

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

Department of Geography

A Geographic Study of the Italian Community

in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1900-1970

A Thesis in

Geography

by

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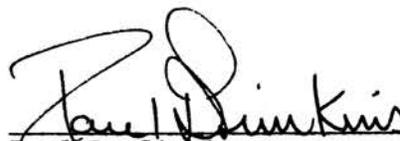
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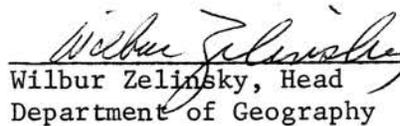
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Purpose of the Study

Background

The United States is a nation whose population is almost entirely composed of immigrants and descendents of immigrants. Since the first English settlement of Jamestown, Virginia in 1607, over 40 million people have emigrated to the United States.¹ Until 1880, most of the immigration came from the traditional source regions of Northwestern Europe and Germany. These immigrants arrived at a time when the United States was hungry for men to fill its vast, empty farmlands, and push back its frontiers. However, after 1880 the ethnic and national composition of the migration streams began to change and the flow of immigrants from Italy, Poland, Russia, the Baltic States, and Southern Europe became increasingly predominant so that by 1900 these new arrivals dwarfed migration from all other sources.

These "new" immigrants entered a country very different from the one their predecessors encountered. The frontier had closed and the once empty farmlands had largely filled. The United States had entered a period of prodigious industrial expansion and rapid urbanization. Men were now needed to man its industrial machinery. The most numerous of the new immigrants to enter this urban-industrial milieu were the

¹Donald J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 351.

Italians who, by 1920, numbered 1,610,109 and comprised 12 percent of the foreign-born population of the United States.²

The Italian immigration phenomenon captured the attention of governmental agencies, academicians, and independent researchers. The general dispersal patterns of the Italian population within the United States became well studied.³ Numerous studies documented the Italian immigration to the urban-industrial areas of the northeast and beyond. Information on volume, direction, and location became readily available. Unfortunately, little attention was given to their degree of absorption. That is, we know comparatively little about what happened to Italians after they settled in the United States, particularly the cultural, political, and economic patterns which were generated by Italian communities throughout the United States. This dearth of academic study can largely be attributed to the myth known as the "great American melting pot." According to Schweiker, "for many generations, social scientists looked at America as the great "melting pot" where every person and group of immigrants would take part in the freedom of the new world, becoming part of a unified, homogenized culture."⁴ Indeed, what was there to study about immigrant Italians who quickly disappeared into the larger "American" society. Baroni contends that "aside from sociologists

²Number of Italians enumerated in the census of 1920.

³For example, see Joseph Velekonja, "The Italian Born in the United States, 1950," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Volume 51, No. 4 (December, 1961).

⁴Senator Richard Schwicker, "Ethnic Studies, Toward a New Pluralism in America," in Pieces of a Dream, edited by Michael Wenk, S. M. Tomasi, Geno Baroni (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972), p. 65.

Moynihan and Glazer's book Beyond the Melting Pot and Andrew Greely's writings, social scientists have refused to admit the persistence of the ethnic factor in American life."⁵ Surely Italians have not culturally and physically disappeared as Zangwill⁶ and other advocates of the "melting pot" would have envisioned. Italians and native-born Americans have not entered the great New World crucible and emerged melted, blended, and reshaped as shining new American men and women.⁷ Instead, Glazer and Moynihan have suggested that "ethnic groups, owing to their distinctive historical experience, their culture and skills, the time of their arrival and the economic situation they met, developed distinctive economic, political, and cultural patterns."⁸

Within the last decade several studies dealing with the experience of America's urban ethnics have come to the forefront; Nelli's, The Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930⁹ and Ethnic Patterns in American Cities by Stanley Lieberson¹⁰ just to mention a couple. Yet, in this area of study we have only begun to do significant research.

⁵Geno Baroni, "Ethnicity and Public Policy," Ibid., p. 4.

⁶Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1909).

⁷J. A. Jackson, Migration (London, England: University of Cambridge Press, 1969). p. 183.

⁸Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. XXXIII.

⁹Humbert S. Nelli, Italians in Chicago: 1880-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹⁰Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to analyze the spatial and temporal variations of these social, economic, and cultural patterns generated by the Italian community in Washington, Pennsylvania from 1900 to 1970. Particular attention is given to the residential patterning of the Italian population and how social institutions, economic conditions, chain migration, and aspects of assimilation influence residential location and to the change in these elements over time.

This study includes first and second generation Italians. First generation refers to the foreign-born group who migrated to this country. Second generation refers to individuals born in this country, one or both of whose parents were born in Italy.

Of particular interest are answers to the following questions:

1. Compared to the state of Pennsylvania and the nation, how representative is the volume and timing of Italian immigration to Washington?
2. How did economic conditions and the process of chain migration influence the volume, timing, and origins of Italian immigration to Washington, Pennsylvania?
3. How has the residential location of Italians changed over time? To what degree has Italian social institutions and economic conditions influenced this residential patterning?
4. What are the residential characteristics of second generation Italians? How mobile is the population? Does chain migration (of extreme consequence to immigrant Italians) continue to be a contributing factor in the location of the second generation Italian population?
5. One of the aspects of assimilation or "Americanization" is the

declining importance, function, or structure of Italian social institutions. For second generation Italians how profound has been the effect of assimilation on their residential patterning?

Method of Study

Choice of the Study Area

Washington, Pennsylvania was chosen as the study area for several reasons. Probably the most important reason was familiarity with the town and its inhabitants, particularly members of the Italian community. Foreign-born Italians have traditionally viewed the outside world with suspicion and caution, but often the presence of a familiar face and/or name helps create a friendly, workable atmosphere and an immediate rapport which is essential to successful interviewing. Furthermore, familiarity with the town history, libraries, and governmental agencies facilitates access to information.

The size of the Italian community was also an important consideration. It was found to be small enough to be efficiently studied, yet large enough so that any results obtained will have meaning within a general context of ethnic residential patterning. Moreover, much of the study of Italians in the United States has been done in major metropolitan centers such as New York, Boston, and Chicago. Washington gives us a chance to test some guesses, assumptions, and generalizations made about Italians but in a much smaller urban center.

Census Material

The bulk of the historical population data for the nation, state of Pennsylvania, and the city of Washington was provided by the United

States Census. Data included total population, and numbers of foreign-born and foreign stock by country of birth.

It was hoped that the census would provide detailed characteristics for foreign-born Italians. Particularly desired were age, sex, and time of entry. It was expected that such information could be obtained for the United States, Pennsylvania, and Washington and that meaningful comparisons could be made between all three areal units.

However, much of the data desired was not available, particularly for the city of Washington whose population was well below the minimum for which detailed data were reported. For example, published reports from the 1920, 1930, and 1940 censuses provide data on sex of foreign-born groups for the nation and state but not for the city of Washington.

Furthermore, even the total size of the foreign-born population by country of birth for the city of Washington was not available before 1910. The census of 1900 gives a breakdown of the foreign-born for minor civil divisions for all urban places of 10,000 or more. Unfortunately, the total population of Washington in 1900 was well below this figure.

Questionnaire

Detailed social and economic information on foreign-born Italians and their children are not available from published sources. Therefore, it was imperative that a questionnaire be submitted to members of the Italian community (see Appendix A).

The decision was made to administer the questionnaire by personal interviews rather than by a mailing procedure. This decision was

principally dictated by the findings of Bonacquisti.¹¹ He found that personal contacts elicited a greater wealth of information than could be obtained from a mailed response. Furthermore, a personal contact is more likely to prompt a response than a mailed questionnaire. The personal approach also allows the interviewer to probe for greater detail. At the same time those who are unable to read or write in English or Italian could be reached verbally. Lastly, the education, experience, and generation of new ideas resulting from field work are advantages not obtainable through mailed questionnaires.

The questionnaire was constructed in such a manner so that it was necessary to interview only foreign-born Italians. The interviewee could supply information about his children (second generation) as well as himself.

Initially it was hoped that all 200 foreign-born Italians in Washington could be interviewed. However, due to restraints of time a sampling procedure had to be employed. An arbitrary sample size of 50 (25 percent) was considered sufficiently representative of the whole Italian community.

Source of Names and Interviewing Procedure

Names and addresses of foreign-born Italians in Washington were secured from three sources; personal contacts, Sons of Italy Lodge, and Alpine Star Lodge (Italian Sons and Daughters of America). These sources yielded a total of 160 names or approximately 80 percent of the foreign-born Italian population indicated in the United States Census. The

¹¹Anthony J. Bonacquisti, "A Geographic Study of Foreign-Born Italians in Pittsfield, Massachusetts" (unpublished Masters Thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, 1968), p. 11.

remaining 20 percent could not be accounted for and were thus lost to the study. From the 160 names, 50 were randomly chosen as prospective interviewees.

A simple random sampling procedure was employed. To begin with each name was given a corresponding number (consecutive numbers). The use of a random numbers table then allowed for the selection of a random sample of these names. A starting point within the table was chosen at random; then by working through the table in vertical columns, numbers were appropriately chosen. Whenever a selected number corresponded to the number of a name, then that name was included in the sample. This method insured that each name had an equal probability of being selected and that the selection of a name in no way influenced the selection of any other one. The sample members were drawn independently with equal probabilities. At least two attempts were then made to contact each of the fifty persons. If no contact could be made then another name was chosen at random.

Of the 50 persons who were finally contacted 37 were successfully interviewed. The remaining 13 did not respond for a number of reasons. Some were reluctant to answer any questions because they did not trust the purpose or use of the study and thought the survey might be used against them. Others due to advancing years, were either physically or mentally incapable of giving proper responses.

City Directories

Another major source of information was the file of city directories maintained by The Citizens Library of Washington. Each volume contains the following sections from which data were compiled:

1. An "Alphabetical List of Names," which contains the name, marital status, occupation, and address of each adult in Washington and vicinity. An adult is defined as an individual 18 years of age or older.

2. The "Classified Business Directory" which lists the names and addresses of all business and professional establishments in Washington and vicinity indexed under descriptive headings.

Before any information on Italians could be gathered it was necessary to identify members of the Italian community listed in the directory. This was done by examining the names of householders and persons who were listed in the "Alphabetical List of Names." Italian names were identified by the investigator, with help from relatives who could speak the Italian language. There were, however, a small number of Italians who had changed their names but most of these were identified by various informants in the Italian community.¹² Another category of name changes were those brought about through intermarriage of Italian females with members of other ethnic groups. However, no attempt was made to identify them; consequently, they were lost to the study.

This study includes those directories covering census years from 1900 to 1970 inclusive. They were used to gather data indicative of changes in the economic, familial, and residential patterns of Italians over the past 70 years.

¹²Information provided in informal discussions with foreign-born Italians.

The occupational titles of all persons identified as Italians were tabulated using the title given in the directory. These were then combined into occupational categories which were as follows:¹³

1. Professional, technical, and kindred workers
2. Managers and Proprietors
3. Laborers - General

Factoryworkers

Glass

Steel

Paper

4. Armed forces
5. Student
6. Railroad
7. Cleaners employee
8. Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers
9. Clerical and kindred workers
10. Miners
11. Sales workers

Similarly, data were compiled based on the listing of Italian business and professional ventures. The same method of identifying Italian names was employed here. In addition, where the name of the business was no indication of the ethnic identification of the owner, the "Alphabetical List of Names" (occupations) was used to supply the necessary information.

¹³Some ideas in this section on the use of city directories stem from Ianni's work. Francis Anthony Ianni, "The Acculturation of the Italo-Americans in Norristown, Pennsylvania: 1900-1950" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State College, 1952), p. 54-61.

Business ventures in which Italians participated were as follows:

1. Bakers
2. Fruits
3. Barbers
4. Shoe repairs
5. Tailors
6. Restaurants and bars
7. Produce
8. Miscellaneous

From the "Alphabetical List of Names" the addresses of all persons identified as Italian were compiled and subsequently plotted on street maps of the city of Washington, for several dates between 1907 and 1970. This provided a visual representation of changes in the residential patterning of the Italian population.

Justification for Study

Particularly within the last few decades the number of foreign-born Italians in the United States has declined rapidly. Moreover, many of those still living are of advanced age and often of ill health or failing memories. The Italian story--emigration, settlement, life in the United States--deserves its rightful place in the history of the United States. The physical, social, and cultural hardships encountered in the American urban environment, the growth of viable neighborhoods and the slow but steady climb up the occupational, educational, and social ladders are all pages in the book of Italian experiences in the United States. However, much of the voluminous information on the rich experiences of the immigrant Italian are untaped; locked away in the minds

of the Italian people. In the very near future (certainly within the next decade) information on the immigrant Italian will be lost with their passing.

There has been a dearth of studies concerning second generation Italians. A number of studies have focused their attention on the assimilation of second generation Italians but the spatial dimension has almost totally been ignored. In other words we know little about how assimilation has affected the residential location of second generation Italians. Furthermore, educational, occupational, and social mobility should also be considered as indicators of residential mobility.

Previous studies concerning Italians in the United States have largely been confined to major metropolitan centers such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. However, little attention has been given to Italian communities in intermediate or small size cities. We need to know more about the educational, occupational, and residential characteristics of Italians in small urban communities. Furthermore, the physical and social impact of Italians on a small urban center is even less well understood.

CHAPTER II

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION TO WASHINGTON

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general historical background for Italian immigration to Washington, Pennsylvania. The general pattern of Italian immigration is first examined at the national and state level. The movement of Italians into the city of Washington is then compared to these state and national trends. Finally, the reasons for Italian immigration to Washington, Pennsylvania will be analyzed. This latter analysis focuses on changing economic conditions in the city and the process of chain migration.

Italian Immigration - United States

A brief outline of the Italian immigration to the United States may be helpful in understanding the history of the Italians in Washington, Pennsylvania.

The period 1860-1880 encompasses the formative years of Italian immigration into the United States. During this time the Italian population remained small; so small in fact that by 1880 Italians numbered only 44,230, accounting for .67 percent of the foreign-born population or .8 percent of the total population. In contrast, the Germans, who were the largest immigrant group at the time numbered 1,966,742 and accounted for 29.4 percent of the foreign-born population. The large foreign-born groups included the Irish who numbered 1,854,571 (27.8 percent) and the English of which there were 664,160 (9.9 percent).

The distribution of Italians during the formative years of Italian immigration in the United States was one of dispersal rather than concentration. According to Foerster, "About 1870. . . Italians were

TABLE I
 NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN ITALIANS IN THE UNITED STATES:
 1860-1970

Year	Number	Year	Number
1860	10,518	1920	1,610,109
1870	17,157	1930	1,790,424
1880	44,230	1940	1,623,580
1890	182,580	1950	1,427,145
1900	484,027	1960	1,256,999
1910	1,343,070	1970	1,006,000

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

perhaps more evenly scattered over the country than their people were ever again to be."¹⁴ With the exceptions of New York and New Orleans, Italian immigrants largely avoided the major metropolitan centers of the country. In New York City Italians became grocers, keepers of bar-rooms and restaurants, traders, vendors of plaster statuary, street musicians and laborers employed by the city. In and around New Orleans Italians made a living by market gardening, fishing, and agriculture. A number of Italians settled in the South either as farm laborers or as part of an agricultural colony. Italian plantations (colonies) were established in Texas (cotton), Arkansas (sugar), and Georgia (peaches). Italian miners found employment in the coal regions of Pennsylvania and Illinois and in the lead regions of Wisconsin. The state with the

¹⁴ Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), p. 324.

largest Italian population, however, was California. Substantial numbers were drawn by the gold fever of the late 1840's and early 1850's. Following this initial settlement in California came fishermen, farmers, and others from Italy who would develop rich citrus enterprises. Generally, however, Italians were few throughout the western states.

Previous studies demonstrate that the vast majority of Italians who arrived before 1876 came from the North, but these were so few in number that Italian governmental agencies made no effort at all to estimate emigration statistics for the United States prior to 1876. Nonetheless, judging from the yearly figures after the official enumeration began in 1876, it is quite apparent that the number must have been very small.¹⁵

Although statistics are unavailable, previous studies have suggested that return migration to Italy during the formative years of Italian immigration was small. This permanency in settlement occurred for two reasons. Many of the initial migrants--particularly professionals, skilled laborers, and entrepreneurs from the North--simply desired permanent settlement in the United States. There was no great desire to return to Italy. For others, difficulties of transportation largely forced them into permanent settlement. High costs of transportation coupled with an uninviting long arduous journey back to Italy proved to be insurmountable.

By 1880 the formative years of Italian immigration may be said to have been completed. Consequently, its characteristics -- volume, settlement patterns, source regions of immigrants, permanency in settlement -- changed. The foreign-born Italian population by 1880 had more

¹⁵ Joseph Lopreato, Italian Americans (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 35.

than doubled in size from that enumerated in the 1870 census. Italians began to concentrate in urban centers, particularly in metropolitan areas of the northeast. Principal receivers were New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston. Italians also continued to find the mining regions of Illinois, Colorado, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin attractive. However, agricultural colonization of the South by Italians began to stabilize. Low wages and lack of capital to buy fertile land were major reasons. On the other hand, California continued to function as a center of attraction for Italian migrants. Italians made the long cross country trip to join friends and relatives in the Mediterranean climate which reminded them of their homeland in which grapes, citrus, and figs could be grown. Elsewhere in the west, only Colorado with its silver mines attracted Italian immigrants.

From small beginnings the contingent from South Italy swelled to substantial proportions. The largely unskilled, similliterate peasant immigrants from Southern Italy gradually surpassed the small numbers of Northern Italians who were largely skilled laborers, artisans, and professionals. The exodus from the South, which was later to assume massive proportions, was dictated by economic disorders and extremes of poverty. Foremost was low productivity due to cumulative faults of man and nature coupled with neglectful and exploitative practices by proprietors and administration.

In contrast to the permanent settlement of Italians during the 1860's, Italian immigration became more temporary in nature. By 1880 it became evident that, following a somewhat indeterminate stay, many repacked their belongings and went home again. This return movement of Italians was the first sizeable outflow from the United States of a

foreign-born group. It appears that a large number of Italians (particularly from the South) came to the United States to settle temporarily. Their intention was to make their fortune here and then return to Italy where they could live comfortably. In addition, the reduced cost of transoceanic fare and the constant improvement in the efficiency of transportation systems was added incentive.

During the same period the padrone complex evolved. The padrone (or boss) provided an important impetus for Italian immigration. Employers here in the United States needed labor and often found it convenient to turn to individuals - sometimes an employee who had demonstrated linguistic skills and qualities of leadership - for assistance in locating manpower. This "labor agent" or padrone, went abroad to find the needed labor or commissioned others abroad to find recruits. The padrone or his agents then encouraged and assisted males of working age to emigrate in order to profit from them. He charged the immigrant for his passage which was sometimes several times the actual fare. Similarly, the padrone made handsome profits by boarding newly arrived immigrants at exorbitant prices until they were sent to their jobs. Furthermore, he charged the immigrant a fee, called bossarture, for finding him employment.¹⁶

In addition, the padrone provided employment and numerous other services which in effect isolated the new arrivals from any significant contact with American society and kept them dependent upon himself. For

¹⁶Ibid., p. 94-95.

example, a padrone might act as banker, landlord, foreman, scribe, interpreter, legal adviser, or ward boss.¹⁷

The period 1880-1920 was one of greatly increased Italian immigration. During this time approximately five million Italian immigrants entered the United States. The heaviest period of immigration occurred between 1900 and 1910 when 2,104,309 Italians arrived here. By 1920 Italians were the second largest immigrant group numbering 1,610,113 and comprising 11.6 percent of the total foreign-born population. The largest immigrant group were the Germans who numbered 1,686,108 (12.1 percent) followed by the Russians 1,400,000 (10.0 percent), Poles 1,139,979 (8.2 percent), and Irish 1,037,234 (7.5 percent).

The vast majority of all immigrants from Italy came from the poor agricultural regions of the South. Official Italian figures show that 5,058,776 Italians migrated to the United States in the 1876-1930 period.¹⁸ Of these 4,034,204 or 80 percent of the total, were southerners, and only 1,024,572 or 20 percent, were from the central and northern regions. Looking at the regional distribution of the southern immigrants, we find, moreover, that 1,105,802 (27.4 percent) came from around the Naples area, in Campania; 652,972 (16.2 percent) from Abruzzi and Molise; 300,152 (7.4 percent) from Apulia; 232,389 (5.8 percent) from Basilicata; 522,442 (13 percent) from Calabria; 1,205,788 (29.9 percent) from Sicily; and 14,669 (0.4 percent) from Sardinia.

¹⁷MacDonald and MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 42 (January, 1964), p. 86.

¹⁸Joseph Lopreato, Italian Americans (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 35.



Figure 1: Political Regions of Italy

Italians increasingly settled in the urban areas of the northeast. With each passing year their numbers became more concentrated rather than dispersed. Principal receivers as of 1920 by state were, in order, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, California, and Connecticut. Moreover, by 1920, 84 percent of all Italians found their home in urban centers. This compares with 51 percent for the nation and 71 percent for the total foreign-born population. Those cities with the largest Italian population were New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Rochester, Jersey City, and San Francisco.

One of the major reasons for Italian settlement in major urban - industrial areas of the United States was for the procurement of work. The rapid industrialization of the United States provided for the effective absorption of the Italian laborer. Prior to industrialization many unskilled Italian laborers who had earlier found temporary or seasonal employment as common laborers in rural areas or towns, but sooner or later they too tended to remigrate to the cities and to engage in factory work.

During this same period the padrone system came to an end (early 1900's). A broadening and stabilizing of employment in the form of factory work decreased the power of the padrone. Factories did not offer as many opportunities for exploitation as the sub-contracting and "straw boss" systems in railroad and construction work. Furthermore, Southern Italians organized their own unions in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations such as construction labor, mining, stonecutting, and bricklaying. The labor unions diminished the importance of the padrone in these fields by negotiating directly with employers, opposing exploitation, and

informing the ignorant new arrivals of better opportunities. Moreover, as the immigrant who had been dependent on them became better acquainted with American conditions and learned English, they were able to fend for themselves and also help later immigrants.¹⁹

The mass immigration of Italians continued unabated until the early 1920's when restrictive legislation all but "closed the doors." Since the turn of the 20th century, public sentiment in favor of restricting the numbers, and regulating the source of immigration became extremely intense and widespread. Many were fearful of political, social, and economic repercussions which might arise because of the widely different background of the newer immigrants. Finally in 1921 the Immigration Act was passed. Its effect was to limit severely immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. The annual quota of immigrants which the act established for each country was set at three percent of the number of people who had been born in that country and who were residents of the United States as reported by the 1910 Census of Population. Since the quotas of 1921 still gave to the "new" immigration sources a large share of the total 150,000 persons to be admitted each year, the law was revised in 1924; it followed the same principles of the Act of 1924, but based the quotas on the national origins of the foreign-born population as of 1890.²⁰ After the new laws went into effect the flow of Italian

¹⁹MacDonald and MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 42 (January, 1964), pp. 87-88.

²⁰Donald J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 354.

immigration became only a trickle. This "stop" on immigration has meant an aging of the foreign-born Italian population and a consequent decline in numbers.

Italian Immigration - Pennsylvania

In 1870 there were only 784 foreign-born Italians in the entire state of Pennsylvania. Italians preferred New York (3592) and such far away states as Louisiana (1889), Missouri (936), and California (4660). This small scattered Italian population within the United States does not conform to expectations or to the patterns which developed later. Italians were neither concentrated in the Northeast nor did the majority live in urban centers. There were, of course, sizeable Italian communities in New York City, San Francisco, New Orleans, Kansas City, and Philadelphia but these urban dwellers were outnumbered by farm laborers, fishermen, miners, and rural railroad laborers scattered throughout the United States.

From 1870 to 1890 Italians in the United States became increasingly urban oriented. With progressive industrialization jobs became plentiful in major urban centers. Especially attractive were states in the northeast and northcentral parts of the United States; New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Pennsylvania's Italian population by 1890 was larger than those of California, Louisiana, and Missouri. Among the states only New York had a larger Italian population than did Pennsylvania.

The foreign-born Italian population of Pennsylvania grew steadily from meager beginnings in 1870 (784) to a high of 225,979 in 1930. The greatest period of growth numerically, was from 1890 to 1910 when the

population increased from 24,662 to 196,122. After 1930 the population gradually began to decline; immigration laws and aging of the population being the main reasons.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN ITALIANS IN PENNSYLVANIA:
1870-1960

Year	Number	Year	Number
1870	784	1920	222,764
1880	2,794	1930	225,979
1890	24,662	1940	191,281
1900	66,655	1950	163,359
1910	196,122	1960	127,538

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

The growth curve of the Italian population for the nation and state of Pennsylvania are similar. For both the nation and Pennsylvania the following is characteristic; a slow, late beginning, rapid rise to peak year of 1930, followed by a gradual but steady decline.

Italian Immigration - Washington, Pa.

Because of lack of data the details of Italian immigration to Washington, Pennsylvania before 1910 are uncertain. Before 1910 the United States Census gives the number of foreign-born for all states, counties, and urban places of 10,000 or more. Unfortunately, since the population of Washington before 1910 was less than 10,000 no data on immigrant population are available. Furthermore, historical volumes and

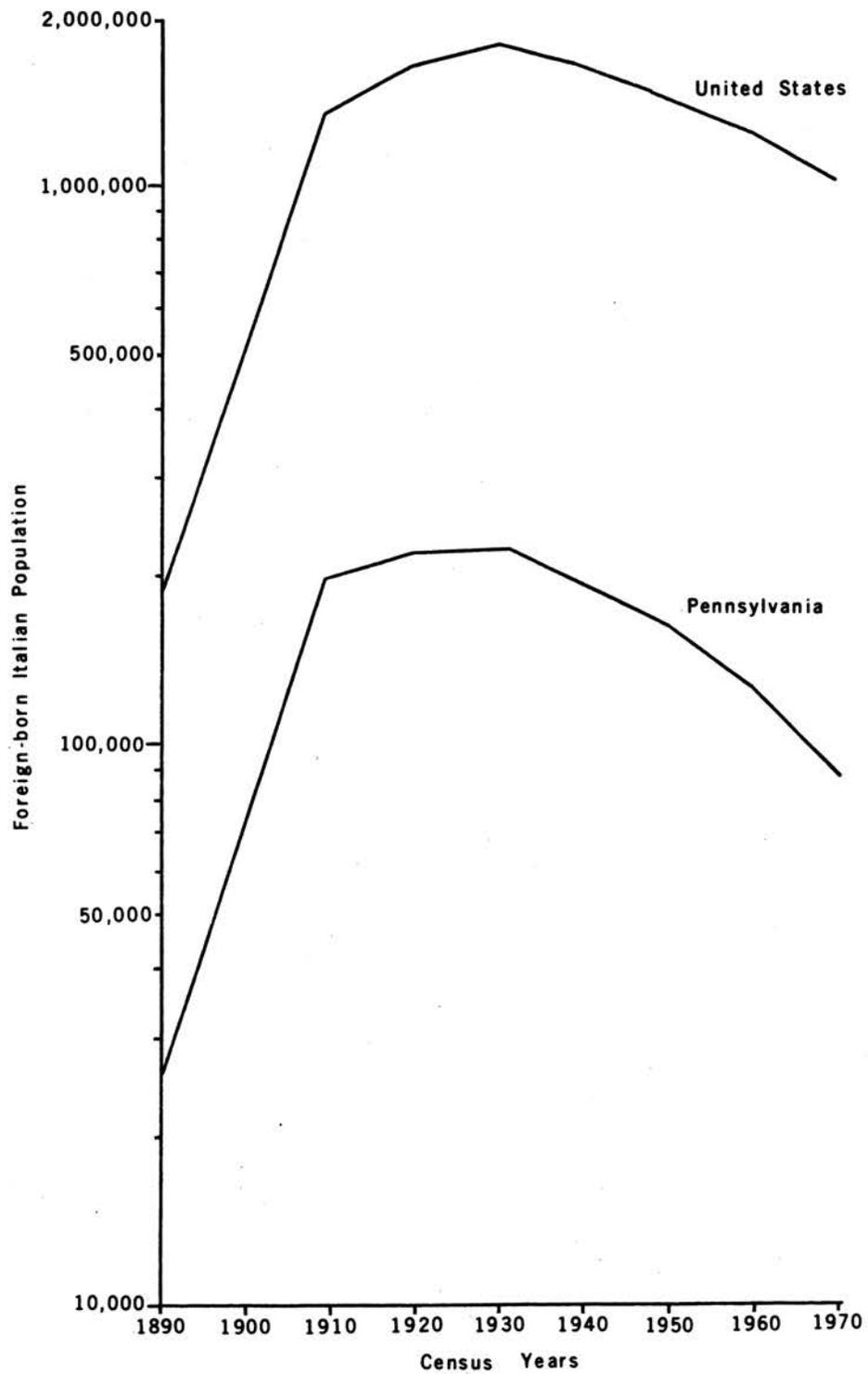


Figure 2: Foreign-Born Italian Population, United States and Pennsylvania: 1890-1970

old newspaper clippings shed little light on the early Italian immigration experience. However, old city directories give some clue as to the size of the Italian community before 1910. For example, in 1900 only eight adults can be identified from the directory as having distinctly Italian surnames. Probably some Italians were not included due to the mobility or transiency of the Italian population. Although, the reliability and completeness of early city directories is questionable, the dearth of Italian names in the early city directories does suggest that the Italian community, before 1900, was quite small.

The turn of the century marked the beginning of prodigious growth in the Italian foreign-born population of the city. In 1910 the foreign-born Italian population reached 590 comprising three percent of the city's total population or 34 percent of its foreign-born component. The Italians had become the largest ethnic group in Washington, far outnumbering the Irish, 128; Germans, 196; Austrians, 147; Russians, 167; and English, 199.

The foreign-born Italian population in Washington steadily increased for the next two decades reaching its peak of 701 in 1930. After 1930 the foreign-born Italian population progressively declined until presently it numbers no more than 200. Again restrictive immigration laws and mortality of the foreign-born population were responsible for the decline. As indicated in a later chapter, out-migration would appear to be of little consequence.

By plotting the growth curve of the Italian population for Washington and comparing it to those for the nation and state, similarity in profiles can be found. The peak year of 1930, followed by a gradual but steady decline is characteristic of all three. However, as was previously noted,

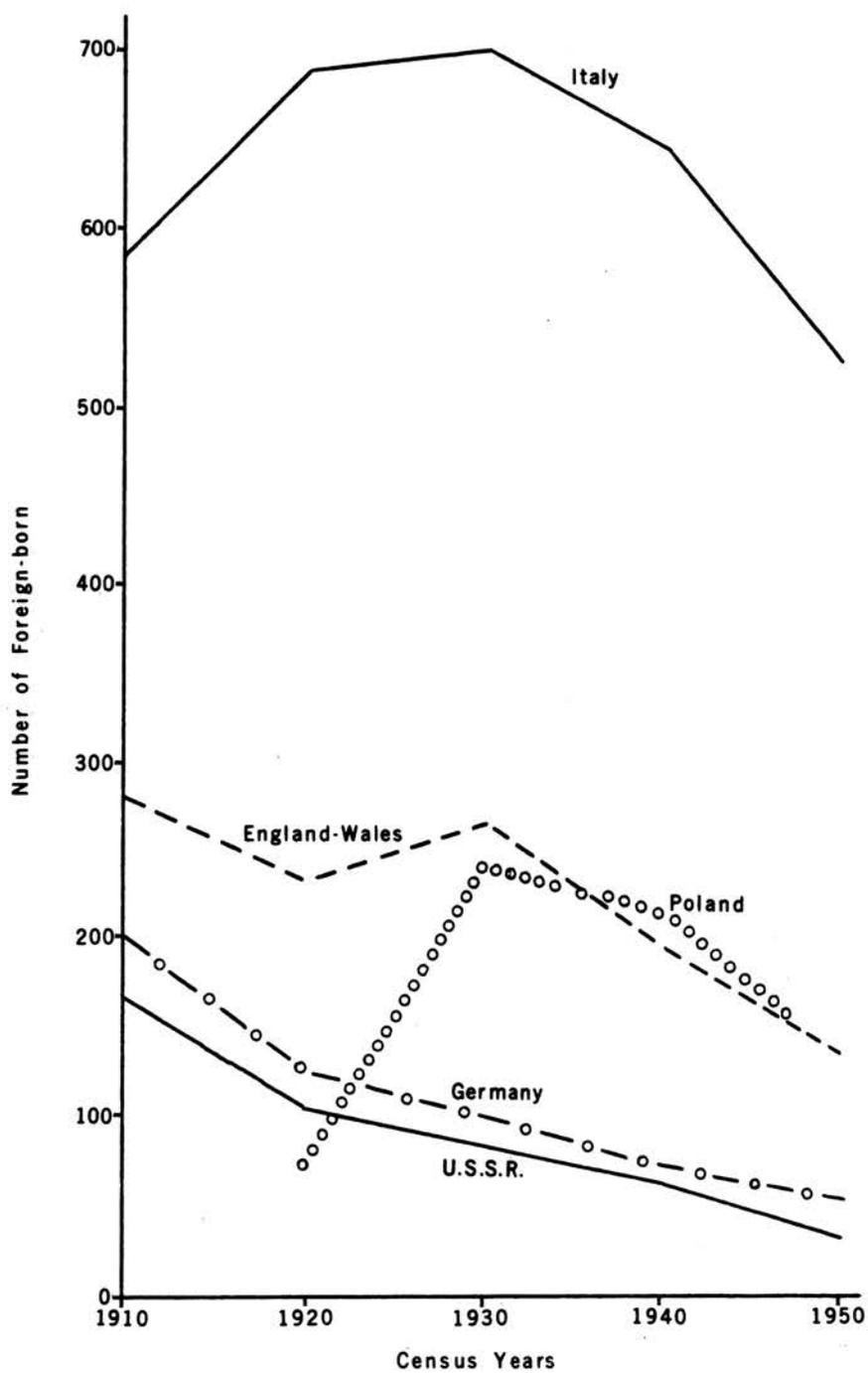


Figure 3: Foreign-Born Population of Selected Immigrant Groups in Washington: 1910-1950

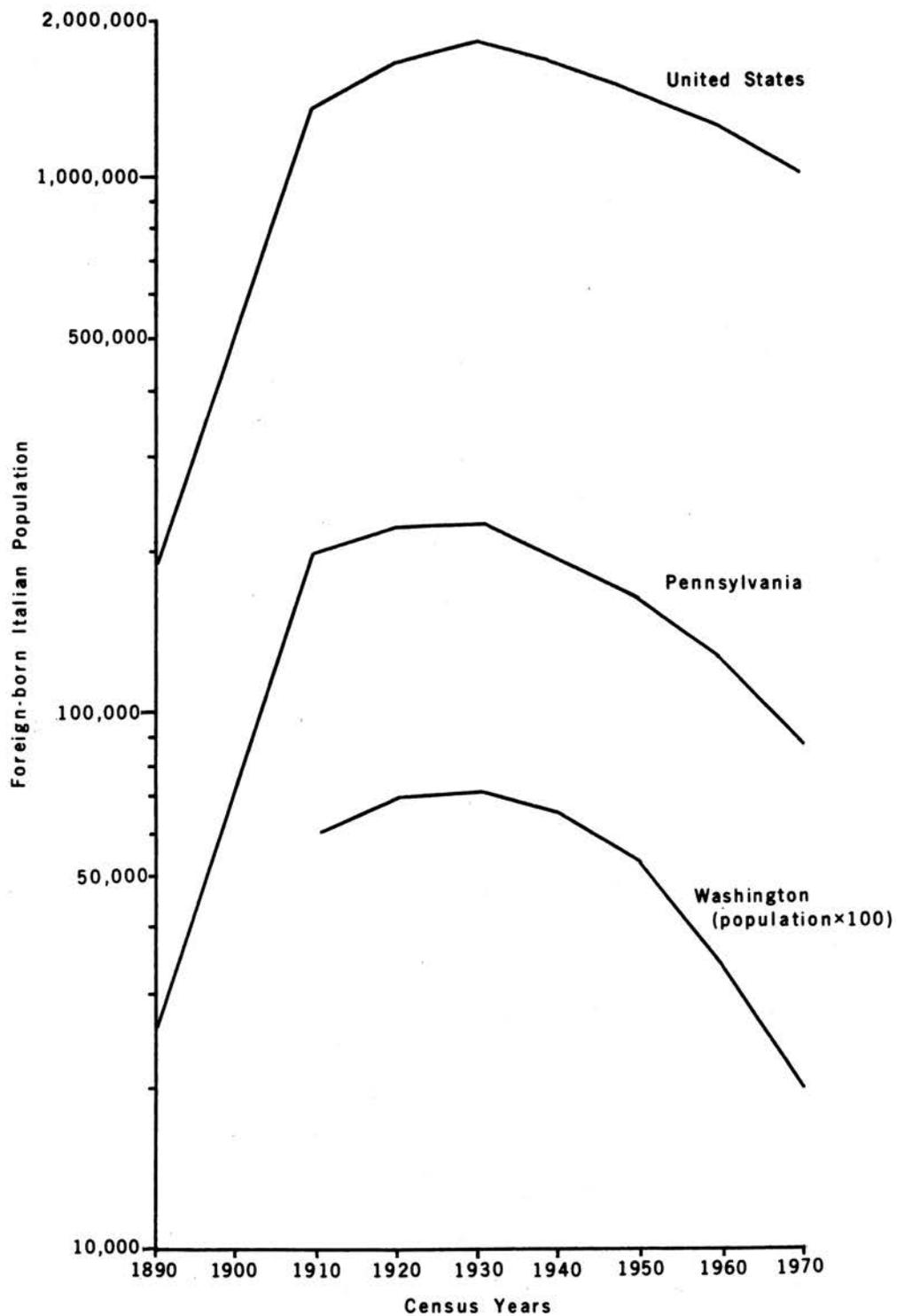


Figure 4: Foreign-Born Italian Population, United States, Pennsylvania, and Washington: 1890-1970

data before 1910 for the city are unavailable. Therefore, it is impossible to make comparisons for the 1890-1910 period. If, however, we were to retroject a line for the Italian population of Washington the slope would likely be steeper than the slopes of the other two lines because of the lag in initial settlement in Washington.

Choice of Washington as Area of Destination

Influence of Economic Conditions

Throughout most of its early history, Washington prospered because of its strategic location near routes of travel. Initially it served as a way station on the edge of the western frontier. In 1818 the coming of the National Pike (Route 40) brought a slow growth to the town which spelled prosperity for the next 30 years. Nevertheless, by 1880 Washington, with only 4292 inhabitants, was still relatively small. Then came the great oil and gas boom which brought more wealth to Washington and the county than anything else before or since. It all started when oil was discovered on December 31, 1884, in the Gantz well on West Chestnut Street. Prior to that on April 30, 1884 gas had been discovered in the Hess well in what is now the Tylerdale section of the Seventh Ward. With the discovery of natural gas and oil in the area it immediately became apparent that a cheap fuel was available and before long industrial plants were being attracted to the town. An era of industrial activity was begun which is largely responsible for the city of today.²¹

Between 1880 and 1900 the industrial base of Washington expanded by the addition of four glass houses, a tin mill, a steel mill, and numerous

²¹ Susquicentennial Edition, The Washington Reporter, August 15, 1958.

smaller manufacturing firms. By 1900, 2200 persons were employed in manufacturing. Largely as a result, the population increased sharply from 4292 in 1880 to 7670 in 1900. However, throughout this period, there were very few Italians attracted to Washington. Furthermore, most of the early Italian immigrants were not industrial laborers but rather merchants dealing in fruits, vegetables, and confectionary.²²

One interesting question is why it took until the turn of the century for substantial numbers of Italian immigrants to settle in Washington. After all, census data suggest that during the previous decade Italians had become quite numerous in Pennsylvania, particularly in the Pittsburgh area. Furthermore, the employment situation in Washington was indeed favorable. Why then the delay?

A comprehensive answer is not possible, however, Migliore suggests indirectly that Italian settlement of southwestern Pennsylvania was both hierarchical and a result of a crude diffusion process.²³ The first Italians to immigrate to southwestern Pennsylvania, initially settled in the great urban industrial city of Pittsburgh. Its many iron mills, railroad lines, and support activities offered opportunity for employment. If the immigrant were unable to secure work in Pittsburgh, only then would he move to one of the many industrial centers immediately adjacent to Pittsburgh. Apparently Italians first exploited employment opportunities in industrial centers closest to Pittsburgh, moving further outward only as the need arose. The time lag for Italian migration to Washington (30 miles from Pittsburgh) could possibly have taken close to a decade.

²²Information from city directories.

²³Salvatore Migliore, "Half a Century of Italian Immigration into Pittsburgh and Allegheny County" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1928).

The first decade of the twentieth century was a period of rapid industrial and population growth in Washington. Coal mining gained prominence with the opening of several new mines in and around the city. Steel, clay, and brick industries joined the already booming glass industry. Consequently, the population of Washington more than doubled increasing from 7,670 in 1900 to 18,778 in 1910. Similarly, the Italian population increased from near zero in 1900 to 590 in 1910. The largely unskilled laborer from Southern Italy as well as non-Italians from various parts of Southwestern Pennsylvania migrated to Washington in response to the abundant employment opportunities in industry. For the Italians in 1910, approximately 70 percent of all wage-earners were employed in industry.²⁴

The decade beginning in 1910 was one of continuing prosperity for Washington. Steel and glass mills expanded, new mines were opened, and support industries for glass and steel were established. The population growth of the city kept pace with its economic prosperity. The number of inhabitants increased by three thousand (16 percent) and the first generation Italian population grew by an additional 100 or by 17 percent. It appears that natural increase was responsible for much of Washington's population growth, however, the city was also receiving considerable numbers of migrants. On the other hand, the increase of the Italian foreign-born population was attributable solely to in-migration.

The overwhelming majority of Italians continued to work as unskilled laborers in industrial establishments in and around Washington. However, Italians also found business to be a lucrative area of endeavor. The

²⁴Information from 1910 city directory.

growing population increased the demand for tertiary activities and Italians were quick to respond. In proportion to their numbers Italians were overly represented in the restaurant business, shoe repair, tailoring and in wholesale and retail marketing.²⁵

After 1920 (with the exception of the depression years) the economic situation in Washington remained propitious until at least 1950. Industrial expansion continued and the population continued to grow. The Italian foreign-born population, following the restrictions on further immigration, failed to grow and after 1930 gradually declined. By 1970 there was only about 200 foreign-born Italians in Washington but together with their children (second generation) they numbered 947. This compares with the United Kingdom (410), Poland (389), and Germany (275).

Influence of Chain Migration

Background. Previous studies of movement of foreign-born Italians into the United States suggest that the Italian-born in Washington should have originated from a restricted number of towns and villages within Italy. Explanation involves the process of chain migration which MacDonald²⁶ defines as "that process in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants." Immigrants were not distributed among the

²⁵Information from 1910 and 1920 city directories.

²⁶MacDonald and MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 42 (January, 1964), p. 82.

"Little Italies" by chance. Prospective immigrants needed passage money, as well as assistance in finding initial employment and accommodation. These were generally provided by earlier immigrants from their hometowns.

Lopreato suggests that "from the very beginning Italians settled in what have suggestively been termed 'Little Italies.' Italian immigration has always been a 'chain' phenomenon."²⁷ Whatever their reasons for migrating, the first to leave from a particular village became a nucleus of attraction abroad. Those who migrated after them from the same village tended to gravitate toward the places where the first to leave had settled. The reasons were many. Predominant was the need to be near someone who had to some extent solved the mystery of transculturation and could, therefore, help the newcomers adapt to the strange new life. Often those who had been first to migrate encouraged, by means of financial or moral assistance, their fellow villagers to follow. Always the newer immigrants were attracted to a place by their desire to see familiar faces and to hear familiar names and idioms.

In a strange land, the importance of relatives and people from the same town in Italy took on an enlarged meaning. They were the buffer between the immigrant and the strange new world, until adjustment to the new life could be made. Accustomed as he had been in Italy to identifying himself with his village only, the new immigrant now found his feeling for the old faces and the familiar accents intensified. How natural then that he should set up residence in an area where people from his home town were already living, where the grocer was someone he had formerly known, and the baker was someone he could trust to give him

²⁷ Joseph Lopreato, Italian Americans (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 40.

correct change in the unfamiliar American currency, because no man from his home town would cheat him.²⁸

The chain relationships which linked old and new immigrants can be classified in three broad types. First, some established immigrants encouraged and assisted prospective male immigrants of working age in order to profit from them. These padroni (bosses) exploited the new immigrants directly, or were paid a commission by American employers for providing labor. Second, there was serial migration of breadwinners. Before deciding to settle permanently in the United States and bring out their wives and families, lone males often assisted other breadwinners to come to the country and get established. Third, there was delayed family migration in which lone male immigrants eventually brought out their wives and children.²⁹

Washington Sample. It is impossible to locate or account for the earliest Italian immigrants to Washington. He could have been a traveling merchant, an itinerant street musician, or an adventurer. MacDonald suggests that "all chains derived from chance occurrences. Chance, however cannot explain the continuance or discontinuance of chains."³⁰

The growth of the Italian community in Washington can indeed be explained by chain migration. Of the 37 persons interviewed 36 had friends

²⁸ Lawrence Frank Pisani, The Italian in America: a Social Study and History (New York: Exposition Press, 1957), p. 60.

²⁹ MacDonald and MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 42 (January, 1964), p. 85.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 93.

or relatives living in the United States prior to their emigration. New arrivals usually went directly to their relatives and friends who had financed their passage and relied on them to find their first lodgings. Of the 28 persons for whom Washington, Pennsylvania was their first residence in the United States, 27 found initial accommodation with friends or relatives. Of the remaining nine persons who had initially settled in places other than Washington, all first lived with friends or relatives. Five of the nine also had relatives living in Washington. There was considerable information feedback between Italian immigrants in Washington and friends and relatives remaining in Italy. Twenty-nine (78 percent) of the respondents still correspond with friends and relatives in Italy. Often food and clothing accompany letters. Many immigrants in turn encouraged others to emigrate from Italy but immigration laws often prevented all but the closest of relatives from emigrating.³¹

Geographic Distribution - Source Regions. Chain migration has had a selective effect on the source regions of Italian immigration. This was found to be true at both the provincial and village levels. From the sample, Italian immigrants now resident in Washington could be traced to only eight provinces in Italy, namely:

³¹Relatives who benefited from the "quota reserve" (unused quotas) included (1) parents and unmarried sons and daughters over 21 years of age of United States citizens; (2) spouses and unmarried sons and daughters, minors and adults, of lawfully resident aliens; and (3) married sons or daughters or brothers or sisters of United States citizens and their spouses and minor children, if accompanying them.

1. Ascoli Piceno
2. Catanzaro
3. Cosenza
4. Foggia
5. Palermo
6. Potenza
7. Salerno
8. Udine

The overwhelming majority (89 percent) were from four of the eight provinces (Catanzaro, Cosenza, Foggia, Salerno) all of which were in the southern part of Italy. Evidence from the questionnaire indicates that there was no significant change in the principal source regions of Italian immigration through time.³² Thus it would seem that once established the process of chain migration continued to operate until immigration laws closed the doors to further large scale immigration.

From the sample, it was found that most of the Italians in Washington came from many different small villages and towns in Italy. Often only a few persons could be traced to any one place. This apparent dispersal of origins, however, was found to be misleading. For example, if we examine the distribution of source villages in the provinces of Cosenza and Catanzaro (within the major political unit of Calabria) it becomes apparent that the source areas (villages) were not randomly scattered throughout each province. Instead, there was a distinct clustering of

³²It is possible that a larger sample size would have yielded slightly different results.

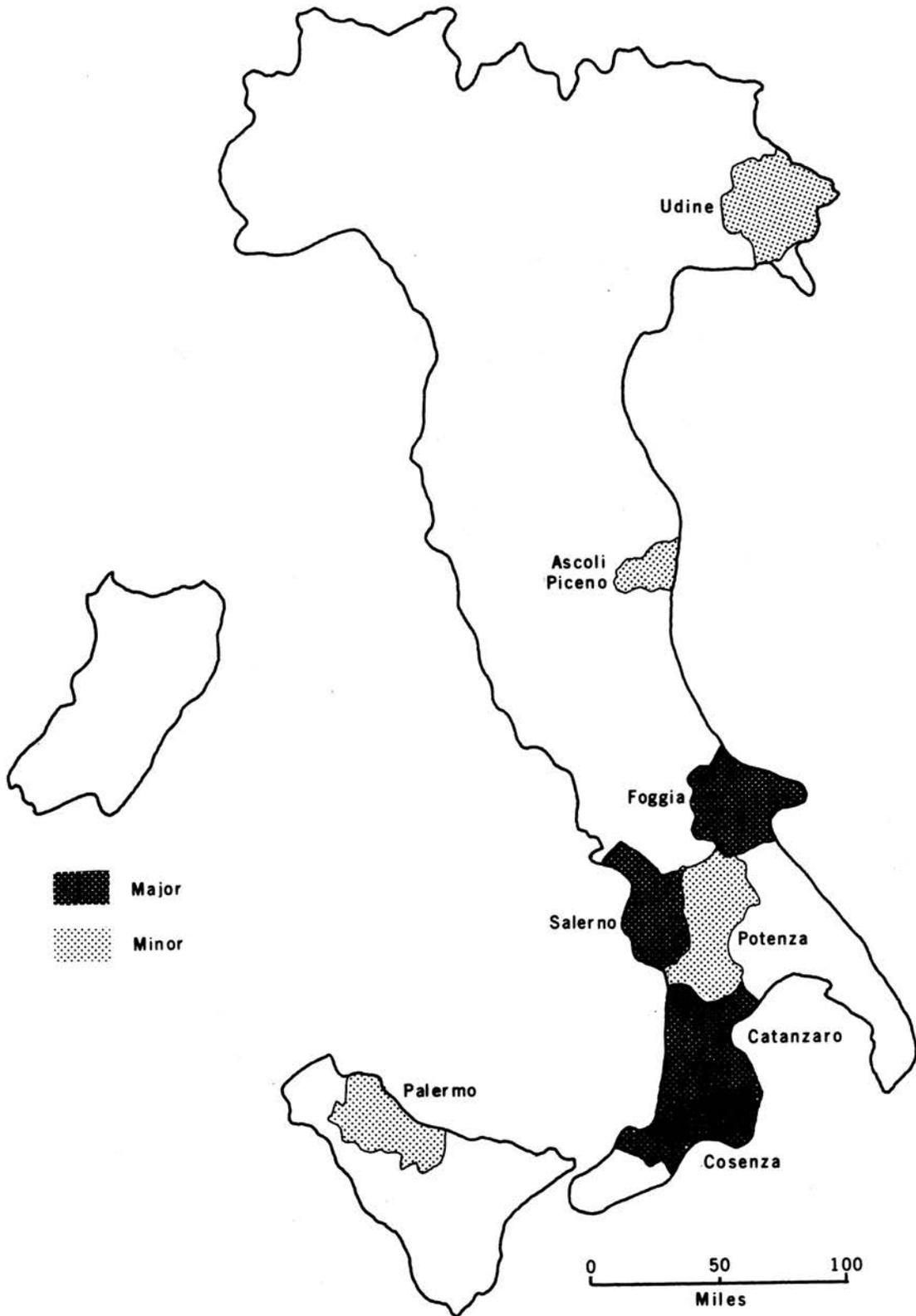


Figure 5: Major and Minor Source Regions, by Province, of the Italian Sample Population

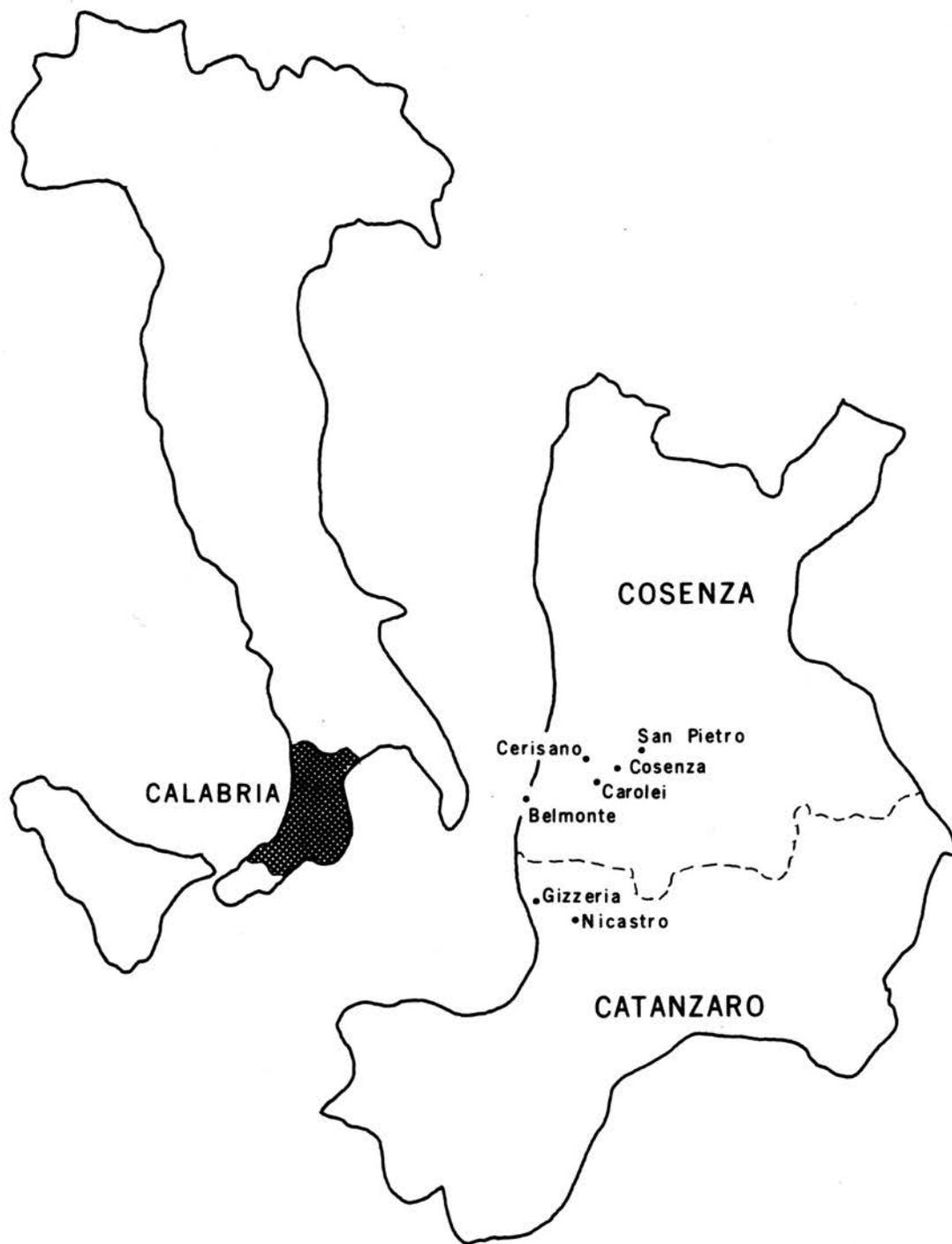


Figure 6: Birth Places of the Sample Population
Born in Calabria

source villages. For example, in the province of Catanzaro Italian immigrants originated from two villages; Nicastro (6) and Gizzeria (4). These two villages, however, happened to be only six miles apart. Similarly, the seven immigrants from the province of Cosenza can be traced to five villages. Again these villages were only a few miles apart. Furthermore, villages in Cosenza were relatively close to those in Catanzaro. Evidence from the questionnaire indicates that many of the Italians from these regions knew one another in Italy, prior to their emigration. Not only did they know people from their own village (paisani) but also people from neighboring villages which may very well have been in another province. For example, the lone surviving immigrant from Carolei, Cosenza, prior to her emigration, knew several persons in Nicastro, Catanzaro, who later joined her in Washington.

Types of Chain Migration. Migration from Southern Italy to Washington was primarily of two types; serial migration of breadwinners and delayed family migration. Migration through the padroni never existed in Washington.³³

Before settling permanently in Washington and bringing out their wives and children lone males often assisted male relatives and friends of working age to emigrate. The guardians of new arrivals usually lodged them in their own quarters and found them work close by. Employment was readily found in steel mills, glass mills, brick yards, and as apprentice

³³There is sketchy evidence suggesting that railroad padroni may have functioned in some limited capacity in Washington during the early 1900's.

shoemakers and tailors. Quite often the relative would know of an opening in the place where he himself was working, or could arrange beforehand to place the new arrival through an agreement with his employer, who was usually eager to get all the low-paid workers he could.³⁴ In one instance, an early migrant assisted his brother (who was a shoemaker by trade) by building him a shoe shop prior to his immigration.

Later, when a male immigrant felt some permanency in his settlement he would either send for the remainder of his family, or, if he were a bachelor, would most likely return home to marry. Several reasons influenced the immigrant's decision to remain in Washington and send for the rest of his family rather than return to Italy. Rarely was he able to take home the fortunes of which he had dreamed. Thus Italian immigrants were not provided with the monetary vehicle which could relieve them of their social and economic plight in Italy. Also, mass emigration brought about rapid inflation in Southern Italy as money flowed back from America to its stagnant economy. Therefore, there was a sapping of the power of their money earned here in the United States. Moreover, it was cheaper for immigrants to bring out their families and put them to work in the United States, than leave them in Italy and return home periodically.³⁵ Nineteen (51 percent of those interviewed) migrated as part of a family whose destination was to join the head of the family here in the United States. This type of migration occurred largely during the late 1910's and beyond.

³⁴ Lawrence Frank Pisani, The Italian in America; a Social Study and History (New York: Exposition Press, 1957), p. 80.

³⁵ MacDonald and MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 42 (January, 1964), p. 89.

MacDonald suggests that many Italian women - both wives and daughters - were put to work soon after arrival, often in factories, especially as garment workers and textile factory operatives.³⁶ This type of female employment, however, was not common in Washington. A few females worked in the family business or found odd jobs if their husbands happened to die at an early age; otherwise, their only occupation was as a housewife.

For the lone male in Washington finding a wife was not always an easy task. MacDonald suggests that there was very little intermarriage between Southern Italians and "Old" Americans or other nationality groups in the United States. They definitely preferred to marry Southern Italian women. However, in Washington as was true for most of the United States, there was a shortage of marriageable Southern Italian women. Consequently, most bachelors had to return home to marry or bring out proxy wives.³⁷ From the Washington sample, four males, in fact, returned to Italy either to marry old sweethearts or to search for a wife. Only one male out of 19 married an American born non-Italian. With the passage of time, however, the number of marriageable Southern Italian women very slowly increased as unmarried daughters accompanied their mothers to join their fathers.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 89.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 90.

CHAPTER III

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THE ITALIAN POPULATION

This chapter analyzes the residential patterning of the Italian population for ten year intervals, 1900-1970 inclusive. Some of the economic and social characteristics of the Italians which directly or indirectly affect the residential location of the population are discussed in detail. These include neighborhood identification, family ties, religion, membership in social organizations, and economic considerations.

This chapter is subdivided into two major parts. The first major subdivision deals mainly with the residential location of the Italian population up until 1930.³⁸ This includes the formative years of Italian immigration when the community was being constantly replenished by streams of immigrants. The second major subdivision, Residential Location 1930 to the Present, is confined to the period during which Italian immigration virtually ceased and the Italian population gradually declined.

Residential Location 1900-1930

Italian immigrants founded very few towns in America. For the most part patterns of housing and commercial establishments in towns and cities had been established prior to their arrival. Washington was no exception. Into the preexisting structure of the city came Italian immigrants and,

³⁸Information from "Alphabetical List of Names" section in city directories.

whatever else they might do in the city, they had to adopt to its structure and order.³⁹

Insofar as can be determined the initial Italian immigrants in Washington were merchants who made their way into the business sector of Washington's economy and prospered. Their shops and markets were located in the heart of the business district, primarily on Main, Chestnut, and Wheeling Streets. Because of the extremely small size of the Italian population there was not the slightest hint of clustering or residential segregation. Most of the merchants simply lived above their place of business.

As the flow of Italian immigrants increased, however, the spatial characteristics of their settlement began to take more definite form. The areas of first settlement were the older residential areas of the city, because here residential competition was at a minimum, and housing was relatively inexpensive. Those who came in family units could rent, or share with friends, apartments at costs that with some sacrifice could at least be endured. Those who came as individuals could share a low priced room with one or two others at a boarding house or at the home of a paisani.

Information from the 1907-08 city directory can be used to determine the residential patterning of the initial Italian population.⁴⁰ Residences were scattered throughout census tract 39, the main business sector of Washington. As earlier one could find Italian owned and run

³⁹ Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 5.

⁴⁰ First directory year in which Italian population is of considerable size.

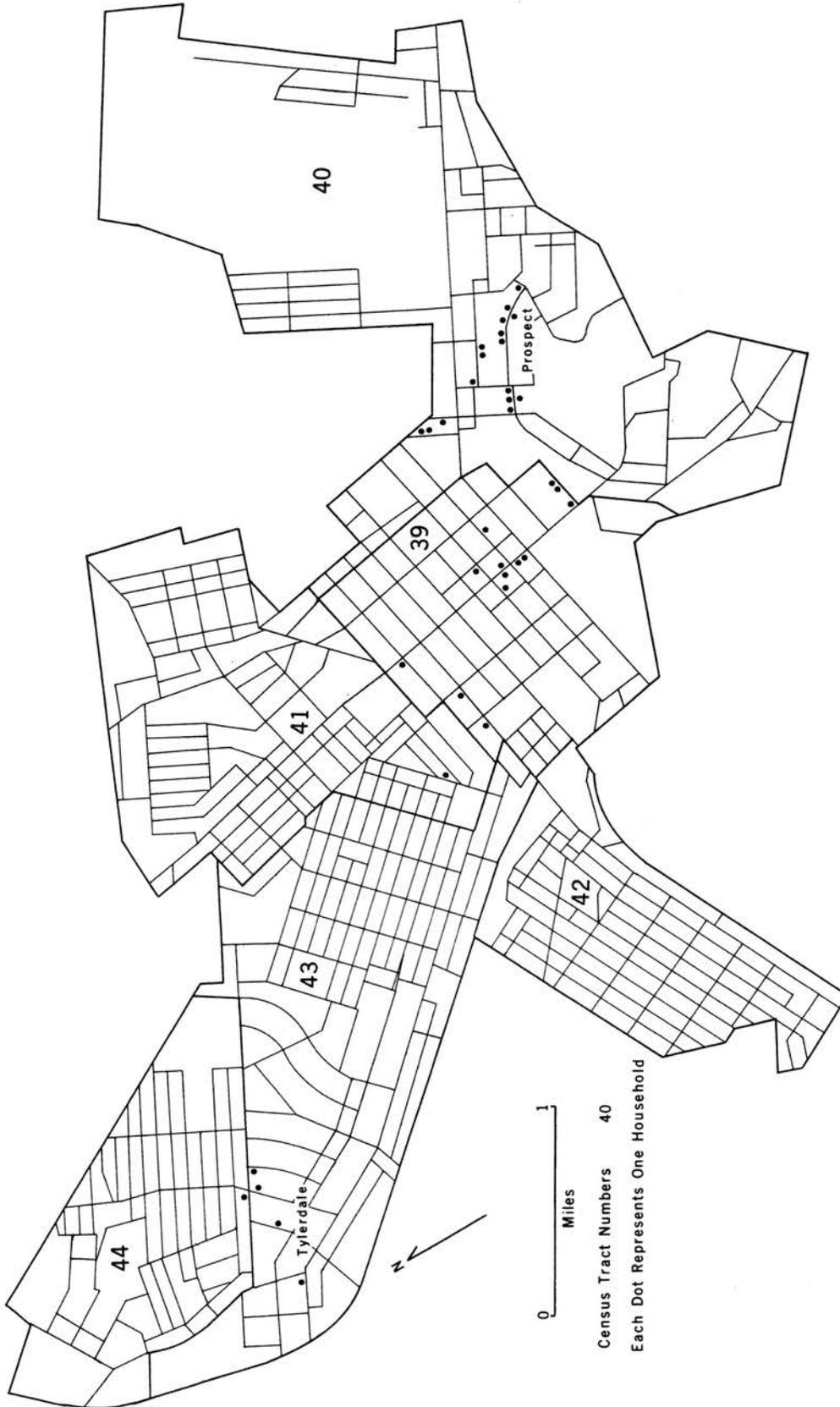


Figure 7: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1907

businesses with residence at the same location. Their number, however, had increased two-fold. The main concentration of Italians was on the south side of town (tract 40) centering around Prospect Street.⁴¹ Here there was a definite clustering or concentration of Italian households. In fact, 48 percent of all Italian households in Washington were located in this part of town. Furthermore, within each household anywhere from one to eight boarders could be found. This concentration of households and boarders suggested a dense Italian population. In the Prospect part of town housing was relatively inexpensive. Houses were long narrow wooden structures built near the turn of the century. Italians avoided housing on nearby Maiden Street where houses were of superior quality and esthetic beauty but certainly much higher priced. The Italian residents were overwhelmingly working class, largely finding employment in nearby glass mills and brick yards.

The only other clustering of Italian residences could be found in the Tylerdale section (north; tract 43) centered around Woodland Avenue. Here, however, the Italian community was quite small; only six households plus several boarders. Italians were attracted to this part of town because of cheap housing and close proximity to employment opportunities, i.e. coal mines, tin mill, glass mill.

By 1920 the Italian population of Washington had dramatically increased. Many of the lone working males who had previously been boarders were now reunited with their families or had married, and were looking for houses of their own. The tendency was to purchase, if possible, a

⁴¹Hereafter Prospect will be used to denote the whole of the Italian community in the South side of town, unless stated otherwise.

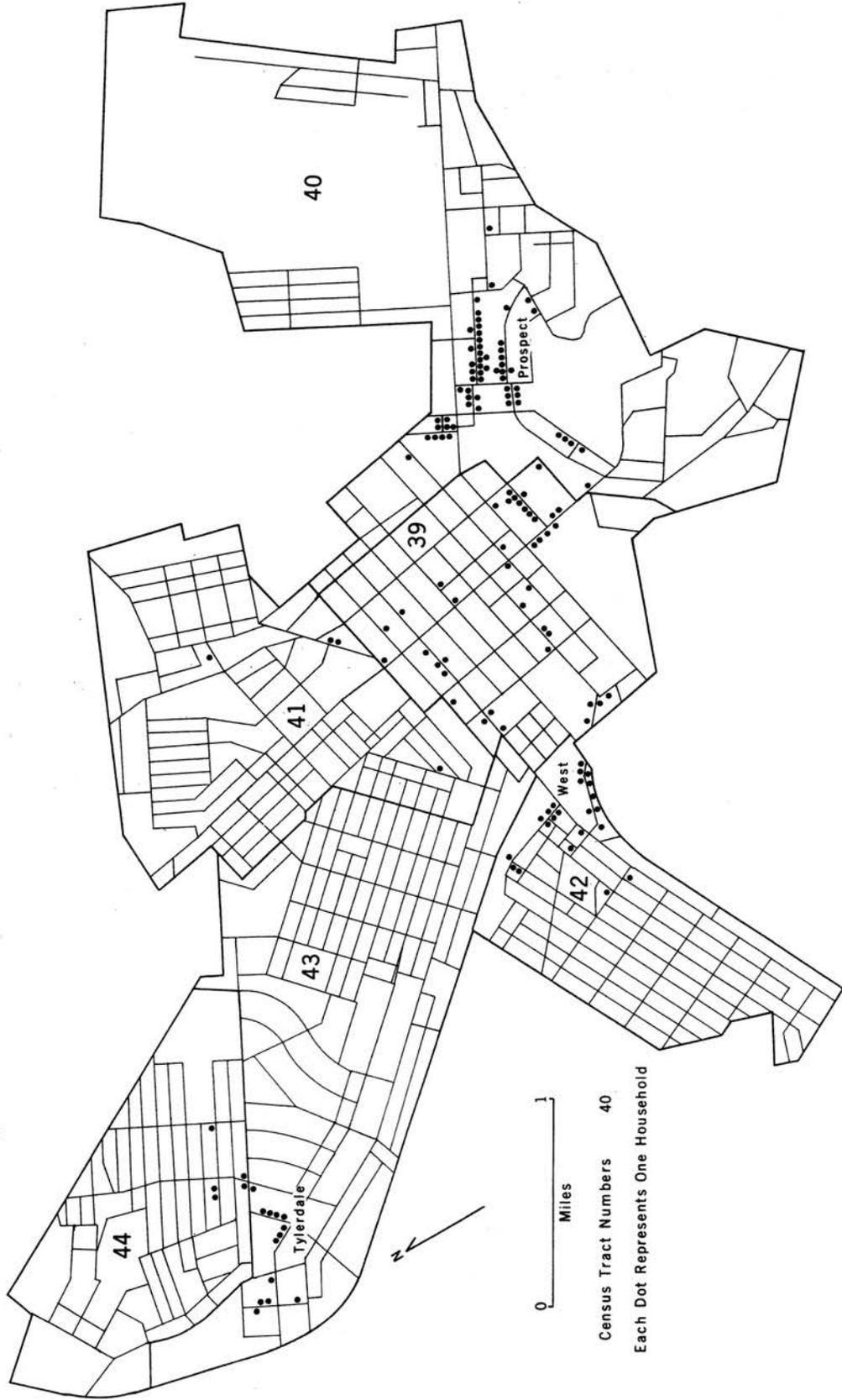


Figure 8: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1920

house close to friends and relatives. If they had neither, Italians sought a place where they could hear familiar accents, and where they could at least be understood. Thus we find Italian immigrants gravitating together to form core areas upon which the future growth of Italian colonies or enclaves would depend.

The colony centered around Prospect continued to be the major concentration of Italian households with clearly 50 percent of all Italians in Washington residing there. Italian households in the Tylerdale section more than doubled, but the community still remained small and dispersed compared to the Italian colony centered around Prospect.

Outside of these core areas, the residential location of Italians had changed somewhat. Italian merchants remained scattered throughout the business district, although their numbers had increased. But the most obvious change was the emergence of new clusters on the western side of town (tract 42). Twenty-five households could be identified along Mill, Brookside and Grove Streets. Apparently, their major considerations were cheap housing and close proximity to places of employment. Many of the Italian wage-earners were employed in a nearby glass mill and steel mill while others set up business establishments such as shoe shops and grocery stores. Italian settlement in this part of town also suggests that as the ethnic community in Washington grew, it needed room for expansion. When residential expansion was blocked because of high prices and/or unavailability of housing, new nuclei in other parts of town would emerge.

By the early part of the 1930 decade it becomes evident that once the residential pattern was established, then future growth simply built on that existing framework with growth characterized as sectorial or

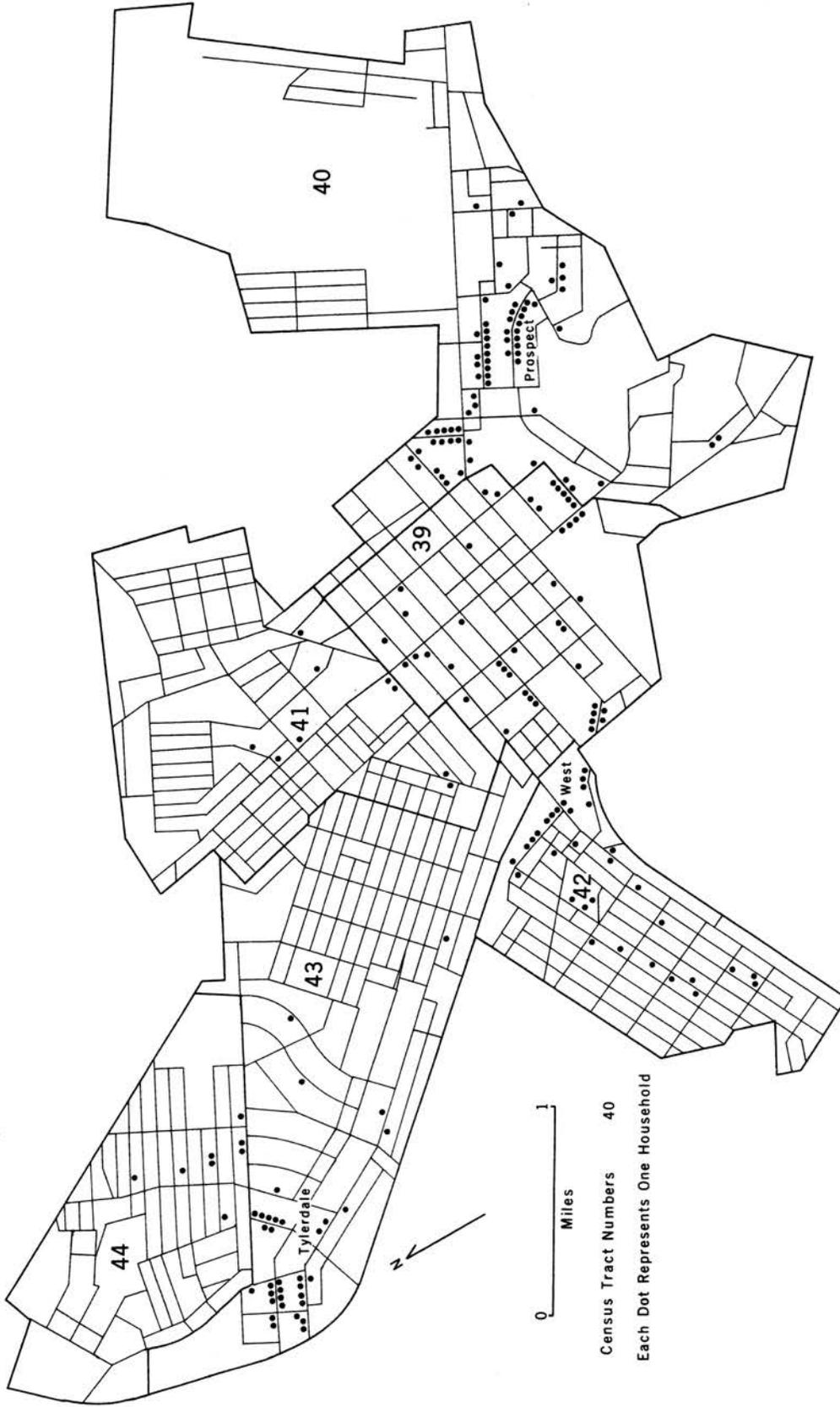


Figure 9: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1930

radial. For example, during the preceeding decade there was the emergence of a grouping of Italian residences on the western side of town. Since 1920 there had been an enlargement of these groupings or clusters and a gradual coalescing, resulting in the formation of a new core area. Density then increased in this new core while other residences dispersed outward away from that core and center city. This outward movement, however, was not an indication of suburbanization. In most cases this movement toward the city limits involved housing similar in age and quality to that at the western core. This sectorial growth then could be characterized as a search procedure (principally by second generation Italians) for cheap available housing.

The Italian community centered around Prospect by the 1930's had increased both in density and its areal extent. After all available housing at the core of the original colony was occupied Italians moved into adjacent neighborhoods searching for living space. Italians in significant numbers moved into Houston, East, and Lang Streets. This movement, however, was inward away from the Italian core and toward the center of the city. Here housing was available and within the Italian's economic means. Housing in the opposite direction (toward the city limits) was for the most part relatively new and far too expensive for most Italians.

Similarly, the Italian community in Tylerdale grew rapidly. Density increased at the core but more apparent was its outward expansion toward the city limits. This direction of residential movement was largely dictated by cost and availability of housing. The number of households had increased more than two-fold, however, the Italian community in Tylerdale remained considerably smaller than its crosstown counterpart at Prospect.

Economic Influences

When studying the spatial arrangement of the Italian community in Washington, Pennsylvania - location, density, residential segregation - it is important to consider economic factors which influence and, in many instances, even determine residential location. Upon settling in Washington such factors as job location and cost of housing were of utmost importance to immigrant Italians.

Job Location

Generally in the United States it has been found that Italian residential areas were located near places of employment, particularly near manufacturing establishments which were their main sources of employment; the desire to save car fare or long walks were primary concerns. In Washington, Italian residential areas were indeed located near industrial establishments. This idea of residential location, however, can be taken one step further. We have already argued that newly arriving immigrants usually found their first employment because of the help they received from members of the ethnic community. Often their first job was either in the same factory or in the same line of work. Therefore, it seems logical that people within a certain area (usually friends and relatives) will work in the same places. By plotting the residence of Italian employees for selected industrial firms it becomes readily apparent that this is true.

There is, however, one point which is subject to further inquiry. While it is true that some Italians sought lodgings near their place of employment, it also seems equally true that some Italians sought employment near their initial residential sites. The contention is that the

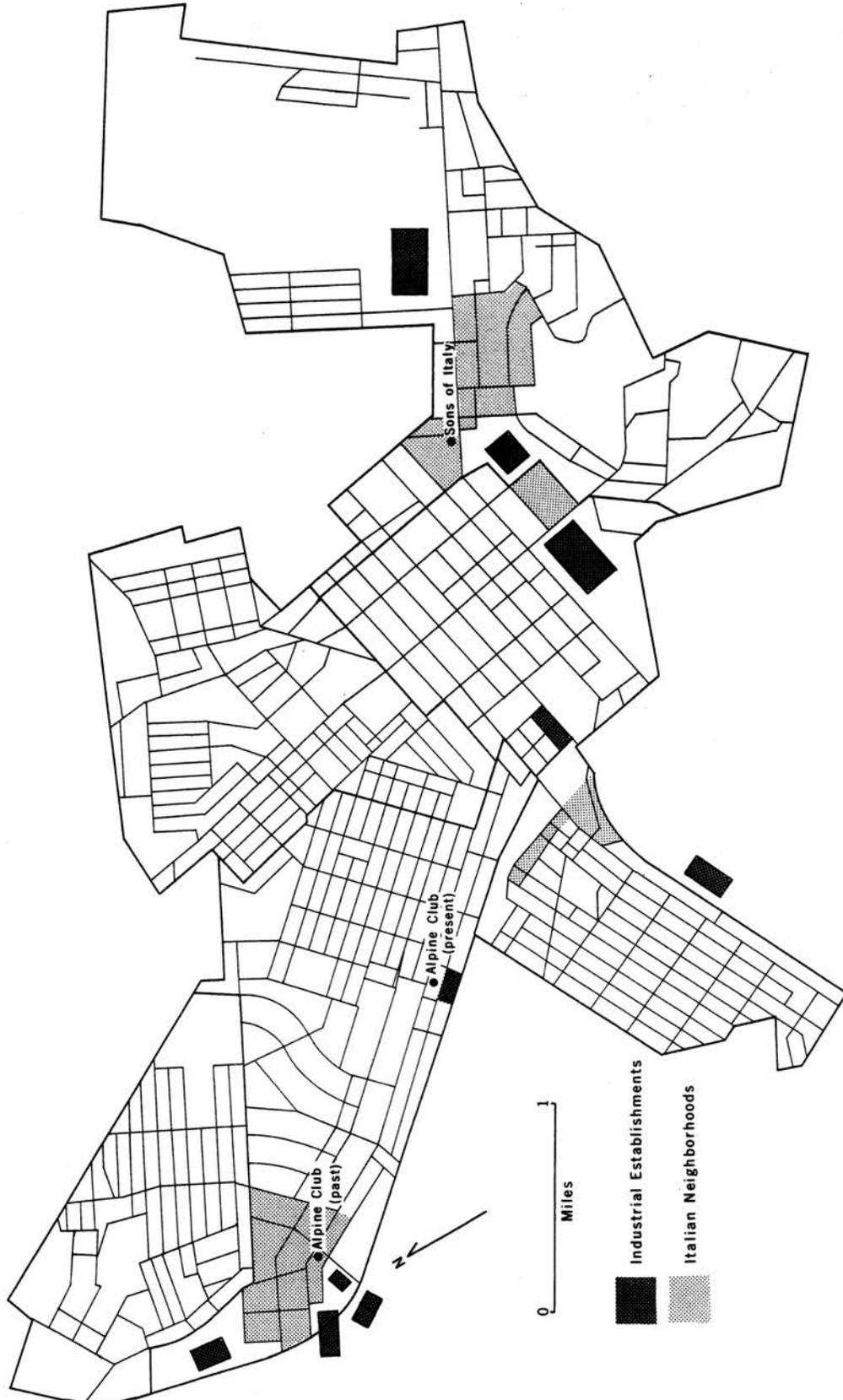


Figure 10: Location of Italian Residential Areas in Reference to Industrial Establishments

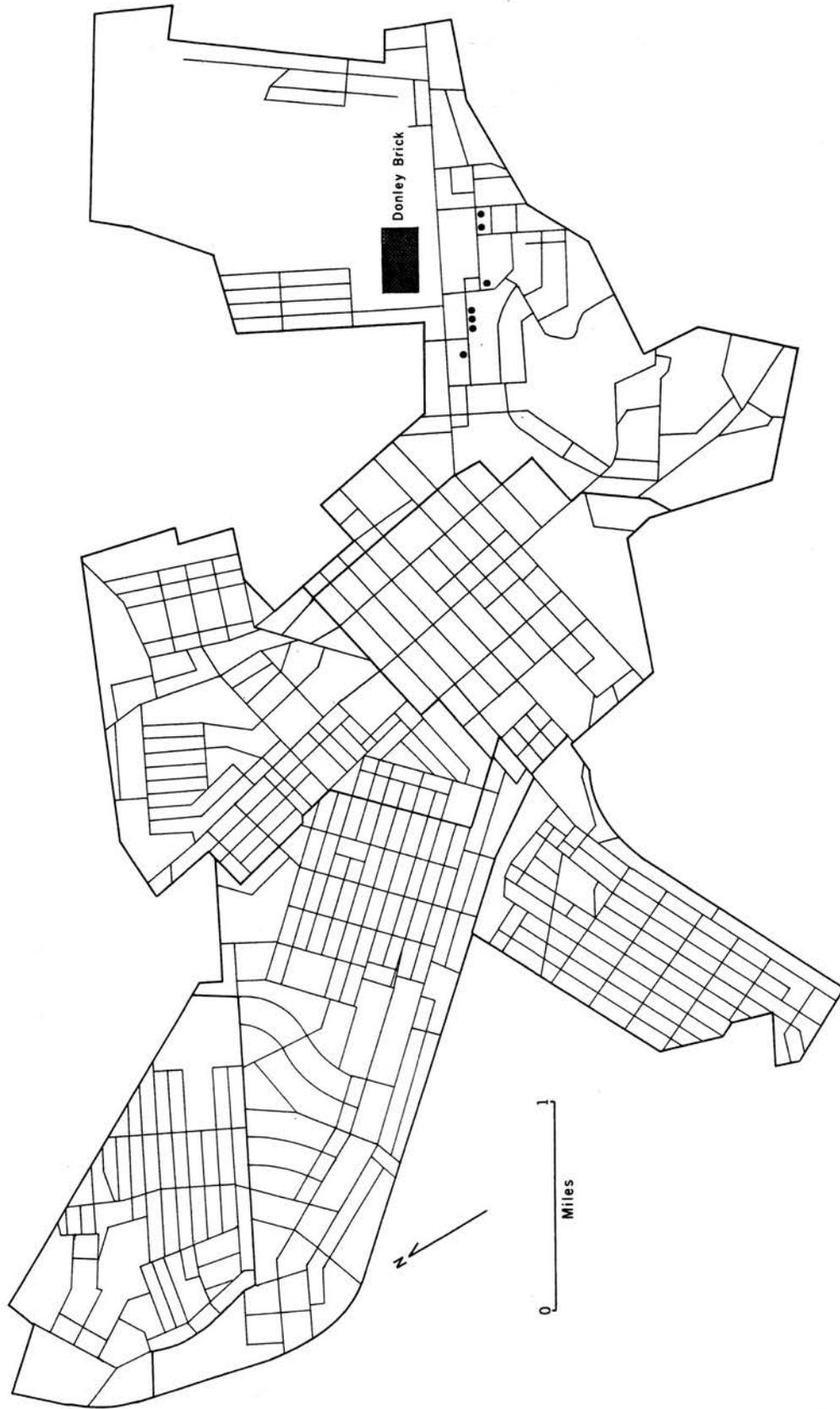


Figure 11: Residential Locations of Italian Brickworkers: 1908

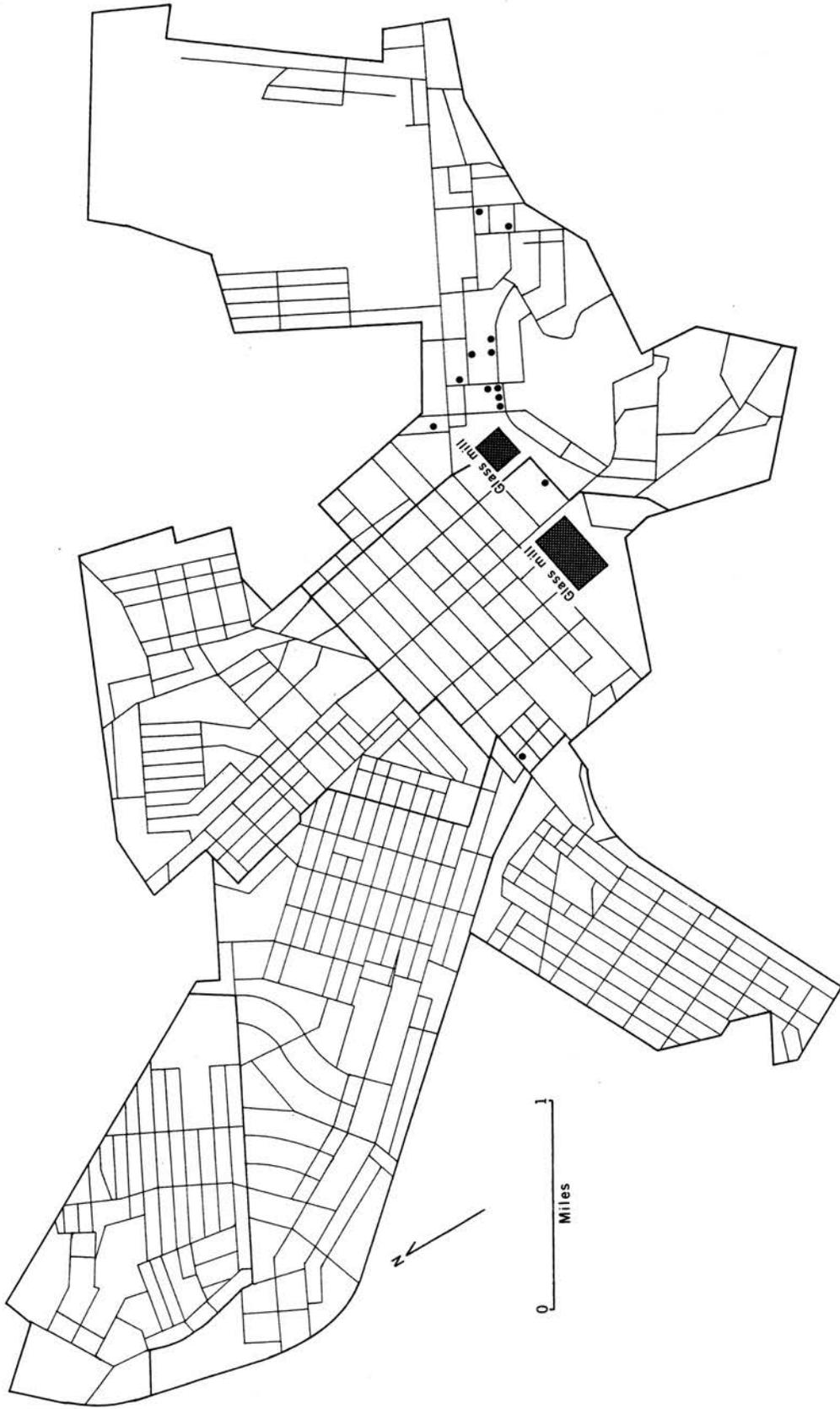


Figure 12: Residential Locations of Italian Glass Mill Workers: 1920

residential site of a new immigrant was predetermined. However, if a job was not waiting for him, then the new immigrant would simply have to find his own. Usually this involved no more than a simple process of least effort, that is, exploiting, if possible, employment opportunities located nearest his initial residential site. In other words, predetermined residential locations had an effect on the initial patterns of employment. There is evidence from the questionnaire to support this idea. Several immigrants upon arriving in Washington did not have a job awaiting them. Room and board, however, was readily found with either friends or relatives who resided in Italian ghetto areas. Soon after arrival the immigrants then exploited job opportunities in factories and businesses nearest their residence.

It is apparent then that a multiplicity of factors regarding employment and residential patterning function for the Italian community in Washington. The dominance of any one factor can not be ascertained without further detailed investigation.

Cost of Housing

Numerous studies have found that Italians were attracted to particular precincts, wards, or quarters of the city because of cheap accommodations. Ideally this cheap housing would be located near places of employment or where employment could hopefully be secured. To test this hypothesis for Washington's Italian community, an attempt was made to determine cost of housing in all parts of the city during the early decades of the 1900's. Unfortunately, records which would have been of value were destroyed. The only alternative was to plot average housing cost by city block from the 1960 housing census. Since the initial Italian settlement, residential

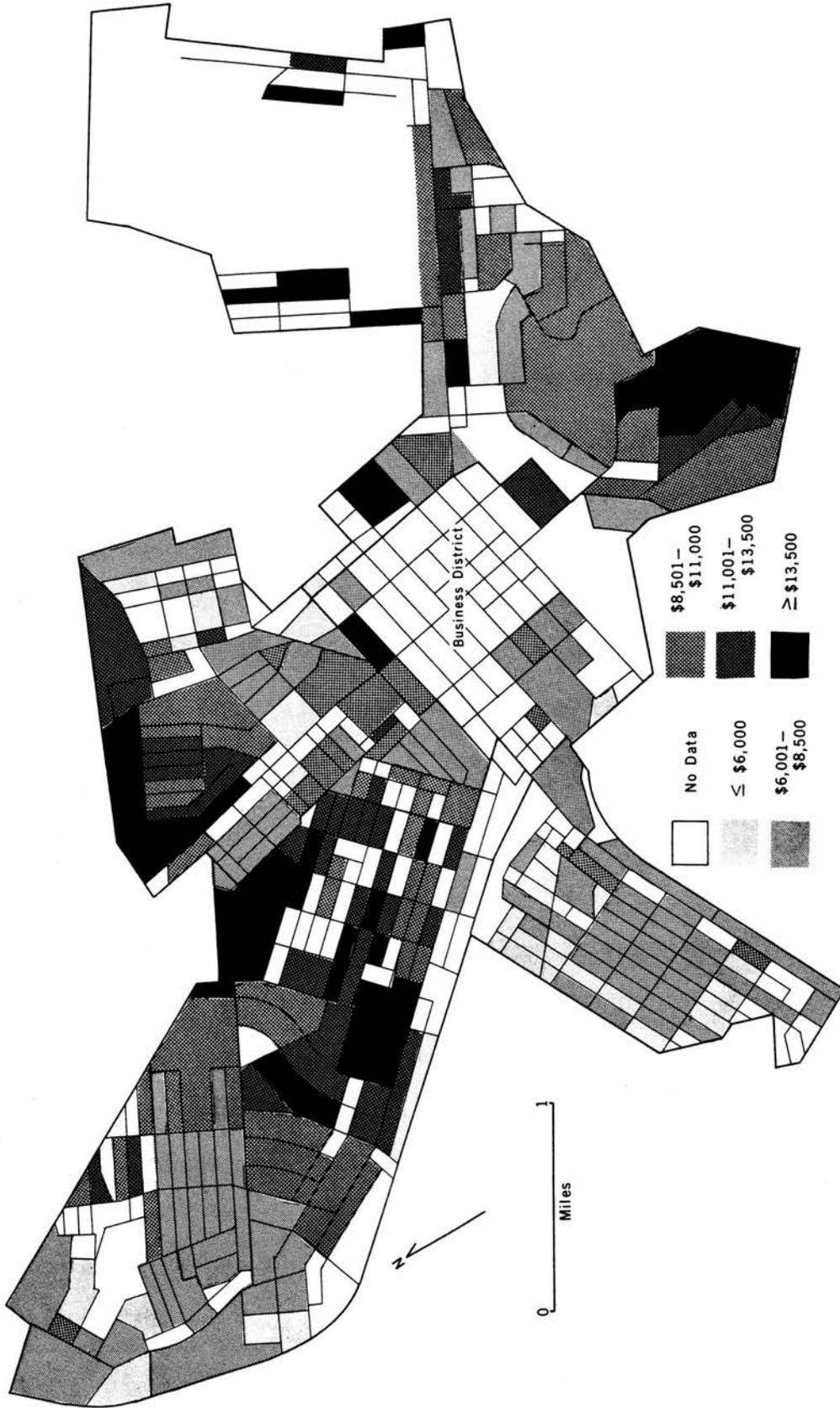


Figure 13: Average Value (Dollars) of Occupied Housing Units, by Blocks: 1960

values within the city obviously have changed somewhat. Nevertheless, relatively speaking, meaningful comparisons can still be made. From the map it is apparent that Italians did occupy areas of cheap housing within the city, i.e. Tylerdale, Prospect, and Western part of town. There were of course other areas of the city where housing was equally inexpensive, however, the areas were either occupied by Poles and other European immigrant groups (rest of Tylerdale), or simply located too far from places of employment.

Evidence from the map also suggests reasons for the directional bias growth of the Italian colonies. Again one of the major considerations had to have been cost of housing. For example, the Italian colony in Tylerdale during the 1930's and 40's grew away from the central city. This, however, was not an indication of suburbanization, but rather one of economics. The price of housing moving toward the center city rose considerably; at the time, much too expensive for most Italian families. However, housing toward the city limits was in the same price range.

Social Influences

The Italian community in Washington is influenced, both internally and externally by many different social conditions and institutions. Not only do these social institutions - family, social organizations, religion, neighborhood - encourage the growth of the colony, but also maintain and perpetuate it as well. They are the binding forces which enable individual households to grow into clusters, and clusters to grow into cohesive neighborhoods. Furthermore, these social characteristics are the life and soul of the Italian colony; those physical and cultural artifacts which would enable a traveler through the city to know instantly when he had reached the Italian section.

Proximity to Family and Friends

It is impossible to consider the cohesiveness of an Italian neighborhood in Washington and elsewhere without first considering the strength and structure of the Italian family. Barzini writes in his book "The Italians", "The first source of power is the family."⁴² Similarly, Glazer and Moynihan contend that the little circles of kinfolk and townfolk, gathered in a neighborhood, were the bases of the American Italian community.⁴³

Structurally the Italian nuclear family, other than its large size, is no different from any other family. However, the extended family is enlarged to the point where it includes up to fifth cousins, great uncles and aunts, and great great grandparents. Spatially there is a pronounced tendency for members of the same extended family to live near one another. This kinship localism manifests itself in a number of ways. It is not uncommon to find a single tenement, entirely occupied by one extended family, elderly parents, matured children with their mates, and grandchildren.⁴⁴

Friends and paisani (people from the same village or province) also function as family members, socially as well as spatially. According to Firey, "Paisani and other friendship solidarities likewise assume a

⁴²Luigi Barzini, The Italians (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1964), p. 198.

⁴³Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. 190.

⁴⁴Walter Firey, Land Use in Central Boston (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 193.

decided localism . . . fellow paisani show considerable tendency to live near one another, sometimes occupying much of a single street or court."⁴⁵

By plotting the birth place (by province) of a number of foreign-born Italians throughout the city it became possible to look for any internal division or fragmentation of the colony into "little Sicilies," "little Calabrias" and the like. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine the birth places of the Italian population in the formative years of Italian immigration. Nevertheless, some interesting patterns did emerge from the survey data of surviving foreign-born Italians. With one exception the Italians residing in the Tylerdale section of town were Calabrian (provinces of Consenza and Catanzaro) who largely avoided the south side of town. Similarly, all of the immigrants from Salerno and Foggia lived on the southern or western parts of town but not in Tylerdale. No doubt if a similar map could be reproduced for 1930 similar bold patterns of provincial clustering could be seen to have existed within the Italian community.

Italian Organizations

Two Italian organizations were founded and prospered in Washington. The order Sons of Italy (Leonardo da Vinci and Davina Madre Lodges) was founded by Italian immigrants on August 12, 1914. Most members lived in the South side of town (Prospect colony) and there the lodge found its initial home where it remains today. (see figure 10) The other organization, Alpine Star Lodge No. 9 (Italian Sons and Daughters of America), was founded on July 8, 1929. Its initial home was on Woodland Avenue in the heart of the Italian neighborhood in the Tylerdale section of town.

Ibid., p. 194.

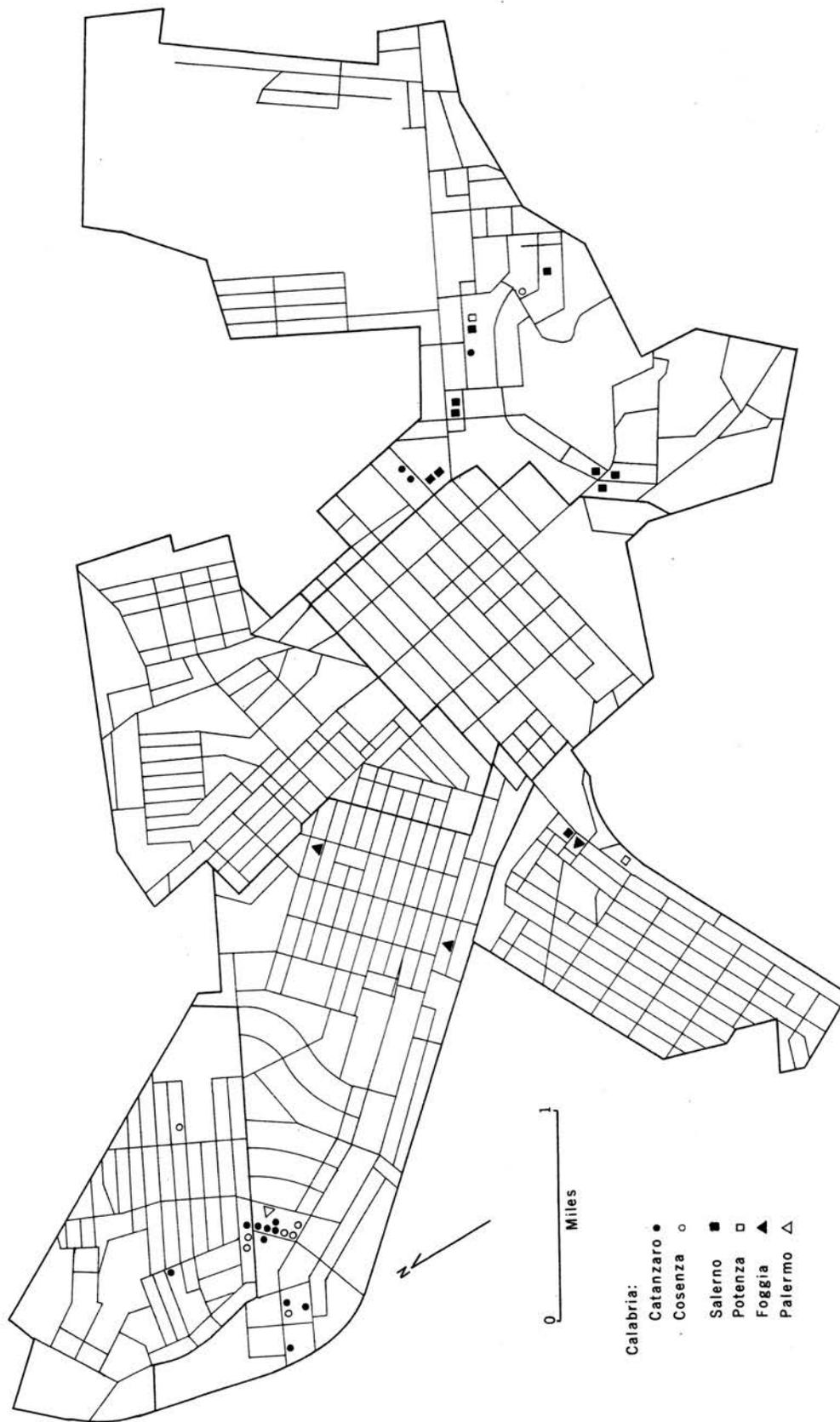


Figure 14: Birth Places (by Province) of the Foreign-Born Italian Sample Population

(see figure 10) Today it is located on Jefferson Avenue, (adjacent to Tylerdale) still readily accessible to the Italian community.

Social organizations served many purposes for the Italian community. Primarily the lodge filled a great social void. It brought together Italians socially in the form of picnics, recreational activities, charity work, card clubs, and bingo. Social organizations strengthened ties within the Italian community by bringing individuals together as a group. In addition to the social functions, the lodge helped to develop a feeling of identity within the Italian colony along with a sense of community pride and rapport.

The lodges also instilled ethnic pride in the Italian; pride of heritage and culture. The lodges contributed greatly to the preservation and spreading of Italian culture. They have promoted the teaching of the Italian language in public and private schools, collaborated in the translation and publication of Italian classics, and have instituted cultural and drama organizations.

Italian organizations have also strengthened ties between the Italian community and Italy by responding generously to the appeals of the Mother Country in all natural disasters and national calamities. Generous contributions have been sent from the United States (including Washington) to the Italian Red Cross, to the American Relief Association, to the Friendship Train, and to victims of earthquakes and floods.⁴⁶

Of particular interest to the Italian community in Washington, in the past and presently, has been the publication of two weekly newspapers

⁴⁶ Ernest L. Biagi, The Purple Aster: A History of the Order Sons of Italy in America (Veritas Press, 1961), p. 117.

by the Sons of Italy which each member receives. The Times is published in Philadelphia by the O.S.I.A. of Pennsylvania. It contains news from around the state which would be of interest to Italians and Italian-Americans. The O.S.I.A. News, a publication of the National Supreme Lodge in Worcester, Massachusetts, in contrast to the Times, contains news only at the national level. Both newspapers, however, carry news about Italy and are written in English and Italian; domestic articles are written in English, those concerning Italy, in Italian.

Religion

When Italian immigrants settled in Washington one of their primary needs (other than food and shelter) was to satisfy their spiritual desires. The majority of Italians were Roman Catholic, having brought Catholicism from their native land. At the time of their arrival there was one Catholic church in Washington, Immaculate Conception. This church was erected in 1855 on East Maiden Street by Irish immigrants. In 1892 the church found a new location at the corner of South Lincoln and East Wheeling where it remained until 1930. Not too surprisingly all of the Italian Catholics in Washington belonged to the Immaculate Conception parish. In 1919 Polish speaking immigrants (who up to then had been attending Immaculate Conception) founded Saint Hilary Church on Henderson Avenue. Priests were Polish-born and masses were served in the Polish language. The new Saint Hilary Church was close to the Italian colony in the Tylerdale section of town. The Italians there, however, preferred to make the trip across town and thus remained parishioners at Immaculate Conception. Being able to worship as a body with their fellow countrymen somehow made the journey worthwhile. In addition

Polish masses did not appeal to immigrant Italians. Why Italians did not establish a Catholic church in their own neighborhood is not clear. Their numbers were sufficient. Certainly the Italians' economic situation was not worse than that of the Poles. Perhaps motivation and/or initiative was lacking. Whatever the reason, no Italian Catholic parish ever existed in Washington.

Italians as a whole were good church goers or at least considered themselves "good Catholics," however, women went more often than men. If for health reasons a member could not attend mass, the priest would pay a visit to the house and in some cases administered communion. Burning candles were commonplace in Italian houses with statues of their patron saints frequently visible to the passerby.

As early as 1901 Catholic education was available for Washington's Catholic population. Few Italians, however, sent their children to the parochial school, economic considerations being the primary reason. Despite the costs, however, there were some Italians, feeling their children were abused both physically and mentally by teachers in public schools because of their ethnic background, who did send their children to parochial schools.

Not all Italians were Catholics or at least wished to remain Catholic. Attempts by missionaries to convert or evangelize the Italian population met with some success in Washington. In 1923 the Italian Christian Church was founded in Washington. The church was affiliated with the Italian Christian Church of North America which had its beginnings in Chicago in the early 1900's. During its embryonic years services were held in the homes of church members. Unlike the Catholic church in Washington, whose priests were Irish, the first preachers at the Christian Church were Italian-Americans. In addition, services were given in

both English and Italian. According to informants, Italians left the Catholic Church because of dissatisfaction and "a desire to save their souls." To them the Catholic Church taught false doctrines and did not provide for the salvation of their souls. As one informant put it, "Italians found the truth."

In 1927 the Christian Church found a permanent home. Through the time and labor of several of its members a small wooden structure was erected on West Wylie Avenue. The location, however, had little significance. It was simply one of the few pieces of cheap land available for the construction of their church. Finally in 1966 a new modern structure was erected at the corner of Shirls and Fourth. By this time the name of the church had been changed to the Christian Church of North America. Presently most of its members are non-Italians but the preacher is of Italian descent.

Neighborhood

In the course of time every sector and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own.⁴⁷

The Italian community in Washington could be considered as a mosaic of neighborhoods. Within each Italian enclave one could find subcommunities or social units which sociologists refer to as neighborhoods. The Dictionary of Sociology defines a neighborhood as "a small community,

⁴⁷ Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York: Harper & Bros., 1921), p. 114.

characterized by limited area and highly developed personal face-to-face relations." This is not to say that every street inhabited by Italians is a neighborhood; every street is not. However, particularly within the core regions of the Italian colonies in the Tylerdale and Prospect sections of town, Italian neighborhoods flourished.

The Italian neighborhood functioned both as a social unit and as an organizer of space. The neighborhood strengthens ties within the Italian community. People with a common heritage, culture, and skills are brought together as a neighborhood group, which functions as a group rather than as individuals. The neighborhood also spawns social organizations, which among other things, serves as a means to strengthen ties between the community and Italy. Furthermore, the neighborhood functions as a determinant of residential location and relocation. New arrivals from Italy were attracted to neighborhoods in which their fellow countrymen had already settled. Moreover, second generation Italians found it difficult (at least into the 1950's) to break the bonds between themselves and neighborhood and family. Thus, most second generation Italians sought residence within Italian neighborhoods rather than in other parts of Washington or in suburban areas.

It appears appropriate here to trace the evolution of an Italian neighborhood and discuss its functions and social and physical characteristics. For familiarity reasons a particularly strong neighborhood centered around Woodland Avenue in the Tylerdale section of town will be examined. Italian immigrants found Woodland Avenue to be an area of cheap housing close to their source of employment. The houses, built near the turn of the century as mining homes, were relatively large wooden rectangular structures neatly arranged in monotonous rows. The

residents preceding the Italian invasion, although diverse in ethnic background, were largely of German and Irish origin. The displacement of these ethnic groups, beginning in 1910 with residence of the first Italian, was quick and thorough. Within twenty years Woodland Avenue had become 80-90 percent Italian. The remaining 10-20 percent were Poles.

The Italian inhabitants had developed a feeling of communality or identity with others living in the vicinity. Personal, yet informal daily interactions occurred among the people living near one another. The men either gathered on street corners, on porches, or behind store-fronts to chat, play cards or checkers, and drink coffee or wine. Women socialized less than men, usually confining their social activities to the home, discussing social events and affairs of the family. Informal unannounced visits were the rule rather than the exception. What was important to the Italians was not so much the appearance of the streets and houses, but the inner quality where relatives and friends were welcome and a good table was set.

Hucksters were also an integral part of the Italian community. Twice a week these traveling merchants would peddle fish, fruits and vegetables and bread, drawing crowds of adults and children as they went.

Every Friday and Saturday there was an Italian open air market in the Tylerdale section of town. The market often occurred outside the Italian community primarily because of the need for wide streets and level ground. Merchants would come from all over the area setting up shop along both sides of the streets. Besides its obvious economic benefits the market also functioned as a social event. Italians loved to chat and argue over high prices and fixed scales. It all made life interesting to them.

Strangely enough, inhabitants of Woodland Avenue when asked where they were from often named the larger area (Tylerdale) rather than their immediate district. Italians with their sense of neighborhood, identified more with Tylerdale, its markets, and the whole of the Italian community in this part of town rather than to their immediate street or district. Of course force of habit passed on from generation to generation or to later arrivals may also be a contributing factor.

Residential Location 1930-1970

In spite of the virtual cessation of Italian immigration after 1930, and the increasing assimilation and mobility of the Italian population, the core areas of Italian residence in Tylerdale and Prospect sections of town continued to perpetuate themselves intact for at least two more decades. In fact, the density and areal extent of these enclaves increased rather than decreased. Nelli, in his study of Italians in Chicago, observed a similar persistence of Italian colonies there. He writes:

Ethnic colonies did not quickly, readily or willingly disintegrate. While many economical-ly and socially mobile members moved to more fashionable and desirable residential areas, others remained behind and sought to perpetuate familiar and accepted patterns of living. Only the large-scale invasion of new, different and unacceptable group, or the conversion of the district to industrial and commercial use, could eliminate the hard core of earlier inhabitants.⁴⁸

The growth of the Italian enclaves in Washington during the 1930-1950 period suggests that substantial numbers of second generation Italians sought residence near their parents. More pronounced, however,

⁴⁸Humbert S. Nelli, Italians in Chicago: 1880-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 37.

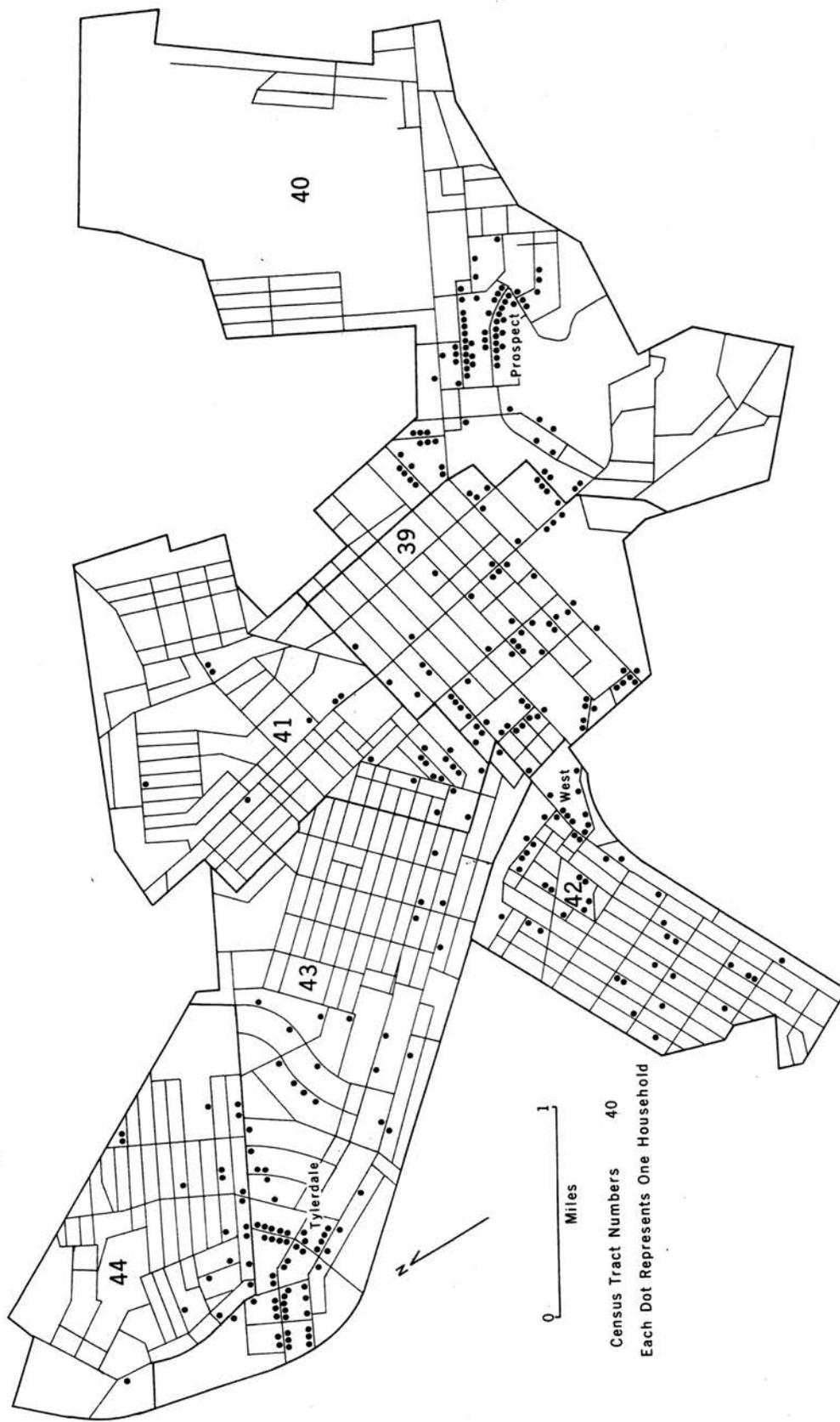


Figure 15: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1940

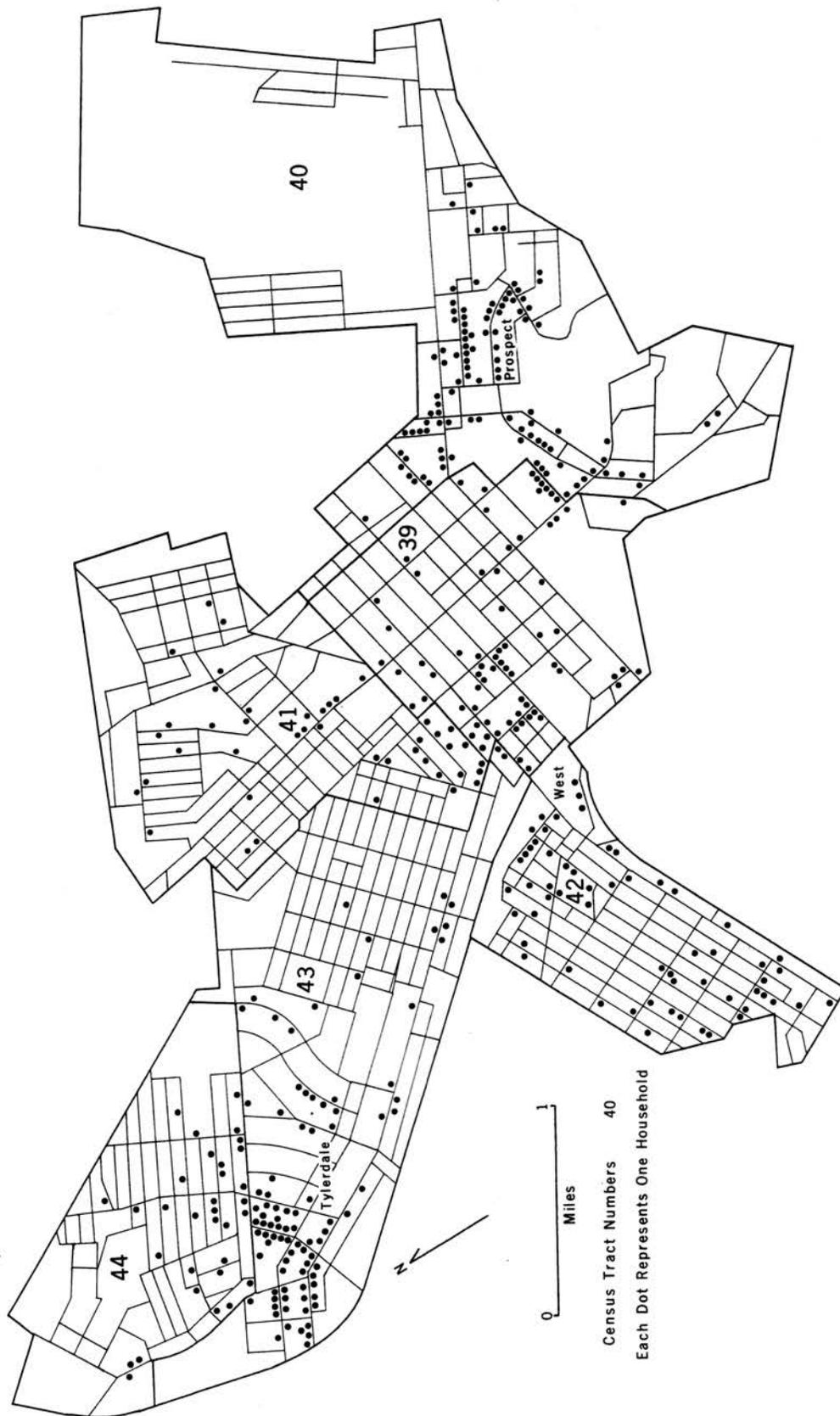


Figure 16: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1950

was the dispersal of Italian residences throughout the city, particularly in the west-central section of town centered around West Chestnut and Jefferson Avenue. Here Italians established many new businesses. These included, grocery stores, tailor shops, shoe shops, barber shops, and confectionaries. Soon Italian owned and run businesses dominated this commercial section of Washington. First generation Italian merchants and their families, for convenience reasons, preferred to live close to their business establishments. Second generation sons and daughters, who were often employed in the family business, rather than move to the suburbs, frequently sought residence in the same area.

By the 1960 census there had been a dramatic change in the pattern of Italian residence. Foremost was the decline in population of the Italian core areas. The cessation of Italian immigration some decades before had a profound affect on the Italian colonies. Without a continuous flow of new immigrants and an abandonment by many second generation Italians, the maintenance of the core areas became impossible. Many of the first generation Italians had died and the majority of the living were 65 years of age and over. Furthermore, second generation Italians had become more socially and economically mobile, seeking residence throughout the city or in booming suburban areas outside the city limits.

In 1970 there was no significant concentration of Italian residences and the number of households declined noticeably. The old core areas were merely hollow remnants of a once flourishing past. The Italian residential areas near the center of the city, which flourished beginning in the late 1930's, had to be evacuated. Commercial and residential redevelopment projects, plus a widening of major transportation routes forced residents to sell their homes to the city.

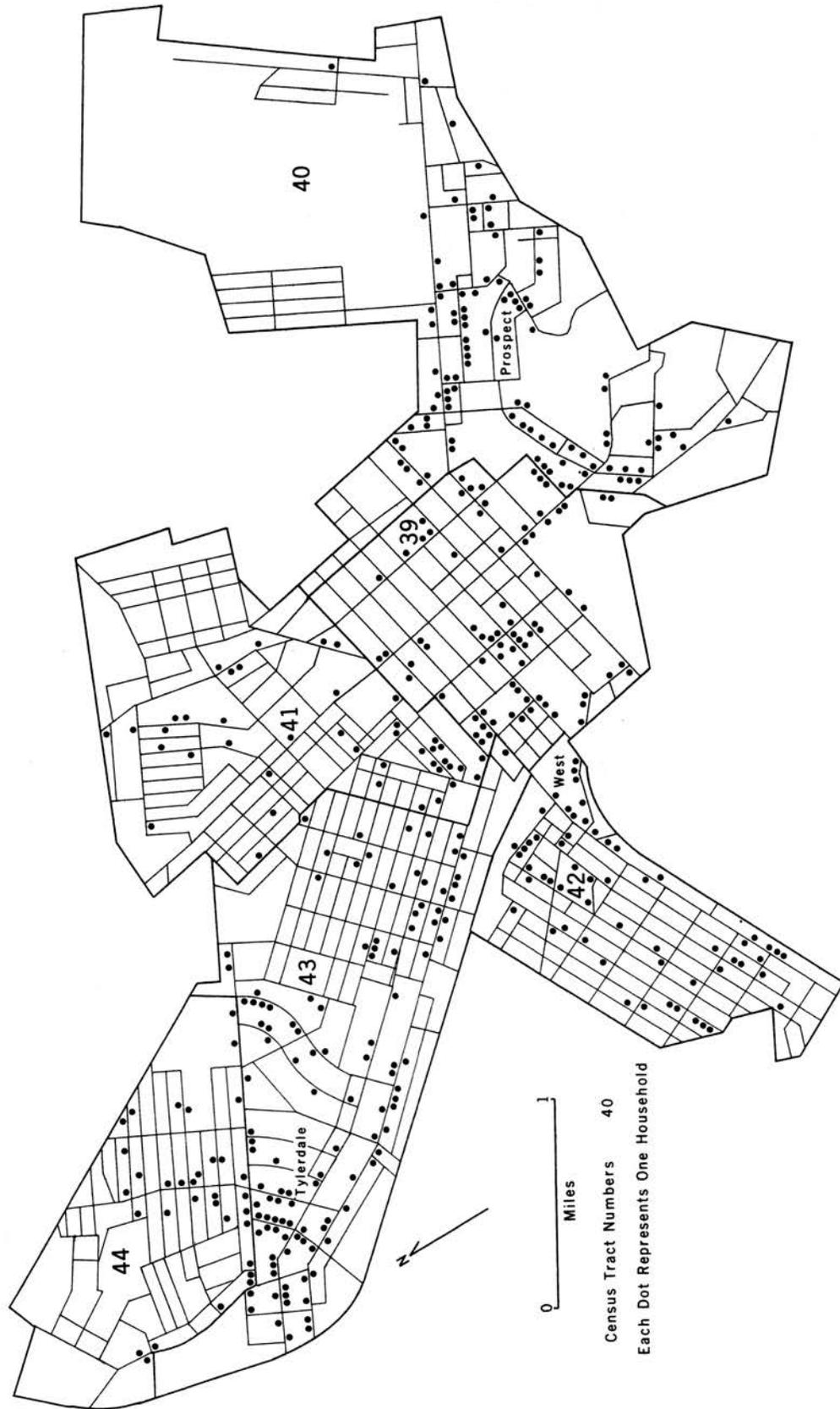


Figure 17: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1960

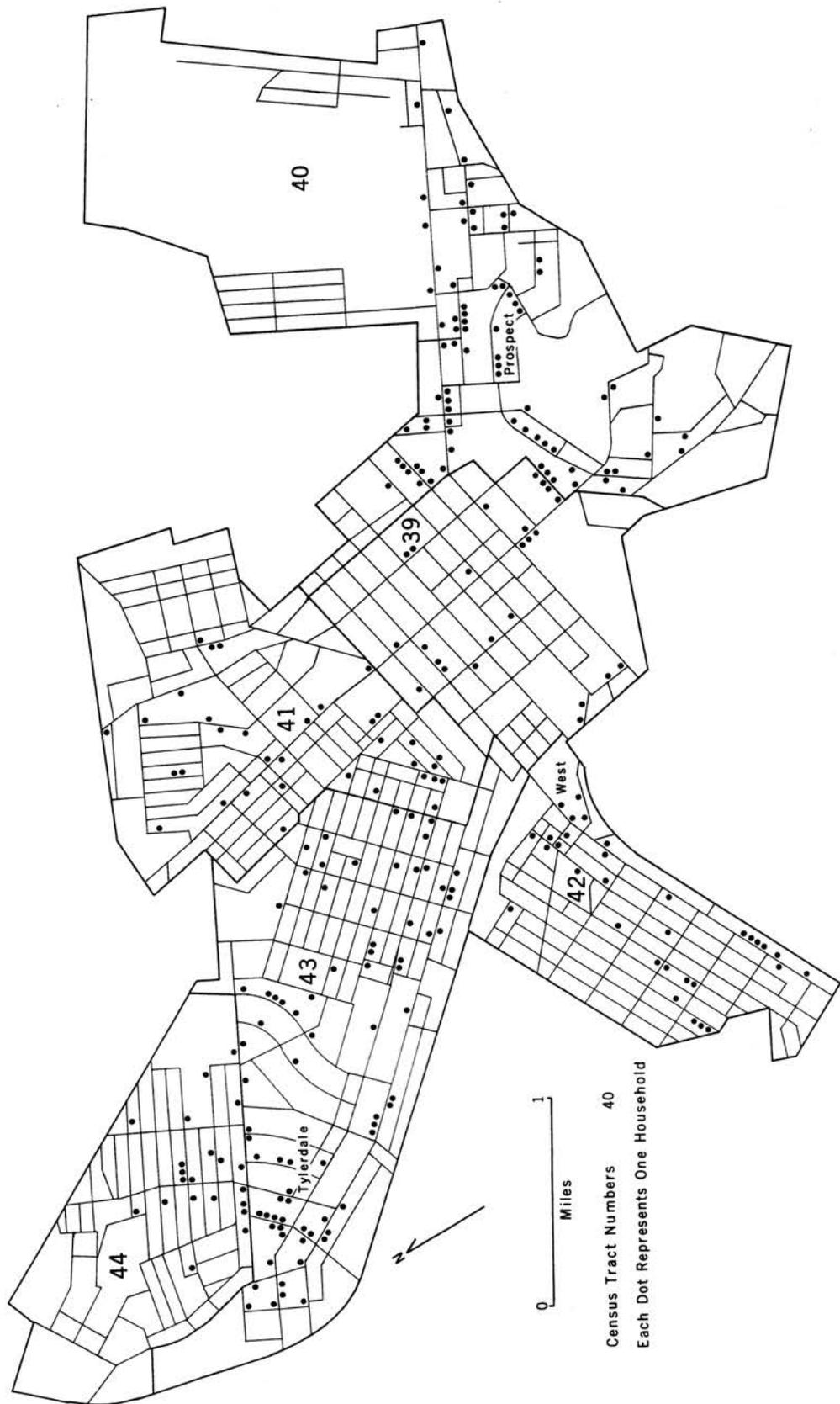


Figure 18: Residential Locations of Italian Householders in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1970

Social and Economic Considerations as Indicators of Residential Mobility

Particularly after 1950 Italian residences spread throughout the city; and as will be seen in the next chapter there was considerable movement into suburban Washington as well as to other parts of the United States. In order to account for the residential mobility of the Italian population it was imperative to consider a number of social and economic conditions. Most important the population must be economically capable to meet the high costs of housing and taxes in fashionable suburbs and innercity areas. Furthermore, socialization or "Americanization" as in the use of the English language, individualism, and status seeking must be considered as an impetus for residential mobility among Italians (particularly second and third generation).

Occupational Structure and mobility

Residential mobility of the Italian population in Washington can be directly linked to occupational mobility. Increased capital resources and accompanying social status enable, and frequently encourage, movement away from Italian ghetto areas to either more fashionable residential areas in other parts of the city or to new suburban areas outside the city limits. Occupational mobility has occurred largely among second and third generation Italians. Unlike first generation immigrant Italians who possessed little or no capital and were employed in low paying jobs, subsequent generations have made the long, slow climb up the economic ladder. Whereas immigrant Italians were forced to purchase housing which was within their meager monetary means, thus restricting them to certain residential areas of the city, many second generation Italians have reached an economic level (savings and well paying jobs) which enables

them to choose residence in more fashionable parts of the city - if they so desire.

Initially two out of every three Italian wage earners in Washington were employed as laborers in industrial plants, as road repairmen and sundry unskilled jobs. Due to language and cultural handicaps, exploitation by employers, and lack of capital, even many skilled and semi-skilled Italians engaged in manual labor. Not every Italian, however, had to abandon his trade. Several found work as masons, stonecutters and carpenters. Barbers, tailors, and shoe repairmen found a market for their talents, usually culminating in the opening of an independent shop or business establishment.

Other Italians began modestly enough to fill the demands of their local countrymen for the fruits and vegetables which composed so great a part of their diets. The growers and peddlers of such produce soon found themselves in demand in other than Italian neighborhoods, and the supplying of fruits and vegetables soon became a big business.⁴⁹

Despite their peasant background, their lack of commercial experience and their educational limitations, the first generation of Italian immigrants showed a strong inclination for business enterprise.⁵⁰ In 1920, twenty percent of all Italians in Washington ran businesses of their own. The distribution was as follows:

⁴⁹Laurence Frank Pisani, The Italian in America: A Social Study and History (New York: Exposition Press, 1957), p. 99.

⁵⁰Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. 206.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ITALIAN WORK FORCE IN WASHINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA
IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS,
1907-1970

Date	Professional	Laborers	Miners	Craftsmen				Shoe Repairmen	Restaurant, Bar-Owners
				Foreman Kindred	Clerical	Barbers	Repairmen		
1907-08	0	67	0	5.5	0	1.4	8.2	0	
1919-20	1.0	63	1.9	1.0	.6	2.2	3.4	0	
1931	2.0	52	5.0	3.5	5.4	6.4	4.2	.5	
1941	2.7	56	3.0	4.0	2.6	5.3	2.0	2.0	
1949	3.2	45	2.5	10.0	6.6	4.4	1.4	3.0	
1959-60	5.3	40	.4	11.5	10.7	3.9	.8	4.6	
1970	7.2	31	.2	10.3	12.4	5.2	.5	2.6	

Source: City Directories, Washington, Pennsylvania.

1. Bakers	5
2. Fruits	9
3. Barbershops	7
4. Shoe Repairs	12
5. Tailors	9
6. Produce	13
7. Confectionery	4
8. Ice Cream Manufacturer	1
9. Pool Room	1
10. Huckster	1

Throughout most of the formative years of Italian settlement in Washington few Italian technical and professional people existed in the community. In 1907 there were none.⁵¹ Even by 1920 there were only three, or approximately one percent of the wage earning population. It wasn't until 1960 that five percent of the wage earning Italian population was employed at the professional, technical level. This figure rose to 7.2 percent in 1970.

Occupational mobility appears to have taken place largely within the working class, with movement occurring from unskilled to semi-skilled or skilled labor, or occasionally to supervisory positions. Careers in medicine and law which exerted a powerful attraction for members of the "American" generation of Italians were virtually closed to immigrants who arrived in the United States as adults.⁵²

⁵¹Information from 1907-08 city directory.

⁵²Humbert S. Nelli, Italians in Chicago: 1880-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 51.

Movement into the professional and technical level was a slow but steady process. The most popular professions were teaching and medicine. Conversely, the proportion of persons engaged in manual labor dropped steadily through the years. In 1910, two out of three Italians in Washington were employed as laborers, whereas in 1970, only one in three. Craftsmen, foremen, and clerical workers began to dominate the occupational structure of the Italians. The percentage employed in clerical and kindred work rose from zero in 1907 to a substantial 12.4 percent in 1970.

Italians always found business to be a lucrative area of endeavor. Through time, however, the types of business were forced to change. Small independent businesses such as grocery stores and fruit markets found it increasingly difficult to compete with big business, who, with their natural advantages of mass production and mass markets, were monopolizing Washington's business. Shoe repair shops, whose services were decreasingly required by the public, were eventually forced to close. At one time there were seventeen such shops in Washington; presently there are only two. Italians had to expand their scope of business ventures. Bakeries, tailors, shoe repair shops, and fruit markets gave way to cleaners, drug stores, auto repair, insurance, appliances, teaching, contracting, and light industry.

Women in the Labor Force

The entry of Italian women into the work force as professionals, proprietors, and as laborers has meant economic independence for unwed females and added family income for those women who have married. Many single females who have secured work have found it desirable to move out

of the home and into apartments and frequently out of the Washington area. Married working females, by supplementing the husband's income, have often enabled the family to build a new home or move into high class residential or suburban areas.

Before 1920 very few Italian women could be found in the work force. The stereotype of Italian womanhood chained to a job at home was undeniably true for the majority of Italian women. Domestic work--child bearing, child rearing, cooking, canning, baking--dominated her life.

By 1931, small but steadily increasing numbers of Italian women went into teaching, clerical work, and even ventured into business. In fact, Italian women became quite successful in the fruit and grocery business. Unskilled labor or semi-skilled factory work was still shunned or avoided, when possible.

World War II had a profound effect on the number of women in the labor force as well as on their occupational structure. Many young men who had manned the industrial machinery of the city were called to the armed forces. Consequently, significant numbers of women quickly took their places. Primarily, the Italian women who responded to the labor shortage were young and of the second generation. Their new occupational life style and monetary independence was in contrast with the generations of Italian women before them.

After World War II, the number of Italian women employed as laborers slowly but steadily declined. On the other hand, women entering the professions (primarily teaching), clerical and kindred work, and business increased markedly. Their movement into the skilled and professional levels reflects the educational attainment of Italian women. For immigrant Italian women, education or formal training was rare indeed. For

TABLE IV

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE ITALIAN WORK FORCE IN WASHINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA
EMPLOYED IN EACH OF FIVE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS,
1907-1970

Date	Total Work Force		Laborers		Professional, Technical		Clerical		Business	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1907-08	2	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10.5
1919-20	10	3.2	2	1.8	0	0	2	100.0	2	3.2
1931	37	9.2	2	1.0	4	50.0	15	53.6	3	3.2
1941	148	18.1	45	10.0	5	22.7	13	62.0	12	9.3
1949	183	21.0	38	9.6	11	39.3	42	72.4	8	5.4
1959-60	150	19.3	24	7.7	12	30.0	52	62.7	12	8.1
1970	240	28.9	21	13.2	19	31.7	81	78.3	38	23.0

Source: City Directories, Washington, Pennsylvania

daughters and particularly their grandchildren, education became an important desirable part of their lives. Women continued to occupy positions in the business world. Many Italian women opened up beauty shops, bars, and restaurants either in conjunction with their husbands or alone. In several cases with the death of a spouse, Italian women continued to own and run the family business.

Assimilation

One of the factors instrumental in the changing residential pattern of the Italian community is the increasing acculturation and assimilation of the Italian population. Through time, contact between the Italian and the "American" increases. This contact occurs at school, places of employment, and even in everyday activities. English displaces Italian as the primary language, particularly for the second generation. It becomes increasingly difficult to retain an old world culture in new world surroundings. The rate of ethnic intermarriage rises rapidly and membership in Italian organizations goes down. Moreover, a diet of tripe, brains, and dandelions gives way to steak and potatoes.

The increasing mobility and affluence of the Italian population also destroys traditional values. The desire for a new home, "room to breathe, and the willingness to move for better paying jobs and amenities takes precedence over the social benefits offered by the Italian neighborhood.

CHAPTER IV

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNING OF SECOND GENERATION ITALIANS

This chapter, divided into two major subdivisions, deals mainly with the results of the questionnaire survey of the Washington sample. The first subdivision examines the residential locations of second generation Italians, both within and outside of Washington, and the effects of education, economics, and chain migration upon the resulting pattern. The contention is that occupational mobility and educational attainment influence the residential patterning of the second generation Italian population. The remainder of the chapter analyzes the social characteristics of second generation Italians. These include membership in social organizations, family ties, ethnic intermarriage, and religion. The question here is whether ethnic identification or background inhibits the migration process, or directs it in any particular way.

Residential Location of Second Generation Italians

One of the purposes of this study was to determine the relationship between ethnic identity and the propensity to migrate. However, it was imperative to determine first the residential location of second generation Italians. For this purpose, a sample which includes 105 persons or approximately 15 percent of the second generation Italian population was used. Ages of the sample ranged from three months to 63 years of age, although 58 percent were homeowners between the ages of 40 and 55. Information on residential location and mobility was secured from the questionnaire. The residential locations of second generation Italians were then assigned to one of four distinct areal units. The residential distribution is shown in Table V.

TABLE V
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF SECOND GENERATION ITALIAN
SAMPLE POPULATION

<u>Residential Location</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Within City Limits	55	52	46	48
Suburban Washington	19	19	19	20
Outside Washington Area But in State of PA.	15	14	15	16
Out-of-State	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>
Total	105	100	96	100

From the sample, 71 percent of the second generation Italian population remained in the Washington area (city and suburbs). The majority (52 percent) resided within the city limits. Of these urban dwellers, 16 percent were children of school or preschool age whose residence was determined by the residential decision of their parents.

Considering the rapid depopulation of the city since 1950, the increasing number of Blacks, and the exodus of many Washington residents to the suburbs and distant places, the proportion of second generation Italians retaining residence within Washington, when compared to other ethnic groups, appears rather high. Unfortunately, available data do not permit the determination of the relative retention rates among the second generation of the various ethnic groups. However, personal knowledge together with an analysis of the disappearance of names from successive city directories suggests that the retention rate of second generation Italians may be 10-20 percent higher than that of other

ethnic groups. The only other ethnic group which would appear to have equally high retention rates among the second generation is the Poles.

The residential choices of second generation Italians within the city of Washington were primarily in or near traditional Italian neighborhoods, i.e., Prospect and Tylerdale sections of the city. The preference for these areas of town is related to a multiplicity of factors.

Unlike old second generation Italians (35 years of age and over) who tended to concentrate in old Italian core areas, residences of younger second generation Italians were more dispersed. In part, this residential patterning was influenced by the cost and availability of housing. Older second generation Italians were on the whole financially inferior to their younger counterparts and in comparison occupied cheap housing (much as their first generation parents did) in Italian core areas. Furthermore, availability of housing in Washington changed through time. After 1950, commensurate with the population decline in Washington, housing became readily available. Many younger second generation Italians, financially more mobile than their older counterparts and often eager to occupy housing suitable for their growing or anticipated families sought residences in more fashionable residential areas of the city.

Ethnic identity also functioned as an inhibiting factor to migration. Despite the growing affluence of younger second generation Italians and the financial ability to move to the suburbs the majority remained within Washington. Thus, suburban movement of second generation Italians was below expectations. This ethnic related retention

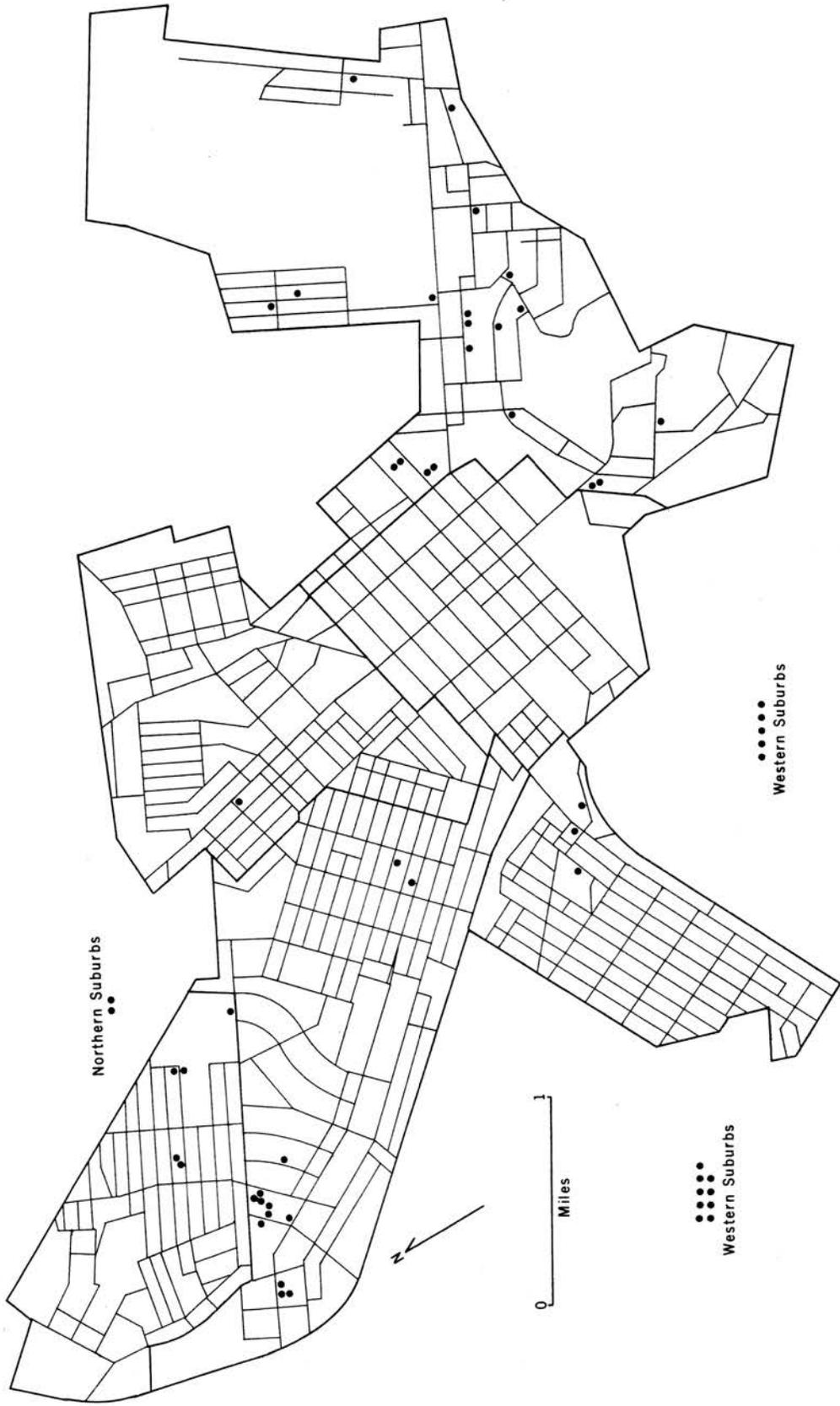


Figure 19: Residential Locations of Suburban and Central City Dwellers for the Second Generation Italian Sample Population

of residences within the city occurred for two reasons: 1) to maintain old relationships, life styles, and surroundings; 2) single sons and daughters live with their aged parents for convenience, companionship, and often to provide care.⁵³

Although the majority of second generation Italians remained in the central city some (19 percent) moved to Washington's suburbs. Suburbanization occurred largely after 1950 when new housing construction on the outskirts of Washington reached its zenith. Second generation Italians who moved to the suburbs were largely young married couples. Occupationally, Italian suburbanites were largely semi-skilled laborers and craftsmen; certainly not the most affluent of the second generation Italian population. Nevertheless, Italian suburbanites exemplified a willingness of young couples with relatively little capital and no more than a steady but usually not well paying job to take on the financial burden of a new home. After all, cheaper housing could be found within the central city.

The movement to the suburbs reflects the desire of second generation Italians to move away from the city in search of space but not so far away that ties between them and the ethnic neighborhood had to be severed. Italians, like most people in America, sought space in the form of green lawns, playing area for their children, and "room to breathe." Suburbanization offered an alternative to the overcrowded, and often unattractive areas of the inner city. Furthermore, second generation Italians found that moving only short distances to the suburbs meant that traditional ties with friends and relatives living in the

⁵³ Assertions stem from questionnaire results and informal discussion with second generation Italians.

ethnic neighborhood could be maintained. The convenience of the automobile facilitated frequent visits back to old ethnic neighborhoods.

Movement was particularly prominent to the north and west of the city where relatively cheap land was readily available and taxes low. These suburban areas to the north and west of the city would be considered lower-middle and middle class suburbs with housing primarily in the \$12,000-\$17,000 range. Bearing this in mind, it becomes apparent why Italians did not move to the eastern suburbs where there was considerable residential development. The cost of housing and land, and high taxes combined to economically discourage all but the most affluent of second generation Italians to seek living space in the eastern suburbs. Housing was largely in the \$20,000 and above category. To the south of the city there was very little suburbanization in the form of new housing. Consequently, there were few Italians. It should be noted that no matter in what direction or numbers Italians moved, there was not the slightest indication of clustering of Italian residences except for that which occurred by chance.

An additional 14 percent of the second generation Italian sample population now resides outside of the Washington area but within the state of Pennsylvania. Settlement has largely been to towns of smaller size than Washington. Exceptions can be found in three cases where one Italian migrated to each of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Erie. At the regional level it is evident that second generation Italians concentrated their settlement in the southwestern part of the state, more specifically within a 25 mile radius of Washington. Ironically, southwestern Pennsylvania has been a region of economic stagnation and out-migration, yet second generation Italian residences continue to persist. It appears

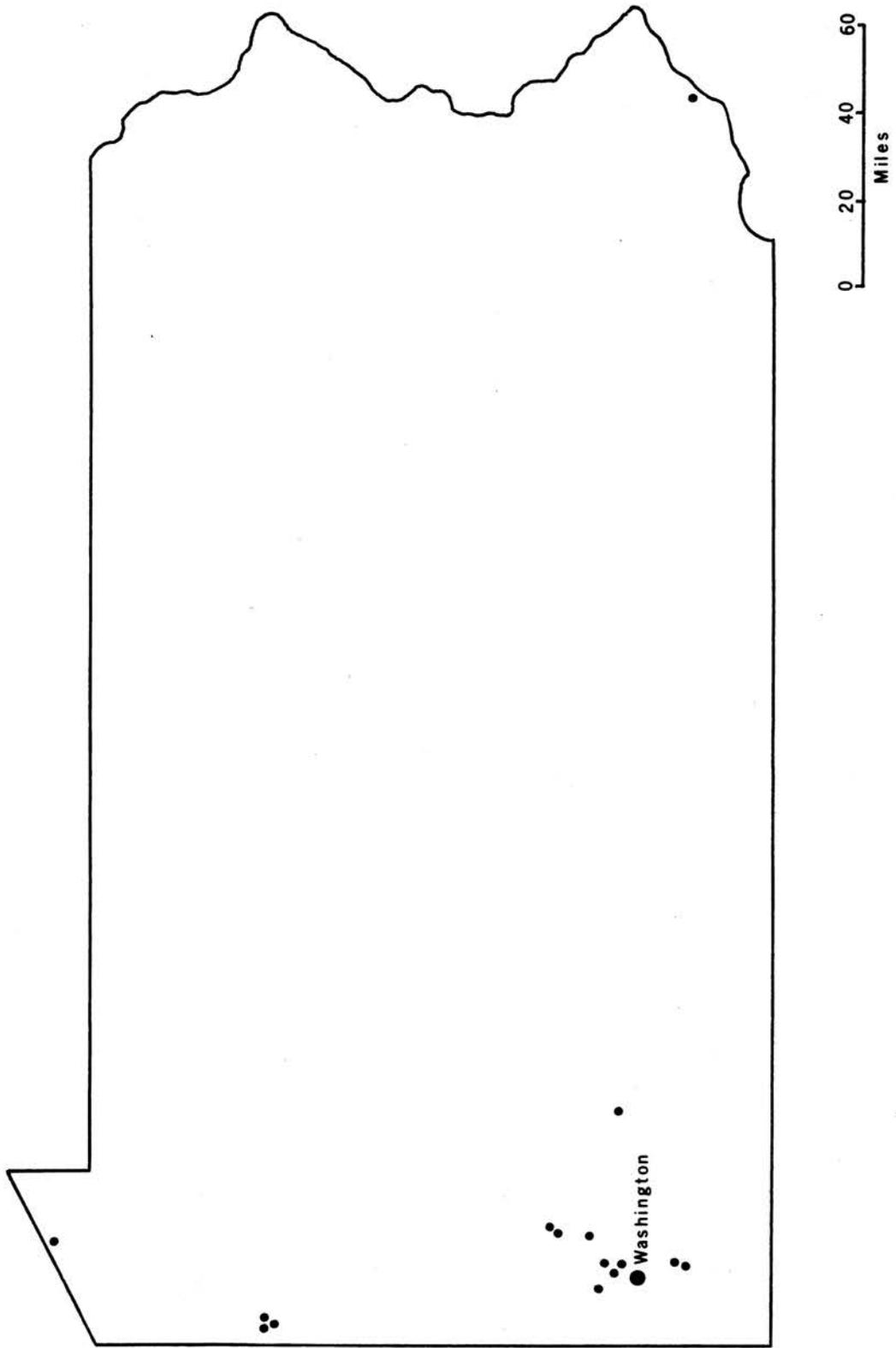


Figure 20: Residential Locations of Intrastate Migrants for the Second Generation Italian Sample Population

that the Italian community in Washington had a strong influence on distance of settlement by second generation Italians from the city of Washington. It was found that Italians who lived within this 25 mile radius (or one-half hours driving time) could still maintain many of their old neighborhood ties with friends and relatives who remained within the inner city. Visitation in both directions remained at a reasonably high level; on the average twice a week.

The remaining 15 percent of the second generation Italian sample population resides outside the state of Pennsylvania. On a regional level, most of the interstate migration was confined to the Northeast, particularly large metropolitan centers which included Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, and Washington D.C. This settlement in urban centers near the top of the urban hierarchy differs markedly from settlement of second generation Italians in small towns in Pennsylvania. It appears that interstate migrants found a cosmopolitan environment to be most attractive. As will be seen later in this chapter, interstate migrants had achieved high educational levels and were socially and economically the more mobile of the second generation Italian population in Washington. Frequently, jobs which took advantage of professional skills and education were confined to large metropolitan centers; certainly not in small towns surrounding Washington. Moreover, major metropolitan centers with a wide range of employment opportunities and a cosmopolitan atmosphere attracted young eager second generation Italians.

Distance of residence from Washington was at least in part a function of family and/or community ties. That is, there was a tendency among Italians to exploit job opportunities closest to Washington. No matter what the age, distance, and economic and social status, Italians

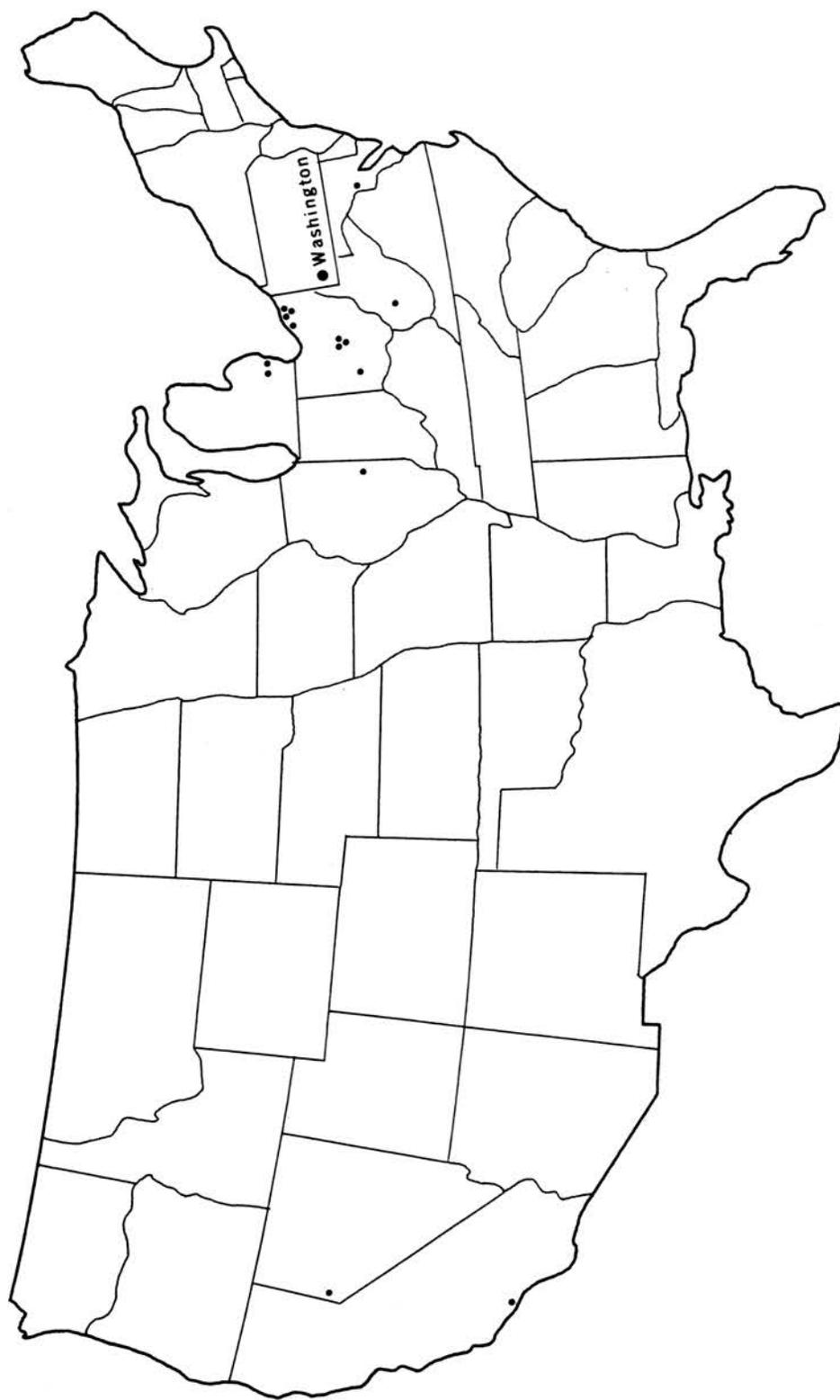


Figure 21: Residential Locations of Interstate Migrants for the Second Generation Italian Sample Population

wished to maintain ties with friends and relatives residing in the Washington area, particularly with members of the immediate family. Of course the friction of distance discouraged frequent visits, however, vacations were usually spent by returning to Washington merely for visitation purposes. Similarly, at the time of interviewing several first generation Italians were making plans to spend a few weeks with sons and/or daughters who had migrated to out-of-state areas.

Italians also moved to such far away places as Los Angeles, California and Reno, Nevada. The primary contributing factor was job transfer. In other words, migration was, in a sense, a forced move rather than purely an individual choice. Of course, at such extreme distances ties with the ethnic community could no longer be maintained.

Settlement in out-of-state places was largely suburban as opposed to old inner city. Housing was usually in high residential or high-rent areas far removed from the overcrowded, noisy, unattractive areas of the inner city. In no case could the residential area of an Italian migrant be considered an Italian neighborhood. As one informant put it, "My neighborhood is comprised of all races and religions. In fact, most of the people aren't even sure of what their national heritage is."

Educational and Occupational Influences on the Residential Location of Second Generation Italians

First generation Italians were largely uneducated, semiliterate laborers who occupied the lowest rungs in America's social and economic ladders. Foreign-born Italians did serve, however, as a springboard for the success of their children whose level of education increased and consequently their economic and occupational achievements. Presumably,

the higher the educational attainment and subsequent socio-economic success the more mobile a population tends to be.⁵⁴

The argument is that mobility status and distance of migration is related to educational attainment and occupational levels. That is, the higher the level of education and occupation, the greater the tendency for potential migrants to move and the greater the tendency for migrants to move longer distances. If this is indeed true, then one would expect to find those second generation Italians living outside the Washington area (particularly out-of-state) to have reached the highest educational and occupational levels among Italians. Similarly, those second generation Italians residing in suburban Washington should have reached higher educational and occupational levels than those remaining within the city.

The tendency among second generation Italians born in Washington, Pennsylvania was for those with the higher educational levels and in high prestige occupations to move the greatest distance, i.e., interstate movers. On the average interstate migrants completed 14.1 school years or slightly more than two years beyond high school completed. This compares with 11.6 school years completed for the total sample. Of the sixteen out-of-state migrants three had baccalaureate degrees, one a master's degree, and one a doctorate. The remaining migrants all had, at a minimum, a high school diploma. The occupational structure of out-of-state migrants indicates a concentration at the professional-technical, craftsmen-foremen, and clerical levels. In contrast, very

⁵⁴ See Larry H. Long, "Migration Differentials by Education and Occupation: Trends and Variations," Demography, 10 (May, 1973), pp. 243-258.

TABLE VI
 EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
 THE SECOND GENERATION ITALIANS--SAMPLE POPULATION, 1972

Areal Unit	School Years Completed	Median	Percent with less than 12	Occupations						
				Prof. Techn.	Laborer	Craft. Forem.	Clerical	Sales	Housewife	Misc.
Washington	11.4	18	4.4	24.4	6.7	22.0	9.0	6.7	11.1	15.6
Suburbs	10.8	40	0.0	35.0	10.0	0.0	5.0	25.0	10.0	15.0
Rest of Pa.	10.7	40	20.0	13.3	13.3	6.7	0.0	40.0	6.7	0.0
Out-of-State	14.1	6	31.3	6.3	12.5	12.5	6.3	25.0	6.3	0.0

Source: Questionnaires.

few of these distant movers could be found at the less desirable and prestigious labor and sales worker levels. Also of particular interest was that one-quarter of the Italians residing out-of-state listed their occupation as housewife.⁵⁵ It is possible that their husbands may hold professional and technical positions. Therefore, proportions in high-prestige occupations might be higher than indicated if analysis would have been limited to heads of households.

At the other extreme, those with the lowest educational attainment were found in suburban Washington and elsewhere in the state of Pennsylvania; 10.8 and 10.7 years respectively. Moreover, figures suggest that 40 percent of each group did not finish high school. However, in spite of these comparable educational statistics, their occupational structures differ markedly. Whereas 20 percent of the second generation Italians residing in Pennsylvania could be found at the professional and technical level, not one Italian living in suburban Washington could be found at the same level. Furthermore, 35 percent of the second generation Italians who had moved to the suburbs were laborers compared to only 13 percent for their counterparts who moved elsewhere in Pennsylvania. Therefore, it appears that suburban Italians, in terms of education and occupations, were at the bottom. They did not fit into the suggested sequence of educational and occupational attainment and distance from Washington. Suburban second generation Italians were not the elites or the most affluent, but rather largely laborers and blue collar workers who somehow saved enough money and moved from the ethnic neighborhood. The only occupational advantage for the suburban population occurred

⁵⁵ Results obtained from questionnaire.

in the area of business; fifteen percent owned businesses compared to none for interstate migrants.

Finally we find second generation Italians residing in the city of Washington, who educationally occupy an intermediate position between the educational level of interstate migrants and intrastate migrants. The average educational attainment was 11.4 years or slightly less than high school. There was a small percentage of professional and technical people who not only served the ethnic community but also maintained their residence within the community. However, occupational concentration occurred at the clerical and business levels; 22 and 15.6 percent respectively. Second generation Italians found business to be a particularly attractive area of endeavor. In fact, the number of Italian owned and run businesses in the Washington area ranks second only to those owned by persons of English descent.⁵⁶ Restaurants, bars, markets, and contracting businesses predominated among Italians. However, unlike first generation Italian owned and run businesses which flourished decades earlier, there is little catering to the Italian community. The entry of women into the labor force accounts for the high percentage of second generation Italians employed as clerical and sales workers. In fact, 90 percent of the clerical workers and 60 percent of the sales workers were women. Frequently, second generation Italian women found clerical and sales work in family business, however, most women were employed in non-Italian businesses or industrial establishments.

⁵⁶From the city directory (Classified Business Directory) owners of business establishments were identified, when possible, according to ethnic background.

Chain Migration as a Factor in Determining Residential Location

For the first generation, the process of chain migration proved to be a major factor in regulating volume and direction of immigration. It also had a selective effect on the source regions from whence they came. Furthermore, it encouraged segregation (by province) within the Italian enclaves in Washington, Pennsylvania.

It is apparent then that chain migration had far reaching effects for first generation Italians, but did this process continue to be important for the second generation? If so, did the special characteristics of chain migration such as aid in the form of passage money, a job, and provision of room and board at destination continue to function? Unfortunately, from the literature we know very little about the operation of chain migration in the second generation. Therefore, in order to determine the degree and in what capacity chain migration operated among second generation Italians in Washington several key questions were included in the questionnaire survey. Results of the survey are suggested in Table VII.

TABLE VII

IMPORTANCE OF CHAIN MIGRATION FOR INTERSTATE AND
INTRASTATE MIGRANTS OF THE SECOND GENERATION
ITALIAN SAMPLE POPULATION

Nature of Migration	Friends or Relatives Encouraged Move		Type of Aid	
	Yes	No	Job	Board
Intrastate (Pennsylvania)	2	13	1	1
Interstate	4	12	3	4

It is evident that chain migration does continue to function for the second generation but not in the same strength or capacity as it did for their foreign-born parents. From the sample 19 percent of the out-of-state migrants joined friends or relatives who in turn supplied them with aid in the form of a job and/or room and board. Most migrants, however, moved unaided, often learning about job opportunities through newspaper ads or newsletters.⁵⁷

Second generation chains were also of limited scale and diverse in destination, that is, usually only one relative joined another and then the chain would cease to operate. This one link chain was repeated in five different cities throughout the country and state--quite a change from their parents time when large numbers of Italians from any one village in southern Italy migrated to Washington. It is even questionable if chain migration operated for second generation Italians any more than for any other group. Surely we could find chain migration functioning in some capacity for other ethnic groups. Unfortunately, supporting or contradictory evidence is unavailable.

Assimilation and Residential Mobility

Assimilation has made an impact on the second generation Italian's willingness to break with the ethnic community and migrate elsewhere. The social characteristics of second generation Italians--participation in social organizations, rates of ethnic intermarriage, strength of the family--reflect the increasing assimilation and subsequent mobility of the Italian population. The following sections examine each influence in turn.

⁵⁷Information obtained from questionnaire.

Social Organizations

Particularly within the last decade membership in Italian social organizations throughout the country has dropped considerably.⁵⁸ In some cases lodges have been forced to close or to consolidate with other nearby lodges. Death of many of the elder members (particularly foreign-born) and an increasing disinterest among many second and third generation Italians has given the death sentence to many Italian social organizations. In an attempt to alleviate the situation, membership, which previously was open only to those of Italian descent, has now been opened to any interested persons. In some cases the results have been encouraging. For example, nearly one-half of all the social members of the Alpine Club in Washington, Pennsylvania are non-Italians. Yet in spite of such limited local successes membership at the national level continues to decline.

Of the two Italian social organizations in Washington, the Sons of Italy has been hit particularly hard by declining membership. In fact, membership ten years ago was twice its present number. On the other hand, the Alpine Club has continued to prosper. This dichotomy in membership can largely be explained by the different functions of the two organizations. Both lodges function as ethnic organizations, that is, they encourage unity of the Italian community in Washington. However, this function alone is not a sufficient reason for most second generation Italians to belong to Italian social organizations. Unlike the Sons of Italy, the Alpine Club has attractive social advantages

⁵⁸Discussion with Mr. Livolsi at the national headquarters; Italian Sons and Daughters of America.

which includes bar, snack bar, and bowling alleys. Although membership is largely confined to the inner city, many second generation Italians are willing to drive in from the suburbs to participate in the social functions of the Alpine.

From the sample it was found that 20 percent of the second generation Italians belonged to Italian social organizations. As compared with approximately 80 percent for the first generation. The breakdown of membership among the second generation was as follows:

SONS OF ITALY (WASHINGTON)	5
SONS OF ITALY (SHARON, PA.)	1
ALPINE (ITALIAN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA-WASHINGTON)	12
ITALIAN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA-(PITTSBURGH)	1
NO MEMBERSHIP	77

Of those who have moved from the Washington area only 2 (6.5 percent) belong to Italian social organizations. Apparently, once the bonds between a migrant and the ethnic community have been broken, he no longer feels the need for the social and economic benefits provided by Italian organizations.

It can also be noted that there is a relationship between age of second generation Italians and membership in Italian organizations. That is, the younger a person the greater the chance that he will not be a member of a social organization. Conversely, the older a person the more likely he will be a member. This is illustrated in the following figures:

PERCENTAGE OF 2ND GENERATION BY AGE GROUP WHO
BELONG TO AN ITALIAN ORGANIZATION

<30	30-40	40-50	>50
0%	13%	22%	28%

In conclusion, second generation Italians (particularly the young) are largely avoiding Italian social organizations. The environment which compelled their parents to band together--prejudice, feeling of alienation, need for economic and social security--no longer exists for the second generation. This is not to say they have lost their pride or identity of being Italian. Instead many Italians simply feel the social organizations are no longer functional. However, it will be interesting to observe what effect rising ethnic awareness in this country might have on membership. Many Italians (particularly third generation) are interested in recapturing their heritage. This cultural resurgence is reflected in expanding Italian departments in colleges and universities as well as courses in Italian culture. Should the Italian social organizations increase their ethnic appeal to second and third generation Italians--travel abroad programs, cultural seminars, and discussion groups--membership could conceivably increase in the future.

Family Ties

Traditionally, the backbone of Italian society, both in Italy and the United States, has been the family. In the United States the family served not only as a buffer against the experiences of a foreign and often hostile environment but also as a source of stability and cultural maintenance. Moreover, close family ties strongly encouraged friends, relatives, and paisani to seek residence in close proximity to one

another. Now, however, with the increasing residential mobility of the second generation, one might expect a sapping of the strength of the family; a weakening in kinship bonds. Quite understandably many second generation Italians no longer need the family as a buffer or protective institution. Because of their training in United States public schools, language barriers are almost non-existent, and American customs are a familiar, integral part of a second generation Italian's life. Furthermore, physical distance between some parents and their children hinders frequent visitation. However, on the whole, the Italian family has remained a functional, cohesive unit. In most cases unwed second generation Italians preferred to remain at home with their parents rather than find an apartment or house of their own. Thus aged first generation Italians are provided with social company and, in the case of ill health, care.⁵⁹

A reflection of the close bonds between first and second generation Italians is the number of foreign-born Italians who have moved into the home of one of their children. This becomes necessary with the death or failing health of a spouse, and when the task of cleaning and maintaining a large house becomes difficult, if not impossible. Italians would much rather share their homes than have their parents committed to an aged home, feeling this would be a sign of cruel abandonment.⁶⁰

Second generation Italians (and their children) visit often with their elderly parents (or grandparents) who continue to command the

⁵⁹Personal observation.

⁶⁰Personal observation and informal discussions with second generation Italians.

highest form of respect. Those Italians who live outside the Washington area return to visit as frequently as possible.⁶¹ Vacations are often synonymous with a week at "home." All particularly look forward to the traditional Easter and Christmas meals when conversation, pasta, fish, and baked goods are abundant.

Marriage

During the early years of Italian settlement, weddings generally took place between partners from the same province and even the same town in Italy. Rather than marry an "American" girl, single immigrant males even went so far as to return to Italy to seek a bride. Ethnic intermarriages were indeed rare. Over the years, however, there has been a gradual shift in choice of marriage partners. Mixing in the immigrant colony and social amalgamation opened the way for increasing intermarriage. Largely this phenomenon can be attributed only to the second and subsequent generations. According to Lopreato, ". . . findings suggest that the rate of ethnic intermarriage has been increasing in the later generations, and will undoubtedly be still greater among generations to come."⁶²

Ethnic Intermarriage. From the sample it was found that in-group marriages among second generation Italians was only 28.4 percent; 71.6 percent married non-Italians. Italians intermarried frequently with Germans, Irish, and Poles and less frequently with Anglo-Saxons and

⁶¹Information obtained from questionnaire.

⁶²Joseph Lopreato, Italian Americans (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 135.

Scandinavians. A major consideration here was probably one of religious affiliation, since large numbers of Germans, Irish, and Poles, like the Italians, were Catholic. It is even conceivable that religion was a stronger force than ethnicity.

There is also an inverse relationship between age and the number of in-group marriages, that is, the younger the age group the lower the rate of in-group marriages as suggested in Table VIII. Moreover, the

TABLE VIII

FREQUENCY OF IN-GROUP MARRIAGES AMONG THE SECOND GENERATION
ITALIAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY AGE GROUP

Age Group	Number	Percentage
>50	10	42
40-50	9	22
30-40	2	15
<30	0	0

rate of in-group marriage among second generation Italians may indirectly tell us something about the disposition of second generation Italians to lose their ethnic identification, if not the Italian culture itself. The assumption is that the loss of ethnic identity is positively correlated with the rates of ethnic intermarriage, the contention being that social amalgamation or cultural blending encourages assimilation of ethnic groups. However, since so much of ethnic awareness or ethnic identity deals with mental processes and attitudes, it would be difficult if not erroneous to infer such conclusions merely from the above table.

Moreover, other social considerations, such as maintenance of close kinship ties, and contact with Italian institutions also influences ethnic identity which may be preserved despite intermarriage.

Hometown of Spouse. We have established the rate of in-group and out-group marriages among second generation Italians. However, it is also important to note the hometowns of Italian spouses. Indirectly this may tell us much about community identification, loyalty, and residential mobility. From the sample it was found that 83 percent of second generation Italians married persons from the Washington area. The natural tendency was to find a spouse where social contacts were the greatest. These contacts included, among others, places of employment and local high schools. Young Italians and non-Italians from the Washington area, often for the first time, found themselves together in similar environments which were conducive to social interaction.

Not all second generation Italians, however, married persons from the Washington area. Relatively speaking, marriage of non-Washington residents occurred primarily among the more mobile segment of the Italian population, particularly among those who now live out-of-state. Their social contacts were not with fellow employees at the local glass mill but with fellow students at higher education institutions or at places of employment far removed from Washington. However, not all mobile second generation Italians married persons from outside the Washington area. At least half either returned to marry childhood sweethearts or married prior to their migration from Washington. Close community ties or community identification may have been a powerful influence in determining choice of spouse.

Religion

Second generation Italians overwhelmingly retained the religion of their immigrant parents. Over 90 percent continued to worship in the Catholic Church. This was enhanced by the large number of marriages between Italian Catholics and Irish, German, and Polish Catholics. However, even in Catholic-Protestant marriages, more often than not, Catholicism became the religion of the household rather than Protestantism. The desire of many second generation Italians to retain Catholicism was steeped in tradition rather than a sincere belief in the dogma of the Church. As one informant put it, "The only reason I'm Catholic is because my parents were Catholic. If my parents had been Protestant then I would have been Protestant. I'm certainly not going to change now."

Unlike their foreign-born parents, second generation Italian Catholics who reside in the Washington area attend either of two Catholic churches, Immaculate Conception or Saint Hilary. They no longer feel motivated to worship as a single body at Immaculate Conception as their first generation parents did. Instead convenience and redistricting are major considerations.⁶³ Furthermore, masses at Saint Hilary are no longer said in Polish but in English, thus further appealing to the Italian population. Thus there was a splitting of the Italian community into two religiously autonomous bodies. Social interaction within the whole of the Italian community therefore decreased.

In addition, the parochial school has steadily decreased in its importance to second generation Italians. They no longer feel the need

⁶³Catholics residing in certain city and suburban areas were encouraged by the Pittsburgh diocese to attend a particular church.

to send their children for Catholic training. This is reflected in the decreasing enrollment at the two Catholic grade schools and one Catholic high school in Washington. Just recently one grade school was forced to close its sixth, seventh, and eighth grades due to falling enrollment. This declining enrollment is due in part to the smaller number of children in the inner city. However, a large portion of the pupils commuted from the suburbs and from neighboring communities. Transportation difficulties, tuition fees, and the lessening appeal of the parochial school has caused many suburbanites to send their children to public rather than parochial schools. This indicates how Italians (and other ethnic groups) now see the church more as a spiritual institution rather than as a social protector and as a source of cultural maintenance.

The Church appeared to offer little resistance to migration among second generation Italians. Although many Italians were avid church goers and participated in many social functions sponsored by the Church, employment, housing, and family were much more important to second generation Italians than the dogma or the physical location of the church.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Immigration to Washington

Italian immigrants in Washington were largely from small towns and villages in the South of Italy. Emigration was particularly heavy from the provinces of Catanzaro and Cosenza (Calabria), and Salerno (Campania). On the other hand, Northern Italians and Sicilians were few in number.

Most of the foreign-born Italians who emigrated to Washington did so during the first two decades of this century. In 1900 there were merely a handful of Italian merchants in the city. By 1920 their numbers had increased to 690 persons or 34 percent of the foreign-born population.

The arrival of Italian immigrants in Washington did not coincide with the timing of Italian immigration to the United States and state of Pennsylvania as a whole. In 1890 numerous Italian communities could be found in major metropolitan centers across the United States. Included were small Italian colonies in Pennsylvania towns such as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Scranton. However, it was at least another decade (early 1900's) until Italians began to settle in Washington. This delay in Italian settlement of Washington was due to a number of reasons. Italian immigrants lacked information concerning the economic attractiveness of Washington but were well aware of the economic opportunities available in nearby, and many times larger, Pittsburgh. Moreover, as long as the Italian population in the United States (and Pittsburgh) remained relatively small there was ample opportunity for employment;

thus no need to exploit job opportunities in other towns or cities. It was only when the pressures of increasing population and/or a limited job supply compelled Italians to migrate to neighboring towns or cities that Italians moved from the Pittsburgh area to Washington.

Choice of Washington

Initial Italian settlement of and subsequent immigration to Washington was primarily influenced by the presence of two economic and social conditions which functioned in Washington; industrialization and the process of chain migration. Near the turn of the century gas, oil, and coal were discovered in the Washington area. In the space of a few years numerous industries established themselves in and around Washington, taking advantage of ample fuel supplies. With industrialization an abundance of jobs were created in Washington. Italians, largely unskilled and eager for work, responded to Washington's need for industrial laborers.

Soon after initial settlement of foreign-born Italians in Washington (largely migrants from the Pittsburgh area) the process of chain migration became the primary force in controlling the volume, direction, and sources of immigration from Italy to Washington. Italians residing in Washington sent information concerning the economic and social situation in the city to friends and relatives living in Italy. Frequently, Italians residing in Washington encouraged fellow villagers to emigrate from Italy and join them here in the United States. Aid was offered in the form of passage money, provisions of room and board and/or a job. Thus many made the long arduous journey from Italy to Washington joining friends and relatives then living in Italian enclaves within the city.

Residential Location 1900-1930

The initial migrants to Washington (circa 1897) were merchants who established markets and confectionaries in the business section of town. Their numbers, however, were small and their residences dispersed. During the first decade of this century immigration to Washington increased. Several hundred Italian laborers established residences within the city. Italians, with little capital resources, occupied cheap available housing conveniently located near places of employment, that is, within walking distance of glass mills, coal mines, and brick yards. The growing Italian community residentially segregated itself within the city, thus creating ghetto areas or enclaves. Economic barriers--high costs of housing and taxes--limited possible living areas within the city. Moreover, foreign-born Italians preferred to live in close proximity to one another. Familiar faces, accents, and security in numbers against a foreign, sometimes hostile "American" environment was added incentive for segregation.

Italian immigration to the United States continued unabated until the early 1920's. The Italian population of Washington grew accordingly. Density and areal extent of Italian ghetto areas increased with direction of growth dictated by cost and availability of housing. Italian enclaves were by-and-large cohesive, functional units which could be broken down into neighborhoods. Maintenance of Italian neighborhoods was influenced by a number of social factors. Social organizations, religious institutions, and the family served to unify the Italian community and help maintain ties between the community and Italy.

Residential Location 1930-1970

After 1930, Italian immigration to Washington virtually ceased. The first generation Italian population thereafter decreased. However, the number of second generation Italians increased. Italian ghetto areas between 1930 and 1950 grew considerably in both density and areal extent. This growth indicates that a large number of second generation Italians found residence in or near traditional Italian residential areas. There was little suburbanization or out-migration on the part of the Italian population. Neighborhoods remained strong, and social institutions relatively intact.

After 1950 there was a noticeable population decline in traditional Italian residential areas in Washington. Many of the first generation Italians had died or were of advanced age. For the first time large numbers of second generation Italians began to move to other residential areas within the city, the suburbs, or out-of-state areas. Occupational and social mobility, particularly among second generation Italians, enabled and, in fact, encouraged many Italians to move from the noisy, overcrowded inner city ghetto areas. Limited capital resources and lack of well paying jobs no longer confined many Italians to low or lower-middle class residential areas of the city. The long, slow climb up the economic ladder from laborer to professional and technical levels had begun and this occupational mobility manifested itself in the changing residential patterning of the Italian population. Furthermore, socialization or acculturation of second and third generation Italians diminished the strength of Italian social institutions. The only exception was the family which remains strong today. Barriers of language and customs

which hindered occupational and residential mobility among foreign-born Italians, only in a modest sense has so affected subsequent generations of Italians.

Residential Patterning of Second Generation Italians

Residentially, second generation Italians were faced with four distinct spatial alternatives. The majority of Italians (55 percent) sought or maintained residence within the city limits, most noticeably in or near traditional Italian residential areas. With the possible exception of the Poles, the retention rate of second generation Italians appears higher than for other ethnic groups. Italians retained residence within the city for a number of reasons: 1) to remain close to friends, relatives, business establishments, and neighborhoods; 2) to care for and to provide companionship for aged parents; and, 3) low costs of housing.

The movement to the suburbs involved 22 percent of the second generation Italian population and occurred largely after 1950. Italian suburbanization was unusual in that the migrants were largely laborers and craftsmen rather than professionals, managers, and entrepreneurs. Suburban migration was directionally biased, that is, Italians sought space where the cost of housing and land was low, and taxes could be endured. Second generation Italians moved to the suburbs to escape the noise, pollution, and crowded conditions prevailing in the city. Moreover, they found that relationships within old Italian neighborhoods could be maintained by simply hopping into the family car and making the short journey into the city.

Other Italians moved out of the Washington area (16 percent) and into small neighboring towns. The majority of towns were within a 25

mile radius of Washington although a few migrated as far as Philadelphia and Erie. This migration to neighboring towns was associated with close proximity to a job and/or hometown of spouse. At such short distances a break with the Italian community was not necessary. Visitation, although certainly curtailed, remained at a reasonably high rate; on the average, once or twice a week.

Out-of-state migrants (17 percent of the sample) largely moved to major urban centers. They were relatively young, ambitious, and eager to exploit the wide variety of jobs offered by large urban, cosmopolitan centers. Jobs were secured through newspaper ads, newsletters, and in a few cases, through the efforts of friends or relatives. Movement was largely confined to the Northeast although several moved to as far as the west coast. The friction of distance strained family and community ties. Maintenance of ties with Italian social institutions in Washington was impossible. Only ties involving the closest of relatives and friends remaining in Washington endured. Vacations were synonymous with visits "back home" to Washington.

Distance of residence from Washington was in part a function of occupational achievement and educational attainment. That is, out-of-state migrants occupied the highest occupational levels (professional and foremen) among second generation Italians and had also attained the highest educational levels (14.1 years). Hence residential mobility was linked with occupational and educational mobility. However, the next highest occupational and educational attainment did not occur among within state migrants as was then suggested, but rather among Italians who maintained residence within the city. This occurred because of the desire of several professionals who served the Italian community to retain

residence within the city, and also the large number of unmarried women who maintained residence within the city and worked at the clerical and sales levels. The lowest occupational and educational attainment occurred among second generation Italians who now reside in Washington suburbs and towns and cities within Pennsylvania. This indicates that much of the out migration from Washington (other than out-of-state) did not involve occupational or educational elites. Instead, 40 percent had not even completed high school and the majority were employed as semiskilled factory workers or skilled craftsmen; certainly very few professionals, managers, or entrepreneurs.

Aspects of assimilation, both declining participation in social organizations and increasing rates of ethnic intermarriage, contributed to the increasing residential mobility of second generation Italians. The decline in the importance of Italian social institutions, high rates of intermarriage between Italians and Germans, Poles, and Irish, have socially encouraged Italians to move from old neighborhood areas and into more appealing suburban or out-of-state areas. The primary restraining social force is the continuing indomitable strength of the family. This strength of family is reflected in the fact that nearly 80 percent of the second generation Italian population resides within a 25 mile radius of Washington.

Conclusions

From a case study of a single immigrant group no generalizations can truly be developed. Nevertheless, this historical study does suggest a number of ideas which should be tested in further studies of immigrant groups in communities, large and small, throughout the United States.

In the past, studies of Italian immigrants have largely been confined to major metropolitan centers such as Chicago, New York, or Boston. In contrast, this study concerns a rather small, but closely knit Italian community in an intermediate size city. As the summary indicates, many of the findings of these earlier studies, particularly the influence of chain migration, the tendency for residential segregation, and the gradual assimilation of the second and third generation were also noted in the Italian community in Washington. These elements seem to prevail regardless of the size of the Italian community. However, there were a number of ideas concerning first and second generation Italian residential patterning generated by this study which had not been suggested or adequately developed previously.

Italians (even second and third generation) seemed to have uncommonly high rates of residential retention, even higher than most other ethnic groups. It is possible that the Italian community of Washington is atypical and the finding of high rates of residential retention would not be duplicated among Italian communities in other cities of comparable size. It is also possible that rates of retention of Italians or indeed any other ethnic group is related in some fashion to the size of the community or the ethnic group itself. It may well be that the rate of retention is directly related to the size of the ethnic communities. Small groups inbedded in a large matrix of other peoples may be forced by the circumstances of their existence to change their patterns of behavior and habits and to assimilate rapidly. Whereas, in large concentrated ethnic groups mutual reinforcement may serve to maintain their identity and cohesiveness. Were such a relationship to exist the effect

on residential retention would be obvious. In the latter case, the cohesiveness of the group would tend to hold its members together.

However, it could well be that attributes specific to, or represented more strongly among Italian groups encourages them to hold their retention rates higher than those among other ethnic groups regardless of the size of the groups or the city in which the groups are located, that is, a stronger sense of identity may be maintained in Italians. There are a number of changes in the Italian group in Washington, Pennsylvania, however, which would argue against this interpretation.

Within the Italian group in Washington, Pennsylvania there were a number of social factors which should have weakened Italian residential retention rates. For example, second generation Italians increasingly demonstrated an unwillingness to join Italian social organizations--the same organizations which welded their first generation parents into a cohesive community group with similar goals and aspirations. Moreover, assimilation of the second generation has been increasing rapidly. American customs and the English language have displaced Italian customs and language. Rates of intergroup marriage among the second generation also increased rapidly. For example, 76 percent of all second generation Italians in Washington married non-Italians. If these social changes should have acted as an impetus to residential mobility, why then did second generation Italians largely remain in the Washington area. It is argued here that at least part of the answer lies in the indomitable strength of the Italian family. Kinship ties were apparently strong enough to discourage movement away from Washington. Even so, this leaves unanswered the question whether the kinship ties among Italians are especially strong and durable, relative to other groups, or whether

Washington is a unique case. The uncertainty warrants considerable further inquiry among other groups and among communities of differing size.

Some second generation Italians, however, did move but many of them moved only short distances, that is, to nearby small towns surrounding Washington. This local or short distance movement is even further complicated by the fact that southwestern Pennsylvania has been characterized by economic decline and out-migration for the last two decades. It suggests that some Italians are willing to accept less prestigious jobs and consequently lower pay rather than move long distances from Washington. Again, is it the "family" which is the primary retarding force? More importantly, could these findings be duplicated elsewhere? Do members of other ethnic groups redistribute in a similar fashion?

Finally, there is a small number of Italians who have migrated long distances and have broken "completely" with the Italian community of Washington. Unlike their first generation parents who left towns in Italy only to join friends and relatives here in the United States, second generation Italians who moved long distances usually migrated without the aid or accompaniment of friends and relatives. Instead, movement was to suburban areas of large metropolitan centers far removed from Italian neighborhoods. The process of chain migration functioned in a very limited capacity, doubtfully more than for any other group in the United States.

One characteristic of the distant movers which was quite evident was that they had conspicuously attained the highest levels of education among the second generation Italian population. Thus, educational attainment appeared to have had an effect on strength of family ties.

Indeed, are high educational levels sufficient to break family and neighborhood bonds? It should be noted that several distant movers migrated because of job transfers. This may indicate that breaking of ties was greater than it might otherwise have been had there been complete freedom of choice in residential location.

Particularly within the past few years there has been a resurgence of ethnicity. This revival of ethnicity has occurred among the third generation who are searching for identity and are finding both solice and pride in their national heritage. This new ethnic consciousness could manifest itself in changing or at least influencing the social structuring and residential patterning of the third generation. It would be interesting to study the effects of the new ethnicity on the mobility and residential choices of third generation Italians.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a copy of the checklist questionnaire used in the interviewing procedure:

- I. Name
 - Address
 - Occupation
 - Place of birth
 - Date of birth
 - Church membership
 - Italian organization membership

- II. Year you moved from Italy. Age
 - Accompanied by other members of your family. Relationship
 - Was Washington your first settlement.
 - Friends or relatives living in Washington. Relationship
 - Did you live first with these friends or relatives.
 - Did they encourage you to move to Washington.
 - Nature of aid: Correspondence (information)
 - Passage
 - Job
 - Lodging
 - List previous settlements.
 - Did you have relatives there. Relationship
 - When did you move to Washington. Why

- ALL Where did you first live in Washington.
 - First occupation. For how long.
 - Did you temporarily move to any other city.
 - Where.
 - How long.
 - Why.

- III. Ever encouraged friends or relatives in Italy to emigrate to Washington. Relationship
 - Did they move to Washington.
 - Did you offer any aid. Nature

- IV. For each child:
 - Name
 - Year of birth
 - Place of birth
 - School years completed
 - Marital status
 - Present residence
 - Occupation
 - Live in an Italian neighborhood
 - Church membership

Married to an Italian

Hometown of spouse

Membership in Italian social organizations

Visitation habits

For those children who live outside of Washington:

Year moved to present address. Why

Have they lived elsewhere.

Were friends or relatives living there. Relationship

Did they encourage the move. Nature of aid

- V. Name any persons you knew in Italy who subsequently migrated to Washington.

APPENDIX B

LOCATION MAP

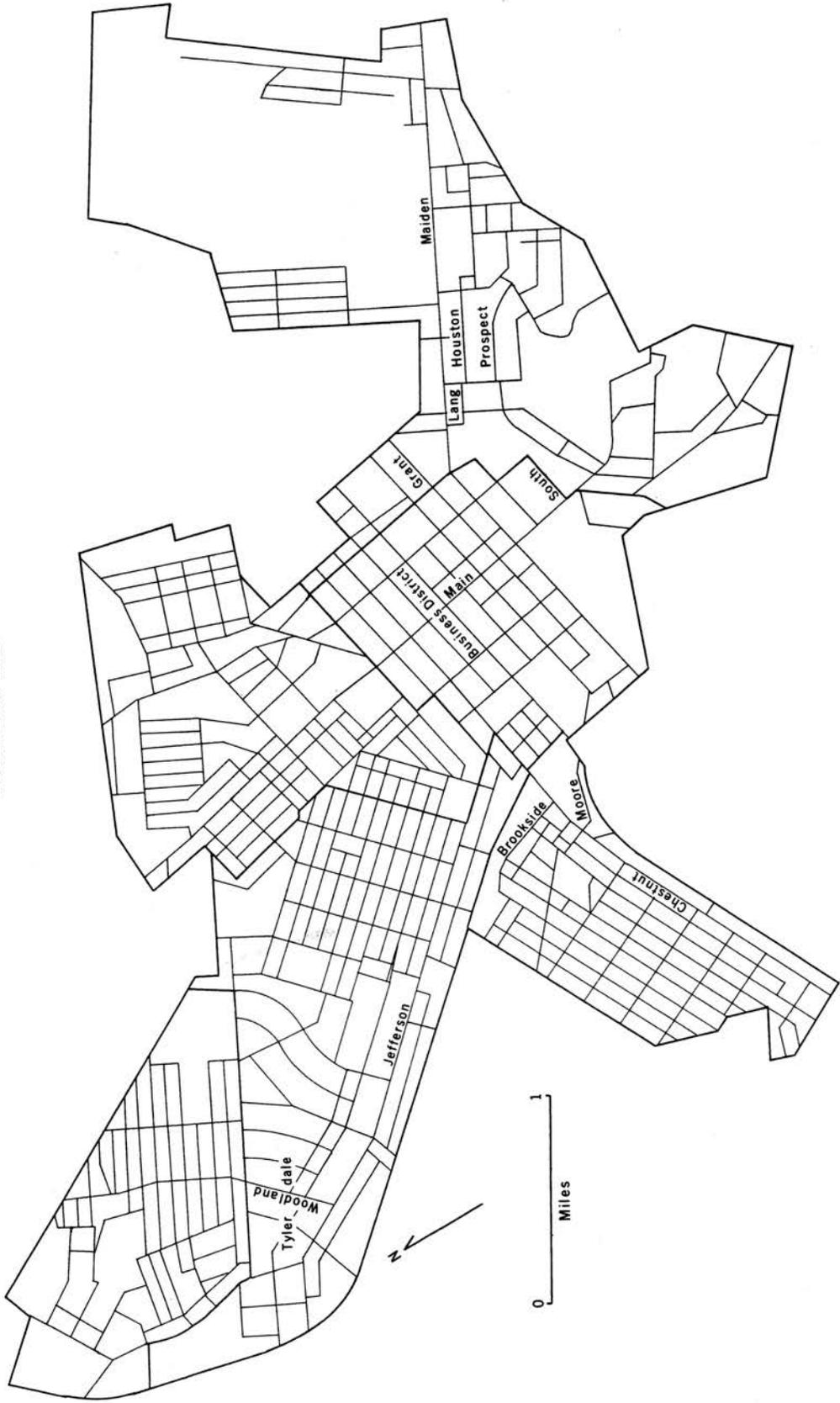


Figure 22: Location Map, Washington, Pennsylvania