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Immigrant Jacksonville: A Profile of Immigrant Groups in Jacksonville, Florida, 1890-1920

Kathleen Ann Francis Cohen

University of North Florida

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IMMIGRANT JACKSONVILLE:
A PROFILE OF IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA,
1890 - 1920

By

KATHLEEN ANN FRANCIS COHEN

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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1986
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From 1890 to 1920, a small foreign immigrant community, diverse in its cultures and religions, put down roots in Jacksonville, Florida, and thrived. This paper concentrates on southern Italians, Russian and Romanian Jews, Syrian Christians, Greeks, and Chinese who left their countrymen in northern urban centers and settled in this city. It investigates the immigrants' old-world origins, their occupational skills, their settlement patterns, and their motivations for immigrating.

The total number of foreign-born white immigrants in Jacksonville was less than 4,000 for the period covered. The manuscript census schedules completed by the Census of Population for 1900 and 1910 provided the names of individuals, occupations, countries of birth, immigration dates, and places of residence. Names obtained from the manuscript...
schedules were traced through the city directories between 1890 and 1920 to track the first appearance in the city, job changes, marital status, and residence. Oral interviews with the immigrants' children or other relatives supplemented and expanded the data from the census and city directories.

The immigrant groups in this study constituted 36 percent of the foreign-born white population in Jacksonville by 1920. These immigrants avoided the laboring occupations of their northern compatriots, and opened small businesses, dominating trade in some instances. They arrived in Jacksonville with a basic knowledge of the rules of the American economy. They had worked in factories, learned trades, and saved their money in northern cities. They possessed the basic qualifications to participate in American capitalism.

Jacksonville's immigrants played an active role in the economic development of the city. They sold groceries, shoes, and clothing; they operated barber shops, tailor shops, laundries, and restaurants. They built an environment which supported their families, attracted kinsmen and fellow countrymen, and kept their ethnicity alive.

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INTRODUCTION

The United States is a nation of immigrants. Elementary school students not only read about the melting pot which changed the multitude of immigrants into Americans, but conversely they also celebrate the ethnic variety of everyday life through class pageants. The study of individual immigrant groups in United States cities began in the nineteenth century and has continued until the present day, although the focus of these studies has changed. Early studies ridiculed the foreignness of immigrants, explained or extolled a particular immigrant culture, and condemned or praised the effect of new arrivals on the United States. Since World War II, ethnic studies have investigated the processes of assimilation and acculturation and sought an understanding of the problems of contemporary newcomers in the experiences of previous immigrants. They have rediscovered aspects of a lost past and have revived an appreciation of our national cultural heritage. The purpose of this study is to investigate the immigrant composition of Jacksonville, Florida between 1890 and 1920 as a means of exploring the social, cultural, and human elements which came together to shape this urban center.

Studies of immigrant groups have largely concentrated on northern and midwestern cities, bypassing the South, where
relatively few immigrants moved during this period. More
generalized studies examining the impact of foreign immigra-
tion have similarly overlooked the South. For most Florida
cities, histories of any kind have still to be written, and
as a consequence, their immigrant pasts are largely unknown.
Even in Jacksonville, which has had the benefit of some
historical writing, there has been no investigation of its
immigrant population.

From 1890 to 1920, a small foreign immigrant community,
diverse in its cultures and religions, put down roots in the
city and thrived. This paper investigates the immigrants' old-world origins, their occupational skills, their settle-
ment patterns, and their motivations for immigrating. It concentrates on those immigrants from southern and eastern
Europe and the Levant, who were normally classified as the "new immigrants."

The standard sources on the early history of the city, T. Frederick Davis's History of Jacksonville (1924), and
Pleasant Daniel Gold's History of Duval County (1928), are chronologies of important events but do not analyze social
movements. S. Paul Brown's The Book of Jacksonville (1895), although written as an advertisement to attract new
residents and businesses to the city, has valuable information about urban development after the Civil War. Emily
data. The two most recent histories of post-Civil War Jacksonville are by newspapermen: Richard Martin's *The City Makers* (1972) and James Robertson Ward's *Old Hickory's Town* (1982). While both are detailed histories about the economic and political development of the area, neither mentions the presence of foreign immigrants. Dr. James Crooks's article "The Changing Face of Jacksonville, Florida: 1900-1910" in *The Florida Historical Quarterly* (1984) describes the occupational, social, and cultural opportunities available to whites and blacks in the first decade of this century, but does not examine specific immigrant groups. "The Near East Settlers of Jacksonville and Duval County" (1954) is a reminiscence by resident Joseph K. David of his Syrian countrymen's experiences, and as such is unique in an immigrant group's interior history. Barbara Richardson's Ph.D. dissertation, *A History of Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida, 1860-1895* (1975), is a study of a minority group which has also been largely undocumented. The local newspaper, *The Florida Times Union*, has published anecdotal articles occasionally about immigrant residents.

This study examines the period 1890 to 1920 since it coincides with years of heaviest immigration from southern and eastern Europe to the United States. Because the total number of foreign-born immigrants in Jacksonville was less than 4,000 for the period covered, the research data was very manageable. The most important source of information
Jacksonville's immigrant history has both paralleled and diverged from the experiences of other cities in the South and Florida. Like the South in general, immigrants did not choose Jacksonville in large numbers, even though it was a thriving seaport and railroad hub. Nor did a single industry lure thousands of foreigners, as did the cigar industry in Tampa. On the other hand, the commercial atmosphere of the city did attract a small number of Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and Jews who were able to find employment and raise families. These immigrants, so very different from native southerners in language, culture, and religion, were able to submerge themselves so quickly into the American milieu that the city has no distinctive ethnic flavors as do other cities like Tampa or New Orleans. There are no sections of the city known as Ybor City, "Little Italy," or "Little Beirut." But some of the groups, especially the Greek,
Syrian, and Jewish families, have been able to live at two levels. Publicly they present a thoroughly Americanized and assimilated life, while privately they have been able to maintain and enjoy their ethnic heritage.
CHAPTER I
IMMIGRATION IN THE NATION AND THE SOUTH, 1890 - 1920

Twenty million immigrants arrived in the United States between 1890 and 1920, traveling to every nook and cranny in the country; they created vast changes in the political, cultural, social, and economic composition of America. The experiences of the Irish in Boston, the Jews in New York, and the Chinese in San Francisco are well-known, but much smaller cities also had their share of immigrant groups during this time period. These cities experienced significant change as well. Because of historical circumstances, most cities in the South felt little of this immigrant impact, but certain urban areas did respond to the forces affecting the rest of the nation. Some southern cities had their own ethnic communities, no matter how unobtrusive. Jacksonville, Florida was one of these.

Although most of the foreign-born white residents in Jacksonville in 1890 were of northern European origin, between 1890 and 1920 the metropolis attracted a small, heterogeneous immigrant community from other regions (see Table I). This movement to Jacksonville took place in the midst of massive immigration to the United States. Southern, central, and eastern Europe provided over 70
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Note: Country of origin figures for the city of Jacksonville for 1890 are not available; country of origin figures for Duval County for 1900 are not available.
percent of these newcomers. In this group were Jews from a variety of locations, Czechs, Poles, Slovaks, southern Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, and Syrians. They provided the unskilled, manual labor for industrializing America. They paved the roads, laid the sewer lines, mined the coal, fueled the furnaces of steel mills, loaded and unloaded cargoes, built railroads and city buildings, sewed shoes and clothes, and opened small businesses. Only a relatively few farmed. All of them faced great hardships, economic deprivation, and discrimination. Most of them settled in the cities of the North and Midwest, attracted to these urban centers by jobs and other immigrant settlements. American industry employed as much immigrant labor as was available. World War I finally slowed, then halted, the arrival of such great masses of people. New United States immigration quota laws after 1920, and then world-wide depression in the late 1920's and 1930's extended the hiatus.

The South, especially, did not participate in the immigrant infusion at the end of the century. Although some foreigners had found their way south before the Civil War, they were not there in very great numbers. Of the four


2Carpenter, p.9.
million foreign-born in the United States in 1860, only half-a-million resided in the South. Between 80 and 90 percent of the foreigners in the lower South lived in larger river and coastal communities like New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Natchez, Pensacola, and Jacksonville. Since few of these foreign-born were interested in agriculture, they became shopkeepers, tradesmen, artisans and skilled laborers. Historians Ira Berlin and Herbert Gutman argue that "the peculiar pattern of European migration and settlement in the slave states gave immigrants importance far beyond their numbers and projected foreign-born workers into a place in the Southern working class that rivaled the role played by immigrants in the North." Foreign-born workers in the South "dominated the free male working population and formed a large proportion of the entire male working population, free and slave," influencing social, racial, and class relations throughout southern society. Although most of these immigrants were northern Europeans, there were some from southern and eastern Europe. Many Italians were active in the fruit and produce trade in

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New Orleans before the Civil War. Greek merchants ran import/export businesses in the port cities of Savannah, Galveston, and New Orleans, where Greek businessmen and sailors established the first Greek Orthodox Church in America in 1864. Jews first came to the South before the American Revolution. Sephardic Jews often settled in port cities such as Charleston, which by 1800 had more Jews than any other city in America. By the mid-nineteenth century German Jews penetrated the interior South, residing in cities like Birmingham and Memphis. They established themselves as storekeepers, merchants, and clothiers.

During the great industrial expansion of post-Civil War America, the South remained largely agricultural. Only Baltimore, Louisville, and New Orleans had populations over 100,000 in 1890. By 1900, Memphis reached 102,320 persons, Atlanta 89,872, and Richmond 85,050. The next ten largest Southern cities had populations between 56,000 and 38,000. Most of the cities in the South did not offer enough job


opportunities to attract great numbers of immigrants. Direct transportation from northern ports of entry to southern cities was complicated and expensive for those speaking little English and possessing little money. The new immigrants usually settled in the northern cities where they arrived or migrated quickly to another urban area where work awaited them. Jewish immigrants were heavily committed to city life because of their European backgrounds which featured an urban existence. Even those immigrants with strong ties to the land, such as Slovaks, Poles, and southern Italians, preferred industrial areas for the economic opportunities which they offered and because many of their fellow countrymen and relatives were there to provide protection and support. There were few ethnic enclaves in the South to lure landsmanner and contadini from Chicago, Buffalo, or Milwaukee.

The advertising campaigns conducted by southern states to attract European immigrants emphasized agricultural opportunities, rather than urban jobs. Immigrants, who lacked capital to invest in a farm, were unwilling to become involved in the southern agricultural practices of sharecropping and tenant farming. By 1900 it was evident that

8Carpenter, p.34.
the campaigns had failed to bring large numbers of immigrants to the southern states.¹⁰

This failure to attract immigrants was not due to any lack of effort on the part of the southern states. Southern business leaders recognized the importance of economic development in their competition with the North. They suspected that the native southern population, both black and white, would not be able to supply a sufficient source of manpower for the industrialization of the New South. Population in the South was sparse already, and whites and blacks were leaving the region for opportunities in the North and West. Southern legislators and business leaders regarded the attraction of immigrants as a vital issue in the re-development of the South.¹¹

By the turn of the century, every southern state had a Bureau of Immigration, which printed and distributed promotional literature throughout the North and West and in Europe. The South Carolina Bureau of Immigration succeeded in settling families from Scandinavia, Germany, Canada, and


Scotland. Land development companies induced people from the Midwest and overseas to buy land in the South and establish colonies. A Danish land agency sold Florida land to Danes from the Chicago area in 1893. Other colonies from the Midwest and foreign countries settled throughout the South. Even groups of Japanese established agricultural communities in Texas and Florida.

Railroad companies vigorously promoted immigration to the South. Major railroads ran special "homeseeker" trains at half rates from the Midwest to southern towns. The Jacksonville Florida Times-Union regularly reported trains passing through the city carrying these immigrants to homesteads further south. The Illinois Central Railroad cooperated with plantation owners in the Louisiana Delta to bring Italian laborers for the cotton and sugar cane fields. The Florida East Coast Railroad "was the single most aggressive and energetic promoter of foreign colonization" within Florida. In addition to selling land


to colonists, the FECR provided special transportation rates, rebates on shipping, and rental on motorized farm equipment. The company brought such nationalities as Danes, Swedes, and Japanese to Florida.  

Before 1900, promoters in the South welcomed immigrants from all nations. Because of the success of Italian agricultural communities throughout the South, Italian immigrants were especially desirable. Cotton planters in the Deep South used Chinese and Italian field hands to replace black labor, while in Florida, agriculturists sought Chinese for their "special talents for working on the soil." Southerners thought that Orientals would be more docile and servile than either blacks or Europeans, and so even more suitable as a labor replacement for former slaves. However, most foreigners proved less content than blacks to remain plantation workers. The scattered foreign colonies in the South struggled for years against the hostility of

15 Pozzetta, "Foreign Colonies in South Florida," p.49.
18 Robert Ward, p.614; Berthoff, p.331.
neighbors. Italians experienced mob terrorism, lynchings, and beatings in southern cities.  

By 1905, white southerners repudiated the immigrant promotion campaigns of the large landowners and businessmen. Southern nativists believed that immigration to their region would endanger the purity of the white race and threaten the pattern of white supremacy. A 1905 survey of officials and business leaders in all the southern states revealed that they desired native-born Americans or northern Europeans who were skilled workmen. They opposed the immigration of Asians, illiterates, and those who wished to settle in cities, as well as southern and eastern European immigrants. Before 1900 these officials zealously supported the importation of Chinese, Italians and other nationalities as farmers or farm laborers at a time when those immigrants sought industrial jobs in large cities. Later, southern promoters rejected the same immigrant labor which it had once recruited. The unrealistic and contradictory attitudes of southern leaders inhibited and discouraged foreign immigration to their region.

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The most effective deterrent to large-scale, foreign immigration to the South was the presence of blacks, both as a labor source and as a psychological barrier. Although white southerners believed that blacks would not and could not supply the labor needed for agriculture and industry in the post-Reconstruction South, there were in fact enough blacks living in the South to provide sufficient semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Their availability kept wages low enough to be unattractive to immigrants. Many of the jobs which immigrants took in the North were considered unsuitable for a white man in the South. Hard manual labor, such as road construction, stevedoring, and domestic work, performed by immigrants in the Northern cities, was the province of blacks in the South. Immigrants believed that the southerner's prejudicial treatment of blacks, together with the perceived narrow mindedness and the propensity to violence of southern white men, would extend to them. There were enough incidents of intolerance to lend substance to these fears. In short, despite the efforts of the southern states to replace blacks with a new labor source, the constant presence of blacks as an available work force kept wages low and reminded foreigners of

22 Carpenter, pp.19,35.

the uncertainty of acceptance. These conditions worked against a large immigrant population, even in southern cities which could offer job opportunities.

The immigrant's situation in the South reflected the different economic and social structure of that region from the rest of the United States. The pre-Civil War plantation economy discouraged the settlement of the old immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia who wanted their own farms. The anti-slavery and labor agitation fomented by foreign workers in southern cities engendered a suspicion of immigrants. After the Civil War these two factors combined with other problems to prevent foreign immigration to the South. Although southern businessmen sought immigrant labor, they were unwilling to change the master-slave mentality of slavery days to handle a new source of labor. Southern business promoters tried to create a demand for outside labor when no need existed either in agriculture or industry. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the attitudes of southerners toward foreign immigration coincided with those of many others in the country. The popular theories of eugenics and social Darwinism gave a scientific basis to southern concerns about preserving the supremacy of the white race. Those immigrants who did travel South faced different problems from those of their counterparts in the North. Consequently, they had to solve them in different ways.
CHAPTER II
OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMMIGRANTS IN JACKSONVILLE

The New South did not provide alternative homes for the new immigrants. By 1920, only 2 percent of the population of the South was foreign-born, compared with the national average of 13 percent. The situation in Jacksonville was similar to the rest of the South, except that by 1920 the percentage of foreign-born was about 4 percent of the city's population.¹ Jacksonville's immigrants adapted their employment opportunities to the economic and demographic situation of this southern city. They overcame the drawbacks of prejudice, the presence of an existing unskilled labor pool, and the absence of resident countrymen to reach their goals.

At first glance, Jacksonville's prospects for attracting immigrants were no better than the region's. A majority black population supplied the unskilled labor needs of the city's businesses. An effective system of segregation prohibited social and economic mobility out of the second class status held by blacks. Within the white community, a small, select group dominated civic and political life, so that advancement within the existing

power structure would not be easy for a foreigner. The city's total population was small, and it was not a port of entry for ships delivering immigrants. It had no large manufacturing industries demanding hundreds of workers, nor did it have existing ethnic communities big enough to offer support for fellow countrymen.

On the other hand, a number of factors brought Jacksonville to the attention of immigrants. Since the 1850's it had been a resort for invalids and vacationers from the northern United States and Europe. Local business leaders had distributed promotional literature advertising the city throughout the country and abroad, so that the city was well known to travelers. Good railroad and steamship line connections to the city made it possible for impecunious immigrants to reach it without too much difficulty. During the 1880's a building boom began, including new home construction and public works projects. In short, the city was neither remote nor unknown, it offered the opportunity for employment in the service sector if not in industry, and there was the added possibility that the demand for unskilled labor might exceed the supply of available blacks. A closer look at the area's history and business reveals additional economic prospects for certain types of immigrants.

Jacksonville is a river port city on the northeast Atlantic coast of Florida. The area's first settlement was a doomed French Huguenot colony on the St. Johns River at Fort Caroline, which was destroyed by Spanish raiders from St. Augustine in 1565. The city itself, laid out in 1822 and named for Florida's first territorial governor, General Andrew Jackson, became a center for maritime activity because of its protected deep water port near the ocean. Cotton and timber were the main shipments to the North. By 1850, tourists began to visit the city to take advantage of the mild climate for recreational and health purposes. The tourist industry burgeoned in the 1880's when the city developed into a thriving resort, offering many fine hotels, restaurants, social events, parks, river excursions, and other amusements for vacationers. Jacksonville businessmen, through the Board of Trade and other organizations, actively encouraged the development of business, capitalizing on the city's advantageous location for railroad and steamship lines.  

As many as 100,000 tourists resided in Jacksonville between January and April each year during the decades of the 1880's and 1890's. These vacationers, arriving by train and steamship from New York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah, stayed in the city's two dozen hotels.

3Pleasant Daniel Gold, History of Duval County (St. Augustine, Fla.: The Record Co., 1929), p.25; Martin, pp.6-7.
numerous boarding houses, and private homes. Beginning in 1879, city government initiated many civic improvements, including installation of a water works and an electric power plant, and the pavement of streets, which were lit by gas and electricity. All street car lines used electricity, and there were two telegraph companies and a local telephone system.4

Historian Richard Martin estimated that the city's population increased from 7,650 in 1880 to 17,313 in 1884, to 21,859 in 1886, and to approximately 25,000 in 1887.5 This rapid increase in population was almost certainly due to the employment demands created by the tourist business. Hotels needed waiters, porters, maids, cooks, bootblacks, and entertainers. Other major employers were 7 millworks and 18 lumberyards, 20 cigar factories, 3 shipyards, 6 printing plants, 10 wholesale grain and feed jobbers, and 10 wholesalers for groceries and provisions. Over 40 firms were produce brokers for northern markets, and there were hundreds of retail stores.6

Ocean steamers brought many tourists to the city. The Mallory Steamship Line made semi-weekly trips between New York and Fernandina, where passengers disembarked and took a


5Martin, p.217.

one-hour train ride to Jacksonville. The Clyde Steamship Company ran three trips a week on its New York to Jacksonville route, which began in 1886. By 1885, the De Bary-Baya Line operated over a dozen steamers from Jacksonville north to Savannah and to all points south on the St. Johns River, and the Plant Investment Company established a line of four river steamers. River excursions were a major form of recreation for winter visitors, supplementing such pleasures as "walking, driving, boating, fishing, croquet, parlour games," dancing, and gambling.

Despite the destruction of the citrus industry by freezes in northeast Florida at the end of the 1890's, other industries boomed, especially railroads. Jacksonville became the "chief railway centre of Florida" during this decade. Seven railroads had their termini at Union Station, with direct connections to lines to all parts of Florida and the United States. Thirty-four passenger trains arrived daily during the summer, increasing to over 100 trains during the winter season. In addition, thirteen ocean shipping lines had offices in Jacksonville, transporting

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7Gold, p.187; Brown, pp.97,99.
8Gold, p.186; Martin, p.214.
10Brown, pp.80,83.
lumber, phosphate, produce, tobacco, and cotton to other ports in the United States and to foreign countries.\textsuperscript{11} The bulk of marketable products from Florida passed through the city's wholesale houses because of the ideal transportation facilities. The Florida Fruit Exchange, established in 1885, acted as a middleman between the state's fruit and vegetable growers and northern markets. The Florida Fruit Auction Company ran a daily central auction market for the sale of fruits and vegetables, telegraphing price quotations all over the country.\textsuperscript{12} An active produce trade provided many of the city's immigrants with economic opportunities.

In addition to the manufacture of lumber and cigars, ship building was another important industry. The Merrill-Stevens Engineering Company was the largest boat builder and boiler maker between Richmond and New Orleans, launching 14 vessels between 1892 and 1895. During World War I, Jacksonville ship building firms enlarged their work force to complete federal contracts for the construction of twenty-five ships.\textsuperscript{13}

The motion picture industry chose Jacksonville as its winter capital in the first decade of the twentieth century. Thirty studios operated between 1908 and 1916, employing a
thousand actors, as well as other persons in related occupations. Filmmakers opened studios throughout the city and across the river in South Jacksonville. By 1920, though, California had won the battle of the studios, and Jacksonville's part in motion picture history faded into obscurity.14

Jacksonville did not go through this period of economic growth without attending serious costs. Two catastrophes struck the citizens of Jacksonville in less than twenty years. The year 1888 opened with a celebration and closed with a funeral. In January the first Sub-Tropical Exposition convened with much fanfare. President Grover Cleveland and his wife attended it in February.15 The promoters of the exposition hoped to offset the lure of California as a winter resort by displaying the products and attractions of Florida and the Caribbean. The Exposition building, illuminated by electricity, housed a restaurant, art gallery, and a Seminole Indian village. Miglionico's Neapolitan Orchestra serenaded visitors daily.16 However, the Yellow Fever epidemic from August to November of that same year seriously affected the city's growth and dimmed the entrepreneurial enthusiasm engendered by the Exposition.

14 James Ward, pp.192-95; Gold, p.208.


Almost 5,000 persons contracted the disease, and 427 died, including some of Jacksonville's most prominent business leaders; many others left the city permanently for healthier locations. The personal and economic consequences of this epidemic were devastating. Publicist S. Paul Brown wrote: "every interest sustained a shock and check that it required years to overcome."\(^{17}\)

The second blow was a disastrous fire on May 3, 1901. In an eight hour period the fire storm incinerated more than 466 acres, over 140 blocks of the downtown area, including 2,368 buildings, and leaving almost 10,000 people homeless. With the exception of the Federal Building, every public building burned to the ground, resulting in the destruction of almost all municipal records.\(^{18}\) H.L. Mencken, reporting for the *Baltimore Morning Herald*, wrote:

> in the ruins of Jacksonville there is no trace of black, for the fire burned everything that was burnable, and when it was gone . . . there remain but white ashes and swirling dust.\(^{19}\)

The largest metropolitan fire in the South killed 7 persons and left a property damage bill of $15 million dollars.\(^{20}\)

Historian James Crooks's description of the city's immediate efforts to rebuild, and the subsequent prosperity

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\(^{17}\)Martin, p.251; James Ward, p.167; Brown, p.67.  
\(^{18}\)Gold, p.197; James Ward, p.183.  
\(^{19}\)as quoted in James Ward, p.184.  
\(^{20}\)James Ward, p.183; Gold, p.197.
and expansion during the entire decade, provides an impression of a boom town. Jobs were available for construction of homes, public buildings and businesses, and port and railroad expansion offered even more opportunities for city residents.\textsuperscript{21} Journalist James Ward quoted fellow newspaperman Mencken's colorful description:

\begin{quote}
the fire has been the luckiest act of God in all its history. . . During the next decade the population. . . more than doubled, and today it is a metropolis comparable to Ninevah and Gomorrah in their prime, with the hottest night-clubs between Norfolk and Miami.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

The city which the fire destroyed encompassed less than one square mile upon incorporation in 1832. The first settlers built east and west along the north bank of the St. Johns River, until a charter revision extended the city limits slightly north in 1835. Those boundaries remained almost intact until 1887, when annexation of the heavily populated suburbs which surrounded the city on the east, north, and west brought the city area to ten square miles and doubled the population. Another annexation in 1919 on the west and north added about six square miles more.\textsuperscript{23} The original central city contained the business and hotel district. Most of the sawmills were on the river on the


\textsuperscript{22}as quoted in James Ward, p.186.

\textsuperscript{23}James Ward, p.133; Brown, p.14; Martin, p.188.
east side of the city, while the railroad termini separated the Brooklyn suburb from LaVilla on the southwest. Wharves and docks ran all along the river.\textsuperscript{24}

Racial housing patterns changed with the social and political climate. During the 1850's, blacks resided with or near their masters throughout the city. Immediately after the Civil War, they dwelt near their places of work, more for convenience than from legal restrictions. By 1870, the majority of blacks lived in the central business and hotel district, or to the east, in Scottsville, near the sawmills. Those who did not reside downtown or in east Jacksonville, lived to the west, in LaVilla. Most whites lived west of Julia Street and in Brooklyn and LaVilla. As the black population increased, it spread out from the old central city, migrating to LaVilla, to Oakland on the northeast, and to Hansontown on the northwest. By 1887, these districts were predominantly black.\textsuperscript{25} Whites moved further out to the white-only suburbs of Springfield on the north, or to Riverside, southwest of Brooklyn. The annexation of these localities in 1887 increased the population of the city to 21,589, providing a larger tax base for needed urban services (see Table II).\textsuperscript{26}


\textsuperscript{25}Richardson, pp.54-57; Crooks, p.440.

\textsuperscript{26}Martin, p.183.
TABLE II. POPULATION OF JACKSONVILLE AND SUBURBS, 1887

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacksonville city</td>
<td>11,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaVilla</td>
<td>3,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairfield</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Jacksonville</td>
<td>1,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansonton</td>
<td>1,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>1,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverside</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland &amp; Campbellton</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After the turn of the century, suburban growth continued beyond the boundaries of 1887, due to the impetus of economic development and the opportunity for modernization after the Fire of 1901. White working class suburbs sprang up near the railroad yards on the west, and near the sawmills and docks on the eastside. Warehouses, machine shops, and piers of railroad and shipping companies occupied the entire downtown waterfront. 27

The residents of Jacksonville reacted resiliently to the natural and man-made disasters which beset the city. Despite epidemics, fires, and threats to economic expansion, the population continued to grow and to adapt to changing economic conditions. When one industry failed, such as the citrus industry in the 1890's, or the tourist industry which moved south at the turn of the century, another field opened up, such as the railroad expansion or the motion picture

27Crooks, pp.443-45.
industry. Steady growth in population since 1850 made Jacksonville the largest city in the state by 1920.

TABLE III. POPULATION OF FLORIDA CITIES--1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacksonville</td>
<td>91,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tampa</td>
<td>51,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensacola</td>
<td>31,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>29,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key West</td>
<td>18,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Petersburg</td>
<td>14,237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Railroads, lumbermills, shipping, building construction, and retail business offered economic opportunities for both native-born and immigrants.

Like many other southern cities, Jacksonville's immigrant population was small--in 1920 there were 3,894 foreign-born white residents. Yet the city had some advantages over other urban areas in the South. It was well known because of its resort status in the late nineteenth century. Transportation connections, both rail and sea, were good, again due to the tourist trade and to the city's position as a railroad and shipping center for the State. It offered diversified employment for both the skilled and unskilled laborer. Efforts to modernize and to rebuild also provided public works employment. The metropolis had an accessible location and moderate climate. However, the

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majority black population remained a deterrent to heavy immigrant settlement. Those immigrants who did choose Jacksonville had to be able to select alternative occupations which did not compete with black unskilled labor, and to be able to establish a foothold in the white community. The foreign-born white immigrant faced the paradox of a society ideally open to all willing to work for success, but in reality closed to those of the wrong race.
CHAPTER III
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN JACKSONVILLE

Jacksonville had the largest urban black population of any city in the state, with the smallest foreign-born white population. Historian Caroline Golab asserted that there was an inverse relationship between the size of any city's black population and its immigrant population, so that cities with sufficient black workers had little need for unskilled immigrant laborers.¹ Jacksonville followed this pattern. Although the proportion of blacks to whites decreased in Jacksonville after 1900, the actual number of blacks continued to increase, supplying enough labor to satisfy the needs of a growing city (see Table IV).

Census information detailing occupations by race for a city the size of Jacksonville between 1890 and 1920 is not available. Historians investigating this topic have resorted to counting reports of occupations from city directories. Emily Atkins estimated that 66.3 percent of the employed black working force in 1870 was unskilled.² Barbara Richardson placed the figure at 85 percent for the same year, with most blacks working at the sawmills or as

¹Golab, p.18.
porters. Skilled blacks worked as carpenters, masons, and shoemakers. For 1894, Richardson calculated that 67 percent of blacks remained as unskilled laborers on the docks, in the lumberyards, or as porters and seamstresses. In addition to those with skilled trades such as carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, and shoemaking, blacks had entered business and the professions by 1894, with 5 percent in white collar or professional positions, and 3 percent as proprietors. James Crooks also used city directories to investigate black occupational patterns between 1900 and

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3 Richardson, p.68,87.

4 Richardson, p.88.
1910. He noted that despite the preponderance of blacks in unskilled positions throughout the decade, there was a growing black middle class, which served the black community as doctors, lawyers, teachers, salespersons, clergymen, and entrepreneurs. However, the majority of blacks lacked the financial resources and business experience to compete successfully with whites, who controlled the commerce and industry of the area.

Although blacks lacked the power supplied by money and social position, they participated effectively in politics in Jacksonville throughout the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras. They held numerous posts in city government, even in the Redeemer period. Historian Edward Akin contended "Bourbon Jacksonville was a biracial political community" where black Republicans continued to be elected to state and local offices. In 1887, a coalition of reform Democrats, Republicans, and blacks elected mayor John Q. Burbridge, who supported a city charter revision. The new charter provided for the formation of city wards and the extension of the city limits. The annexation of the black-dominated communities in May, 1887, doubled the city's population, and made blacks the majority of eligible

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6 Edward N. Akin, "When a Minority Becomes the Majority: Blacks in Jacksonville Politics, 1887-1907," Florida Historical Quarterly 53(2):127-28 (1974); Martin, p.188.
In the December, 1887, municipal elections, blacks aligned themselves with white politicians and gained a number of municipal offices through both election and appointment. Five of thirteen Republican councilmen were black, there was a black municipal judge, a black on the three-man Police Commission, and eleven of twenty-five policemen were blacks. In April, 1889, white citizens, fearful of black control of city government, succeeded in limiting black participation in elections by restructuring the governance of the city. In the new arrangement the Governor-selected City Council made all appointments to city offices, eliminating the possibility of a mayoral candidate exploiting the votes of the black population with promises of political patronage. The newly enacted poll tax and multiple ballot box system effectively diminished the voting strength of blacks, although blacks from the sixth ward won City Council seats until 1907.

In April of that year, the Florida legislature passed a bill which changed the boundaries of the predominately black sixth ward to include a majority of white electors, thus excluding any black representation on the City Council. "Subsequently, city officials began removing blacks from all supervisory

8Richardson, p.206.
9Richardson, pp.207-12,218.
positions in government. Except for menial jobs, city employment became all-white."10

Legal segregation, which accompanied political exclusion, was so complete that blacks had to develop their own separate institutional structure. Blacks had their own churches, schools, funeral parlors, restaurants, nightclubs, stores, fraternal and benevolent societies, beaches, amusement parks, and a hospital.11 Blacks sat in separate seating on steamships, railroads, trolley cars, and theaters. They could not use the same hotels, restaurants, or barber shops that served whites. There was a separate library within the main library for blacks, accessible by a separate staircase to avoid contact with whites.12

Blacks resented their exclusion from politics in a place which had been "known far and wide as a good town for Negroes."13 They fought legal segregation and discrimination by filing court suits and staging protests and boycotts. Jacksonville blacks participated in two boycotts of trolley cars in 1901 to protest the passage of a local ordinance providing for racial separation on the cars. They staged another boycott in 1905 when the Florida legislature passed streetcar segregation laws. Local blacks also

10Florida Times-Union, April 13, 1907, p.5; Crooks, p.461.
11Crooks, passim.
12Richardson, pp.iv,223; Crooks, p.458.
13Crooks, p.462, quoting James Weldon Johnson.
petitioned the courts to restore their voting rights and to end discriminatory selection of juries.\textsuperscript{14} Despite their efforts, blacks failed to modify the Jim Crow system imposed by the southern white power structure.

Within the white community, economic and political influence were not equally shared. A small but powerful elite dominated the decision-making bodies of the city, including the Mayor's Office, the City Council, the Board of Trade, the Board of Bond Trustees, and the Woman's Club. Many of the city's political and social leaders were in the Social Register, which represented less than 5 percent of the population.\textsuperscript{15} These prominent citizens, tied by marital, religious, social, and economic bonds, guided the development of the city throughout this period.

Local boosters believed in the open-mindedness of Jacksonville's citizens. As early as 1876 the Florida Union described the population of Jacksonville as "so thoroughly cosmopolitan that all shades of political opinions are represented here."\textsuperscript{16} In that same year the Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Sun assured its readers:

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\textsuperscript{15}Crooks, p.440.
\end{flushright}

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\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{16}Martin, p.105.
\end{flushright}
the Blue and Gray are side by side in business, in society, in the church, in politics. ... socially there is no ostracism on account of birth, politics, or religion. The old resident and newcomer, the Protestant, Jew, and Catholic, the Republican and Democrat live and work together in harmony. 17

The introduction to the 1886 city directory stated:

society is cosmopolitan here to a marked degree. . . [it is] from all quarters of this and foreign countries. Perhaps there is no Southern city, with the single exception of New Orleans, that presents this feature in a greater degree than Jacksonville. 18

Many civic, social, and business leaders were northerners or foreigners, such as Mrs. John T. Alsop, Dr. Abel Baldwin, Horatio Bisbee, Jacob Cohen, and Morris Dzialynski. 19 An indication of the acceptance of Jewish residents was the election of several Jewish citizens to important political and civic positions, most notably Morris A. Dzialynski, who twice served as mayor between 1881 and 1883. 20

The Dzialynski family, from Posen, Prussia, moved to Jacksonville about 1853. Morris fought in the Confederate Army and was severely wounded in battle at Perrysville, Tennessee. In addition to his mayoral position, he held a number of other offices, including alderman, president of

17 Martin, p.114.
the City Council, city assessor, treasurer, and municipal judge. Dzialynski did not try to disguise his Jewishness. Local resident Lee Bigelow described him as a "jolly Jew," with a heavy accent. He was one of the founders of the city's first synagogue, Ahavath Chesed, in 1882. 21 Other Jewish citizens active in political affairs in the late nineteenth century were city treasurer Jacob Huff, Charles Benedict as chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, M.H. Pollack on the School Board, Philip Walter as city tax collector, chief supervisor of elections, and clerk of the U.S. Court of Florida. Department store owner Leopold Furchgott served on the influential Board of Trade. 22

When the fledgling synagogue Ahavath Chesed began a fund drive to construct a temple in 1882, the Florida Times-Union appealed to the community:

> the Israelites of this city are noted for their marked liberality toward all good and praiseworthy objects. . . [they] are very ready to give their aid and assistance. . . without the expectation of any reward. . . Every businessman on Bay Street


22 Proctor, p.103.
can and ought to help the cause. . . Who will start the ball rolling?23

Several days later the paper published a list of initial contributors, including the names of several prominent non-Jewish residents. It was action such as this that made Jacksonville's Jews believe they were well integrated into the business and cultural life of the community.24

Although local newspapers touted the city's cosmopolitan nature, the diversity of the population caused substantial racial and political unrest in the 1890's. Southern-born whites resented the dominant presence of northerners, Republicans and blacks in civic and political offices, resulting in bitter political feuds and scandal-ridden elections. Richard Martin attributed the unrest in the last decade of the nineteenth century to a "chronic distrust of government [and] violent sectional prejudices."25 However, open conflict between native-born and immigrant was not apparent before 1900. Foreign-born whites in Jacksonville were almost all from northern or western Europe, notably England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany, or from Canada (see Table I). Even the Jews fit into Jacksonville society because they had the one essential

23Florida Times-Union, January 26, 1882.


25Martin, p.252.
element for acceptability—they were white. The major political, social, and economic division was between white and black, not between native-born and foreign-born. "An overriding preoccupation with the suppression of the Negro [in which] all white men were partners and equals" overshadowed anti-Semitism or xenophobia.26 This was true in Jacksonville, where it was possible for a Jewish citizen to be elected to public office by gentile electors.

Between 1890 and 1900, the new immigrants from Russia, Romania, Poland, Greece, Syria, and Italy began to arrive in the city. Their presence challenged the purported open-mindedness of the citizenry. They were different from the local whites, not only in their languages and cultures, but also in their religions, which might have been a common bond with older residents. German Reform Jews were now faced with Orthodox Jews from Russia and Romania. Roman Catholics met Syrian-rite Catholics and Greek Orthodox from Syria and Greece. Isolated from the white community by their foreignness, the new immigrants established their own distinctive family support networks, religious and social institutions, and economic niches.

Incidents of prejudice toward white ethnic minorities in Jacksonville were not violent between 1890 and 1920. Immigrants avoided antagonizing the sensibilities of the white residents. An ethnic minority fashions its attitudes towards other minorities to fit those of the dominant majority, or reference group. Immigrants avoided antagonizing the sensibilities of the white residents. An ethnic minority fashions its attitudes towards other minorities to fit those of the dominant majority, or reference group. White southerners were a powerful reference group for the ethnic minorities in Jacksonville. These minorities adopted the attitudes of southern whites towards blacks. Immigrant businessmen might sell to blacks or live in black neighborhoods out of necessity, but they maintained the racial prejudices of the white community. Immigrants in Jacksonville did not socialize with blacks, did not intermarry with them, did not champion black political causes, nor take the same jobs that blacks did. Were immigrants from southern Italy, Russia, Romania, Greece, or Syria, who were themselves recipients of prejudiced actions in their homelands and in the United States, any more enlightened about race relations than their American neighbors? Probably not. But in the South and in Jacksonville, these immigrants realized that they were one step up the social, political, and economic ladder because of their skin color, whereas in the North they were on the


28 "Turn to the South," p.120; Ibid., p.90; Afif I. Tannous, "Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South," American Sociological Review 8(3):269 (1943); Killian, p.78.
bottom. Adoption of southern racial attitudes hastened acceptance. The minority "had better adapt the customs, prejudices, and way of life of [whites] as soon as possible. . . [and] must loathe everything native whites loathed."29 A Memphis lawyer, whose family came south in the nineteenth century, explained the position of a Jewish resident:

[he] had to adjust himself quickly to Southern attitudes. . . he had to be very careful and make sure that he accepted the mores of that community. . . the Southern Jew, very quickly, within one generation, perhaps within a decade or two, began to feel like he belonged.30

Syrian immigrants also adopted the prevailing attitude toward blacks. Although they might treat black servants politely and warmly in their homes, publicly and socially the Syrians kept blacks in their place. Syrians called blacks by the Arabic word "Abeed," which means slave.31

Those immigrants who did not embrace southern mores suffered reprisals. They were beaten, lynched, or driven out of town. If they conformed, they could achieve success in a southern community. There is no evidence to suggest that the Italian, Greek, Syrian, or Jewish immigrants in Jacksonville deviated from this norm in any way. They chose occupations which did not compete with blacks nor downgrade the status of the immigrants as whites. Publicly, they

29Cunningham, p.36.
30Saltzman, p.35.
31Tannous, p.269.
exhibited the same attitudes towards blacks which the local whites held. This conformity prevented the most overt prejudicial actions on the part of the native white majority toward them. During the thirty years covered by this study, the immigrant groups established themselves in the city by being as "southern" in their values and attitudes as it was possible for them to be.
CHAPTER IV
SYRIANS

All histories of Jacksonville neglect the immigrants' presence. In 1896, author/reporter Stephen Crane spent some time in Jacksonville waiting for a boat to Cuba. William Randel's short article about Crane's experiences related stories about Cuban Junta members intriguing with local citizens, police raids on gambling dens, and book dedications to brothel madams. But Randel failed to completely identify the owner of the fruit stand which provided an unscheduled fireworks display on Christmas Eve, 1896. Fireworks, lit to celebrate the holiday, fell and ignited Tony Brown's fruit stand, giving the residents at the Carlton Hotel across the street an additional diversion. Tony Brown, an early Greek immigrant to Jacksonville, worked in one of the occupations which subsequent Greek, Syrian, Italian, and Jewish immigrants also chose. By overlooking the Greek background of Mr. Tony Brown, Randel omitted an interesting sidelight in Jacksonville's history--the growing presence of southern and eastern Europeans in the port city.¹

There were so few southern and eastern European immigrants in Jacksonville and Duval County in 1890 that the census identified only 46 Italians, and grouped the Greeks, Syrians, Romanians, and Russians into an "other" category.² Between 1900 and 1920, as these groups made a larger impact on the national immigration reporting, their numbers eventually appeared on the local Census records. The handwritten manuscript schedules, which give country of origin, mother tongue, age, date of immigration, parents' birthplaces, spouse and children's names and ages, occupation, and residence, as well as other information, provide a better picture of the actual ethnic population than the summary schedules. For example, the Census listed no immigrants from Turkey in Asia or Syria for 1900 in Jacksonville; they were grouped into the general category of "other." However, not only does a search of the manuscript schedules reveal more specific countries of origin than the aggregate statistics, but also provides intimacy. The 1900 Census supplied this information about J. Brown Finitee (sic): he was born in 1860 in Syria and immigrated to the United States in 1889. His wife Mary was born in 1862 in Syria. They both could speak English. They had three sons and a daughter; two of the sons were born in Syria, one in New York, and the daughter in Florida. They ran a dry goods

business out of their rented residence at 818 Main Street. (The 1900 city directory spelled his name J. Abraham Fernety). In the 1910 Census, this immigrant appeared as Jibran Firnaty (city directory listing of J. Bran Fernety). The oldest son Joseph still lived in his parents' home with his Syrian-born wife and two young sons, one of whom was born in Syria. The two other sons and daughter also lived in the same household at 1457 W. Adams. Mr. Fernety listed his occupation as general merchant.

The 1910 manuscript schedule gave a glimpse of a family which the Census statistics counted as Russian. Louis Bandrimer, 48 years old in 1910, immigrated from Russian Poland in 1890. His second wife, also from Poland, immigrated in 1895. His 18 year old daughter, born in Poland, was employed as a stenographer. His three other daughters and two sons, ranging in age from 12 to 5, were all born in the United States. He supported his large family as a shoemaker, and rented his home at 706 Main Street.

The extrapolation of this data from the 1900 and 1910 manuscript schedules enlightens and enlivens the investigation of the beginnings of southern and eastern European settlement in Jacksonville. By 1920, Greeks, Italians, Romanian and Russian Jews, and Syrians constituted the largest groups of non-northern European immigrants in the city.
SYRIANS

The first immigrants from the Syria/Lebanon/Palestine area arrived in Duval County between 1890 and 1900. They were the forerunners of a movement which would bring approximately 100,000 Syrians to the United States by 1925.\(^3\) Persons from the present-day countries of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, and the former Palestine composed the original Arabic community in Jacksonville. The U.S. Census classifications grouped them, as well as Egyptians, Armenians, and Turks under the category "Turkey in Asia." Almost all the people of Arabic descent living in the United States today are the descendants of immigrants from what is now Lebanon. Ninety percent of these immigrants were Christians, either of the Catholic Maronite or Melkite rite or the Eastern Orthodox rite, from rural towns and villages in the Mt. Lebanon region between Beirut and Tripoli in the Syrian province of the Ottoman Empire.\(^4\) This study utilizes the terms Syrians, Arab-Americans, and Middle Easterners to designate Christian immigrants from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq, who immigrated to the United States between 1890 and 1925.


States before the Second World War. In Jacksonville, Syrians composed 7.8 percent of the foreign-born white population by 1920.\textsuperscript{5}

Reasons for leaving the Ottoman Empire were connected to the Empire's governmental organization. Its diverse populations identified not with a single country or nation, but with their own local affiliations, tied by a common religion or sect. Although the official religion of the Ottoman Empire (and its successor Turkey) was Moslem, the Ottoman rulers generally tolerated the religions of the inhabitants, with some persecutions of Christians over the centuries. However, despite official toleration, non-Moslems had inferior positions within the Empire. The Christian Syrians were "isolated, almost beleagured groups, surrounded, outnumbered, and harried by hostile neighbors."\textsuperscript{6} Their loyalties were to their families and villages, inseparably bound with their religion. The immigrants from the Middle East had no identity based on national or geographic boundaries, but thought of themselves "as members of religious nations rather than of political units."\textsuperscript{7} Arab devotion to the extended family and its religion

\textsuperscript{5}U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census of the United States. State Compendium, Florida, p.27.


\textsuperscript{7}Aswad, p.111.
strengthened cultural values, encouraged clannish tendencies, and discouraged nationalistic feeling to a homeland. These characteristics resulted in an economically competitive spirit, which showed itself in "hard work, thrift, perseverance, shrewdness and conservatism."\(^8\)

Persecution was not a major push factor in Syrian immigration, although it is true that after 1908, many young men left to escape mandatory military service in the Turkish army. While political disturbances in the Empire contributed to unsettled conditions, Syria itself was tranquil between 1861 and 1914. The economic situation in the Middle East in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries played the most important role in Syrian immigration. By 1900, foreign competition in the silk, tobacco, and citrus industries caused an economic decline. Landless sons of farmers and farm laborers, as well as some artisans and skilled workmen, left their rural villages and sought better opportunities in the Western Hemisphere.\(^9\) They came to the United States with the intention of returning home after two or three years. They maintained strong family and emotional ties with their villages and many returned periodically to


visit or to find spouses.\textsuperscript{10} The Syrian remigration rate was 23.1 percent.\textsuperscript{11}

Young, adventurous bachelors arrived in the United States first, followed by married men and families. In their homeland these men were usually farmers, but some were small tradesmen, artisans, and skilled laborers from rural towns and villages. The Syrians were poor but not destitute; in fact, family resources financed the first sojourner. After this adventurer succeeded, he typically brought over the rest of his family. As a result of this chain migration, especially from villages on Mt. Lebanon, certain kin groups and villages have a high percentage of immigrants clustered in specific regions in the United States.\textsuperscript{12}

The first Syrian colony was in New York City, but the Arabs quickly scattered throughout the country. After the immigrants learned enough English to survive alone, they avoided living in a compact geographic cluster, or a single neighborhood, and dispersed into a city or region. Syrians usually moved in family units, following or drawing after them relatives, friends, and fellow townsmen. Thus the


\textsuperscript{12}Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p.130; Aswad, p.3.
Syrians maintained their extended families and their religion, both necessary to continue their Arab cultural identity.\textsuperscript{13}

Although their background was agrarian, the majority of the Syrians settled in urban areas and went into trade and commerce. Arab villages were densely populated, with an active social life, which may help to explain why most Syrian immigrants did not become farmers in the United States. American farms were too isolated, too distant from family and church to provide the social stimulation necessary to Arab family life. As many as ninety percent took up peddling, preferring its independent lifestyle to the confinement of the factory or the isolation of the farm. Some Syrians went into the factories, especially the automobile plants in Detroit and the textile and silk weaving mills in the Northeast.\textsuperscript{14}

In addition to independence, peddling required only small amounts of capital, not much English, and gave a quick monetary return. One immigrant said

I carried a heavy pack on my back and roamed the countryside. I did not know more than ten words of English, but managed to get along. It was hard and tiring work, but I made much money.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13}Katibah, p.133; Kayal, p.84; Younis, p.225.


\textsuperscript{15}Tannous, p.270.
Syrian peddlers traveled all over the country, from coast to coast, selling rosaries, jewelry, lace goods, relics from the Holy Land, and Oriental rugs and carpets. Syrian families maintained ties with the old country by traveling back and forth to visit, to marry, or to find new sources of supply for items which they sold. After peddling families earned enough capital, they usually started their own small businesses, typically grocery or dry goods stores. Peddling hastened the Americanization process by bringing immigrants into contact with Americans and it prevented them from settling into confined Syrian ghettos in the cities. Peddling forced them to learn English and to abandon some of the old culture.¹⁶

Few Syrian immigrants settled in the South, where the economy between 1890 and 1920 offered few enticements to any immigrants. Since most Arab immigrants took up back peddling as an occupation upon arrival in the United States, those first Syrians who came to Jacksonville probably arrived as peddlers, attracted by the climate and business opportunities, between 1890 and 1900.¹⁷ Most set up their own stores as soon as they saved enough money. It is generally acknowledged that Farris Mansour was the first

¹⁶Katibah, p.7; Tannous, p.266.
¹⁷Naff, p.90.
Syrian to settle here, about 1890. He appeared in the city directory in 1895 under the misspelled name of F. Manson, operating a fruit stand at 329 W. Bay Street. Additional Syrian names show up in the city directory beginning in 1892. Characteristically, these Arabs sent for fellow townsmen and kinsmen in Syria, extolling the Florida climate and the opportunity for employment which the burgeoning railroad industry offered in Jacksonville. By 1895, there were at least five Syrian families here, the Mallems, Fernetys, Mansours, Aboods, and Stephens. The arrival of the Shashy brothers was typical. The first Shashy brother arrived in the city in 1904, drawn here by his three uncles, whose surname was David, who themselves were following their relative Farris Mansour. The Davids were also fruit merchants. The first Shashy succeeded as a merchant, and sent for his brothers.

Three brothers and a sister of the Toney family came to Jacksonville around 1900 via New York and Worcester, Massachusetts, where they worked in the clothing mills. They heard from relatives and fellow villagers that the climate in Jacksonville was "hot like at home," and that they should


19David, p.2; Shashy interview.

20Shashy interview.
come here. The Toney brothers, Tom, George, and Mike, worked in a factory (unidentified) on alternate shifts so that they could share one bed and save money. George Toney saved enough money to set himself up as a fruit and vegetable peddler, and then started his own grocery.21

The 1900 manuscript schedules recorded 21 persons born in Turkey in Asia, with 1889 being the earliest immigration date to the United States. There were four complete families, including wives, children, and a grandmother. The other households were men alone or with a brother or partner, usually a relative.

By 1910, 201 persons from Syria lived in Jacksonville, 64 of whom were heads of households. There were 49 families, including wives, children, in-laws, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces, and nephews. With two exceptions, all the wives were born in Syria, and immigrated after their husbands. Of those two, one was born in Florida of Syrian parents, and the other was born in Florida of native-born parents. Syrian men sent to Syria for brides, or traveled to other Syrian colonies in the United States to find them. George Toney heard from friends about a wonderful Arab girl in Massachusetts, and he brought her to Jacksonville as a bride.22

21Interview with Charles Toney, Jacksonville, Florida, January 14, 1986.
22Toney interview.
Most of the families were inter-related, either by blood or by residence in the same village. They came from Nebik, Homs, Itoneet, Jazzine, Zedan, Damascus, Beirut, and the district of Akkar. New arrivals in town lived with kinsmen or fellow villagers until they could set up a house or business on their own. A check of the city directory for 1920 finds kinship groups living near each other, although the Arabs did not live together exclusively, but spread around the city. The family was the Syrian's life, and all the relatives were devoted to each other. "A Syrian or a Lebanese family is so closely knitted together that it is almost impossible to create an atmosphere of strict business among its members. . . They considered all they possess as common among them."25

Joseph K. David immigrated to Jacksonville in 1899, following relatives who had settled in the city five years previously, who themselves were following another member of the family who had preceded them by a few years. According to Mr. David, Syrians left the Middle East to seek political, religious, and economic freedom—"no man who loved freedom both political and religious, desired to live

23David, pp.3-4; Shashy interview.


25Toney interview; David, p.7.
there." Mr. David wrote, "They only had their strong bodies and clear minds and their determination to do good in their land of adoption." They contributed their manhood, being strong young men, whose bodies, minds, and souls were "sound." They worked hard, not expecting anyone to support them. They were honest, patriotic, religious, and committed to family life.  

The early immigrants lived behind or over their stores. As they prospered after World War I, they moved further away from the inner city, to Springfield, Riverside, and across the river to South Jacksonville. They spoke their native language only among themselves, and spoke English outside; adult Syrians sometimes hired someone to come in and teach them English.  

In Jacksonville, in 1900, nine of the eleven Syrian heads of households were fruit dealers, one was a grocery merchant, and one owned a dry goods store. Occupations listed in the 1910 Census included grocery businesses, 34; fruit businesses, 25; dry goods, 16; general merchandise, 6; peddler, 3; candy makers, 2; waiter, 1; railroad baggage handler, 1. Despite the importance of the railroad and lumber industries, only one Syrian was employed in either of

26 Charles Toney also emphasized persecution as a major reason for immigration.

27 David, pp.5-6; Father Shashy stressed the same virtues.

28 Toney interview; Shashy interview.
these fields. No Syrians listed any kind of construction, industrial, stevedore, domestic work, or personal service as an occupation. Arab names traced from the 1900 census through the city directory for 1920 reported the following occupations:

TABLE V. SYRIAN OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grocery business (owner or clerk)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit store (owner or clerk)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry goods store (owner or clerk)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat store</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variety store</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigar store</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiter</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpenter, laborer, tailor</td>
<td>2 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confectioner, restaurant owner,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barber, railroad baggage handler,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shipbuilder, oriental salesman</td>
<td>1 each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some operated more than one business at different locations at the same time. Clerks worked in the stores of their fathers or other Syrians.

The Syrians owned their own businesses, selling produce, dry goods, and groceries. Adult members of the family worked with relatives until they could start their own establishments. In 1910, seventeen-year old Abdo David worked as a clerk in the grocery store of his cousin, Assad Sabbaq. In the 1921 City Directory, Abdo and his brother Neif were partners in the wholesale dry goods firm of David Brothers. Joseph K. David, age 27 in 1910, worked as a clerk for that same cousin, Assad Sabbaq, in the New York Grocery Co. By 1921, he was a partner with Assad in the grocery store Sabbaq & David, and in 1925 he founded Duval
Ice & Coal Co. Najeeb Farris and his wife Eva owned a dry goods store in 1910. In 1921 he was president of Farris & Co., a wholesale meat firm. Michael Safay and Joseph Khouri, both dry goods merchants in 1910, formed a partnership and by 1921 operated Safay and Khouri Co., wholesale grocers.29

These examples typified the early successes of the Syrian immigrants. Syrian parents expected their children to study hard and to succeed in a profession. Two of the original immigrant children became attorneys and were practising law by 1920. Syrians were especially proud of their accomplishments because of the prejudice they encountered when they settled in Jacksonville. In the census schedules and the city directories several of the Syrian-born immigrants were listed as Negroes. Certain residential sections of the city had covenants excluding the Syrians.30 Local whites shunned the Arabs because they thought that they were blacks. Although not mentioned by any of the interviewees, anti-Catholicism was probably another factor in the prejudice encountered locally by the Syrians. Jacksonville was a center of anti-Catholic


30Shashy interview; Toney interview.
agitation between 1910 and 1917. Because most of the Syrian immigrants were Catholics, they were especially visible as targets of both racial and religious prejudice. Like Syrian immigrants in other parts of the United States, the local Syrians organized support groups to provide emergency assistance and social activities for their fellow countrymen. The Syrian American Club, established in 1912, and the Syrian Ladies Charity Society aided the indigent and homeless. No Syrian families were on relief; the Syrian community supported them until they could establish themselves. The Homs Women's Charity Club was a social and benevolent organization for immigrants from the town of Homs. Not only did these groups support those Syrians living in Jacksonville, but they also sent money and clothing to their families back in the old country.

The church also provided support. Syrian Catholics attended Immaculate Conception Church downtown until Holy Rosary Church opened in Springfield in 1920. Holy Rosary conducted a Syrian-rite Mass for its Middle-Eastern parishioners. Syrian Protestants attended a variety of churches in the area. Although the Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant Syrians had a common geographic background, they

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32David, p.8; Tannous, p.269; Toney interview.
had their most important relationships with those from their hometowns and parishes.\textsuperscript{33}

The migration process characterizing Syrians in Jacksonville resembled that of Syrians in the United States. A male member of the group discovered the area, probably by peddling, but perhaps drawn by the boom times in Florida and the development of the railroad. His "successes" brought other members of his family and village to the city. Word spread that they could find a livelihood here, and more arrived. Immigrant Mary Beshara Lewis, who arrived in this country in 1914, said

\begin{quote}
Jacksonville has been regarded for generations as a particularly attractive place for Middle Eastern residents to achieve the economic success they seek in the United States.\textsuperscript{34}
\end{quote}

Young men arrived first, joined later by their relatives. Families aided each other and provided for newcomers by offering shelter and occupations. In the words of the sister-in-law of Father Andrew Shashy, those were the "good days" when every one was "just like one family."\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{33}Shashy interview.

\textsuperscript{34}Florida Times-Union, June 7, 1984, p.E1:1.

\textsuperscript{35}Shashy interview.
CHAPTER V
RUSSIAN AND ROMANIAN JEWS

Russian and Romanian Jews immigrated to escape religious persecution as well as economic deprivation. Between 1882 and 1924, 2.5 million Jews entered the United States. Most of them were from eastern Europe, joining a massive westward flow of peasants from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Balkans, who were escaping depressed agricultural conditions, overpopulation, and underdevelopment. The Jews were from the Polish provinces of Russia (known as the Pale), from Austrian Galicia, and from Romania. Oppressive political and religious conditions in Russia and Romania compelled the Jews to leave, while the Galician Jews left for economic reasons.¹

Jewish emigration from the Russian Pale before 1880 was neglible. However, government propaganda attributed the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 to the Jews, resulting in an official policy of pogroms and anti-Semitism. This policy deliberately attempted to isolate the Jewish population and, if possible, to end its existence. Constantine Pobedonostsev, chief advisor to the new Tsar, Alexander III, "expressed the opinion that all the Jewish

problem would be solved only when one-third had emigrated, another third had accepted conversion to Russian Orthodox Christianity, and the remainder had disappeared.  

Attacks on Jews included murder and the destruction of homes, property, and synagogues. Government proscriptions banned Jews from the universities and from many occupations, thwarting prospects for upward social mobility through a university education or through the professions. The government evicted thousands of Jews from their homes in Moscow, while at the same time prohibited the movement and resettlement of Jews seeking a livelihood within the Pale. In effect, the official government policy closed Jews off from the rest of Russian society and eliminated them from national life.  

Most Russian Jews already lived in poverty and deprivation. Barred from agricultural pursuits, Jews moved to urban ghettos in sanctioned areas and learned a trade. Jews worked in the clothing trades, as gold and silver smiths, metal workers, carpenters, cabinetmakers, printers, furriers, dealers in agricultural products, and peddlers. A natural increase in the Jewish population resulted in overcrowding of their traditional occupations, and made it  


\[3\text{Marrus, p.29.}\]  

\[4\text{Stephen Steinberg, The Ethnic Myth; Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America (New York: Atheneum, 1981), pp.95-97.}\]
impossible for many Jews to support themselves. A contemporary account described their condition:

The murderous competition for employment, the deadly rivalry for existence, the bad blood between opposing races, the poverty and wretchedness... The towns are crowded with artisans and traders, and as these are out of all proportion to the producers and consumers of an agricultural country, they necessarily become more destitute and wretched as their numbers increase... They can not seek work on land. They are not permitted to engage in several occupations.5

By 1900, 14 percent of Jews in the Pale and 20 percent in the Ukraine were on poor relief.6 Poverty and persecution convinced Russian Jews to take advantage of Minister of Interior Nicholas Ignatiev's announcement that the western borders of Russia were open for all Jews. Beginning in the 1880's, more than 20,000 Jews a year left the Russian Empire for America in order to escape the pogroms; after 1906, an average of 82,000 a year left for the United States.7

Romanian Jews faced a similar situation. There was extreme poverty and intense anti-Jewish activity in Romania. The Romanian government kept the Jews in the legal status of aliens, pursuing an official policy of anti-Semitism which condoned incidents of mob violence against Jews. Because of

6The Jewish Experience in America, vol.5, p.x; Marrus, p.20.
7Harcave, p.323; Marrus, p.28.
depressed economic conditions in Romania, Jews worked at the lowest levels of subsistence, fearing for their lives as well as their livelihoods. As bad as conditions were economically for all Romanians, Jews composed 89.8 percent of the total Romanian immigration between 1899 and 1910. Proportionately more Jews emigrated from Romania than from anywhere else in Eastern Europe. Between 1871 and 1914, 30 percent of Romanian Jewry came to the United States.8

Jewish immigrants came as permanent settlers; their remigration rate was only 4.3 percent, the lowest of all ethnic groups.9 Because they were from cities, there was a larger number of skilled laborers among them than among other immigrant groups, although there was also a high percentage of unskilled, a reflection of the great number of women and children. Between 1899-1910, 67.1 percent described themselves as skilled laborers, of which 46.6 percent were tailors and dressmakers; only .2 percent were farmers.10 Jacob Lestchinsky, reviewing a longer period of Jewish migration, from 1840-1956, observed that:

the East European Jewish immigration was made up of an enormous vocation-less lower middle-class mass, of approximately 25 percent handworkers, and


9Joseph, p.152; Archdeacon, p.139.

10Joseph, pp.140-41.
of altogether common people, porters, wagoners, peddlers, and the like.11

Almost 86 percent of Jewish immigrants settled in industrial and commercial centers in the North Atlantic states. They chose their destinations in the United States for practical reasons—the residence of friends or relatives, the port of arrival, the demand for their occupations, and the funds at their disposal.12 Few Jewish immigrants came directly South; they entered the United States through a northern port and saved enough money to travel later.

The Jews who had already settled in the United States did not welcome the east European Jews unreservedly. The earlier Jewish immigrants were typically merchants and artisans who were rapidly assimilating into American culture. The differences of language, customs, culture, and economic status of the east European, Yiddish-speaking, Orthodox Jews from the west European, German speaking, religiously Reform Jews were immense. "The German Jews saw their Russian brethren as indigent refugees burdened by their barbarian culture and appalling manners" while "Russian Jews accused the Germans of being economic exploiters, cultural apostates and religious renegades."13

11The Jewish Experience in America, vol.4, p.ix.
12Joseph, p.149.
13The Jewish Experience in America, vol.4, p.xxi.
German Jews blamed the anti-Semitism of the late 1900's in the United States on the influx of "foreign" Jews, whose actions damaged their own participation in American life. Historian John Higham wrote that "by the end of the century Jewish penetration into the most elite circles in the East had become almost impossibly difficult."\textsuperscript{14} Whether or not this discrimination was the result of east European Jewish immigration rather than from other causes of anti-Semitism, German Jews practiced their own forms of separation from the new arrivals. In many cities they formed different synagogues, lived in different neighborhoods, and avoided social contact with the newcomers.

By the late nineteenth century, east European Jews began to arrive in the South, usually as peddlers like the Syrians. They had little money and few possessions, but they hoped for greater opportunities than they had found in the overcrowded Northern cities. Once settled, they sent for other family members and formed extensive family networks in their new homes.\textsuperscript{15}

When the Russian and Romanian Jewish immigrants arrived in Jacksonville in the 1890's, they found an established Jewish community large enough to support a Reform synagogue. It was composed of German and other west European Jews who had settled in the city before the Civil War, such as the

\textsuperscript{14}The Jewish Experience in America, vol.5, p.361.

\textsuperscript{15}Elovitz, p.64; Saltzman, p.32.
Dzialynskis, or during the Reconstruction era, such as the Cohens and Furchgotts. These Jews were merchants and small businessmen in the dry goods or clothing trades. The citizens of the community regarded them highly enough to elect a Jewish mayor in the 1880's, and many others held public offices and were business and civic leaders.

The national pattern of family immigration held true for the Russian and Romanian Jewish settlers in Duval County. The 1900 census listed two Romanian families, and the city directory for that same year identified a single man. This was David Rippa, whose earliest appearance in the city was in 1892; he may be the first Romanian Jewish immigrant in the city. Of the 99 Romanians in the 1910 census, there were 36 families, consisting of parents, children, grandparents, in-laws, brothers and sisters. Three of the Jewish wives were non-Romanians. Only 13 individuals lived alone, without families.

The Romanians in 1900 owned a dry goods store, a grocery store, and a clothing store. By tracking the Romanian names in the 1910 Census and the 1920 city directory, the distribution of occupations was definitely in the area of small business (see Table VI). None of the Romanians were laborers or domestics. Some operated several different businesses at the same time. Salesmen or clerks worked for either relations or other Jewish businessmen.
TABLE VI. ROMANIAN JEWISH OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grocery and fruit stores</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry goods stores</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general merchant</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salesman or clerk</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing stores</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailor, shoemaker, shoestore,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bookkeeper, pharmacist, jeweller,</td>
<td>1 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the 34 Russians in the 1900 census, there were three families and six single men. By 1910, there were 52 families in the 182 total, and 15 single men living alone. Only two of the wives were American-born. Birthplaces of the children track the movements of the families within the United States. In one family, the oldest daughter was born in Russia, the next two in Tennessee, the next two children in New York, and the youngest in Florida. Another family had the oldest child in Florida, the next in Connecticut, and then returned to Florida for the births of the two youngest. A third family had the four oldest children in Russia, and the next five in Florida. These may have been families of peddlers who finally settled down in Jacksonville.

The earliest city directory listing for this group is 1892 for two Ossinsky brothers, who were joined by a third brother in 1893. The Ossinskys were from Vilna, in Lithuania. They immigrated to New York and worked as peddlers, eventually finding their way to Jacksonville. Alexander Ossinsky operated a men's clothing business on Bay Street. When he died in 1913, he had been successful enough
that his widow and daughters could live on the income generated by his investments.\(^{16}\) Paul and Carl Shevitz appear as a shoemaker and shoe salesman, respectively, in the city directories of 1896 and 1897. By 1900, there were Lippmanns, Singers, Finkelsteins, and Glicksteins here. They all owned dry goods stores or shoe businesses. The Russian immigrant names traced from the 1900 Census through the 1920 city directory were in these occupations:

TABLE VII. RUSSIAN JEWISH OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dry goods or clothing</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grocery or fruit stores</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe stores</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salesman or clerk</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawnbroker</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general merchant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous small businesses</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salesmen and clerks usually worked in the family business or for other Jewish merchants. None of these immigrants worked as laborers, on the railroads, or in domestic service. An example of the diversity of businesses which the eastern Europeans operated was Russian immigrant Gabriel Finkelstein, whose occupational listing in the 1910 census was general merchant. More revealing is his entry in the 1910 city directory as the proprietor of Standard Bottling Works, Vice-President of Duval Shoe Factory, Manager of the Southern Stock Yards, and proprietor of two tailor shops and a shoe store. Gabe Lippmann, who clerked

\(^{16}\) Interview with Ann Ossinsky Grunthal, Jacksonville, Florida, April 2, 1986.
for P. Ossinsky's dry goods store in 1899, founded the Independent Drug Company, the "leading drug store in Jacksonville," in 1920.17

The most distinguishing characteristic of these immigrants was, of course, their religion. Congregation Ahavath Chesed had its beginnings as an Orthodox synagogue, but by 1885 the congregation had begun to accept some Reform practices.18 The newly arriving Russian and Romanian Jews maintained strong religious ties to the Orthodox Judaism of their homelands. The nucleus of the new Orthodox community were the immigrants from Pushalot, in Russian Poland. They found no "real" synagogue in Jacksonville, so they conducted their own services above a store on Broad Street until they formed the Orthodox synagogue B'nai Israel in 1901.19 In 1908 the congregation laid the cornerstone for a building at Jefferson and Duval Streets.20 The division between the old and the new immigrants was not absolute, though. Some of the members of Ahavath Chesed joined the Orthodox synagogue, while some of the founding families of B'nai Israel


20Glickstein, p.30.
eventually became members of the Reform temple, perhaps finding it more modern or American.  

It is possible to plot the pattern of Jewish residence in the city by the location of the synagogues. Ahavath Chesed's first building was in the downtown area, at Laura and Union. Rudolph Grunthal received the first building permit issued after the Great Fire of 1901 to erect a temporary building to house the congregation until the completion of its new home in April, 1902. B'Nai Israel worshipped in the LaVilla section of the city, to the west of downtown. Because Orthodox Jews were forbidden to use transportation to travel to the synagogue on the Sabbath, it was imperative for them to live within walking distance of the temple. In the 1920's, both Ahavath Chesed and B'nai Israel moved from the central city, the former to Riverside. The latter split into Conservative and Orthodox congregations and moved to Springfield.

Jewish residents formed their own social and benevolent societies. B'nai Brith organized in 1877, along with the Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association. The Young Men's Hebrew Association had its own building on West Duval Street.  

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21Grunthal interview.
22Glickstein, p.29; Atkins, p.199.
23Glickstein, p.46.
24Glickstein, p.19,37.
had a League of Jewish Women and Boy Scout Troop 12. The Ladies Hebrew Relief Society of B'nai Israel conducted an annual Purim Ball.\textsuperscript{25} The Order of the Sons of Zion held picnics to benefit "Hebrew charities [and] the national fund for the Zionist movement."\textsuperscript{26} Numerous social activities revolved around both synagogues. The Florida Times-Union regularly reported the observance of Jewish holidays and the occurrence of Jewish social events.

Ahavath Chesed's 1982 centennial yearbook stated that relations with the non-Jewish community were harmonious during this time. Myra Grunthal Glickstein recalled that "Jewish families were as prominent socially in Jacksonville as the gentiles. . . I never felt excluded."\textsuperscript{27} Yet another Jewish resident remembered that Jews were not really part of gentile society, and that she felt definitely excluded because of her religion. While anti-Semitism might not have been as virulent as anti-Catholicism in Jacksonville, it did appear occasionally. In 1910, President Howard Taft spoke at the annual banquet of B'nai Brith in Washington. He said: "[the Jews] are essentially aristocratic. . . [they] make excellent citizens. . . They have the profoundest appreciation of our institutions of liberty and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25}Florida Times-Union, March 8, 1908.
\item \textsuperscript{26}Florida Times-Union, August 7, 1914.
\item \textsuperscript{27}Glickstein, p.39.
\end{itemize}
education." The Florida Times-Union ran a comment to the President's remarks on the editorial page:

The president says the Jews should have preeminent claims as autocrats of the world. . . . An autocrat is a ruler. . . . how many Jews have been great, or wise, or good rulers? They have their merits but the Jews do not shine as the makers or rulers of nations except where the dollar is king. . . . As a financier the Jew is unexcelled but he does not shine as builder, as inventor, as explorer, as civilizer, or as conqueror. 29

Rabbi Pizer Jacobs of Congregation Ahavath Chesed replied immediately to the editor who displayed such ignorance, and cowardly prejudice. In an age as ours it is most astounding that such words could have been penned in an editorial of a paper in a city as progressive as ours. An apology and a correction. . . . can partly efface the insult so unwarranted, and so unmerited against the Jewish race.

Appended to Rabbi Jacobs' letter was this apology:

The writer of the paragraph referred to. . . . regrets that it gave offense to any of the Jewish people in Jacksonville. No offense was meant. Many of the Jewish people of this city are his personal friends and he esteems them as among the best and most progressive citizens of Jacksonville.--The Editor. 30

The editor's reply was a reaffirmation of Atlanta Rabbi David Marx's comment that "in isolated instances there is no prejudice entertained for the individual Jew, but there

28 New York Times, April 7, 1910, p.8:3.
29 Florida Times-Union, April 13, 1910, p.4.
30 Florida Times-Union, April 14, 1910, p.2.
exists widespread and deep-seated prejudice against Jews as an entire people."31

Eastern European Jewish immigrants in Jacksonville pursued occupations in small businesses. They did not enter any of the more traditional labor areas of their northern counterparts, such as the garment trades. They operated their stores in the central business district, starting on Bay Street, and moved to other locations as their businesses expanded. Romanian and Russian immigrants (from Poland, Lithuania, and Russia) composed 18 percent of the foreign-born white population in the city by 1920.32

In spite of cultural differences, the small size of the Jewish community forced the old Jewish immigrants and the new Jewish immigrants to interact for their own survival and perpetuation. Individuals changed synagogues and families intermarried. Russian and Romanian Jews forged a strong community dedicated to hard work and religious continuity. Their experiences in Jacksonville mirrored those of Jewish immigrants in other parts of the southern United States. As businessmen and citizens, the Jewish population committed itself to its own and the city's prosperity:

The immigrant Jewish newcomer and the New South largely grew up together. The history of the people and of the region are inseparably linked. It would be impossible to consider Southern

31"Turn to the South," p.82.
economic and social history with any degree of thoroughness without also considering the history of the Southern Jewish people.33

CHAPTER VI
GREEKS

In the 1890's, depressed economic conditions in the Mediterranean area provided the impetus for the immigration of thousands of young Greek men seeking opportunities. Drought, failure of the raisin crop, and high taxes forced desperately poor farmers off the land. Villagers sold their lands or animals, used their savings, or took loans to obtain passage money. They intended to return to Greece in a few years with enough money to enjoy a comfortable life and to provide dowries for sisters or daughters. Many reached this goal, because the Greek remigration rate was 53.7 percent. Greeks already in America sent ticket money home to encourage other male relatives to follow them to the United States. Steamship agents and labor agents canvassed the rural districts, recruiting prospective passengers. So successful were these efforts that the departure of one in every four Greek males between the ages of 15 and 45 for


2Archdeacon, p.139.
America between 1900-1915 stripped whole villages of young men.3

The first immigrants came from Sparta, but after 1890 all parts of Greece sent young men, with the greatest outflow coming from the Peloponnesus. Greeks from Macedonia, Epirus, the Dodecanese Islands, and the lands of the old Ottoman Empire, known as enslaved Greece, left for political and economic reasons. Greeks in Turkey, fearing that the new Turkish republic would be less tolerant of minorities, and not wanting to fulfill their mandatory military service in the Turkish army, immigrated.4

Upon arrival in the United States, Greek immigrants dispersed throughout the country. They travelled by train to relatives or to jobs promised them by labor agents. They took three major routes: to the western states to work on the railroads and in the mines, to New England mill towns to work in textile and shoe factories, and to large northern cities, principally New York and Chicago, to work as busboys, dishwashers, bootblacks, and peddlers. The small number of Greeks who settled in the South established their own small businesses, such as restaurants, confectionaries, fruit stores, and shoe shine parlors.5

3Saloutos, p.33; Henry P. Fairchild, Greek Immigration to the United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), p.87; Moskos, pp.9-12.
4Saloutos, p.29; Moskos, p.10.
5Moskos, pp.7,25.
Florida had been a home for Greeks since the founding of a colony composed of Greeks, Minorcans, and Italians at New Smyrna in the late eighteenth century. The survivors of that colony resettled in nearby St. Augustine and intermarried with the general population, developing a unique blend of Italian/Minorcan/Greek cultures. The distinctive Greek names survive there until today, but the original Greek culture, with its Greek Orthodox religion, has long since disappeared.6

Because of this longstanding Greek presence in Florida, it was not unusual to find Greek names in Jacksonville city directories for the period preceding 1900. However, only those persons who could be specifically identified as natives of Greece are included in this discussion. Greek immigrants to Jacksonville predated the 1905 founding of the large Greek colony in Tarpon Springs by fifteen years. Many of these early Greek settlers arrived as sailors from the ships which docked at the port. About 50 percent were from the Greek mainland, especially the Peloponnesus, and the other half from Turkey.7

There were fourteen Greek residents in Jacksonville in the Census of 1900, including three families and seven


7Interview with Jerry Dragonas, Jacksonville, Florida, March 4, 1986.
single men. The earliest entry date to the United States of these fourteen is 1873. The 1910 Census counted 49 Greeks, who made up nine families and 36 single men. The predominance of single young men locally matches the national profile of an overwhelmingly male migration. Unlike the Syrian and Jewish extended families, the Greek families were much smaller, composed of husband and wife and children only. The Greek males were also more likely to marry native-born Americans than were the Syrians or Jews. Two of the three wives in the 1900 Census and six of the nine wives in the 1910 Census were not Greek. The lack of Greek-born females in the United States before 1910 forced Greek men to choose wives from other groups. 8

The Greeks listed in the 1900 Census were: fruit dealers, 3; butcher, 2; electrician, 1; merchant, 2; confectioner, 2; salesman, 1. Greek occupations traced from the 1900 Census through the 1920 city directory are listed in Table VIII. Greeks worked for relatives or other Greeks. Hotel proprietor Louis Pappas employed a Greek cook, dishwasher, waiters, and porters. Some Greeks also chose jobs as laborers or craftsmen. But the Greeks in Jacksonville favored occupations related to food, either as fruit and grocery store operators or as restaurant owners. The 1910 census listed ten Greek proprietors of cafes or

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restaurants:

Louis Pappas--917 W. Bay
Nick Orlanas--421 Main
Thomas Moussoulas--1009 W. Bay
James Manos--413 Main
Peter Manos--922 and 1/2 W. Bay
Emanuel Louros--505 E. Bay
Nick Gorgas--338 Bay
Peter George--120 Bridge St.
George Cotsonis--226 Bridge St.
Stelios Contodimas--22 Bridge St.

Some Greek-owned restaurants were the Home Restaurant, Metro Restaurant, Maine Quick Lunch, Stratford Restaurant, Waldorf Restaurant, and the Athens Restaurant.

TABLE VIII. GREEK OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fruit stores</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restaurants</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiters</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooks</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grocery stores</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candy seller, hotel proprietor,</td>
<td>2 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general merchant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butcher, confectioner, salesman,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpenter, railroad brakeman,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peddler, billiard parlor owner,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft drink vendor, window cleaner,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barber, hotel porter, dishwasher,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe shiner, machinist</td>
<td>1 each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A characteristic which the local Greeks shared with Greeks nationally was a passionate attachment to their native land. When war broke out in 1912 between Greece and Turkey, a local reporter estimated that "hundreds of Jacksonville Greeks" were ready to return home and take up arms against the Turks. As the result of a meeting at the Olympia Hotel on W. Bay Street, whose proprietor was Louis Pappas, thirty-five volunteers left for New York on October 18, 1912, the day after war was declared. Others promised
to follow. They joined 3,000 Greeks from all over the United States who left for Greece on October 26, 1912. They were the first wave of approximately 50,000 Greek-American volunteers who returned to assist Greece in the war with Turkey.

Greeks were as devoted to their church as to their native land. In fact, adherence to the Greek Orthodox faith is an identifying mark of the "true Greek," and as soon as a community was large enough in the United States it established a Greek Orthodox Church. Jacksonville Greeks formed a Greek Orthodox congregation in 1911, with the aid of Reverend Arsinious Davis, the archmandate of the Holy Greek Orthodox Church for the Savannah district. The church served a population of about 400 Greeks and Syrians in 1912. In 1919 the congregation bought property at Laura and Union Streets which had belonged successively to Ahavath Chesed Synagogue and to the Christian Scientists.

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10Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, pp.111,114.

11Alice Scourby, The Greek Americans (Boston: Twayne, 1984), p.65; Fairchild, p.120.

12Florida Times-Union, Oct.18, 1912, p.16; Florida Times-Union, Oct.11, 1912, p.11. Newspaper estimates of the Greek population in Jacksonville between 1910 and 1920 were much higher than the counts in the 1910 and 1920 Census. Either the reporters grossly overestimated, or the Greeks were especially mobile; I suspect the latter reason, given the high remigration rate.

city directory listed an Eastern Hellenic Orthodox Church at 721 Laura Street for the first time in 1921. In addition to the church, there was a Greek social club in the city directories. In 1915, A.K. Carazar operated the Greek and Syrian Club at 612 W. Forsyth. In 1920, D. Theodossius managed it at 618 W. Forsyth. The Acropolis Club (Greek and Syrian) operated at 612 and 1/2 W. Forsyth. The Florida Times-Union noted the celebration of Greek Independence Day by the local Greek community, under the auspices of the Greek American Club. John Douglas, "one of the best-known young Greek Americans of the city," was chairman of the event.14

Local Greek immigrants started their own small businesses as soon as possible. They owned or worked in restaurants, fruit stores, and grocery stores. Most did not work as laborers as did Greeks in other parts of the country. They came to this city as individuals rather than in large groups, and were not from one single locale in Greece. Through the institution of the church, the Greek language school, and social organizations they sustained their ethnic distinctiveness.

14Florida Times-Union, April 7, 1917, p.4.
CHAPTER VII
ITALIANS

Italy did not escape the depressed economic conditions which existed in eastern Europe and the Mediterranean region in the late nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1920 almost four million Italians migrated to the United States, mostly from southern Italy and the island of Sicily.1 The majority of these immigrants were males under the age of 45. They came alone, with a brother, or with other males of working age from their villages.2 From their meager existences as farmers or sharecroppers in southern Italy, they saved or borrowed passage money, worked their passage aboard ship, or were advanced the money for a ticket by a padrone. The padrone, or labor boss, obtained jobs for the Italians, took the men to their place of work, and paid their wages. Although the padrone system encouraged such abuses as cruelty, poor housing, and inadequate food, it was the only conduit into the American labor market for many Italians.3 The southern Italians worked as laborers in

3Moquin, p.99; Rolle, The American Italians, p.57; George Pozzetta, "A Padronc Looks at Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 54(1):75-77 (1975); Rudolph J. Vecoli,
mines, on railroads, and on canals. They dug sewer lines, cut timber, and harvested crops. They worked in steel plants and glass and shoe factories. Others were shopkeepers, restaurant owners, wholesalers, grocers, and farmers. Many learned trades, becoming masons, carpenters, mechanics, tailors, and barbers.⁴

Although the Italians were from rural areas in Italy, they grouped together in large cities in the United States. New arrivals needed the support of those familiar with English and with job opportunities. They also needed the comfort of hearing their native language, or of eating Italian cooking, or just the proximity of relatives and fellow villagers.⁵

Away from the big cities, the first Italian communities often began near the rail yards. Italian saloon keepers, grocers, and boarding house operators set up businesses to serve the large mobile Italian work force building the railroads. As farmers, Italians usually specialized in raising certain crops, such as grapes for wine, or fruits and vegetables.⁶

⁵Rolle, p.59; Vecoli, pp.407-409.
⁶Iorizzo, pp.52-53.
The American South did not provide enough suitable labor opportunities for Italians. Although Italians dominated the fruit trade in New Orleans, southerners did not want them for their business acumen. After the Civil War, southern business leaders recruited Italian labor to replace blacks in the sugar cane and cotton fields. The threat of disease, the lure of higher factory wages in the North, and the despised sharecropper system prevented large numbers of Italians from going to the South. The Italian government discouraged immigration to that region because of bad working conditions and bigotry, which frequently resulted in the lynchings of Italians.

Italians first arrived in Florida with the ill-fated New Smyrna colony in 1778. However, not until after the Civil War did Florida business leaders actively promote Italian immigration to the state. They believed that Italians had an aptitude for agriculture suited to Florida and that the Florida climate would attract Italian settlement. Floridians shared the opinion of other southerners that Italians would replace blacks in both the labor supply and in the social scale. The largest numbers of Florida

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7 Andrew F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised*, p.55; Cunningham, p.23; Moquin, p.123.


Italians labored as cigar workers in Tampa rather than as farmers.  

There were Italians living in Jacksonville before the Civil War. One family was unfortunate enough to have its home occupied by troops twice during the Civil War and to have all its belongings stolen.  

In 1890, there were 46 Italians residing in Duval County; by 1900 there were 59 within the city limits, of whom 27 had immigrated to the United States between 1890 and 1900. The 1905 Florida Department of Agriculture Census enumerated 49 Italians in Duval County. This population increased to 149 by 1910. Of these, 111 of the 133 living within the city limits immigrated after 1890. By 1920, 164 foreign-born Italians lived in Jacksonville proper out of 201 total for the county.

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11 Iorizzo, p.31.  

In the 1900 Census for Jacksonville, there were six Italian families with post-1890 immigration dates, and 8 single men. Of two non-Italian born wives, one was American-born. By 1910, there were 45 families, and 29 single men. Eight of thirteen non-Italian born wives were native-born Americans. Although Italian families sometimes included grandparents or other relatives, usually they were a husband and wife with their children.

Italians worked in a variety of occupations between 1900 and 1920. The Italian-born wage earners in the 1900 Census were: farmer/farm laborer, 4; tailor, 4; fruit dealer, 3; peanut peddler, 2; brick mason, merchant, dry goods dealer, shoemaker, and barber, 1 each. Occupations listed by names traced from 1900 through 1920 were:

TABLE IX. ITALIAN OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tailor</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit dealer/grocer</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musician</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barber</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoemaker</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmer/gardener</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street laborer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ice cream vendor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bartender/saloon keeper</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peanut peddler</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brick mason, merchant, dry goods dealer, sculptor, marble setter, decorative painter, lumber mill manager, contractor, carpenter, tile setter, insurance agent, hotel manager, clerk</td>
<td>1 each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Italians had more trade skills than the other immigrant groups in this study. John DiIorio (sic), who immigrated in 1898, was a brick mason. His two sons Peter...
and Raphael worked for John B. Ciancaglini as tailors in 1899. By 1920 they operated their own tailoring shop, Diorio (sic) Brothers. James Bianco, who immigrated in 1903, by 1910 owned J.A. Bianco & Bro, "Fashionable Tailors," with his brothers Joseph and Eugene. Carmini (Carl) Castellano, a fruit merchant in 1910, was president of Florida Macaroni Works in 1920. Angelo Cesery immigrated in 1889. By 1910 he was secretary and treasurer of the A.J. Cesery Co., concrete and tile contractors. Pantaleo Giupponi worked as a tailor in 1910, sold fruit in 1920, and by 1926 owned a well-known delicatessen and was secretary/treasurer of a real estate company. Joseph DiSalvo brought his large family to Jacksonville from New York. He and his brother Tony were barbers, and his sister was a dressmaker. Albert and B. Corrado managed Corrado's Italian Band, which played in the bandstand at Phoenix Park. The Corrados probably employed most of the Italian musicians listed in the 1910 Census. Brothers Nick and Scipio Chirico (sic) lived in Jacksonville as early as 1891; the local newspaper reported a story about "two inoffensive Italians" who were attacked on Bridge Street by two Cubans. The Chiricos escaped into the fruit store of P. Palorci. The 1910 census listed


16Florida Times-Union, March 16, 1891, p.4.

In the 1910 census the railroad was a major employer of Italians in Duval County. Six Italians were railroad laborers at Bayard, in the county's southern section near the St. Johns County Line. The railroad provided Frank Napoli with a job when he came to Jacksonville in 1905. He immigrated from Messina, Sicily at the age of 20. His family were sharecroppers, and there were times when his father would go to bed hungry so that the children could eat. Frank saved enough money to come to New York, where he knew someone. But the weather was too cold, so he traveled south to Jacksonville. He laid railroad crossties between Jacksonville and St. Augustine until he caught malaria. He sent to Italy for his twin brother and they bought a farm at Moncrief Road and Cleveland. When he heard that his mother was seriously ill, he returned to Italy, and married while he was there. He came back to Jacksonville and worked the farm with his brother, and they saved enough money to send for a third brother and his wife. Eventually Frank left the farm to his brother Steve and started a grocery store in the city at 526 Davis Street. He and his wife and seven children attended Immaculate Conception Church until they
CHAPTER VIII
CHINESE

In the mid-nineteenth century, political and economic problems beset China. Peasant riots and protests killed millions of people, while a huge indemnity payment to Great Britain for the Opium War unbalanced the economy. Poverty and fear forced Chinese peasants to look for opportunity in the United States. Between 1850 and 1882, over 300,000 Chinese entered the United States from the rural Kwangtung and Fukien provinces, which were poor and overpopulated. Most settled along the west coast of the United States, lured by the gold fields, railroads, farming, and factories.¹

Those Chinese who could not raise money for their passage to the United States either borrowed the money and worked off the debt, or contracted to work for a specified period. Usually a Chinese contractor supplied an American employer with laborers. The contractor provisioned the workers, provided their housing, and paid their salaries, much like the Italian padrone system.² Almost all the


moved to Riverside, where they attended St. Paul's Catholic Church.17

Prejudiced treatment affected the Italians. Local whites called them "Wops" and treated them poorly, "like the blacks."18 Italian immigrants also had to contend with anti-Catholicism which existed at that time in the city. Native backlash against Italian Socialist activity and strikes in the cigar industry in Tampa may have also affected relations with local Italians.19 The city directories for the time period do not list a formal social organization, but the Italian immigrants interacted with each other through the church and among families. The Italians engaged in occupations which were generally different from those of the Syrians, Greeks, and Jewish immigrants. Many Italians provided personal services such as tailoring and barbering, or they were artisans and laborers. Unlike the Greeks, Syrians, and Russian and Romanian Jews, their family and village networks were not as extensive. The Italians congregated in smaller family groups, rather than in additional associations based on village connections.

17Interview with Mrs. Tena Napoli DeSalvo, Jacksonville, Florida, April 20, 1986.

18DeSalvo interview.

Chinese were young males whose duty it was to make money to send home to their families, and to accumulate enough savings to start a business. They would return to China periodically to marry and father sons. Upon return to the United States, the cycle would resume. Wives remained in China with their husbands' families as hostages to continued payments and to their mates' eventual retirement in China. Sometimes the sojourn in the United States became permanent. A Chinese wife wrote to her husband: "You promised me to go abroad for only three years, but you have stayed nearly thirty years now!"³

Chinese arrived on the west coast of the United States in such large numbers that eventually white Americans reacted violently against them. Whites beat, lynched, and drove Chinese workers out of town. Western cities enacted anti-Chinese ordinances, such as forbidding the wearing of queues. Immigration averaged about 12,000 Chinese a year until 1882, when Congress passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act. It excluded all Chinese laborers for ten years, and Congress extended the Act each time it was due to expire.⁴ To escape the virulent prejudice in the West, Chinese moved steadily eastward, to the cities of the Midwest, Atlantic


Coast, and South. They engaged in occupations which did not compete with whites—domestic service, laundries, and restaurants.  

While citizens of the western states were lobbying against the entrance of more Chinese into the country, southern business leaders were advocating their importation to replace black labor. Florida newspapers and journals praised the agricultural abilities of the Chinese and urged their importation. Chinese immigrants arrived in the South either as contract laborers or as individual migrants. The contract laborers came directly from China or from the Philippines, Cuba, and the West Indies. Individual Chinese traveled from California and other states. There were Chinese iron workers in Kentucky and Chinese railroad workers on the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad. Southern plantation owners employed Chinese coolies in the sugar cane, cotton, and rice fields as replacements for blacks in Mississippi. Chinese built the Augusta, Georgia Canal in 1873.


8Cohen, Chinese in the Post-Civil War South, pp.17,95; Loewen, p.22; Eileen Law and Sally Ken, "A Study of the Chinese Community," Richmond County History 5(2):25
Despite southerners' hopes that the Chinese would be docile surrogates for black workers, the Chinese had no interest in remaining sharecroppers. They were also unwilling to submit to the system of contract labor used by plantation owners.\(^9\) Prejudice against the Chinese eventually manifested itself in the South, and southerners reconsidered their ideas about the benefits of Chinese labor.\(^10\) Some Chinese remained in the South, most notably in the Mississippi Delta, and selected occupations which would not conflict with those of blacks and whites. In Mississippi, the Chinese filled a strategic position between the white and black population by providing goods and services to blacks.\(^11\) Chinese ran grocery stores which served the poor blacks who worked on the plantations and in menial jobs in the towns. In Augusta, Georgia, the Chinese merchants owned grocery stores catering to the black

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\(^9\)Loewen, p.26; Cohen, Chinese in the Post-Civil War South, p.176.


population. In Savannah, however, most of the Chinese operated laundries.\textsuperscript{12}

Chinese settlers in the South had different social and cultural patterns from Chinese in the work camps and Chinatowns of the West and North. In the South, the Chinese dispersed throughout the cities in which they settled. The first generation converted to Christianity and joined a church.\textsuperscript{13} There were no clans, language associations, secret societies, temples, or Chinatowns among the Chinese in the South. Such organizations thrived among the northern and western Chinatowns, but did not prosper among the scattered Chinese in southern towns.\textsuperscript{14} A Chinese immigrant in Savannah remarked: "Too many hatchet men out west...too many tongs in New York. If we live apart [from each other], they [whites] will like us better and not be afraid."\textsuperscript{15}

Racially, the Chinese occupied a peculiar position in the South. Before 1870, there were census classifications for whites, blacks, and mulattoes, but not for orientals. Only California had a category for Asiatics. The 1860 Census in New Orleans classified all Chinese as white. The

\textsuperscript{12}Catherine Brown, p.34; Law, p.28; George Pruden, Jr., "History of the Chinese in Savannah, Georgia," West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences 22:16-17 (1983); Catherine Brown, p.38.

\textsuperscript{13}Law, p.29; Quan, p.32; Cohen, "Early Arrivals," p.30.

\textsuperscript{14}Quan, p.x; Wong, p.15.

\textsuperscript{15}Pruden, p.19.
1870 census added the categories Chinese and Indian.\textsuperscript{16} Whites in Mississippi originally recruited the Chinese to replace Black labor and assigned black status to them. Mississippians barred the Chinese from white schools and other organizations. Chinese in Georgia could marry whites, but could not attend white public schools.\textsuperscript{17} In the Mississippi Delta, Augusta, and Savannah where there were enough Chinese women for marriage partners, the Chinese were able to maintain their identity and to attain a racial status somewhere between white and black. Where there were few Chinese women, the males intermarried with other racial groups, dropping from public attention.\textsuperscript{18}

There were 18 Chinese in Florida in 1880, one of whom lived in Duval County.\textsuperscript{19} By 1886 there were 7 Chinese-owned laundries in Jacksonville.\textsuperscript{20} Jacksonville and Duval County contained the largest number of Chinese residents in the state through 1920 (see Table X).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16}Cohen, \textit{Chinese in the Post-Civil War South}, pp.19-20.
\item \textsuperscript{17}Loewen, p.2; Pruden, p.21; Beatty, p.41.
\item \textsuperscript{18}Cohen, "Early arrivals," p.30.
\end{itemize}
TABLE X. CHINESE IN FLORIDA, 1890 - 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>75</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dade</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escambia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensacola</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Tampa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


All the Chinese identified by the 1900 Census schedules were males. Many were married, but there was only one family residing in Jacksonville. The Florida-born wife was white, with one daughter. There was one farmer, two waiters at the California Restaurant, and the rest were laundrymen. In 1910, there were two families. One was a widower with three daughters who were born in North Carolina. In the other family, the wife was white, born in Florida, with two children, both born in Florida. This was a different family from the one in 1900. All the Chinese were males. Occupations for 1910 were: tea merchant, 1; gardener/farmer, 3; restaurant proprietor, 1. The remaining 60 were laundrymen. Although most of the Chinese remained laundry workers, by
1920 there were two Chinese restaurants and one Chinese grocery.

The Chinese faced the constant threat of deportation. In August, 1900, immigration authorities in Washington, D.C., ordered the local United States Marshall to investigate rumors that many Chinese were illegally entering Florida from Cuba and Puerto Rico. In one evening the U.S. Marshall arrested 32 Chinese laundrymen, and held them in jail until they could produce papers proving that they were residents of the United States before the enactment of the Exclusion Act in 1882. Laundryman Charlie Johnson interpreted for his countrymen. Eventually, all but four showed the necessary proof of residence. Those unfortunate four were deported, three to China by way of San Francisco, one to England.21

The Chinese population was male, and usually did not intermarry with the local population, if the city directories are to be relied on for that information. The Chinese concentrated in one particular occupation, laundries. Laundries needed a small capital investment, only a washboard, iron, and ironing board. Laundering required few skills and little understanding of English.22 Despite the large supply of black domestic workers in Jacksonville, the

21Florida Times-Union, November 12, 1900, p.5:4; Florida Times-Union, November 15, 1900, p.6:3.

22Law, p.28.
Chinese filled a need for more commercial laundries. Even with a declining Chinese population, fifteen of thirty laundries were Chinese-owned in 1926. Some businesses remained Chinese-owned laundries throughout this period. Duk Chung operated a laundry at 23 Cedar (Pearl) Street in 1886; it belonged to Harley Wing in 1920. Charlie Johnson, who immigrated from China in 1880, ran two laundries at 414 and 807 Main Street for many years.

Census takers recorded Chinese names phonetically, and city directory listings varied from year to year in spelling and surname placement. Some Chinese anglicized their names, such as Charlie Johnson. One of the easier Chinese to track was George Gong. He came from China in 1880. The 1900 census reported him living and working at 218 Hogan Street in the laundry of Yee Wah. On December 31, 1901, police arrested eleven Chinese for gambling at the home of George Gong at 118 Julia Street. According to the 1910 census, George Gong owned a tea and China goods shop at that address with his Florida-born wife and their two children, George and Mamie. The Gongs operated a restaurant there in 1920.

The Chinese did not live in a Chinatown, but lived in or over their stores throughout the city. Chinese laundry workers boarded with the laundry owner or next door. By

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24Florida Times-Union, December 31, 1901.
1920, 33 of the 49 Chinese in the city lived in Ward 7, near the LaVilla suburb. 25 The Chinese population decreased to 27 in 1930. 26

While the other ethnic groups in this survey increased in size during this period, the Chinese did not. Although there were thriving Chinese communities in Savannah and Augusta, the local population did not attract other Chinese to the city. 27 In this respect the Chinese were an anomaly in the immigrant community because their numbers declined after 1910. They controlled a significant portion of the laundry business, but usually did not expand into other commercial pursuits. Unlike the eastern European Jews, Syrians, Italians, and Greeks, the original Chinese left little trace of their presence.


27 Pruden, p.19; Catherine Brown, pp.33-34.
Southern, eastern European, and Asian immigrants who settled in Jacksonville quickly became small businessmen. As soon as they could save enough money, they started their own stores. The city directories between 1900 and 1920 revealed the distribution of immigrant-owned businesses in certain retail trades. By 1920 Jewish merchants operated 58 percent of the clothing stores, 50 percent of dry goods stores, and 47 percent of shoe stores. Greeks and Syrians owned 54 percent of the fruit stores. The Chinese almost monopolized the laundry business, running 79 percent of commercial laundries by 1920 (see Table XI). Names traced from the Census of 1900 and 1910 through the city directories remained in trade, and did not change to laboring occupations. In addition, family members listed in the city directories either worked in the family business or for other ethnic members. The practice of employing kinsmen and fellow countrymen in immigrant businesses guaranteed the continuation of ethnic participation in that business.

Sociologist Stanley Lieberson wrote that "occupational concentration of an ethnic group means that a group's visibility may be prolonged and maintained for the society
at large."¹ Jacksonville citizens had patronized Jewish merchants on Bay Street from the city's earliest days.² Jewish immigrants in Jacksonville continued the domination of the clothing and dry goods trade which began in the South after the Civil War.³ Since it was relatively cheap to start a fruit vendor business, local Arab immigrants entered that field in large numbers soon after their arrival in the city. As they prospered, they expanded into the grocery trade, providing enough employment for others in their ethnic group. Occupational licenses for fruit stands, confectionaries, and small groceries cost $5.00 in 1899, barbershops $10.00, and laundries from $15.00 to $25.00. Dry goods and clothing stores, taxed according to inventory size, required more of an outlay, between $15.00 and $50.00.⁴ Each immigrant group linked itself with particular occupational categories, first as a result of how much money the members had available to start enterprises, then by choice as businesses prospered. The ease with which these groups entered business indicated that the local population accepted their place in the economic structure.

²Heirs of a Proud Tradition, p.4.
³"Turn to South," p.106.
⁴Florida Times-Union, September 6, 1899, p.6; Florida Times-Union, September 7, 1899, p.6.
Numerous black-owned businesses served the black community, with the exception of laundries, clothing, and shoe stores. The existence of black-owned businesses prevented native whites from forcing immigrant businessmen into being the sole purveyors of goods and services to blacks, as happened to the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta. Immigrant businesses in Jacksonville sold to both blacks and whites.

The small size of white ethnic communities in Jacksonville discouraged the formation of distinct immigrant enclaves. Small immigrant neighborhoods could not be the sole support of many ethnic businesses. The practice of residing on store premises meant that immigrants had to locate their businesses in an area where they could make money. Hence immigrant entrepreneurs scattered their stores-cum-residences throughout the city. An examination of population distribution by wards in Jacksonville for 1910 and 1920 reveals ethnic residence patterns (see Table XII).

In 1910, 35.7 percent of all the ethnic groups in this survey lived in Ward 7 and 17 percent in Ward 8. These two wards, west of the central business district, contained 44 percent of the black population. However, not all ethnic groups clustered in Ward 7 evenly. Only 2 percent of the Italian-born lived there, compared with 22 percent of the Greeks, 38 percent of the Syrians, 43 percent of the Romanians, and 63.7 percent of the Russians. The Jewish
Orthodox Synagogue B'nai Israel was located in Ward 7. Ward 8 had 2 percent of the Italians, 26.5 percent of the Greeks, and 36.8 percent of the Syrians. Ward 2, with sawmills, docks, and a railroad line, contained 41 percent of the Italians; 33 percent lived in Ward 3, just east of the business district. Ward 9, which included the exclusive Riverside suburb, had the smallest ethnic population, 3.7 percent, and the smallest black population, 2 percent.

By 1920, Ward 7 still contained the highest percentage of these foreign-born white residents, 34.4 percent. Italians continued to avoid Ward 7, with only 6.7 percent living there. This was in contrast to 34.8 percent of the Greeks, 37.6 percent of the Romanians, 40.7 percent of the Russians, 55 percent of the Poles, 28.6 percent of the Syrians, and 50 percent from the China/Japan/Indian category. Wards 2 and 3 contained the highest percentage of Italians, while 17.7 percent of the Syrians and 14.6 percent of the Italians had moved to Springfield, in Ward 1 (see Table XIII). Although over one-third of the immigrants lived in Ward 7, they constituted only 4.6 percent of the total population in that ward.

Because these immigrants usually chose entrepreneurial occupations rather than wage-labor jobs, they realized the impracticality of creating ethnic neighborhoods segregated from the rest of the population. They located their businesses and homes where they could make a living. While
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE XI. ETHNIC-OWNED BUSINESSES IN JACKSONVILLE</th>
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<th>1920</th>
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TABLE XII. POPULATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS BY WARDS, 1910 - 1920

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<td>74</td>
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<td>201</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>6803</td>
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<td>3876</td>
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<td>9589</td>
<td>9378</td>
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* 65 of these are Chinese.

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<td>9569</td>
<td>8918</td>
<td>4771</td>
<td>4934</td>
<td>3302</td>
<td>15629</td>
<td>10531</td>
<td>13877</td>
<td>4972</td>
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<td>3643</td>
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*49 of these are Chinese.

### Table XIII. Percentage of Ethnic Groups by Wards, 1910 - 1920

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<th>Russia</th>
<th>Turkey/Asia</th>
<th>C-J-I</th>
<th>Poland</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 2</td>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>6.7%</td>
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<td>8.7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>22%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 5</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 7</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 8</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
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<table>
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<th>Turkey/Asia</th>
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<tr>
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<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<td>2.5%</td>
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<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 4</td>
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<td>15%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>34.8%</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>55%</td>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 9</td>
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<td>4%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 10</td>
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<td>1%</td>
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<td>.6%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward 11</td>
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<td>3%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
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TABLE XIV. POPULATION, BY WARD, OF ITALIANS, GREEKS, SYRIANS, RUSSIAN AND ROMANIAN JEWS, AND CHINESE, 1910 - 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
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<th>1920 Number</th>
<th>1910 Percent</th>
<th>1920 Percent</th>
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<td>49</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>132</td>
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<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>1417</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Orthodox Jews had to live near their synagogue, community attitudes did not prevent them from relocating to a more lucrative area of town when business demanded it, or when they could afford to rent a store downtown and have a home in the suburbs. Orthodox Jews simply moved the synagogue to where they wanted to live. Between 1910 and 1920, a period when the immigrant population increased, each ethnic group spread itself throughout the city, although Ward 7 continued to have the highest percentage of these residents (see Table XIV).

This segment of Jacksonville's foreign-born population avoided developing the ghettos left behind in the North. Lieberson viewed ethnic segregation in the urban environment as a function of not only economic and cultural factors, but also as a form of adaptation to the existing structure and
order of the city. The immigrants in this study reversed the ethnic segregation pattern of northern cities. Jacksonville's existing structure demanded the segregation of all blacks economically, socially, and politically. Foreign white ethnic groups did not segregate themselves by occupation or residence from local whites because the immigrants owned the minimum requirement for status, their race. The new immigrants used their freedom of occupational choice to direct their residence patterns in a city where the bottom rung of the social, economic, and political ladder was always permanently occupied by another group. They could skip the extended laboring experience of their fellow countrymen working in the northern textile mills, automobile plants, and garment factories. They avoided competition for jobs with local residents, choosing an economic area where there was room for all--small business.

5Lieberson, p.5.
CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION

The immigrants in this study participated in a global movement of people from east to west in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Changes in the world economy, which affected the economic structure of particular countries or regions, impelled individuals to leave their homes for more prosperous areas. The spread of industrialization throughout Europe during the entire century brought improved transportation networks, agricultural innovations, technological inventions, and increased communication. With the arrival of the railroad to a village, farmers had larger markets in which to sell surplus food. In addition to the availability of wider markets which the railroads brought, improved agricultural methods and mechanized equipment increased the size of crop yields, so that farms could be more extensive without relying on an increased workforce. Cities provided employment in new factories and mills for urban dwellers and workers from the countryside. Modernization also brought an upsurge in population growth, due to lower infant mortality and better health care.¹

For many people, though, the improvements brought by industrialization had unsettling effects. With the prospect

of more lucrative markets, large landholders consolidated their holdings, forcing smaller, less wealthy farmers off the land, especially in eastern Europe. Mechanization displaced not only certain kinds of craftsmen, but also children of large farming families, which could no longer provide for surplus labor. Landless or craftless people, searching for work, crowded into cities, resulting in intense competition for livelihoods, as happened in the Russian Pale. Concentration of agricultural production into one cash crop made a country's economy especially vulnerable to disaster, as the failure of the Greek currant crop demonstrated. Foreign producers, formerly too remote to have much impact on another's export product, with better transportation modalities and large-scale production facilities could compete successfully with other countries, as the United States did with Syria in the silk and citrus industries.

The ability of the new global economy to change the economic structure of every country which it touched had not only financial impact, but also social, political, demographic, and religious repercussions. The people affected were exposed to new ideas, new methods, and new institutional structures. Many of these people left their homelands to find different means to cope with their environments. After 1850, industrialization and modernization in the United States provided employment for
the immigrants dislocated by those same conditions in their own countries. ²

Immigrants, attracted to certain occupations by training, kinship networks, or contracts, sought specific labor niches in the United States. The more a particular ethnic group worked at a particular job in a locality, the more newly arrived countrymen continued at that same job. Thus, certain ethnic groups "belong" to certain occupations: Greek bootblacks, Italian railroad builders, Jewish garment workers. A city had to have a large labor market with suitable jobs to lure unskilled immigrant workers. Of the millions who immigrated from southern and eastern Europe to the cities of the United States, less than two thousand chose Jacksonville as a location which could provide them with a livelihood.

Immigrants avoided the South, not because there was a lack of unskilled work, but because black workers already filled the demand for labor. Foreign workers who wished to live in the South had to be willing to adjust their earning ability to the existing labor structure. Thus, immigrants in southern cities like Memphis, Louisville, Savannah, Birmingham, and Jacksonville, with large black populations, quickly became small businessmen, not through an innate genius for entrepreneurship, but because the social and economic structures of those cities allowed them to do so.

In this study I have examined a small portion of Jacksonville's population between 1890 and 1920. Southern and eastern Europeans constituted only 28.8 percent of the foreign-born white population in 1910, increasing to 38 percent in 1920. They contributed a mix of cultures not found in other Florida cities. Tampa, which had a much larger immigrant population than Jacksonville, did not have such diversity, because Cuban, Spanish, and Italian immigrants dominated the ethnic community there by 1920 (see Table XV).

Another indicator of the diversity of the ethnic community was the occurrence of "mother tongues" other than English (see Table XVI). The mother tongue schedule in the census revealed not only the variety of the immigrant population, which included the foreign born and their American-born children, but also the problems associated with the country of origin designation in the census. The reports of country of birth did not necessarily show ethnicity. Not all those born in Turkey in Asia, who lived in Jacksonville, were Syrian Christians; some were Armenians, Turks, and Jews. All those born in Russia were not ethnic Russians; in fact, most were Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian Jews. Even among the Italian-born, not all were ethnic Italians; a few were Jewish. Most of the Austrians in Jacksonville were Jewish. Those born in Turkey in Europe could be ethnic Greeks or Bulgarians. In order to correctly
identify the ethnic origin of many names in this study, it was necessary to combine country of origin, mother tongue, and occupation. For example, if a Russian worked as a gas fitter, he was not Jewish. If a restaurant owner had an Anglicized name but was born in Turkey in Asia or Turkey in Europe, he was an ethnic Greek. The choice of occupations of the groups in this study was so distinctive that it often was the decisive factor deciding ethnicity.

Why did these immigrants settle in Jacksonville? Descendants replied that they did not know, or that their families preferred the weather, or that the immigrants heard from someone else that they could make a living here. Why did the immigrants avoid laboring occupations in Jacksonville? Why did they all start businesses? Did they consciously wish to avoid competition with whites and blacks? Did the smallness of the existing ethnic communities prevent the formation of networks which provided access to laboring jobs for newly arrived foreigners? Again, descendants don't know. They point with pride to their forefather's virtues, their independence, shrewdness, business sense, and devotion to hard work. Why should they have been laborers, when they could so easily be businessmen? Isn't owning your own business the dream of every American, foreign born or native? Perhaps. But the lack of primary material, such as diaries or participant interviews, makes the determination of motivation difficult.
TABLE XV. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, 1920

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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th>Tampa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>.3</td>
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<td>Slovak</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbo-Croatian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian/Lettish</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish/Hebrew</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magyar</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian/Arabic</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>1,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10,012</td>
<td>22,503</td>
</tr>
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</table>

An understanding of the existing labor structure in most Southern cities, including Jacksonville, provides a possible reason for occupational choices. A sufficiently large unskilled labor pool, composed mostly of blacks, obviated the need for additional white workers. The definite separation of racial and ethnic minorities into distinctive occupations may also have been an early manifestation of labor market segmentation, where certain types of workers remained locked into narrow job categories as a means of economic and social control. In Jacksonville, the consignment of blacks to a permanent unskilled or semi-skilled occupational category ensured the existence of a low paid labor market. This lack of flexibility and mobility did not appeal to these groups of foreign-born.3 This initially small immigrant population did not infiltrate manufacturing, construction, or artisan occupations because enough native-born workers already filled them. Therefore, the first immigrants in this study, shut out from the traditional jobs which they held in the North, entered business, and set a pattern for those to follow.

Between 1890 and 1920, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, Syria, and China, who lived in Jacksonville and other Southern cities, attained a social status not available to their fellow immigrants in the North. Because native-born filled lower class jobs in the city, the immigrants entered the social structure on a higher occupational level than most of them would have in other regions of the United States. Instead of working as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, they became shopkeepers and businessmen, which distanced them from the politicization and unionization activities found among many ethnic groups in northern cities. A working class consciousness did not develop among them in Jacksonville because they were owners, not laborers.

The immigrants' decisions to reside in Jacksonville resulted from a combination of factors. A more salubrious climate was important to some, like the Toney brothers and Frank Napoli. The consumer-oriented profile of the city, rather than an industrial, manufacturing orientation, attracted Jewish peddlers and tradesmen, such as the Ossinsky brothers and the Glicksteins. The immigrants who arrived in Jacksonville had already learned the rules of the American economy. They were not greenhorns. They had worked in factories in northern cities, learned trades, and saved their money. The Jewish immigrants drew on their tradesmen's experiences in the old country. The Greek,
Italian, and Syrian immigrants, from agricultural back-
grounds, deliberately sought occupations which gave quicker
returns than farming. Like ethnic groups in the rest of the
country, the immigrants in Jacksonville formed their own
social, religious, and familial support structures to
protect them from the rebuffs of a community which did not
fully accept them.

Jacksonville's immigrants, possessing the basic
qualifications to participate, albeit on a small scale, in
American capitalism, played an active role in the economic
development of the city. They provided residents with
groceries, shoes, clothing, barbering, tailoring, laun-
dering, and restaurants. More importantly, in order to
succeed, they built an environment which supported their
families, attracted kinsmen and fellow countrymen, and kept
their ethnicity alive, while adapting to the social and
economic structure of this city.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kathleen Ann Francis Cohen was born in , on , and attended Cheverus School in Malden. In 1956, she and her family moved to Waycross, Georgia, where she attended St. Joseph's Academy. The next year, 1956, her family moved to Jacksonville, Florida, and she attended public school from 1957-1958, then St. Matthew's School, 1959-1961, and Bishop Kenny High School, 1961-1965. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree, with a double major in history and library science, from Florida State University in Tallahassee, graduating cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1969; she was awarded the Master of Science degree in library science from Florida State University in August, 1970.

From 1970 until October, 1973, Ms Cohen was employed as a librarian by the Jacksonville Public Library. In November, 1973, Ms. Cohen was appointed Government Documents Librarian and Assistant University Librarian at the University of North Florida Library, and in 1975 she became Head of the Reference Department at the University Library. She remains in that position as University Librarian and Assistant Professor of Library Science.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

George E. Pozzetto, Chairman
Associate Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Thomas M. Leonard
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Richard R. Weiner
Associate Professor of Sociology and Political Science

This thesis was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

December, 1986

Dean, Graduate School