Patterns of Sequential Occupancy and Cultural Manifestations in Lowell, Massachusetts

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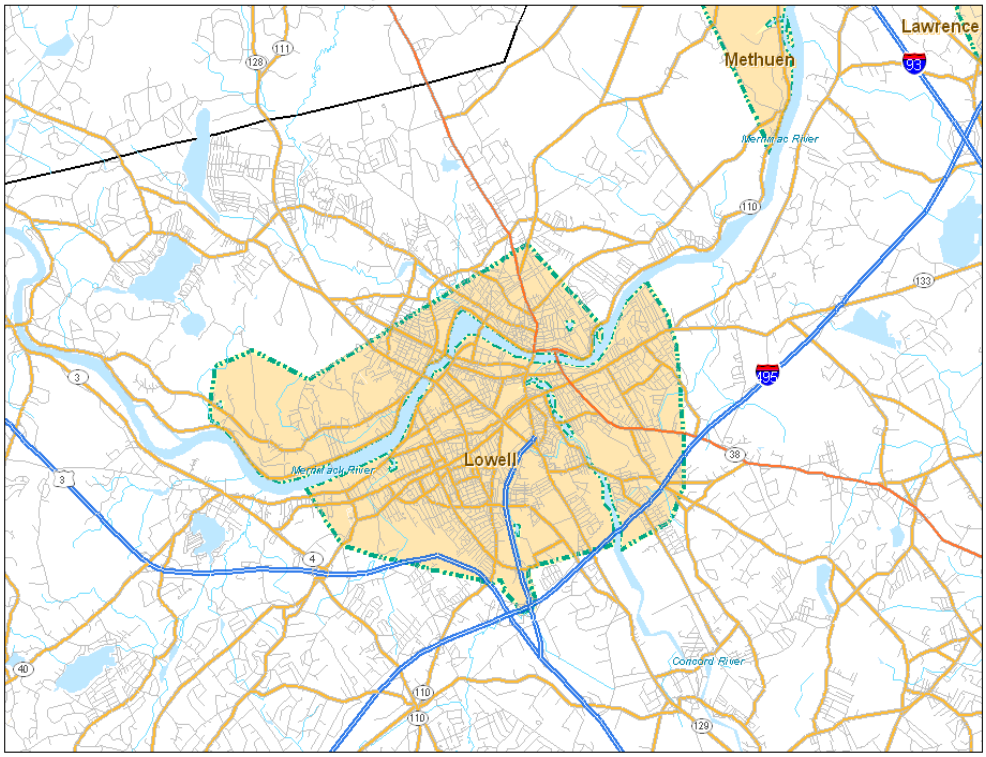
Introduction

This research will examine the cultural impacts of various immigrant groups, while considering the historical economic geography of a New England City, Lowell, Massachusetts. It will consider how the stages of the city's economic development were associated with changing sources of labor supply. Today Lowell is the one of the largest cities in Massachusetts and is located about 30 miles from Boston, Massachusetts. The Map A on the next page shows the city of Lowell today and Map B shows the region around Lowell. Lowell rose to be one of the first industrialized cities in the United States during its industrial revolution. The introduction of textile mills in Lowell during the early nineteenth century brought not only a new economy, but also the first group of immigrant workers. The first group of immigrants to enter Lowell were young girls from upper New England, a group that dominated the demography of the workers in the city for nearly forty years. From here, Lowell became home to various immigrant groups over the next century and a half, as the economy went through various stages. This research will also illustrate how each group of immigrants who occupied Lowell made the city, or a portion of it, their own, by leaving a physical imprint on the city itself.

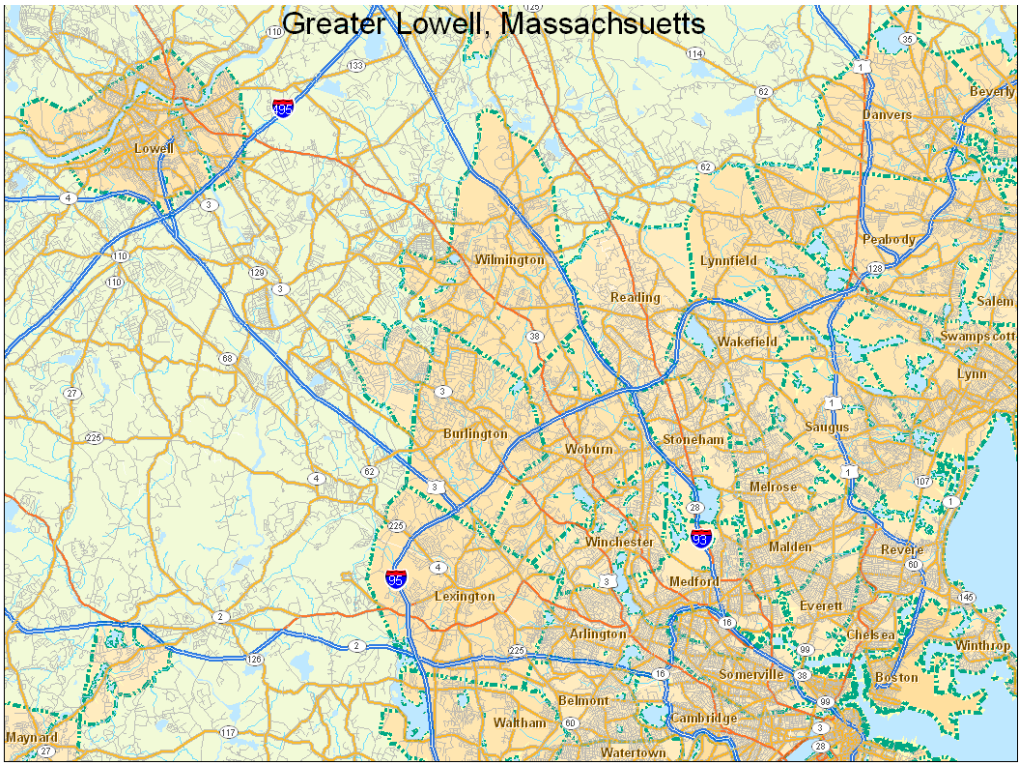
The various stages of Lowell's economic development will be discussed, beginning with the development of the city and its establishment as a planned industrial city, focusing on the textile industry. The first stage of the economy is Lowell's dominance of the textile industry in the United States prior to the American Civil War. The next stage occurs between the Civil War and World War I, in which Lowell thrived but was forced to deal with strikes and economic booms and busts. The third stage coincides with World War I, the Great Depression and World War II. During this stage the economy faced even more dramatic highs and lows and eventually

saw some of its great textile mills move out of Lowell. The fourth stage deals with end of industrialization in Lowell, and the rejuvenation of its economy during the 1970's and 1980's.

Lowell, Massachusetts



Map A



Map B

The final stage focuses on the economy of Lowell today and the industries that currently employ the most people.

Lowell represents an excellent example of sequential occupancy. Each stage of its development attracted different groups of immigrants. While examining the evolution of Lowell's historical economic geography over the past two centuries, this research will seek to show how each immigrant group left its particular mark on the city, whether these impacts manifested themselves as businesses, churches, and/or ethnic enclaves in neighborhoods. Which of these marks had lasting effects on Lowell and are still visible today? Additionally as each group of immigrants came in place of another, what remained and what left with the previous group?

Methodologies

This research is longitudinal, and looks at the different immigrant groups and their impact on Lowell beginning in the early nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century. Several methodologies have been used in order to properly conduct this research. First I consulted journal articles and books about migration theory to gain a proper understanding of how push/pull factors emerge and further how they can be applied to each immigrant group. I then used journal article and books written about the various immigrant groups and their situations in Lowell as well as the changing economies of Lowell to aid in the research.

Secondly I conducted an interviews with a represent from the Lowell National Historic Park system, and also consulted their documents . The National Historic Park system in Lowell has set up many exhibits to display the different historical features of Lowell. I also conducted an

interview via email with University of Massachusetts Professor Charles Nikitopoulous, who gave me insight into the Greeks who immigrated to Lowell. In addition to these interviews I observed first hand these sites that are part of Lowell's National Historic Park and was able to use this information to see any patterns in buildings as well as other concrete evidence each group may have left behind.

Thirdly I used United States Census data to show the demographic transformation Lowell has undergone, especially the data on percentage of foreign-born population. I have selected several years beginning with 1870 and ending with the census in 2000, roughly every twenty to thirty years. I looked especially at the census of 1890, since it is significant in United States immigration legislation, having set the quotas for the National Origins Act of 1924. Additionally I looked at 1910 because it was one of the highest points during U.S. mass immigration. Also 1940 to see what patterns emerged due to slowed immigration during the Great Depression and World War Two. I looked at 1990 to display a shift with emphasis on the new immigrant groups from Asia because it is clear that refugees have a unique set of push factors from their home countries. Lastly, I looked at the 2000 census to get a general idea of the current demography of Lowell. Finally I have used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software to construct my own maps of Lowell. These maps help display Lowell, the greater Lowell area, and the cultural manifestations still represented in Lowell today.

Literature Review

In order to answer my research questions it is necessary to first understand what migration is and why it is that people migrate. The best way to do so in the context of this research is to look specifically at the theories of push/pull migration and chain migration.

Everest S. Lee author of "A Theory of Migration" in Migration defines migration saying, "Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence" (Lee 1969: 285). In a basic sense, a person must relocate to a new place for some period of time. This general understanding of migration is essential as a basis to push/pull migration and chain migration theory.

Stephen Castles and Mark Miller discuss push-pull migration theory in their book, The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, explaining that the theory can be broken down into two parts: the push factors that cause a person to leave or migrate and the pull factors that make the destination country more attractive (Castles 1993:19). Furthermore, the authors noted that this theory can be applied to almost any migrant in almost any situation throughout history (Castles 1993: 20). These factors can be both broad and specific (Castles 1993: 22). The immigrants who arrived in Lowell probably each had specific pull and push factors, but it is clear that certain consistent themes among these pull and push factors emerged, especially during the times of massive immigration. Although this theory can explain why the various groups of immigrants that arrived in Lowell time after time, it is important to look at the theory of chain migration to gain a deeper understanding of some of their particular situations.

John S. Macdonald and Leatrice D. Macdonald define chain migration, in their article "Chain Migration Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks" as, "…that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (Macdonald 1964: 82). The first migrant forms the first link in a chain for the next migrant making his or her movement easier. This factor can work as a particular pull

factor for this person as well. Using a combination of Lee's definition of migration and Castles and Miller's theories on push/pull migration as well as Macdonald and Macdonald's definition of chain migration, yields a solid base that can be used to interpret the migration of every immigrant group who moved to Lowell.

Lowell's Early Economic Geography: Creating a New City

Planned Industrial City

Lowell was, from its onset, a planned industrial city. Its history is vast, detailed, and colorful to say the least. One could easily write volumes about its events and the people involved. To begin, certain men and organizations must be introduced because their roles and involvement directly shaped Lowell's development. P.T. Jackson and Nathan Appleton of the Boston Manufacturing Company are two of the men who are remembered as the masterminds behind the development and investment of Lowell. The other men who played a significant role in Lowell's development are Francis Cabot Lowell, Kirk Boott, and Paul Moody (Dinmore 1976: 69).

Francis Cabbot Lowell developed the first looms used in Lowell. Lowell traveled to England during its industrial revolution. While there, he visited a mill. Upon returning to Massachusetts he was then able to recreate the mill he studied there. This power loom was first implemented in the cotton textile industry in Waltham, Massachusetts and the Boston Manufacturing Company was established. These looms in Waltham ran off of waterpower from the Charles River successfully, but were not as satisfactory as the agents would have liked. The agents wanted to select a place that had strong waterpower and room for development, so they

began searching for an alternative location to build their cotton textile empire (Dinmore 1976: 72).

It was P. T. Jackson and Boott, along with some of their associates, who purchased farmland known as East Chelmsford (Dinmore 1976: 73). In East Chelmsford the Merrimack River drops thirty-two feet, creating powerful falls, known as the Pawtucket Falls. East Chelmsford was not only desirable because of the falls but because of the previous construction of the Pawtucket Canal by the Proprietors of Locks and Canals. The Proprietors of Locks and Canals had been constructing canals in the area since the late 1700s. The first canal they constructed was also on the Merrimack River in Newburyport (Weible 1991: 11). This waterpower found in East Chelmsford was exactly what was missing in Waltham. After the purchase, of the land Jackson, Boott, Appleton, and several others recognized the necessity for a company to support their new endeavor, they would join together and purchase shares of the new Merrimack Manufacturing Company in late 1821 (Dinmore 1976: 73).

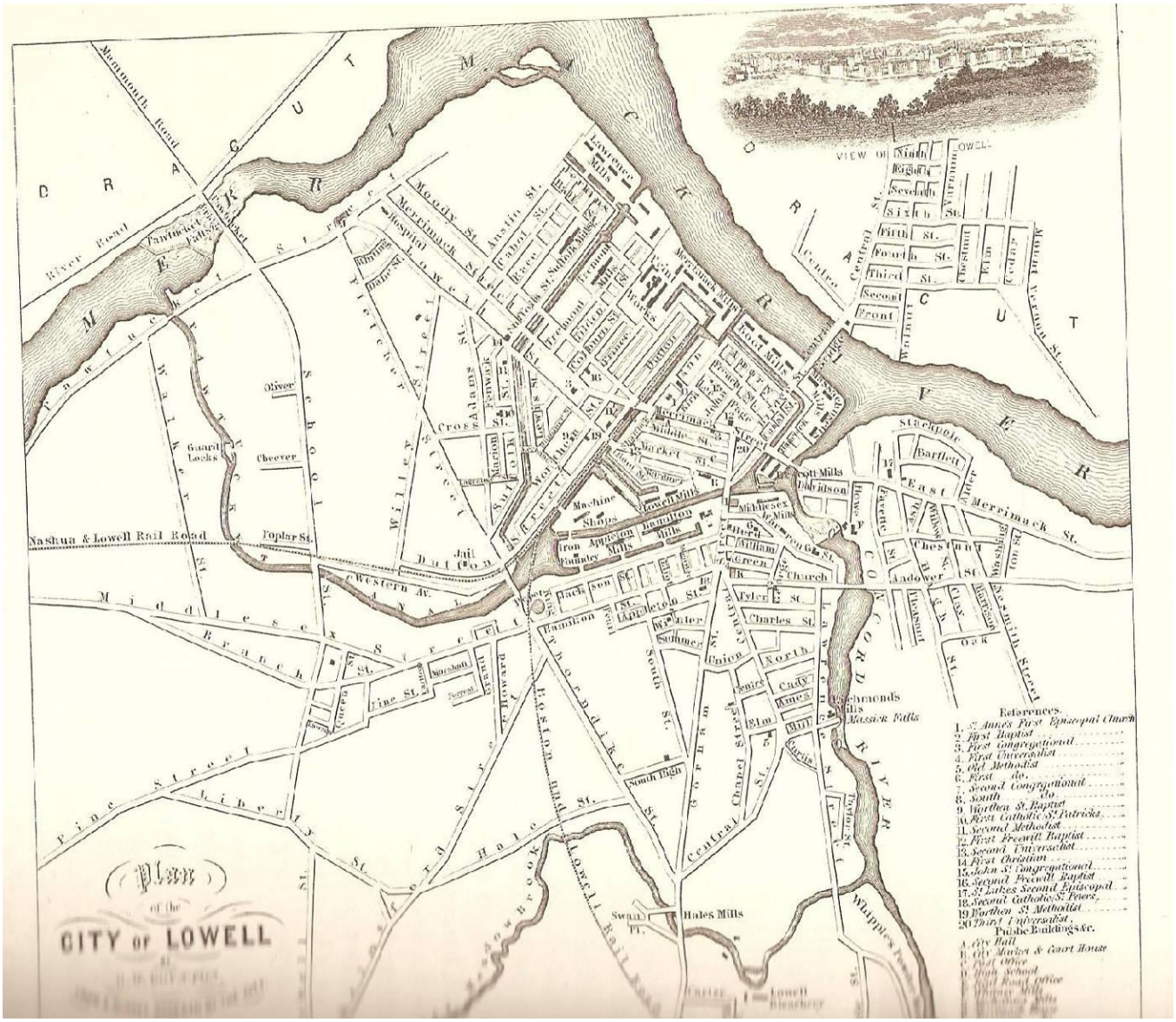
With land bought and a company established, East Chelmsford began its transformation into the industrial city that would come to be known as Lowell, Massachusetts. The next step was to update the Pawtucket Canal by increasing its size and depth; from there construction of the mills and boarding houses could begin (Dalzell 1991: 43). The city and manufacturing companies were not the only elements being incorporated into this new empire. The Proprietors of Locks and Canals, who had originally constructed the Pawtucket Canal, was transitioned and reshaped into the Locks and Canals Company. These same men who stood behind the Merrimack Manufacturing Company became stockholders in the Locks and Canals Company (Dalzell 1991: 43-44). This company was directly responsible for the introduction and expansion of new companies into the textile industry of Lowell. Their method was simple, "...

the land was sold out right and the waterpower was leased" (Dalzell 1991: 44). That was not all the Locks and Canals Company did. It also allocated all necessary machinery and made renovations when needed (Dalzell 1991: 44).

In addition to the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, several others were established in Lowell during its first decade. The Hamilton in 1825, Appleton and Lowell in 1828, the Suffolk, Lawrence, and Tremont in 1829, are a few examples (Lipchtiz 1976: 91). Figure A (p. 8) is a map constructed in 1845 by G. W. Boynton (Lipchtiz 1976: 92). The most dominant feature of the map is the Merrimack River. From here, one can follow the river and easily see how the canals were constructed and positioned. Most of the mills were positioned right on the banks of the river, with a canal built along one side of it. The Concord River also appears on the map, although not as large as the Merrimack. It is evident from the map that its water was still used to power the mills. Additionally one can see how the river flows down the right side of the Merrimack Mills, past the Machine Shops, and curving back around to circle the city.

Figure A

City of Lowell,1845



Development into the City of Lowell

In 1836 the farmland that had once been East Chelmsford officially became the city of Lowell, Massachusetts. In the early 1830's, elements of a city started appearing in Lowell, for example the opening of the fire department in 1830 and Lowell High School in 1831. The population was increasing steadily and quickly. An Episcopal Church, St. Anne's, and in 1839 The Lowell Cooperation Hospital was founded. Throughout the next several decades, other aspects of a city would start to appear. Including newspapers and a jail during the 1840's and 1850's. Other infrastructure would be put in place such as the paving of roads in 1844 (Leach).

Although it may appear that early industrial Lowell was taking off without any setbacks, there were flaws that emerged. Certain setbacks that surfaced were inevitable at the time because of the lack of infrastructure in cities. There were also diseases that spread through the city that caused fatalities. Additionally, the city's sewage and water plan increased the spread of these diseases (Lipchitz 1976:100). The Lowell Historic Society notes that in 1871 a small pox epidemic hit and infected nearly 800 people, killing nearly 200 of them (Leach). This stage and the following stage in Lowell have been described by some as its "Golden Age", for example Joseph Lipchitz when contributing to the history of Lowell in *Cotton Was King: A History of Lowell, Massachusetts*, titles his chapter "The Golden Age" It is evident that despite this denotation industrial life in 19th century United States was not always perfect, and certain unpredictable factors did arise.

The First Work Force- The Mill Girls

It is obvious that Lowell's economy was taking off and the design and investments of the early Massachusetts investors was proving to be a success. The next logical step would be finding a workforce. This first workforce, the Lowell Mill Girls, would become famously known for their involvement in the industrial revolution in Lowell. This raises the question of why are young girls an attractive workforce? Birkenmeir, Carson and Carson address this in "Lessons from Lowell, Massachusetts (1821-62): The Shifting Sands of Managerial Beneficence," when they quote L. F. Gross's *The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boot Cotton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, 1835-1955,* saying the girls were " 'Industrious, sober, orderly and moral' " (Gross 1993 p. 10 in Birkenmeir 2002: 123). JoAnn Marcos, National Historic Park Ranger, remarked on the same idea, saying the girls were easily "controlled" (Marcos 2011: Interview). These questions were important to the early agents of the mills. It was also reassuring to the parents of these girls to know that a daughter was being sent away to an environment in which she was being closely watched while providing for the family.

These famous girls were recruited from upper New England farms and they were contracted to work for at least a year (National Park Service 1992: 40 & 50). The girls ranged in age from 14 to 30 years old (Marcos 2011: Interview). A typical workday for these girls began before dawn and would last until dusk, totaling more than twelve hours. On Saturdays, the girls worked a shorter day but still put in over 70 hours at the end of week (Birkenmier 2002:125). For all their work the girls were paid a decent salary in retrospect, and it was important for the agents of the mills to pay the girls enough that coming to work in the mill was worth their while. The girls were typically paid anywhere between $2.00 and $4.00 per week, a portion of which went to

their boarding expense, about $1.25 (Birkenmier 2002: 127). Not only did these wages pay for their board but also money could easily be saved or spent on whatever the girls pleased.

In order to keep good order and uphold the moral standard, the boarding houses all came staffed with women who worked as overseers of the house. These women were in charge of the daily running of the house, food and cleaning rooms. Additionally, they were there to supervise the girls and see to it that the proper moral merit was met by making sure the girls followed curfew properly and met church attendance requirements (Birkenmier 2002: 125). It is easy to assume that the girl's parents were fond of this part of the system because they would be ensured that someone was keeping a close watch on their daughters.

It may appear that the girls were kept on a tight leash, with long workdays and harsh rules to follow, but they did have time to develop a strong sense of community and traces of a culture. All daily activities the girls did together, from eating to talking, as well as weekly activities which included church and special activities such as attending cultural events like church lectures (Dublin 1991: 82). The girls would spend other free time together including going to plays, sewing, and writing (Birkernmier 2002: 127). Writing became one of the most popular activities the girls would engage in and they created their own magazine, *The Lowell Offering,* in 1840. It contained various works by the girls and gave them a place to discuss whichever topics they pleased (Zaroulis 1976: 105). Understandably, most activities the girls engaged in during their free time were done in a group. The boarding house style lends itself not only to this, but also to forming a strong sense of community. This bond was formed right from the onset of a girl's entrance in to the mill system of Lowell. The main reason for this is that most girls knew someone before they arrived in Lowell alone. They very rarely made the journey to Lowell without knowing someone. For a new girl this sense of community was not always easy to adjust

to. Newcomers were forced to adjust to the culture there, which included dress, the way they spoke, even their attitudes (Dublin 1991: 81-82).

It may have appeared that everything in Lowell ran smoothly for the girls and their parents. They lived in a controlled setting, had constant supervision, worked and made their own money, and formed a strong sense of community. And although the agents had ideally hoped for a controlled group of girls that just fit right into the system previously described, that was not necessarily the case. The first strike that the mill girls would engage in came in early 1834 because of a pay cut (Dublin 1991: 85). In the end this first strike would fail and the girls either returned to work or they left Lowell altogether. It was considered more a social awakening than anything else (Dublin 1991: 86).

Dublin explains the importance of the strike in his chapter "Women, Work, and Protest" in The Continuing Revolution: A History of Lowell, Massachusetts, saying:

> The first strike in Lowell is important not because it failed or succeeded but simply because it took place. In an era in which women had to overcome opposition simply to work in the mills, it is remarkable that they would further overstep the accepted middle-class bounds of the female prosperity by participating in a public protest. (Dublin 1991: 85)

The girls were no longer as "controlled" as they had once appeared to be. They were defying their stereotype of the time and the strike in 1834 would only be the beginning. In 1836 the same platform for a strike rose again, yet the same outcome occurred (Dublin 1991: 88). Although this time there were improvements, more girls turned out and displayed themselves in a much more organized fashion (Dublin 1991: 88-89). It was clear the girls were learning how to exercise their voice. After the strike in 1836 the girls took their political involvement to a new level,

forming a Factory Girls Association. Instead of just striking, the girls in this association would try a different approach by shutting down the mills in order to get their demands (Dublin 1991: 89). They evolved this grassroots movement and its tactics to take on their political needs. They now used petitions to address their needs. Finally they formed The Lowell Female Labor Reform Association and worked in conjunction with other labor association to fight for wages and a shorter workday (Dublin 1991: 90).

Even though the girls did not leave a direct cultural manifestation of their time in Lowell, the events that ensued during this time would foreshadow what was to come for future immigrants to Lowell. This is displayed in two main ways, firstly in the way the girls were brought to Lowell. As previously noted the girls were recruited from upper New England farms and "pulled" and "pushed" to the new industrial city. This pull/push toward Lowell is a characteristic that still exists today, and will certainly be visible as the historic economic geography of Lowell continues to unfold. Secondly the strikes and joining together of the girls is a very important fact that foreshadows those groups to come. Here it is visible that girls would band together to protect their interests and each other. The immigrant groups that would follow them would also ban together, form a community, and protect each other.

Lowell's Golden Age: Pre Civil War Dominance & The Irish

Pre Civil War Dominance

The first stage of Lowell's economy was its vast growth and dominance of the cotton textile industry. As previously noted, Lowell exploded with a number of new manufacturing companies. After its establishment, there were over thirty mills in total and ten different corporations. This group of corporations made the mills in Lowell the largest group of mills in

the United States before the Civil War (Birkenmeir 2002; 123). Additionally during this period the mills employed some 13,000 people, with wages of slightly over $3.00 for females and about $6.50 for males (Eno 1976:Appendix B-C). These corporations would all be owned and operated by the same group of people, thus "[Minimizing] competition among each other by having the corporations manufacture different types of cotton cloth," (Birkenmier 2002; 124). With a huge physical manufacturing base and power centralized within the hands of just a few people it is easy to see how Lowell was successful.

Lowell found its market to be the American frontier in the West and the South, as population began settling there. But the companies did not limit themselves to that and sought markets in various other countries of the world (National Park Service 1992; 39). Besides its vast markets, Lowell corporations were innovative because they, "Combined all steps in cloth manufacturing within one mill," (National Park Service 1992: 40). Thus they were bringing in the raw material, cotton, and turning it into a finished good, cloth. A final aspect that made Lowell a dominant force in the cotton textile industry was the control of wages. Because all of the corporations had the same management, they could set the wages to all be the same (Bierkenmier 2002: 214). No matter what a worker was paid he or she would find the same rate anywhere else.

The Irish

The one thing Lowell did, and still does, is attract a workforce. It is apparent that the mill girls were becoming very unsettled and not as reliable as they once had been. The Irish who came in took their place working in the mills. This was the first example of sequential occupancy, a tradition Lowell saw repeated time and time again over the course of its history.

The Irish were the first true immigrant group to arrive in Lowell, although an Irish presence was noted before the mills girls arrived. The first Irish came to Lowell in 1822, arriving from Boston to help dig the canals that would supply water to the mills (Marcos 2011: Interview). These first Irish were given land in Lowell, which would be known as the "Paddy Camps" and eventually the Acre. These areas were located out of the way of the main part of the city, described by Marcos as "Off the beaten track" (Marcos 2011: Interview). Not only was it off the beaten track, but also it was looked down upon. This small group of men evolved to hundreds of men and came to include women and children (Marston 1991: 215). These early groups that lived in the outer parts of the city were composed of Irish from the Northwest and Southeast areas of Ireland. These different groups often settled in different areas because of past animosities towards each other, rooted back in Ireland (Marston 1991: 216).

The second wave of Irish immigrants came during the potato famine of 1844-1849 when word spread that there were jobs in Lowell (Marcos 2011: Interview). Figure B (p. 19) is a map showing the different Irish neighborhoods throughout Lowell during the nineteenth century (Marston 1991: 217). The map shows four distinct areas of Irish settlement, The Acre, Midmarket, Belvidere, and Chapel Hill. The Irish identity developed within these neighborhoods. The map also shows the Catholic Churches located within the Irish neighborhoods, St. Patrick's and St. Peter's. Picture 1 (p. 20) is of the current St. Patrick's Church. The church is still located and functioning out of this original spot. The church is large in scale and commands the area around it. Unlike several of the other churches that were eventually established in Lowell it is not tucked away in a neighborhood. St. Peter's Church closed in the late 1980's and the building was torn down ten years later (Leach). It is also shown that the Irish did not live far from the mills themselves.

The majority of Irish who came to Lowell were "pushed" from Ireland due to the effects of the potato famine. They were "pulled" to Lowell because there were jobs and food. Also, differing from the mill girls, they were pulled there because other Irish were there. They would take in new comers if need be (Blewett 1976: 194). As previously noted, the Irish replacing the mill girls would be the first example of sequential occupancy that Lowell would experience. Peter Blewett describes this in "The New People: An Introduction to the Ethnic History Lowell" a chapter in Cotton was King: A History of Lowell, Massachusetts, "In the late 1840's more Irishmen, potato famine refugees, arrived, just as the mill girls began to fail as a docile workforce. They were hired by the companies as operatives at lower wages, and a pattern became set" (Blewett 1976: 191). Survival and supporting their families proved to be far more important. Ultimately the Irish would accept the low pay and long hours, and at times even the entire family would work (National Park Service 1992: 66-67).

Starting with the Irish, Lowell saw a tradition of immigrants who attempted to make a living in ways other than working in the mills. In the beginning, the Irish tried to open a variety of small stores but the clientele was almost only Irishmen. In the 1870's the Irish businesses in Lowell significantly increased to include more stores, breweries, ice delivery, a wood company, and many other services. Also in the 1870's the Irish tried their hand at trades such as plumbing and carriage making (Blewett 1976: 214). The Irish also established saloons where men would spend time sometimes letting the vice get the best of them (Blewett 1976: 203). Irish men also came together to form the Irish Benevolent Society and they sponsored St. Patrick Day's parades dating back to the 1830's (Marston, 1991: 220).

The Irish made their portions of the city of Lowell their own with their stores and services. It was almost as if their own individual areas were full functioning cities within

themselves. Although they worked long hard hours and did not get paid well they still made an imprint on the city of Lowell. The most important way in which they did this was the establishment of a Catholic church. In the early 1830's Kirk Boott provided land for the Irish to establish a church on (Marston 1991: 216). Prior to that, a priest visited the Irish neighborhoods and conducted the traditional Catholic ceremonies, even without a proper building. The Irish wanted to make certain their faith had a home. They also established a church and eventually a school, in fact they helped pay for both of them (Blewett 1976: 195). The Yankee population in Lowell had different views of what a Catholic church in Lowell might do. The native or Yankee population refers to those original settlers of Lowell, who were there before the immigrant groups arrived. The Yankee population in the city during the mid 1800's tried to push legislation that would control the Irish (Marston 1991: 216). They hoped that a church would help keep the order they wanted for the Irish, but it did not (Marston 1991: 216).

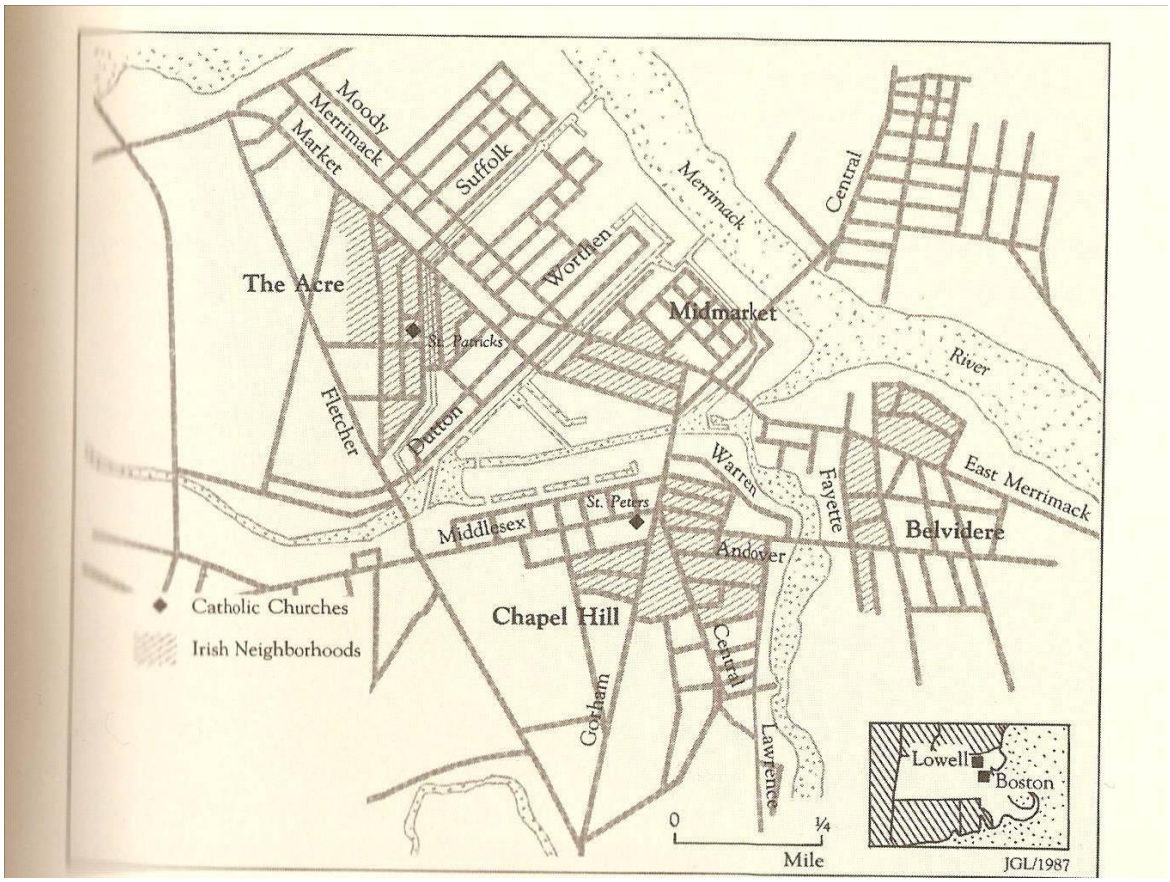
As previously noted in the description of Lowell becoming a city, living there was not always easy and immigrants were well aware of this, especially in the areas that the Irish inhabited. Blewett describes these areas as a "shanty town." This description immediately gives off a negative impression (Blewett 1976: 208). Disease also often roamed these areas. Although not very luxurious it appeared that the Irish stayed undisturbed in their own neighborhoods. This unfortunately was not always the case. The natives of Lowell often expressed xenophobic feelings towards the Irish. Some of these feelings originated because the natives were concerned with their own wellbeing. For example, natives would at times fall near the poverty line of the social structure of Lowell, in which the newest immigrants would likely always be on the base, and become uncomfortable with the number of immigrants present. Xenophobic feelings also often came from religious differences. On one occasion, in May of 1831, these prejudices would

be turned into action. A group of natives entered The Acre with the intent of damaging St. Patrick's Church. The Irish fought back and attempted to drive them out (Blewett 1976: 212).

The Irish started a tradition in Lowell of immigrant culture. They took their culture and manifested it within their neighborhoods in Lowell. In these neighborhoods they worked their way up the economic ladder in Lowell and eventually were able to move on to a better life. As time passed and they moved up the ladder, another group filled their slot at the bottom. The next group would in turn have to begin the process of establishing their culture and at times become the victim of the natives' xenophobic feelings. As the stages of Lowell's economy progressed this would always be the case, although the imprints were never manifested in exactly the same way.

Figure B

Irish Neighborhoods



Picture 1

Saint Patrick's Church, originally established by the Irish over 150 years ago, still functions today. Saint Patrick's could properly be described as the first immigrant church in Lowell, and continues to function as such today. The structure itself is large in scale and can be seen throughout the city.

Thriving but Unstable Economy & National Mass Immigration

Post Civil War- WWI: The Economy

As the Irish moved up the economic ladder, the economy of Lowell was changing and entering stage two of its historical economic geography. Production slowed in Lowell during the Civil War because there was less cotton coming from the South (Dugan 1976: 241). Consequently during this time the mills were forced to slow production and close for a time, causing the remaining mill girls to be sent back home. The Civil War ended the mill girls' importance in Lowell. Immigrant labor replaced them completely after the American Civil War

(Brown 1976: 141-142). The post Civil War Lowell despite the shift in labor did continue to thrive. The number of mills reached over 150 and they employed nearly 20,000 people. The mills produced over four million yards of cotton cloth per week, nearly double from the pervious stage (Eno 1976: Appendix B).

The impression of Lowell had changed after the Civil War. Robert Dugan describes the way Lowell was viewed by visitors after the Civil War in his article, "The Outsiders' View: Visitors to the Industrial Showcase" saying, "The later visitors, by and large, did not come to see the mills, for Lowell's mills were no longer new and outstanding…" (Dugan 1976: 250). This image would begin to appear before the Civil War; Lowell began to see the threat of other locations tapping into its dominance in the cotton textile industry. In the 1850's steam power became attainable and mills were established in New Bedford and Fall River Massachusetts. These mills continued to grow and by 1900 they successfully overcame Lowell, and became the dominant mill force in Massachusetts (Brown 1976: 145-146). Lowell eventually jumped on board and converted to using steam power; by 1880 they were using more steam power than waterpower (National Park Service 1992: 65). Lowell also saw the breaking up of the cotton dominance it had once known. In the 1890's two of its original companies changed what they produced. The Lowell Manufacturing Company began making carpets and the Lawrence Company began knitting (Brown 1976:155).

Changes in Lowell's economy were apparent at this time; people felt it was probably inevitable. To make matters worse, strikes and economic downturns were common occurrences during this stage. Minor strikes occurred during the 1860's and 1870's and the first significant strike the city saw happened in 1903. The Lowell Textile Council called the strike in 1903 because of neglected demands for wage increases. The strike was felt in all areas of textile

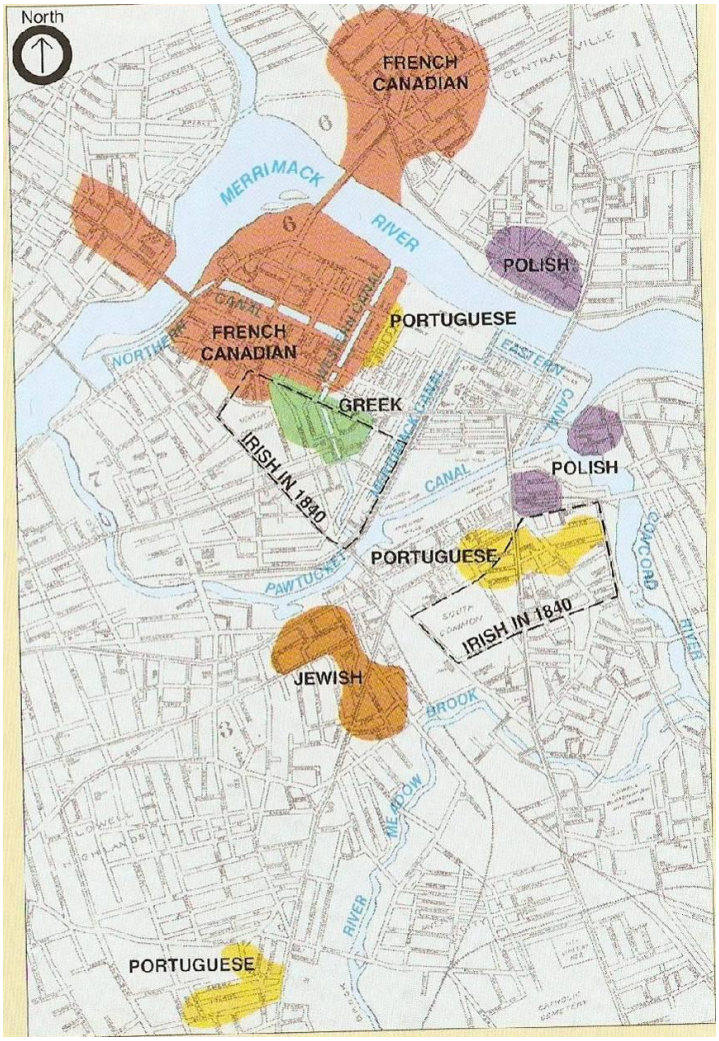
production and included loom fixers, weavers, and countless other jobs involved in production. The strike lasted two months and although many were still passionate about the Lowell Textile Council's agenda they desperately had to return to work. The effects of the strike were very visible in the ethnic neighborhoods of Lowell because people simply could not afford to live without working. Those who decided to stay out of the work until the strike's conclusion were simply replaced by even cheaper immigrant labor (Brown 1976:148-150).

The most severe strike in Lowell's history was in 1912, by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The strike of 1912 was sparked by a less than satisfying wage increase and a demand for an overall change in mill conditions (Brown 1976: 150-151). Fidelia Brown summarizes the four demands of the workers in "Decline and Fall: The End of the Dream" as follows "…A fifteen percent wage increase for all employees, the weavers' right to weigh their own cloth, double pay for overtime, and re-hiring of all workers without discrimination," (Brown 1976: 151). This strike, like the previous, had benefits for many different parts of the textile process. Members of the IWW knew that success of the strike rode on the cooperation of the lowest unskilled workers. At the height of the strike the corporations were audited by the New England Association of Textile Manufacturers and forced to raise their wages (Brown 1976: 151-152). Finally during this stage Lowell had to withstand economic depressions during the 1870's and 1890's. With a lack of diversification Lowell was susceptible to economic depressions quite easily. During these hard times the effects would be felt in all areas of the workers' lives (Brown 1976: 152).

National Mass Immigration

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the United States experienced a time of mass immigration. Lowell followed suit and experienced its own era of mass immigration. As the Irish moved their way up the economic ladder group after group took their spot, following the previously introduced pattern of sequential occupancies. The major groups that established themselves in Lowell were the French Canadians, Greeks, Poles, Portuguese, and to a lesser extent the Scotts and Italians. Figure C (p. 24) is a map of Lowell with the settlement patterns of each of the major immigrant groups (National Park Service 1992: 72). Each group was contained in its own area, or several small areas. The Greeks and Portuguese would take over the areas previously settled by the Irish, directly correlating to the concept of sequential occupancy. The Scottish occupied what became know as "Scotch Block" (National Park Service 1992: 66). Most neighborhoods are located right near the river, probably to be close to the mills for work. The different immigrant groups had, for the most part, very distinct areas with little to no overlap.

Figure C



Different push and pull factors can explain the reasons for these immigrant groups to come to Lowell. The French Canadians, for example, were experiencing economic trouble in the 1870's, especially larger families living on farms. Farming was no longer a viable option to sustain a family. Additionally industries in places like Quebec were just in their beginning stages. This certainly was not a solution;, thus many people were pulled by the industries in New England and their need for workers. Recruiters from these corporations were also sent to Canada to convince people to migrate to the United States. Also, following the same pattern of chain migration, others came because they had either family or friends already in Lowell (Early

1991: 236-237). The Portuguese displayed similar push factors from their homeland in the late 19th century. Most Portuguese who came to Lowell were from the Azores and Madeira, island archipelagos located in the northern Atlantic Ocean. They experienced the same financial struggles the French Canadians did, and felt there was no room for economic growth. The Portuguese were pulled to Lowell because of the opportunity to work in the mills (MacFadgen 1992: 1-2).

Similar push factors were felt throughout Europe; with population increase and limited land, people could no longer support themselves. Many would end up settling in the United States and working in the mills. The mills were a perfect place for them to work with their limited skill set (Blewett 1976: 191). Furthermore, most of the jobs the immigrants held did not require them to know English; this served as a pull factor (Marcos 2011: Interview). Finally, like the French Canadians, the Europeans displayed patterns of chain migration. University of Massachusetts Professor Charles Nikitopoulous, describes this pattern in the Greek immigrants who settled in Lowell. He commented that both waves of Greeks that came to Lowell would attract friends and relatives to come with them,(Nikitopouls 2011: Interview). These friends and relatives acted as pull factors as well.

As the numbers of immigrants in each group continued to increase the process of transplanting their cultures would begin. One of the most important ways this began to happen was with the establishment of churches. Peter Blewett commented that, "All nineteenth century immigrant groups relied on religion to bind together the parts of the ethnic community" (Blewett 195). It appeared that being in a place where everything was different, religion could be a strong binding force. The immigrant groups would all come to establish their own churches, just as they all formed their own neighborhoods. As previously noted, the Irish were the first to

successfully do this, and the French Canadians would follow suit. The French Canadians would desire their own church because they found the customs of the Irish unfamiliar; they eventually established St. Joseph's. The task of building a church was not easy to complete, but with eager support from the immigrants it did eventually get accomplished. St. Joseph's, as it is currently, is seen in Picture 7 (p. 34). The physical church building is very detailed. Although this was not an easy task for the French Canadians to accomplish they did succeed effectively and are still doing so today. The Poles would follow this same model and they desired to break away from the French Canadian's Catholic Church and establish St. Casimir's Church, which was a branch of the Polish National Catholic Church (Blewett 1976: 196). Picture 5 (p. 33), shows St. Casimir's today, a larger church constructed of brick. Today the brick building can serve as a reminder of the mills and way the city probably looked. The Poles who remained loyal to the Roman Catholic Church established their own church in a different part of Lowell. Holy Trinity Parish was established in the late nineteenth century and years later a school followed (www.holytrinitylowell.org). Picture 2 (p. 31) shows the current Holy Trinity Parish, which is located in the smaller of the Polish neighborhoods in Lowell. Looking at Figure C (p. 24), it is in the neighborhood located across the Merrimack River. The church appears to have been renovated at one time, the bottom appears very traditional, having been constructed from stone. Not all of the groups had difficulties setting up a church. The Portuguese established St. Anthony's of Lisbon in 1907 (Blewett 1976:199). Picture 6 (p. 33) shows St. Anthony's as it looks today, a building with a very modern feel to it. The church is located in the larger of the Portuguese neighborhoods that were established in Lowell, seen in yellow in Figure C. Figure C also shows that this Portuguese neighborhood was once an Irish neighborhood. Finally when looking at Figure B (p. 19) of the Irish neighborhoods, St. Peter's Church was established on

Gorham street and St. Anthony's is very close in proximity to that. The changing of ethnic enclaves within one neighborhood shows the nature of sequential occupancy.

The Greek community had problems finding the capital for a church, but once they did they established Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in 1906. The Greeks, like the Polish, dealt with religious divides and consequently created two additional churches: the Transfiguration Greek Orthodox Church and St. George's church, both due to divisions in the church (Blewett 1976:199). The Transfiguration Greek Orthodox Church shown in Picture 3 (p. 32) is much grander in scale and style than St. George's. The structure has much more detail and draw too it. These stylistic differences are probably due to the fact that more money was available at this time. St. George's shown in Picture 4 (p. 32) is close in proximity to the Transfiguration Greek Orthodox Church, displaying the ethnic enclave the Greeks formed. St. George's appears to have been built within a neighborhood, although the surroundings were most likely different then, than they are today. Finally both of these churches are located less than a mile from St. Patrick's church, showing in a concrete way the sequential occupancy experienced throughout Lowell's history. The Italians are also a special case because they did not establish their own church in Lowell. They instead attended St. Peter's, a church originally established by Irish immigrants in one of their first neighborhoods. The Italians would interact with the Irish at both the church and school (Aste: 5). The Italians probably worshiped at this church instead of establishing their own as per the norm because they did not come in as high numbers as some of the other groups. Appendix 2 (p. 63) shows that according to the 1890 census barely 700 Italian immigrants were in Middlesex County. As the Italian population increased into the 1900's the Irish were already moving their way up the economic ladder and out of Lowell. Those that were left mixed with the Italians and the church became known for its split identity as they mixed in the church and

school. Finally the Italians were already living in the streets close to St. Peter's church, they probably also selected that one because it was closer to their neighborhood.

Religion was not the only way people of these different groups came together. After churches were built, members often came together to form societies, much like the Irish Benevolent Society. These would include, for the French Canadians, the Union St. Joseph, and for the Greeks, the Washington-Acropolis (Blewett 1976: 200). Organizations such as these were much deeper than just acting as an extension of the church. As Peter Blewett described it, "These organizations offered the immigrant a cushion against loneliness, and often against disaster or destitution," (Blewett 1976: 200). These societies held various social events as well, including, dinners and plays (Blewett 1976: 200). Even though societies did not physically transform the city, their existence was still highly valued.

The societies formed by various immigrant groups were not the only social manifestations of culture. When the Greeks arrived in Lowell they brought their traditional coffee houses with them. These grew to be numerous in the Greek neighborhoods, and served as a social outlet (Blewett 1976: 201). Many men also spent time at their neighborhood saloon; a different one was established in each ethnic neighborhood. Newspapers were also a popular establishment among immigrants, and each group each had several of their own. The French Canadians and the Greeks would have several newspapers each. Other writings emerged as well in the form of plays and novels. The Poles had a literary society and often reported back home about life in Lowell (Blewett 1976: 204).

Much like the Irish, the other immigrant groups organized their own businesses as a different approach to working in the mills, as well as serving their cultural needs. The French Canadians opened grocery stores, bakeries, and clothing stores (Blewett 1976: 214). The Greeks

saw this and followed suit with restaurants, barber shops, candy shops, as well as a variety of other stores (National Park Service 1992: 74). The Greeks also established drug stores; one particularly famous drug store was Tsagaroulis'. This drug store would serve as a haven for immigrants; with no permanent address to give families back home, the store's address would be given instead. It evolved to what Blewett refers to as a "community center, a check in point for the immigrants," (Blewett 1976: 203). The Italians most notably brought their macaroni company, Prince Macaroni to Lowell in the 1940's. This company was originally started by Italian immigrants in Boston (Aste: 24).

Despite the fact that some immigrants branched off and established their own businesses, most of them worked in the mills. Immigrant families often found that more than one person's income was necessary for survival. Frances Early describes this in "The French Canadian Family Economy and Standard of Living in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1870" saying, "…That many working-class families depended on secondary wage earners, usually children, *merely to squeak by*…," (Early 1991: 244). This was a harsh reality of many immigrant families, especially during bad economic times.

Martha Norkunas discusses the necessity for extra income in the family in "The Ethnic Enclave As Cultural Space: Women's Oral Histories of Life and Work in Lowell," where she summarizes interviews she conducted with women from many different ethnicities. Their interviews expressed that multiple incomes in a family way the only was to survive. Women's income at the time was so important they often did not have the opportunity to stay home with their children. Additionally, Norkunas reported that women formed ethnic enclaves inside the mills (Norkunas 1991: 333-335). This probably made communication and day-to-day work less daunting. Norkunas made an accompanying movie, "'And That's How We did in the Mills':

Women in the Lowell Textile Mills" to document additional interviews she conducted with these women. Some of the women discussed the harsh conditions they had to work in. They reported that the mills were often full of dust and extremely noisy (And That's How We Did in the Mill).

Furthermore, many immigrants within the different groups planned to work, send money back home, and eventually return themselves. Most of the original Greek immigrants in Lowell were men who had planned to return to Greece (Nikitopoulous 2011: Interview). There are many reasons that could explain this attitude. First the immigrants probably had little to no sense of what life was actually going to be like in the United States. It is fair to say they probably did not expect to transform concrete expressions of their culture in the United States. After establishing various stores and churches as well as other parts of their culture there was less desire to leave. Secondly with the boom and bust economy Lowell experienced during this time, with minor depressions and strikes, having enough money to send back and save for a return trip was certainly difficult. The next stage of Lowell's economy did not add anything positive to that situation. Nikitopoulos noted that Greek women eventually came over to the United States, this probably proved to be a more sound economic decision. It is also right to assume that their original intentions changed after experiencing life in the United States.

The immigrant's journey in those days was long and uncomfortable only to arrive in a place that was unfamiliar, and when people spoke a language equally as unfamiliar. For many they would be adjusting to city life as well. For example, the French Canadians migrated from farms in Quebec. The development of ethnic enclaves and the elements that they came to posses made the transition doable (Early 1991: 237). The Europeans experienced similar hardships when making transition from rural to urban (Blewett 1976: 193). The preconceived notions many had about the American lifestyle certainly affected their mindset upon arrival. Peter

Blewett describes this saying, “the European Immigrants perceived the United States as an economic Land of Oz,” (Blewett 1976: 194). This image was intensified by what they read and heard about the United States. Many immigrants even perceived the streets of the United States to be paved with gold. Most times this dream was crushed as soon as they arrived. Furthermore, living spaces were less than adequate and often overcrowded. Just like with the Irish before them, these groups witnessed violence and threats from the Yankee population (Blewett 211-212).

Despite these hardships and the harsh working conditions, most immigrants stayed, even if that was not their intended plan. Just like the Irish before them they worked their way up the economic ladder and made way for the next group of immigrants. Although many were forced to deal with the tough economic times Lowell faced during the Great Depression and between the world wars, the immigrants proved to be resilient. Their ethnic enclaves were their strongholds during these times and at times their saving grace.

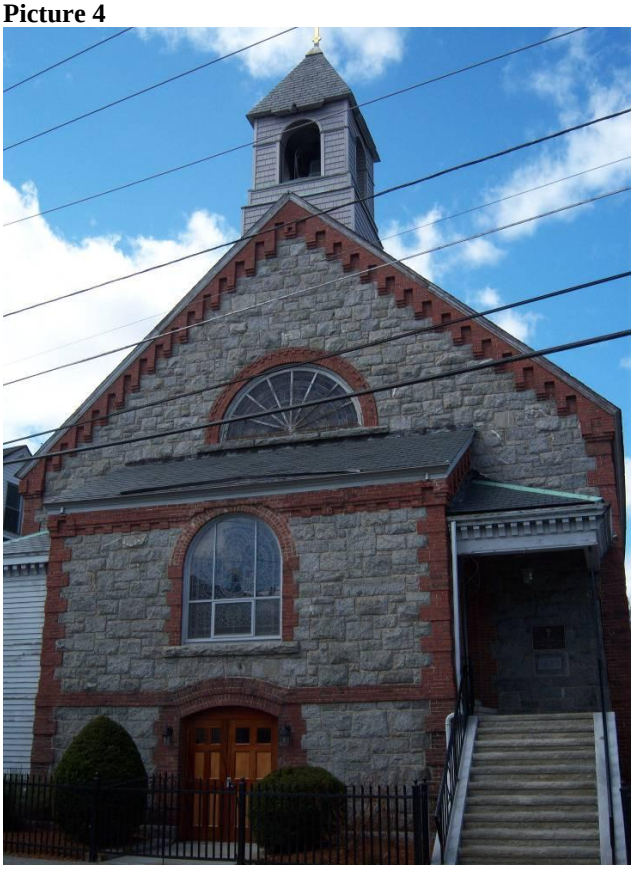
Picture 2

Holy Trinity Parish is located in the smaller of the Polish neighborhoods of Lowell. It was established in the late 19th century by the Polish Catholics in Lowell. The building is very different than the other Polish church in Lowell and appears to have be renovated at one point. The sign located in the lower left hand side is discussing religious education classes, serving as a small sign that the parish still active today.

Picture 3

The Transfiguration Greek Orthodox Church is the largest and most eye catching of the Greek churches in Lowell even today. The church is approximately a half-mile from St. Patrick's church, putting into perspective the sequential occupancy experienced in Lowell. Despite their proximity the design and style of the churches are very different.

Picture 4

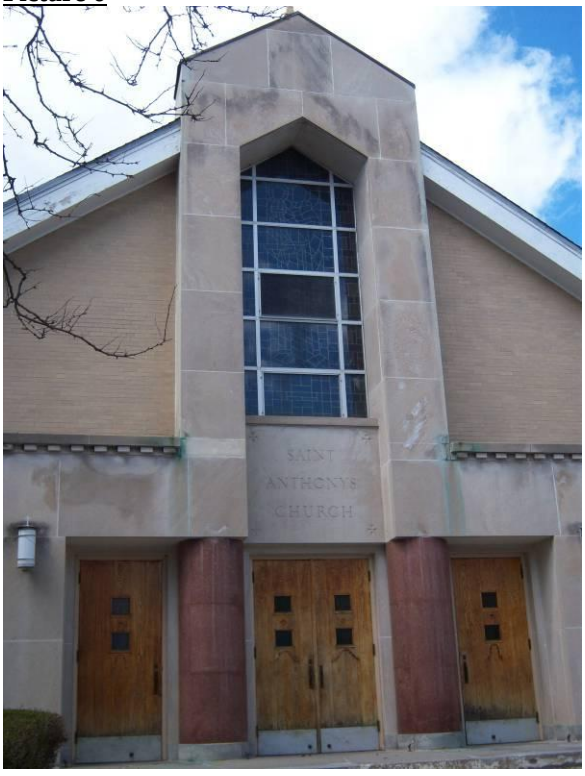


St. George Church is the last of the three Greek churches in Lowell. It is smaller than the Transfiguration Greek Orthodox Church but close in location. The unique quality about this church today is that it appears to be tucked within a neighborhood. The entrance is also small and not noticeable immediately. The color of the stone makes it blend in to its surroundings. Finally the steeple appears to be a different material then the rest of the church, it could have possibly been renovated at one time.

Picture 5

St. Casimir's is located in what was one of the biggest Polish enclaves of Lowell along the Merrimack River. The building itself can be reminiscent of the past because it is brick like many of the old mill buildings and other structures that serve as physical symbols of Lowell's past.

Picture 6



St. Anthony's church is slightly less traditional in style than some of the other churches in Lowell, and looking at it today it certainly appears more modern. Its lighter stone color and large window in the front center make it appear very welcoming.

Picture 7

St. Joseph's was one of the first immigrant churches established in Lowell, and still stands today. The outside, although hard to see directly in this photo, is very detailed. The windows are stained glass and the stones create a unique pattern.

Depression, World Wars, and Economic Decline

The gloomy atmosphere that surrounded the end of the previous stage of Lowell's economic development became intensified within the next stage. The number of people employed by the mills started to fall in the late 1800's and just continued to fall, by the later half of the 1910s less than 14,000 employed in the mills (National Park Service 1992: 82) The cotton textile industry in Lowell continued falling in a downward spiral during the early part of the twentieth century. The industry made a slight revival during World War I. Unfortunately, after the war the mills began leaving Lowell. This, of course, caused people to lose their jobs and times became tough yet again. The lack of diversification in the economy did not help this at all. Consequently when the Great Depression hit in the late 1920's the workers of Lowell knew exactly what to expect. Although there was talk of the government putting money into the

economy to somehow create jobs for all that were out of work, it never happened (Brown 1976: 153). Times were tough in Lowell, as they were in the rest of the country. Mills closed down completely, many of the big buildings stood vacant, and only 8,000 were employed by the textile industry (National Park Service 1992: 85). Looking at Appendixes 3 and 4 (p. 63), Census data from Lowell in 1910 and 1940, one can see that during both of these periods Lowell's population was well over 100,000 people (Census 1910 and 1940). This intensifies how few people were employed in the mills during that time. But in the end Lowell and its workers survived yet another rough time, probably the most devastating it had seen and the city went back to work with the onset of World War II (Brown 1976: 153). WWII brought many jobs back to Lowell, especially for women. Wages increased dramatically as well, to almost $30 a week in 1943 (National Park Service 1992: 89).

The economy in Lowell displayed a clear cycle during this period. It increased and mobilized again during times of war and then fell back into a slump after the war. To a lesser extent Lowell had already been displaying this pattern in the previous stage of its historic economic geography. The textile mills began vanishing from Lowell as early as 1900; some of its original and most famous would be among the ones leaving. The Suffolk Mill was sold and closed by 1936 and the Appleton relocated in the South. By 1940 only the Merrimack, Boott, and Lawrence remained out of the original Lowell companies (Brown 1976: 155). A lot of the corporations at this time relocated to the South. The South was attractive to Northern businessmen because the labor was cheaper and taxes lower. Also because of its new industrialization, the South was free from unions and the activities that commonly accompanied them (National Park Service 1992: 82). Although Lowell experienced a time of prosperity during WWII, it proved to be very short lived.

End of Industrialism, Today's Economy, and its Immigrants

End of Industrialism

The beginning of the fourth stage of Lowell's historic economic geography began as dismally as the previous stage ended. Low employment and the closing of more of the original Lowell mills characterized the 1950s, including the closing of the Boott and the Merrimack (National Park Service 1992: 90). The Wananlancit, Ames Textile Corporation, and Joan Fabrics Corporation all remained open during this stage. The 1960s started with a search for a new beginning. A team of Lowell's residents worked hard to bring Lowell back. By "[working] with urban planners and historians, they laid out a plan for redevelopment based on Lowell's architectural and cultural heritage" (National Park Service 1992: 90). The 1970's reaped the benefits of these plans.

In the 1970's Lowell's economy began a path of renewal. This renewal would steam from a rebirth of the manufacturing industry. This rebirth incorporated increases in several different categories of manufacturing. Flynn and Gittell describe in their article, "The Lowell High-Tech Success Story: What Went Wrong?," that there was a shift to "durable" goods, an introduction of the 'high-technology industry' and 'industrial machinery industry.' All of these helped revive the economy (Gittell 1995: 3). They also drew attention to five reasons why Lowell was an attractive site for these new industries, which are as follows: "…Access to an entrepreneurial and highly skilled work force; a pool of relatively low-cost production workers, a local competitive advantage for the newer high-tech industries; an influx of funds from both the private and the public sectors; and effective local leadership" (Gittell 1995: 4). Although Lowell's economy was not in a good position at the time, it is evident that it had desirable characteristics to offer.

Another important contribution to this process was the opening of Wang Laboratories. Wang Laboratories, a computer manufacturing company, came to Lowell because of Federal Urban Development Action Grants offered at the time. Wang did more than establish itself in Lowell, it also pulled other firms to the Lowell area (Gittell 1995: 5). Cathy Stanton describes in her article "Performing the Postindustrial: The Limits of Radical History in Lowell, Massachusetts" the way in which Lowell took its rich history and turned it into something ground-breaking, saying:

> In the 1960s and 1970s, Lowell became one of the first cities in the world to turn consciously to what is now termed 'culture-led revitalization' –the broad repertoire of historic and arts districts, museums, waterfront development…and related strategies that have become de rigueur for depressed cities and regions attempting to reposition themselves in the new economy. (Stanton 2007: 84)

Stanton explains here the ways in which Lowell used the stories already found right within its own borders to renew itself. Patrick Morgan emerged as the lead organizer around this idea in Lowell. His vision was for Lowell to be a place where people could learn by seeing the history around them, and the remaining manifestations of it (Stanton 2007: 85). The Lowell National Historic Park was created during an expansion of the National Park Service. The park was designed in such a way that it painted the entire picture of what it told, including both positive and negative details. For example, the story included the uneven face of capitalism and also presented events from multiple perspectives (Stanton 2007: 87-88).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s Lowell's economy declined once again. Flynn and Gittell list that a nationwide economic downturn, a banking crisis in the region, and a lack of diversification in the economy all attributed to this downturn (Gittell 1995: 6). The lack of

diversification is important in light of the previous stages of Lowell's historic economic geography. In this stage it was Wang Laboratories that dominated Lowell's manufacturing sector, just like the textiles did before it. Flynn and Gittell explain just how large Wang had come to be, "In several of the boom years, Wang Labs employed over 10,000 workers in the Lowell labor market, accounting for approximately 10 percent of total employment and one-third of manufacturing employment in the local economy," (Gittell 1995: 9). Although Wang lasted a much shorter amount of time than the textile industry, the affects have a strong correlation.

Today's Economy

Today the economy of Lowell is very different than the economy of Lowell in the past. Most employees in Lowell today are employed in the service sector of the economy, followed by manufacturing and trade, transportation, and utilities. Tourism is also an important part of Lowell's economy today (City-Data). The largest employer in Lowell's economy currently is M/A Com Inc. M/A Com Inc. is, " a leading supplier of semiconductors, active and passive components, and sub-assemblies for use in radio frequency, microwave and millimeter wave applications" (macomtech.com). M/A Com works on such products as amplifiers, lasers, and game systems (macomtech.com).

Other significant employers in Lowell today are the two hospitals, Saints Memorial Medical Center and Lowell General Hospital, and University of Massachusetts-Lowell (City Data). Finally it is important to note that Ames Textile Corporation is still operating in Lowell. Joan Fabric was still producing woven and velour fabrics but filed for chapter 11-bankruptcy protection in 2006 (National Textile Association). The remaining textile corporation is a small reminder of the past economic stages. Currently, according to *The Lowell Sun* the

unemployment rate in Lowell today is about 11.2% (The Lowell Sun). This is probably a reflection of the United States economy as a whole.

Immigrants of the Late 20th and Early 21st Centuries

The immigrants of the late 20th century told a much different story than those of the immigrants before them. The first group to come during this time were the Colombians. In the 1970's, as previously discussed, certain textile mills were still holding on. These included Wananlancit, Ames Textile Corporation, and Joan Fabrics Corporation. These corporations were still relaying on immigrant labor. Many native New Englanders did not want to work in the remaining textile mills because job security was limited and the pay was less than desirable (Glassel-Brown 1991: 348 & 351). Therefore, the remaining companies were forced to look elsewhere for a labor source. The Joan Fabrics Corporation tried to attract Puerto Rican workers, and the Ames Textile Corporation tried hopelessly to get local workers, but it was the Wananlancit that first established a network with the Colombian immigrants (Glassel-Brown 1991: 361).

The New York based company, Poneman, first recruited Colombian workers to come to the United States in the late 1960s. Only a small group of about twenty were granted the proper visas, H2 visas, to come to the United States. Due to the ongoing decline of the textile industry the Colombian immigrants were forced to relocate to alternative locations. Ultimately some reached Lowell (Glaessel-Brown 1991: 354-356). During the 1970s textiles were an important part of the industrializing economy in Colombia, so workers were already trained (Glassel-Brown 1991: 348). Despite textile industries in their home country, Colombian immigrants came to Lowell because wages were over all higher (Glaessel-Brown 1991: 351).

The Colombians who came to the United States had a similar mind set as the immigrants before them. They had planned originally to only stay for a short amount of time but eventually stayed and brought their entire family to the United States. Colombians also sent remittances to their families back home (Glassel-Brown 1991: 356-357). Glassel-Brown describes in her article "A Time of Transition: Colombian Textile Workers in Lowell in the 1970's," the 'network' that emerged as more Colombian immigrants arrived in Lowell. When H2 visas were attainable, the network was in full force. Unfortunately a change in policy in the early 1970s hindered the immigrants from being able to attain H2 visas. These visas were now primarily given to agricultural workers. Consequently, these textile workers were forced to apply for sixth preference immigrant visas, which was not by any means easy (Glassel-Brown 1991: 362). Sixth preference immigrant visas were normally granted to both unskilled and skilled workers (Hohl 1971: 349). The policy change caused the workers to seek alternative methods, which included "obtaining a tourist visa and staying in the United States until detected, or foregoing any contact with consul's office and arranging to cross the border without inspection" (Glassel-Brown 1991: 362). Needless to say Colombians were turning to illegal means of immigration.

During this period, all three of the companies had illegal immigrants working for them, and they all managed to stay under the radar for years. The Colombian immigrants first worked at Wananlancit, and eventually Colombian immigrants came to be employed by the other two companies as well (Glassel-Brown 1991: 362). Glassel-Brown includes an interview with Ted Larter, president of Wananlancit, in her article. Larter explained that he was nervous about the increasing amount of illegal immigrants and conscious of the fact that a visit by the department of labor would have shut him down (Glassel-Brown 1991: 364). Ultimately immigration inspectors discovered Larter. This made him decide he was going to fight for his workers,

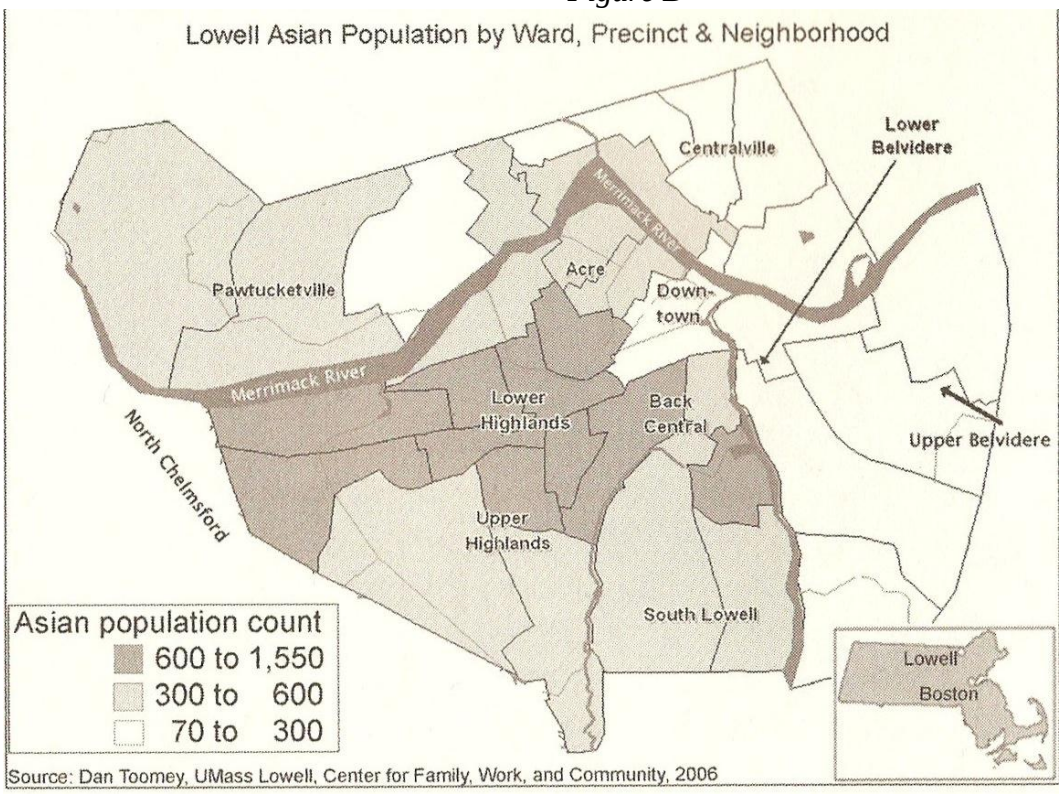
because the issue was much deeper to him than it probably appeared on the surface. He went to his Congressman, and voiced his opinion. He explained that many native workers did not want the jobs the Colombians workers had and he desperately needed the labor. Unfortunately immigration services returned and their inspections eventually forced Wananlancit to close in the 1980's. The other two companies were both visited by immigration during this time (Glassel-Brown 365).

The story of the Colombians is different than those of past immigrant groups for several reasons. First, they did not arrive in the vast numbers that many of the other groups did. Secondly, they did not manifest themselves in the city in the same fashion as the other before them. Probably that these immigrants felt uneasy about their day to day life because their status as illegal immigrants. Nonetheless their story is important and documents the changing nature of immigrants in Lowell, as well as in the United States more generally. Illegal immigration and the issues surrounding it are still problems present in United States politics today.

The second group of immigrants who arrived in Lowell during this stage were the Southeast Asians. The Southeast Asians were mainly refugees. The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in July 1951 set the definition of a refugee used then and today. According to Article 1 of the convention, a refugee is a person who is persecuted because of his or her race, religious beliefs, nationality, and the like, and can no longer stay in his or her home country because of fear of this (United Nations). The refugees who entered the United States during this period of time came from three countries in Southeast Asia. First, those from South Vietnam left their home country and traveled by boat to surrounding countries, like Indonesia and the Philippines, fleeing their governments. Eventually some came to settle in the United States. Second, many Cambodians fled to Thailand to escape the rise of the Khmer

Rouge (Pho 2007: 11-12). Finally, people from Laos, who were also political refugees, immigrated to the United States after the Vietnam War (Cowan 2007: 135). Figure D (p. 42) is a map of Lowell, that displays the areas with a high concentration of Southeast Asians (Pho 2007). The neighborhoods surrounding the Merrimack River, Lower Highlands and Back Central, have the greatest numbers. The Acre and the Upper Highlands also have significant numbers.

Figure D



Many immigrants came to Lowell during the late 1970s from these countries, and still more in the 1980's as hundreds arrived due in a large part to the Family Reunification Provisions of the Refugee Act (Pho 2007: 12). A number of Southeast Asian refugees who originally settled elsewhere in the United States eventually sought permanent settlement in Lowell. Having

made Lowell their second location displays the process of secondary migration (Pyle 2007: 27). Secondary migration occurs when an immigrant relocates again, moving from their original destination to another location. For example if a Southeast Asian immigrants had first gone to California, he might then move to Lowell, Massachusetts because of certain pull factors. Jean Larson Pyle identifies in her article "Public Policy and Local Economies: The Phenomenon of Secondary Migration," three factors that influenced Southeast Asians to move from their original destination and finally come to Lowell. They are as follows: "Job availability and attractive relative wages, a growing Southeast Asian community, and polices and programs of state and local government as well as those of private, nonprofit institutions" (Pyle 2007: 28). The first two factors display that Lowell's pull factors have changed little over the course of its history. The Southeast Asians were pulled to Lowell just the same way immigrants were pulled there a hundred years earlier.

These three factors were vitally important to Southeast Asians who originally came to Lowell and those who came as a result of secondary migration. Turning first to jobs, the arrival of these immigrants coincided with the economic and high-tech boom Lowell experienced in the early 1980's. There were jobs available for them that did not require them to know the language or have a vast skill set. Nevertheless the Southeast Asians worked hard and filled these labor-intensive jobs like all of Lowell's immigrants had done before them (Pho 2007: 12). As far as wages, Pyle notes from interviewing secondary migrants to Lowell that the wages were considerably higher than those found in places like California and Michigan (Pyle 2007: 28).

The second factor is extremely important to Southeast Asians, as it has been important to most immigrant groups in the past. Pyle noted that secondary migrants were attracted to Lowell because of community developments including "…Southeast Asian owned shops (grocery, auto

repair jewelry, video), restaurants, and community organizations (such as the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association)" (Pyle 2007: 28). It is visible that the Southeast Asian community in Lowell was beginning to create their own ethnic enclave in Lowell, and it does not end with that list. Turcotte and Silka note in their article "Reflections on the Concept of Social Capital" that recently other organizations have been developed. They include such organizations as Asian Business Association, the Cambodian Women's Organization, the Lao Family Mutual Association, to name a few. They also discuss the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association, noting that it has set up programs to help workers increase their skill set and helped start up businesses, among other things (Turcotte 2007: 53). Southeast Asian businesses still exist today in Lowell. Some of these include Southeast Asian Restaurant and Oriental Pearl Restaurant, which are both located in the neighborhoods discussed in the previously described map (Cambodian Neighborhood Walking Tour).

The development of the ethnic enclaves did not end here. The Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Laos's communities started the Southeast Asian Water Festival. This festival is held on the banks of the Merrimack River the third Saturday in August. It celebrates the importance of water to the Southeast Asian people. It combines not only that importance, but also celebrates their food, religion, and various other cultural aspects (lowellwaterfestival.org). Religion is another important imprint the Southeast Asians brought to Lowell. Religion is equally as important to them as it has been to the groups that came before them. In Lowell and the greater Lowell area several Buddhist temples have been established including, a Lao Buddhist temple, Watlao Mixayaram, and two Cambodian temples, Trairatanaram Temple (located in North Chelmsford) and Glory Buddhist Temple (Thomson 2007: 112 & 120). Picture 8 (p. 47) is a current picture of the Glory Buddhist Temple. It is a smaller building, complete with flags and lights on the

outside. The building is brick, so upon first glance it fits right in with much of the other architecture in Lowell. The temple is a nice contrast to the traditional Christian churches spread throughout the city. Additionally, it is close in proximity to many of these churches displaying once again the layers of different cultural manifestation in Lowell. One important purpose of these temples is to serve as a social outlet, a place for meeting others. The monks also play a very central role, stressing the necessity for community bonding. Monks at the Lao Buddhist temple, Wat Buddhabhavanna, originally established in Lowell but now located in Westford even broadcast a radio program that reaches out to the community through a combination of music and teachings (Thomson 2007: 116-119).

The temples of the Lowell and the Greater Lowell area have offered and continue to offer some unique events. First the Trairatanaram Temple has in the past offered a program called Operation Middle Path. Thomson in her article, "Along the Path to Nibbana," describes this program saying, "In May 2003, Operation Middle Path began by meeting with ten runaway Southeast Asian youth to evaluate their background knowledge of Buddhism and mediation skills" (Thomson 2007: 120). After this evaluation the teens went to temple and were instructed by the monks after school. Although the program struggled with funding it did reach some teens, and is a further display of the monks' devotion to their community (Thomson 2007: 122-123). Secondly the Lao temple, Wat Buddhabhavaana holds a Lao New Year's celebration. All of the traditions surrounding this festival are yet another sign of the Southeast Asian community in Lowell (Thomson 2007: 124). Finally, St. Patrick's Catholic Church, originally started by the Irish over a century before the Southeast Asians arrived in Lowell, does serve the Southeast Asian community by offering masses in both Vietnamese and Khmer (stpatricklowell.org).

The third factor observed by Pyle, the availability of assistance programs, was relevant to most of the Southeast Asians that came to Lowell. When the refugees first arrived in Lowell the government helped them with money and medical services for the first three years. Many other organizations existed to help them as well including job training programs, although these programs were often hard to utilize because of the language barrier. A final helping hand that guided the Southeast Asians in Lowell was that of the people who were working at the same time to develop Lowell's National Historic Park. They were working to retell the history of previous groups of immigrants who had journeyed to Lowell, and with this understanding taught others to embrace the diversity of the new immigrant groups from Southeast Asia (Pho 2007: 12-13). To say that everyone embraced the new diversity is untrue; as with all immigrant groups animosities arose. During times of economic hardships in Lowell, the natives believed the new refugees took jobs away from them. Also the natives had a hard time understanding the legal status of these refugees and consequently a negative mindset about them set in. At times some hate crimes were even committed against the Southeast Asians. It did not stop here, ethnic gangs emerged and wreaked havoc on the area. From here the need for government help was recognized, and a Southeast Asian Task Force was opened as well as positions within the police department. Together these organizations have worked to bring Lowell over this hurdle (Pho 2007: 15).

The Southeast Asians came to Lowell in a very different way then any other group before them. They did not have much, if any, of a choice in leaving their home country and probably did not realize they would end up settling in Lowell, Massachusetts. Despite this they manifested their culture in the same ways most other groups before them did. Even the area in which they did this is key because it further proves the nature of sequential occupancy that Lowell has very

much been accustomed too. The Southeast Asians transformed the area that had at one time been inhabited by all of the immigrant groups before them.

Picture 8

The Glory Buddhist Temple is a unique contrast to the numerous Christian churches in Lowell, but most importantly it serves the immigrant community of Lowell today. It is a mostly brick building, which resembles the other churches and various other buildings throughout Lowell. The flags, lights, and banners make it appear very welcoming, and not quite as somber as the Christian churches.

Analysis

Over the course of the last two centuries Lowell has represented a perfect example of sequential occupancy. Throughout this time period the various groups of immigrants have migrated to the city and have transplanted their cultures in a wide variety of ways. All of the significant groups of immigrants have demonstrated in some way, most in a concrete way but some in a more thematic way, their portions of the story. At this juncture it is key to examine which of these cultural expressions have outlasted its respective group's dominance in Lowell. First census data collected and analyzed from selected years over this time aids in this examination.

Census data from a range of years, starting with 1870 and ending in 2000, serves as concrete evidence of the pattern of sequential occupancy found in Lowell. The amount of

information available for each year varies and most of the countries highlighted in the charts are part of the significant immigrant groups discussed in this research. Appendix 1 (p. 63) is a summary of the 1870 census data. The census of 1870 has specific information about the foreign born in Lowell. Just like the stages of Lowell's economy would have suggested, the Irish were the most visible immigrants (Census 1870). Appendix 2 (p. 63) is a summary of the 1890 census data. Unfortunately a detailed profile of the foreign born in Lowell was not provided in the 1890 census, but a detailed profile is provided on a county level. Notably, Canadians and Irish are the most represented immigrant groups in Middlesex County. This correlates with the previously discussed patterns of Lowell's immigrants. The number of Canadians increased as the Irish began moving up the economic ladder. The 1890 census is also important because the information gathered in it was used to set the quotas for the Immigration Act of 1924 (Census 1890).

Appendix 3 (p. 63) is an analysis of the 1910 census data. At this point the population of Lowell has reached over 100,000 people and the foreign born population is higher than ever before. Appendix 3 also shows that many of the countries whose immigrants inhabited Lowell during the period of mass immigration are represented here. Canadian immigrants at this point hold the top slot. It is also important to mention that Russian immigrants are apparent in the composition of Lowell. This is likely the case because Poland was no longer an independent nation state. Census data is normally collected by country, or in this case an empire, rather than exact ethnicity (Census 1910). Appendix 4 (p. 63) shows the 1940 census data. The 1940 census data shows a decline in Lowell's total population from 1910. It is probable that the Great Depression and the boom and bust pattern of Lowell's economy were to blame for this. The number of foreign-born persons is also significantly lower at this point (Census 1940). The

Canadians have the highest amount of foreign born; this could be due to the easier migration they had.

The 1960 census, Appendix 5 (p. 64), shows yet another decrease in Lowell's total population. The 1960 census did not provide country of origin detail of the foreign-born population but the numbers provided do show another decrease (Census 1960). The state of Lowell's economy in the 1960s did not make it a desirable place for immigrants to come and work. Finally the 1990 census, Appendix 6 (p. 64), shows the significant number of Asians who had established themselves in Lowell. The 1990 census did not provide data about other countries and only noted the Asian countries of origin. Cambodians are the highest number of immigrants mentioned in the 1990 census (Census 1990). Appendix 7 (p. 64) shows the 2000 census data about Lowell. The 2000 census separates data by race, opposed to country of origin. Asian and Hispanic are the two largest race groups besides white that make up Lowell. This data shows that the Asian still hold a top spot among Lowell's immigrant population. It is also shows that the Hispanic immigrants have increasing presences in Lowell. Finally Lowell's population is increased between 1990 and 2000 but is still not as high as it was at the height of industrialization (Census 2000).

Finally taking account into the census data as a whole, there are several other aspects worth consideration. First, Canadians immigrated to Lowell in considerable numbers into the 1940's. Most of the research previously presented and discussed allows me to conclude that the Canadians arriving in the late 1800s and early 1900s were most likely French-speaking Canadians. As previously mentioned they established their own church and union. Also their travel was much easier especially during the Great Depression. It is probable that English speaking Canadians also came but assimilated because of the link language and did not make the

cultural impact. Second, the Greek immigrants to Lowell never held the top slot as far as numbers go. Despite this fact their cultural impact was significant and enough of a Greek population exists in Lowell to keep businesses and churches running. This displays overall that even if a group did not hold a top slot their impact could still greatly be seen. The people who did come were determined to say the least. Third, there are a significant amount of African Americans in Lowell, as seen in the 1960 and 2000 Census. African Americans have had a presence in Lowell for its entire history. Martha Mayo in an exhibition, "Profiles in Courage: African-Americans in Lowell" reports that there are at least two significant African-American families in Lowell, the Quork-Lewish Family and the Lew Family. Both of these families worked to establish themselves in Lowell. Mayo also notes that little is reported about African-American history in Lowell, but it is important to recognize that they did have a community (Mayo 1993:1).

After looking at this data the factual aspect of sequential occupancy becomes significantly clearer. Turning now to the lasting effects of this pattern, I have constructed three maps to display this. Figure E (p. 57) points out all of the churches mentioned earlier in their respective groups section. All of the churches displayed in Figure E are still functioning today. Figure F (p. 58) points out a selection of restaurants, shopping centers, and society bases that are still functioning in Lowell today. Some of the features depicted on the map are from groups who arrived in Lowell during the period of mass immigration and the remaining are from the more recent group, the Southeast Asians. This shows how the lasting features from the earlier groups and the newer features are located within the same neighborhoods.

Certain features demonstrate sequential occupancy in a very specific way. St. Patrick's, the Catholic Church originally established for and by the Irish immigrants, is one of Lowell's

oldest churches. Looking comparatively at Figure B (p. 19), which shows the original Irish neighborhoods in Lowell, and then at Figure E, one can see that although the Irish population in Lowell is no longer significant, the church is still alive and functioning in the same spot it always has been. St. Patrick's, as well as the neighborhood around it, have both proven to be a very solid example of sequential occupancy. As formerly, discussed St. Patrick's now offers Catholic masses in both Vietnamese and Khmer, serving the Southeast Asian community that has been more recently established in the neighborhood around it. The neighborhood around St. Patrick's represents the Southeast Asian community in other ways. The map shown in Figure F, highlights a selection Southeast Asian restaurants and shops functioning in Lowell today. Comparing Figures E and F one can easily see that most of these are located in the same neighborhood as St. Patrick's. Furthermore by using the Merrimack River as a reference point and looking first at Figure D (p. 42), which shows the neighborhoods in Lowell with significant Southeast Asian populations, and then at Figures and E and F one can see that the neighborhoods with significant Asian populations are where the Southeast Asian Buddhist temple, restaurant, and shops are located. These are also the same areas displayed in Figure B, a map of the original Irish neighborhoods in Lowell.

The area around St. Patrick's has without a doubt been one of the most highly transformed areas throughout Lowell's history of sequential occupancy, however the transformation of the neighborhood around St. Patrick's does not end there. Figure E also shows the close proximity of St. Patrick's to two of the Greek Churches established during the Greeks' occupancy in Lowell. Consulting Figure C (p. 24), which shows the different ethnic neighborhoods in Lowell, first it is noticeable that the Greeks settled in the same neighborhoods as the Irish had been in before them. And naturally the Greeks established their churches in the

same area. In Figure F, one can note two Greek restaurants that are still open today, both also located in this area. Pictures 9 and Picture 10 (p. 59) are photos of these two restaurants, Athenian Corner and Olympia Restaurant. Athenian Corner has a very traditional Lowell façade, in a brick building and cramped on a street next to other buildings just like it. Olympia Restaurant has a very different look to it and represents more of a traditional Greek feeling. St. Patrick's has served as a beacon in one of Lowell's most transformed areas.

The French-Canadian immigrants originally attended the Irish churches in Lowell, probably St. Patrick's, before establishing their own. Looking at Figure E, St. Joseph's, the French-Canadian Catholic Church, is not that far from St. Patrick's. The Polish church, St. Casmir's, and the Portuguese Church, St. Anthony's, are both still open in their same respective neighborhoods. St. Anthony's still offers masses in Portuguese as part of their weekend mass schedule (http://stanthonylowell.org/). Holy Trinity Parish also offers masses in Polish as part of their mass schedule and one can view their entire website in Polish as well. (http://www.holytrinitylowell.org/) Additionally turning back to Figure F, both the Portuguese American Club and the Polish American Veterans League are still open today. Pictures 15 and Picture 16 (p. 62) are of these clubs respectively. Both are located in their groups' respective ethnic neighborhood. The buildings are both large, especially the Polish American Club building. The Portuguese building has a more traditional Lowell feel to it, and blends in to its surroundings more. The Polish American Veterans League is very decent size and commands the area around it.

The neighborhood around St. Patrick's appears to be the most transformed over time. Examining religion first, St. Patrick's was the first church established in that area and then catered to the French immigrants. As the Irish moved up the social ladder and the percentage of

Irish in Lowell decreased, other groups moved in. The Greeks, as previously discussed, moved into that area and established themselves and today the Southeast Asians are there. Greek and Southeast Asian stores are also visible in this neighborhood today. Pictures 11 through 14 (p. 60-61) are example of the Southeast Asian stores and restaurants found in Lowell today. Picture 11 is of the Southeast Asian Restaurant; the building is much like Athenian Corner, constructed of brick and close to other buildings on the street. The sign on the restaurant, although hard to read, in this particular photo explains that Thai, Lao, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Burmese food is all served there. This shows not only the diverse nature of Lowell but within the group as well. Picture 12 and 13 show one of the Southeast Asian markets in Lowell, Pailian Market. It is notable that many different types of businesses are within this one market and the signs appear to be both in English and a Southeast Asian language, probably Cambodian. Picture 14 is of Bangkok Market, a more traditional market place. The market appears to be a collection of venders or one vender all under the same roof, instead of clear divides in businesses. Irish stores and pubs were probably established in the similar locations during their dominance in Lowell.

During the time of mass immigration it is clear that certain ethnic boundaries were drawn. The first generation of people kept mostly to themselves, Blewett notes. Some certain aspects of assimilation did occur; for example, a lot of the immigrants did learn enough English to obtain citizenship (Blewett 1976: 207). As the immigrants climbed the economic ladder and as the booms and busts of Lowell's textile industry started to hint that the industry had a bleak future, the immigrants turned to a more "American" way of life. Blewett adds that these younger generations started going to college and turned away from these traditional blue-collar jobs (Blewett 1976: 215). It's important to know that before this assimilation was limited.

Finally the only group that does not fit into these patterns are the Colombians. Their role in Lowell's stages of historic economic geography was more only for economic purposes. Lowell does have a significant percentage of immigrants from Latin America according to the 2000 Census and almost 5% of the immigrants from Latin America are Colombian. It is clear that Colombians still come to Lowell in some numbers but their cultural impacts have to yet be very significant. Based on data from the 2000 census there are neighborhoods with significant Latin American populations developing in Lowell. They are forming ethnic enclaves just as many groups have done before them (Lotspeich 2003: 6-8). As their numbers increase the likelihood of cultural manifestations is greatly based on Lowell's previous patterns.

Conclusions

Did the immigrants have any reason to assimilate? The developments of these ethnic enclaves and all the features established within their boundaries served as a new representation of their home country. Did they defy the traditional understanding of the melting pot theory often used to describe the cultures that emerged during the period of mass immigration? The melting pot theory explains the way in which various immigrant cultures "melted' into one "American" culture. This research has shown that this was not the case in Lowell, Massachusetts. Shirley Kolack states in her book A New Beginning The Jews of Historic Lowell, Massachusetts, "In Lowell, the melting pot theory has proved to be inadequate as an explanation for group interrelations and problems of adjustment to American society" (Kolack 1997: 1). All of these manifestations prevented assimilation from happening. There was little reason to assimilate. All of the physical aspects of their culture and the neighborhoods full of people who shared these cultural values left little need to blend into the "American" culture. As each individual group climbed the economic ladder, their restaurants and stores located right in their ethnic

neighborhood were not needed as much anymore. It appears that elements that required more of a social commitment survived, churches for example. A majority of the elements in the areas examined in Figures E and F are representative of the Southeast Asian culture, but they are sure to come and go as the Southeast Asians move up the economic ladder.

The assimilation process of many of Lowell's immigrants is also reflective of the time period they came. The European groups as well as the Canadians migrated to Lowell at a time when resources that recently helped the Southeast Asians were not readily available. These probably motivated the latter groups to assimilate quicker. The former groups were forced to rely on each other for much more. This is not to say they did not pick up aspects of "American" culture, because that is in a way unavoidable. The salad bowl thesis explains that immigrants hold onto their culture and develop "American" culture to form a hybrid culture. The different immigrants formed their own versions of a hybrid culture. None of their physical manifestations were exactly the same as the ones they were accustomed to in their home countries. Unexpected issues would arise, like finding the money to build them. Nonetheless they certainly served their purpose. The purpose a number of them served at the onset of their migration is still seen today.

Lowell has demonstrated its classification as an immigrant city. As the various groups have worked their way through Lowell they have left their own unique mark. This became in a way an unspoken tradition of Lowell's immigrants, even if the mark on the city was not physical. The mill girls foreshadowed the tradition of immigrant culture that came to Lowell and continues today. The tradition of sequential occupancy brings another aspect to the name "immigrant city". This tradition allows for the unfolding of layers of various immigrant cultures coexisting within the same neighborhoods. It is here that the most unique features of Lowell are present and the remains are a testimonial to the past, what remains of the past, and as a guide for the future.

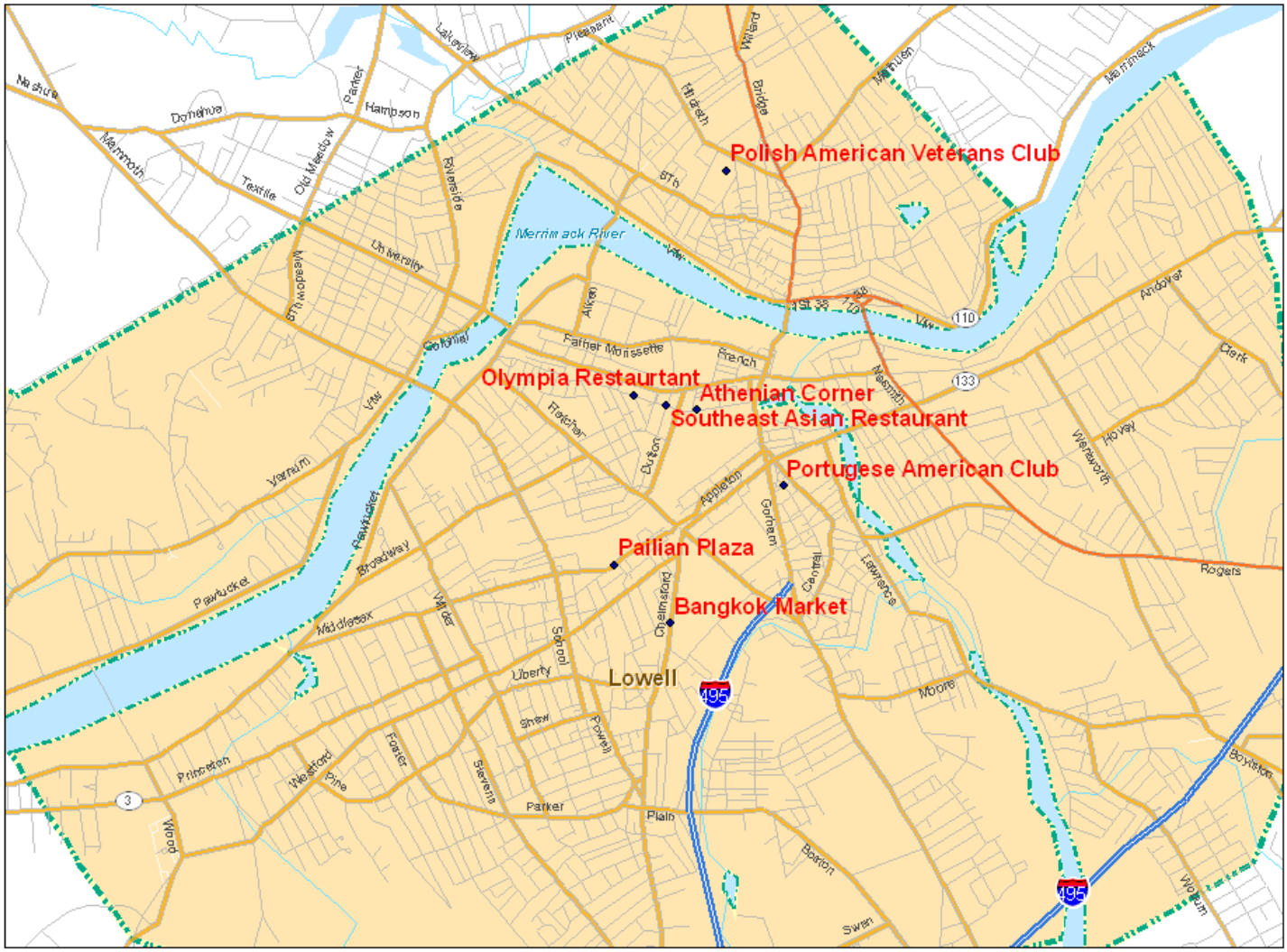
Figure E

Places of Worship

- Buildings

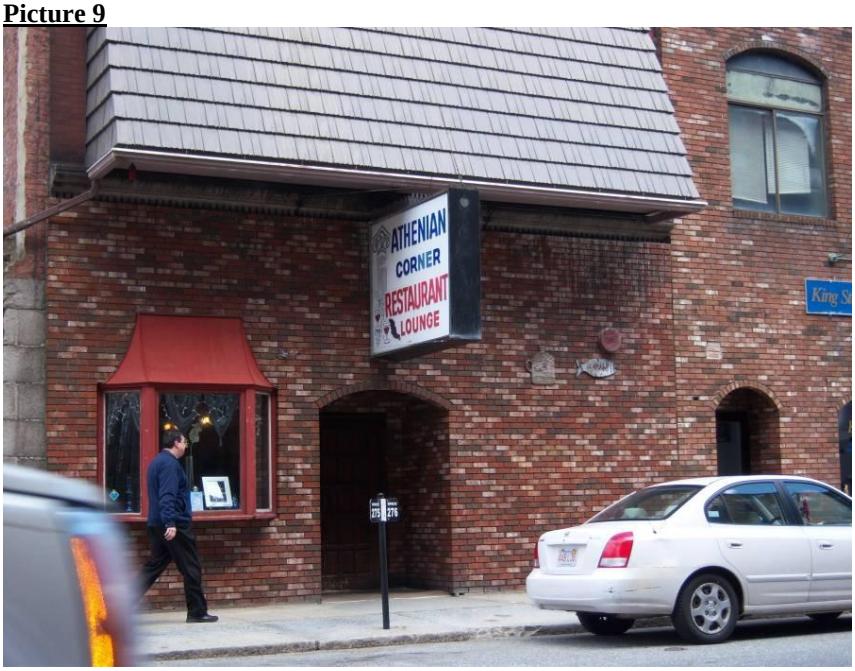
Figure F

Cultural Landmarks



- Buildings

Picture 9

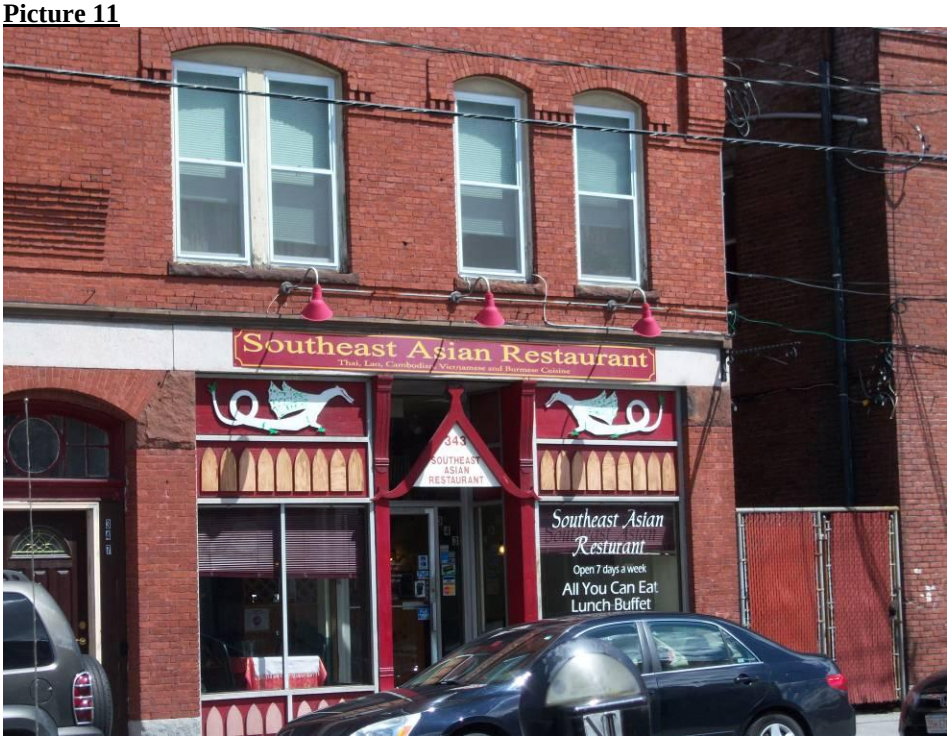


Athenian Corner Restaurant is located in what was the traditional Greek neighborhood of Lowell during the period of mass immigration. The building itself gives off a very traditional feeling because it is constructed of brick. It is also connected to the buildings adjacent to it, they could have at one time all been used as boarding houses for the immigrant workers.

Picture 10

Olympia Restaurant is also found within the same neighborhood as Athenian Corner. This building has less of a traditional Lowell appearance to it but is identifiable as being Greek because of its colors. It is a very forward symbol of the ethnicity it represents.

Picture 11



The Southeast Asian Restaurant is found today in close proximity to both of the Greek restaurants, displaying again in a concrete way the sequential occupancy found in Lowell. The outside of the restaurant is similar to the outside of Athenian Corner, both are large brick buildings, with several stories above where the restaurant itself is.

Picture 12

Pailin Plaza is a collection of businesses all located in the same plaza. Although difficult to see in this picture many of businesses' signs are both in English and an Asian language, probably Cambodian. The businesses surrounding Pailian Plaza also follow this pattern. The plaza was very busy during a weekday with many comings and goings.

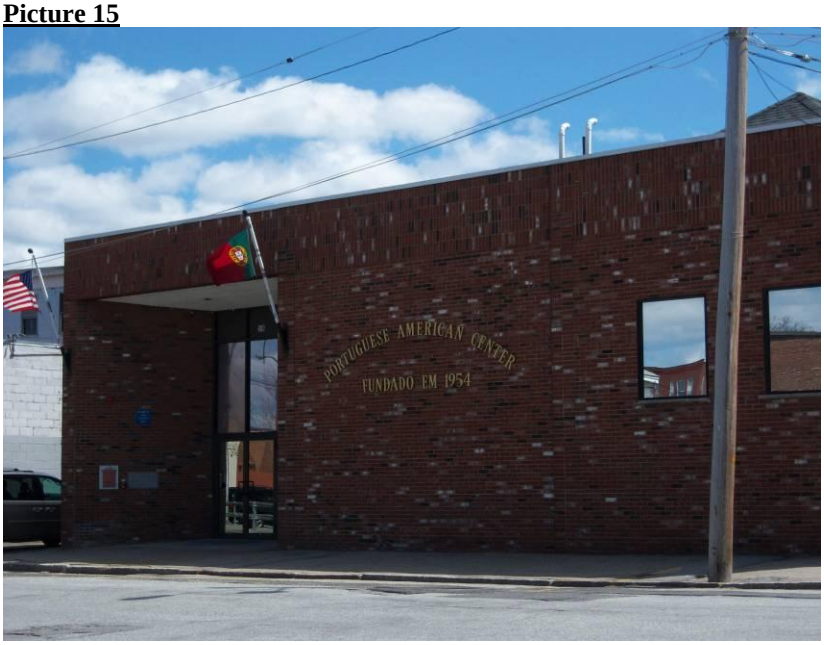
Picture 13

The sign seen here is at the entrance of Pailin Plaza. It is important because it shows the variety of stores and businesses found in this one location. The variety of businesses are a good example of the transplantation of culture from the immigrants home country to Lowell.

Picture 14

Bangkok Market is another market Southeast Asian market place found in Lowell. This one appears to be one larger business opposed to several different businesses in one central location like the pervious photos. It is notable that the sign is in English and probably Cambodian. Also one can see a great deal of rice in the window, this indicates that it is probably more of a food or general market type of place.

Picture 15



The Portuguese American Center seen here follows the traditional brick pattern of several of the other buildings in Lowell. On the outside one can see both the Portuguese and American flags, and also that the founding date is in Portuguese. The club is located near the Portuguese church as well as in the original Portuguese neighborhood of Lowell.

Picture 16

The Polish American Veterans League building in Lowell seen here is a larger building that dominates the area surrounding it. This is a good example of the successful establishment of the Polish in Lowell. Also like the Portuguese is located within the Polish ethnic enclave of Lowell.

Appendix 1
1870 Census Data-Total Population of Lowell: 40,928 *Foreign Born:14,435*

Country of Origin	Number of Foreign Born Persons in Lowell
Ireland	5,787
England/Wales	712
Scotland	207
British American	965
Sweden/Norway/Denmark	19
France	15

Appendix 2
1890 Census Data- Total Population of Lowell: 77,696 *Foreign Born: 10,970*
Total Foreign Born in Middlesex County: 131,421

Country of Origin	Number of Foreign Born Persons in Middlesex County
Ireland	55,352
Canada	47,588
Poland	68
Portugal	780
England	14,218
Italy	629
Scotland	4,136

Appendix 3
1910 Census Data-Total Population of Lowell 106,294 *Foreign Born: 43,457*

Country of Origin	Number of Foreign Born Persons in Lowell
Canada	12,291
Greece	3,782
Ireland	9,483
Portugal	1,449
Russia	1,840
England	4,568

Appendix 4
1940 Census Data- Total Population of Lowell 101,389 *Foreign Born: 19,418*

Country of Origin	Number of Foreign Born Persons in Lowell
Irish (Free State)	2,883
Canada	5,516
Poland	1,352
Greece	1,649
Portugal	921
Sweden	244

Appendix 5
1960 Census Data Total Population of City of Lowell 92,107

Foreign Born White Population	13,968
Foreign Born Negro Population	413
Other	135

Appendix 6
1990 Census Data-Total Population of Lowell 103,439

Country of Origin	**Number of Foreign Born Persons in Lowell**
China	1,782
Asian Indian	1,928
Korea	503
Vietnam	881
Cambodia	6,516
Laos	1,603

Appendix 6
2000 Census Data-Total Population of Lowell 105,167

Race	**Number of Foreign Born Persons in Lowell**
Black/African American	4,423
American Indian/Alaska Native	256
Asian	17,371
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	14,734
White	72,145

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