



THE IMMIGRATION HISTORY NEWSLETTER

Volume X, No. 2 November 1978
Copyright © Immigration History Society, 1978
Editor: Carlton C. Qualey
c/o Minnesota Historical Society
690 Cedar Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dues: \$3.00 per calendar year, payable to the
Immigration History Society. Mail to
the editor-treasurer.

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-PCB, 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 copy-

righted. 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
William Mulder, Department of English
University of Utah

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), proselyting 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 marshalled the practical means for bringing their convert-emigrants on a massive scale to Zion.

Millennial expectations have abated and "the gathering" is no longer preached nor practiced,¹ 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.²

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.³ 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."⁴

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 staff 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 Chronology 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" (9 reels, from Aagaard to Zysling) and the Utah Immigration Card Index, also known as the "Crossing the Plains Index" (3 reels, from Aagaard to Zundel). Also there on microfilm are the emigration records of the Swedish Mission, 1905-1932; the Scandinavian Mission, 1854-1886, 1901-1920; the Netherlands Mission, 1904-1914; 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 (CR) or Manuscript Collection number (MSD). 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," "Finance: PEF Co. Index of Recipients and Donors (ca. 1862-1874)," "Missionary Department: Index to Missionary Record 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 office'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 miscellany, 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.⁵ The Index indicates whether the item is hard copy or film and its location and provides multiple tracings, sub-topics like "Pioneers--Emigrants--Handcarts--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 (MSD 665 and MSD 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 "lv [vol], 31 cm xerox of MS," and summarized as follows: "President of the South Sanpete Stake. Contains account of early life in Illinois, immigration 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' Millennium Star for Great Britain (with an index for 1840-1908), Skandinaviens Stjerne 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 copies of all Mormon and most anti-Mormon publications abroad -- tracts, pamphlets, periodicals and books -- and the only 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, 1897-1959 (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 Broad-sides 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 religion, society, 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 C. and Lela Lee Neagles, Locating Your Immigrant Ancestor (Logan, Utah: Everton Publishers, 1975), and Carl-Erik Johansson, Cradled 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 Language 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 and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966) 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. Gustive O. Larson's Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, a Chapter in American Cooperative Experience (Francetown, 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 masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868-1914 (Aarhus, Denmark: Universitetsforlaget, 1971) devotes a sizable section to the Mormon emigration, and Jørgen W. Schmidt's Oh, Du 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 bibliographic 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-volumed "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, 1974), 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. Peterson's Utah in 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 annual 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 1978 meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of AHA, Richard Jensen and Gordon Irving, staff members of the Historical Department of the church, analyzed British Mormon emigrants who sailed on the ship Amazon in 1863, 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 File," 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 128,000 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, Visitations (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 pedigree charts, and materials marked "ES" 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 67,274 for Denmark, 62,679 for Great Britain, and 60,443 for Sweden, for example, down to 350 for Italy and 52 for Japan, for a total of 740,204 reels.⁶

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.⁷

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-FP 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 (TIB), 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 State Historical Society have collections not duplicated by the church, but are handsome complements to it.⁸ These would have to be the subject of a more comprehensive essay, as would the sources at the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, headquartered at Independence, Missouri. There is, if anything, an embarrassment of riches in Mormon sources for immigration history. The treasure in terms of both specialized and multi-dimensional studies has barely 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 the 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.

²Most 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 of the Historical Department, "were these records fully identified and their provenance determined." Dr. Watt gives a timely account, especially full in its descriptions of the operation of the church-incorporated Perpetual Emigrating 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 Jenson's series on immigration in The Contributor (Salt Lake City) in 1891."

³The 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.

⁴An official leaflet glows with this vision: "This worthwhile purpose 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 treasures, 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), unpagged. 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.

⁵Ronald G. Watt and Jeffery O. Johnson have prepared a 40-page typescript "Guide to Sources for Studies of Mormon Immigration in the Archives of the Church..." which, except for a page enumerating the PEF 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 Jenson (who perversely spelled his name with an "o"), who as assistant church historian for many years compiled information about ship and overland im-

migration now to be found, for the most part, in the Manuscript Histories Collection.

⁶ 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, 6,994; Austria, 5,867; Argentina, 2,381; Switzerland, 2,206; New Zealand, 1,458; Australia, 1,418; Polynesia, 1,098; Russia, 834; Iceland, 765.

⁷ Interview October 5, 1978, with Dr. Richard S. Tompson, chairman, History Department, University of Utah.

⁸ 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.C.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."¹ 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.²

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 swirl 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 manufactures 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.³

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