LESSON 2

Immigration in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

OVERVIEW

The late nineteenth century experienced one of the largest mass migrations in history, tens of millions of immigrants came to America from Europe, Asia, and North America. Immigrants settled in the United States primarily for economic opportunity afforded by the growing industrial economy and faced challenges upon arriving. The influx of so many immigrants changed American culture and presented unique tensions in American society, leading to a debate over immigration, citizenship, and the restriction of immigration.

OBJECTIVES

- Students will identify what it means to be an immigrant and discover what was involved in the process of immigration.
- Students will investigate the impact immigration had upon the United States socially and economically.
- Students will assess the arguments given for and against the restriction of immigration.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

> *Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,*
> *With conquering limbs astride from land to land;*
> *Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand*
> *A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame*
> *Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name*
> *Mother of Exiles.*
>
> **Emma Lazarus, the New Colossus, found on the statue of Liberty**

RECOMMENDED TIME

120 minutes

MATERIALS LIST

- **Handout A: Migration Experiment Graphic Organizer and Discussion Questions**
- **Handout B: Background Essay: The New Wave – Immigration in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era**
- **Handout C: The Challenges of Assimilation**
- **Handout D: Selections from Henry Cabot Lodge's Speech in the Senate, March 16, 1896**
- **Handout E: Selections from the President Grover Cleveland's veto message of the 1896 Literacy test March 2, 1897**
- **Handout F: Immigration in the Progressive Era**
- **Handout G: Class Discussion Questions**
- **Handout H: Immigration Today**

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

- Rule of Law
- Equality
- Limited Government

ESSENTIAL VIRTUES

- Civil discourse
- Contribution
- Courage
- Initiative
- Justice
- Moderation
- Perseverance
- Respect
- Responsibility
- Resourcefulness
- Self-governance

STANDARDS

National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)

- 1) Thematic Standards
  - II. Time, Continuity, and Change
  - VI. Power, Authority, and Governance
  - VII. Production, Distribution, and Consumption
  - VIII. Science, Technology, and Society
  - X. Civic Ideals and Practices

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- 2) Disciplinary Standards
    1. History
    3. Civics and Government
    4. Economics

Center for Civic Education

- 9-12 Content Standards
    V. What are the Roles of the Citizen in American Democracy?

UCLA Department of History (NCHS)

- US History Content Standards

    United States Era 6: The Development of the Industrial United States (1870 – 1900)

    United States Era 7: The Emergence of Modern America (1890 – 1930)

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KEY TERMS

- Migration
- Immigrant
- Ancestral
- Arduous
- Push factor
- Pull factor
- New World
- Civil Rights Act of 1866
- 14th Amendment
- Ellis Island
- Familial
- Social Darwinism
- Nativism
- Immigration Restriction League
- American Protective Association
- Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882
- Literacy test

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Lesson Plan

Background and Warm-up Activity » *30 minutes*

A. Use the graphic organizer in **Handout A: Migration Experiment Graphic Organizer and Discussion Questions** and sample questions to lead your class in a background discussion regarding immigration. Begin the discussion with general questions, transitioning to discussing themes of immigration. Try to group your students' answers into themes fitting into the two categories.

B. Tell your students you would like to experiment with a new seating arrangement. They have a choice of either remaining where they sit now, or moving to any seat they'd like, so long as it's not occupied. Allow them to sit near their friends.

C. Once they take their new seats, arbitrarily pick a few students to move.

D. Take a few desks, and say they cannot be sat in as they are due for repairs. Make the students sitting in these chairs either stand or sit on the floor somewhere else (demonstrating push factor).

E. Reward students who chose to sit in the front row with some sort of prize or treat. Then allow other students to come sit up front now that they know there is an incentive (demonstrating pull factor).

F. (Optional) – Work with another teacher to swap students between two classes. Have them sit randomly amongst the students in your class.

G. Once all the students have taken their seats, and asked a few questions – let them know they've all just been migrants (demonstrating tensions caused by newcomers).

H. Let them return to their return to their seats (or classrooms) or leave them where they are, and conduct a class discussion about their impressions of the experiment.

I. Use **Handout A: Migration Experiment Graphic Organizer and Discussion Questions** to lead the discussion.

Activity I » *30 minutes*

A. Have students read the **Handout B: Background Essay: The New Wave – Immigration in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era**, and answer the critical thinking questions.

B. Students should be prepared to discuss their responses to the critical thinking questions with the class.

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Activity II » *30 minutes*

A. Divide students into groups of 3 to 5.

B. Have them read the instructions and introduction on **Handout C: The Challenges of Assimilation**.

C. Afterwards, they should read **Handout D: Selections from Henry Cabot Lodge's Speech in the Senate, March 16, 1896**, and answer the review questions.

D. Finally, they should read **Handout E: Selections from the President Grover Cleveland's veto message of the 1896 Literacy test March 2, 1897**, and answer the critical thinking questions.

E. Once all groups are finished, move on to Activity III.

Wrap-up Activity » *30 minutes*

A. Pass out **Handout F: Immigration in the Progressive Era** and allow your students time to read the two passages.

B. Students should be instructed to write down 5 initial reactions to the passages.

C. Using **Handout G: Class Discussion Questions** as a guide, lead your class in an open discussion about immigration restriction and its impact on the United States.

Extension

A. Have students search for three articles on immigration. One should be economically focused, one should be socially focused, and one should be politically focused.

B. For each question, have the students answer the questions on **Handout H: Immigration Today**.

C. Discuss their findings in class.

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HANDOUT A

Immigration Experiment Discussion

Directions: Fill in the graphic organizer in your assigned groups with the answers to your questions into the two categories of economic and social.

Economic	Social

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why did you choose to move or to stay put?
2. Were your motivations to sit closer to your friends?
3. Were you worried about your performance in class?
4. Was it frustrating to be separated from your friends without a good reason?
5. What happened when I took a few seats away?
6. Why did some of you want to move upfront when I offered an incentive?
7. How did you feel having students from another class come into our classroom? If you found it awkward or strange, why was this?
8. How you think the choices you made compare to the decisions made by immigrants around the world? How are these decisions similar and/or different?
9. How is it that we adapt to change within a community?

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HANDOUT B

Immigration in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

Directions: Read the essay and answer the questions that follow.

It is impossible to understand the American experience without understanding the impact of immigration. The millions of immigrants who came to the United States settled across the nation, named its cities, helped build its canals, roads, and railroads, mined its ore, and shaped its culture. To understand immigration in the United States is to understand the history of the country itself.

Between 1880 and 1920, over twenty million people immigrated to the United States. Men, women, and children from across the world, seeking the opportunity and freedom available in a society rooted in the principles of the Declaration of Independence. They traveled thousands of miles in the hope of providing a better life for themselves and their families in the economic opportunities available in a free-enterprise, industrial economy. They brought with them diverse languages and cultural traditions that enriched American society and culture. Their experience of immigration varied, but those who stayed became Americans and helped build modern America.

However, whenever different cultures meet, the differences can cause tensions. The absorption of these immigrants into the fabric of American society was not always a smooth process. Pressures stemming from the blending of cultures had profound effects on the politics and opinions of the era. The clash and unity of these worlds, the conflicts, successes, and failures, are the real story of immigration in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

Coming to America

Migration is the movement of a person from one geographic location to another. The immigrants of the late nineteenth century came primarily from southeastern and northwestern Europe, Asia, and from Mexico and Canada in North America. The migrants only became immigrants when they crossed the international border for the United States. It is this factor that makes immigration a matter of law between countries.

For immigrants of this era, and any era, the long journey to a new home began with a decision. Uprooting themselves from their homes, farms, and jobs was an arduous process. The immigrants came to the United States for different reasons. For many immigrants in the late nineteenth century, there was something that pushed them out, such as slow economic growth in Southern Italy, or religious persecution in Eastern Europe. Others were pulled from their homes by the job opportunities the rapidly expanding industrial economy and cheap, farmable land in the countryside.

These push and pull factors acted together to animate the millions of immigrants who found their way to the United States during this period. Finding their way was no easy task. Immigrants had to contend with treacherous roads and oceans, often in cramped and uncomfortable quarters. They also had to overcome language barriers and foreign social customs and traditions. Moreover, they had to navigate the legal process of coming to a new country.

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Their experiences upon arriving in the United States changed throughout the period. Immigration to the United States in the early part of the eighteenth century was fairly informal, but this would change throughout the century. By the 1860s the Fourteenth Amendment, and the 1866 Civil Rights Act, helped to make clear a definition of who was and was not a citizen. This led to an increase in regulation of immigration at the federal level. By 1890, the federal government had assumed the responsibility of processing immigrants arriving in the United States. To cope with this responsibility, the government developed a formalized method for vetting immigrants as they arrived. By 1892, the famous port of entry at Ellis Island was opened and began welcoming immigrants ashore in New York City. In 1910, on the West Coast, Angel Island, in San Francisco Bay, also begin examining newcomers as they came ashore.

Immigrants arrived at these ports of entry into the United States with high hopes for the future. From their steamships they were ferried ashore to the processing facility on the island. They would be subjected to a medical examination, have their documents inspected, and most were then released to gather their luggage and purchase or pickup train tickets. Most walked out the doors carrying all they owned in their arms.

Not all of the immigrants were granted permission to enter the country. The majority of those on Ellis Island who were denied entry were denied due to medical reasons. Those deemed medically unfit could be treated on the island, but if their condition was too dangerous, they would be sent back to their country of origin. Others were rejected for being (or suspected of being) radicals, anarchists, or criminals. On Angel Island the circumstances were different. Beginning in 1882, laws restricting the immigration of Chinese and other Asian peoples were put in place by the federal government. Countless numbers of Asians immigrants were denied entry to the United States at Angel Island as a result of these laws.

The Challenge of Assimilation

From these processing centers, the immigrants spread out and settled across the nation. Throughout the 1870s and 80s many of these immigrants settled in the West, seeking the opportunities for land afforded by the frontier. They worked as farmers and laborers, tilling the land and building the infrastructure that facilitated the nation's growth. As the century progressed, the rise of the industrial economy opened up thousands of new low-skilled, labor-intensive jobs in cities across the country. These jobs opened opportunities for the newly-arrived immigrants. The impact of immigration was felt throughout the nation, from the Pittsburg steel mills, to New York's garment district, to California's farms.

To find and take advantage of these opportunities, immigrants relied upon familial and cultural networks in the United States. They relied upon information and introductions received from family members to seek out and exploit economic opportunities. Being strangers in a foreign land, familial groups also provided support to the newcomers. Groups of immigrants from particular countries settled in cities and neighborhoods together and created distinctive cultural enclaves. In addition to providing support getting jobs and places to live, these neighborhoods allowed immigrants to keep their own customs and traditions alive. Common languages, familiar foods, cultural festivals,

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native language newspapers, and religious observances all assisted immigrant groups as they adapted to life in the United States and assimilated into society.

The Rise of Nativism

The hatred and fear of immigrants and immigration during this period was known as nativism or xenophobia. Nativism arose out of the tensions between native-born Americans and newly-arrived immigrants. Competition over jobs and a general fear of the unknown, perpetuated by myths and propaganda, helped shape nativism into a strong political movement.

The ideas of Social Darwinism also helped to perpetuate nativist sentiment. Applying the concept of evolution as theorized in Charles Darwin's *The Origins of Species* (1859), many native-born Americans reasoned that different races or groups of people had reached higher levels of civilization depending on their race or ethnicity. People who applied Darwin's theory to society and the ranking of the races around the world, predominately believed that white, western European men had reached the pinnacle of civilization. They believed, therefore, that it was their duty to assist those they saw as "lesser races," mainly Eastern and Southern Europeans, Africans, and Asian peoples, to become more civilized. They feared that too great an influx of these groups into the country would pose a threat to the white, Anglo-Saxon race in America and the ordered and complex civil society into which they were entering. The progressives were firmly behind the movement to Americanize the immigrant population in America for a more united culture and social order.

The tide of nativism rose throughout the late 1890s and into the twentieth century. Increasing nativist sentiment created political movements to restrict immigration. Nativist organizations like the Immigration Restriction League and the American Protective Association advocated strongly for limiting immigration into the United States. Many of the members were progressives who believed that restricting immigration of the "inferior races" would help bring about greater social order and harmony. Many unions whose members' jobs were threatened by competition with cheap immigrant labor supported immigration restriction. Many politicians who represented rural areas supported the measures.

Opponents of immigration restriction were the owners of factories, mines, and other industries that relied heavily on large pools of low-wage immigrant labor. Other opponents of immigration restriction included politicians who represented northern states and cities where millions of immigrants settled. Finally, the immigrants who already had settled in America were strong opponents of restricting immigration.

The two sides of the immigration debate demonstrate the tensions which arise from a society coping with change. Immigrants played a vital role in the country's economy, but they introduced foreign beliefs, customs, and opinions about American society and government. Therein lies a tension.

This tension has at its heart a difficult question for a democratic society. Fundamental principles like the rule of law, private property, and individual liberty may be undermined if they are not properly understood and jealously guarded by the people. In the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, however, this question became erroneously entangled with the racial prejudices of the time. The main tension still exists today, and the questions that still beg asking today. The

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progressives grappled with the same questions related to the immigration debate today. The questions of adopting certain fundamental principles clashed with those of preserving one's culture and ideas in a pluralist society.

This struggle played out throughout the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. As the number of immigrants coming ashore increased, nativist concern and political pressure to address the issue mounted. This pressure led to the passing of several major pieces of legislation. The first, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, virtually eliminated all immigration from China while banning Chinese from American citizenship. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt traded protection of Japanese immigrants in America for a promise that the Japanese government would not allow additional immigrants to go to the United States. Though popular in the legislature, the nativist push for immigration restrictions was met with opposition in executive branch. During World War I, Congress overcome a series of presidential vetoes to pass a literacy test on immigration to keep poorly-educated immigrants out of the country. Increasing nativism culminated in the Immigration Act of 1924, which set limits based on a national origins formula for how many immigrants from different countries would be allowed in the country. The date for that formula was set before 1890 when large numbers of southeastern European immigrants began to arrive.

Though the number of immigrants coming into the country was being curtailed, their influence was not. Immigrants had a dramatic impact in shaping the future of the nation. As they became assimilated into American society, the United States also assimilated to them, shifting and changing to integrate the countless millions from around the world who came to the new world seeking a new life.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What sorts of challenges did immigrants face when deciding to leave their homes and travel to a new country?
2. How do push and pull factors affect immigration?
3. What was the purpose of Ellis and Angel Island? Why do you think the government established these facilities?
4. Why did immigrants tend to group together in cultural and family groups?
5. What were the sources of tensions between immigrants and native-born Americans?
6. What benefits do you believe immigration brings to the United States?
7. What challenges might immigration pose to the United States? How has the United States responded to these challenges in the past and present?

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HANDOUT C

The Challenges of Assimilation

Directions: Begin by reading the short introduction below. Then read **Handout D: Selections from Henry Cabot Lodge's Speech in the Senate, March 16, 1896** and **Handout E: Selections from the President Grover Cleveland's Veto Message of the 1896 Literacy Test March 2, 1897**. Answer the critical thinking questions that follow each.

Introduction: As the flood of immigrants coming into the United States grew, tensions between native-born Americans and immigrants increased. The demographic shift of the immigrant newcomers shifted from Western Europe to primarily an Eastern and Southern European influx, also contributing to the increase in tensions. Those immigrants originating from these countries shared less of the same cultural background and legal traditions than their western counterparts, as well as speaking less English. Fears that these newcomers might undermine the culture of the United States abounded. However, not everyone believed these fears were founded. Citing the generations of immigrants who had populated the United States in the preceding decades, many believed these immigrants posed no threat. The central question the country faced was this, could American society subsume a large foreign population without costing the jobs of thousands of Americans or losing support and understanding of the fundamental principles of the United States.

The following documents provide insight into the various sides of this debate. Henry Cabot Lodge, a powerful senator advocating for the restriction of immigration, fought hard to pass a literacy test for immigrants to gain permission to enter the country. The bill stated that any person who could not show a basic reading and writing proficiency would not be allowed to enter the country. On the other side, President Grover Cleveland advocated strongly against the bill. The selections of his veto message outline his reasoning. The two documents together illuminate the tensions at play in the immigration debate at the turn of the twentieth century.

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HANDOUT D

Selections from Henry Cabot Lodge's Speech in the Senate, March 16, 1896

I have said enough to show what effects of this bill would be, and that if enacted into law it would be fair in its operation and highly beneficial in its results. It now remains for me to discuss the second and larger question, as to the advisability of restricting immigration at all. This is a subject of the greatest magnitude and the most far-reaching importance. It has two sides, the economic and the social. As to the former, but few words are necessary. There is no one thing which does so much to bring about a reduction of wages and to injure the American wage earner as the unlimited introduction of cheap foreign labor through unrestricted immigration.

It is not necessary to enter further into a discussion of the economic side of the general policy of restricting immigration. In this direction the argument is unanswerable. If we have any regard for the welfare, the wages, or the standard of life of American workingmen, we should take immediate steps to restrict foreign immigration. There is no danger at present at all events to our workingmen from the coming of skilled mechanics or trained and educated men with a settled occupation or pursuit for immigrants of this class will never seek to lower the American standard of life and wages. On the contrary, they desire the same standard for themselves. But there is an appalling danger to the American wage earner from the flood of low, unskilled, ignorant, foreign labor which has poured into the country for some years past, and which not only takes lower wages, but accepts a standard of life and living so low that American workingmen cannot compete with it.…

I now come to the aspect of this question which is graver and more serious than any other. The injury of unrestricted immigration to American Wages and American standards of living I sufficiently plan and is enough, but the danger which this immigration threatens to the quality of citizenship is far worse. That which it concerns us to know, and that which is more vital to us as a people than all possible questions of tariff or currency, is whether the quality of our citizenship is endangered by the present course and character of immigration to the United States.…

Mr. President, more precious even than forms of government are the mental and moral qualities which make what we call our race. While those stand unimpaired all is safe. When those decline all is imperiled. They are exposed to but a single danger, and that is by changing the quality of our race and citizenship through the wholesale infusion of races whose traditions and inheritances, whose thoughts and whose beliefs are wholly alien to ours, and with whom we have never assimilated or even been associated in the past. The danger has begun. It is small as yet, comparatively speaking, but it is large enough to warn us to act while there is yet time and while it can be done easily and efficiently. There lies the peril at the portals of our land; there is pressing the tide of unrestricted immigration. The time has certainly come, if not to stop, at least to check, to sift, and to restrict those immigrants. In careless strength, with generous hand, we have kept our gates wide open to all the world. If we do not close them, we should at least place sentinels beside them to challenge those who would pass through. The gates which admit men to the United States and to citizenship in the great republic should no longer be left unguarded.

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HANDOUT E

Selections from the President Grover Cleveland's Veto Message of the 1896 Literacy Test March 2, 1897

To the House of Representatives:

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigration is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy can not fail to arouse a sentiment in its defense, for however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uprooted at this late day its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

It is not claimed, I believe, that the time has come for the further restriction of immigration on the ground that an excess of population overcrowds our land.

It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

It is said that too many immigrants settle in our cities, thus dangerously increasing their idle and vicious population. This is certainly a disadvantage. It can not be shown, however, that it affects all our cities, nor that it is permanent; nor does it appear that this condition where it exists demands as its remedy the reversal of our present immigration policy.

The claim is also made that the influx of foreign laborers deprives of the opportunity to work those who are better entitled than they to the privilege of earning their livelihood by daily toil. An unfortunate condition is certainly presented when any who are willing to labor are unemployed, but so far as this condition now exists among our people it must be conceded to be a result of phenomenal business depression and the stagnation of all enterprises in which labor is a factor. With the advent of settled and wholesome financial and economic governmental policies and consequent encouragement to the activity of capital the misfortunes of unemployed labor should, to a great extent at least, be remedied. If it continues, its natural consequences must be to check the further immigration to our cities of foreign laborers and to deplete the ranks of those already there. In the meantime those most willing and best entitled ought to be able to secure the advantages of such work as there is to do....

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…The best reason that could be given for this radical restriction of immigration is the necessity of protecting our population against degeneration and saving our national peace and quiet from imported turbulence and disorder.

I can not believe that we would be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who can read and write in any language twenty-five words of our Constitution. In my opinion, it is infinitely more safe to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work than to admit one of those unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control who can not only read and write, but delights in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult. Violence and disorder do not originate with illiterate laborers. They are, rather, the victims of the educated agitator. The ability to read and write, as required in this bill, in and of itself affords, in my opinion, a misleading test of contented industry and supplies unsatisfactory evidence of desirable citizenship or a proper apprehension of the benefits of our institutions. If any particular element of our illiterate immigration is to be feared for other causes than illiteracy, these causes should be dealt with directly, instead of making illiteracy the pretext for exclusion, to the detriment of other illiterate immigrants against whom the real cause of complaint can not be alleged….

…A careful examination of this bill has convinced me that for the reasons given and others not specifically stated its provisions are unnecessarily harsh and oppressive, and that its defects in construction would cause vexation and its operation would result in harm to our citizens.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the main points of Henry Cabot Lodge's argument?
2. What is the basis for his fears?
3. Does he take issue with any one type of immigrant? If so, which one and why?
4. What do you think of his argument? Does it seem to have a rational basis?
5. What seems to be the issue central to Lodge's argument?
6. What are the main points of Grover Cleveland's veto message?
7. Why does he ultimately state that he is vetoing the Bill?
8. On what points and constitutional principles do the two men disagree?
9. What do you believe is the central argument of Cleveland's veto message?
10. Does Cleveland disagree with the premise of Lodge's argument, that the greatest threat facing the nation was a protection of American society?
11. Do the men agree on any points and constitutional principles?

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HANDOUT F

Immigration in the Progressive Era

Directions: Review the Excerpt from Coolidge First Address to Congress, and President Coolidge's Proclamation of Quota's for the Immigration Act of 1924 below and write down 5 initial reactions.

Background

The increasing number of immigrants arriving in the United States during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era created pressures within society that found their largest political expression in the nativist movement. Beginning with the Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882, the United States Congress passed increasingly more restrictive and wider reaching immigration regulations. The Immigration Act of 1917 created an Asiatic Barred Zone and expanded the listed reasons, either political ideologies or illness, which immigrants could not have or be associated with if they wished to gain entrance into the country. In 1921, the Emergency Quota Act, created a national origins formula, which set quota restrictions based on the proportional population of certain immigrant groups. The United States would only permit a number totaling 3% of the total population of certain groups as noted by the census of 1910, to enter the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924 made this formula more restrictive by basing these limits on the census of 1890 instead of the 1910 census and setting the amount at 2% instead of 3%. Calvin Coolidge signed the bill into law in 1924. In both his first address to congress and his proclamation upon signing the bill into law, Coolidge reveals his reasoning behind backing the law. In reviewing his statements, we gain an insight into the thinking, right or wrong, of our nation.

Excerpt from Coolidge first address to congress – December 6, 1923:

American institutions rest solely on good citizenship. They were created by people who had a background of self-government. New arrivals should be limited to our capacity to absorb them into the ranks of good citizenship. America must be kept American. For this I purpose, it is necessary to continue a policy of restricted immigration. It would be well to make such immigration of a selective nature with some inspection at the source, and based either on a prior census or upon the record of naturalization. Either method would insure the admission of those with the largest capacity and best intention of becoming citizens. I am convinced that our present economic and social conditions warrant a limitation of those to be admitted. We should find additional safety in a law requiring the immediate registration of all aliens. Those' who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America.

President Coolidge's Proclamation of Quota's for the Immigration Act of 1924

A Proclamation

Whereas it is provided in the act of Congress approved May 26, 1924, entitled "An act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes" that "The annual quota

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of any nationality shall be two per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States Census of 1890, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100 (Sec. 11a). . . .

"The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, jointly, shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this act, prepare a statement showing the number of individuals of the various nationalities resident in continental United States as determined by the United States Census of 1890, which statement shall be the population basis for the purposes of subdivision (a) of section 11 (Sec. 12 b).

"Such officials shall, jointly, report annually to the President the quota of each nationality under subdivision (a) of section 11, together with the statements, estimates, and revisions provided for in this section. The President shall proclaim and make known the quotas so reported" (Sec. 12 e).

Now, therefore I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America acting under and by virtue of the power in me vested by the aforesaid act of Congress, do hereby proclaim and make known that on and after July 1, 1924, and throughout the fiscal year 1924-1925, the quota of each nationality provided in said act shall be as follows:

Country or Area of Birth Quota 1924-25

Afghanistan -100	Albania - 100
Andorra - 100	Arabian Peninsula - 100
Armenia - 124	Australia (incl. Papua, Tasmania & all islands) - 121
Austria - 785	Belgium - 512
Bhutan - 100	Bulgaria - 100
Cameroon (proposed British mandate) - 100	Cameroon (French mandate) - 100

China - 100	Czechoslovakia - 3,073
Danzig, Free City of - 228	Denmark - 789
Egypt - 100	Estonia - 124
Ethiopia (Abyssinia) - 100	Finland - 170
France - 3,954	Germany - 51,227
Great Britain & Northern Ireland - 34,007	Greece - 100

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Hungary - 473	Iceland - 100
India - 100	Iraq (Mesopotamia) - 100
Irish Free State - 28,567	Italy (incl. Rhodes, Dodecanesia & Castellorizzo) - 3,845
Japan - 100	Latvia - 142
Liberia - 100	Liechtenstein - 100
Lithuania - 344	Luxemburg - 100
Monaco - 100	Morocco (French & Spanish Zones & Tangier) - 100
Muscat (Oman) - 100	Nauru (proposed British mandate) - 100
Nepal - 100	Netherlands - 1,648
New Zealand (incl. appertaining islands) - 100	Norway - 6,453
New Guinea (& other Pacific islands under Australian mandate) - 100	Palestine (with Trans-Jordan, proposed British mandate) - 100
Persia - 100	Poland - 5,982

Portugal - 503	Ruanda & Urundi (Belgium mandate) - 100
Rumania - 603	Russia (European & Asiatic) - 2,248
Samoa, Western (proposed mandate of New Zealand) - 100	San Marino - 100
Siam - 100	South Africa, Union of - 100
South West Africa (proposed mandate of Union of South Africa) - 100	Spain - 131
Sweden - 9,561	Switzerland - 2,081
Syria & The Lebanon (French mandate) - 100	Tanganiyika (proposed British mandate) - 100
Togoland (proposed British mandate) - 100	Togoland (French mandate) - 100
Turkey - 100	Yap & other Pacific islands (under Japanese Mandate - 100
Yugoslavia - 671	

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GENERAL NOTE.-The immigration quotas assigned to the various countries and quota-areas should not be regarded as having any political significance whatever, or as involving recognition of new governments, or of new boundaries, or of transfers of territory except as the United States government has already made such recognition in a formal and official manner.

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HANDOUT G

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What themes do you see from our class discussion playing out in these selections?
2. Why do you think changing the census date from 1910 to 1890 significant?
3. Do you believe a country should be able to limit who crosses its borders? Why or why not?
4. What themes from Cleveland and Lodge's arguments are reflected in the Immigration Act of 1924?
5. What are Coolidge's major themes and constitutional principles in support of immigration reform?
6. How do you think this legislation impacted the relationship between immigrants and native-born Americans?
7. Do you think the limiting of immigration had the impact the authors of the bill desired? Why or why not?
8. The 1920's in the United States are known as the "Roaring 20's" due to the explosive growth of the economy. How might this economic boom effect feelings toward immigration?

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HANDOUT H

Immigration Today

Directions: Research and find three recent articles on immigration. One article should be focused on immigration and the economy. Another should be focused on immigration and social issues. The final article should be focused on immigration and politics. For each article, answer the questions listed below.

1. How are the issues and constitutional principles similar to immigration during the Gilded and Progressive eras?
2. In what ways are the issues and constitutional principles different?
3. What themes, constitutional principles, and civic virtues from your class discussion can you find in the article?
4. What challenges does this issue present?

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5. What solutions do you believe are available to resolve this issue?

Handout B: Immigration in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era Answer Key

1. Challenges faced by immigrants include the following:
   - Long, difficult journey by sea
   - Uprooting, leaving home, and moving to a completely new land
   - Financial difficulties of providing for passage to the United States and establishing a new life
   - Difficulties in assimilation, blending cultures often led to racial and ethnic tensions
   - Difficulties in finding work to support new life
2. Push factors tend to be negative events and circumstances in one's home country that "push" them from the country such as slow economic growth and religious persecution. Pull factors are those things which entice immigrants to come to one country as they leave their home country. Pull factors act as incentives as they draw people such as the access to cheap, farmable land and industrial jobs in the United States. Push and Pull factors work in tandem to draw people from one country to another.
3. With the large number of immigrants beginning to enter the country, the U.S. government developed a formalized process for vetting immigrants. Ellis and Angel Islands became the point of entry to the country where immigrants would have their documents checked and be subject to a medical examination before being allowed into the country. These processes were intended to ensure that those desiring to immigrate were not carrying foreign disease or illness that could pose a risk to U.S. citizens or that they were arriving illegitimately.
4. As strangers in a foreign lane, familial and cultural groups provided support and comfort for those who had left their homes. Additionally, these cultural groups allowed for immigrants to maintain their distinct customs and traditions alive: festivals, native language newspapers, and religious observances. All of these helped to ease the process of assimilation.
5. Tension arose from two main sources: the first was competition over jobs. Often times both skilled and unskilled immigrants were seen as cheaper sources of labor. Often times, foreign workers were willing to take high-risk, low-pay jobs at a rate that was difficult to compete with. Secondly, there were general fears of the unknown as relating to foreign culture and customs. These fears were often perpetuated by myths and propaganda that would contribute to nativism's rise as a political movement. Many worried that it would be difficult to uphold a democratic society when introducing peoples and cultures who had differing ideas of fundamental principles such as the rule of law, private property, and individual liberty.
6. Responses may vary; accept well-reasoned responses. Some examples include:

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- Cultural diversity: new customs, foods, music, etc.
- Unique skills and talents
- Labor for jobs many were unwilling to take

7. Responses may vary; accept well-reasoned responses. Students may list some of the following as potential challenges faced:
   - Blending cultures was not always successful and sometimes ideas from one culture might clash with the founding principles of the United States.
   - Foreign cultures may not agree with principles seen as fundamental to American government: rule of law, private property, and individual liberty.
   - Tensions, resulting from labor competition and fear, between national born citizens and immigrants that must be mitigated.
   - Students may also offer various examples of ways in which the United States has helped to ease the tensions and challenges faced by immigration.

Handouts C, D, E: Critical Thinking Questions Answer Key

1. Main points of Henry Cabot Lodge's argument in his Senate speech include:
   - The passage of a literacy test would be not only fair, but effective and beneficial in its results.
   - Unlimited introduction of cheap foreign labor is the greatest contributor to wage reduction which injures American workers who cannot compete with foreign labor. Skilled workers are not at as high of a risk, but low-skill workers are in grave danger.
   - Immigration poses threats to American citizenship that are far greater than the economic threats.
   - The blending of races and cultures with different traditions and beliefs threatens the mental and moral qualities of the United States.
   - If immigration is not going to be entirely stopped, it is necessary to institute strong checks to guard our nation from unrestricted immigration.
2. The basis of Lodge's fears is rooted in the idea that there are inherent risks when blending the various "traditions and inheritances," of other cultures "whose thoughts and whose beliefs are wholly alien to ours, and with whom we have never assimilated or even been associated in the past." Lodge fears that this blending will threaten the principles on which the United States was founded.
3. Lodge asserts that there is an "appalling danger…from the flood of low, unskilled, ignorant, foreign labor…." Lodge fears that these type of immigrants not only harm the country economically by driving down wages for unskilled labor and taking jobs from American citizens, but also harm the foundation of American society and citizenship.

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4. Students' responses will vary; accept well-reasoned responses. Ensure that students use proper evidence to support their claim.
5. The central issue for Lodge's argument is that unchecked and unfiltered immigration is a risk to American society, economically and culturally.
6. Main points of Cleveland's veto message include the following:
   - The proposed literacy test is a radical departure from current national immigration policy.
   - Current immigration policy should not be changed without apparent disadvantages. If it is to be replaced, the replacement ought to be more adequate, free from uncertainty, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.
   - Those immigrants which could have once been deemed as undesirable are now some of the finest citizens of the United States.
   - Not all cities are overpopulated by immigrants, and even in cities where overpopulation may exist, it is likely not permanent enough to warrant changing immigration policy.
   - Economic hardships are not the result of immigration, but the result of business depression and stagnation.
   - "Those most willing and best entitled ought to be able to secure the advantages of such work as there is to do…."
   - Immigration changes are only needed to protect the population from turbulence and disorder.
   - A literacy test would not be an effective method of restricting immigration even if it were implemented.
7. Cleveland ultimately vetoes the legislation stating that based upon its stated and un-stated provisions, it is unnecessarily harsh and oppressive. Its poor construction would cause vexation and it operation would harm, citizens.
8. Accept well-reasoned comparisons based on the two documents; Students may note some of the following areas of disagreement:
   - Lodge believes that the flood of immigration is harmful to American society while Cleveland believe that it has been nothing but beneficial.
   - Lodge believes that immigrant workers who are willing to work in unskilled labor for low wages are harming the earnings of unskilled American workers. Cleveland states that low earnings are the result of business depression and stagnation. Additionally, those most willing and best entitled to work ought to have the ability to do so.
   - Lodge believes that the literacy test would be fair and effective while Cleveland asserts that it is not only oppressive and harsh, but also ineffective.

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9. The central argument of Cleveland's veto message is that immigration has not been bad for the country as the literacy test legislation would suggest. Current immigration policy does not need to be implemented. Furthermore, the literacy test legislation is unnecessary, oppressive, and would be ineffective if enacted.
10. Yes, Cleveland does not agree with Lodge that immigration is essentially a risk to the nation. Cleveland believes that immigration has been and will likely continue to be beneficial for the United States, a nation essentially founded on immigration.
11. Students may give varied answers as to areas where the two men may agree, accept well-reasoned responses. Students may list things such as the following:
    - Both men agree that protecting the United States is important, even though they disagree on whether or not immigration is currently a risk to American interests.
    - Both men agree that there are some economic issues effecting American workers even though they disagree on the factors contributing to these issues.

Handout G: Class Discussion Questions Answer Key

1. Student responses will vary depending on the direction of your class discussion. Encourage your students to select relevant portions directly from the texts in order to elaborate on discussed themes.
2. In 1890, there would have been fewer immigrants from the different nations than there was in 1910. Therefore, in addition to the reduction from 3% to 2% this would have severely lowered the number of allowed immigrants in the United States.
3. Students' responses will vary; accept well-reasoned responses.
4. Students' responses will vary; accept well-reasoned responses. Some examples of similar themes are as follows:
    - As Lodge had stated, Coolidge also believes that unchecked immigration is a threat to American society and that only those who can be absorbed into what Coolidge refers to as, "the ranks of good citizenship.
    - Coolidge states that, "Those' who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America." This is reminiscent of Lodge's assertion that those immigrants which are not a threat are those who are well educated, skilled, have an establish position, and desire to contribute to American society.
    - Coolidge and Cleveland would have disagreed on immigration policy, as Cleveland did not think that restricting immigration was necessary.
5. Coolidge's major themes in support of immigration reform include the following:

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- New arrivals should be limited to the capacity of the country to help properly integrate them into, "the ranks of good citizenship."
- Restricting immigration ensures that those most deserving and most capable of becoming good citizens are admitted into the country.

6. Students' responses will vary; accept well-reasoned responses. Some examples include:
   - For current American citizens, increased immigration restriction would have been seen as positive, lessening some of the resentment felt by current citizens towards immigrants.
   - For current and recent immigrants, the sudden restriction of immigration could have been seen as unnecessary and unfair. This would have angered immigrant families, increasing the tensions between current citizens and immigrants.
7. Students' responses will vary; accept well-reasoned responses.
8. Students' responses will vary; accept well-reasoned responses. Some examples of responses include:
   - Economic growth during a time of moderate to heavy immigration may have begun to change the mindset of some regarding immigration. As the economy experienced explosive growth, some may have seen that there were benefits to immigration that all could experience.
   - In contrast, some may have seen the period of explosive economic growth following tighter immigration restrictions. These individuals would have potentially seen the economic growth as a result of the U.S. Government restricting immigration. This could lead them to conclude that restrictive immigration was better for the economy that open immigration.

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Introductory Essay

The decades after the American Civil War witnessed a vast array of social, economic, technological, cultural, and political changes in the American landscape. These changes transformed the United States from a largely local to a national society. This new society was characterized by a more integrated nation with large institutions and a broad, national outlook.

The economy experienced significant growth during the late nineteenth century that built on the beginnings of the industrial revolution that had begun before the Civil War. The rise of the factory system depended on technological change and new power sources that made the mass production of goods possible. The expansion of the railroad created a national distribution network for the goods. The modern business corporation grew as a response to managing the national production and distribution of goods. The practices of big business came under media and regulatory scrutiny as equal opportunity seemed to shrink. The great wealth of several industrialists was also scrutinized by those who feared their influence and were concerned about growing inequality.

American workers were the backbone of this new industrial economy as they worked with machines to secure the raw materials from the earth and used them to create a finished product. Millions of workers saw great changes in the nature of their work in the factory system. They earned higher wages and enjoyed greater standards of living but sometimes at a great cost due to dangerous, unhealthy conditions. Workers organized into labor unions to meet the growing power of big business. The labor unions gave workers a sense of solidarity and a greater bargaining position with employers. Waves of strikes and industrial violence convulsed the country, and led to an uncertain future for organized labor.

American farmers were caught between two competing trends in the new industrial economy. The future seemed bright as new western lands were brought under cultivation and new technology allowed farmers to achieve much greater production. However, banks and railroads offered mixed blessings as they often hurt the farmers' economic position. Farmers organized into groups to protect their interests and participate in the growing prosperity of the rapidly industrializing American economy. At the same time, difficult times led many to give up on farming and find work in factories.

American cities became larger throughout the period as the factory system drew millions of workers from the American countryside and tens of millions of immigrants from other countries. The large cities created immense markets that demanded mass-produced goods and agricultural products from American farms. The cities were large, impersonal places for the newcomers and were centers of diversity thanks to the mingling of many different cultures. The urban areas lacked basic services and were often run by corrupt bosses, but the period witnessed the growth of more effective urban government that offered basic services to improve life for millions of people.

The tens of millions of immigrants that came to the United States primarily settled in urban areas and worked in the factories. They came for the opportunities afforded by large, industrial

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economies and provided essential low-skill labor. The "new immigrants" were mostly from southeastern Europe, Asia, and Mexico. They had to adapt to a strange new world, and in turn brought with them new ethnicities, languages, religious practices, foods, and cultures. This tension over assimilation led to debates about American values and the Americanization of immigrants. Some native-born Americans wanted to restrict the number of immigrants coming into the country, while others defended the newcomers.

The changes in the economy and society created opportunities and challenges for millions of other Americans. The status and equal rights of women experienced a general, long-term growth. Many women enjoyed new opportunities to become educated and work in society, though these opportunities were still limited when compared with men. The history of women during the late nineteenth century was not monolithic as white, middle-class women often had a very different experience than women who were poor, or from a minority or immigrant background. Because many women entered the workforce, a debate occurred over the kinds and amount of work that women performed, which led to legal protections. The women's suffrage movement won the biggest success for equal rights in the period with the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, granting women the right to vote.

African Americans did not participate in the growing opportunities and prosperity that other groups in American society did. The long and bloody Civil War had ended with the freeing of African Americans from slavery. This was followed by further gains of constitutional and legal protections, however, many of these rights would soon evaporate. During the late nineteenth century, African Americans found inequality and racism in the segregation of the South, but they were also victimized by inequality and racism in northern cities in the early twentieth century as they moved there in increasing numbers. Black leaders debated the right path to full equality, civic participation, and economic opportunity in American life.

The changes that affected the American economy and society led to a growth in the federal government. The important issues of the nineteenth century were increasingly contested on the national rather than local levels. Businesses, organized labor, farmers, and interest groups turned to the national government to resolve their disputes. The executive branch saw an expansion of its role and influence as it increased its regulatory power over the many aspects of American life. A widespread reform movement called "progressivism" introduced many reforms that were intended to address the changes in society resulting from the modern industrial economy and society. This increased government's responsiveness but also dramatically increased the size and powers of the federal government. The national government therefore began to supplant the local and state governments in the minds of many Americans and in the American constitutional system.

The late nineteenth century also ushered in great changes in how the United States interacted with the rest of the world. For the first century of its existence, the United States traded with other countries, acquired territory for continental expansion, and fought in a few major wars. However, the United States was generally neutral in world affairs and focused on its domestic situation. That changed as America entered the world stage as a major global

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power. This expansion in world affairs led to an internal debate over international powers and responsibilities. Americans also struggled over the character of its foreign affairs. Debates raged over the growth of American military power and whether Americans had a duty to spread democracy around the world.

The changes in the late nineteenth century were bewildering to most Americans who experienced them. Many debates took place to make sense of the changes and to consider how to respond to them. Americans rarely found easy answers and often conflicted with one another on the different solutions. The vast changes that occurred laid the foundation of modern America. The questions and challenges that they faced are still relevant and are debated by Americans today in the twenty-first century. Americans continue to discuss the power and regulation of banks and large corporations. Workers grapple with the globalization of the economy, stagnant wages, and changing technology. Farmers still struggle to make an income amid distant markets determining commodity prices while keeping up with changing consumer tastes about organic and locally-sourced food. Headlines are filled with news of African Americans suffering racism and police brutality. Issues related to the equality of women continue to be debated even as women run for president. Smartphones, social media, the internet, and other technologies change our lives, the culture, and the world economy every day. After more than a century since the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, the fundamental challenges of the era still face us today.

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