized children played central roles in the emergence of labor unions. In periods of high immigration, however, the labor movement has been usually skeptical of an open door policy, especially when the backgrounds of the immigrants differ from those of their own membership. When a phenomenon of returning home after short stays became frequent, union members also feared that the newcomers would refuse to undertake industrial actions (e.g., strikes) that traded immediate hardship for long-term improvements. Union reticence has changed in recent decades, as labor leaders have sought vigorously to recruit immigrants to make up for declining overall numbers.

Clashes between labor and capital were sharp in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The role of immigrants in creating unions made many in the general population worried about social unrest. That became even truer when some in immigrant communities espoused ideologies like socialism, although the general labor movement preferred improving conditions under the current economic system rather changing it.

Lesson 17 discusses the adaptation, by the end of the nineteenth century, of immigrants and their offspring to the prevailing culture. Later lessons will analyze concepts like acculturation, assimilation, and diversity to define them with some rigor and to grapple with competing judgments about their utility in describing what the immigrant experience has been or should be. Lesson 17 looks at issues such as language choice, religious organization, the role of women, and the emergence of "ethnics" as a force in politics.

Lesson 18 focuses on Chinese immigration to the United States. Locating the lesson at this point in the course is intentional. Succeeding lessons will discuss a shift in the source of immigrants to southern and eastern Europe and the coincidental emergence of strong movement for immigration restriction. Reasons for opposing the so-called "New Immigration" were multiple and included fears of labor competition, political disloyalty, cultural incompatibility, and supposed racial inferiority. In some respects, the Chinese experience was the precursor of those developments. The Chinese arrived at essentially the same time as the Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, but they came from an unfamiliar area of the world and almost immediately fell suspect to the kind of animosity later arrivals would experience. Indeed, the Chinese became the first group to have limits imposed on its right of entry.

Lesson 19 reviews early legislative efforts to deal with problems perceived to be associated with immigration. Starting before the Civil War, states attempted to raise funds from shipping companies to pay costs associated with the arrival of indigent newcomers in their jurisdictions. Those measures, however, ran afoul of the Constitution, which makes interstate commerce and international trade responsibilities of the federal government. After the Civil

War, Washington responded to popular concerns by ordering the exclusion of Chinese laborers, who allegedly represented a kind of not fully free worker likely to undercut native competitors. Congress subsequently extended the exclusion to any Europeans who entered into work contracts before coming to America. By the 1890s, the federal government took direct control over supervising immigration and incrementally added to a list of physical, moral, and economic characteristics for which aspiring immigrants could be barred from entry.

Lesson 20 takes an overall look at the shift in the main source of the immigrant traffic to southern and eastern Europe. It examines the concept of a "New Immigration," which originated as a negative comparison of earlier arrivals, who supposedly were able readily to adapt to the United States, and current newcomers, thought by critics to be unable to make that adjustment. The lesson points out the shortcomings in that point of view, but it also attempts to address the ways in which immigration did change over time. The switch in geographic sources was real; the concentration of immigrants in large urban areas and in industry intensified; and the phenomenon of returning to homelands after a period of work in the U.S. became more common among some groups.

Lesson 21 discusses emigration from southern Europe. Italy sent the most immigrants, although a large minority of the arrivals later returned to Europe. Although not among the largest senders, Greece contributed a steady flow of people, driven by economic problems common to the Mediterranean region as well as by conflicts between that country and the Ottoman Empire. Spain and Portugal were further sources of arrivals, although the traffic from the Iberian Peninsula went not only to the United States but also to South American and Caribbean nations once colonized by those countries.

Lesson 22 discusses the Jewish immigration. The first Jews to come to America arrived in the 1600s. Most of them had roots in the Iberian Peninsula or in Netherlands, and some had previously traveled to colonies like Brazil or Curacao. Jews also participated in the mid-nineteenth-century emigration from German-speaking territories. The focus of this lesson is on those who arrived later from farther east, especially from Russia, the territories that now form Poland, and parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Persecution intensified Jewish migration, but much would have occurred in any case due to economic conditions.

Lesson 23 examines emigration of people who spoke Slavic languages. That use of the adjective "Slavic" is similar to that which the word "Scandinavian" previously served. It implies that a set of individual nationalities shared common experiences. The Slavic category, however, showed greater internal variation than the Scandinavian did. Some Slavs were Catholic Christians, while others were Orthodox or Muslims. Some used the Roman alphabet, and some use the Cyrillic. Some aspired to dominate the group politically, and others were eager to gain or main independence.

Lesson 24 reviews emigration from Japan, first to Hawaii and then to the American mainland. Once the United States curtailed Chinese immigration, Japanese arrivals served as substitutes to some extent. Japan, however, had developed quickly and was emerging as a rival to the

developed states of the West. As a result, Americans perceived the Japanese challenge to be somewhat different from the Chinese one. They saw cheap Japanese labor as a threat, but they also feared that Japan might become a larger political and economic challenge. For those reasons, the U.S. government initially sought bilateral rather than unilateral programs to control Japanese immigration.

Lesson 25 deals with a contentious subject, the impact of immigrants on the well-being of existing workers. Its focus is on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The analysis reviews several scholarly attempts to measure and to explain differences at that time in wages earned by various immigrant nationalities and between those peoples and natives. The findings suggest that several causes may have played a role and that assessing the overall effect is difficult. The lesson points out legitimate worries among native workers but also calls attention to developments that could have lessened their fears.

Lesson 26 addresses the issue of eugenics. Combining patterns of thought from Darwin's theory of evolution and early work on genetics performed by scholars like Mendel, advocates of the eugenics movement sought explain the origin and development of human traits and abilities. Some among them suggested that fundamental differences existed among different ethnic groups and races, and that migratory movements that added less advanced people to a population would have negative long-term effects. Later studies determined that such worries were unfounded. At the time, however, the eugenicists' arguments seemed to have the authority of science. They provided a theoretical rationale for those who wanted to restrict immigration and offered potential mechanisms for identifying undesirable groups.

Lesson 27 reviews the development of immigration policy from the final decade of the nineteenth century until the entry of the United States into World War I. Existing legislation aimed at excluding individual arrivals with shortcomings that made their admission undesirable. A new push sought to identify broad groups of potential immigrants who could have a destructive impact. Critics especially wanted a means to predict which applicants would be likely to have to accept sub-standard wages and who were coming only to make money to take back to their homelands. Some observers were ready to use ethnic and racial backgrounds as indicators of undesirability. Commentators have condemned the Dillingham Commission, a federal body created to study immigration, for encouraging such discriminatory attitudes. Nevertheless, the legislation proposed or enacted generally focused on programs lawmakers hoped would guarantee that immigrants had enough skills to contribute to the economy and to protect themselves against exploitation. Treatment of Asians proved the exception to the rule. Washington was ready to assume that all Japanese laborers posed a threat and, on the eve of the war, blocked immigration from a swath of Asian lands.

Lesson 28 examines the impact of wartime on attitudes about immigrants. European nations' demands for military recruits and the dangers of sea travel dramatically reduced immigration and made it seem less of a problem. Attention turned to concerns about the allegiances of ethnic minorities already in the United States. Even before the nation entered the war in support

of England and France, political values and economic ties made Washington sympathetic to their side. Germans, who had not never been a major target of opposition, found their loyalty questioned, especially if they expressed sympathy for their homeland. After enjoying a period of respite, the Irish, many of whom viewed the war as an opportunity to escape English control, again became suspect. Likewise, many Americans readily denounced anybody of foreign descent who opposed the war effort because they agreed with the socialist and communist characterization of it as a conflict among competing capitalist systems.

Lesson 29 opens the course's effort to analyze serious competing theories about the proper form that America's multi-ethnic society should take. Wartime concerns encouraged programs to foster loyalty among the foreign-born and to create a harmonious, efficient work force. Idealists described the United States as a "melting pot" of nationalities. Critics condemned the melting pot as an unrealistic description of an effort to force adaptation to Anglo-American mores. They offered an alternative vision of a culturally plural nation in which each group, like the instruments in an orchestra, contributed its own voice. Critics of American participation in World War I, which they believed was a product of the influence of the Anglo-American elite, formed the core of support for that point of view. Regardless of their affinities for their compatriots, their religions, and their cultures, the actual foreign-born and foreign-descent populations of the United States proved overwhelmingly loyal of the nation.

Lesson 30 looks at several crises of the 1920s, which partly explain the adoption of broad restrictions on immigration in that decade. Popular history portrays the Roaring Twenties as a time of economic expansion and social innovation, but the era also had a darker side. Beginning in 1919, strikes across the country reflected unsettled relations between management and labor. Occurring in the wake of the Russian Revolution, those clashes evoked the possibility of a Bolshevik uprising in the United States, and domestic socialists and communists attempted to stoke that fear. Bombings by foreign-born in New York and Washington aggravated the situation and led to a round of arrests and deportations. Partly sparked by Prohibition, ordinary crime increased in the 1920s, and brazen acts of violence carried out by foreigners further undermined the position of immigrants.

Lesson 31 examines the program of restricted immigration developed during the 1920s. A serious but brief economic downturn after World War I, coupled with a surge of foreign arrivals in the wake of the conflict, renewed the debate on immigration policy. In that context, the Supreme Court reached a series of decisions regarding who was eligible to earn citizenship after coming to the United States. Some specialists argued that an early version of IQ test given Army recruits during the recent war gave clear evidence of the unsuitability of some groups for entry. Responding to the political agitation, Congress responded with emergency legislation in 1921 and an even more restrictive plan in 1924. It also set the stage of a policy designed so that future immigration would not disturb the then current balance of national origins in the American population. That program went into effect in 1929 and, with modest changes, remained the law until the mid-1960s.

Lesson 32 reviews a series of movements that threatened the status of ethnic and racial minorities in the United States. The incidents covered go as far back as the 1890s, but the focus is on the 1920s. The impacts of isolationism, Fundamentalism, Prohibition, and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan form a major in the lecture. Skepticism about immigrants increased as the United States retreated from international affairs. Fundamentalism, with its emphasis on the religious origins of the United States and its rejection of contemporary biblical scholarship, devalued non-Protestant religions. Prohibition, insofar as alcohol played a role in immigrant cultures and gangsters associated with ethnic groups defied the new law, reinforced concerns about the foreign-born and their heirs. The revival of the KKK naturally aggravated the already bad situation of the African American population. The KKK also made Catholics and Jews its target, especially in northern states where it took root for the first time. The rise of urban white ethnics, most notably the Irish, to positions of importance in the national Democratic Party offered one of the few positive developments for minority groups in the era.

Lesson 33 discusses the African American experience in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It covers events after the establishment of the Jim Crow regime in the South, including the era of lynching that ensued. Racism, setbacks in agriculture, and news of opportunities elsewhere began a movement of African Americans out of the South, mostly toward northern states east of the Mississippi River. Migration to the West Coast would pick up later, with the Depression of the 1930s and the rise of defense industries in the 1940s. In some places, violence met the growth of the black population. The lesson and its accompanying reading examine the emergence of African American areas in New York City and Chicago. The development of Harlem and the birth of the Harlem Renaissance receive special attention.

Immigrant and African American helped shape the urbanization of the United States in the era under scrutiny. The movers generally were poor people from rural areas seeking advancement in more advanced economic environments. That coincidence sometimes led to confrontation with each other and sometimes to cooperation. Although this lesson does not reject the existence of similarities and analogous circumstances, it does not take the position that the immigrant and African American experiences in the modern era were simply variants of the same phenomenon. The contrast between the concepts of immigrant neighborhood and black ghetto should be evidence of basic differences between the migrations.

Lesson 34 addresses the situation of Europe's Jewish population in the 1930s. Topics include the Nazis' program of anti-Jewish laws before World War II, efforts of Jewish people to leave areas controlled by the Nazis, migration to Palestine, the Holocaust, and the post-war refugee situation. Within that narrative, the lesson discusses international efforts to mitigate the crisis during the 1930s, the limitation on action imposed by U.S. immigration policies, and the development of America's post-war refugee programs as well as unsuccessful efforts to relax U.S. immigration restrictions. A generous immigration policy could have helped more German and Austrian Jews before 1939, but the large majority of Jews killed during the Holocaust were in areas of Eastern Europe that did not fall under Nazi control until World War II was in

full force and viable ways of exit were unavailable. Issues associated with World War II and its aftermath, however, would have continuing impacts on the evolution of American legislation regarding immigrants and refugees.

Lesson 35 examines the fate of persons of Japanese origin or descent in the United States during World War II. Relatively few in number and concentrated on the West Coast, they were easier to isolate and control than were the much larger and dispersed populations of Italians and Germans in the United States. Those born in Japan were ineligible for citizenship, and some had sent their children home for education. Japan's unexpected attack on American territory in the Pacific raised fears about their loyalty and inclined some of their neighbors toward vengeance. From Washington's point of view, detention of the population away from their homes would serve as a guarantee against sabotage and as a form of protective custody. Second thoughts about this unnecessary and racist policy arose almost immediately, and the slow release from the camps of those believed to be loyal began. The Supreme Court refused to outlaw the use of detention in times of emergency and military threat, but, in a series of decisions, it condemned the holding of anyone of proven loyalty. The bad fortune of the Japanese proved a benefit to the Chinese. As the United States sought to counter Japanese propaganda in Asia, Congress ended its blanket policy toward Asians by making the Chinese eligible for citizenship and granting China an annual immigration quota of 105.

Lesson 36 reviews the experience of the Mexican population in the United States in the period immediately around World War II. Although a small number of Mexicans were in territory that is now the United States even before the nation came into being, most people of that origin and descent arrived after the middle of the twentieth century. A modest amount of migration from Mexico began in the late nineteenth century for reasons discussed in the lecture. In an area without a large African American population, Mexicans provided a low-level work force for farms and industries in good times. Seen as racially inferior, they suffered segregation in many places, and the authorities sought to send the most marginal of them home during economic downturns like the Depression. Needing labor during World War II, the United States sought to break that pattern by devising an official program of temporary work stays for Mexicans. The policy restarted Mexican immigration, and shortcomings in it indirectly led to the surge of undocumented entry that began in the 1960s.

Lesson 37 describes the experience of African Americans during World War II, a time that set the stage for the Civil Rights Movement that gained momentum during the 1950s. Wartime labor shortages and threats of protest by African Americans led Washington to establish anti-discrimination policies for defense industries. With some reluctance, the military also sought African American recruits, who then served in segregated units. African American leaders looked upon the war as an occasion to fight against prejudice at home as well as abroad. In response to the opportunity for jobs, black migration out of the South increased and expanded its reach to the West Coast. The sudden appearance of large numbers of African Americans competing for jobs and housing, as well as resentment against continuing discrimination, led to riots in several cities in 1943. By the end of the war, attitudes toward African Americans

among the majority population remained ambivalent. Whites were increasing aware that blacks were not content with their place in the social system, although many claimed not to understand the reasons for the group's dissatisfaction.

Lesson 38 examines the development of the American refugee program in the wake of World War II as well as modifications in U.S. immigration legislation. Lesson 46 will discuss the issue in more detail, but a brief comment about the legal difference between refugee and immigration policy is in order here. Although the United States melded immigrant and refugee law until 1980, the rationale for each program is fundamentally different from that for the other. International law sees the protection of refugees as a moral imperative, although it does not demand that governments grant beneficiaries the right to permanent residence or citizenship. That same body of law allows states to establish entry criteria for immigrants according to their own national interest. Moreover, the legal definition of who qualifies as a refugee is much narrower than popular use of the term, especially in the media, suggests.

After World War II, the first American refugee programs dealt with relocating "displaced persons" left without the possibility of returning to their homes. Restrictive at first, it gradually became more liberal, notably in terms of its attitude toward Jews. In the 1950s, American refugee policy turned to the plight of persons seeking to flee Communist control. At the same time, Congress enacted various measures designed to exclude Communists from immigration and to make those already here subject to deportation in certain circumstances. It later extended those measures to include those who had activity collaborated with Fascist regimes. Congress also undertook changes in the general immigration law; it abandoned language that implied certain groups were inherently incapable of adapting to American society, and it authorized immigration from Asia, although under greater restrictions than Europeans faced. President Harry S. Truman unsuccessfully called for even greater changes in policy.

Lesson 39 analyzes the social and economic positions of ethnic and racial groups in the United States at mid-century. Members of the second and third generation had become the majority among people of European descent. Popular culture, the Depression, the rise of unions, World War II, and opposition to Communism had created common experiences that worked to mitigate the differences among them. White ethnics appeared to have achieved economic parity with the native population. Commentators speculated that ethnic differences would soon disappear. The decline of ethnic neighborhoods, partly encouraged by government policy, seemed evidence of that outcome. Most observers thought that not even continuing religious divisions was a cause for concern.

Racial minorities and Mexicans, whom the census defined as whites, did not share in the positive developments. African Americans and Mexicans lagged in all respects, but some commentators believed that increased education could improve their lot. Despite excelling in education, Asians had not reaped commensurate rewards. Improving the status of those groups seemed to be the next item on the national agenda.

Lesson 40 examines religious groups in the United States in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Disagreements based on religious beliefs still affect several political issues, most of which concern contentious matters of sexuality. Religious affiliations in general, however, had greater social and political importance in the mid-twentieth century, although signs of easing tensions were present. Optimists argued that the three major faiths followed by the mass of the American population were in essential agreement about the nature of a good society. Allaying the fears of some Protestants, writings by prominent Catholic theologians affirmed support for the separation of church and state and for the rights of individual conscience. From the government's point of view, popular acceptance of common values, including belief in a monotheistic God, was at least as important as differing economic systems in distinguishing the West from "atheistic communism." Catholics, who were often victims of Communist regimes, gained greater acceptance, as did Jews as victims of the Holocaust. According to a new expression, the United States was a nation with a "Judeo-Christian" heritage.

Not all the news was positive. Liberal intellectuals claimed that the lack of Catholic ethnics in prestigious positions in the academic and professional worlds was a result of religious values that did not place enough emphasis on success. Old prejudices similarly kept Jews underrepresented in key arenas. When John F. Kennedy ran for president in 1960, he had to assure Protestant ministers that his religion would not affect his political actions, but he still lost votes in traditionally Democratic and Protestant southern states. Nevertheless, his victory was a sign of how much ground immigrant groups had gained in winning acceptance.

Lesson 41 discusses the major changes in immigration law that took place in the 1960s. Kennedy pushed for reform, and President Lyndon B. Johnson took up the cause after JFK's assassination. The amendments passed in 1965 ended the discriminatory features of the National Origins Quota System by giving all countries equal access to the same number of immigration visas. The arrangement cleared the way for the new wave of immigration seen over the past half century. Rather than the product of a coherent population policy, however, that development was an unintended consequence of the law. Congress supported the reform only on the promise that just a brief surge of entries by relatives of European immigrants already in the country would ensue. Indeed, the lawmakers imposed new restrictions on the regions of the Americas considered most likely to be the major source of future aspirants for admission. Lesson 41 and subsequent lectures examine why the unexpected occurred.

Lesson 42 describes the first phase of the modern Civil Rights Movement. Broad recognition of the need for change came in the wake of World War II and of the nation's apparent success in absorbing the European immigrants of earlier decades. Commentators supportive of integration used the argument that people of African descent, like previously distrusted ethnic minorities, shared the same values as other Americans. All that distinguished them from their neighbors was pigmentation. As one historian stated, in language that would now be "incorrect" and politically unacceptable, "Negroes are, after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less." With a similar but distinct emphasis, black leaders likewise focused on the illogicality of bias based on accidental features like pigmentation. Martin

Luther King, Jr., asked that African Americans “not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.”

Reformers first turned their attention to ending racial segregation in educational institutions. A series of cases in federal courts determined that separation led to inequality and was unconstitutional. Even before the famous *Brown* decision of 1954, black attorneys had attacked the practice in professional schools. By means of non-violent protests, African Americans also sought unrestricted access to a variety of public services. The locus of legal and popular action was the Southern states, where segregation existed by law and where resistance to change was strong and often violent. African Americans, however, found increasing levels of support from the executive branch of federal government, starting with the desegregation of the Armed Forces under President Harry S. Truman.

Lesson 43 identifies the major pieces of federal legislation that sought to break down the legacy of Jim Crow laws and segregation. Those included the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Housing Rights Act of 1968. It also tells the story of several initiatives led by African Americans, including the March on Washington, the Selma to Montgomery March, and the Chicago Freedom Movement that helped generate support for those acts.

Competing themes of continuing importance make their initial appearance in this lecture. Some plans sought social betterment in programs created for poor people, regardless of race. At the same time, the necessity of programs shaped directly for African Americans seemed obvious to some important actors, including President Lyndon B. Johnson. A few controversial voices worried that damage done by slavery and segregation to family structure in African American communities would impede positive change.

Lesson 44 develops a story line introduced in the preceding lecture. By the mid-1960s, a new set of civil rights activists abandoned the model of integration that underlay the movement in earlier years. African Americans with urban, Northern roots came to the fore and challenged the Southern clergy who had been the core of the group’s leadership. Although political radicals, they found audiences more readily than usual as increasing numbers of people turned against the war in Vietnam. Some young African American leaders were ready to endorse violence, as occurred in several major cities. An older rival to mainstream black leaders, Malcolm X offered a vision that rejected integration and abandoned Christianity in favor of a version of Islam. After his own murder, Malcolm X became, for some, an alternative hero on a par with the assassinated Martin Luther King, Jr. The idea that black culture was unique and not a variant of general American culture grew stronger.

As the idea that the United States was a diverse rather a unified culture, emerged, minorities besides African Americans called the society’s attention to the role of discrimination and of forms of segregation in their own histories. Asians, Mexicans, and American Indians generated their own civil rights initiatives. Liberals, especially among the affluent and educated,

frequently offered support for aggrieved non-European minorities. In turn, some white ethnics reacted bitterly; racist impulses, fear of losing what they had worked hard to achieve, and a belief that America was uninterested in their experiences of hardship and prejudice were among their motivations.

Lesson 45 introduces the controversial topic of affirmative action. It began as an effort to allow the use of characteristics like race and ethnicity to distinguish among candidates of equal ability. The goal was to eliminate imbalances caused by prior discrimination in the allocation of jobs, school admissions, and similar benefits. How much leeway committees that hire, admit, and otherwise reward must or can employ in achieving that end immediately became matters for debate and litigation.

Courts have issued multiple decisions in attempt to define what steps are permissible under affirmative action as well as which ones are not. The federal judiciary generally has argued that race and ethnic background are acceptable factors to use, but the weight given them must not foreordain outcomes. Likewise, the courts have accepted plans to work toward reasonable targets for the representation of various groups but have outlawed the use of racial and ethnic quotas.

Practical and theoretical considerations divide opinions on affirmative action. Supporters of it see the initiatives as means to create equal opportunities. Opponents judge them efforts to impose equal outcomes without proper consideration of merit or real attempts to correct shortcomings in the education and training of minority group members. Advocates believe a just multicultural society should reflect the demographic composition of the population in its distribution of wealth and power. Critics charge that the mechanistic application of such a vision treats identities as unchanging realities rather than as fluid constructions that will naturally shift and meld over time in a pluralistic nation.

The lecture does not address a number of current proposals that constitute extensions of the affirmative action debate. Although important, those matters and similar ones are too unsettled for inclusion in the course. The College Board has suggested adding points to the SAT scores of students who have faced disadvantages in their social environments. In New York, Mayor Bill DeBlasio has called for an end to the use of a competitive examination for determining admissions to the city's elite public high schools. The result would increase the low number of black and Hispanic students in those institutions, at the ironic cost of decreasing the share of Asians, many of whom come from impoverished immigrant families. Meanwhile, a federal court in Boston is hearing a case in which the plaintiffs allege that Harvard University has used its "holistic" admissions process to keep down the number of Asian students enrolled

Lesson 46 addresses the subject of refugees and asylum seekers. Where they first present their request for protection is the main distinction between the two groups. In 1980, the

United States legally separated policies for refugees and asylum seekers from those for immigrants and accepted the politically neutral criteria defined by the United Nations for claiming those statuses. Both refugees and asylum seekers reasonably fear state-sponsored persecution at home because of their race, religion, national origin, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. Although the phrase “economic refugee” is in wide use, material need is not a legal basis for seeking refuge or asylum.

Policy makers once expected refugees and asylum seekers to be individual persons in need of protection. In recent decades, however, the United States has faced mass movements of people from Cuba, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam. The provision relating to members of a “particular social group” invites broad interpretation. Over recent decades, advocates have successfully argued that, in certain circumstances, homosexuals and women from societies that practice what Western nations call “female genital mutilation” fit the description. Since 1990, Congress has also allowed persons uprooted by violence or natural disaster access to temporary protected status. Critics argue that few entering under TPS ever depart.

Nations have an obligation under international law not to send persons with credible claims to refugee or asylum status back to places of danger. The U.S. also affords refugees and those granted asylum forms of government aid not available to ordinary immigrants. Both policy features make it tempting for persons unlikely soon or ever to qualify for admission as immigrants to claim to be refugees or asylum seekers. In turn, the potential for abuse of the program makes many in the government and in the electorate skeptical when the nation confronts large numbers of people seeking protection with little evidence to support their claims.

Lesson 47 examines the topic of unauthorized immigration. Students of the phenomenon prefer the word “undocumented” to the more inflammatory adjective “illegal.” Europeans sometimes refer to their version of the movement as “clandestine migration.” Whatever the name, the traffic usually occurs for same reasons that authorized migration takes place, and those who enter without documents are people unlikely, at least in the immediate future, to gain acceptance in the receiving nation. In the case of the United States, most of those who manage to enter contrary to law come from neighboring countries. Smaller but still substantial numbers come from distant lands, usually by overstaying visas that allowed them temporary stays for tourism or education.

Undocumented immigration constitutes an affront to the sovereignty of the receiving nation. Its economic impacts vary. The entrants undoubtedly benefit, or they would not come. Those who employ them likewise profit, because they get need workers or drive down their labor costs. Natives and immigrants of all statuses with skills similar to those of the undocumented probably suffer job or wage losses in locales where the supply of labor exceeds the demand for it. Although legally ineligible for most benefits, undocumented residents, especially if they are poor and become parents of American-born children, can impose costs on social services beyond the value of the taxes they pay. Economists have not been able to agree on the overall balance of the effects.

Lesson 48 discusses programs to curtail undocumented immigration. Efforts to accomplish that aim began in earnest during the 1980s. Those have consistently included adding Border Patrol agents, creating barriers at the southern frontier, and requiring employers to verify the legal status of persons they hire. President Trump's call for construction of a wall is not as innovative as either his friends or his foes claim. In the 1990s, Washington further discouraged undocumented entry by tightening restrictions access to federal aid programs for immigrants, especially undocumented ones. In order to deter those who attempted to circumvent the immigration process by claiming asylum, it also tightened procedures for granting that status.

The number of undocumented present in the United States has continued to rise, with the exception of a lull in the past few years, which the recent surge at the southern border may obliterate. Although government initiatives have had limited success, perhaps the numbers might be even greater without them. Civil libertarians and persons sympathetic with the plight of the undocumented, most of whom are simply seeking better lives, have worked to limit the effectiveness of government efforts. Likewise, interests that profit from the undocumented have worked to insure that laws to prevent employment of them contain flaws that make enforcement of them difficult.

Lesson 49 bring up to date the course's account of current immigration policy and of ongoing disputes about it. It covers a lot of material. The Immigration Act of 1990 modestly revised the allocations of visas established in earlier legislation. The basic outline from the 1965 act remains intact. Immediate relatives of citizens can enter without numerical restriction. Most visas go to other close relatives of immigrants and of legally resident aliens. A smaller set goes to persons with skills deemed useful for the American economy. Building on some measures adopted in the 1980s, the 1990 act also created a category of "diversity visas" designed to enable immigration from countries where few people have close relatives in the United States.

Conservative opponents of current policies disagree among themselves; some want fewer persons admitted, while others would prefer a different mix of people at the current level. The latter believe the United States should admit greater numbers of skilled workers and fewer family members. They argue that the laws now encourage beneficiaries of the original immigrant to create a chain of additional relatives who have no ties to the person who began the process. Many charge that diversity visas create unnecessary influxes and subsequent chains of newcomers from places that would otherwise not be sending people. Liberals generally oppose further restrictions on immigration, although some moderate Democrats have supported ideas such as an overall cap on annual admissions, removal of some relatives from eligibility for entry, the allocation of a larger share of the available visas to skilled workers, and the revival of a temporary farm work program.

The lecture also describes programs adopted by Congress in the 1990s, with the cooperation of President Clinton, to discourage undocumented immigration, to exclude or remove unde-

sirable arrivals, and to prevent the pursuit of social safety net benefits by legal immigrants. President Obama later attempted to soften or eliminate those measures. He made a special effort to protect the American-born children of the undocumented. The Obama administration also claimed to have increased governmental action against undocumented entrants, but the data offered as proof is open to dispute.

Lesson 50 offers an overview of immigration's impact on the economy and on national security. The findings illustrate how multi-faceted the economic effects of immigration are. Coming up with a single number that summarizes all the gains and losses is a daunting task. Some people win, and some lose. Implications for federal and state budgets differ from each other. Short-range costs may lead to long-term benefits, or they may not. Much will depend on how advances in robotics and artificial intelligence affect the shape of the job market and on society's ability to create opportunities for upward mobility among the offspring of recent arrivals.

A section of the lesson discusses the recruitment of aliens to work temporarily in the United States. Although a distinct topic, temporary employment programs intersect with immigration issues. Companies claim that the aliens they bring to the country are highly skilled and are essential to the success of their enterprises. Critics allege that the workers are no more skilled than Americans in the job market are but will work for less money. They also charge that foreign companies involved as intermediaries in the hiring of temporary workers use the inroad as a step in eventually transferring the jobs to their own nations.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, perpetrated by aliens admitted for temporary stays, focused the nation's attention on the dangers of borders relatively open to foreign guests free to move about without much oversight. The tragedy led to the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and, within it, of the Transportation Safety Administration. It prompted a division of the Immigration and Naturalization Service into three entities—the Bureaus of Citizenship and Immigration Services, of Customs and Border Protection, and of Immigration and Customs Enforcement. All became units within Homeland Security. The PATRIOT Act also enhanced the federal government's ability to screen potential foreign visitors and to insure that aliens admitted to the country for legitimate reasons, including education, have not misled the authorities. Although controversial in certain aspects, the act, with amendments better to protect civil liberties, has won renewals on three occasions. The latest version carries the title, "USA Freedom Act."

Lesson 51 returns to a theme raised in Lecture 45—population diversity and the nature of American society. The lecture forecasts the demographic composition of the populace in coming decades, with the caveat that projections based on the continuation of current trends are wrong more often than right. The contents suggest that the prediction by some commentators that whites will become a minority in an overall population with a substantial number of mixed race members may be flawed. Much depends on the evolution of the Hispanic popula-

tion, whose members, according to the Census Bureau, can belong to any race. Most Hispanics describe themselves as white, with a sizable minority claiming to belong to a race other than the major ones mentioned in the census. Will those Hispanics continue to feel a separate identity? Will they eventually align with the other recognized groups? Those questions raise again the issue of ethnic identity. Is it an unchanging fact, or is it a constructed understanding, shaped by people in the context of the society in which they live?

Lesson 52 is the course's final attempt to consider the issues of assimilation and identity. It refrains from making predictions but calls attention to a number of factors that, beyond direct knowledge of ancestry, that affect how people define themselves. It treats identity as something at least partly "constructed" by persons and by society. The lecture uses as examples several celebrities whose presumed identities do not match, or only partly fit, their actual backgrounds. Lesson 52 also presents evidence distinguishing the experience of African Americans from that of other groups in the population. The heritage of the "one drop rule" has meant that persons with any African background are black in Americans' perceptions, and studies of residence and marriage indicate that whites are more likely to live next to and to marry Hispanics and Asians than to live next to and to marry African Americans.

Concluding Comments:

Milton Friedman, a winner of the Nobel Prize for economics, stated in 1999, "You cannot simultaneously have free immigration and a welfare state." Otherwise, an unending stream of people will come seeking guaranteed livelihoods. Critics of relaxing American immigration policy have used his words to defend their position. Their opponents have countered with further quotations from Friedman, who stated, "Legal and illegal immigration has a very positive impact on the U.S. economy." He thought that, in principle, open borders were best. The squabble over what Friedman actually believed reveals how terms like "liberal" and "conservative" obfuscate the divisions on the topic of immigration.

Friedman believed that market forces, unencumbered by government regulations, lead to the greatest benefit for the most people. Twentieth century commentators called him conservative; their nineteenth century predecessors would have described him as a liberal. In our era, perhaps "libertarian" would be the best description of Friedman. His ideal society would have open borders and no welfare system.

"Open borders" and "welfare state" are abstract concepts. The United States accepts more immigrants than any other nation does, but it attempts to control its borders. How generous must immigration policy be before borders are "open"? The United States does not offer the broad range of entitlements sponsored in several European states. Its safety net social programs, however, have been expanding. How comprehensive must benefits guaranteed by government be before a "welfare state" exists?

Indications are that immigration will continue at some level, and that electorates are more likely to seek additional entitlements than to surrender the ones to which they are accustomed. Friedman's comments cannot resolve today's debates, but their logic strongly suggests that the costs of immigration are higher at present than in an earlier era of almost unbridled capitalism. Worker protections and safety net programs came about in an era of economic turmoil followed by the emergence of the United States as the world's dominant economy after 1945. The causes were many. Among them, low immigration, which limited completion in the labor market, and a lessening of cultural diversity, which allowed growing faith that common interests held the population together, played a role. Will those protections and programs survive as economic and demographic conditions change?

Population and welfare policies must not work at cross-purposes. The nation needs to draw people who do needed work but who do not upset the balance of a mutual support system ultimately financed by all residents. Finding the correct combination is difficult. It also creates splits within the typical liberal and conservative blocs, although those divisions are perhaps greater among conservatives than among today's liberals. Some liberals used to worry about potentially negative impacts of immigrants on workers and on unions, but most now seem to deny that possibility and to believe that maintaining access and promoting diversity are greater objectives. On the conservative side, business interests believe that expanding immigration is an important tool for keeping wages at affordable levels and for supporting economic competitiveness. Other conservatives believe that the costs of unskilled immigration exceeds the benefits it offers, in regard both to government budgets and to stability in the level of cultural cohesion.

Finally, I would like to add a personal observation. History enables us better to understand the forces and decisions that have shaped our world. It rarely provides direct answers to present problems, because today's conditions differ from those of the past. The one thing of which we can be certain is that historians in the future will believe that people of my generation and of yours misunderstood the world. Most of them will think that they would have better handled things.

When I was a young person, the mantra was that the ability of American society to create a single identity from a population of many backgrounds was what made the nation great. Today, the message is that diversity is the source of the country's success. Both are shibboleths, each capturing an aspect of the United States. From time to time, groups with special interests will call for total allegiance to one or the other. Making either dogma, however, is unwise. "E pluribus unum," the national motto, recognizes the continuing balancing act necessary between the two.