PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

AP® World History
Migration

Special Focus

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Introduction

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One of my favorite family stories involves my great-great-grandfather, Cornelius Callahan. Legend has is that he, during the Irish Potato Famine, sought escape from starvation and deprivation on a ship bound for the United States. Upon arrival, his ship was turned away; he and his fellow refugees were forced to return to Ireland. Cornelius defied the odds, surviving both the voyage home and the rest of the famine. He married, had several children, and those children, duplicating the journey of their father, immigrated to the United States; they, however, stayed. My great-grandfather was one of those children. Without doubt, many of us have migration stories in our family history, some with happy endings and others that do not convey happiness at all, often because of such things as slavery or war. While this Special Focus on World History explores the phenomenon of global migration and encourages teachers *and* students to think about migration from a personal standpoint, the collection of articles and lesson plans also importantly provides opportunities for teachers to be creative in their classrooms when educating students about the subject of migration and the challenges experienced by immigrants (and emigrants).

Teaching students about migration is an important aspect of world history courses. It impacts virtually every time period and involves people around the globe, some moving relatively locally but others, at great risks to themselves and their futures, traveling great distances often across large geographic barriers. Discussions about migration generally include a mention of "push–pull" factors—reasons for people to leave their place of origin and attractions that take them to their planned destinations. This combination, however, is not always the case. Governments have often forced their subjects and citizens to leave one place for another, and it can be said that this involves only a "push" or, more appropriately, a "kick" or a "shove."

Included in this collection are plentiful examples of push–pull, as well as push, migration.

When asked to participate in this project as editor, one of the first things that came to my mind was the recent AP® World History Course Audit in which I, and most teachers, participated. The audit revealed that teachers needed ideas on how to approach the inclusion of diverse historical interpretations in their AP World History courses, particularly in terms of secondary sources (see Tim Keirn's article, for more on this). To that end, this *Special Focus* project is designed not only to address migration but also to provide ideas on bringing valuable primary and secondary sources into the classroom. A combination of scholarly articles and lesson plans are included here. Teachers and students alike will learn about different migratory patterns, forced migration, as well as reactions to migration that affected the people of all inhabited continents.

In the opening article, Tim Keirn writes about the challenges related to the use of secondary source material and then offers an informative historiographical essay on early modern migration meant to suggest to teachers sources for both their own research and for assignment in the classroom. Alan Karras's contribution provides readers with a case study of Scottish immigration to the Caribbean in the eighteenth century. He examines the "push–pull" economic migration of a relatively well-educated, professional class of men, a group Karras asserts is generally overlooked in migration narratives. In "South America: Land of Immigrants—and Emigrants," Peter Winn explores the interesting situation of Japanese and Italian migrants to Brazil and Argentina, respectively. Many of these migrants, or their descendents, returned home following a period in their destination country, more often than not finding that going home was (and is) not always easy. Following this article, Rick Warner presents a lesson plan that requires the use of Winn's article in the classroom. Warner gives teachers a myriad of ideas on how to present it and assess student learning as well. Adam McKeown's piece, "Understanding Global Migration Through Charts", is a hybrid of sorts, incorporating elements of both an article and a lesson plan. His charts give teachers yet another angle from which to explore the migration topic and another method to encourage student learning. In "American Immigration in a Transnational Perspective," Robert Zeidel presents a timely lesson plan that encourages students to examine how immigrants to the United States were received in the Gilded Age, while at the same time he encourages exploration of the contemporary issue of migration (as does Warner in his lesson plan). Finally, there are two lesson plans, penned by Valerie Cox and me, which look at migration through another lens: the experiences

of the forced migrant. Cox's contribution examines government-forced migration of Native Americans in the United States, while my lesson glimpses at the experiences of British convict migrants sentenced to terms of imprisonment in Australia, what those convicts found upon arrival, and the effect their arrival had on the Aborigines of Australia.

As Peter Winn's and Adam McKeown's articles suggest, major migrations were not limited to the United States. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were periods of massive movements of peoples, some of which can be attributed to changes in transportation, enabling persons suffering from economic or political problems to move with greater ease. Below I posit three additional ideas for teachers to expand on this lesson plan.

- Using the data in McKeown's article, have students explore nineteenth- and twentieth-century migration and immigration (often listed in both ways in the indices) in a variety of world history textbooks. Assign groups of students to critique the presentation in each textbook based on what they have learned after lessons on migration/immigration. What do students think should be covered in textbooks? Are Western migrations given more favor in textbooks? Should there be more or less information about certain immigrations? Why? Teachers themselves might find Patrick Manning's book, *Migration in World History*, helpful in preparing for the student critiques.
- Using Zeidel and Winn's articles, have students develop a compare/contrast question on immigration using the United States and either Argentina or Brazil as their comparative countries. Ask students then to write a detailed response to the question.
- In today's world, migration continues to be a reality. As both Rick Warner and Zeidel suggest, a conversation with students about migration today may prove to be very interesting. In terms of moving beyond the United States and its current views on immigration, teachers will also find important comparative material in other countries on every inhabited continent. For example, France and Germany (as well as all countries in the European Union) have had immigrants come into their countries, eliciting criticism from citizens and long-time residents alike. Similar situations exist in Japan, particularly with concern over Korean immigration, and in South Africa, where there is concern over Zimbabwean immigration. A wonderful Web site, www.world-newspapers.com, provides links to English

language newspapers around the world. Teachers might assign students a country and then have them go to newspapers from that country to draw conclusions about immigration and how it affects that country, its economy, and society in general.

Using the *AP World History Course Description* as a guide, teachers should find the resources contained in this book to be helpful in a variety of ways. First, all of AP World History's five themes are touched upon in some way by the works contained below. Second, in the category of Habits of Mind, each of the required areas is addressed in at least one of the resources, usually in more than one. These resources are particularly rich in the Habits of Mind categories of constructing and evaluating arguments, assessing continuity and change over time and over different world regions, and understanding diversity of interpretations. Further, a broad timeline is examined, focusing on the early modern and modern periods (exploring aspects of the AP World History Chronological Periods from 1450 forward). Finally, teachers will find that the lesson plans are full of ideas on assessment, including writing projects, presentations, and assessments oriented to the AP World History Exam free-response questions: change and continuity over time, compare and contrast, and document-based questions. Two of the lesson plans do address migration in the United States. Each represents important events in the United States, both of which had global ramifications. While each lesson is legitimate world history in its own right, some teachers may wish to further globalize the lessons by using suggested extensions included with each piece.

Many of us likely cover Columbian-era migration and the resulting forced migration of slaves reasonably thoroughly in our classes, but as the semester draws to a close or the AP World History Exam looms on the horizon, later migrations are often slighted as we try to teach about the second industrial revolution, the world wars, decolonization, and the Cold War in the few days that remain for instruction. Incorporation of ideas contained within these resources will assist all teachers of world history in covering topics that are perhaps not being examined as thoroughly as they could be, providing information on topics that are not as well known as the earlier transatlantic migrations, and supplying more secondary and new primary sources for use in our classrooms.

The Role of Historical Interpretation in the AP® World History Course: The Case of Early Modern Migration

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The AP World History course admirably raises the visibility of historical skills and habits of mind in terms of what students are expected to know and do. In this sense, a focus on the skills of history relative to content also parallels new lines of scholarly inquiry within the profession and discipline. Led by scholars such as Robert Bain, Peter Lee, and Sam Wineburg, over the past decade a field of scholarship has arisen that concentrates on what it means to learn and understand history and to think historically. Much of this work emanated from Britain and was tied to the cognitive revolution that shifted the focus in learning theory from behavior to issues of meaning and epistemology. Moreover, the development of the field was also facilitated by the "culture wars" and public debates over the National History Standards in the early 1990s, which greatly influenced historians' new interest in issues of historical memory.

As a consequence of these developments there is a clear emphasis upon the notion that history is a human "representation" of the past—what is represented of the past is a consequence of choice, which in turn is informed by contemporary political and cultural considerations. This recognition involves a shift from a focus upon substantive history (the facts of history) to the procedural ideas of history (historical perspective and skill). The convergence here is in the preoccupation with what is remembered or learned as opposed to what is taught. Given the significance of schools in the construction of collective historical memory, it is not surprising that

virtually all of this new scholarship in history learning and cognition is addressed to historical teaching and learning in the K–12 environment.

This body of scholarship has also identified and addressed the cognitive dissonance that exists between student understandings and epistemologies of history and those of the historian. There is ample evidence that high school history students understand and deduce meaning from history in discrete, chronologically arranged factual terms. The understanding of historical skill in this sense is to memorize and posit facts within a chronological and teleological sequence of "truths." Thus, when presented with primary sources and accounts of the past, students' default position is to read them factually and chronologically as opposed to historically. Indeed, this cognitive dissonance is explicit in the consistency of student struggles with point of view on the document-based question of the AP World History Exam. Indeed, it is also evident in student responses to the comparative question as well, where students tend to signify comparison in the form of two juxtaposed factual narratives followed by (at best) very general qualifications of similarities and differences.

This scholarship in history learning and cognition has also drawn attention to students' difficulties in detecting and evaluating agency in history. Put simply, for many students the facts that predate a specified event or threshold become "causes" and those thereafter "consequences." For those students who do identify agency beyond a factual basis, the tendency is to gravitate toward—and prioritize—individual action. In this way, history is understood in explicitly personal and individual means. Anyone who has read the "change over time" question at the AP World History Reading has ample evidence of this type of student historical "thinking," where, for example, states and regions are rendered in highly personified ways with distinctly individual human attributes (i.e., China "feared" nomads, or "liked" silver).

This body of scholarship argues that these preinstructional student epistemologies and understandings of history are constructed and informed by a litany of influences. Wineburg (2001) has argued that a considerable amount of student historical understanding is shaped by influences outside the classroom (e.g., television and media, family, and local community) that often confuse and intermingle notions of heritage with history. Others have identified the importance of testing and previous instruction in reinforcing student notions that history is all about facts. Indeed, underresearched in this regard is the role of teacher training and education, where preliminary evidence suggests that preservice teachers' perceptions of history are far closer to those of the K–12 student than those of the historian. However, with

regard to the AP World History course, the most important influence upon student understanding is the textbook. Richard Paxton (1991) and others have argued that the textbook is the most important influence in constructing and reinforcing student factoid narrative understandings of history. Textbooks present history factually and in narrative form. There is no sense of historical inquiry or interpretation evident within the text. Metadiscursive elements that might serve as implicit markers of inquiry or interpretation (e.g., use of terms such as "perhaps" or "some historians argue") are routinely edited out of the texts. While there is much discussion about textbooks in the AP World History community, almost all of it addresses substantive as opposed to procedural aspects of history, focusing upon issues of the extent of global, regional, and eurocentric coverage. Those textbooks that do include aspects of historical interpretation do so as boxed "examples" delineated from the narrative, akin to the historical rendering of women and indigenous peoples to the "margins" of the text. Research shows that students do not read these boxes unless prompted, and indeed that influence of the textbook upon the construction of factoid meaning is congruent with the level of instructional reliance on the textbook.

This new scholarship has represented secondary teachers of history as "in the breach" between student and disciplinary notions of thinking. The charge of the teacher in this context is to shift student "habits of mind" to more authentic understandings and practices grounded within the discipline of history. Informed by the theories of the Soviet theorist Lev Vygotsky, much of this literature promotes learning through social interaction and authentic disciplinary tasks—put simply, by "doing" as opposed to "receiving" history. To shift student habits of mind and facilitate authentic historical thinking and understanding, learning tools (e.g., graphic organizers, essential questions, and prompts) and appropriate assessments have to be generated that support inquiry-based instruction. The shaping of habits of mind comes only with repeated practice and scaffolding, where the latter is adjusted until the objective habits have been internalized.

Relative to U.S. and European history, these issues of cognitive dissonance and the challenges of shifting student habits of mind are most problematic in the realm of world history. The large temporal and spatial scales of world history amplify student (and teacher) preinstructional anxieties about competence and means of factual retention. The relative newness of world history as a subfield ensures that there is no easily recognized master narrative to memorize. Moreover, the role of the individual agency in world history is less significant in realms of history where the spatial and temporal scales are narrower. Despite these challenges, the AP World History

course succeeds in many ways because it is in fact a product of not only scholarship in world history but also this new research in history learning and cognition. The aforementioned Robert Bain was on the initial Development Committee for AP World History. That committee was chaired by Peter Stearns, who has been influential nationally in attempts to bridge the gap between the work of historians and history educators. Indeed, seven "Habits of Mind" are identified in the *AP World History Course Outline*, all of which reflect both discipline- and inquiry-based approaches to learning history and generating historical thinking. In AP World History, students are asked to demonstrate competence in essential disciplinary skills such as evaluating evidence, identifying agency in historical change and continuity, and interpreting primary sources and accounts. The structure of the AP World History Exam demands competence in historical skills and thinking. For example, the document-based question, especially with its demand for point of view and additional documentation, assesses the first two Habits of Mind that are concerned with evaluating evidence and interpreting primary documents. The "change over time" question demands that students demonstrate understanding of historical agency and significance (i.e., the third habit of mind). The comparative question asks that students demonstrate analytical competence in generating meaningful historical comparisons. In line with the conclusions of the scholarship of history learning and cognition, these AP assessments shape (consciously or unconsciously) instruction. Teachers routinely create learning tools and scaffolds (e.g., graphic organizers, document prompts and assessments, historical problem-solving exercises, etc.) that work to facilitate authentic historical skills and thinking to be demonstrated ultimately on the AP World History Exam.

However, despite these notable achievements in promoting historical thinking, I would argue that the most important identified Habit of Mind "addressed by any rigorous history course" as stated in the AP World History Course Outline, reproduced in the *AP World History Course Description*, is the fourth, which pertains to student understanding of diverse historical interpretations. It is here that students must come to grips with the core notions that history is a dynamic and interpretive discipline, and a representation of the past based on conventions of critical evaluation of evidence. It is this Habit of Mind that directly confronts preinstructional epistemologies that perceive of history in strictly factual (and "truthful") terms. For students to demonstrate understanding and evaluation of historical interpretations of the past, they must first come to recognize that these representations are not static and change over time. In this sense, they need a basic understanding of

historiographic principles whereby historical "change" is a consequence of alterations in the body and validity of evidence (and changing theories applied thereto). Moreover, this also requires recognition of the means by which the present informs the past—that is, what is "in" or "out" of history is informed by contemporary questions and interests. To accomplish these tasks, students need to be introduced to the means by which disciplinary knowledge is constructed and disseminated, and to understand (critically) the conventions and limitations of the genres of historical literature (i.e., textbooks, and peer-reviewed monographs and articles).

Despite its significance, the habit of historical interpretation is the one least likely to be addressed by those teaching the AP World History course. Of those AP World History syllabi that were not authorized after their first submission in the AP Course Audit, close to 75 percent were not authorized because they did not meet the College Board requirement that students are taught to "analyze evidence and interpretations presented in historical scholarship." Why is this the case? Clearly, of major significance is the fact that this habit of mind is not explicitly tested on the AP World History Exam. If assessment guides instruction, then it should not be surprising that teachers are likely to dedicate instructional time to other activities. However, anecdotal information from my experience in workshops and institutes indicates that there is also some confusion about the term "historical interpretation" whereby it is understood to mean the interpretation of primary documents as opposed to secondary accounts of the past. From this perspective, "preparing for the DBQ" is the means for shaping students' understanding of historical interpretation. Consequently, students are not engaged with scholarly and historiographic interpretation, which forms the basis of this habit of mind. Of course, another obstacle to the shaping of this habit of mind is the paucity of secondary materials available to AP World History teachers that move beyond textbook and tertiary representations and address historiographic and contemporary scholarly interpretations of the past. Given the focus of this volume on migration, what follows is a discussion of some accessible scholarly materials that relate to migration in the early modern period (1450–1750) of the AP World History curriculum, and provide the opportunity for AP World History teachers and students alike to engage with historical scholarship and interpretation in the spirit of the fourth AP World History habit of mind and Course Audit requirement.

The historiographic development of "new" world historical approaches in the 1990s has emphasized the importance of cross-cultural interaction and encounters in the process of creating an integrated and global world history. This global approach forms the overarching conceptualization of the AP World History course.

Alongside the themes of trade and empire, migration is a key concept in representing and accounting for cross-cultural interaction and encounters in the global past. When examined on a world historical scale, the early modern period takes on new significance as the intensity of postclassical transregional interaction and integration in Afro-Eurasia—and on a lesser scale in the Americas and Pacific—became truly global. Migration, particularly in maritime basins, played a critical role in this process, and the scholarship addressing it is rich.

An excellent general starting point is Patrick Manning's recent *Migration in World History* (Manning 1990). This is an accessible work that synthesizes much recent research in transregional migration and demonstrates its applicability to world history. Informed by David Christian's notions of "big history," the temporal scale here is large (starting with early hominid movements), and the amount of material dedicated to early modern migration is relatively small. Yet what is extremely useful is the author's discussion of models of migration patterns, which scholars use to provide coherence to our understanding of the origins and consequences of human movement. Conceptualizations of push–pull and cross-community migration, and the role of networks and colonization, are useful constructs for understanding early modern migration. Another useful overview of current scholarship is the *Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (1995), edited by Robin Cohen. While migration is categorized here on a regional basis, each article provides an excellent synopsis of the state of research by acknowledged scholars in each particular field.

As Manning demonstrates, migration is not easily disentangled from other identified themes of global interaction and integration such as trade, empire, and colonization. Hence a number of other important and accessible scholarly works on trade are useful in interpreting the role of migration in world history. For example, Philip Curtin's seminal *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Curtin 1984) provides a very readable and scholarly account of the transregional significance of trade with a specific focus upon diasporic communities as instrumental in the formation of trading networks and as mediators of cross-cultural encounters. The chapters dedicated to the early modern period allow students to compare the role of Armenian, Bugis, Chinese, and Portuguese migrants in establishing the diasporic communities and trade networks in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. In addition, Cohen's *Global Diasporas* (Cohen 1997) provides an important introduction to the concept of diaspora and demonstrates how scholars have extended the concept from a focus upon migrants involved in trade and colonization to labor diasporas, where the term is often associated with collective trauma. This is most notable in the early modern period,

where, inspired by Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (Gilroy 1993), scholars increasingly conceptualize the African slave trade in diasporic terms.

The involuntary migration of the Atlantic slave trade is the only early modern migration stated and identified within the *AP World History Course Description*. The movement of Africans across the Atlantic far outnumbered European emigration until the 1840s. Published in 1969, Philip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade*: *A Census* (Curtin 1969) spawned considerable historical scholarly debate about the quantity, origins, and impact of Atlantic slavery. Curtin's numbers have generally stood the test of historical critique, and the debate is summarized in Herbert Klein's useful scholarly overview, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Klein 1999). Quantitative evidence and interpretation is also prevalent in David Eltis's *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Eltis 1999), where the author argues that African agency was critical in determining who entered the slave trade and how it was conducted. Indeed, historians have recently paid far closer attention to African agency within the Atlantic world—paralleling and contributing to the aforementioned representation of an African diaspora. John Thornton's *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (Thornton 1998) was in the vanguard of this scholarly movement in demonstrating the significance of African culture in the colonial Americas, and in emphasizing its often synchronous transformations with European and Amerindian cultures. Similar trajectories are found in the scholarship of Colonial British America—for example, in Philip Morgan's S*lave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Low Country* (Morgan 1998)—too often ignored as a consequence of the binary (wrongly) established relationship between world and U.S. history. Finally, recent work has come to challenge the focus upon Afro-European syncretism in the Americas. For example, James Sweet's *Recreating Africa* (Sweet 2006) shares Thornton and Morgan's surfacing of African agency but argues that the most pronounced syncretism to take place in early modern Brazil was between different African cultures—"African" culture was a product of American experience and a consequence of forced migration.

Scholars such as Pier Larson remind us that scholarly considerations of an African diaspora are too focused upon the Atlantic even in the early modern period (Larson 2007). The Transaharan and Indian Ocean African slave trades were still considerable throughout the early modern period, and the movement of Atlantic African slaves did not outnumber the Oriental trade until the seventeenth century. Paul Lovejoy's *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Lovejoy 2000) provides an important scholarly interpretation of the impact of the latter trade both

within and without Africa in the early modern period. Manning's *Slavery and African Life* (Manning 1990) also addresses this issue and argues that Atlantic, African, and Oriental movements of slaves were inseparable.

While not specifically identified for study in the *AP World History Course Description*, European migration in the early modern period (never on the global scale of the movement of Africans) played an implicit role in two important AP World History topics—European colonization and the Columbian Exchange. With the growth of Atlantic history as a distinct historical subfield, there is a growing body of scholarly literature that addresses the nature of European conquest and cultural encounter in the early modern period. Two recent works stand out for students and instructors of AP World History. Martin Restall's *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Restall 2004) is a very accessible historiographic debunking of common representations of the Spanish conquest, and instead associates it with greater consideration for Iberian and global contexts, and the nature of Spanish migration to the Americas. J. H. Elliot's *Empires of the Atlantic World* (Elliot 2007) also questions former interpretations of European colonization and does so in a comparative examination of Spanish and English colonial settlement in the Americas. A comparison of the nature of migration and settlement is a critical component of his argument. With its focus upon indigenous agency, the current scholarship on European–Amerindian encounter parallels to some extent the historical literature of the African diaspora. This current is especially strong among historians who study the South Atlantic. John Kicza's *Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples Confront European Colonization,* (Kicza 2002) synthesizes much of this scholarship succinctly. Moreover, a number of studies in Colonial American history concretely address world historical themes of cross-cultural exchange and synthesis. Colin Calloway's *New Worlds for All* (Calloway 1998) is a very readable account of the exchange, fusion, and transformation of cultural practices between European migrants and Amerindians in early North America.

Alfred Crosby's groundbreaking *The Columbian Exchange* (Crosby 1973) examined the environmental consequences of European migration in the early modern period. Recent scholarship has built upon his historiographic foundation and established a growing literature in early modern environmental history. Much of this body of scholarship has applicability in the AP World History classroom. Elinor Melville's *A Plague of Sheep* (Melville 1997) addresses the environmental consequences of animal domestication in colonial Mexico. Virginia DeJohn Anderson's *Creatures of Empire* (Anderson 2005) argues for "animal agency" in studying the impact of domesticated animals (and their often feral offspring) brought

by English migrants to North America in understanding the mechanisms of colonial expansion. Indeed, in John Richards's *The Unending Frontier* (Richards 2003), internal and external migration, and the corresponding expansion of settled agricultural frontiers, were instrumental in global early modern environmental change.

In conclusion, it is impossible to do justice to the body of historical literature and recent scholarship that addresses and represents migration in early modern world history. Certainly, a number of important early modern migrations are not identified—not even implicitly—in the *AP World History Course Description*. Such early modern migrations would include Turkic migrations in Central and South Asia, internal migration and frontier expansion in Russia and China, and the commonality of rural to urban migration on a global scale. But what is hoped is that some of this scholarship finds it way into the AP World History classroom in complete or excerpted form, and in doing so students are distanced temporarily from the textbook, and engaged with historical scholarship in the pursuit of the interpretive historical habit of mind.

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A Scottish Caribbean Case Study

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One of the most important problems to face instructors of AP World History is how to integrate specific case studies into a course that is truly global in focus. We all have our preferred stories and illustrations; if only we could find a way to use all of them in every class, we reason, we'd be serving our students' interests and making sure that, at least, students would have good examples upon which to draw for their assessments. And we'd get to discuss material about which we really care.

But AP World History is, of course, not about including everything. Nor, for that matter, is it either essential or practical to include every piece of important content in our college-level world history courses. We simply cannot teach about every expansionist society that ever existed on earth, every environmental change that affected human settlements, or every war that resulted in geopolitical changes. Rather, we must all find ways to teach our global, or macro, world historical processes with specific micro, or local, examples. Indeed, the best world history courses, AP or college, focus on process and draw illustrative examples from a myriad of possibilities. Because teachers should have choice in which examples they use, even though there is little choice in the processes that must be covered, it is essential to have a strategy for figuring out how to cover the macroissues of the course while integrating the cool microstudies that made most of us want to study history in the first place.

This essay, then, attempts to provide a useful way to begin to think about the process of human migrations on a global scale while providing those essential concrete examples and case studies that we all love. It is not meant to be exhaustive, by any stretch of the imagination. Instead, it is meant to provoke thought, inspire changes to the actual teaching of the course, and find ways to get students to become active participants in their own educations. I will admit that it is somewhat selfish,

in that the microstudy on which I will be focusing comes from research that I carried out 20 years ago, long before I had anything to do with the AP Program. That research was organized and published in my book, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scots Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1820* (Karras 1992). As the years progressed, and I became active in teaching world history, and then participating in the AP World History Development Committee, it became clear to me that this research could be used to illustrate how microstudies can be used to inform macronarratives.

The research that I did examined the personal histories of a group of several hundred Scottish migrants. They exhibited the typical eighteenth-century migrant pattern in some ways (most of them were young single men), but differed from it in other ways (most of them were highly educated and came from families that were anything but destitute). They went to areas where there was new economic opportunity available to them—places like Jamaica and, after 1763, the ceded Caribbean islands. They went, as well, to places where innovations to commercial patterns allowed greater opportunity for advancement, such as the tobacco colonies in Virginia and Maryland.[1]

The research that I did was fun but time-consuming. I looked at letters, account books, newspaper articles, commercial records, and advertisements. What I observed through collecting this data was something that many historians of the period overlooked. These young men migrated with the express intention of returning home after a certain period of time. That intention, of course, shaped their behavior while in the colonies, just as it shaped their interactions with people back in Britain. If one were to judge them just based on the content of their letters, they were angry people who more or less loathed the place to which they traveled and many of the people whom they found already living there. In other words, they never intended to be permanent settlers in the Americas. From the perspective of American history, this certainly ran against the traditional narratives. From the perspective of Scottish, or even British, history, these people had left—so had their stories excluded from the national narrative.

1. At this point, it might be useful to comment briefly upon the reason for studying Scottish migration in the eighteenth century. In the first place, many American historians until that time had considered all British migrants to the Americas to have been indistinguishable from one another. Looking at those of Scottish (or indeed Irish or Scots-Irish) ancestry showed a much clearer separation of the various migrant groups in terms of their geographic origins, occupational diversity, as well as in the destinations to which they migrated. It also provided a strong counterargument to the assimilationist myth of American history more generally. In the second place, from a world historical perspective, the Scottish migration of the eighteenth century proved to be a mechanism to understand the way in which the British empire of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was administered. The same Scottish families that had sent migrants to the Americas in the eighteenth century were also providing their sons to be the administrators for the East India Company's colonies and, later, the British government's officers in colonial territories. As a result, exploring the early Scots migration allows us to make meaningful comparisons to understand the ways in which British colonies were administered during the height of empire.

In short, I was looking at a significant group of people—relatively small in number by total population—that played a key role in the development and economic life of the British imperial economy in the eighteenth century. But they had been excluded, even if out of ignorance, from the national narratives of either their sending or receiving societies. As a result, I struggled to explain them in some convincing way, or make them significant outside of the important economic roles that they played. But then I discovered Paul Siu's *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation* (Siu 1987) and the concept of the **sojourner**. Siu, a sociologist, examined a different group of migrants in a different time and place, and identified several important characteristics that to one degree or another applied to my eighteenth-century cohort. Finally, I thought, I could make a global connection and say something significant. Using that most basic of the world history skills, comparison, I was able to analyze my research in the context of someone else's, and move toward saying something useful about a relatively unknown group of people.

Those who study migrations generally think of it as a one-directional movement that needed to be explained by two different, but related, sets of factors. Sojourners, some (but not all) of whom actually traveled backward and forward across the Atlantic, actually behaved a certain way because of their ideas about themselves, their neighbors, and their timetables. This challenged the idea of a one-directional movement, or process. And it makes for a very good teachable moment. Not everyone who migrates intends to do so for the duration of his or her life. Since many of our students, or their parents, migrated from somewhere else—city, state, country—it is easy to engage them in such a conversation, and to teach them the historical method required to construct a personal or familial narrative of migration. This narrative can then, of course, be aggregated into a class narrative, which can then be compared to other narratives and analyzed appropriately.

In order to explain migrations, many historians rely upon what they refer to as "push" factors and "pull" factors. We can look at any human migration, whether from one grade to the next or one continent to another, and compare them by looking at these factors. I will deal with each of them in turn. First, we should consider the "push" factors. By this, I generally mean those circumstances that drove individuals to migrate. For many of them, something in their native society failed them and caused them to leave. Was it, perhaps, a family disagreement that resulted in irreconcilable differences? Or was it a shortage of land for all of the members of the family to raise their own families? In some cases, a generally poor economy could not provide adequate opportunities for upward mobility for enough people. In other societies, it

might be a fear of political persecution for one's beliefs or activities. Thinking about, or typologizing, such factors for any one group of migrants can be a very useful activity for understanding migrations more generally.

The same is also true for the "pull" factors. Behind these is a desire to explain why a certain group of people travels to one place, and not another. It is easy to discern greater economic opportunity in one part of the world than another, at least at the same moment in time. There might be other factors as well. For example, the presence of friends and countrymen already there could provide an existing social network that facilitates integration, if not assimilation. Some migrants might be drawn to places where they can speak freely on subjects that might have been restricted at home. Or they might just prefer the climate to that in their native society. Identifying and exploring all of these factors can help students explain a particular population movement and relate seemingly diverse population movements to each other.

In the case of the Scottish sojourners, the "push" factors were fairly clear. Most of them were, simply, overeducated. The Scottish economy could simply not support the numbers of doctors, attorneys, and merchants that its educational system put out. Migration to other places in Britain (after 1707, of course) and then to British colonies provided some relief. For others, there was some political pressure as well, after the Jacobite uprising in 1745. What better way to demonstrate loyalty to the national government than by going to work for it? Many Scot migrants in this period went to the Americas in the service of government. That they also did so in the nineteenth century, after the loss of North America and the declining profitability of the Caribbean colonies, allows us to contemplate both changes and continuities over time. What was common to these people was the idea that it was not necessary to leave permanently, since there was nothing wrong with Scotland, other than insufficient resources to generate economic growth and support its population. Once wealth had been achieved, the logic went, return would be easy—and upward mobility achieved.

What drew the Scots to Jamaica (as well as other colonies to which they migrated), and not, say, Barbados was also fairly clear. Jamaica had a lot of land; it was growing as a society. It was not, as Barbados was in the eighteenth century, all cultivated. Much larger, with a large frontier, the colony proved an attractive place to engage in wealth cultivation. More land under cultivation meant more slaves and therefore the need for more managers, doctors, and merchants to actually run the place. Of course, the largest and wealthiest landowners had already returned to Europe, so they were hiring others to serve as surrogates for them. This allowed well-

educated people to remain well-educated people and actually gave them opportunities to themselves advance. When Britain gained new colonies after 1763, as it turned out, there were new waves of Scots going across the Atlantic to manage them. Of course, the presence of Scots already there made it easier to establish communities. The Scots were often criticized for being "clannish." What this meant, however, was simply that they cultivated business opportunities with each other, sponsored new migrants, and lived in the same neighborhoods. These patterns should be familiar to everyone who has looked at any migrant community in contemporary America. The Scots did not exhibit clannish behavior; rather, they behaved as many groups of migrants did—and still do.

I've already alluded to the fact that migrants frequently get omitted from the national histories of the places from which they come AND the national histories to which they travel. It is easy as well to look at the current debate in many countries, like the United States, or Belgium, or South Africa, and to see the ways in which migrants are restricted and confined, as if wealth creation will expire if enough migrants are allowed in. In some places, national language restrictions are put in place in order to hasten the process of assimilation. Studying such debates and policies over time and space will lead to analysis of changes and continuities.

All of this, however, still does not allow us to see migrants as they see (or saw) themselves. We ought to know if they consider themselves sojourners, for example, or if they see themselves as political refugees or economic migrants. Moreover, we should at least be interested in how they see the intersection of their lives with the global historical process of nationalism and identity formation. It might be that historians, like much of the rest of society, assume that it is only possible to associate with one "national" identity. But that may not be right.

In the case of the eighteenth-century Scots, who never saw themselves as Jamaican or Virginian, there ought to be some inquiry. While most of them saw themselves as wholly Scottish, a few others referred to themselves as "North British." This label clearly connected them to the British state, as opposed to the Scottish nation, and represented a choice. Why that choice would have been made warrants further study; suffice it to say here that those who used this term more often than not were seeking something—money, a job, or perhaps a payment for remaining loyal to the British crown during the American War for Independence (1776–1783) from the British government.

Still, others saw the Scots negatively—they were perceived to be a group with certain characteristics, so they must, in fact, have been a group with certain

characteristics. Because they were so educated and held certain occupations, another sociological theory, that of *middlemen minorities*,[2] entered into play here. When things went wrong, as they did in many places, but especially in the Chesapeake, the Scots became scapegoats and had their property confiscated; many fled. It took them years to recover, and it was only the opening of new territories that made some of the recovery possible.

What I have attempted to do at this point is explore the ways in which looking at a particular group of migrants in a single place or time period can lead to some important ways of understanding world history and, just as importantly, teaching that history to increasingly diverse groups of students. The goal in all of this, of course, is to begin with something known—the size of a movement of people, or their jobs, or the places to which they went—and to work outward from there. To begin with a historical process like migration, and then to look at a specific case in some detail, it becomes possible to use the AP course's historical thinking skills (e.g., comparison, analysis) to create a working hypothesis on the global scale. I've used the Scots as an entrée into the subject, in order to demonstrate what such work might look like.

There is still more work that can be done to expand student content knowledge while also modeling the historical thinking skills. Those of us who work with a process-centered approach to world history might be inclined to look for other groups that had the same demographic characteristics and achieved either similar or different results. Two groups of migrants come to mind here: Jews and Armenians. Both think of themselves as being in diaspora. How is this different from sojourners, we might ask—and we'd be off and running. Both groups are generally seen to be highly educated, both have been scapegoated when times got tough, and both created networks of ethnically and religiously similar people around them. They generally went to different places than the eighteenth-century Scots (though there were plenty of Jews in Jamaica), but how else were they different? Considering this question allows students to hone basic skills that are essential to AP World History courses.

We could also contemplate different groups—impoverished Mexican labor migrants to the United States, Indian tech workers to Silicon Valley, or Persians fleeing the Iranian Revolution in 1979—all as a way to get students to understand the processes of migration. The questions remain the same, but the results of the

2. Middlemen minorities are people who are ethnically distinct from the rest of society and who occupy middling-level occupational categories. Korean grocers now hold such positions. The sociological theory behind this suggests that this kind of person often becomes a scapegoat.

inquiries could be vastly different. The results in some ways matter much less than the process of dissecting and reconstructing the process itself.

When I teach world history, admittedly at a place that is very different from the environments with which most readers of this piece will be familiar, I always give a lecture on the big processes of each period. The spread of industrialization, or the rise of nationalism, are good examples of these kinds of topics. But migration does not characterize a single period—it characterizes EVERY period. As a result, it is included in every period of the course that I teach, just as it is included in every period of AP World History (even if we don't call it migration). Just as I can talk about sojourners, I can also talk about bonded labor (which includes slaves) in most periods. Just as I can describe economic migrants during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I can also describe them in virtually every period throughout the course. The content is important, but more important are the historical thinking skills that studying migration can teach us.

As teachers, it is important that our students learn how to think, how to draw conclusions about specific facts and specific time periods, and then how to relate those conclusions to other times and places. To cover migration in AP World History, then, teachers can choose one or two groups of migrants during the course and dissect the population movements while analyzing goals and outcomes of the migrants. Going through that process, especially if they are able to relate their own personal or family stories to it, will cause them to master many of the thinking skills that are so critical to success not just on the AP World History Exam, not just in my college classroom but also as citizens of an irreversibly, dare I say globally, connected world.

South America: Land of Immigrants and Emigrants — Italian and Japanese Migration to Argentina and Brazil — and Back

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The history of major Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Brazil in recent centuries, demonstrates that they were nations shaped—and reshaped—by immigration. At the height of mass transatlantic European immigration during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, between 5 and 7 million Europeans immigrated to Latin America and the Caribbean. The intensity of this transoceanic immigration was often as great, or greater than, the contemporary mass immigration to the United States. As a percentage of its population, during the late nineteenth century Argentina received twice as many immigrants as the United States. Less well known still is another major transoceanic labor migration to South America: the migration of Japanese contract laborers to Brazil during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Some of the transoceanic immigrants to South America were voluntary migrants, even when they came as contract labor. This was the case of the Italian immigrants to Argentina—now probably that country's largest ethnic group—and also of the Japanese immigrants to Brazil. (These Japanese migrants compose the origin of what is today the largest overseas population of Japanese descent outside the Pacific islands.) What makes these migration flows particularly interesting to teachers and students of world history is that a century later this migration flow reversed, sending the grandchildren of those Italian and Japanese immigrants back to an Italy or

Japan that they had never known. Still others were involuntary migrants, as was the case with the African slaves whose descendants now compose a majority of Brazil's population of 180 million—justifying its claim to be the second-largest "African nation" after Nigeria.

Transoceanic migration, voluntary or involuntary, should be a central theme of world history, one to which students, whose families likely have migration stories in their past, can relate. It lends itself to an analysis that blends microhistories with macrohistories, incorporating the individual memoir or community chronicle, and to telling stories that students can share. Shifting migration patterns are a reflection of changing relationships between national economies around the world during successive processes of industrialization and globalization, and thus windows to larger historical processes.

The histories of voluntary Italian migration to and from Argentina and voluntary Japanese migration to and from Brazil offer illuminating examples of these shifting relationships and historical processes, and also engaging stories of cultural conflicts and adaptations.

I. Italian Immigration/Emigration to and from Argentina

Italian merchants started coming to Argentina and Uruguay, its neighbor across the Rio de la Plata delta, shortly after their independence in the 1820s. In fact, the famed Italian nationalist and revolutionary of the mid-nineteenth century, Giuseppi Garibaldi, first wore his trademark red shirt fighting for the Colorados (Reds) of Uruguay in the regional war of the 1840s for ascendancy in the Rio de la Plata. Uruguayans call this conflict their Great War. It pitted the cosmopolitan local allies of recent European immigrants who advocated an openness to European liberal ideas and economies against creole proponents of a more insular "American" system.

The first sizable contract labor migration from Italy to Argentina, however, took place during the closing decades of the century, when Argentine ranchers sought to take advantage of the opportunity created by an industrial Europe's increasing inability to feed itself, by adding grains and other food crops to their livestock on their ranches in the rich soil of the pampa of central Argentina. These *golondrinas*—or swallows—were the first Italian migrants to grasp the opportunity created by this leap of globalization across the equator. They were called golondrinas, because like swallows they migrated with the seasons. In fact, they were probably the longest-distance seasonal migrant laborers in history who took advantage of the difference in the seasons between the Northern and Southern hemispheres to harvest the crops in

Italy and then take passage to Argentina literally in the *steer*age of the return passage of ships that transported live cattle from Argentina to Italy.

Eventually, some of these Italian agricultural laborers chose to stay in Argentina, a land where food was plentiful and meat was cheap, a new nation with greater opportunities than hierarchical rural Italy, while others returned to Italy with tales of gold in the streets and jewels in the sand that motivated friends and relatives to cross the Atlantic. The dramatic increase in Italian immigration to Argentina during the second half of the nineteenth century—which rose from less than 100,000 during the 1860s to more than 640,000 during the 1880s—reflected both the agricultural depression in northern Italy and the economic boom of the 1880s in South America, when foreign investment multiplied and exports doubled in a region that was being incorporated into an increasingly global economy centered on an industrializing and urbanizing Europe that could no longer feed or clothe itself from its own rural production. The resultant need for labor in both rural agriculture and urban export processing drew large numbers of European immigrants to Argentina—2.5 million between 1880 and 1930, the largest share of Latin America's seven–nine million immigrants during those decades—with Italians in the lead.

Entire villages in the Veneto, the depressed rural hill country near Venice, were deserted in the 1880s by their young men, all of whom seemed to have gone to Argentina. When the Italian government became alarmed at this depopulation and decided to investigate, what it found was a pattern—and a story—that repeated itself in village after village.

On a Sunday morning before Mass, an elegant stranger arrived in the village, impeccably dressed in black. He joined the promenade around the central square, doffing his top hat to the ladies and setting them abuzz with questions about who he might be and whether or not he was an eligible bachelor. When Mass began he entered the village church and took a prominent place in a front pew. When the service was over, he sat down at the best table in the best café and ordered the most expensive drink on the menu.

Then, when the young men who gathered in the square could no longer restrain their curiosity, he invited them to join him and ordered them an expensive drink as well. They asked him where he was from, and he was always from a village close enough so that they had heard of it, but far enough away so that they didn't have any relatives there.

When the church clock struck noon the stranger took out his big gold watch to check the time, while their eyes grew bigger and bigger. How could someone from a

village like their own have become so rich and prosperous? The stranger replied: Only a few years before, he had been a poor peasant like themselves, without hopes for a better future. "And then, and then…?" they demanded. "And then," he declared, "I went to *Argentina*!" They too could be like him. All it took was a few years and a little hard work

The elegant stranger was an agent for a steamship line, which was in turn subsidized by the Argentine government and private landowners as part of a policy of encouraging European immigration, both to "whiten" and "civilize" the mixed-race population, and to secure experienced farmers to add export agriculture to rural Argentina's largely livestock economy. Before he left town, he signed up all the young men he could persuade to ship out to Argentina.

They would have to pay for their passage by working for a landowner for three to five years as indentured labor, breaking up the hard sod, farming a huge 500-acre plot, and turning his ranch into a farm with their strong arms and knowledge of agriculture. When their voluntary servitude was over, they would leave the estate planted with grains and flax—and the alfalfa needed to feed the rancher's new refined livestock. Part of their commitment was to leave these improvements to the landowner when their contract expired. But then they could leave to seek their own fortune—what Argentines called "hacer América" and in the United States we call "the American Dream."

Most had been peasants in Europe and aspired to land of their own, but few found it. Argentina did not have the equivalent of the U.S. Homestead Act[3] until much too late, and then the lands available were poor lands distant from transportation and markets. The Argentine pampas were plains with extraordinary rich, well-watered soils, but these lands were already owned by Argentine elites and their value had multiplied with the building of railways and the boom in pastoral and agricultural exports.

Some Italian immigrants banded together in cooperatives to buy land in less pricey regions. But most drifted back to Buenos Aires, Argentina's chief port and political capital, where they could at least enjoy the society of other Italians and hope to find jobs in the booming export economy. During the boom of the 1880s, their American dreams seemed within reach, but their hopes were dashed when boom turned to bust in 1890—and Italian immigrants went jobless and homeless. Some gave up and returned to Italy, but most remained and rode out the storm, turning their trials and disappointments into the early tangos that they wrote, sang, and danced in

3. The Homestead Act was an act passed by U.S. Congress in 1862, giving unsettled land in the West to persons willing to build on the land and develop it.

the bars and brothels of La Boca, the port of Buenos Aires. It became a largely Italian area, where they lived in single-room occupancy slums known as *conventillos,* along with equally poor immigrants from other parts of Europe and the Middle East. By 1890, Buenos Aires was mostly a foreign-born city, where "gringo" meant Italian, not Anglo-American.

This was a development that alarmed the Argentine elite that had initially encouraged this mass transatlantic immigration, but now saw their concentration in the country's capital as a threat to national identity and political stability. The immigrants brought with them from Europe not only their strong arms and labor skills but also revolutionary ideologies such as anarchism and socialism. Soon they were regarded by the elite as a threat to public order, the core of what would become known as "the social question," where social inequality and ethnic exclusion became a charged political issue—and like immigration in the United States today, one that prompted government repression and provoked vigilante violence.

This view of immigration as a menace was reinforced when Italian anarchists took the lead in contesting the Argentine elite's self-congratulatory national centenary celebrations in 1910, and again in the social unrest of the deep recession that followed World War I. Hundreds of Italian immigrants became the first victims of the deadly antiimmigrant repression known as *La Semana Trágica*—the Tragic Week—of 1919.

It began as a strike in a factory staffed by Italian immigrant labor, organized by anarchist "agitators," but ended in a massacre that left hundreds of poor immigrants dead and thousands wounded by security forces and civilian vigilantes organized by the rightist "Patriotic League," in an outburst of elite xenophobia.[4]

During the decades that followed, the Italian immigrants—and their children and grandchildren—gradually integrated into Argentine society, adding their slang to the local language and pasta and pizza to the tables of Argentina.[5] Their integration was symbolized by the presidential election in 1946 of populist leader Juan Peron, himself of mixed Italian and Spanish ancestry (Argentina's two main European ethnic roots).[6] His decade in power saw their further integration with the new wave of mixed race

4. For a concise, accessible account of the Semana Trágica set within its historical and social context, see Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California, 2006), Chapter 3.
5. This gradual assimilation can be traced in the letters between members of an extended Italian family on both sides of the Atlantic edited by Samuel Baily and Franco Ramella, *One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence Across the Atlantic, 1901–1922* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988). Excerpts from these letters would make good primary source documents for students. For an interesting comparison to Italian immigration to the United States during this same era, see also Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), in which Baily concludes that the integration of Italian immigrants into the receiving society was greater in Buenos Aires than in New York.
6. For a comprehensive, prize-winning history of Spanish immigration to Buenos Aires during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

migrants from the Andean interior into a powerful working class, although Peron also restricted further immigration to Argentina to white Europeans.

This Italo-Argentine synthesis of Italy and Argentina was so complete and successful that it was a shock when thousands of Argentines of Italian descent lined up outside the Italian consulate in Buenos Aires in the deep economic crisis of 2001–2002—itself a result of globalization and the Argentine neoliberal response to its challenges—to reclaim the Italian passports that their grandparents had surrendered. Their goal was a return migration to their ancestral homeland in search of work and a better future than they saw possible in the Argentina where they had been born and raised.

Admittedly, it was a crisis so acute and sustained that unemployment soared to 40 percent and most Argentines fell into poverty in a country that was one of the richest in the world less than a century ago, while many Argentines were starving in one of the world's great bread baskets. Still, for a country that had been a land of *immi*grants, not *emi*grants—the country in Latin America with the largest middle class, where the South American version of the American Dream had seemed easiest to realize—it was a shock.

During those first years of the twenty-first century, an estimated 300,000 Argentines left their country in search of jobs and better futures elsewhere. Most went to Europe, where labor shortages offered good job opportunities, and European Union citizenship policies enabled Argentines of Italian and Spanish descent to "reclaim" EU passports and once in Europe work wherever they wanted. Although most may have been Italian in origin, because of the shared language, the vast majority ended up in Spain, which by 2004 was home to nearly 160,000 native-born Argentines—a reflection as well of the booming Spanish economy's expanding labor needs.

Far fewer ended up staying in Italy—although the 11,000 Argentines there are the largest group among the 45,000 Latin Americans working and living in Italy. So far, there have been few studies of those Argentines who did stay, of how they assess their "return" migration to the land of their ancestors. Most of the evidence we have is anecdotal—so I will end this part of my essay with an anecdote of my own:

A few years ago, I was dining at an outdoor table in Trastevere in Rome, where a singer was doing the rounds of the tables singing Neapolitan love songs. His Italian was excellent, but I detected a slight familiar accent. So I asked him in Spanish where he was from and he responded in Spanish: "Buenos Aires." I am an oral historian, so I began to ask for his life story. He had been living and working in Italy since the crisis, he explained. It was a better living and he had married and was doing well, he said,

but he still carried Argentina in his corazón—his heart—which he poured into the nostalgic tango that he sang for me. As with the Italian immigrants to Buenos Aires of his grandparents' generation, the tango continued to serve as a vehicle for immigrant longings and dreams—and even successful immigrants felt like exiles in their hearts.

II. Migration from and to Japan and Brazil

When Peron banned nonwhite immigration to Argentina in the mid-twentieth century, one of the groups whose presence in his "white" nation that he wanted to restrict was the Japanese. By then, the Japanese had already formed a large community within Brazil, Argentina's neighbor and rival, which had become home to the largest overseas population of Japanese descent outside Hawaii.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1867), Japanese emigration had been prohibited. During the Meiji period (1868–1912), which followed and opened Japan to the outside world, the Japanese government itself promoted emigration as a way of dealing with unemployment and rural overpopulation, and as a source of income via emigrant remittances. Moreover, the dislocations caused by Japan's rapid modernization and industrialization caused widespread rural poverty and distress. During this era, half a million Japanese emigrated, most of them to nearby Manchuria or Korea or to Pacific islands like Hawaii, where Japanese composed 40 percent of the population by the U.S. takeover in 1898.

It was not until the end of the Meiji period, when Japanese immigration began to meet resistance elsewhere, that Japanese began to migrate to Brazil. Brazil had promoted immigration during the closing decades of the nineteenth century as a replacement for the African slave labor that it finally abolished in 1888. But, as in Argentina, it was *European* immigration that its coffee planters had subsidized, in return for contract labor on their plantations. From 1880 to 1900, 1.6 million Europeans arrived in Brazil, half of them from Italy and most of the rest from Iberia. But Brazilian plantation owners, used to slave labor, treated their European workers like slaves, and the Italian and Spanish governments responded by forbidding new emigration, while many of the earlier immigrants left the plantations as soon as they could.

This created a rural labor shortage that Brazil's planters and the government they dominated thought they would once again fill with nonwhite workers. They considered the importation of Chinese coolie labor, but rejected it on racial grounds. Japanese were also racially problematic in a country whose racial policy was to whiten the population through miscegenation, but Brazil's economy depended on its coffee exports, the biggest in the world, and Brazilian coffee planters needed labor.

Moreover, the Japanese had acquired prestige in Brazil because of their victory in the Russo-Japanese War, so they were considered superior Asians. As a consequence of this confluence of concerns, in 1907, the São Paulo state government agreed to subsidize contract Japanese plantation labor, arranged with the help of the Japanese government.

The first group of Japanese immigrants arrived in Brazil in 1908, with little knowledge of their new land, but with high hopes of earning enough money in five years of plantation work to buy land of their own or to return to Japan with resources and their heads held high. Instead they found work that was hard and difficult under foremen who had been slave drivers and treated the contract laborers the same way as they had slaves. The conditions were so different from those promised by the Japanese emigration company that some migrants rebelled and left the plantations, especially when the steamship company failed to return the moneys they had deposited at the start of the journey.

This is a story told as a microhistory in *Gaijin,* a prize-winning film made in 1980 by the then-young Japanese Brazilian director Tizuka Yamasaki, based on the experience of her 101-year-old grandmother, who had told it to her as family oral history.[7] It is a "docudrama" social history film that would work well in a classroom and allow students to share the experience of these Japanese labor migrants, far from home and facing discrimination, exploitation, and manipulation in a strange cultural setting. The Japanese are isolated in part because of their language but even more because of the insularity of their culture. Because the Brazilians wanted to make sure the migrants would not flee the plantation, they insisted on the migration of families, which led to the creation of fictive families, with husbands and wives "of convenience."

This is the story of Yamasaki's grandmother in *Gaijin*, which is a pejorative Japanese word for "outsider" or "foreigner." Her Japanese husband of convenience dies of a tropical disease, while other migrants commit suicide or flee the plantation. The dramatic culmination of the film, however, is when the enraged Italian workers go on strike while the uncomprehending Japanese migrants continue working. This leads the plantation owner to order: "Hire Japanese workers. They work hard. Not like the Italians and the Spaniards, who are troublemakers." Yet, by the end of the film, a liaison between Yamasaki's grandmother and a socially conscious Brazilian points to a different future in a Brazil that prided itself on being a racial democracy in which racial mixing was both common and a path to integration. It would be a very gradual

7. It would be interesting to have students do oral histories of their own family's immigrant generation or as far back as family memory carries—and then to compare these stories to those in *Gaijin* or Baily and Ramello's Italian family correspondence.

assimilation, however, for a Japanese Brazilian community that would also try hard to maintain their traditions and identity.

Yamasaki's grandmother was among the first of the nearly quarter of a million Japanese who would migrate to Brazil over the next 50 years, most of them in the 1920s. It was a migration officially promoted and subsidized by a Japanese government fearful of overpopulation, and by Japanese investors eager to develop a Brazilian source of cotton for an expanding Japanese textile industry. Japanese migrants became *colonos* who cleared the forests, prepared the land for the coffee plants, did the planting, tended the plants, and harvested the beans. In the rows between the coffee plants, they grew food crops and earned money selling surplus food and doing odd jobs. They also earned a fixed sum for every 1,000 plants and for every sack of coffee beans, but this was much less than the emigration agencies had promised—only 20 percent of the wages paid in Hawaii.

Many fled the plantations and took refuge in the cities or in working for railway companies. Once they left their tight-knit Japanese community, they often intermarried with Brazilians and assimilated to the dominant culture. But 70 percent became small farmers on the expiration of their *colono* contract. They were helped in acquiring land by the coffee glut that led landowners to sell off parts of their plantations—very different from the high price of land that was a problem for Italian migrants in Argentina—and by the Japanese cultural tradition of banding together in mutual aid credit associations.

With the encouragement of Japanese industrialists, many became cotton farmers. But most became truck farmers around large cities like São Paulo, and by 1935, Japanese farmers produced 80 percent of the vegetables for Brazil's economic capital.

Others retreated to Japanese colonies in the Amazon, ethnic enclaves where they could live as Japanese—reproducing family patterns, religious rituals, and cultural mores. There they created Japanese schools, medical services, associations, and newspapers. Some of these communities were so isolated that they refused to believe that Japan had been defeated in World War II, while others streamed to the coast like a messianic sect because of the rumor that the Emperor had sent a ship to take them back to Japan.

World War II was a big divide for the Japanese Brazilian community in other ways as well. Brazilian paranoia about an alleged Japanese plot to use the Amazon as a naval base led the Brazilian government to restrict Japanese newspapers, schools, and public gatherings in the Japanese language, and to press the Japanese into a

compulsory assimilation program. After Pearl Harbor, internment camps were set up in Brazil, and Japanese were told to move from the coast, but these measures never reached U.S. levels.

After the war, Japanese emigration to Brazil resumed, although on a smaller scale and not in as culturally isolated a fashion. Before, many of the immigrants had defined themselves as *temporary* labor migrants or *Dekasegi Imin*. Now they saw themselves as permanent settlers in a new homeland, as "ex-Japanese" —*Nikkeijin*, foreigners of Japanese descent. Even more important, second- and third-generation Japanese Brazilians—the *Nisei* and *Sansei*—learned Portuguese, were educated in Brazilian schools and universities, and began to make their way in Brazilian society.[8] They still retained a strong sense of their Japanese roots, but now it was a Nikkeijin identity, as Brazilians of Japanese descent, which was "chameleonlike"—at times Japanese at other times Brazilian. Although the Nikkeijin faced some discrimination, by the 1980s they had emerged as the model minority, whose educational level, incomes, and professional status exceeded the Brazilian average. They had become so successful and well regarded that Japanese culture and food had become fashionable among non-Japanese Brazilians.[9] By 1990, there was a Japanese Brazilian community of more than 1.2 million, the largest overseas Japanese descent community (outside Hawaii) in the world.

Yet those same decades of the 1980s and 1990s would see the beginnings of a return migration to Japan as contract laborers of those second- and third-generation Nisei and Sansei, the children and grandchildren of those Japanese contract laborers who migrated to Brazil earlier in the twentieth century. This return migration would lead to 280,000 Japanese Brazilians living and working in Japan by 2004. It was a development that had both Japanese and Brazilian roots, and involved a working misunderstanding on both sides.

During the closing decades of the twentieth century, Japan, with an expanding economy and low population growth, was facing a labor crisis. It was solving this crisis by importing foreign "guest workers" from other Asian countries, from Communist China to Islamic Pakistan. But their presence and behavior in a largely monoethnic and insular Japan was creating a problem. So it occurred to the Japanese to instead bring in as guest workers ethnically Japanese Brazilians, whom they assumed would fit easily into Japan.

8. *Nikkeijin* — Persons born in Japan or descendents of persons born in Japan who have assimilated into their new societies; *Nisei* — A person of Japanese descent, born outside of Japan, usually in the Americas; *Sansei* — Child of Nisei born in the new society (third generation).
9. For a thoughtful and complex discussion of these issues, see Daniela de Carvalho, *Migrants and Identity in Japan and Brazil: The Nikeijin* (New York: Routledge, 2002), esp. Chapters 3 and 5.

Before 1980, Brazilians rarely emigrated: Why would you want to leave Brazil, with its vibrant culture, beautiful landscape, and an economy that had been among the fastest growing in the world for a century? The Latin American debt crisis of the 1980s—with its high unemployment and hyperinflation—changed that attitude, and Brazilians began to migrate to other countries in large numbers for the first time.

Japanese Brazilians retained an idealized image of Japan and were uniformly referred to as *japones* in Brazil. So they returned to Japan as contract laborers with high hopes and expectations of large earnings, and being embraced by the Japan that their grandparents had come from a century before. Both the Japanese and the Japanese Brazilians were doomed to disappointment. Neither side had their expectations fulfilled.

Japanese Brazilians were given what the Japanese called "3D" jobs: "dirty, difficult, and dangerous." Moreover, the treatment Japanese Brazilian workers received in these work sectors was demeaning, particularly for those who had been middle class and had enjoyed a high status in Brazil. Nor were they welcomed with open arms in Japan and viewed as prodigal sons. On the contrary, they faced discrimination and were regarded as *gaijin* (foreigners). They remained in Japan because of the money—wages that were sky-high compared to Brazil—but they filled mostly low-skill jobs and resented both their treatment and their inability to transcend it.

The Japanese who had brought them "home" felt equally disappointed in the result. The Japanese Brazilians might be *ethnically* Japanese, but they were *culturally* Brazilian. As a result, they did not behave "properly": They dressed and talked too loudly, were never on time, and sang and danced in too sexy a way. Foreigners were not expected to behave like Japanese, but because Japanese Brazilians *looked* Japanese, people would scold them in a language they barely understood for not *behaving* like a good Japanese. As a result, the Japanese Brazilians were slotted into the bottom of Japanese society as a new ethnic minority group—like the Korean Japanese, the Ainu, and the Okinawans—and discriminated against like these other "inferior" ethnicities.

Yet despite these mutual disappointments, the numbers of Japanese Brazilian contract workers in Japan has grown to more than a quarter of a million. Today, these Nikkeijin are the second-largest group of the 800,000 foreign workers in Japan (after the Chinese). As one study concluded: "They are by far the largest and most important source of legal migrant labor in Japan, on which many Japanese industries

now depend. [Japanese Brazilians] have assumed a critical function in the Japanese economy as a flexible and relatively cheap labor force."[10]

But their low wages in Japanese terms are many times more than what even middle-class professionals can earn in Brazil, allowing them to send money home to help support their families. Together, they send back to Brazil $3 billion in remittances annually, equal to 6 percent of Brazil's exports. This is why you have Brazilian teachers doing unskilled manual labor in Japan that they would never do in Brazil. Moreover, a third of pornography ads in Japan now feature Japanese Brazilians—who are viewed as the sexy "other" because of the way they move and dance. This represents another demeaning occupational niche for Japanese Brazilians, most of whom do not dance samba in Brazil.

One result of this disappointment and humiliation is that many Japanese Brazilians work a few years in Japan and then return with their savings to Brazil—these are the *dekasegi* temporary migrant workers. But when they return home, many find it hard to work in Brazil for so much less than they can earn in Japan and become "circle migrants," who remain in Brazil until the money is spent and then return to Japan to work. In a way, they are a twenty-first-century version of the nineteenth-century Italian *golondrinas*.

But other Japanese Brazilians choose to settle permanently in Japan. Like their grandparents who migrated the other way, they bring over their families and make the best of it, despite their feelings of being excluded and discriminated against. What is common to their experience of both countries is being regarded as a minority. But the difference is that where they were viewed as a *positive* minority in Brazil, they are seen as a *negative* minority in Japan. In Brazil, the Nikkeijin were ethnically distinguished as "*so* Japanese," but in Japan, they are ethnically disparaged as "*so* Brazilian." Like immigrants elsewhere, they are also blamed for "many problems"—"they fight and quarrel," "they have car accidents," "they do not pay," "they steal."[11] This is very different from the model minority image of Japanese Brazilians in Brazil.

The impact on individuals and their identity has been profound, and not what either they or academics had predicted. Many came to Japan expecting to be embraced and to reinforce their Japanese identity. Instead, they were excluded as "Brazilians" and this reinforced their *Brazilian* identity. As one young man put it: "I am now certain that I am more Brazilian than Japanese—I found this out in Japan…. Being seen as a foreigner in Japan despite my Japanese face was a shock that I will

10. Takeyuki Tsuda, *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective* (New York: Columbia University, 2003), xii. Excerpts used by permission of Columbia University Press.
11. Quoted in De Carvalho, *Migrants and Identity*, 141.

never forget."[12] As a result, Nikkei migrants who never danced samba or participated in Carnival in Brazil do so in Japan "to express their Brazilianness."[13]

For others, this initial nationalistic Brazilian response is followed by a more balanced view: "I discovered my Brazilianness in Japan and now I feel much more Brazilian than I did in Brazil," one Nikkei explained. "But my Brazilian feelings do not continue to become stronger over time. After the first shock I received in Japan, I felt a sudden rise in my Brazilian consciousness, but then the confusion ended. Now I can see both the Japanese and Brazilian sides of myself objectively."[14] Or as one Japanese Brazilian put it: "Between karaoke and samba I won't choose. I want to keep the best of both."[15]

To the Japanese, the Japanese Brazilians were "weirdos," as one young man put it. "They looked Japanese, but they weren't real Japanese. They acted completely different, spoke a foreign tongue, and dressed in strange ways. They were like fake Japanese, like a fake superhero you see on TV."[16] For a Brazilian, who "was *the* Japanese [in Brazil]…brought up as a weird Brazilian…in a world where there were us [the *Nikkei*] and the *Gaijin* [other Brazilians]," this Japanese response was both "confusing" and painful.[17] Yet anthropologists who have studied the Japanese Brazilians in Japan believe that their children, who are attending Japanese schools and internalizing Japanese mores and values, will overcome their minority status and disappear into Japanese society:

> My sister's daughter now thinks completely like a Japanese. She doesn't want to return to Brazil because she thinks Japan is the best. Because of these images she gets from Japanese society, she thinks Brazil is a poor, backward society populated by armed bandits…. She even asked my sister…if Brazil has televisions.[18]

Because Japanese Brazilians are a *cultural* minority in Japan, not a *racial* minority like the Korean Japanese, scholars believe that these children will disappear into the majority populace through cultural assimilation and social mobility because their ethnicity is not racially essentialized. As a local Japanese official in the provincial town of Oizumi explained:

> If the *Nikkeijin* children eventually learn to speak the language fluently and to behave just like the Japanese, they will be accepted as Japanese. I believe the

12. Quoted in Tsuda, *Strangers*, 367-68.
13. De Carvalho, *Migrants and Identity*, 137.
14. Quoted in Tsuda, *Strangers*, 368.
15. *Jornal Tudo Bem*, March 28, 1998. Quoted in De Carvalho, *Migrants and Identity*, 140.
16. Quoted in Tsuda, *Strangers*, x.
17. Quoted in De Carvalho, *Migrants and Identity*, 140.
18. Quoted in Tsuda, *Strangers*, 391.

> Brazilian *Nikkeijin* are fundamentally different from the Korean Japanese because they are of Japanese descent. The Japanese believe in *kettoshugi* (the principle of descent and blood ties). As we say, "blood is thicker than water."[19]

Oizumi may be the best test of that belief. It is the Japanese municipality with the highest concentration of foreigners, and nearly four-fifths of them are Brazilian. As a result, it is known as *Samba no Machi*—the City of Samba—and its Carnival has become a Japanese tourist attraction. By 1997, half of the babies born in Oizumi were Brazilian and by 2002 there were more than fifty Brazilian-owned businesses with more than 4,000 customers weekly. Facing a labor shortage in its manufacturing industries that this Brazilian immigration has solved, Oizumi's officials have tried hard to integrate Brazilians into local society. Yet, one local resident complained that the number of Brazilians and their alien cultural style made her "feel a foreigner in her own city."[20]

Clearly, the return migration to Japan of Japanese Brazilians—like the original migration of their grandparents from Japan to Brazil—is a complex story, involving many of the themes and issues of world history on both a macro and micro level. It would be a fascinating addition to a world history course. Fortunately, because it has fascinated both media and scholars there is a lot published on it. Moreover, to tell the micro story, Tizuka Yamasaki has recently released her follow-up film to *Gaijin,* which, to underscore the comparison, she has called *Gaijin 2*. It follows Japanese Brazilians through the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of their return to Japan.

There are also suggestive microstories in recent books like Takeyuki Tsuda's *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland*, which begins with a revealing, descriptive anecdote:

> The train slows as it rolls into Shibuyu station in Tokyo. It is past rush hour on the Yamanote line, but the car is still full with commuters. Outside on the station platform await hundreds of passengers. The doors open, allowing the passengers to shuffle out and a new group to file into the train in an orderly manner. Most of the men are dressed conservatively in suits...Finally, just before the doors shut, a group of three men stroll in. Compared to those who preceded them, these Japanese appear quite different. Their demeanor is casual and leisurely. Two of them are dressed in shirts of bright, mixed colors and jeans with a stripe down the seam. The third wears a t-shirt that says "**Brasil**." They continue their conversation, speaking loudly in Portuguese….

19. Quoted in Tsuda, *Strangers*, 395.
20. Quoted in De Carvalho, *Migrants and Identity*, 136.

Instantly, the three men become the objects of peculiar glances from the surrounding Japanese. Some look up from their newspapers. Others pretend not to notice these strangers. Two Japanese women sitting beside me turn their eyes away from the men and look at each other. They exchange one word: "Gaijin!"[21]

21. Tsuda, *Strangers*, ix.

Global Cultural Encounters in Argentina and Brazil: Bringing Immigration Scholarship into the Classroom

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South American Immigration: Historical Context

Argentina is a nation of immigrants. For a variety of reasons, not the least of which is a vibrant historical connection to the global economy, Argentina absorbed many people especially in the last third of the nineteenth century. By the turn of the twentieth century, half of Buenos Aires was populated by people who had been born elsewhere, a rather unusual statistic for that day.

To a degree, Argentine immigration was intentional. Elite Argentines saw economic opportunities in expanding the workforce to serve the export economy, one of the key aspects of the liberal ideology of the period. As with other Latin American elites, in Brazil for instance, they held a preference for northern European immigrants, who would civilize and "whiten" the populace. For the most part, however, this is not who they managed to attract. The most common immigrant came from Italy, where the political climate at the time was turbulent. Thus, many of the new arrivals carried with them interests in labor organizing and even anarchism. Lesser known to history but also important were immigrants from Asia, in particular from Japan. These folks were also integrated into the growing export economy.

Curiously enough, immigration sometimes has a rebound effect. Immigrants rarely know how long their stay will be in the destination country, though returning to their homeland is often problematic. The decision to migrate, and to return, is a complicated matter of identity as much as it is an economic question. There are

always numerous "push" and "pull" factors at work, and this is certainly the case in Argentine history. These complicated and various reasons, and the cultural and national identity aspects that surround them, are the subject of much modern Latin American historiography.

Synopsis

For this lesson, students will read a recent article by Peter Winn, "South America: Land of Immigrants—and Emigrants: Italian and Japanese Migration to Argentina and Brazil" Winn offers some fascinating information regarding the peculiarities of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigration by Italians to Argentina and Japanese to Brazil. There is plenty of historical information for students to chew on: stories as well as statistics, and good indications of the reasons for these migrations. The article is somewhat unique in that Winn also describes the phenomenon of "reverse migration," as Italians and Japanese return to their "homelands," sometimes many years after the original migration. The reception that Italians and Japanese receive on both sides of the ocean is representative and causative of their own perceptions of national identity. Japanese Brazilians in particular find that they do not "fit in" when they return to Japan after so many years.

In sum, the content of the article can provoke rich discussions, using some critical thinking questions. This should surely be one objective of the lesson. However, since the focus is on historical interpretation, the lesson should also involve an appreciation of the work of the historian. What questions does Winn ask? Why does he ask these? How does he answer these questions? The lesson aims to move students to higher-order thinking about written history but attempting to ascertain the point of view and method of the author.

Goals and Objectives

The basic objective of this exercise is to introduce students to the notion of historical interpretation, in a rudimentary yet clear fashion.

After completing the exercise, students will be able to:

- Identify diverse causes of immigration to and from South America
- Recognize the value of a comparative approach in historiography
- Begin to think critically about the work of historians

AP World History Habits of Mind

Although a number of AP goals may be met, the lesson is principally constructed to

introduce students to:

- Understand diversity of interpretations (first-category habit of mind)
- Compare within and among societies (second-category habit of mind)

Lesson Plan

Student Preparation

Students are expected to read the article prior to class. Many students may benefit from the following questions.

- What were the reasons for immigration from Italy to Argentina?
- What were the reasons for immigration from Japan to Brazil?
- What were Argentina and Brazil looking for in immigrants?
- How did the encounter between immigrant and "native" differ between the countries? Contrast the reaction of South Americans to immigrants.
- What do you imagine are the reasons for the differences?
- What larger global questions or issues does the article raise, beyond these places?

Introduce the Subject of Immigration

Just as history is always written from the present, which influences our interpretation, it is also learned from a specific individualized context. Put simply, your students are aware of and have likely formed opinions and questions about immigration in the world today. Rather than ignore these views, they can be used as a "hook."

Plan #1

Have the students ask about immigration stories at their home to share in small groups or the class. N.B.: You must know your class well. Imagine asking this question of undocumented immigrants! Another method is to have them interview a friend, though with some populations you may find difficulties there as well. African American students may or may not appreciate the assignment as well, but their family histories can be even more revealing, as those of us old enough to remember *Roots* know. Each teacher must find a comfortable solution to this sort of exercise. The classroom has to be a safe space. One interesting question to ask students whose ancestors came from non-English-speaking places is whether and when the native tongue fell into disuse. One great irony of current "English only" discourse is that first-generation immigrants rarely picked up English, and by the fourth generation very

few continue to speak the native tongue in the home, which suggests that "foreign" language is not a long-term threat.

Plan #2

Initiate a class discussion about current immigration issues. List the problems on the board first. Acknowledge that many people feel uncomfortable with immigration, without casting any judgments. Then, ask students to take out a small piece of paper and list some reasons they think that immigrants might want to leave their country, and why they might be drawn to ours. Ask them to list at least two challenges or difficulties that immigrant families might face.

Working with the Article

The previous exercise will hopefully accomplish two goals. First, students should be able to make a personal connection with the figure of the immigrant, which is more powerful pedagogically than the sort of statistics and pitched debate that the subject often offers. Second, students may become curious about "push" and "pull" factors, which are critical in historical analysis of migration.

Content

Regardless of the caliber of your students, analysis of a historiographical assignment should begin at the base level of historical content. Put simply, the group should understand what the author is attempting to communicate before proceeding to analyze her or his method.

For this particular article, creating a chart to contrast push and pull factors is recommended. Push factors are reasons to leave the mother country, and pull factors are reasons to migrate to the object country. Often enough, these are related. This task can be effectively completed by splitting up the class into Argentina and Brazil teams, and perhaps further by push and pull teams. Have them scour specific places in the text that discuss push and pull factors in the migration to South America.

Teachers may want to assign this graphic organizer with the reading:

	Push Factors	**Push Factors**	**Pull Factors**	**Pull Factors**
Italy - Push	Poor economy			
Argentina - Pull			Export economy	
Japan - Push		Meiji promotion of emigration		
Brazil - Pull				Labor shortage, end of slavery

There are other ways to organize such a chart, but this helps to see similarities as well as differences. Ideally several examples will be placed in each square. Another grid can be created for the question of "return migration," listing reasons for Japanese and Italians to return to Japan and Europe, respectively. Do not stop here! Closure to this section is required by *searching for themes*. This can be accomplished cooperatively, asking students if they see patterns of similarity or difference. List these on one side of the board.

Turn now to more specific questions about the article. These issues will require closer attention to the text and might benefit from work in groups. Find specific places that speak to:

- Reception that immigrants received in Argentina
- Reception that immigrants received in Brazil
- Reception that return immigrants received in Italy and Japan
- Issues of race and ethnicity
- Specific historical events, such as the Tragic Week of 1919
- Issues of national identity

Groups should report out. The instructor should list findings according to immigrant group. Once again, search for themes in open discussion with the class.

Method

Now turn to a discussion of *how* the article is put together. Begin slowly by recapping your own comparative method. How does Winn use this method to explain trends in migration? Why do you think that he chose these places? What do students think about doing comparative history? What advantages does comparative history have as a method, and what does it not achieve? These are purposefully open-ended questions, meant to encourage discussion of the *process* of doing history.

Once students are comfortable with discussing at this level, ask students to imagine the work of the historian with more complexity. Engage them in discussion of

- The use of individual stories in the Winn article, such as from the film *Gaijin*.
- The use or misuse of chronology by Winn: Is he comparing apples with oranges?
- The subtle and unclear construction of "identity" in the article.
- The central argument or thesis of the piece, if it can be found!
- Is Winn saying "you can never go home"? What might that mean?
- What might Winn be saying to other historians? What is the overall importance of the piece?
- What sources does Winn use? What sorts of sources *might* have been useful?
- What questions are NOT answered by Winn?

Closure

Return to the original discussion of immigration in our own world. Are students thinking differently about some of the questions raised in the original discussion? If these have been saved they can be put on the board or on a handout. Now that you know more about why immigrants made the choices that they did and were received in the ways that they were in Argentina and Brazil, what similarities and differences do you see with immigration today? Which problems have persisted, and which ones have changed? How might Winn write about today's immigrants, given his method in writing about Japanese and Italians in the earlier period? This should move inevitably to the question of *why* Winn has written his article, given the time we live in and what sorts of questions are now interesting to world historians. Revisit the question of a thesis.

Alternative Formats

One alternative format would be to replace part of this lesson with an examination of review literature on global immigration. By reading a series of scholarly book reviews, students can obtain an understanding of the conversation of historians that underlies historical interpretation. Select scholarly reviews of books that deal with global migration generally, and some that deal with the subject in the South American context, to yield the widest results. Good sources of reviews include the *Journal of World History, World History Connected, H-WORLD,* and the *American Historical*

Review. Students could report on the main points in the reviews, in terms of the arguments that are made in these texts. These arguments can be contrasted with the interpretive framework of Winn, and of the popular notions of immigration that began the lesson.

Assessments

Summative Assessment

Short writing assignments during and at the end of the lesson can help ascertain the level of student learning. These "minute papers" can be used both as an assessment tool and as a spark for discussion.

A final essay on the reasons for immigration in each case, asking students to conclude something about the reasons for immigration patterns, would be a more formal assessment. A longer essay might read: Contrast the economic and cultural reasons for immigration and return for Italians and Japanese; which are the more powerful reasons and why? At yet a higher level, the essay prompt might ask: What is Winn arguing in this article? What sorts of evidence does he use to support his thesis, and which of these evidences do you find most compelling?

See below for a possible AP-style Compare and Contrast question and evaluation rubric.

Formative Assessment

Short quizzes might be one possible formative assessment. Some possible short answer questions follow. What have you learned about immigration from the article? How does Winn present his material? Why do you think he is interested in this subject? If you were a historian, what would you like to know about immigration to Argentina and Brazil?

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Possible Free-Response Question and Rubric

The Question

Based on the information in the article, compare and contrast the reasons for immigration and return among Japanese and Italian immigrants to Latin America. Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis that addresses both groups
- Analyzes relevant reasons for differences between groups

- Cites the perspective of Winn through direct quotation of the article

Grading Rubric

Based on AP scoring guidelines, 0–9 points possible.

Core Grading

1. Has acceptable thesis (addresses both groups, in first paragraph) – 1 point
2. Addresses all parts of question, though not necessarily evenly – up to 2 points
    a. Immigration to S. America
    b. Return from S. America
    c. Differences *and* similarities (a, b, and c for 2 points, two of these (a and b, b and c, or c and a) for 1 point.)
3. Substantiates thesis with appropriate historical evidence – up to 2 points
4. Makes at least one or two relevant, *direct* comparisons between groups – 1 point
5. Analyzes at least one reason for one of these in #4 – 1 point

Expanded Core

0–2 points

Expands beyond basic core of 1–7 points, based on historical and writing skills:

- Particularly nuanced thesis
- Relates comparisons to larger global patterns and connections
- Suggests similarities with immigration in other regions
- Critiques the argument of the author (this would be particularly impressive)

Understanding Global Migration Through Charts

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Objectives

- Understand broad patterns of global migration during the first wave of mass migration, 1840–1930.
- Learn to read and analyze charts and graphs.
- Find relationships between large-scale quantitative data and more local and qualitative knowledge.
- Develop critical historical perspectives on area divisions of world history.

The mass migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a global phenomenon. From the North Atlantic to the South Pacific, hardly any corner of the earth was untouched by migration. Although most scholarship and textbooks have focused only on the transatlantic migrations, movement around the world was actually similar in quantities and modes of organization. All were aspects of the processes of globalization: the peopling of frontiers, new transportation technologies, the production and processing of material for modern industry, the shipment and marketing of finished goods, and the production of food, shelter, and clothing for people who worked in those industrial and distribution networks. Yet even as the causes and cycles of migration grew increasingly integrated across the globe, the flows themselves increasingly segregated into distinct regional systems in the Atlantic, Southeast Asia, and Northeast Asia. These regions corresponded with different rates of economic growth and ideologies of cultural difference that have

obscured the many similarities in migration patterns and helped erase many of the non-Atlantic migrations from the historical memory.

Large-scale patterns and changes over time are often best expressed through tables, charts, and graphs. Not only is an effective chart able to condense a wide range of information, but it can also make a strong visual impact that conveys a point more powerfully than words. The skills necessary to read graphs include not only the technical knowledge of how graphs convey information but also the interpretive skills of understanding the implications of a chart, critiquing its limitations and drawing connections to other historical processes and modes of interpretation. With the goal of using charts to understand global migration in mind, this article will begin with a brief overview of global migration and then discuss six charts that highlight different patterns of global migration. Discussion points will focus on how to read the charts, what they mean in relation to each other, and how they can be interpreted in the context of other processes of world history at this time. More discussion and details, as well as references to further reading and data sources, can be found in Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* 15 (2004): 155-89 (available online), and in the forum "Migration and World History: Reaching a New Frontier," *International Review of Social History* 52 (2007): 104-42.

Patterns of Global Migration

Table 1 divides transoceanic migration from 1840 to 1940 into three main systems. The first is the transatlantic system, from Europe and the Middle East to the Americas. Nearly 65 percent of these migrants went to the United States, with the bulk of the remainder divided between Argentina (which had the largest proportion of foreign-born residents), Canada, Brazil, and, to a lesser extent, Cuba and Uruguay. Over half of the emigration before the 1870s was from the British Isles, with much of the remainder from northwestern Europe. As migration increased along with new transportation technologies in the 1880s, regions of intensive emigration spread south and east as far as Portugal, Russia, and Syria. Up to 2.5 million migrants from South and East Asia also traveled to the Americas, mostly to the frontiers of western North America and the plantations of the Caribbean, Peru, and Brazil.

TABLE 1: GLOBAL LONG-DISTANCE MIGRATION, 1840–1940

Destination	Origins	Amount	Auxiliary origins
Americas	Europe	55–58 million	2.5 million from India, China Japan, Africa
Southeast Asia Indian Ocean Rim Australasia	India S. China	48–52 million	5 million from Africa, Europe NE Asia, Middle East
Manchuria, Siberia Central Asia, Japan	NE Asia Russia	46–51 million	

The second major system is that of migrants from India and southern China to Southeast Asia and islands through the South Pacific and Indian Oceans. It consisted of more than 29 million Indians, at least 19 million Chinese, and about 4.5 million Europeans, the latter mostly to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. From 1870 to 1930 approximately 35 million migrants moved into the 4.08 million square kilometers of Southeast Asia, compared to the 39 million migrants who moved into the 9.8 million square kilometers of the United States. Most migration from India was to colonies throughout the British Empire. Nearly four million Indians traveled to Malaysia, more than eight million to Ceylon, more than 15 million to Burma, and about a million to Africa and islands scattered from Mauritius to Fiji. Less than 8 percent of total migration from India was indentured to European planters at the time of departure, mostly to distant places in the Americas, Africa, and Fiji. The proportion declined over time, accounting for about a quarter of Indian emigration from 1840 to 1860 and quickly decreasing to an average of five percent a year after the 1870s, until imposition of restrictions on indenture contracts in 1908 and the abolishment of indenture in 1922 brought it down to nothing. Most Indian migrants still worked on European plantations but usually moved and obtained jobs through Indian recruiters, friends, or family, much like most European migrants working in the Americas. Up to two million also migrated as merchants or travelers not intending to work as laborers.

The vast majority of Chinese migrants came from the southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. Up to eleven million traveled from China to Singapore (the second-biggest immigrant port in the world, after New York) from where more than a third of the arriving migrants transshipped to the Dutch Indies, Borneo, Burma, and places further west. Nearly four million traveled directly from China to Thailand,

between two and three million to French Indochina, more than a million directly to the Dutch Indies, less than a million to the Philippines, and about half a million to Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and other islands in the Pacific and Indian oceans. In the nineteenth century, the bulk of Chinese worked as craftsmen or in mines and plantations in rural Southeast Asia, the Americas, and Australia, mostly in partnerships or under Chinese employers. By the twentieth century, an increasingly large proportion worked as small shopkeepers. Less than three-quarters of a million Chinese migrants signed indenture contracts with European employers, including a quarter million to Latin America and the Caribbean before 1874, a quarter million in Sumatra from the 1880s to the 1910s, and a smaller number to mines, plantations, and islands scattered throughout Malaya and the Pacific and Indian oceans.

The third system is made up mostly of migrants from Russia and northeastern Asia who moved into the broad expanse of land from Central Asia to Siberia and Manchuria. In the 1860s, both the Russian and Chinese governments began to encourage settlement in the distant border regions of Asia. Railroad construction in the 1890s further strengthened the migrant flows. At least 13 million Russians moved into Central Asia and Siberia, usually under close government supervision by the Imperial and Communist governments. Between 28 and 33 million Chinese migrated into Manchuria and Siberia, along with nearly 2 million Koreans. Another 2.5 million Koreans migrated to Japan, especially in the 1930s, and more than 2 million Japanese also moved in to Korea and Manchuria. In addition, up to a million northern Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese migrated to a diverse range of destinations, including much of the Americas, Hawaii, Southeast Asia, South Africa, and Europe.

These three systems are only the tip of the iceberg. For the most part, they only count people who boarded ships in third class or were counted under government resettlement efforts, as in Siberia. Many more migrants traveled overland, not passing through ports and evading enumeration. Millions moved within each of the receiving and sending regions and through places at the interstices of these three systems, such as the six to eight million who moved into and out of Africa and the six to eight million who moved between the Russian and Ottoman empires. Even the numbers cited for these three systems must be treated as ballpark figures. People who traveled first class or were not categorized as "immigrants" were often not counted at ports. Many people also evaded enumeration, something that became increasingly common over time as immigration laws became more restrictive. The difficulties in counting migration are apparent in comparing numbers from emigration and immigration ports that sometimes vary by 20 percent or more. And even when immigration and

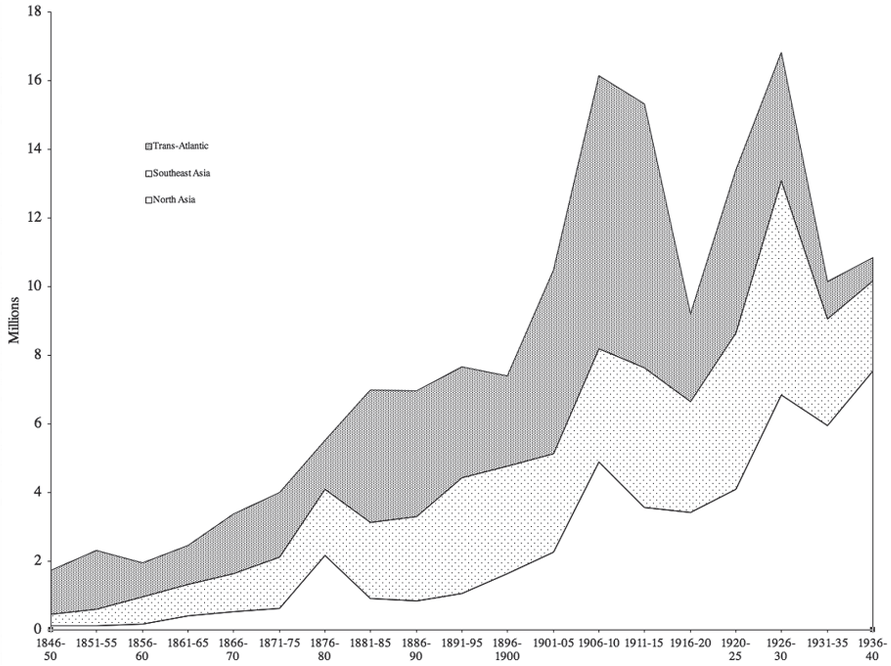
emigration numbers correspond, they often obscure multiple return trips by single individuals.

Even with a potential error rate of 10 to 20 percent, we can still use these numbers to understand broad trends and comparisons. At the very least, they show that we must seriously entertain the idea that migration was a truly global phenomena, not limited to the transatlantic migrations. From the perspective of emigration, at first glance 19 million overseas emigrants from China or 29 million from India seems like a drop in the bucket compared to the several million from much smaller countries like Italy, Norway, Ireland, and England. But if we adjust the focus to regions of comparable size and population, the rates are very similar. Some peak rates of overseas emigration from Europe in the 1910s are 10.8 emigrants per 1,000 population in Italy, 8.3 from Norway, and seven from Ireland. In comparison, the annual average overseas emigration rate from Guangdong province in southern China, which had a slightly larger geographic area and slightly smaller population than Italy, was at least 9.6 per 1,000 in the peak years of the 1920s. Hebei and Shandong provinces (sources of migration to Manchuria) had an even higher rate of 10 per 1,000 during that same decade. The small islands of the Caribbean and South Pacific probably had some of the highest emigration rates in the world. In terms of broader regional population, emigration from Europe from 1846 to 1940 amounted to 15.4 percent of the European population in 1900, compared to 11.3 percent in China and 10.4 percent in South Asia. The slightly larger magnitude of European emigration is not insignificant (and only tentative, given our lack of knowledge about internal and overland migration) but is not so large as to justify a categorical distinction between quantity and quality of migration in the different regions.

Most textbooks and scholarly articles assume that the mass migrations were only a transatlantic phenomena. They are often treated as emblematic of the modernity, entrepreneurial spirit, and dislocations of the modernizing West. If Asian migrations are remembered at all, it is usually only the relatively small number of migrants that were indentured to Europeans. They are often described as bound by tradition, impoverished, and unwilling or unable to migrate except under direct compulsion to Europeans. How can the numbers presented here help us to rethink the scale of migration in world history, the meaning and significance of the Atlantic migrations, the relationship of migration to a changing global economy, and the regional variations and connections within that economy? The following charts can help students answer these questions.

Global Migration Over Time

FIGURE 1. GLOBAL MIGRATION 1846–1940



Source: McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940" *Journal of World History* 15 (2004): 165.

FIGURE 2: REGIONAL TRENDS IN GLOBAL MIGRATION, 1846–1940 (FIVE YEAR AVERAGES)

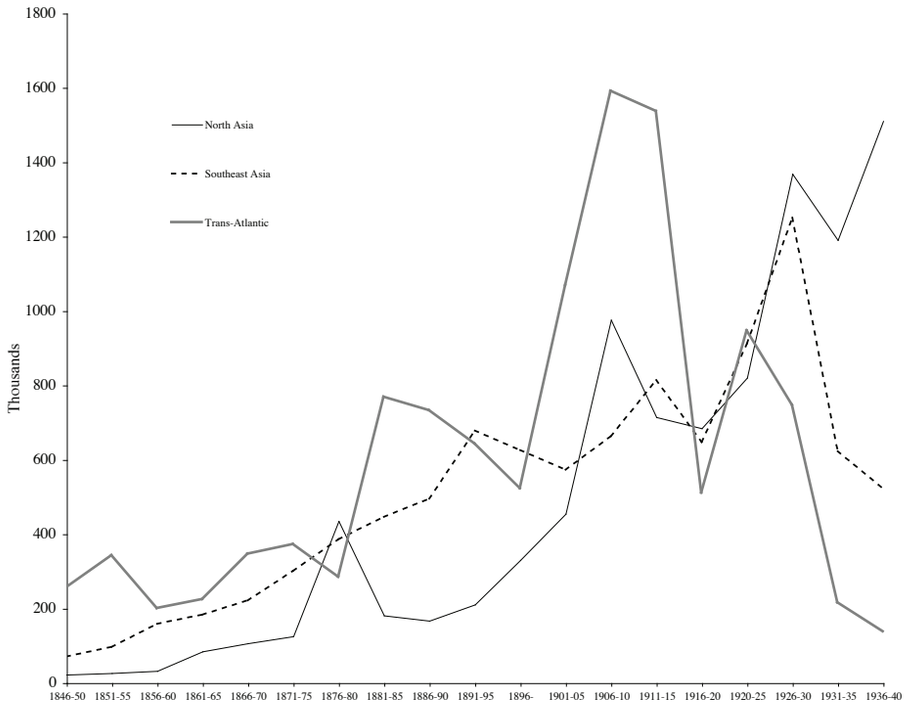


Figure 1 shows the combined development of the three main overseas flows over time, and Figure 2 shows their separate trajectories. Figure 2, in particular, can be used to raise questions that can draw out some of the similarities and differences between the main migration systems, and the ways in which migration flows are shaped by historical events. For example, what are some of the major events that seem to have impacted all of the flows, such as the global depression from the 1870s to early 1890s, World War I, and the Great Depression of the 1930s? At what points do the systems seem to be developing differently? What might be the causes of differences? Overall, do the three flows seem more similar of different in their development? Does 1914 seem like an appropriate date to mark the end of the age of mass migrations, as is often the case in histories of the Atlantic migrations? To what extent should these three systems be understood as interlinked and embedded in common global conditions, and to what extent should they be understood as unique to regional contexts?

These charts also offer an opportunity to discuss the general causes of migration in the context of a broader knowledge of world history. Overall, global migration increased more quickly than world population. It amounted to 0.36 percent of the world's population in the 1850s, rising to 0.96 percent in the 1880s, 1.67 percent in the 1900s, and then declining to 1.58 percent in the 1920s. Why did long-distance migration become an increasingly significant aspect of world history? Any answer must draw on a broad knowledge of the many direct and indirect effects of industrialization and expanding global markets: improved transportation technologies; the need for laborers in factories and rapidly growing cities; the need for workers to produce raw materials in plantations and mines around the world to supply those factories; the mobility of people to collect, distribute, and sell the raw materials and finished products; a rapidly expanding world population pushing out to frontiers; the settlement of new lands and frontiers to produce food to feed workers in cities, mines, and plantations; and the attraction of these frontiers as places of abundant land and high wages due to relatively low populations.

Global Migration and the Distribution of World Population

FIGURE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD POPULATION, 1800–2006

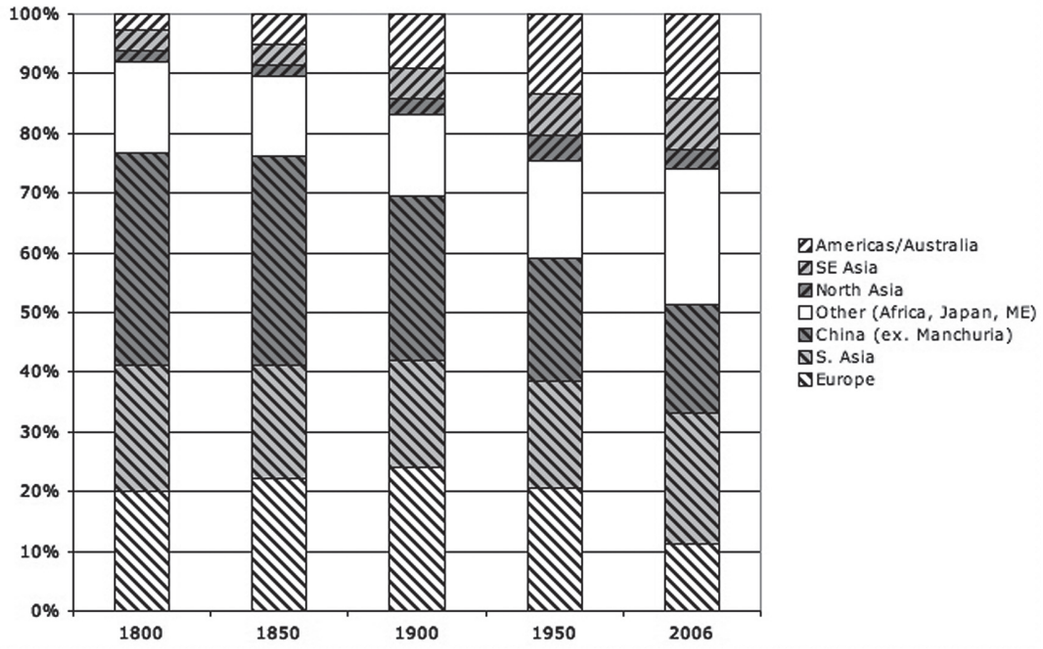


TABLE 2: WORLD POPULATION GROWTH BY REGIONS, 1850–1950 (MILLIONS)

	1850 Population	1950 Population	Average Annual Growth
Receiving			
Americas	59	325	1.72%
North Asia	22	104	1.57%
SE Asia	42	177	1.45%
Sending			
Europe	265	515	0.67%
South Asia	230	445	0.66%
China	420	520	0.21%
Africa	81	205	0.93%
World	1200	2500	0.74%

Source: Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, *Atlas of World Population History* (London: Penguin, 1978).

Figure 3 and Table 2 show the relative growth of populations in the main migrant sending and receiving regions from 1800 to 1950. Mass migration contributed to a significant redistribution of world population into three underpopulated frontier regions from 1800 to 1950. The table demonstrates these shifts in absolute terms, showing that population growth in the destination regions was more than twice that of world population as a whole, and growth in the sending regions was less than that of world population. Taken together, the three main destination regions accounted for 10 percent of the world's population in 1850 and 24 percent in 1950. The chart offers a more visual representation of the shifts in proportions over time. Students must learn to use the legend to help distinguish between the main sending and receiving regions.

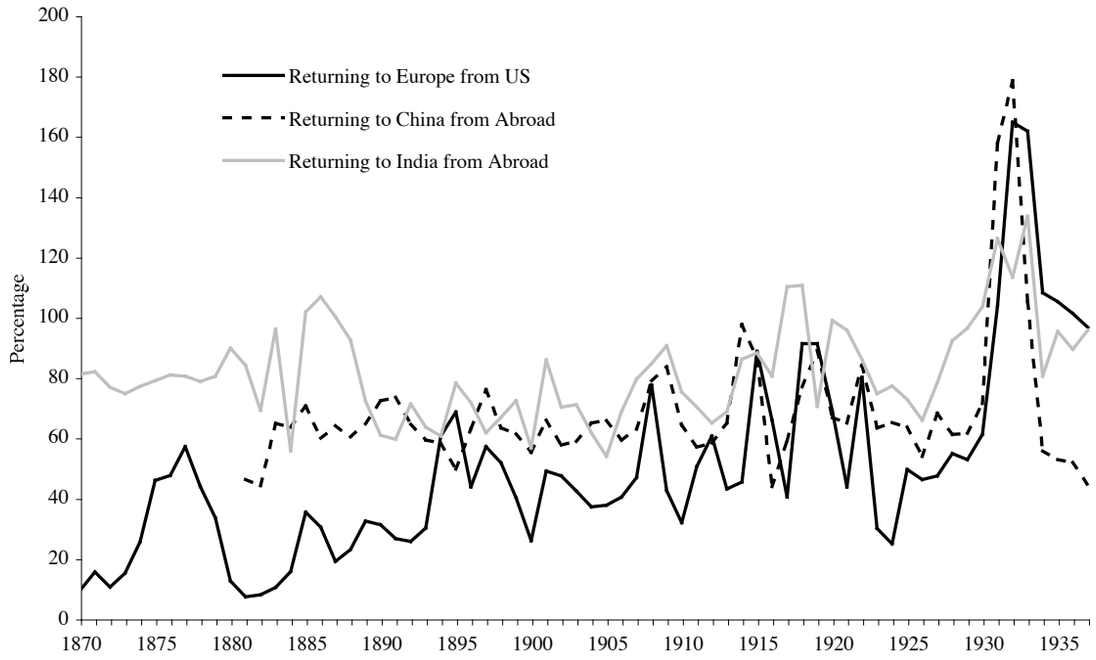
This chart can also be a starting point for a comparison with the more recent wave of mass international migration since the 1960s. In contrast to earlier frontier destinations, the bulk of contemporary migration has moved from the poor countries to wealthy and well-established countries in North America, Western Europe, the oil-rich Gulf states and Israel, and a scattering of other relatively wealthy countries such as Argentina, Venezuela, South Africa, Australia, Singapore, Japan, Taiwan, and Malaysia. This is also a movement from places with the most rapidly growing populations to places with stagnant or shrinking populations. Why might these shifts in migration patterns have taken place? Are these shifts reflected in the population distribution for 2006? How might the contemporary world population distribution look without this migration?

A focus on the present can also raise the questions of the overall effects of historical migrations. The descendants of European migrants are much more prominent around the world than the descendants of Asian migrants. Indeed, the population of Canada alone is larger than the entire population of overseas Chinese around the world. If the original migration flows were similar in size, why this great discrepancy in the number of descendants? A discussion of these differences could center on the idea that most European migrants moved to temperate areas where native populations quickly died or were killed off. In contrast, many Asian migrants moved to tropical areas with well-established native populations. We often do not count their contemporary descendants as Indian or Chinese because they have become Burmese, Filipinos, Thais, Vietnamese, or other local peoples. Also, tropical areas were much less amenable to the establishment of families. How many tropical regions have large white populations? Manchuria also offers a counterexample of an Asian migration to a temperate zone that came to dominate a region at the expense of

a local population in a way that was similar to the destinations of European migration. These answers also point to the role of power in shaping the legacy of migration. Laws excluding migrants from white settler nations in temperate zones and the ability of Europeans to overwhelm native peoples rather then live together with them played important roles in the long-term effects of migration.

Convergence of Migration Patterns

FIGURE 4. RETURN MIGRANTS AS PROPORTION OF EMIGRANTS, 1870–1937



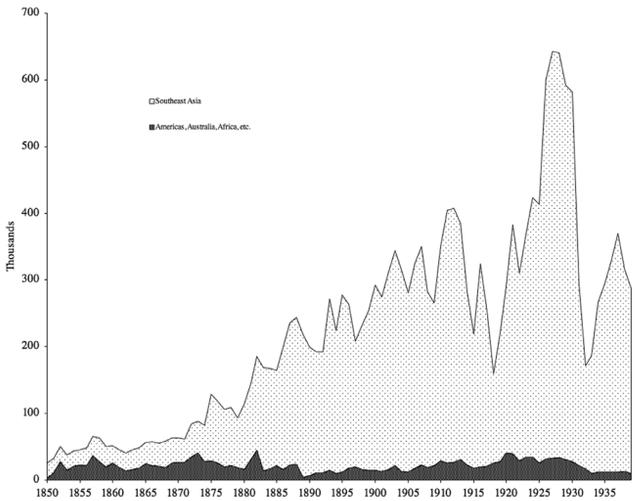
Sources: Carter, et al. Historical Statistics of the United States 1:547-8: Davis, Population of India, 100; McKeown, "Global Migrations," 186-9.

Figure 4 shows the rates of return migration in proportion to emigration of three major migration flows from the late nineteenth century until the 1930s. Short-term shifts in the rate of return migration are generally a good way to measure the effects of business and unemployment cycles. Economic depression and decreased employment opportunities abroad correspond with higher return rates because fewer people are enticed to move abroad and more people choose to return home. This chart shows that return rates of three separate flows converged by the early twentieth century, not only in the timing of the cycles but also in the absolute rates. What does this suggest about the growth and integration of the world economy? Can we talk of an early era of economic globalization?

This chart can also be used with case studies as part of a discussion about the nature and organization of migration. Why do so many people return? Do these return rates fit with popular understandings of migration as the relocation and permanent settlement of individuals and families in search of a new life? What might be other ways of understanding migration, such as travel for temporary labor, earning money to support or establish a household back home, or as chain migration in which individuals gradually followed family members over a period of years and even generations as the earlier migrants established themselves?

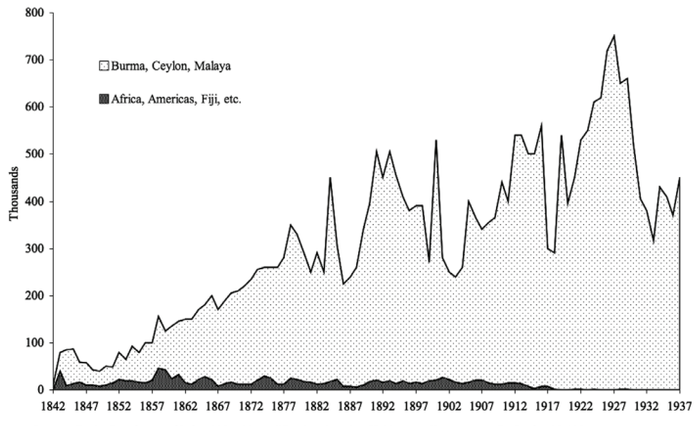
Segregation of World Migration Systems

FIGURE 5: CHINESE MIGRATION, 1850–1940



Sources: See McKeown, "Global Migrations," 188-9.

FIGURE 6: INDIAN MIGRATION, 1842–1937



Sources: Davis, *Population of India*, 100; with modification based on Heidmann, *Kamgonies in Sri Lanka*, 99-110.

We have divided global overseas migration into three systems. But we should not take these systems for granted. Figures 5 and 6 examine changes in the relative flows of migration from South China and India to destinations within and outside of Southeast Asia. Both of these charts show that from the 1850s to 1870s, large proportions of Asian migrants traveled to the Americas and Australia, very often under their own finances and organization (although on European shipping). In other words, patterns of global migration had the potential to become much more globally integrated across the boundaries of these three systems. Yet over the course of the nineteenth century, as Asian migration grew manyfold, the amounts beyond Asia did not grow at all and the three separate systems increasingly became a reality. This segregation of migration patterns happened even as the economic context of migration converged, as shown in Figure 4.

These simultaneous trends of convergence and divergence can lead to broader questions about the significance of regions in world history. To what extent should regions be understood as the effects of distinct cultures and systems that existed long before the nineteenth century or as the product of specific historical changes over the course of the nineteenth century? An answer to this question would include informed speculation on the causes of this regionalization. Is there evidence that preexisting differences in wealth, culture, population, state control of migration, or technology shaped migration into these different systems? Or should we look to the effects of empire, discriminatory laws, racism, and ideologies that insisted Westerners and Easterners were fundamentally different?

Some counterfactuals might help develop different perspectives on these questions. What would the world look like now if the pre-1880s migration trends had continued? What would the world look like if Asians and Africans truly did not migrate in great numbers, as is assumed in many texts? In short, we should not take the distribution of wealth and population in the world for granted but as the product of specific global historical processes.

American Immigration in a Transnational Perspective

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Synopsis

Migration is, and long has been, a global phenomenon. Since prehistoric times, various forces have pushed and pulled human beings to move to new locations, a process that has resulted in the peopling of all land areas except for the frozen regions of Antarctica. With the advent of the nation state, immigration has come to mean travel that crosses an international border or frontier, and that is made with the intent of establishing some degree of permanence, as opposed to mere visitation.

The United States offers a microstudy of immigration during the last 500 years. Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty, myriad ethnic festivals, and even the proposed border wall between the United States and Mexico bear witness to the extent to which the United States has been, and continues to be, a nation of immigrants. Exploring various sources gives students an opportunity to understand where migrants originated, compare the differences in arrivals at major immigration ports, and to understand the problems immigrants encountered upon arrival, especially the negative reactions of established Americans, often called "natives." What has happened in the United States, then, can help students to understand immigration in a global, or transnational, context.

Materials and Time

This lesson is designed for one to two class periods. Teachers and students will need access to the World Wide Web, and, depending on the teacher's desire to present images to the class, a means to digitally project Web images. Other primary sources

are available in most government depositories, often located at college or university libraries.

- Ellis Island: www.ellisisland.org/
- Angel Island: www.angelisland.org/immigr02.html
- Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York, with Illustrations Chiefly Taken from Photographs by the Author* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890). Found at: www.cis.yale.edu/amstud/inforev/riis/title.html (accessed January 24, 2008).
- Library of Congress, American Memory Collection: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html
- Homestead and Pullman Strikes: http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/strikes.html
- Henry Cabot Lodge, "Speech to the U.S. Senate," *Congressional Record*, 54th Congress, 1st session, 16 March 1896, 28: 2817-20.
- United States Immigration Commission (Dillingham Commission), *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, with Conclusions and Recommendations of the Minority,* volume 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911).
- President Woodrow Wilson's Veto of the 1915 Literacy Test, *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 3rd session, 28 January 1915, 52: 2481-83.

Objectives

Students will learn how global migration has helped to shape the United States' national identity, making it a nation of immigrants, and how "natives" have responded to the newcomers.

Discussion Points

This lesson plan seeks to place U.S. immigration in a transnational context. Teachers will be able to discuss:

1. Push and pull factors that have attracted succeeding "waves" of immigrants.
2. Anti-immigrant reactions to "new arrivals" on the part of those with more longstanding residence or native ancestry.
3. Imposition of immigration restrictions.

Although American immigration dates from the colonial era to the present (teachers may wish to review this information as an introduction), this lesson focuses on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the United States both experienced a period of considerable immigration and exhibited a notable anti-immigrant movement.

Lesson 1

Mass Immigration During America's Gilded Age and Progressive Era, 1865–1929

Students should understand how the expanding American economy, characterized by the rise of big business, attracted immigrants from Europe, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. One valuable Web site is that of students and historians at Vassar College. The site, "1896", contains valuable social, political, and cultural information from the era. (See http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/1896home.html. An essay, "Robber Barons," authored by J. Bradford DeLong, provides teachers with a valuable critique of the industrialists of the period. That essay is found at: http://econ161.berkeley.edu/Econ_Articles/carnegie/DeLong_Moscow_paper2.html.

The Library of Congress Web site, "American Memory," provides an excellent photo archive, with several images of industrialization in Gilded Age America, along with other teacher resources. The "Homestead and Pullman Strikes" Web site, written by Spence Holman at Vassar College, contains both images and text from that era. The latter site is especially good for showing the era's contentious and often confrontational nature. Both sites, but especially that of the Library of Congress, show ethnically oriented materials.

a. An expanding U.S. economy attracted millions of immigrants from all parts of the world, and most immigrants came to the United States for economic reasons.
b. The nation's population became much more diverse. The Ellis Island Web site provides an excellent summary of this change over time.
c. Immigrants tended to settle in ethnic enclaves, the so-called little communities. These were areas of larger cities, most notably New York City, where a particular ethnic group dominated. "How the Other Half Lives," on the Jacob Riis Web site, provides a contemporary, albeit unflattering, description and discussion of these enclaves. Chinatown, in San Francisco, is another excellent example. In addition, Congress refused to modify a

1790 law that limited naturalization to whites, thereby excluding those Chinese who could enter the United States legally for obtaining citizenship. Under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, however, children of Chinese who were born in the United States did receive birthright citizenship.

d. Americans increasingly associated immigrants with socioeconomic problems, engendering negative images of the newcomers, as a problematic "other half."
e. Immigration during this time resulted in the imposition of restrictions (see below for more information on this).

Student Activities

1. Use the Ellis Island Web site (which covers all aspects of immigration, not just those immigrants from Europe who passed through the station) to have students find evidence of growing ethnic pluralism in the United States. The "Peopling of America" section provides a time line and in-depth history of all periods of immigration, including 1865–1929.

    - Have the students examine the images to discern changes over time. What do the images suggest about how the nationality or ethnicity of immigrants changed around the turn of the century?
    - Have the students make conclusions about the nature of exclusion policies by making time-line connections. By putting a time line of ethnic groups' arrivals, key socioeconomic events (such as strikes or President William McKinley's assassination), and the imposition of restrictions, students can be asked to discuss the cause-and-effect relationships.
    - Have students do a search for their own immigrant ancestors, and report their findings to the class.

2. Use the Angel Island Web site to compare the entry experiences of Europeans through Ellis Island with those of Chinese immigrants through Angel Island. Have the students study the photographs and compare their conclusions about the subjects with those at Ellis Island. Discuss the extent to which *race* has been a factor in the exclusion of certain immigrants.

3. Use the Web site devoted to Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* to have students discuss how the host society develops negative images and impressions of immigrants. Ask the students how Jacob Riis's text and images give impressions different from those on the Ellis Island site.

Lesson 2

Immigration Restriction

Although the United States often touts itself as a "nation of immigrants," it also has been a nation that has sought to exclude foreigners, either from entry into the country or from full participation in its institutions.

a. Beginning in 1790 through the 1950s, the United States limited naturalization to whites.
b. Since 1875, the United States has excluded various peoples based on race, perceived harmful characteristics or qualities (such as criminal activity), concerns about sheer numbers, and concerns about their deleterious effects on the native population.
c. America continues to receive more immigrants than it wants, at least as measured by the fact that many of those now entering the United States must do so by extralegal methods; these so-called illegal aliens remain a controversial topic, with many Americans wanting the government to do more to stem the flow.

Time Line of Implementation of Immigration Restriction, 1882–1921

- 1882—Chinese Exclusion Act. This act excluded most Chinese laborers from the United States for a period of 10 years. It was renewed in 1892 and was made permanent in 1902. The act exempted merchants (considered to be Chinese migrants of a "better class") from restriction to make it appear that the United States wanted only to exclude "undesirable" coolies (notably the railroad workers). This measure, though, effectively curtailed Chinese immigration, laying the foundation for other exclusion acts.
- 1885 — Exclusion of Contract Laborers. This prohibited the immigration of those brought to the United States under contract from an American business.

- 1891—Exclusion of "Likely to Become a Public Charge." This act, which came closest to general exclusion until the passage of the 1917 Literacy Test Act, prohibited those deemed incapable of supporting themselves in the United States. The act also excluded the mentally and physically infirm, and those of questionable character, such as criminals.
- 1903—Anarchist Exclusion Act. Following the assassination of President William McKinley, Congress acted to exclude anarchists, establishing a precedent for the exclusion and deportation of alien adherents to so-called radical doctrines.
- 1907–1910—Dillingham Commission. This commission studied all aspects of American immigration with the aim of making enlightened recommendations as to future immigration policies, specifically those dealing with restriction. The commission endorsed the propriety of future restrictions based on economic considerations. Also, the commission identified a literacy requirement as the most feasible means of restriction and made reference to the possible use of nationality-based quotas.
- 1917—Literacy Test Act. This act excluded all adult immigrants who could not read or write some language. This act was passed over President Woodrow Wilson's veto.
- 1921—Quota Act. This set limits on the number of each nationality who could enter the United States in any given year. The Bureau of Immigration computed the quotas based on the number of each nationality identified in the 1910 census. Originally temporary, this act was renewed annually until 1924.
- 1924—Congress revised the quotas by lowering allowable numbers, and made them permanent. Quotas were established by using the 1890 Census as the basis for computation. This methodology discriminated against southern and eastern Europeans. Further, no quotas were allotted to Asians. Quotas, however, did not apply to Western Hemisphere immigrants.

Student Activities

1. Review Henry Cabot Lodge's 1896 Senate speech (considered by contemporaries to be a classic enunciation of the restrictionist argument) and discuss why he believed that the United States should restrict immigration.

2. Review President Woodrow Wilson's veto of the 1915 literacy test bill (which Congress did not override) and discuss his motives for his rejection of the calls for restriction.
3. Review the Dillingham Commission's reports and discuss both their positive evaluation of American immigrants and the logic behind their limited endorsements of restriction.
4. Ask students to discuss if the United States should have implemented more restrictive immigration policies in the early twentieth century, and if so, what justified that decision.
5. Possible starting points for document-based questions:

    a. Focusing on this era, teachers can prompt their students to consider why Americans of this era began to divide immigrants into "old" and "new" categories. Reasons would include the arrival of nationalities that previously had not arrived in large numbers and whose members exhibited cultural characteristics different from those of previously dominant groups. A study question can ask students if the designations had validity, or were simply a means of expressing negativity toward certain ethnic groups.
    b. Use the Riis and Homestead/Pullman sites to have students move into a historiographical debate on the best interpretation of America's growing negativity toward immigrants and the subsequent calls for restriction: Is it best understood as the product of "nativism," defined as based on ethnic or cultural reasons, or should the reaction be explained as a product of the immigrants' association with many of the era's problematic aspects? Teachers could draw primary sources from the Jacob Riis and the Homestead and Pullman Strikes Web sites to provide prompts for students to write a DBQ essay on negativity focused on immigrants to the United States in the Gilded Age.
    c. Using various document readers and Web sites, have students find primary source documents suitable for the construction of a DBQ that explores the lives of immigrants before they left their home country, reasons for leaving their home country, and destination-country attitudes regarding the arrival of the immigrants. Using AP World History guidelines, students should also construct the grading rubric. Students then should write the essay.

6. A final, albeit challenging, idea for student research is to ask students to examine U.S. foreign policy as it relates to countries whose immigrants were being excluded in this period. What does that research tell students about the relationship between foreign policy and migration? A good source for this topic (as well as a general introduction to the global aspect of American immigration) is Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (Jacobson 2000).

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An Eviction Notice from Uncle Sam—Involuntary Relocation of Native Americans: A Lesson on Forced Migration

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Synopsis

After analyzing the concepts of manifest destiny and entitlement, several case studies involving the forced migration of Native Americans will be analyzed utilizing information presented by the teacher and primary source documents. The case studies are of the Oneida in the Northeast, the Cherokee in the Southeast, the Nez Perce in the Northwest, and the Navajo in the Southwest. The focus of the lesson is the U.S. government's justification of removal—usually with brutal military force—to lands deemed to have no value and the subsequent creation of reservations to contain Native Americans to the designated areas for ongoing control of non-European cultures. Lesson extensions include related issues such as Oklahoma statehood, Japanese American internment camps during World War II, and eminent domain in today's communities throughout the United States.

Time Required

Although a condensed version of the lesson could be taught in a single 45-minute class period, a full analysis of the topic and application of the lesson would typically take two or three 45-minute class periods.

Materials Required

- Copies of the following teacher background information notes:
  - Manifest Destiny (Appendixes A and B)
  - Case Study #1: Oneida (Appendixes C and D)
  - Case Study #2: Cherokee (Appendixes E and F)
  - Case Study #3: Nez Perce (Appendixes G and H)
  - Case Study #4: Navajo (Appendixes I and J)

- Copies of the following primary source documents (see Appendixes):
  - Document #1: Manifest Destiny—Coining the Phrase
  - Document #2: Manifest Destiny—Critical Opposition Popularizes the Phrase
  - Document #3: Oneida—U.S. Department of State Explanation of Indian Removal
  - Document #4: Cherokee—A Missionary's Description
  - Document #5: Cherokee—A Traveler's Description
  - Document #6: Nez Perce—Chief Joseph's Selected Speeches
  - Document #7: Navajo—General Carleton's General Order No. 15
  - Document #8: Navajo—Report from Captain Joseph Berney
  - Document #9: Navajo—Report from Captain Francis McCabe
- Wall map or projection of the United States

Goals/Objectives

- Students will learn about the concept of manifest destiny as it applies to U.S. history.
- Students will learn about the forced migrations of Native Americans under the U.S. federal government's laws and practices.
- Students will be able to apply the information regarding forced migration to other incidences in U.S. history as well as current situations.

Access Prior Knowledge

Determine if your students have any previous experience with or knowledge of eviction or forced removal by asking, "Have any of you heard of a situation where

a person or family was forced to leave his or her home permanently?" Separate the responses into situations where the eviction was due to a failure to fulfill responsibilities (e.g., paying rent, 18-year-olds not abiding by parental rules) and where the eviction was due to someone wanting to assume another's property rights (e.g., urban renewal, eminent domain, condo conversion of an apartment). Focus the class's attention on situations where the person/family evicted was fulfilling responsibilities but someone with more power wanted the person's/family's property rights. That's what this lesson is about.

Since some of your students may have had a U.S. history course previously, assess student familiarity with the concept of *manifest destiny*. This might be accomplished by simply asking your students what they know or having them write what they know. Look for some understanding that the concept refers to a belief in the right (God-given or basic entitlement) of white Americans to spread the United States across the entire North American continent.

New Information

1. Manifest Destiny

   If you determine that your students already have a basic understanding of the concept of *manifest destiny* from a prior course, then proceed with an examination of the primary source documents. If you determine that your students lack a basic understanding of the concept of *manifest destiny,* then provide a brief explanation of the concept and its application in the 1840s to 1880s in the American West.

   Distribute the primary source documents that contain the excerpt from John O'Sullivan's 1845 essay in the *Democratic Review* in which he coins the phrase "manifest destiny" as well as the speech by Representative Winthrop that ridiculed the concept of *manifest destiny* (see Appendix B for source). Use a map of the United States to show where the current frontier border was at that time, as well as Texas, Oregon Territory, and Mexico's territory of California and the Southwest. Ask students:

   - What does John O'Sullivan's concept mean, and what ramifications did it have for people in North America?
   - What do you think of Representative Winthrop's response to O'Sullivan?
   - Has this concept, even if not called by the same name, been present in other cultures and time periods that we have studied this year?

Provide background information from Teacher Notes (see Appendix A) about John O'Sullivan's intentions, his reliance on a "higher law," and his positions on the expansions of the day—Texas, Oregon, California, and the Mexican War. Ask students:

- Can you think of any other examples from U.S. history or current events where the concept of *manifest destiny* seems to apply?

Case Study #1

The Relocation of the Oneida Tribe from Upstate New York to Wisconsin

Provide students with background information about the Iroquois Confederacy. If you know your students have had a U.S. history course that covered the confederacy, ask the students, "Can anyone tell me about the Iroquois Confederacy?" Students should understand that five tribes—Mohawk, Oneida, Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga—formed an alliance for peace, complete with a constitution, in upstate New York, and parts of Pennsylvania, Québec, and Ontario before any contact with Europeans. The Iroquois joined with the British in colonial times to defeat the French and their native allies, the Huron and the Algonquin tribes. (In 1720 the Iroquois Confederacy expanded to six tribes with the admission of the Tuscarora.) This is background for students to understand that the Oneida tribe was part of this famous confederacy, which supported Great Britain against the French. Show the lands of the Iroquois Confederacy on a map of the United States.

Using the Teacher Notes (see Appendix C), present to students the story of the Oneida tribe. Emphasize that the tribe separated from their Iroquois Confederacy members by supporting the American colonists against the British in the Revolutionary War, but that action caused retaliation and the white man's resentment against the entire Iroquois Confederacy. This resulted in the reduction of Oneida lands from 6 million acres to 32 acres by the early 1800s despite federal treaties that supposedly protected the Oneida for their assistance in the Revolutionary War. Show on a map the distance involved in the early nineteenth century of moving from New York to Wisconsin.

Distribute the primary source document from the U.S. Department of State in which the official federal government's explanation of the events of the nineteenth century regarding Indian removal is provided through a modern perspective. Ask students:

- Did Americans intentionally take advantage of the Indians and use different cultural perspectives to trick the Indians?
- What do we understand now about Indian culture that we didn't understand, or want to understand, in the nineteenth century?
- What do you think we may not understand about events in today's world that persons living in the nineteenth century may have had a better understanding of from their retrospective viewpoint?
- You may also obtain online both the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and the Canandaigua Treaty. Analyze the documents for guarantees to the Oneida tribe regarding the federal government's protection of their lands in upstate New York. Ask students:
- How is a treaty like a contract?
- Would you feel safe if you signed such a treaty?
- How would you feel if your land was then taken by white government officials who said they were from the state of New York?
- If you were an Oneida Indian, what would you tell your children and grandchildren about what happened to you and your tribe?

Case Study #2

The Relocation of the Cherokee Tribe from Georgia to Oklahoma

Explain to students the origins of Oklahoma's nickname, "the Sooner State." The following main points should emerge: Oklahoma was set aside by the U.S. government as the destination for relocated Indian tribes because the land was thought to be worthless. When more land was needed for white settlers, the U.S. government changed the laws protecting Indian reservations with the Dawes Act and opened Oklahoma to settlers beginning in 1889; settlers who illegally entered Oklahoma areas to stake land claims before the official time were called "Sooners" from the Indian Appropriation Act of 1889, which prohibited people from entering the area too soon. But by 1908 the University of Oklahoma had selected "Sooners" as its nickname, which turned an illegal action into a source of pride that continues to this day.

Using the Teacher Notes (see Appendix E), present to students the story of the Cherokee tribe of Georgia and the infamous Trail of Tears, which was a result of

President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the military's use of brutal force, which caused the death of 4,000 peaceful Indians whose land was taken by trickery. Use a map of the United States to show the relocation from northern Georgia to Oklahoma.

Distribute the primary source documents (see Appendix F)—an excerpt from Andrew Jackson's Seventh Annual Message to Congress of 1835, the missionary's account of 1838, and the traveler's account of 1839. Ask students:

- What justification did President Jackson give to forcibly relocate the Cherokee tribe?
- How much power should governments have in confiscating possessions and relocating peaceful citizens?
- Why was the treatment of the Cherokee considered appropriate and acceptable?
- If you were a Cherokee, what would you tell your children and grandchildren about white Americans, government promises, and the founding principles of the United States?

Case Study #3

The Relocation of the Nez Perce Tribe from Idaho to Oklahoma

Certainly an important part of achieving manifest destiny was government seizure of land. Teachers may want to do some searching for other examples, such as the seizure of land from Australia's Aborigines, or seizures from indigenous Americans in Central and South America by the Spanish. Begin by asking students, "Should the U.S. government allow law-abiding residents to leave the country to live someplace else if that is their preference?" Have them explain their stance. This opinion question should set into motion a primary question surrounding the flight on which Chief Joseph led the Nez Perce tribe toward freedom in Canada rather than a reservation in the United States after previous reservation treaties had been broken by the U.S. government.

Using the Teacher Notes (see Appendix G), present the story of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce tribe. This story captured the attention of the nation in the summer of 1877 as Chief Joseph tried to lead his tribe of 800 Indians to the Canadian border ahead of the 2,000 soldiers who were trying to capture the Nez Perce band in order to send them to a reservation rather than allow them to leave the country

to live in Canada. As the teacher tells the story, show the map of the approximate escape route of the Nez Perce through Idaho and Montana.

Distribute the three primary source documents of Chief Joseph's speeches (see Appendix H). Ask students:

- What does Chief Joseph want?
- What does Chief Joseph say has happened?
- How do you think the U.S. government should have responded to Chief Joseph on these various occasions?

Case Study #4

The Relocation of the Navajo Tribe from Arizona to New Mexico

Kit Carson is a figure central to the story of the relocation of the Navajo. Students may know some things about him; ask them what they know. Students may know about the legendary Kit Carson who was a mountain man, an Indian scout, and a soldier with John Fremont in California. Typically, student accounts of Kit Carson will be romanticized versions of an American frontiersman. This case study provides a counterview of Kit Carson because of his role in the capture and deaths of many Navajo and Apaches seeking peaceful coexistence with white settlers in 1863-64—the incident known as "the Long Walk."

Using the Teacher Notes (see Appendix I), present the story of the Long Walk of the Navajo tribe. This story is often overlooked because it took place during the Civil War and was so offensive to U.S. government officials when they investigated it in the years immediately following the Civil War that the Navajo tribe was allowed to return to their native lands—instead of being relocated to a distant reservation—as an apology for their mistreatment. As the teacher tells the story, show the map of the Long Walk.

Distribute the primary source documents (see Appendix J) from accounts of the Long Walk. Ask students:

- What role did Kit Carson play in the removal of the Navajo?
- Why do you think he has been romanticized in stories of the Western frontier?
- Why do you think the Navajo Indians were treated this way?

- When is the government justified in relocating people? Does might make right?"

Application of New Knowledge

Assign students a graphic organizer to compare and contrast the four case studies. Categories should include the tribe, location, dates, key people, background, key events, final disposition, government justification for removal, and the student's personal viewpoint of the removal. Teachers may want to include other categories.

Then ask students to brainstorm other involuntary relocations that they have heard of where families or groups were forced to move from their property. Analyze the list for common reasons, common responses, common governmental actions, and public reactions. Compare these results to the four case studies of American Indians.

As a wrap-up activity, assign students the task of writing a newspaper editorial regarding one of the case studies as if they were alive at the time. This persuasive essay should present the facts, the relevant laws and legal obligations, and the government's responsibility as the student sees it. After submission to the teacher, sort the editorials according to case study and post them in the four corners of the classroom. Arrange students in groups to rotate to the four corners to read the various perspectives. Note similarities and differences in a follow-up discussion.

Generalizations

Ask students the following closure questions related to the lesson's goals:

- "What is your opinion of the concept of *manifest destiny*? Has it changed since we began this lesson? If so, how and why did it change? How does this concept and your perspective relate to today's society?"
- "What fact stands out from this study of forced migrations of Native Americans in U.S. history? Why does that fact stand out for you?"
- "Do you have any insights or opinions that have changed as a result of this lesson? What is the change and why did you change your thinking or perspective?"
- "What do you feel is the enduring lesson to be learned from these case studies? How will you apply it to current and future situations?"
- "What would you like to know that wasn't covered or answered in our lesson?"

Lesson Extensions

1. Study the history of Oklahoma from a land set aside for Indian reservations to a state mostly owned and occupied by white settlers. How were treaties honored or broken in the process?
2. Examine the creation of Japanese American internment camps during World War II. How were these forced relocations of families, even American citizens, carried out by the U.S. government? What was the impact on the families involved?
3. Study the issue of eminent domain through the twentieth century. Focus on one community's story of urban renewal, decisions for road placements, relocation of families, or government assumption of land for public good. Study the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling that allows government the use of eminent domain, and confiscation of property and relocation of people, for private development that will make better use of the land than its current use.
4. Using information from this lesson and the lesson that follows, "British Convict Forced Migration to Australia" by Kathy Callahan, ask students to compare and contrast government motivations for both forced migration events.
5. A lesson extension for later in the semester: Compare and contrast the "Long Walk" of the Navajo tribe (1863-64) with that of the "Long March" of the Communists in China (1934-35).
6. Other possible topics for the study of forced migration that might be used with this lesson study include:

    - Tibetan migration following the invasion (and subsequent absorption) by the Chinese into Tibet in the 1950s.
    - Palestinian migration following the creation of Israel.
    - Recent government-forced migration in China enabling the construction of Three Gorges Dam and facilities for the 2008 Olympics.

Appendix A

Manifest Destiny Teacher Notes

Many of the white settlers of the United States since the *Mayflower* landed in 1620 have believed in America's preordained right to grow unimpeded into a shining example of a new type of country for the rest of the world to admire and emulate. This right was thought to be bestowed on Americans by divine providence and included the white man's right to occupy all land in North America.

However, it wasn't until 1845 that the phrase *manifest destiny* was actually coined by journalist John L. O'Sullivan. At that time O'Sullivan was influential in the Democratic Party and was advocating for the United States to annex the independent Republic of Texas and to begin planning for the desired annexation of California and the Oregon Territory. In the July–August 1845 issue of *Democratic Review* magazine, O'Sullivan wrote an essay entitled "Annexation" in which he summed up hundreds of years of American beliefs in the phrase *manifest destiny* for the first time (see Appendix B for source).

Although the phrase had seen its first usage, it didn't attract attention and become a national mantra until after its second usage. That was in the December 27, 1845, issue of O'Sullivan's own newspaper, the *New York Morning News*, when O'Sullivan wrote that the United States had the right to claim the entire Oregon Territory in the boundary dispute with Great Britain because of the United States' "manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government" (see Appendix B for source).

Again, it would have gone unnoticed except that the phrase was criticized by members of the Whig Party who opposed the Polk administration's favorable positions toward annexation of western lands. Representative Robert Winthrop, an influential Whig from Massachusetts who would later become the U.S. Speaker of the House, gave an address on the subject of the annexation of the Oregon Territory on the floor

of the U.S. House of Representatives on January 3, 1846, in which he ridiculed the concept of *manifest destiny* and demanded to see where this right was given to the United States in the "First Parent's" (Adam and Eve's) last will and testament.

The phrase then became a rallying cry for the entire western expansion movement that swept the nation and provided a rationale for military force against anyone (e.g., Mexicans or American Indians) who might stand in the way of white settlers or annexation.

As for O'Sullivan, his career and notoriety quickly reached an end in 1846 when he was fired from the *New York Morning News* and sold his *Democratic Review* magazine. He died in poverty and obscurity in 1895.

Appendix B

Manifest Destiny: Coining the Phrase

Excerpted from: John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," Democratic Review, Vol. 17, No. 1 (July–August 1845)

…Other nations have undertaken to intrude themselves…limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions… Texas has been absorbed into the Union in the inevitable fulfillment of the general law which is rolling our population westward.... It was disintegrated from Mexico in the natural course of events, by a process perfectly legitimate on its own part, blameless on ours.... [its] incorporation into the Union was not only inevitable, but the most natural, right and proper thing in the world.... California will, probably, next fall away from...Mexico.... Imbecile and distracted, Mexico never can exert any real governmental authority over such a country.... The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it armed with the plow and the rifle, and markings its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California, over which it will be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion... All this without agency of our government, without responsibility of our people — in the natural flow of events, the spontaneous working of principles, and the adaptation of the tendencies and wants of the human race to the elemental circumstances in the midst of which they find themselves placed.

Critical Opposition Popularizes the Phrase

Excerpted from: "Arbitration of the Oregon Question," a speech delivered on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives by Representative Robert Charles Winthrop on January 3, 1846, contained in *Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions* by obert Charles Winthrop (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1852).

I suppose the right of a manifest destiny to spread will not be admitted to exist in any nation except the universal Yankee nation. This right of a manifest destiny…

reminds me of another source of title which is worthy of being placed beside it. Spain and Portugal, we all know, in the early part of the 16th century laid claim to the jurisdiction of the whole northern continent of America. Francis I is related to have replied to this pretension, that he should like to see the clause in "Adam's Will," in which their exclusive title was found. Now…I look for an early reproduction of this idea…I…promise to withdraw all my opposition to giving notice or taking possession, whenever the right of our manifest destiny can be fortified by the provisions of our great First Parent's last will and testament.[22]

22. Some definitions of terms from the above *Manifest Destiny* sources: Texas declared itself independent from Mexico following a rebellion against Mexico in 1836; Texas joined the United States in 1845. The term *Anglo-Saxon* refers to the English; this term comes from the overtaking of the island of Britain by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in the fifth century and their subsequent imposition of culture upon the conquered peoples. Spain and Portugal both desired territories in the Americas; their dispute was settled in 1494 through the creation of the Tordesilla Line as part of the Tordesilla Treaty.

Appendix C

Oneida Tribe Removal Teacher Notes

The Oneida tribe was one of the original five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, which occupied upstate New York and parts of Pennsylvania, Québec, and Ontario. Around 1720 the Tuscarora tribe moved to an area in upstate New York from North Carolina and its petition to become the sixth nation in the Iroquois Confederacy was accepted. The six nations were Oneida, Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Tuscarora.

The Iroquois became allies of the British in colonial times and fought alongside British and American troops in various military actions against the French and its Indian allies, the Huron and Algonquin tribes. After the French and Indian War the Iroquois thought their alliance with the British would protect them when the British government issued the Proclamation of 1763, which was supposed to restrict white settlement from Indian lands west of the line along the Appalachian Mountains. However, the proclamation was mostly ignored and caused greater pressure on Indian lands and relations with the colonists.

When the American Revolution started, most of the Iroquois immediately continued their alliance with the British government and sided with it. However, the Oneida and the Tuscarora sided with the Americans, thus marking the first significant split in the Iroquois Confederacy. The Oneida helped the Americans reoccupy Fort Stanwix and provided the American side with warriors, scouts, and information. In addition to assisting with the military campaigns in upstate New York, the Oneida sent 50 men to serve with Washington's army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-78 and stayed to fight with General Lafayette in the spring before returning home. Polly Cooper, an Oneida woman who accompanied the men to Valley Forge, became a cook for General Washington during the winter encampment. As gratitude for showing how to prepare corn in the most effective manner, Cooper was awarded a shawl by Martha Washington.

Various attacks on Oneida lands were launched by the British and their Iroquois allies. In 1780 a major Oneida village was destroyed, which caused the Oneida to seek shelter at Fort Stanwix. Attacks continued and the Oneida lost much of their property, possessions, and culture in the process. At the end of the war the newly formed U.S. Congress gave the Oneida their traditional lands and a guarantee of peace and protection in the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

White settlers did not agree with the treaty, and the state of New York embarked on a series of questionable practices to take away all but 32 acres of the 6 million originally granted to the Oneida. Left to fend for themselves in a hostile environment without understanding the legalities of documents and still trying to resume life with scattered tribe members who had limited resources due to the war losses, the Oneida splintered and lost their lands, as well as their livelihoods, possessions, and societal norms. It wasn't until 10 years later, in 1794, that the U.S. government provided restitution to its former allies—a total of $5,000 was made available for destroyed homes and lost possessions upon presentation of itemized lists.

With increasing pressure for land due to the construction of the Erie Canal, the Oneida were persuaded to purchase land in Wisconsin in 1821-22 and vacate their lands in upstate New York in order to reestablish an independent, self-sufficient tribe. The five million acres purchased for $5,000 was supposed to be for joint usage by the Oneida, Winnebago, and Menominee tribes. However, the Oneida were to lose all but 65,000 acres of land when treaties in 1827 and 1838 took away their lands. Only a few hundred acres remained by 1929.

Appendix D

Oneida Tribe Removal Primary Source Documents

U.S. Department of State Explanation of Indian Removal[23] taken from U.S. Department of State Web site found at www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/dwe/16338.htm

The story of westward expansion by European Americans is a basic theme of the American experience, but it is also a history of Indian removal from their traditional lands. Indians lost their lands through purchase, war, disease and even extermination, but many transfers of Indian land were formalized by treaty. The Constitution of 1789 empowered Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." Federal policy regarded each tribe as a sovereign entity capable of signing binding treaties with the U.S. government. In the first 40 years of the new republic, the United States signed multiple treaties with Indian tribes, which usually followed a basic pattern: The signatory tribe withdrew to a prescribed reservation and in return the federal government promised to provide supplies, food, and often an annuity.

The U.S. government's inability and unwillingness to abide by its treaty obligations with Indian tribes was clearly related to an insatiable demand for cheap land for European settlers. To make matters more difficult, Indians generally had a different concept of landownership than Europeans, emphasizing land use for hunting, farming, or dwelling for the tribe, but not recognizing the concept of individual ownership. Indian society was loose, decentralized, democratic, and nonauthoritarian, where "chiefs" were often men of respect and informal authority but not designated by the tribe to make decisions. The result was that treaties were often signed with Indian leaders who did not have the authority of the tribe. Whether the system of Indian treaties was ever meant to work is a matter of debate, but in reality, most Indian treaties were broken.[24]

23. This material is a statement from the current U.S. Department of State rather than a primary source of the period.
24. Treaty of Fort Stanwix 1784 is available online at www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.phy?rec=1420; Canandaigua Treaty of 1794 is available online at at: http://canandaigua-treaty.org/The_Canandaigua_Treaty_of_1794.html.

Appendix E

Cherokee Tribe Relocation Teacher Notes

The Cherokee tribe was one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes living in the southeastern United States. The "civilized" term distinguished them from other American Indians because they had assimilated to "white man's ways" and had good relations with the white settlers.

From 1814 to 1824 General Andrew Jackson commanded U.S. military forces that were used to fight Indian tribes in the southeastern United States and pressure tribes to enter into unfavorable land treaties so that white settlers could move in. In 1830 President Andrew Jackson gladly signed into law the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which he had supported. The act gave the president the power to negotiate removal treaties with Indian tribes from lands east of the Mississippi River. Although the removal was supposed to be peaceful and voluntary, tribes resisted having their lands confiscated and being relocated to western lands. Jackson then resorted to using military force to round up the Indians and relocate them to their new lands in what is now the state of Oklahoma.

Meanwhile, the Cherokee had grown weary of encroaching white settlers and had adopted a written constitution in 1827 that declared themselves the sovereign Cherokee Nation based on the manner in which the U.S. government had been recognizing them when entering into treaties. When the state of Georgia refused to recognize the Cherokee Nation's sovereignty, the Cherokee appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court refused to hear the case in 1830 because it did not recognize the Cherokee Nation's sovereignty. Then gold was found on the Cherokee lands, and pressure increased from white settlers. When the Georgia legislature passed a law to extend state law over Indian lands, the Cherokee appealed again to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled that the Indians had self-governing rights given to them by the federal government that superseded state laws. President Jackson refused to enforce this Court decision and continued with removal plans.

In 1835, after much discussion within the 17,000-member Cherokee tribe of the removal issue, 20 men who were not elected officials of the tribe signed a treaty that ceded all Cherokee territory east of the Mississippi River to the U.S. government in return for $5 million and new homelands in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). Despite widespread protests, the U.S. Senate confirmed the treaty by one vote and white settlers began moving in and driving Cherokee families from their homes.

In the spring of 1838, President Van Buren ordered General Winfield Scott to enforce the 1835 treaty by having military forces move Cherokees into stockades with only the possessions they could quickly grab and carry, and where inadequate food and poor sanitary conditions caused considerable hardship.

The thousand-mile forced march to Oklahoma resulted in 4,000 deaths due to summer drought, a rainy fall, and the severe winter of 1838-39. The death toll would have been much higher if General Scott hadn't finally agreed to allow the Indians to organize their own march when initial organization by the military was inhumane and fatal. The route was named "The Trail of Tears" and is now supervised by the National Parks Service.

The promised $5 million from the federal government was never paid. The leader of the group who signed the treaty was killed as a traitor by tribal members when they reached Oklahoma.

Appendix F

Cherokee Tribe Removal Primary Source Documents

Excerpt from President Andrew Jackson's Seventh Annual Message to Congress, delivered on December 7, 1835:

All preceding experiments for the improvement of the Indians have failed. It seems now to be an established fact they can not live in contact with a civilized community and prosper. Ages of fruitless endeavors have at length brought us to a knowledge of this principle of intercommunication with them. The past we can not recall, but the future we can provide for. Independently of the treaty stipulations into which we have entered with the various tribes for the usufructuary rights they have ceded to us, no one can doubt the moral duty of the Government of the United States to protect and if possible to preserve and perpetuate the scattered remnants of this race which are left within our borders. In the discharge of this duty an extensive region in the West has been assigned for their permanent residence. It has been divided into districts and allotted among them.... The plan for their removal and reestablishment is founded upon the knowledge we have gained of their character and habits, and has been dictated by a spirit of enlarged liberality. A territory exceeding in extent that relinquished has been granted to each tribe. Of its climate, fertility, and capacity to support an Indian population the representations are highly favorable.

A Missionary's Description of the 1838 Stockades Where Indians Were Collected

Excerpt from *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 18 (Sept. 1838)

The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses, and encamped at the forts and military posts, all over the nation. In Georgia, especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take any thing with them except the clothes they had on. Well-furnished houses were left prey to plunderers,

who, like hungry wolves, follow in the trail of the captors. These wretches rifle the houses and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth.

A Traveler's Description of One of the Indian Groups on the Trail of Tears

Excerpt from the *New York Observer* (January 26, 1839)

We found the road literally filled with the procession for about three miles in length. The sick and feeble were carried in waggons [sic] . . . a great many ride horseback and multitudes go on foot—even aged females, apparently nearly ready to drop into the grave, were traveling with heavy burdens attached to the back—on the sometimes frozen ground, and sometimes muddy streets, with no covering for the feet except what nature had given them.

Appendix G

Nez Perce Tribe Removal Teacher Notes

In 1838 Joseph the Elder, a leader of the Nez Perce tribe living in eastern Oregon and Washington and western Idaho, was baptized as a Christian. He believed in peace with the white settlers. He was so committed to peace that in 1855 he helped Washington's territorial governor organize a Nez Perce reservation so that whites and Indians could live side by side. In 1863, however, following a prospector's discovery of gold in the Nez Perce reservation, the federal government took away 90 percent of the reservation lands. Joseph the Elder felt betrayed and refused to sign the treaty or move off the lands that had previously been Nez Perce lands by treaty.

After his death in 1871, Joseph the Elder was succeeded by his son, who became known as Chief Joseph. Chief Joseph refused all efforts to force his Nez Perce band onto a greatly diminished reservation and continued to live in the Wallowa Valley in Oregon and claim its ownership. In 1877 General Oliver Otis Howard prepared a cavalry attack to force Chief Joseph's band onto the federal designated land in Idaho. Wanting to avoid military conflict, Chief Joseph agreed and began the march to Idaho.

Angered by what they viewed as unjust confiscation of their legal land, about 20 young Nez Perce warriors raided a nearby white settlement, which resulted in the death of several white settlers. Upon hearing of this raid, the U.S. Army considered Joseph's band to be hostile enemies and began pursuit. Faced with U.S. Army action, Chief Joseph reluctantly agreed with the other leaders to resist.

For the next three months Chief Joseph outmaneuvered the 2,000 troops pursuing his band of 700 Indians, who were trying to escape to Canada where they could live in peace in the wilderness. Although Chief Joseph's band consisted of fewer than 200 Indian warriors, he successfully used advanced military tactics such as rear guards, advance guards, skirmishes, and field fortifications to slow down the army's advance as he traversed Idaho's mountains and valleys in a 1,400-mile stealth march that ended just 40 miles from the Canadian border.

Chief Joseph surrendered his tired band of exhausted and threadbare band of women, children, elders, and warriors, who had suffered 200 deaths in what is studied to this day as an outstanding example of a strategic military retreat. He negotiated the safe return home for his people, but they were taken first to eastern Kansas and then to a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) by the federal government. Chief Joseph went to Washington, D.C., in 1879 to meet with Congress and President Hayes to advocate for his tribe's return to the Pacific Northwest, but no action was taken until six years later, in 1885. At that time half the tribe was returned to the Nez Perce reservation while the other half of the tribe, including Chief Joseph, was taken to a non–Nez Perce reservation in northern Washington, separated not only from their tribal members but also from their homeland in the Wallowa Valley and the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho.

Chief Joseph died in 1904, still not permitted to return to his homeland or the tribe's reservation.

Appendix H

Involuntary Relocation of Native Americans Nez Perce Tribe Removal Primary Source Documents

Excerpts from Chester Anders Fee, *Chief Joseph: The Biography of a Great Indian* (Wilson-Erickson, 1936)

The first white men of your people who came to our country were named Lewis and Clark. They brought many things which our people had never seen. They talked straight and our people gave them a great feast as proof that their hearts were friendly. They made presents to our chiefs and our people made presents to them. We had a great many horses of which we gave them what they needed, and they gave us guns and tobacco in return. All the Nez Perce made friends with Lewis and Clark and agreed to let them pass through their country and never to make war on white men. This promise the Nez Perce have never broken.

For a short time we lived quietly. But this could not last. White men had found gold in the mountains around the land of the Winding Water. They stole a great many horses from us and we could not get them back because we were Indians. The white men told lies for each other. They drove off a great many of our cattle. Some white men branded our young cattle so they could claim them. We had no friends who would plead our cause before the law councils. It seemed to me that some of the white men in Wallowa were doing these things on purpose to get up a war. They knew we were not strong enough to fight them. I labored hard to avoid trouble and bloodshed. We gave up some of our country to the white men, thinking that then we could have peace. We were mistaken. The white men would not let us alone. We could have avenged our wrongs many times, but we did not. Whenever the Government has asked for help against other Indians we have never refused. When the white men were few and we were strong we could have killed them off, but the Nez Perce wishes to live at peace.

At his surrender in the Bear Paw Mountains, 1877

> *Tell General Howard that I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead, Tu-hul-hil-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who now say yes or no. He who led the young men [Joseph's brother Alikut] is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people—some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets and no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more against the white man.*

Appendix I

Navajo Tribe Removal Teacher Notes

In 1846 the U.S. government gained control over Navajo lands with the territory acquired during the Mexican War. After a respected Navajo leader was killed in 1849, relations between white settlers and Indians deteriorated. The military began establishing forts in the newly acquired territory at the same time that Navajo lands were being confiscated through a series of treaties with different bands of Apaches, Navajos, Pueblos, Utes, and New Mexicans in an attempt to stop raids. Fort Defiance was established on Navajo land, and the 1858 Treaty of Bonneville angered the Navajo because it seemed so one-sided against them, as it gave away good grazing land and forced restitution payments that were not reciprocal.

As the Civil War broke out, friction increased in the Southwest between the military and the Navajo. But the nation's attention was diverted elsewhere, so raids and retributions escalated. After the Union Army had reasserted itself along the Rio Grande, the U.S. government turned its attention to control of the Southwest lands.

In late 1862 Congress authorized the establishment of Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo in New Mexico, a 40-square-mile section designated as the first Indian reservation west of Indian Territory (Oklahoma). In mid-1863, Colonel Kit Carson was ordered to take troops to accept the surrender of the Navajo, but no Navajo appeared. Carson then began a scorched-earth campaign to force the surrender of the Navajo. Carson burned their crops, destroyed their homes, poisoned their water sources, killed their livestock, and sent patrols to make sure that no hunting or wild food gathering could take place. Threatened by starvation with winter cold and snows, and harassed by other tribes who were capturing Navajo as slaves, the tribe could not withstand Carson's final attack in January 1864.

About 8,500 Navajo were captured and confined at Fort Defiance in northeast Arizona. The military did not have sufficient supplies to feed or transport the Navajo to the Bosque Redondo reservation about 400 miles east in New Mexico, so many

Navajo suffered. The first Navajo groups began the trek, known as "the Long Walk," in August 1863, and continued until March 1864. The 300-mile trip took about 20 days. More than 200 Navajo died along the way. The second group set out two months after their defeat by Carson in January 1864.

The detention at Bosque Redondo was an utter failure. The federal government tried to contain more than 9,000 Indians (including the 500 from the Mescalero Apache tribe, who were traditional enemies of the Navajo) in a 40-square-mile area without supplies, an adequate water source, or basics like firewood and protection from raids conducted by Comanches. There was also infighting among the Navajo and Mescalero. More than 2,000 Navajo died of smallpox alone.

A Navajo leader was allowed to go to Washington, D.C., to plead his case. The result was a visit by federal officials to the Bosque Redondo reservation, who returned with reports that appalled the government. In 1868 the U.S. government signed the Treaty of Bosque Redondo with the Navajo and allowed them to return to 3.5 million acres set aside in their homeland area. About 7,000 Navajo then embarked on the "Long Walk Home."

Appendix J

Navajo Tribe Removal Primary Source Documents

All excerpts are from Lawrence C. Kelly, Navajo Roundup (Pruett Publishing Company, 1970).

Brigadier General James H. Carleton's General Order No. 15, June 15, 1863:

> *For a long time past the Navajoe [sic] Indians have murdered and robbed the people of New Mexico. Last winter when eighteen of their chiefs came to Santa Fe to have a talk, they were warned, — and were told to inform their people, — that for these murders and robberies the tribe must be punished, unless some binding guarantees should be given that in [the] future these outrages should cease. No such guarantees have yet been given: But on the contrary, additional murders, and additional robberies have been perpetrated upon the persons and property of unoffending citizens. It is therefore ordered that Colonel Christopher ["Kit"] Carson, with a proper military force proceed without delay to a point in the Navajoe country known as Pueblo Colorado [now Ganado, Arizona], and there establish a defensible Depot for his supplies and Hospital; and thence to prosecute a vigorous war upon the men of this tribe until it is considered at these Head Quarters that they have been effectually punished for their long continued atrocities.*

Report to General Carleton's Assistant Adjutant General by Captain Joseph Berney, who escorted refugees to Fort Sumner during the early months of 1864:

> *The Indians suffered intensely from the want of clothing, four were entirely frozen to death…I lost fifteen Indians on the road, principally boys, three of which were stolen, two strayed from my camp on the Rio Pecos, and ten died from the effects of the cold.*

Report from Captain Francis McCabe, who left Fort Defiance with 800 Navajo "prisoners" in the spring of 1864:

I. . .received rations for the Navajoes for eight days (as far as Fort Wingate) consisting of one pound of meat or flour, and half a pound of bacon to every indian [sic] woman and child. On leaving. . .I directed an officer of my Company to move in advance of the prisoners with a Guard of fifteen men, and I also directed a rear Guard of Non commissioned Officer and fifteen men to be detailed daily. . .I placed as many of the women, children and old people as possible in wagons, and had one empty wagon placed every morning under control of the Officer of the day. . .to receive such sick and aged indians as might have given out on the march. . .The main body of the Indians traveled between the advance Guard and the train [of wagons], and in advance of my company. . . On the second days march a very severe snow storm set in which lasted for four days with unusual severity, and occasioned great suffering amongst the indians, many of whom were nearly naked and of course unable to withstand such a storm.

British Convict Forced Migration to Australia: Causes and Consequences

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Synopsis

The forced migration of thousands of men and women (and boys and girls) was one means by which the British government dealt with their criminal element in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Called *transportation*, this forced migration took persons convicted by British courts to places, successively, such as the North American colonies, an island on the river Gambia in Africa, and New South Wales, Australia. In the more than 150-year period in which transportation was used, the latter destination, New South Wales, became the most important, both in the number of forced migrants and the resulting creation of a settlement colony. As Parliament, through the judicial system, forced convicts to this remote location they, either wittingly or unwittingly, began a pattern that led to the colonization of Australia by the British. When the male and female migrants arrived, they found a place much different than home. The climate, plants, animals, and terrain must have been shocking to these new inhabitants. But they were not alone in Australia. Aboriginal Australians also lived on the continent, and these indigenous people faced dire consequences as the British established a new settlement colony "down under."

AP World History Habits of Mind, Themes, and Major Developments

This lesson plan, if administered in its entirety, addresses:

- Habits of Mind: all of those in the first category and, if used with "An Eviction Notice from Uncle Sam—Involuntary Relocation of Native Americans," (see previous article by Valerie Cox), all of the habits of mind in the second category;
- Each of the five AP World History themes: interaction between humans and the environment; development and interaction of cultures; state-building, expansion, and conflict; creation, expansion, and interaction of economic systems; and development and transformation of social structures; and
- For Major Developments in the period 1750–1914, it covers demographic and environmental changes, rise of Western dominance, patterns of cultural and artistic interactions, and diverse interpretations.

Time Needed to Implement

These lessons, if presented in their entirety, would take two to three class periods, with homework assignments to be completed outside of class. Each lesson is freestanding and can be presented on its own. If Lesson 1 is presented on its own, it would take one and a half class periods, and Lesson 2 would take two full periods.

Learning Objectives

- To learn about the historical debate surrounding a single topic: the purpose of transportation of criminals from Great Britain to Australia;
- To understand historical events by examining the research methods of historians;
- To convey that understanding to others through written and oral communication; and
- To learn about the First Fleet, the establishment of a settlement colony in Australia, the Aboriginal Australians, and the interaction of these three components during British colonization.

Materials Needed

- World map
- Reading materials including:
  - Appendix A: Teacher's Notes on the history of Britain's transportation (forced migration) of criminals to Australia.

- ___ Appendix B: Teacher's Notes on content of *The Old Bailey Proceedings* online and accessing them, and notes on terms of transportation.
- ___ Appendix C: Teacher's Notes on British money in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- ___ Frost, Alan, and Mollie Gillen. "Botany Bay: An Imperial Venture of the 1780s. *The English Historical Review* 100: 395 (Apr. 1985): 309-30.
- ___ Gillen, Mollie. "The Botany Bay Decision, 1786: Convicts, Not Empire." *The English Historical Review* 97: 385 (Oct. 1982): 740-66.
- ___ Gonner, E. C. K. "The Settlement of Australia." The English Historical Review 3: 12 (Oct. 1888): 625-34.
- ___ Hughes, Robert. *The Fatal Shore: The Epic of Australia's Founding.* New York: Random House, 1986.

- Access to the World Wide Web for the following material:

  - ___ Proceedings of the Old Bailey www.oldbaileyonline.org
    If Web access is not available in the classroom, teachers could print out cases from one session of London's Old Bailey court (see Appendix B for instructions on how to do this). Examining court cases provides students with numerous examples of the types of crimes for which individuals were sentenced to transportation.
  - ___ Hakluyt, Richard. *Discourse on Western Planting*, excerpt: www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/bdorsey1/41docs/03-hak.html. Also available in: Andrea, Alfred, and James Overfield. *The Human Record: Sources of Global History,* Vol. II, Since 1500, 5th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.
  - ___ Information on Indigenous Persons of Australia, found on the Web site Indigenous Australia: www.dreamtime.net.au/index.cfm. Accessed June 19, 2008.

Other possible Internet sources as suggested in Lesson 2.

Lesson 1

Historical Debate on the Settlement Colony of Australia

The instructor should first present information to the class taken from Appendix A, the Teacher's Notes. This should be done in 15–20 minutes on the day prior to Activity 1 or Activity 2.

Assign the articles by Alan Frost, Molly Gillen, and E. C. K. Gonner as suggested in the activities. Background information of the articles: Frost's article, as does Gonner's, supports the idea that the transportation of prisoners to Australia was a purposeful act by Parliament that provided a means to colonize Australia with British men and women. Gillen, on the other hand, disagrees with this premise and offers detailed information from Parliamentary records and other sources as to why Frost, Gonner, and others have "missed the boat." Gonner's article is included here because it is seen as the starting point of the debate on Parliament's intentions. As noted by the date of publishing, his article appeared only a few years after transportation to Australia effectively ended in 1868. Frost and Gillen's articles have appeared more recently, showing the continuation of the debate. Further, these two authors debate each other without pulling any punches, each believing that the other is wrong and saying so. Reading these three articles demonstrates that historical debate often has a very long life, is alive and well in today's scholarship, and is an important part of the process of historical analysis. Below are several reading questions that could be given to students to guide them through the articles. Is it strongly suggested that teachers read over the articles before assigning them, as they are challenging. Since a teacher knows his or her students, he or she might want to construct additional guiding questions.

Reading Questions

- *All authors*
  - ___ What is the author's thesis statement?
  - ___ What primary and secondary evidence is used in the text to support his/her thesis?
  - ___ What conclusions does each author draw? Are they valid conclusions based on the evidence presented? Why or why not?
  - ___ Since it is unlikely that you will read all of the cited primary sources yourself, how do you determine if they were used correctly?

- ___ Can both Frost and Gillen be correct? Which author makes the most credible argument? Why?

- *Gonner*

  - ___ On what basis does Gonner argue the proposed site on Botany Bay was for more than merely a penal colony?
  - ___ Examine the appendix of his article. How do these sources give credibility to his argument?

- *Gillen*

  - ___ What is the "flax theory"? Argument against this theory is a major part of Gillen's argument. Why does she dismiss it? What is her evidence? What are other reasons she disagrees with earlier scholarship?
  - ___ What plans for transportation did the British government explore after 1776?
  - ___ What problems did they encounter as they explored these plans, and what problems did they encounter with convicts between 1776 and 1786?
  - ___ Why does she ultimately conclude that the British government initially had no other plans for Australia other than those for a penal colony?

- *Frost*

  Note: This article was written as a reaction to Gillen's article.

  - ___ Gillen is then given an opportunity to respond to Frost. This is a common means employed by academic journals to debate contentious topics.
  - ___ The primary goals of Frost's article are to (1) defend himself and his ideas; and (2) debunk the assertions Gillen made in her article. Does he accomplish his goals?
  - ___ How does Frost approach the primary sources in the construction of his argument? Doesn't he use some of the same sources as does Gillen? How does he use them differently than she does?
  - ___ What is his final assertion? Do you think his methodology and conclusion are sound?
  - ___ What is Gillen's response? Is her argument constructive? Does it answer your questions about the debate, or does her defense leave you with more questions?

__ What questions might you have for the authors if given the opportunity?

Gillen is Canadian and Frost is Australian. How does this inform their views? Do their respective places of residence make a difference in their arguments and conclusions?

Activity 1

Divide the class up into thirds, having each third read one of the articles. Students reading Gonner's article are to present to the class the basic argument made by this historian so long ago. Students reading the articles by Frost and Gillen would then square off in a debate, each arguing the point of their particular author.

Assessment 1

Class concludes with each student writing a short paper, stating whether he or she believes the forced migration of criminals through the transportation program was meant to be a part of developing Australia into a colony, or whether colonization was an accidental occurrence in a scheme designed solely for penal purposes. Students should use the ideas of the authors to draw their own conclusions based on the authors' use of evidence. Students might also be asked if they think reading a particular article influenced their decision and why they think it did or didn't.

Activity 2

Divide the class in half, using only the articles by Frost and Gillen. As students read their assigned article have them construct a graphic organizer of the proof each author offers. In class construct an inclusive graphic organizer on the board.

Assessment 2

Class concludes with each student writing a short paper in which he or she compares and contrasts the arguments made by Frost and Gillen. You might consider leaving the graphic organizer on the board or letting the students use their notes for this exercise. This could also be a homework assignment.

Lesson 2:

The Founding of Australia: Causes of Forced Migration and Consequences of It for Australia and Its Indigenous People

Activity

Divide the class into three sections to research different aspects of Australia and the arrival of the First Fleet. (If this is the only part of the lesson plan that is used [Appendix A], Teacher's Notes should be presented in 15–20 minutes on Day 1). The route taken by the First Fleet should be shown on the map. Assignments for the class should be made as described below.

Half of the class is to examine at least one session of records from London's Old Bailey court. These online primary sources provide readers with testimony from actual trials and the trial verdicts. Reading over a selection of these case trials will give students a chance to see what types of criminals were sentenced to transportation. Students, in general, are going to find that most of them were convicted for theft, demonstrating to students that some people were transported for inconsequential thefts, while others stole large amounts of goods or money and received the same sentence. Appendix B provides teachers with information on the sources and directions on how to access *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey* one session at a time; it also provides the teacher and students with basic information about the length of transportation sentences. Appendix C describes British monetary units used in the period, which should be helpful when reading the court cases. Depending on the group's size, students could each be assigned to read 10–20 cases. The teacher should look at these cases first; it may be determined that he or she wants the students to read only cases that resulted in transportation sentences.

Upon conclusion of their reading, students should be able to answer the following questions:

- Describe the typical person who was sentenced to be transported to Australia.
- What kinds of crimes had they committed? If they were involved in some type of theft, what did they steal and how much was it worth?
- Are there any observable differences between the treatment of men and women?
- What insights into London life are found in these court cases?

One-quarter of the class is to explore what these migrants and their jailers found when they reached Australia for the first time in 1788, and how their time was occupied once they arrived. A good source for this information is Robert Hughes's book, *The Fatal Shore.* The first half of *The Fatal Shore* covers the early years of British Australia; chapters could be divided up to make this reading easier for the group. Other possible sources include Cathy Dunn and Marion McCreadie, "The Founders of a Nation: Australia's First Fleet," found at www.ulladulla.info/historian/ffstory.html. This Web site has many valuable links to other sites related to convict fleets. Another good site is "First Fleet Online," found at http://firstfleet.uow.edu.au/objectv.html. This site has firsthand accounts written by people who traveled on the First Fleet. Both sites have solid, reliable information. Once students have researched the experiences of the First Fleet participants, they should be able to answer the following questions:

- How did the climate compare to that of Britain? What types of animals and plant life did they find upon arrival?
- What might have the British people thought unusual about their new home? Why did they think it unusual?
- What did the convicts do once they arrived in Australia? What did the naval officers and sailors experience as they set about to establish the penal colony?
- How did convicts return home once their sentence was completed?
- Describe some of the difficulties encountered as the penal colony was established.
- Does Hughes support the arguments made by Gonner and Frost, or does he support those of Gillen?

One-quarter of the class is to research the people who inhabited Australia before the Europeans arrived. Known as the Aborigines, these native peoples faced a harsh reality when the British cast anchor: They had no place in British plans for a settlement colony. To set a context, ask students first to review their class notes on the fates of Amerindians once the Europeans arrived in North and South America. Once they have done this, ask students to research the indigenous people of Australia, the Aborigines. Sources for this research include the Web site of the Australian Museum in the section entitled "Welcome to Indigenous Australia" found at www.dreamtime.net.au/index.cfm. Further information can be found in a variety of sources, including *The Fatal Shore,* as well as any book on Australian history (anthropology books often

contain good information on the Aborigines). Once their research is completed, students should be able to answer the following questions:

- Who were the Aboriginal people of Australia, and what were characteristics of their societies in the late eighteenth century, before colonization?
- How quickly did the colony grow? How did the colony affect the lives of the Aboriginal population of Australia?
- What similarities and differences are found with the fates of the Aborigines of Australia and Amerindians of North and South America?

Assessment

Two assessment ideas are posited below.

1. Once students have completed their research, groups should report back to the class on what they found, effectively teaching others in the class about the causes and consequences of the transportation of convicts and the establishment of a settlement colony in Australia. Student understanding of the material can be assessed through thorough answers to the questions provided above. An extra class period could be devoted to this if students were assigned to develop short PowerPoint presentations covering their findings.
2. Students could write short papers taking on the persona of a convict, an Aborigine, or a member of the British naval force. Ask the students to describe the life of their character in Australia after 1788.

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Appendix A

Teacher's Notes: Brief History of Britain's Transportation Program

Britain's transportation of criminals to Australia was an extension of a program thwarted by the beginning of the American Revolution. In the early eighteenth century, convicts from England and Wales were sent to the American colonies to serve out their sentences in a remote location, removing the negative behavior of these convicts from British society (some were also transported to British holding in the West Indies). Punishment in Britain in this period was rather crude by today's standards and included such measures as branding, whipping, fining, placement in the pillory, and hanging. Imprisonment was very seldom used and would not become a prevalent form of punishment until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A rather colorful portrayal of transportation to the American colonies is found in Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders*.

This idea of exiling criminals to foreign soil had been posited at least one hundred years earlier. One such idea was suggested by Richard Hakluyt, an Anglican priest and an adventurer, whose mind was set on establishing an English settlement in North America. In *A Discourse on Western Planting*, which was sent to Queen Elizabeth in 1584, Hakluyt wrote:

> 20. Many men of excellent wits and of diverse singular gifts, overthrown by … some folly of youth that are not able to live in England, may there be raised again, and so their country good service; and many needful uses there may (to great purpose) require the saving of great numbers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallows.
>
> 22. The frye [children] of the wandering beggars of England, that grow up idly, and hurtful and burdenous to this *realm*, may there be unladen, better bred up,

> and may people waste countries to the home and foreign benefit, and to their own more happy state…
>
> Source: www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/bdorsey1/41docs/03-hak.html

When the ability to transport convicts to the American colonies came to an end in 1776, a location in Africa, an island on the River Gambia, became an alternative. This location proved to be unsuitable because the climate was too harsh for the prisoners and the prisoners lacked the necessary immunities to combat the diseases present in the tropical environment. As the African scheme fell from favor, British officials elected to continue to keep prisoners prepared for transportation, waiting for a not-yet-named new site in old ships called hulks. There they were jailed and often they performed hard labor on the rivers while awaiting their transportation; women generally continued to be housed in various jails and houses of correction throughout England and Wales until their transportation departure date was imminent. Mollie Gillen's article gives a detailed history of the transportation program. A good literary portrayal of criminals housed in the hulks and general information on transportation can be found in Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations*.

After the British laid claim to Australia following Captain James Cook's extensive charting of it in 1770, the remote site was thought to have the potential to solve the pressing problems of British jails and hulks—too many prisoners and not enough space for them. Botany Bay in New South Wales (on a map Botany Bay is located south of Sydney and north of Royal National Park) was proposed to Parliament as the location. The site was seen as ideal: not only would criminals be removed from Britain for a long period of time, the likelihood of their returning to Britain when their sentence expired was small because convicts had to find their own way home. One pressing historical debate is whether Parliament saw the site as a remote jail or if there was an intentional plan by Parliament to turn these prisoners into unwilling colonists. Students and teachers can examine this debate through reading the articles by Frost, Gillen, and Gonner.

The first group of prisoners forced to migrate to Australia left England aboard what is known as the First Fleet. They set sail in May 1787 arriving at Botany Bay eight months later in January 1788. The journey taken was long. Because of the number of people traveling—including convicts and occasionally family members, especially children, as well as naval personnel and their families—provisions had to be continually replenished. They stopped at the Canary Islands, Brazil, and South Africa before reaching their final destination. Over the next 75 years, Britain continued to send convicts to this destination and others in Australia. The people

sent as criminal exiles formed the foundation of the settlement colony's population. Britain's interest in transportation began to wane in the mid-nineteenth century as the concept of imprisonment had gained more adherents and the cost of transporting people was seen as prohibitive. Further challenges faced the British government as the colony developed. Gold and other riches were found in Australia in 1851, and it became clear that a colony with this value should not be filled with Britain's societal outcasts.

Persons of British descent were not, however, the only humans inhabiting the continent. Aboriginal Australians had lived there thousands of years before the Europeans arrived. Their population was decimated by the infiltration of British criminals and colonists. Disease, along with outright killing of Aborigines, led to a significant decline in their numbers after the First Fleet arrived.

According to Robert Hughes in *The Fatal Shore*, nothing like the establishment of a penal colony and then a settlement colony so far from home had ever been attempted by any nation (see Chapters 3 and 17). This social experiment had wide-ranging ramifications, including the establishment of a settlement colony (that would eventually become an independent nation) and the marginalization and exploitation of indigenous Australians.

Appendix B

Basic Information About *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey* and Accessing the Records

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey became available on the Internet in 2003. Previously, it was available on microfilm and in its original paper format in a few locations in England and the United States. *The Proceedings* is a compilation of records of the court cases heard at London's famous court, the Old Bailey. These records are not official transcripts taken by a court recorder. They were recorded by reporters who took minutes of the trials. These reporters were hired by a private firm. The resulting publication resembled a small newspaper and sold throughout London. While the court itself was not responsible for the content of *The Proceedings*, eventually judges came to rely on it as a transcript. Trials were held eight times each year. To find out more about *The Proceedings*, the Web site has a valuable bibliography posted. Further, the Web site contains excellent information about the records themselves, some historical background, and a good glossary (something that students might find particularly helpful).

- To access a single session, proceed in the following manner:
- Start at the home page: www.oldbaileyonline.org/
- Select: Search the Proceedings
- Select: Browse by Date
- Select a *year* for your students to explore (the late 1780s and the 1790s are good because it was during these times that the people were first transported to Australia).
- Select a *month*.

The month will then be accessed. Before making the assignment to the class, the teacher may want to look over that month. It might be best to give students a series of cases at which to look. Each month has a different number of cases. Another possible way for the teacher to assign the cases is to have students look at only those that result in the transportation of the defendant.

Differing Sentences (Lengths) of Transportation

Transportation 7 years: This was the usual length of a sentence for those who were transported.

Transportation 14 years: This sentence was almost solely confined to persons convicted of receiving stolen goods. The British courts believed if no one received stolen goods and then offered those goods for resale, fewer individuals would steal. Pawnbrokers and other dealers in secondhand merchandise were often the persons convicted of this crime.

Transportation for life: Early on in cases involving transportation to Australia, transportation for life was not handed down by the courts unless the defendant was given part of a sentence reduction; some persons sentenced to death had their sentences commuted to transportation for life. After the early 1800s, transportation for life was used for crimes thought to be particularly harmful to society, such as armed robbery or burglary.

Persons returning from transportation: If the courts found out that an individual had returned home before the conclusion of his or her sentence, that person could be sentenced to death. This was Magwitch's problem in *Great Expectations*.

Appendix C

British Money

Basic Monetary Units and Their Abbreviations in *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*

Farthing
Pence (d) (also sometimes called a penny)
Shilling (s)
Pound (£)
Guinea

Relative Value of Each Unit

One farthing = one-quarter of a pence
One shilling = 12 pence
One pound = 20 shillings (a silver piece around which the currency was and still is based; when issued in gold it was called a crown)
One guinea = 21 shillings

About the Editor

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