THE IMMIGRATION HISTORY NEWSLETTER

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EDITORIAL

Your attention is called to the appointment by President Moses Rischin of two new chairmen of committees: NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE - Professor Louise C. Wade, Dept. of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403. She and all our officers hope for greater participation in the nomination and election of officers, especially to the Executive Board, three members of which come up for election at each annual meeting. Please send your nominations to Professor Wade, preferably long before the annual meeting in April 1979. PROGRAM COMMITTEE - Professor Maxine S. Seller, SUNY-Buffalo, 428 Christopher Baldy Hall, Buffalo, NY 14260. Suggestions for programs and papers at meetings of the AHA, OAH, WHA, AHA-PCE, SHA and other organizations should be mailed to Professor Seller as soon as possible.

Members are reminded that the IHS does not have the facilities to bill on a regular basis. It is therefore important that members mail in their dues for each year. Some have solved the problem by paying for several years in advance. At the bargain rate of $3.00, that presents no great financial burden.

The IHS continues to be grateful to the Minnesota Historical Society for its hospitality.

Readers are reminded that articles appearing in the Immigration History Newsletter are copyrighted. Permission to reproduce in any form must be obtained from the editor and the author.

The two principal articles in this issue are longer than the usual essays, but the editor has concluded that to cut them would eliminate useful and significant material.

MORMON SOURCES FOR IMMIGRATION HISTORY
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The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, better known as the Mormon Church, has been since its founding in upstate New York in 1830 a vigorous missionary church, intent on preaching the "Restored Gospel" to all nations before the great winding up prophesied in Revelations. In the nineteenth century, particularly, Mormonism preached and promoted "the gathering" of the faithful to America as the Land of Zion in preparation for the Second Coming. Conversion was tantamount to emigration, or at least the expectation of it. In their several removes westward across the United States the Mormons accommodated themselves to a succession of centers for the ingathering (at Independence, Missouri, at Nauvoo, Illinois, and finally, in 1847, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake), proselytizing with evangelical fervor in the United States itself and in Canada and missions opened in Great Britain (in 1837) and northern Europe (Scandinavia in 1850). At the same time they marshaled the practical means for bringing their convert-immigrants on a massive scale to Zion.

Millennial expectations have abated and "the gathering" is no longer preached nor practiced, but the records of missionary and immigration activity are extraordinarily complete: "the gathering" has left a rich historical legacy engraved on Mormon memory and imagination and preserved in thousands of documents at the headquarters of the church. From the mission and emigration records
assembled there, the names of Mormon convert-emigrants may be followed from the membership and minute books of mission congregations, with their notation "Emigrated to America," to the emigration ledgers kept at mission headquarters (Copenhagen for Scandinavia, Liverpool for England), to the log of the journey kept by the clerk appointed in every shipboard company, to the passenger lists copied from the National Archives of vessels arriving in the United States, to the announcement in the Deseret News of the arrival of emigrant companies in Salt Lake City, and finally to their entry as "members of record" in one of the congregations in Zion. Mormon shipping lists, manuscript mission histories, a manuscript history of "Church Emigration" providing a description of each organized emigrant company to 1869, the records of mission congregations, and a growing collection of personal literature — immigrant letters, journals, and memoirs — may all be found in the Library-Archives Division of the Historical Department (formerly known as the Historian's Office) of the church, their use facilitated by both traditional card files and, increasingly, computerized indexes, guides, and registers, more fully described below.

Mormon historical activity is matched by a genealogical program yielding an international harvest of records of great interest and utility to the immigration historian. Although large-scale immigration is over, the Mormons pursue another kind of gathering in their search for ancestors to complete family lines they believe will exist in eternity and to give the unbaptized dead the opportunity to embrace the truth in the spirit world by performing gospel ordinances for them on earth by proxy. The "work for the dead" has given rise to a prodigious effort on the part of the Genealogical Society of the church to microfilm vital records around the world, as well as every conceivable document bearing on genealogy. Microfilms of land grants, deeds, probate records, marriage records, obituary and cemetery records, parish registers, military, naturalization, business, professional, and college records, personal papers, local histories, diaries, autobiographies, and correspondence, censuses, immigration and ships passenger lists — everything of genealogical value — are finding their way from dozens of countries into the Society's Granite Mountain Records Vault, a vast storage facility tunneled into the solid granite of the Wasatch Mountains east of Salt Lake City. The vault, equipped with sophisticated systems for processing, preserving, reproducing, and retrieving the film, is designed to keep "the world's genealogical information recorded through the ages ... safe from the ravages of nature and the destructions of man."

The devotion of the church to history and genealogy, twin fields of endeavor intimately related in Mormon thought and practice, finds expression in the administrative structure and, almost symbolically, in the assignment of space in the new high-rise General Church Office Building at 50 East North Temple Street, across from Temple Square in Salt Lake City: the Historical Department and the Genealogical Department (synonymous with the Society) occupy opposing, symmetrical wings. They are private institutions with a philosophy of public service. Their specialized collections are open to qualified users without charge. A Guide to the Historical Department and a comparable Genealogical Library Guide quickly acquaint the visitor with the resources of each, their organization and location, and the regulations governing their availability and use. The research scholar will discover to his pleasure that the physical facilities and finding aids are superb and the stuff professional.

THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Several distinct sets of documents comprise the holdings of the Library-Archives Division of the Historical Department. The finding aids appropriate to each are within easy reach in the Division’s Search Room, a spacious area studious in atmosphere and appointments. The "Journal History of the Church" is the most comprehensive general source, essentially, as the Guide to the Archives Search Room describes it, "a massive scrapbook with a day-by-day account of happenings in the Church from 1830 to the present." By now it consists of more than a thousand chronologically arranged looseleaf volumes filled with newspaper clippings, excerpts from private journals, letters, biographies, pioneer/immigrant company rosters and histories, and other documentary materials. A subject card index presently filling dozens of drawers refers to the date of each entry. A microfilm of the JH, as it is usually cited, is available for public use in the adjacent microfilm reading room, as are microfilms of a Church History Card File and a microfiche Biographical Sketches Index.

In the reading room two useful emigration/immigration name indexes may be found on microfilm: the European Emigration Card Index, also known as the "Crossing the Ocean Index" (3 reels, from Aagard to Zysling) and the Utah Immigration Card Index, also known as the "Crossing the Plains Index" (3 reels, from Aagard to Zundel). Also there on microfilm are the emigration records of the Swedish Mission, 1903-1912; the Scandinavian Mission, 1854-1886, 1901-1920; the Nederlands Mission, 1904-1911; and the particularly valuable records of the Liverpool Office of the British Mission (since Mormon emigration from Europe funneled through there, in 6 reels, from 1849 to 1925.

Two manuscript sources of Mormon history, one general, the other specialized, are on microfilm there: the Manuscript History of the Church, the work of scribes during the administrations of
Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, on which the published *Documentary History of the Church* is based, and the Manuscript History of Missions, indispensable to immigration accounts. Other than these, the documentary collections of the Library-Archives Division are classified as either Church Records (institutional) or Manuscripts (personal). A series of coordinated indexes, guides, and registers bound as easy-to-handle computer printouts serves each category: for Church Records an Index to General Church Records, a Guide to General Church Records, and Church Records Inventories; for Manuscripts a Manuscript Index, a Manuscript Guide, and Manuscript Registers. The researcher consults the alphabetical index for his topical heading and its various tracings or subheadings to find the Record Group number (RG) or Manuscript Collection number (MSS). With the Record or Manuscript number he goes to the appropriate Guide for a physical description of the item and a summary of its contents (including the number of shelf feet it occupies). If the group of records or manuscripts consists of many itemized parts, he can by the same number refer to the appropriate Inventory or Register for a complete list. The immigration historian, in short, follows a well-marked trail among treasured documents, albeit microfilm copies of them (originals may be inspected on special request).

Material pertinent to immigration in the Church Records collections may be found in the Index to General Church Records under the heading "Emigration and Immigration," which lists the following: Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company (hereafter PEF Co.) Financial Accounts; PEF Co. New York Office Files; PEF Co. General Files 1849-1898; PEF Co. Frontier Account Books 1856-64; Presiding Bishopric, Immigration Papers 1903-16; Transportation Agent, Incoming Correspondence 1885-1923; and Transportation Agent, Letterbooks 1886-1917. Each of these entries is given a CR reference number which can be pursued in the appropriate Guide and Register printouts. Other headings relating to emigration in the Index to General Church Records include "European Mission," "PEF Co. Index of Recipients and Donors (ca. 1862-1874)," "Missionary Department: Index to Missionary Records 1830-1971" (with numerous subheadings), and "Statistics," (with many entries).

To move from the Index to the Guide to General Church Records: the description for entry CR 4/62 "Presiding Bishopric. Immigration Papers, 1903-1916," reads as follows: "Contains material concerning immigration to North America by members of the Church and returning missionaries. Includes correspondence, telegrams, and passenger lists. Also contains reports and statistics made by the presiding bishopric officer's employment and immigration department regarding job placement or immigrants. See register for complete list."

The PEF Co. Financial Accounts, CR 376/2, amounts to eight shelf feet of records, the General Files to three feet, the New York Office Files to 4 1/2 feet, and so on. The entry in the Church Records Inventory (synonymous with Register) for CR 376/2, the PEF Co. Financial Accounts from 1849-85, gives the following information: "Contains ledgers, journals, cash books, promissory notes, company accounts, church teams' accounts, and various other types of financial records," and itemizes the ledgers, journals, blotters, cash books, promissory notes, bonds and promissory notes, fund accounts, church team accounts, orders and receipts, and miscellaneous, each with the number of the reel of microfilm on which it may be found.

Similarly, the multi-volumed computer printout Manuscript Index, Manuscript Guide, and Manuscript Registers are the open sesame to the thousands of personal papers, originals and/or copies, to be found in the Archives. The Index indicates whether the item is hard copy or film and its location and provides multiple tracings, sub-topics like "Pioneers—Emigrants—Handcart—Ocean Travel," For example, the entry "Scandinavian Mission" in the Manuscript Index is followed by numerous alphabetical entries of names of persons or groups (such as the Danish Organization) for whom diaries, reminiscences, notebooks, correspondence, genealogical records, autobiographical sketches, missionary experiences, collections, letterpress copy books, minute books, certificates, memorabilia, or oral interviews are on deposit. Two entries for Canute Peterson, for example, one of the first Norwegian converts to Mormonism (from the Fox River Settlement in Illinois), identify his "Autobiography 1900" and his "Correspondence 1852-1901" and "Papers ca. 1844-1902." By means of their collection numbers (MSS 665 and MSS 2175) they can be pursued in the Manuscript Guide which, like its companion Guide to General Church Records, provides a physical description and content summary. The Autobiography is described as "1v [vol. 31 cm xerox of MS]," and summarized as follows: "President of the South Sampate Stake. Contains account of early life in Illinois, migration to Utah, and mission to Norway. Includes stories of his life and biographies of his wives compiled from family sources. Also includes letter extracts and poetry. Copied by Sarah Nelson Beal. Original in private possession." The Guide entry for Peterson's correspondence indicates the number of folders, identifies to whom and from whom the letters were written, and briefly indicates their subject matter. The entry for the Peterson papers shows that there are 32 items.

A register for the papers of Joseph Smith, founder of the church, has been printed; a tentative one for Brigham Young, who presided over the most active period of immigration and settlement, has been mimeographed.

The Search Room of the Library-Archives Division is indeed a happy hunting ground for the
immigration historian, who will find, in addition to the records and documents already described, a growing portrait and photograph collection, with its own index and guide, the guide in the form of a Miniature Visual Shelf List, a unique looseleaf album displaying reduced reproductions of the originals at a glance. Immigrant items are scattered throughout; one of the entries under "Scandinavians in Utah" is "Thatched house of Swen Lindall, ca. 1890."

Besides what is found in the Archives, much pertinent immigration material, some of it rare, may be found in the printed collections of the Church Library, administratively part of the Library-Archives Division and housed in the same wing. It holds complete files of mission periodicals such as The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star for Great Britain (with an index for 1840-1908), Skandinaviers Sjöerna for Scandinavia, and Der Stern for Germany, valuable for their pronouncements on program and doctrine, news of emigrant companies, correspondence, and annual statistical reviews. The Library, furthermore, has access to all Mormon and most anti-Mormon publications abroad -- tracts, pamphlets, periodicals and books -- and the complete file of Utah's immigrant press, indispensable for the settlement story. A Catalog of Theses and Dissertations Concerning The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Mormonism and Utah may be found in the Library, as well as a Periodicals Index and Topical Card File, to 1939, indexes to early Mormon periodicals and the pioneer paper The Deseret News (invariably filled with immigration news), and indexes to The Journal of Discourses, 1854-86, and the Conference Reports 1880, 1897-1939 (collections of sermons at general sessions of the church and a rich source of immigration policy and program).

Two major reference works, one general, the other specialized, both long in preparation, have recently been published and are sure to provide invaluable keys to Mormon sources. The general work is A Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism, edited by Chad J. Flake, with an introduction by the late Dale L. Morgan, published in September of this year by the University of Utah Press. Nearly 1,000 pages and over 10,000 entries provide a new and panoramic view of, a fresh insight into, Mormonism as a phenomenon in American and world history. The titles and authorship of the various books speak eloquently not only of Mormonism but also of the general culture exemplified by Mormonism as religious, sociery, and personal experience." Striking photographs of the title pages of twenty-six rare documents of Mormon literature from several important collections introduce each alphabetical section. Most entries are annotated and give, besides the usual facts of publication, the location(s) of the work. The specialized work is Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies, compiled by Davis Bitton and published by Brigham Young University Press last year. It annotates and provides locations for 2,984 items, published and unpublished. Cross-indexing by country makes it easy to discover immigrant items; over ninety, for example, may be found under "Scandinavian," and the entries themselves provide a brief profile of the diarist, a succinct summary of contents, and a physical description of the original.

A Register of Latter-day Saint Records, compiled by Laureen R. Jaussi and Gloria D. Chaston, was published in 1968 by the Deseret Book Company (Salt Lake City) but is out of print awaiting an updating. A section on "Church Emigration-Immigration" describes the card indexes and registers mentioned earlier, with graphic illustrations to instruct the inexperienced searcher.

Less professional aids which could have originated only in Utah may nevertheless provide an occasional useful lead: for example, James G. and Lela Lee Nuggley, Locating Your Immigrant Ancester (Logan, Utah: Everton Publishers, 1975), and Carl-Göran Johanson, Credled in Sweden: A Practical Help to Genealogical Research in Swedish Records (Logan, Utah: Everton Publishers, 1972), "written for those who desire to search the millions of pages of Swedish genealogical records on microfilm at the Genealogical Society Library in Salt Lake City but who do not master the language of the records."

The bibliographies of several master's theses, all done at the University of Utah, explore Mormon immigration sources: Douglas D. Alder, "The German-Speaking Immigration to Utah, 1850-1950" (1959); Sheryl R. Benson, "The Emigration of Swedish Mormons to Utah, 1905-1955" (1965); Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849-1900" (1961), and Helge Seljaas, "The Mormon Migration from Norway" (1972). My own master's thesis at the University of Utah in 1947 looked at "Utah's NORDIC LINGUISTIC PRESS: ASPECT AND INSTRUMENT OF IMMIGRANT CULTURE," which was followed in 1949 by Ernest L. Olson's closer look at the career of the Swedish immigrant editor Otto Rydman (M.A. thesis, University of Utah).

Several monographs on immigration history have made full use of Mormon sources and provide, in their notes and bibliographies, the nearest approach to published guides. My own Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957) and the British scholar P.A.M. Taylor's Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1963; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965) contain perhaps the still most complete of the specialized bibliographies, although they were done before the finding aids and arrangements at the church library and archives were as refined as they are now. M. Hamlin Cannon's
doctoral dissertation, "The 'Gathering' of British Mormons to Western America: a Study in Religious Migration" (American University, 1950) has not been published (Taylor's work would have superseded it) except for two articles which have appeared in the American Historical Review. Gustave O. Larson's Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, a Chapter in American Cooperative Experience (Framestown, N.H.: Marshall Jones Co., 1947) devotes a long chapter to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company based on his pioneering master's thesis done in 1926.

European scholars are discovering Mormon sources: Kristian Hvidt's Flugten til Amerika eller Drivkraefter i Hassuoemigrationen fra Danmark 1868-1914 (Aarhus, Denmark: Universitetsk Forlaget, 1917) devotes a sizable section to the Mormon emigration, and Jørgen W. Schmidt's Om De Zion i Vest—den danske Mormon-Emigration 1850-1900 (Copenhagen: Denmark: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1965) is entirely about it: "The Danish Mormon immigration 1850-1900 illustrated by the immigrants' own letters and diaries and of what was written by the press and in the literature, also descriptions of 23 'pre-railroad' immigrant-groups and glimpses of the history of Utah. With a bibliography on Danish literature for and against Mormonism."

The chapter-by-chapter bibliographical essays and notes in Leonard Arrington's massive Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) includes much on immigration. Arrington, now Director of the History Division of the Historical Department of the church (the division charged with writing history), is general editor of a projected multi-volume "new history" of the church that will, as the ultimate official history, make use of the full range of the Department's resources. Meanwhile, Mormon scholars James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard have produced a one-volume general history, the first since Joseph Fielding Smith's Essentials of Church History (1921), called The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), with a considerable section, "The Gospel in All Nations," devoted to international activities since 1939. Chapter bibliographies are especially useful in their survey of published books and articles, and "Specialized Histories and Mission Histories" in the General Bibliography make note of a number of immigration studies (most of them cited above). They further call attention to two "important primary sources" on the Mormon migration: James Linforth, ed., Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, illustrated...from Sketches made by Frederick Piercy (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, and London: Latter-day Saint Book Depot, 1855), available now in an edition edited by Fawn M. Brodie (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1962); and William Clayton, The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide...from Council Bluffs to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake...(St. Louis: Missouri Republican Steam Power Press and Chambers & Knapp, 1848). James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander have edited Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840-1842 (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1976), the earliest extant Mormon Immigrant Journal.

The Peoples of Utah, edited by Helen Zeese Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1976), is a collection of historical essays on Utah's immigrant and ethnic groups, the first account to go beyond the Mormon story. Although it provides no bibliographies, the notes and references and the detailed index enhance the utility of these rich and diverse descriptions of the state's secular immigration.

Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigration to Utah, by Mrs. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1970), helped to stimulate this belated awareness of the "other history." Charles S. Peckham and Ira P. Lehfeldt, "The Bicentennial States and Nation Series (New York: W.W. Norton Co., 1977) also takes account, in passing, of the non-Mormon presence, its origins and character.

Both church and secular periodicals in Utah frequently publish articles and reviews on immigration: the Utah Historical Quarterly (a state organ), the Journal of Mormon History (the official organ of the Independent Mormon History Association), Brigham Young University Studies, The Western Historical Quarterly (of the Western History Association), and the Genealogical Journal (official organ of the Genealogical Society of the church). The Mormon History Association Newsletter, issued quarterly, regularly announces research in progress, a good deal of it on immigration history, and the Association usually conducts a session at meetings of the national and regional historical associations, with papers often devoted to aspects of Mormon immigration. At the 1976 meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of AHA, Richard Jenson and Gordon Irving, staff members of the Historical Department of the church, analyzed British Mormon emigrants who sailed on the ship Amazon in 1865, their paper titled "The Pick and Flower of England," a quantitative attempt to draw a pre-emigration profile. At the same meeting James Smith presented a paper on "Social Origins of Mormon Immigrants from Manchester, England, 1840-1844." Mormon records, as complete as they are about the emigrants before departure, during the journey, and after settlement, make such quantitative studies feasible. The Mormon History Association, in fact, has provided a form for its "Quantitative Studies in LDS History Series," an attempt to keep track of the work going on.

Typical articles in the Genealogical Journal, a quarterly now in its sixth year, of interest to immigration historians include "Tracing the Immigrant Ancestor," "Provincial Archives in
Sweden," "German Migration to America," "Maps and Map Sources in the Netherlands," "English and Welsh Immigrants," "Spanish and Mexican Immigration to the United States." Its predecessor, The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine, which was founded in 1910, is equally rich, although the Mormon interest and emphasis are unique. Where else than in Salt Lake City can one find a "Genealogy Shoppe" downtown?

THE GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT

The Genealogical Society of the church, founded in 1894, considers itself the largest in the world. Its library grows by 200,000 volumes a year through filming, purchases, and gifts. Its shelves are lined with thousands of the world's printed family genealogies and histories, past and current genealogical periodicals, and published histories of towns, counties, states, and countries. Over 100,000 genealogical volumes are available on open stack, with over 400 new volumes accessioned each month.

The general card catalog has added a locality card to the usual title, subject, and author cards and has refined and expanded the list of subject headings, with multiple cross references, to facilitate genealogical (and therefore biographical and historical) research from Almanacs and Apprenticeship and Archives and Atlases in the A's to Vestry Minutes, Visitation (Heraldic), Vital Records, Wills, and Yearbooks. The subject heading "Emigration and Immigration," for example, provides cross references to "ship passenger lists," "ship arrivals and departures," and "lists of emigrants." The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service passenger lists of vessels arriving at American ports of entry are available on 516 rolls of microfilm, and the Genealogical Department has prepared a mimeographed "Register of Film Numbers for Passenger Lists and Indexes of Vessels Arriving in the U.S." and an alphabetical "Index to Passenger Lists" which may be consulted at the reference desk.

The library's books, microfilms, maps, parish printouts, and other materials have been arranged geographically into a U.S. and Canada Collection, a special section of U.S. and Canada Family Histories, the Britain Collection, the Scandinavia Collection, the Continental Europe Collection, the Latin America and Iberian Peninsula Collection, and the Africa-Asia Collection. For physical convenience, registers, pamphlets, and oversize materials are gathered in separate collections. Special Collections include manuscripts and pedigrees charts, and materials marked "EG" for "Extra Surveillance," and hence restricted.

Positive copies of all the microfilm footage stored in the Granite Mountain Records Vault are in the library, with several hundred microfilm reading machines available for public use in researching them. In 1972 more than a score of countries were represented, with the number of reels of film ranging from 57,274 for Denmark, 62,579 for Great Britain, and 60,443 for Sweden, for example, down to 350 for Italy and 52 for Japan, for a total of 740,264 reels.

Secular scholars are cooperating with the Genealogical Society to make the information on these thousands upon thousands of feet of film more useful to demographers, social scientists, and historians. The University of Utah's Center for Historical Population Studies has embarked on a Finding Aids Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, to provide classified lists, country by country, in keeping with more traditional archival methods. The project, presently at work on surveys of Germany, Mexico, and France, and an inventory of England, will issue a series of paperbound guides as the classifications are completed.

A Concise Guide to LDS Genealogical Sources Available in the Church Historical Department, a one-page handout, identifies most of the sources for immigration history already cited to be found in the Archives Search Room: the church records, the manuscript histories, historical reports and minute books from local units of the church, the manuscript collection of personal papers and biographies, the Journal History, the church emigration indexes, and so forth. Besides these, the Guide lists several sources of obvious immigration interest in other locations: (1) Biographical Sketches, from 1891, on microfilm in the Church Library (hereafter CL), with an index on microfiche. These are two-page data sheets submitted by officials of the church at all levels—local, regional, general, and by other prominent men and women of the church. (2) Church Census, 1914-1960, on microfilm in both the CL and the Genealogical Department Library (hereafter GDL): an alphabetical churchwide file of data about LDS families, arranged by head of household only. (3) Deceased Members File, since 1941, on microfilm in CL. (4) Missionary Records, since 1830, on microfilm with index on microfiche, in CL: a chronological vital record of full-time missionaries, most of whom have served abroad. (5) Obituary Index, 1848-1970, on microfilm in CL and GDL: an alphabetical index of names of persons whose obituaries have appeared in Salt Lake City newspapers and early LDS publications. (6) Ordinance and Action Records, 1907 to present, on microfilm in CL and GDL: an annual report of vital statistics from local units of the church; Form 42-P1 in this group identifies "members emigrated" during the period 1911-1962. (7) Patriarchal Blessings, with index on microfiche, 1833 to present, in the CL and GDL: names of persons, dates and places of birth, parentage, name of patriarch, and date and place of the blessing. (8) Record of Members, 1840s-1941, on microfilm in CL and GDL: bound volumes dating back nearly to the beginning of the church recording vital
information and church ordinance data. (9) Record of Members Index (also named the "Minnie Margetts File" after the compiler), 1839-1915, on microfilm in CL and GDL; an incomplete index to some early branch and ward membership record books, particularly of the British Mission, useful in linking emigrants with point of origin in the old country and residence in the new after arrival.

Genealogical Department sources central to Mormon temple activity and of more use to social scientists, perhaps, than historians, include three unique sets of records: (1) the Family Group Records Archives and Four-Generation Program Records, a collection of seven million family group records in alphabetical order according to the husband's surname; (2) the Temple Records Index Bureau (TRB), which facilitates search for direct-line ancestors, a collection of more than thirty million cards representing names that have been processed by LDS temples from 1842 through 1969; and (3) the Computer File Index (CFI), with a microfiche index to approximately 36 million names submitted for LDS temple ordinances from 1970 to the present. Sets of microfiche and readers are located on several floors of the library, as are machines for photocopying.

The foregoing description and analysis has been confined to sources of immigration history at Mormon headquarters. The books and periodicals and the manuscript collections of diaries and memoirs at the church-endowed Brigham Young University at Provo should not be overlooked, although in most instances microfilm copies have been deposited with the church archives and, since the Bitton Guide, they are known and accounted for. It goes without saying that in "Mormon Country" secular institutions like the University of Utah, Utah State University, and the Utah State Historical Society have collections not duplicated by the church, but are not as specialized and multi-dimensional studies have been tapped.

FOOTNOTES

I wish to thank the administration and staffs of the Historical Department and the Genealogical Department, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for their courtesies, especially Richard Jensen of the History Division and Ronald G. Watt of Technical Services Section for their lively interest and ready suggestions.

1Proselyting, however, goes on, with several thousand missionaries in the field at a time and in far more countries than the first generation could handle. Missions today are not temporary stopovers on the way to America. "Building up Zion" today means giving Mormon congregations abroad permanence as part of the worldwide administrative and territorial structure of the church. Temples are built in foreign lands, where "work for the dead" in the spiritual gathering of Mormon kin can be performed.

Most of these records and documents have been in the possession of the church for many years, but only recently, according to Dr. Ronald G. Watt, manager of the Technical Services Section, "we have been conscious of the value in their possession determined." Dr. Watt gives a timely account, especially full in its descriptions of the operations of the church-organized Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, in his article "LDS Church Records on Immigration," Genealogical Journal, 6:1 (March 1977), 24-32, in which he says that "the first work of any consequence was Andrew Jensen's series in Emigration in the Contributor (Salt Lake City) in 1891."

The microfilming program, begun in 1938, is expanding as archivists of church, municipal, county, and state record repositories become aware of the undertaking and recognize its value. The Genealogical Society microfilms records at no cost to the repositories and donates a positive copy to them on completion.

An official leaflet states this vision: "This worthwhile project is being realized as each day cameras click in archive repositories the world over. The magnificent, complex machinery is in motion, and with an efficient, business-like approach, the vital records of the world are page by page and book by book, being stored up as priceless treasuries, securely protected in the tops of the mountains." In a Granite Mountain illustrated leaflet published by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, 1975), unpagined. By 1975 over three quarters of a million rolls of microfilm had already been accumulated in the vault, a collection representing the equivalent of over four million printed volumes of 300 pages each. The total capacity is over 26 million 300-page volumes and can be expanded through further excavation.

Ronald G. Watt and Jeffrey O. Johnson have prepared a 40-page typescript "Guide to Sources for Studied of Mormon Immigration in the Archives of the Church..." which, except for a page enumerating the FEE files and indexes, is primarily a list of those letters, diaries, autobiographies, and memoirs which say anything at all about migration to Utah. There are entries for 332 individuals, for some of whom there are considerable collections, most notably the Dane Andrew Jensen (who perversely spelled his name with an "e") who as assistant church historian for many years compiled information about ship and overland immi-
migration now to be found, for the most part, in the Manuscript Histories Collection. The number of reels of film for some other countries may be of interest to scholars working on those nationalities: Netherlands, 53,621; Germany, 44,397; France, 42,701; Belgium, 30,118; Finland, 13,318; Canada, 10,767; Poland, 8,659; Hungary, 7,165; Norway, 6,996; Austria, 5,867; Argentina, 2,381; Switzerland, 2,206; New Zealand, 1,458; Australia, 1,418; Polynesia, 1,098; Russia, 834; Iceland, 765.

Interview October 5, 1978, with Dr. Richard S. Tompkins, chairman, History Department, University of Utah.

The Utah State Historical Society, awaiting a move into a new home in the renovated Denver and Rio Grande Depot in Salt Lake City, will permanently house the Utah Folk Art Exhibition which premiered in October and will be traveling the state for several months. Immigrant artifacts may be found in the exhibition as well as in the Mormon information centers on Temple Square, the museum of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers near the State Capitol, Pioneer Village at the State Historical Park near the This Is the Place Monument at the mouth of Emigration Canyon (note the name) in Salt Lake City, and in the Arts and Sites Division of the Historical Department of the church. Present in almost all these collections are paintings from the late 1800s of the Danish artist C.G.A. Christensen and the Norwegian Dan Weggeland.

IMMIGRANTS IN THE OLD SOUTH

Randall M. Miller
Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia

If, as Ralph Ellison once suggested, the Afro-American is an invisible man in American society, the European immigrant is the invisible subject in the historiography of the Old South. George B. Tindall, in a presidential address to the Southern Historical Association, recently observed that the South is the "biggest single WASP nest this side of the Atlantic." This is true enough, but it obscures the diversity of elements which comprised southern life, and which still do.

In the eighteenth century the southern colonies, particularly the backcountry, received frequent infusions of European as well as African blood. Germans, Scotch-Irish, and other Europeans wound their way down the Great Wagon Road to populate the southern frontier. Other Europeans sought refuge in the southern colonies, planting religious communities from Georgia to Virginia. The "South" then was a polyglot world of many faiths and many talents. But by 1820 this mixing process was over. The second and third generations of the European settlers were largely assimilated into American, and southern, ways of life. And by then the South had formed its distinct regional identity. The defense of slavery and an agrarian political economy were already the shibboleths of southern society.

The North and the South diverged in economic, social, and political interests. In no way was this more profound than in the changed demography of each section. A great surge of European immigrants swept over the northern United States, transforming cities and frontier into a whirl of competing religions and European cultures. The South did not share proportionately in this immigration. Indeed, the South attracted only one immigrant for every eight who settled in the northern, or free, states and territories. The South became biracial, a world of black and white. Europeans subsumed their identities in the larger "white" community in order to maintain white hegemony. Slavery then was both the cause and consequence of the South's smaller percentage of European immigrants; by discouraging immigration, slavery became more important to Southerners in need of cheap labor. Immigration, or the lack of it, accentuated sectional differences in the United States, fixing the character of each region and determining the rate of modernization, North and South.

The South could not compete successfully with the North for European immigrants. In the Old South only New Orleans maintained a significant and regular connection with a European port (Liverpool). The main Atlantic shipping lines operated between northern and European ports. The North had a diverse, expanding economy. For the many unskilled, poor Europeans moving toward America, northern manufacturers particularly offered economic opportunities which were largely absent in the overwhelmingly agricultural and rural South—a fact, incidentally, that explains the lack of foreign immigration to the South even after the abolition of slavery. The northern territories encouraged immigration by advertising their land in Europe and offering easy credit to settlers. The South lacked the business connections to develop its frontier along northern lines. No railroad companies recruited settlers for southern territories as they did for northern ones. The South lacked the pull of the North. Slavery tarnished its image, and its staple crop agriculture could not absorb large numbers of poor settlers.

Besides, the South did not want immigrants. Edmund Ruffin, the agricultural reformer and Fire-eater, recorded the general reasons why planters feared massive immigration. Immigrants threatened to disrupt the South's delicate social bearings by importing strange customs, new religions, and unorthodox views on slavery. Poverty, crime, and disorder followed large-scale immigration, or so concluded planters who observed developments in the North. The planters correctly blamed the unsettled politics of the North on the presence of immigrants, and they wanted no part of the internecine warfare over
school support, religious toleration, and other "immigrant" issues. The planters particularly feared the Irish. In his travels through the Old South Frederick Law Olmsted noted that farmers refused to hire Irish laborers because they were, as some Alabama farmers complained, "too quarrelsome and violent." Worse, the Irish, like other immigrants, were potential enemies of slavery. Panny Kemble, no friend of slavery, recognized the danger of mixing poor immigrants and slaves. The immigrant Irish, she wrote, were "strangers to oppression and suffering, and they were also passionate, generous people. They might sympathize with the plight of blacks and make common cause with them against the rich in the South. This did not happen of course, but planters worried about it anyway. Planters would have a change of heart about foreign immigrants after the Civil War, when they sought a cheap labor alternative to the freedmen, but until the demise of slavery, they opposed immigration. Potential immigrants got the message.\(^4\)

The immigrants who did settle in the Old South did not fully become Southerners. For one thing, they became urban dwellers in a rural society ruled by agrarian values. Almost ninety percent of the immigrants in the Old South lived in coastal and river towns, where they comprised a large proportion of the population. In 1860, for example, New Orleans had a foreign-born population of more than forty percent (compared to Boston's thirty-six percent); St. Louis had an immigrant population of almost sixty percent, greater than the foreign-born proportions in New York and Chicago. In Memphis in 1860 thirty-six percent of the white inhabitants were immigrants, in Charleston thirty percent of the white residents were foreign-born, in Natchez twenty-five percent of the total population was foreign-born, in Mobile the figure was twenty-four percent, and in Richmond the proportion was twenty-three percent. Indeed, the numbers of foreign-born in southern towns were so high that they led the rise of political nativism in the Old South, for many native Americans feared foreign dominance. The presence of German Vereins, newspapers, and churches reminded Southerners of outside influences not fully absorbed into southern culture. Irish slums such as "Piney" and "Happy Hollow" in Memphis harbored potentially dissident elements. Nativism was an issue in many city elections in the 1850s, and anti-foreign violence punctuated election day gatherings in several southern cities.\(^5\)

Southern urban and commercial life depended heavily on foreigners. Immigrants gravitated toward towns in the South because they found jobs there. Few native-born Southerners practiced the mechanical arts, and too many whites disdained manual labor for wages. Few Southerners were drawn into business or the professions, except as ancillary functions of their farming interests. Foreigners with skills and business sense were welcome additions to the southern economy. The scarcity of native, free skilled labor drove up wages in the South and attracted immigrants, and Northerners, to southern towns. Southern manufacturers found native white labor unreliable and, if they did not turn to slave labor, hired immigrants. A Mobile textile factory imported fifty French weavers and spiners. Colonel Philip J. Weaver of Selma, Alabama, traveled to Europe to recruit skilled workers for his town's industrial and mechanical needs. In Mississippi, which had less than three percent foreign-born in its population in 1860, immigrants controlled the commercial activity of the Mississippi River towns.\(^6\)

The importance of immigrant labor in southern urban growth and the economy should not be over-emphasized. David Goldfield, the leading student of southern urban development, argues that the principal spur to southern urban growth--transportation, industry, and commerce--depended on slave rather than immigrant labor. The Irish worked in railroad gangs, and the Germans entered many factories. By 1860 Irish and German laborers had driven slaves and free blacks out of many domestic services in the towns and had replaced blacks as stevedores, teamsters, deck and boiler workers, and skilled craftsmen. But, concludes Goldfield, the immigrants "proved too intractable for southerners used to a more malleable labor force." Robert Starobin agrees. Southern railroad contractors and mine operators complained frequently that Irish workers were disruptive. They ran off, engaged in drunken brawls, and required excessive supervision. Germans were little better according to southern critics. The immigrants carried their Old World hatreds to the South so that the mixing of ethnic groups sometimes led to fights and riots. Employers lost contracts, many men quit, and property was quarrelsome immigrant workers. Immigrant laborers made themselves especially obnoxious to their southern hosts by their initiation of and participation in strikes. Besides the obvious economic loss, strikes threatened the southern social order and civil laws. Immigrants were often refused the right to vote, and they were sometimes tarred and feathered, but they mounted
no effective challenges to planter prerogatives before the Civil War. Immigrants arrived in the South from all European countries. Ella Lonon, in her seminal study of Foreigners in the Confederacy, reported "a considerable number of Italians, chiefly mechanics, some of them refugees from the revolution of 1848" living near Natchitoches, Louisiana, and counted Danes, Poles, Italians, Mexicans, Portuguese, Germans, Irish, Frenchmen, Swedes, Swiss, and Scots, most of them tied to trades or crafts, in New Orleans, surely the South's most cosmopolitan city. Herbert Weaver discovered Irish, German, English, French, Scotch, and "fairly large Italian" groups in Mississippi towns, as well as Polish-born, German-speaking Jews and Albanian-German-speaking Jews in river towns. Some Swedes settled in the Old South, principally in New Orleans and Alabama. And a few Norwegians located in Texas. Some Welsh sought refuge in the South as part of a planned migration. The activities of Samuel Roberts, a Welsh colonizer, are well known, as is his failure to establish a Welsh enclave in Tennessee. If the letters of the Welsh-born Woolworth family of Clarke County, Georgia, are any indication, however, Welsh settlers discouraged their countrymen from following them to the cotton fields of the South.

The British, who were probably the most knowledgeable Europeans about southern conditions, significantly were the north Atlantic people least likely to go to the South, a few artisans excepted. Most immigrants lived in cultural isolation, they were beset by pressures to conform to southern mores, and they failed to influence southern customs or folkways. They were too few in number and too dispersed geographically to occasion much notice, then or now.

In the Old South the Irish and German immigrants formed the greatest part of the foreign born settlers. In the cities only the Irish, the Germans, and the Jews established any communal life.

Every southern city had Jewish peddlers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen. What few studies we have of southern Jewry are largely devoted to individual personalities and religious concerns, but they suggest a pattern of Jewish settlement in the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1830s, German-speaking Jews came to southern cities, and there they mixed with the older Jewish population. Differences in religious practices and national origin separated the old and new Jewish populations, but their small numbers made them conscious of their common vulnerability. Jewish life revolved around the synagogue. But most Jews sought accommodation with their southern, Protestant hosts. They embraced southern racial and social values and generally won acceptance in the South. Only during times of social stress did anti-Semitism surface, as it did during the Civil War when many frustrated Southerners blamed the Confederacy's failures on Judah Benjamin's Jewish "influence." How the Jewish submission to southern norms affected the infrastructure of Jewish society is not known, for no scholar has addressed directly the issues of Jewish acculturation in the Old South, the internal dynamics of Jewish communal life, or the impact that Jews and Judaism had on southern society. Indeed, this statement holds true for all scholars of European Immigrant groups in the Old South.

The scholarship on the Irish is especially disappointing, since the Irish were the second largest immigrant group in the Old South and, given their predominance in southern cities, probably the most visible. The rural Irish became the urban Irish in the Old South. There were few immigrant O'Hara's who built Taras anywhere. Irish poverty drew them to the towns where they could work in transportation and on the docks. Only Karl Nienhaus has charted the course of Irish immigrant life in a southern setting. His work asks the right questions and shows how the Irish shaped southern life, or part of it, as the South shaped them.

According to Nienhaus, the great Irish influx of the 1830s and 1840s to New Orleans changed the city from being predominantly black to being predominantly white. The Irish, who dispersed widely in the city, competed with blacks for manual and domestic labor and drove them from many positions. By 1850, one out of every five inhabitants of New Orleans was Irish. But the Irish did not form a single community, for the proletarian new immigrants had little in common with the affluent and sometimes Protestant older Irish population. The new Irish entered a Catholic culture in New Orleans, the only one in the South, but they originally found little that was familiar in Catholic New Orleans. The French influence pervaded the church and bred a religious indifference among many pre-annexation Catholic residents. As the Irish increased in numbers, they challenged the French for control of the church. The Irish immigrants respected the church's authority, particularly after they gained control of the hierarchy, and they directed the church to support free parochial schools, orphan asylums, and benevolent associations--to end the exclusivism and elitism which had marked the French activities. The interethic rivalry in the church in New Orleans paralleled the immigrant experience in northern cities.

Comparative studies of other immigrant groups in southern cities are unavailable. The German urban experience remains largely unwritten. The history of German settlements in Virginia and Maryland focuses on the eighteenth-century migrations and, for the nineteenth century, the arrival of German refugees from the Revolution of 1848. Klaus Wust recognizes the plight of lower-class German immigrants, working in mines and towns in Virginia, but he does not
attempt to write a full account of the proletarian immigrants. Only John Nau has attempted to provide a detailed examination of a German community in a distinctly urban southern setting. His book on the Germans of New Orleans offers some useful observations on the immigrants’ struggle for jobs and place in the city, but it is principally a story of German success in the trades and professions. Nau describes German associational life to show that Germans preserved their "national" heritage, whatever that was, in a foreign environment. Through music, theater, foreign language writings, and fraternal groups the Germans came together as a people and so stayed apart from other residents of the city. How the new German arrivals adjusted to the older German population along the "German Coast," how they related to other immigrant groups, and how their experience in New Orleans compared with German immigrants in other settings—these and other fundamental questions about adjustment go unasked and unanswered.15

German settlement in the Old South began in the 1830s as part of the general out-migration of German people from Europe in the nineteenth century. The South failed to keep pace with the northern and western United States in attracting Germans, but it did not escape significant German penetration. By 1860 pockets of German immigrants existed in every southern state. Generally, however, Germans moved toward the periphery of the South—to Texas, Missouri, and Virginia. Texas and Missouri were as much western as southern in character. Of Deep South states only Louisiana received and retained a large German population. An older German population lived on the Gulf, and the economic opportunities of New Orleans and its direct transportation link with Liverpool drew poorer Germans there. Contrary to popular belief, most German immigrants in the South were "simple folk" pulled to America by the promise of land and fortune; few immigrants were refugee liberals fleeing the failed revolutions of 1848 in Europe.16

The striking fact about the Germans in the Old South was their cultural resiliency. German culture particularly took root and flourished in Missouri and Texas. Indeed, for a brief period Germans established cultural hegemony in parts of Missouri. The persistence of "German" culture in agricultural practices, food preparation, arts and architecture, family organization, and religion owed to the pattern of German rural settlement. According to Terry Jordan, the leading student of German folkways in Texas, German immigrants had responded to the magnetism and power of several dominant personalities, such as Friedrich Ernst, who persuaded groups to solve their economic and social problems in the Old World by migrating to the New World. The abundant land of Texas beckoned, and unlike land in older southern states, it was accessible. Once begun, the process of cluster migration became self-perpetuating. The failure of the notorious Adelsverein colonization project excepted, good reports from America—in immigrant letters and promotional literature—encouraged additional German movement to Texas. The immigrants clustered in the "German Belt" of south-central Texas where their overwhelming numbers and geographic isolation allowed them to reconstruct their German communal life. The physical remnants of "German" culture in their log buildings and interior design and arrangement survive today as witness to the tenacity of Old World folkways.15

But the immigrants did not escape Americanizing influences. In his close studies of nineteenth-century agricultural practices in Texas, Jordan has discovered a slow erosion of some German elements. Germans adopted southern crops and habits of livestock management. More significant than their partial assimilation, however, were the Germans' differences with black and white southern farming practices. Compared to native southerners, Germans in Texas tended to be less mobile; had a higher percentage of land ownership among them, avoiding tenancy religiously but having smaller holdings per household; relied more on market gardening; farmed more intensively; and were less likely to acquire slaves.16

On the last count, it was not that the Germans were adverse to black laborers among them or harbored antislavery sentiments. Hardly. Germans embraced white southern assumptions about a "proper" racial order and supported the southern rights movement. Germans farmed in small units and so had little need of slaves, who were expensive to acquire and to maintain. We lack the precise studies of immigrant voting patterns in the South which Robert Swierenga, James Bergquist, Frederick Luebke, and others have done for immigrants in northern agricultural settings, but what evidence is available suggests that German immigrants in Texas, as in Virginia and in Louisiana, acceded to native southern political leadership and initiatives regarding sectional issues and the maintenance of the South's peculiar institution.

The students of the Germans in Missouri present a similar portrait of German cultural integrity but political accommodation. From the 1830s on a steady stream of Germans flowed into Missouri, following the Missouri River Valley westward. As Charles van Ravenswaay shows in his brilliant study of German folk art and architecture in Missouri, the physical environment of Missouri profoundly affected the immigrants' customs. The isolation and expansiveness of the land surprised the immigrants, who were accustomed to crowded conditions and village life in Europe. Settling on individual farms, many Germans compensated for the lack of Old World communal life by clinging tenaciously to their domestic German customs and arts. They made concessions to the wilderness in their exterior culture, as did the
Germans in Texas, by accepting local political norms. Their houses also reflected their external accommodation to new conditions. The abundance of logs encouraged the settlers to construct log buildings in the "American style." But the settlers looked inward to domestic crafts and art to keep alive their Old World past. They retained the peasant styles in furniture, when possible followed Hanoverian and Russian styles in home construction, and made baskets in the European manner with only modest American adaptations. To the casual observer then, the German farmers were becoming southerners, or at least westerners, and so excited little concern about their peculiar customs.17

To the casual student of the Old South, immigrants like the Germans hardly existed and counted for little in the development of southern institutions. Ethnic differences were based on race, not national origin. And so the history of the Old South has relegated the immigrant experience to obscurity. The traditional view of the Old South as a region of planters and plantation agriculture, of blacks and whites, has missed the diversity of southern life. Southern studies do not yet include developed histories of southern urbanization, industrialization in the Old South, or interethnic experiences among European peoples. Because the Old South resisted modernization, it is assumed that modernization did not occur. Studies of the immigrants in the Old South necessarily entail studies of southern urban life, economic development, and patterns of assimilation and acculturation. They require a review of the religious landscape to include Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran traditions and to explore the role which the South's dominant evangelical Protestantism played in promoting or impeding acculturation of immigrants. Studies of immigrants will provide a comparative framework to measure the degree of internal urban social and economic mobility. For all the local studies of the South, there is nothing to compare with the work of Stephen Tinsley and others for northern communities. And all work must have a comparative framework, for the experience of immigrants in the Old South, when set against the immigrant experience in northern communities, can tell us much about assimilation and acculturation in general. It can also tell us how the Old South forced its will on all white inhabitants and made them, if not "Southerns," followers of what Ulrich B. Phillips has identified as the central theme of southern history — to keep the South a white man's country.


3The best treatment of the emerging southern character, with information on immigrants to the Old South, remains Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860* (New York, 1961); he has updated his history and revised some of his assessments in his *History of the Old South: The Emergence of a Reluctant Nation* (3rd. ed., New York, 1975), but he has added little on immigration or immigrant life.


stentially different from the Irish in northern and western American cities. He mentions the movement of eighty Irish to Taliaferro County, Georgia, certainly a very rural setting with no Irish presence, but offers no explanation for the attraction of the South to some Irish immigrants and the general rejection of it by many others. F. N. Boney passes over immigrants in his recent review of Georgia history, but he adds one thought to the subject. He suggests that the negligible Irish presence in Georgia helped to liberalize the state by encouraging interest in orphan asylums and charity, but he does not explore the history of immigrant influence to prove his statement. Boney, "A Slowly Maturing Culture," in Kenneth Colem., ed., A History of Georgia (Athens, Ga., 1977), p. 181.

12. Earl F. Nau, The German People of New Orleans, 1850-1900 (Leiden, 1958). One virtue of Nau's study is that it does not confine his study to antebellum and wartime New Orleans but describes the postwar conditions and how they affected German life. Not all Germans in Louisiana settled in New Orleans. German workers hired their time in the fields and in transportation, where they suffered along with the Irish. For some examples of the low opinion native southerners had of Germans, willing to risk their lives in swamps rather than those of slaves, see Andrew Durnford to John McDonough, November 8, 1844, McDonough Collection (Louisiana State Museum), and same to same, October 23, 1845, McDonough Papers (Tulane University). There are some unused cultural materials on German life in Louisiana in the Kuntrz Collection at Tulane University.

13. For an overview of the Texas Germans see Terry Jordan, "The German Element in Texas," Rice University Studies, 63 (1977), 1-11, who describes the process of "cluster migration."

14. Terry G. Jordan, German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas (Austin, 1966). For a different view on the Texas Germans' support for slavery see La Vern J. Rippley, The German-Americans (Boston, 1976), pp. 35-60, 66-69, who puts the Germans on the union side in Texas and Missouri and maintains that Germans were compelled to support the Confederacy. For additional evidence of German folk


O. FRIITOF ANDER (1903-1978)

Victor Creese
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Having noticed with regret the passing of Professor O. Fritiof Andes in the last issue of the Newsletter, this writer felt that he merited a more extended tribute in these pages. Professor Andes final years, his retirement and passing, coincided with the founding and early rapid growth of the Society. Regrettably, few members may be aware of his significant contribution to scholarship and the organization. Clearly, Professor Andes was a part of the older historical tradition, teaching in an ethnic college and writing about his own group. He gained considerable national and international recognition doing so. Important, too, were his efforts to bring together students of all group experiences within one professional association. He was a founder of our Society, and a distinguished one.

Dr. Andes certainly was a Swedish-American. An immigrant himself, he obtained his college education from Augustana in Rock Island in 1927, his doctorate from Illinois in 1930, and spent his entire professional career at his college alma mater for thirty-eight years thereafter. He was promoted early to full professorship in 1933 and served as department chairman from the next year until his retirement in 1968. He published works extensively and of high quality on Swedish, American and Illinois historical subjects. His published dissertation, T. N. Hasselquist, (1931) is the standard biography of a leading Swedish-American clergyman; his Cultural Heritage of the Swedish Immigrant (1956), is his best-known immigrant work and his Building of Modern Sweden (1958), was well-received as a comprehensive survey of contemporary Sweden. His many credits attest to his high standards of scholarship; he was holder of Cuggenheim, Fulbright, SSRC and American Philosophical Society awards along with being made Swedish Royal Knight of the North Star, (1961), and Fellow of the International Institute of Arts and Letters, (1961).

It was his compelling interest in encouraging younger immigration historians which brought this writer to his attention and which motivated him in 1963 at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in Omaha to help start our predecessor body, the Immigration History Group. Along with Professors Theodore Saloutos, A. William Englund, Carlton C. Quasly, and Robert D. Gross, that spring he felt that a more permanent academic association was necessary to bring immigration scholarship from its characteristic parochial orientation to more comparative approaches. Andes place then in the emerging immigration and ethnic field is as a transitional figure, having produced distinguished scholarship on his own group and being anxious to encourage all group scholars to come together and unravel the mystery of American ethnic adjustment.

ORGANIZATIONS

The annual meeting of the Immigration History Society will be held on Thursday April 12, 1979 at 5:00 P.M. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, New Orleans, in conjunction with the meetings of the Organization of American Historians.

The annual luncheon of the IHS will take place on Thursday April 12, 1979 at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, New Orleans. Moses Rischin's presidential paper will be on the topic "Creating Civic Coeurs's 'New Man.'" John Higham will be chairman at the luncheon.


The Canadian Ethnic Studies Association invites papers for its Biennial Conference to be held in Vancouver, B.C., October 11-13, 1979. The conference theme is "Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada." Paper proposals should be sent by November 1978 to Jorgen Dahlke, Dept. of Educational Foundations, Unive. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., V6T 1W5.

The annual meeting of the Society for German-American Studies will be held on April 27-28, 1979 at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. For a free sample of the Bulletin of the Society, address Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Editor, 3418 Boudinot Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45211.

A session on "German-Russians in the USSR Since World War II" has been scheduled for the Second International Congress on Soviet and Eastern European Affairs, to be held at Carlsbad, Germany, September 30-October 4, 1980. Paper proposals should be sent to Sidney Heitman, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, CO 80523.
The American Committee for Irish Studies has issued a membership directory, which is available from the committee c/o Department of English, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee 53201.

The new address of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, is 43 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ont. M5S 2C3. Its publication is Polyphony.

For information as to the activities of the American Catholic Historical Association, address its Executive Office, Mulliken Memorial Library, Room 305, Catholic University, Washington, DC 20064. The spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held at Notre Dame April 6-7, 1979.

The Center for the Study of American Catholicism, directed by Jay P. Dolan, is publishing a newsletter and sponsors publications on the Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism, and makes summer grants to researchers. Address the Director, 1109 Memorial Library, Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

On May 25-28, 1978, a conference on the Italian Heritage in the United States was held at the University of Minnesota-Duluth, sponsored by the University, the Italian American Historical Association, and the Paulucci Family Foundation. Papers on migrations, literature, cultural change, language transition, Italian women, and recreation were presented. For information write Matti Kaups, Duluth Center, 403 Admin. Bldg., Univ. of Minnesota-Duluth, Duluth, MN 55812.

The Ethnic Studies Association of Philadelphia was addressed on May 25, 1978 by Richard Juliani (Villanova U.) and Mark Hutter (Glassboro State College) on Italian-Jewish interaction.

The Upper Midwest Ethnic Studies Association met October 7, 1978 at St. Benedict's College, St. Joseph, MN, with papers by Haywood Brass (S.W. State Univ., Marshall, MN) on the German Presbyterians in the upper midwest, and by Jon Gjerde (Univ. of Minn., grad) on community formation among Norwegian immigrants. There was also a session on collecting information in rural ethnic communities, with Kenneth Smeo (Moorhead State Univ.) and Peg Nichels Peterson (Univ. of Minn., Morris).

The Midwest Conference on Irish Studies met October 21, 1978 at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, IN 46556. The principal paper of interest to ethnic historians was by Marjorie Sallows (Cape Cod Community College) on "Assimilation and Transformation in Recent Irish America."

The U.S. Army Center of Military History, Forrestal Bldg., Washington, DC 20314, Stop 391, is offering two fellowships for 1979-80 at $4,000 each to doctoral candidates whose dissertation topics pertain to military history. Candidates must have completed all other requirements for the doctorate by September 1979. Deadline for applications is January 24, 1979.

The Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh, 15260, established in 1974, maintains archives, sponsors workshops, promotes research on ethnic groups, and publishes a monthly Newsletter.

The American Italian Historical Association, Western Regional Chapter, has announced meetings at UC-Berkeley, November 18, 1978 and in conjunction with the AHA, December 28-30, San Francisco, at the Hyatt, Union Square. For further information write Philip Montesano, Dept. of Foreign Languages, San Francisco State Univ., San Francisco, CA 94132.

The paper on social mobility at the Bucharest meetings of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, 1980, is being prepared by John Bodnar, Pennsylvania Historical Museum.

The Center for Ethnic Publications, Kent State University, Ohio 44242 requests data on ethnic films. A questionnaire will be supplied on request.

The Swedish Council of America is quartered at 4970 Sentinel Drive, Sumner, MD 20016 and has inaugurated (1978) a Swedish Council News published 2800 Park Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55407. The editor is Nils William Olsson who should be addressed at the Sumner, MD location. Dues are $5 per year. The first three issues of this newsletter have been informative and useful.

The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research has scheduled a Conference on Culture and Community Among New York Jews on January 27-29, 1979. For information address the Institute at 1048 Fifth Avenue, NY 10028.


The Department of History of Rutgers University in Newark solicits applications for its bi-annual Visiting History Scholar position. For the year 1979-1980 it seeks an established scholar and effective teacher (preferably at the associate or professorial rank) in the field of American immigration and/or ethnic history. The scholar will teach a limited course load to undergraduate
and graduate students and deliver a major paper at a spring conference. For further information write Prof. Warren E. Kimball, Dept. of History, Rutgers Univ., Newark, N.J. 07102. We are an AA/EO employer.

The Social Progress Research Institute of the University of California at Santa Barbara is sponsoring a project entitled "To Facilitate Inclusion and Mobility: the Chinese and African Immigrant Connection," and will sponsor a conference on immigration and public policy at UC-Santa Barbara on February 22-23, 1979. For information write Jack Birmingham, History Dept., UCSB, Santa Barbara, CA 93106.

On February 14-16, 1979, the sixth National Institute on Minority Aging will be held San Diego State University. For information write Nancy E. Rollman, University Center for Aging, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

The Greenwood Press is preparing a reference work on ethnic theater in the United States, with chapters on the various European and Asian immigrant group theaters. Each chapter is planned to address common themes but with special attention to the history and continuing activity of the group ethnic theater. Scholars interested in writing chapters for this volume should write the editor, Maxine S. Seller, Dept. of Social Foundations of Education, 428 Baldy Hall, Univ. of New York-Buffalo, Buffalo, NY 14260.

Peter Romanofsky, Jersey City State College, is preparing a reference volume consisting of histories (ca.1500-2000 words each) of about 200 national and local Jewish American organizations of all types. He is anxious to hear from any scholar who might contribute to this book, which is to be published by the Greenwood Press. Address him at 99 East 7th St., New York, NY 10003.

Mary Boros-Kazai (142 E. Main St., St. Clairsville, OH 43950) is making a study of the political and social circumstances of emigration from Hungary. Thanks to an TREX fellowship she is spending a second year in Hungary.

Joseph Brandes (William Patterson College of New Jersey) is making a study of the ethnic structure of the American Jewish community.

Walter Struve (City College of CUNY) is doing a book on north Germany and Texas, 1836-1846.

Robert J. Plozman is studying the work of the Board of Special Inquiry, 1894-1910, Philadelphia Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. His address is 5 Erasburn Road, Haverstown, PA 19083.

Andrzej Prozek (Juliusza Ligonia 48/3, Katowice 40-037, Poland) while visiting the United States from 1978 took part in a study of Polish settlements in Karnes County, Texas, and in a conference in New York on contemporary changes of American Polonia. He is also participating in an ongoing study of the Polish community of Independence, Wisconsin.


Gerald J. Stortz (3-148 Willow Road, Guelph, Ont.) is completing a dissertation on "John Joseph Lynch: First Archbishop of Toronto, A Study of Religious, Political, and Social Commitment."

Randall M. Miller (St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia) is preparing a study of immigrants in the Old South. See his essay in this Newsletter.

John J. Appel (Michigan State University), with his wife Selma, and with support of the Borch Institute, has undertaken a study of the American Irish in cartoon and caricature. He is also preparing studies of immigrant caricature in post and trade cards, and of Eduard Buch (1870-1940) a German collector of print caricatures.

Marika Sherman (Polytechnic of North London, England) is planning a book on the migration of British West Indians to Great Britain. Anyone with information on this topic should write her at Ludbrooke House, Highbury Grove, London N5 2AD.

Sidney Heitman (Colorado State University, Ft. Collins) is preparing a directory of scholars in the general area of German Russian studies. He would welcome additional names and references.

Michael Albert (Univ. of Minnesota, geography) is doing a dissertation on a comparison of the Japanese communities of the Twin Cities and Chicago.

Franklin D. Scott (Claremont Colleges) is editing for the Anu Press a series of volumes on the Scandinavians in America.

Nils Hasselmo (University of Minnesota) is preparing a comprehensive bibliography on "Swedish-America, 1850-1950."

William Wonders (Univ. of Alberta) is engaged in a study of Scandinavian homesteaders in central Alberta.
A. William Högland (Univ. of Connecticut) is editing a series of Finnish immigrant letters, 1870s to World War I.

Patsy A. Hegstad (Corvallis, OR) is making a study of "A Comparison of the Political Activity of Immigrant Swedes and Norwegians."

Byron Norström (Gustavus Adolphus College) is working on an essay on "Scandinavians in Minnesota Cities: Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis."

John Rice (University of Minnesota, geography) is at work on "The Transplanted: A Study of Swedish Emigration and American Community Formation."

Arlow W. Andersen (Univ. of Wisconsin-Stevens Point) is preparing a book on "Political Ideologies of the Norwegian-American Newspapers, 1875-1925."

Kerby Miller (Univ. of Missouri) has been in Ireland collecting letters, journals, and memoirs written by Irish emigrants.

Harald Rumbloom (Uppsala Univ., Sweden) is engaged in studies of Scandinavian emigration to Canada.

Paul Bohannan (Univ. of California-Santa Barbara, anthropology), director, and nine others have NEH awards for studies in residence on "Dual Cultural Heritages in the United States," September 1978-June 1979. The NEH Fellows in Residence are Rachel A. Bonney (UNC) on German-Americans; Charles Davis (Shelby State, Tenn.) on Afro-American visual arts; Hasla K. Diner (Goucher) on immigrant voluntary associations; James H. Dorman (Univ. of S.W.Ia.) on Acadian-Americans; Sydelle B. Levy (Brooklyn College) on Japanese-Americans; Malvin L. Miranda (Univ. of Nevada) on Filipinos-Americans; Ben Morrela (State Univ. College, Plattsburgh, NY) on Sicilian-Americans; Raymond B. Pratt (Mont. State) on native-Americans, Richard S. Sorrell (Brockdale, NJ) on French Canadians, and Jerry H. Williams (Cal. State, Chico) on Azorean-Americans.

William S. Bernard (American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, NYC) is making a study of racism among immigrants, and is doing a series of articles on immigration laws and policies.

David J. Hellwig (St. Cloud State, MN) is preparing four articles on black reactions to Chinese immigration; Black Americans and U.S. immigration policy, 1917-1929; Booker T. Washington and "the immigrant"; and black nationalism.

James S. Pula (Univ. of Maryland) is editing a volume of biographical sketches on 19th century Polish Americans.

The South Atlantic Urban Studies, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC 29401, has issued a call for articles on all aspects of urban life.

Joseph F. Zacek (SUNY Albany) is preparing the following guides; a guide to resources in Czechoslovakia for research on American Czechs and Slovaks, and a guide to resources in the United States for research on American Czechs and Slovaks.

James M. Bergquist (Villanova Univ., PA) is working on a book on German-Americans and politics.

Frederick Hale (1877 Goodrich Ave., St. Paul) is preparing a book of Danish "America letters" intended to parallel the volumes of Norwegian and Swedish immigrant correspondence edited by Theodore C. Blegen and H. Arnold Barton. He is also writing a book on religious pluralism among Norwegians in the old world and the new.

John Rolfe (UC-Berkeley) is doing a dissertation on the immigrant college in the Upper Midwest, a comparative study of several liberal arts colleges founded by immigrant religious groups.

**PUBLICATIONS**


Howard F. Stein and Robert F. Hill, *The Ethnic Imperative: Examining the New White Ethnic Movement*. University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977. $14.50. This critical volume by two anthropologists deserves to be read by both scholars and laymen, even though some may disagree with points made.

Orthodox and Armenian Protestant Churches in the New World to 1915."


Martin L. Kovacs, ed., *Ethnic Canadians, Culture and Education*. Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1978. $7. pa. 36 essays by many authors on a variety of aspects of ethnic life in Canada.


Bo Kronborg, Thomas Nilsson, and Andres A. Svalesen, eds., *Nordic Population Mobility. Comparative Studies of Selected Parishes in the Nordic Countries, 1850-1900*. Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1977. Published as an issue of *American Studies in Scandinavia*. Vol. 9, nos. 1-2, 1977. Nkr.10. Address American Institute, University of Oslo, Blindern, Oslo 3, Norway. This is the final report of the Nordic Emigration Research Project, undertaken jointly by universities of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland since 1970-71. Sune Akerman presents a brief history of the project, and is followed by Ingrid Semmingsen (Univ. of Oslo), Arne A. Svalesen (National Archives, Oslo), Arne Vang-Drup (Univ. of Copenhagen), Helge Skuls Kjartansen (Univ. of Iceland), Reino Kovo (Univ. of Turku), Sune Akerman, Bo Kronborg, and Thomas Nilsson (Univ. of Upsala), and Kjell Soderberg (Univ. of Umea). Members of the staff of the Project are listed. This report is the last of a series of reports, dissertations, and volumes that have been produced directly or indirectly by this massive project.


Chad J. Flake, ed., *A Mormon Bibliography*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1978. $7.50. 10% discount to libraries.

The Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers issues an Immigration Newsletter, monthly, dealing with cases and issues involving immigrant rights, naturalization, and current immigrant law. Address 127 John St., 26th floor, New York, NY 10038.

Jewish Currents (22 E. 17th St., Rm. 601, New York, NY 10003), although primarily current in emphasis, contains book reviews and essays of interest to American Jews and ethnic historians.


International Migration (Icem, P.O.Box 100, CH 1211, Geneva, Switzerland) Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1978, has an article by Gunnar Persson on "School Achievement of Immigrant Children: The Impact of Social Class and Nationality" as well as other data. No. 2 of the same volume, 1978, has an article by Zvi Halevy on "Were Jewish Immigrants to the United States Representative of Russian Jews?"

The Danish American Heritage Society's new journal is entitled *The Bridge* (No. 1, 1978, 1132 Newport Drive S.E., Salem, OR 97302).

The Journal of Ethnic Studies (Western Washington Univ. Bellingham, WA 98225) published its sixth volume in 1978, with emphasis in its articles and book reviews on minority groups.

The European Demographic Information Bulletin may be obtained by addressing Panuenlaan 17, The Hague, The Netherlands. The 1978 issues contain bibliographical data as well as short essays.

The Ukrainian Quarterly (203-2nd Ave., New York, NY 10003), Vol. 34, No. 1, Spring 1978, contains
Information, p.87ff. on current publications
and events.

The Carpatho-Rusyn American (355 Delano Place,
Fairview, NJ 07022) is a newsletter, recently
inaugurated for Carpatho-Rusyns in the United
States.

The American Immigration and Citizenship Confere
cence News (20 R. 40 St., N.YC 10018) Vol. 26,
No. 2, April 1978, is devoted to current legisla
tion and cases involving immigrants.

The Chinese Materials Center, 809 Taraval St.,
San Francisco, CA 94116, provides bibliographi
cal pamphlets, useful to anyone working in that
field.

The Filipino Reporter, 41 Union Square, Suite
325, N.YC 10003, is a weekly newspaper published
both in New York and San Francisco, and con
ains not only current news but information
about Filipinos in the United States.

Ethnic and Racial Studies, published in England,
American address 9 Park St., Boston, MA 02109,
was published in January 1978, and will be
a quarterly, with subscription rate of US $18.
It proposes to deal with international ethnic,
cultural, and race relations. The American edi
tor is Norman Feinberg, New School for Social
Research, 66 Fifth Ave., N.YC 10011.

Przeglad Polonijny (Editorial address: Wydzial
I P.AN, Palace Kultury i Nauki, 00-901 Warszawa),
Vol. II, Nos. 1 & 2, 1977; and Vol. IV, no. 1,
1978, contain numerous articles on Poles in
America. Brief summaries of the articles in
English may be found at the rear of each number.

Kaleidoscope Canada in the issues of March
through October 1978, contain current informa
tion concerning ethnic groups in Canada. Address
P.O. Box 826, Station B, Ottawa, Ont. KIP 5E9.

The first issue of Finnish Americana, edited by
Michael Karni, appeared in 1978. It is to be
an annual volume. The initial number contains
six articles, two stories, and book reviews.
For information write the editor at 2208 3rd St.
N.W., New Brighton, MN 55112.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has made
available in microfilm The Jewish Review and
Observer, Cleveland, Ohio, 1889-1950, 1995-1958,
Volumes 1-70. 32 rolls, $800, plus shipping and
handling.

The National Ethnic Statistical Data Guidance
Service, 1601 North Kent St., Arlington, VA 22209
will provide ethnic statistics from Federal agen
cies. Fee is $45. Rush information $75.

The Michigan Archival Association has recently
published Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in
Michigan: A Checklist. $4.50 incl. postage.
Write Frederick Monhart, Archives and Historical
Collections, Michigan State University, East
Lansing, MI 48824.

Zubon H. Wynn & Lois Buttlar, eds., Guide to
Ethnic Museums, Libraries and Archives in the
United States. Center for Ethnic Publications,
School of Library Science, Rm. 318, Kent State
University, Kent, OH 44242. $9.50. October
1978.

Francesco Cordasco, ed., Five Ethnic Groups in
New York City: A Two Hundred Year City. New
York, Board of Education, 1977. Essays for high
school students by five authors.

Donald S. Spencer, Louis Kosuth and Young America:
A Study of Sectarianism and Foreign Policy, 1848-
1852. Columbia, MO, Univ. of Missouri Press,

Francis Griffith & Joseph Mersand, eds., Eight
$6.40.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin, four pam
phlets on Norwegians, Blacks, Germans, and Finns
in Wisconsin. $1.25 each.

Hjalmar R. Holand & Helmer M. Blegen, Norwegians
in America. Sioux Falls, SD, Center for Western
Studies, 1978. $5.95. Translation from the Nor
wegian by Blegen of Holand's 1930 volume.

Emory Lindquist, Shepherd of an Immigrant People:
The Story of Erland Carlsson. Rock Island, IL,
Augustana Historical Society, 1978. $7.50. A
biography of an early leader of the Swedish
Augustana Lutheran Church in America and a founder
of Augustana College of Rock Island.

Jay P. Dolan, The Immigrant Church, New York's
Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865. Baltimore,
Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. $3.95 pb.
$12.50 cl.

Sidney Heitman, ed., Germans from Russia in Colo
rado. University Microfilms International, 300
N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. $14.25 US.

R & E Associates, 936 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto,
CA 94303, has available a large list of titles of
books on Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans,
Puerto Ricans, and most European nationalities.

The Chinese Texans, Institute of Texan Cultures,
Box 1226, San Antonio, TX 78294. 1978. Pamphlet.

David Fainhauz, Lithuanians in Multi-Ethnic
Chicago. Lithuanian Library Press, 3001 W. 59
St., Chicago, IL 60629. $20.


Michi Weglyn & Betty B. Mitson, eds. Valiant Odyssey, Herbert Nichols in and Out of America's Concentration Camps. Brunk's Publisher, Upland, CA 1978. $3.50.


Ida Cohen Selavan, "Founding of Columbian Council of Pittsburgh" in American Jewish Archives, April 1978. The author has presented numerous papers in the Jewish field. For information write her at 5528 Raleigh St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217.


The Illinois State Archives has published a Descriptive Catalogue of the Archives of the State of Illinois. Address the Archives in Springfield, IL 62703. $20.


Joan Scarpaci, The Ethnic Experience in Maryland. A Bibliography of Sources. Towson State University, Towson, MD 21204.

Krzysztof Grzybowski, "Socijalistyczna Emigracja Polska w Stanach Zjednoczonych" (Polish Socialist Emigration in the United States of America, 1883-1914) in Polska w Zalozieniu, 1977, 1. (From the Battlefield).


Experiments in History Teaching. Edited by Stephen Butein, Warren Leon, Michael Novak, Roy Rosensweig, and G. B. Warden. Cambridge, MA, Langdon Associates, 41 Langdon St., 1977, second printing 1978. $4.75. The product of a Harvard University program consisting of meetings conducted, 1976-77, for teachers of history in New England. The general topics are cultural artifacts, community history, personality in history, history from the top down (including an ethnic history unit), and quantifying the past. Questions, programs, and bibliographies are given. The experiments are capable of adaptation to any area.


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CORRECTION IN JANUARY 1978 DIRECTORY: Alan M.  
Kraut is at The American University, Washington,  
DC, not Washington University.