

CALIFORNIA'S ETHNIC MINORITIES



SOURISSEAU ACADEMY FOR CALIFORNIA STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY

Occasional Paper No. 3, 1978



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INTRODUCTION

On November 10, 1973, the Sourisseau Academy for California State and Local History of San Jose State University and the Federal Archives and Records Center of the National Archives and Records Service in San Bruno cosponsored an all-day Symposium dealing with California's ethnic minorities. Historians from all over the state, representing several groups, were invited to join in a discussion during the morning session. They were asked to share with the audience some general information about the group they represented and to add their comments on the present status of the group in present-day California life.

The Federal Archives and Records Center and R & E Research Associates of San Francisco were very helpful to us during the day by bringing some of their publications and source materials on minority group history and displaying them for the benefit of those who attended.

The morning Symposium was recorded and has been transcribed here. The papers from the afternoon sessions are reprinted here also.

In the afternoon, each Symposium participant read a paper that suggested how to conduct historical research on the particular minority group they represented. Each paper was presented twice which allowed those attending the Symposium to learn how to conduct historical research on two groups.

The Sourisseau Academy hopes that the publication of these papers will stimulate more such research on the background of

the many minority groups who have lived in *Santa Clara* County and California. If more such research, writing and publishing occurs, then our efforts will have been worthwhile.

I wish to acknowledge the cooperation given by the members of the Board of Trustees of the Sourisseau Academy who agreed on the need for such a Symposium and the publication of the day's program. The Federal Archives and Records Center and its staff were most helpful to us in cosponsoring the Symposium and offering advice to us concerning other programs of a similar nature they were cosponsoring around the country at that time to stimulate research in state and local history. The San Jose State University administration allowed us to use the campus facilities on a weekend day. Early transcriptions of the morning Symposium were prepared by Mercedes Rodriguez. The Publications Office of San Jose State University, especially our graphic artists Nancy Favier and Jim Chaffee, were of great help to us in preparing these many and diverse forms of communication for publication in this Occasional Paper. Many of the details of planning for the Symposium, as well as the proofreading of this publication, were capably and efficiently borne by our Academy Executive Secretary, Carolyn de Vries.

Finally, thanks are in order to the most important people of all: The participants in our day's activities, who spent much time and effort in preparing their papers; and the many people, from far and near, who came to San Jose State University to share in the Symposium.

Robert E. Levinson

"THE MORNING'S SYMPOSIUM"

LEVINSON: We were looking for a title to give to the conference this morning and we hit on the word symposium, so I believe that it is not inappropriate at this time to read to you a definition for symposium that I took from Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language*. A symposium is "a drinking together, a convivial feast or banquet. Among the ancient Greeks the symposium followed the dinner and was characterized by the drinking of wine mixed with water by intellectual or entertaining conversation and by music, dancing and other amusements." And if that is not complete then the dictionary goes on to give a quotation from Meyers in the *Outlines of Ancient History*: "The symposium was the intellectual side of the feast. It consisted of general conversation, riddles and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment [sic] of the lyre, passed from hand to hand." So now that we know what to expect, we continue with the program. As you note from the brochure that was in the registration material you picked up this morning there are ten ethnic groups in California whom we have invited here today to describe not only their own status but, from an intellectual point of view, how to conduct research on that particular group within the context of California history. And I was informed of something which I did know during the planning of the symposium today; there are many groups in California who were not invited to participate. In addition to the ten that are listed in your brochure I want you to be aware of the fact that in California are also Spanish, Russians, Portuguese, Danes, Samoans, Okies, Mormons, Filipinos, Basques, Greeks, Gypsies and Puerto Ricans, which is a list of another twelve that I was able to collect in just a few minutes. I'm sure that for every list of twenty-one or twenty-two that we now are aware of that you will be able to give me even more.

I would like to thank a few people who have been working very hard over the past days to help us put the symposium together today: Carolyn de Vries, the Executive Secretary of the Sourisseau Academy, and three of our student assistants, Yolanda Amaro, Janice Brazil and Baldemar Ortiz.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure now to present an individual who represents our co-sponsor of the symposium today. Mr. Paul Kohl is the regional commissioner for the western states of the National Archives and Records Service.

KOHL: Thank you, Bob. It's my great privilege this morning to greet all of you in the name of the Archivist of the United States, Dr. James B. Rhodes. The National Archives has been an active partner with academic, professional and historical institutions for almost a decade in sponsoring these kinds of symposia. It was in April 1964 that we held the first of them, and it was under the auspices of Georgia Tech and the National Archives and Records Service. Since that time, from Augusta, Maine to Los Angeles and from Tallahassee to Seattle we have conducted or co-sponsored some eighty symposia, and they have been co-sponsored with fifty different major universities or colleges, historical societies, state libraries or state archives. Some of these people have sponsored symposia more than once. And we are quite pleased that over the past decade, over 7,000 participants have supported these kinds of efforts in historical research. The topics that have been featured at most of these symposia were archival in nature but we have had excellent papers from

noted historians and academicians. Within the last thirty days, in Salem, Oregon, at the last one that I was privileged to attend, there was a hardheaded and hardhitting businessman—the chairman of the board of a national insurance company—who took himself and his company and particularly the archivists to task in the fact that we really had not done everything that we should have in encouraging companies in the business community to identify and set aside their business history.

As I mentioned, these agenda have been wide ranging and they have ranged from the historians' stake in archives, automation and what it does to historical research, topics on conservation history and ecological research and the one I just mentioned, the one on business records. California's ethnic minorities, the topic of your symposium today, had a precedent in November 1970 in Boston, Massachusetts. There a symposium was sponsored by the American Jewish Historical Society, Boston University and the National Archives, where they discussed archives and the ethnic history of New England. What I said might suggest that the National Archives really does have a deep and abiding interest in the subject being discussed here today. Last year, for example, we added a specialist to our staff in Washington in Black History, Dr. Robert Clark. Not too long ago we cooperated with the California Historical Society in their excellent exhibit and the book they produced on Executive Order 9066 dealing with the internment of the Japanese Americans. Fortunately the original negatives were in the National Archives and we were able to put them on loan to the Society. In the fall of 1972, the National Archives sponsored a conference on Indian-White relations. And we did get several hundred scholars from all over the country.

This afternoon, Ann Campbell, of my staff will discuss with some of you the rich resources that are in our Federal Archives and Records Centers. We have eleven of them throughout the United States with archive branches and they do contain a rich reservoir of material which I think a good many of the ethnic minorities would find useful. On the west coast these Federal Archives and Records Centers are located at San Bruno and Bell, California, and in Seattle, Washington. We are indebted today to the Sourisseau Academy for its encouragement and support and to Bob Levinson in particular. Actually this undertaking today was his brainchild. We sincerely appreciate his ideas and support and the excellent facilities we are enjoying today. But above all we like his invitation to join him and the Sourisseau Academy and the History Department just so that we could discuss this very contemporary, critical and dynamic subject, and we are very grateful. I wish all of you well today and I think you will note from the program that we will not lack for knowledge or expertise in any of the sessions. I know I for one am looking forward to it. Thank you very much.

LEVINSON: Thank you very much, Paul. The participants and their academic titles are given to you in the brochure which is part of your registration material. And for the morning session I would like to introduce to you Professor Rudolph M. Lapp who is a member of the faculty of the Department of History at the College of San Mateo.

LAPP: Thank you, Professor Levinson. You will notice that I am listed as a moderator and I am, at this moment, still somewhat puzzled as to what I will have to do. If you will

notice, the panel has been behaving in the last few minutes so moderately that I really don't believe I'm going to have much to moderate once we get going. So my function here is something that has to be something I define myself. I want to be brief so that you recognize that the major portion of the program is yet to come. Just a word or two that might be a flash of backward viewing, a certain amount of historical perspective and I'll be as brief as possible. I've had a standing assignment from a colleague of many of yours at San Jose State. Professor Gerald Wheeler has given the assignment for nearly ten years now. It is in fact a military order to find a certain book for him by a well-known Philippine author, Carlos Bulosan. Well, he knows that I am a bit of a book browser so he has me at work on this. And I do some searching once in a while when I get into the city or else wherever there are book stores. I have never found Carlos Bulosan and I can tell all of you if you want to make points with Professor Wheeler, find it for him. It is a book called *America is the Heart* and if one turns up in short order as a result of my announcement, I am going to see him about a small commission of sorts. But I did find something else in the course of this sort of thing. One of the things you find in book browsing is something called serendipity. I stumbled on a pamphlet in the book store that I felt I ought to purchase. And it has a certain special meaning for us. It is entitled *The Teaching of International and Intercultural Understanding in the Public Schools of California*. And the date on this thing! For many of you it will be like ancient history; for some of the rest of us it will sound familiar, but it is 1946, nearly thirty years ago. Nearly thirty years ago as a result of the impact of the United Nations meeting at San Francisco, this well-meaning group called the International Center, which was part of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, thought that once again there should be an attempt to introduce, as a result of the impact of the United Nations feeling (we thought we had a united nations feeling in that year), as a result of that impact there should be another attempt by educators to try to get intercultural education in the schools. There always were levels of education that were aware of the fact that minority groups were getting the shabby end of the stick in teaching, in hiring and in every other aspect in the educational system of the United States. And these people, some of them timid, some of them courageous, would try, in some form or another, to get these points across to the rest of their colleagues in the education world who were generally fairly conservative and one might even safely say racist. They were a tough nut to crack but it was felt that under the impact of the United Nations meeting in San Francisco they could make another try at it. They made a study. In it, the material that is revealed in this pamphlet is the effort of this group to circularize the educational system in California, find out what the situation was and see if there was a way by which, what we today call Black studies, Chicano studies, Asian studies (then referred to as intercultural education), if that could be possibly woven in, somehow, into the school system.

One of the remarkable things about this is the way the questionnaires they sent out reveal answers that are as vicious as you could possibly imagine. Some probably are still thinking it today but they are not saying it. One of the answers of the School Superintendent in California, quoted in the pamphlet, was: "What's the point of teaching coons and niggers?" Well, you know that they did not get anywhere in the forties and that decade went by. Then came the fifties and the sixties, and in the middle of the sixties

an explosion took place. That explosion was led by the minority groups, primarily Blacks and Chicanos, and after that explosion and the smoke settled, the results were things you are seeing today. It is a kind of a sad commentary that these well-meaning people could not have accomplished these changes in a peaceful, nonviolent way, without the upsetting consequences. These things, when they burst out, do have their upsetting side effects. But the fact is that the great burst of interest and actual application of that interest in Black Studies, Ethnic Studies, Chicano Studies, Asian Studies throughout the nation came, unfortunately not as a consequence of this group, but as a consequence of the militancy that was evidenced on the campuses and elsewhere by those who said: "This is apparently the only way to remind them we're here."

Well, that is my little touch of historical observation. I hope we don't fail to learn that when reforms are needed, they can take place quietly, peacefully and in an evolutionary fashion. But if they do not, we are going to have some of the difficulties again that we experienced in the latter half of the sixties.

One last word. An interesting by-product of this, and one can say we are not too sure just what the reasons for this were, is the great interest that white ethnics then began to pay to their own past. They had not paid much interest to their own past before this, but the burst of activity and the spread of interest placed into the curriculum and into the course work of the schools by the minorities of color made the minorities that were white turn around and look at themselves. I think perhaps the first reaction was a counterreaction to the Black and Chicano, possibly in anger. But now that has levelled off, and it is a genuine interest in their past. One of the marvelous by-products of this whole movement is the fact that people who have taken themselves for granted and were ready to bleach themselves out of their Polish and Filipino and Italian names are beginning to return to an appreciation of their own past. I think a reflection of it is the distribution, and of course it could have been wider, the distribution you see of ethnic interests on this panel today. So I hope we have a good morning and afternoon, and thank you. The first member of the panel is Professor Arra S. Avakian.

AVAKIAN: In the case of Armenians, whether it be in California or all of the United States, the events in their total history in this country move through several cycles very rapidly, and the events, both internal and external, fit into their own internal forces in such a way as to make a very violent changing in the status—violent not in the sense that we kill one another off—that's not the point. If you compare one short period with the next there are very dramatic changes that take place. Let me be more specific, because I know that was very vague. The history of Armenians in America is a relatively short history. They came in trickles in the middle of the 19th century, and it was not until the last decade of the previous century that they began to come in very large numbers. That, of course, came about primarily as a result of the pogroms, the massacres, the persecutions that Armenians were suffering in their own native homeland, but which, for a long time, had been part of Turkey. Details about the "Armenian Question" which occupied Europe's attention for a while I need not go into here. But the point was that persecutions of Armenians in their own homeland drove them to this country in very large

numbers. Now I want to recite these several internal and external events which created very violent cycles of change in their status. The first immigrants came here with nothing, no material resources, and also no intellectual resources in the sense of language. They came here because they were seeking freedom, escaping only with their skins. And so they had to get along, and of course that meant they banded together in a few centers, primarily in New England. But a few had already started coming to the West Coast. They remained very much ghetto-like in their existence, using their native language, which, incidentally, is of course different even to the point of having its own alphabet.

The Armenians are peculiar. There are only about five and one-half million in all the world today, being more, perhaps, than at any time in the past; and yet they have a luxury of an alphabet all their own. It is an expensive luxury but people are not willing to give that up. At any rate, that plus the language plus a church which is an ancient church and a very strong binding force, all have led to maintaining their existence in these tight enclaves. That meant that the first generation of American-born Armenians were growing up in the environment made up of a highly ghettoized community that retained its old customs very strongly.

Second, there was then a melting pot mentality and the hyphenated American was an ugly term. The new generation found the environment in which they were growing up an embarrassing one, and so that generation turned away from its ethnic background, sought to hide it, was unwilling to admit it and therefore we created this very low point in the cultural development of the Armenian community in America. The twenties in California, and especially in Fresno, brought this mentality to a kind of head. Probably one out of six of the total Fresno population were Armenian. That is a bigger concentration than in any other place in the world outside of the homeland. The times, as well as that concentration, and the fact that many of them who were still, at that stage, people who had emigrated to the United States, were old-world types. An environment of very strong discrimination against Armenians was present, and there were anti-Armenian restrictive covenants; indeed, Armenians could not buy land just as certain Orientals could not, and those times continued then to depress the level of desire on the part of the newer generations to be interested in their background. But the dramatic events in the world, the economic depression, the onset of World War II and the internal changes in the social attitudes in the United States, especially with World War II, have reversed everything. The Armenians, starting out very poor, began to establish themselves economically. They rose to a higher position of affluence and did not feel pressures that prevented them from entering into the social environment as Armenians and Americans. The young generation began to see a change. As the moderator mentioned, the dramatic events of the sixties, on top of what I have already mentioned, where, because of the actions of the Blacks and the Chicanos in this part of the world, attitudes of a great number of people and the Armenians themselves already had started looking back at themselves to see who they were. That action was enhanced by the overall environment and the favorable attitudes in the country, which were completely opposite from the melting pot environment. Today, we have second and third generation American-born Armenians as the bulk of the young people. They are all intensely interested in learning about their background. And that is why we have

Armenian studies programs in a number of institutions. In several large communities of Armenians, day schools are being opened. In an environment in which a great number of public or private schools and parochial schools in the country are closing because of social and economic forces, the Armenians are opening schools. In other words, the status of the Armenian community in America is one in which they are on the strong, steeply rising part of the curve of an ethnic awareness. At California State University, where I came a little more than three years ago, specifically to take on an activity having to do with an Armenian Studies Program, one hundred fifty students have enrolled in the several courses. So this intense interest is there. The students, the young people today, with this very strong awareness, and a happy awareness, which they are willing to share with their friends and colleagues of no particular ethnic background who are not so involved with the Armenian ethnic background either, these students, the Armenians, are drawing them in. Look what we have; we are enjoying it and it is a sort of open feeling. There is just a little bit of, let us say, friendly resentment shown by them toward their prior generation. To prior generations they say, "Tut tut, you people sort of dropped the ball in maintaining this ancient cultural heritage, and it is a little harder for us to pick it up now because the continuity has been destroyed. But we will do it anyway." So this is a quick account of the status of the Armenian community in America. By the way, there are about four hundred fifty thousand of them in the United States and North America, and about one hundred fifteen thousand in California. Their large communities are in Los Angeles, Fresno and the Bay Area.

LAPP: Professor James P. Walsh, Department of History, San Jose State University, will be looking at the Irish now.

WALSH: Thank you very much, Professor Lapp. I was somewhat taken by surprise here. I thought I had a little more time to be a spectator rather than an immediate participant, but nonetheless we'll jump in and I guess say with good spirits here. The question that I would like to address myself to for my nine minutes is the second part of the question on the program. What is their status, meaning the status of the Irish? I think all of you, through one means or another, have run across Irishmen and know who they are and possibly do not have any trouble identifying them when you see them, at least identifying them by behavior.

Now, this particular question: what is their status; I was conducting research for an article a few years ago for a popular monthly in which I was addressing this particular question. And I thought that in order to bring my research a little bit more up-to-date I ought to go back to my origins and stand on Polk Street in San Francisco across from the City Hall there with my back to the plaza viewing that edifice that Jimmy Rolfe, a man supposedly of all the ethnics, built, and watch the St. Patrick's Day Parade go by on the Sunday nearest St. Patrick's Day. While I was standing there (I arrived nice and early), an elderly gentleman with his two little grandchildren came up and stood beside me. They were talking and waiting for the parade and all of a sudden another chap came along who was a little younger, and he had his children with him, too. These men greeted each other as if they were long lost cousins, and as I listened to their conversation throughout the parade, I found out that they were. Believe it or not, their names were Pat and Mike!

Pat was the older fellow, the grandfather, and his two granddaughters were at his knees. When Mike came along he said to Pat, "How you doing in the new country?" And they both sort of snickered. So I thought, perhaps I had really come to the right spot for a little research activity. So I got a little closer. They snickered because they both felt very comfortable here. I would estimate that Pat was probably in his seventies, had come to the United States in his twenties and had been in San Francisco for a long time. What they did in their conversation was to sort of catch up with each other since their last meeting a few years before.

Some of the things they asked gave us definite sociological and historical insights. Mike, for example, asked the older man, Pat, if he still had that property he used to own on California Street. Pat said that it got a little too much to maintain and it was going into decline so he sold it off and put the money in a savings and loan place for something like six and one-half percent. This was the property that he said he had bought back in the depression for three thousand dollars, and now so many years later was able to set it aside as quite a nest egg. The next item they talked about were trips that they took back and forth to Ireland in recent years. The younger man had just returned from a vacation. He had taken his children back there to meet their grandparents. The older man asked him such things as "Where did you get the best charter flight deal?" "How many bottles of Irish whiskey could you bring back in from the duty free airport?" These were the matters that concerned them. They had a good time. When attention was devoted to the youngsters, the younger man asked them, "What does your father do?" One was not quite sure what he did. The other one said, "Oh, he's a professor." When the older man said, "How about your kid, what is he up to?" the younger one replied, "Oh, he's a big bureaucrat in that building you're looking at right across the street."

From this, I gathered, and we have other data that is a little more solid to back this up, the Irish in California, in San Francisco particularly, are aging. They are no longer young; they are no longer politically virile. The immigration restrictions have cut into the size of this minority. Also economic conditions in Ireland have been improving in the Republic since independence from Great Britain. Fewer Irishmen are leaving; fewer are able, of course, to get into the United States. These men radiated a definite sense of security. They were somewhat carefree and took things rather easily. I wanted to find out if this was really more pervasive within the Irish-American community, so I stopped in a few days later at the newspaper office of the *Irish Herald* on Market Street, their ethnic monthly, and talked to the editor, John Hooley. He was of the opinion that right now the Irish had the best of both worlds. They felt they were close enough to their cultural heritage to be able to enjoy it as they chose, and they were also able to enjoy the benefits of American life as they chose to select them. They did not feel discriminated against in California or in San Francisco. Right now, they have their weekly radio program; they have their monthly newspaper; they have their Irish festival in October and, of course, the usual mid-March activities that most outside of the community are familiar with.

If you wish to go down the Horatio Alger stories, you have a significant number of those in the Irish community, too; the last time I checked, when I was working on this article, I discovered that the assets of the Hibernia Bank were 288 million dollars. More interesting than that, however, was the leader-

ship of that bank. Have you heard of the Tobin brothers? The oldest Tobin had to wait until he was seventy-three years old until his uncle, I think, died and allowed him to move up to the chairmanship of the board. He held on to that chairmanship until he was ninety-two years old. He could not trust the younger generation; they had not been tried; they hadn't been tested. Finally, he was forced out by irate stockholders because of his conservative banking policies. So he bowed out in favor of his younger brother, who was ninety-one! Banking conservatism certainly existed there.

Now, do the Irish have problems? In the article that I completed a few years back, I suggested that the one thing that concerned this Irish-American community in California was clerical leakage—the numbers of priests, nuns and brothers who were leaving active participation in the Catholic Church. Well, the leakage has not ceased. It has not been reduced; if anything, it has probably increased a little. The Irish, however, I would say, are quite adaptable. They are learning, if anything, to live with this leakage and possibly look for some alternative solutions to the problem.

Another basic problem that the intellectual members of that community were concerned with was the low level of intellectual life within the Irish-American community. Monsignor John Tracy Ellis, in his book published in the early fifties, *American Catholics and the Intellectual Life*, surveyed the national scene and came up with the conclusion that Catholics had not contributed what he expected to be their share to ongoing intellectual activity in the United States. I am sure I tell you nothing new when I point out that there are a considerable number of Irish who are affiliated with that church. They certainly are not the totality, but in terms of clerical leadership, they are highly significant. Now, the Irish record in California and in San Francisco, particularly since the early fifties, has improved. If we simply restrict our gaze to those in academic life I think we can bring a few improvements to your attention. Professor David Herlihy, for example, is Professor of History at Harvard; his field is Medieval History.

Some of you are interested in California History. In the recent book by Kevin Starr, *America and the California Dream*, published by Oxford, a young man out of the Irish-American community in San Francisco has taken on the intellectual life with a running start. I find the case of Kevin Starr very interesting. He is attempting right now to give up an associate professorship at Harvard in order to come back to work in his neighborhood. He wants to become the Librarian of the City and County of San Francisco. He is having trouble with the professional libraries and library associations because he does not have a credential.

We might add to the list John P. Diggins. Those of you who are members of the American Historical Association probably read two of his articles recently; within the last couple of years you may have read his recent book on views in Italian Fascism. Another young lad out of the Irish community, Edward Griffin, taught for a while at Stanford. He is now at Minnesota, I believe; his field is Colonial American literature. These success stories, however, have difficulties. They are not unmixing. The problem in these success stories is they have become liberated from the old environment. They have become liberated from the cultural heritage which people were concerned with. David Kennedy, at Stanford, won the Bancroft prize and the John Gilmary Shea prize for his book on Mary Sanger, *Birth Control in America*. I understand he has declined

to join the organizations that are trying to promote Catholic Intellectualism.

LAPP: Our third speaker will be Ann Campbell, Federal Archives and Records Center.

CAMPBELL: Archivists are another kind of misunderstood minority. We don't design buildings; we don't feel that all governments are oppressive and undesirable and should be abolished. But many of the public still are not at all certain of what we *do* do. My friend Jerry Ham, state archivist of Wisconsin, tells of his child's first day at kindergarten. The class sat in a circle and, one by one, each child told something of his family and what his mother and/or father did for a living. Sammy's mother was a chemist; Mary's father was a lawyer. When the Ham child announced his father was an archivist, he confounded both his new classmates and his teacher, who asked for what must have been a difficult explanation for a five-year-old. On the beginning day of first grade, the Ham youngster was again faced with the traditional opening-day ritual. Sara's father was a fireman; Paul's was a professor. When his turn came, Jerry's child avoided further embarrassment by simply saying that his father was dead. It is through meetings such as this one today that archivists hope to be better understood and, at least, to convince you that we are indeed very much alive.

Each of us on the panel this morning comes here with perspectives shaped by our background and education. I grew up in the Deep South in the fifties in what I perceived to be a homogeneous society. The community was—continuing with metaphors from the dairy case—actually half and half, but in the closed white society of the period chances were not available to interact meaningfully with Blacks. All that has changed now, of course, even in the piney woods of North Florida. But nothing in my subsequent travels has surpassed the exciting diversity of the ethnic and cultural mosaic of the Bay Area.

In the short while I have been in California I have even had an opportunity to explore some of my own ethnic heritage. My immigrant grandfather used to say that Scots don't leave Scotland; they take it with them. I joined a crowd of over 18,000 in Santa Rosa this fall for the 108th annual Highland Games. There were exciting bagpipe competitions. The athletic field was full of McIntyres, Camerons and McKenzies, competing in traditional field events such as the tossing of the caber and hefting the 56-pound weight over the bar. And, in yet another example of our cosmopolitan society, the 440-yard dash was won by a laddie from San Mateo County whose last name was Bruce. The laddie was Black.

It has been a great pleasure to be involved in the planning and research that preceded the meeting here today. I look forward to exploring the results of some of that research with you this afternoon. We believe that the holdings of the Archives Branch include much useful data for the study of California's ethnic minorities.

LAPP: The resources you are getting are coming in surprising variety. The next speaker is Edison Uno, lecturer of Japanese Americans, California State University, San Francisco. Mr. Uno.

UNO: I would like to say that we are sort of unique in that California has a special brand of racism. We talk about white racism, but I think California racism is unique in that you will

hear probably today from all minority groups who will talk about racism. Heretofore, racism in this state and nationally has been focused upon black, white or black, white and brown, black, white, brown, and yellow, but I think if you come to the state of California you will find that racism has manifested itself against the Russians, against the Irish, against the Armenians, against the Jews, against the Chinese, against the Blacks, Chicanos, native Americans, Indians, almost all groups that came here. As you know California was the land of opportunity—was the west that had to be won—and that its history is one of repeating types of racism against various immigrant and minority groups. I prefaced my remarks because, as a group, Japanese Americans are probably a classic example of the kind of oppression, repression, bigotry and discrimination that was felt by all groups. Economic, political, legislative and social types of discrimination were leveled against Japanese Americans as they were against other minority groups, including citizenship, immigration, marriage, education, housing, employment and public accommodation.

Many things affected the lives of my parents or my grandparents. And I think that theme will be pretty prevalent by most of the speakers today. The only difference is that in a very short period of time Japanese Americans have been put on a pedestal as being one of the more successful minorities, at least among the visible minorities. Japanese Americans in recent years attained the very comfortable role of being successful, the model minority. One writer, in *Newsweek* magazine stated that we were outwhiting the whites. Another writer in the *Wall Street Journal* said whiter than white. You would think that we were a new brand of detergent that was being marketed for national acceptance.

Be that as it may, I think it is a very insidious and dangerous role to be in. And I, as a person of the third world, think that it is very important that we examine the subtle messages that come from being used as a model or as a successful minority. What does it tell the other minority groups? What does it tell the Chicanos, the Blacks, the Chinese, the Filipinos, the Koreans, the Jews, the other minority disadvantaged people? It tells them you, too, can make it in America if you work hard, if you save your money, if you do not demonstrate, if you are nonviolent, if you conform. You, too, can be accepted under certain terms. I think of all the groups in California we were one of the few that experienced the kind of discrimination in 1942, where one hundred ten thousand of us were dramatically surrounded and removed from our homes and lost more than four hundred million dollars in property. This episode was one of the most dramatic violations of constitutional rights of all Americans. That unique experience of being placed in American concentration camps, if you please, is one that most Japanese Americans prefer not to talk about. I think that many of them feel a sense of guilt or a sense of shame.

But I think it is very important that we reflect on our history because you know our experience of being put into concentration camps was not of the first concentration camp in America. Indian reservations were concentration camps, pure and simple. Poverty, ghettos, unemployment, substandard housing, poor health care, discrimination; all are concentration camps, whether they be physical or psychological. And I am sorry to say that those who control the powers in this country often-time come from minority groups who have made it, who have suffered the same kind of discrimination, the same kind of repression but who have the luxury of passing and being part

of that middle class—middle America who are perpetuating the melting pot myth that all of us have the right to freedom, liberty, justice and equality.

I am concerned because in 1973 we see history beginning to repeat itself. In 1942 I was removed with my family and one hundred ten thousand other Japanese because we looked like the enemy. Today, the honeymoon between the United States and Japan is over. Economic war is as strong and as vital to both countries. How many of us in this audience today, five years ago, would have thought that names like Hitachi, Sony, Datsun, Toyota, Yamaha, Suzuki, Matsushita, I could go on and on, would be household words? And the day that you pull a kleenex out of the box and it says 'Made in Japan,' or the clothes you wear, the food you eat or the gas you put in your car is some way tied to the trade relations between Japan and the United States? The war clouds, the anti-American feelings in Japan will soon reverberate and affect those of us who look like the enemy. So you see that we are somewhat emancipated in that, today, we enjoy a certain amount of success and acceptability. But having spent four years in an American concentration camp I feel that I am on parole, on good behavior. As long as I behave myself, as long as I conform, as long as I can accommodate to the expectations of the dominant society, I am on parole. And I think it would be a very important thing to mull this in your mind. It can happen again, perhaps not to me the next time but perhaps to you. Thank you.

LAPP: Thank you, Mr. Uno. The next speaker is Thomas W. Chinn, former president of the Chinese Historical Society of America in San Francisco. Mr. Chinn.

CHINN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I could not help thinking of what the speakers before me have said, and I was deeply impressed with the fact that I guess we Chinese were not alone in being suppressed, in being discriminated against, and that other groups have had the same problems. Other groups left their motherland under very, very similar circumstances to the Chinese.

I could not help thinking, after the representative of the Irish spoke, of another little symbol that I thought just about belongs to another chapter in the history of our United States of America, and that is, perhaps unknowingly, all of us minority ethnic groups are becoming integrated. I cannot help but think we almost have a national celebration in the Chinese New Year, or for that matter the Irish St. Patrick's Day or the Italians' Columbus Day or the Jews' Yom Kippur. There is some sort of observance throughout the country in which some of our people celebrate a particular day that is significant to each of us. I cannot help think that it should not be too many more years before practically every group will be represented with some sort of a holiday. I am all for it because it means we can have more celebrations, more days off from work.

On the other side of the picture, regarding the Chinese, I believe most of us have had some contact, some friends among the Chinese. We feel that our story, as it has been represented both in writing and in pictures and otherwise conveyed from person to person, is still with us to a great extent in all of the material that exists in libraries and in the different archives, wherever they may be. The impression, generally, in the past hundred-odd years, has been the impression of what was written about the Chinese. It was very seldom what the Chinese wrote about themselves. So

you have two different versions, two different interpretations of what the Chinese are. I like to think that, here in California, when the Chinese came over shortly after the gold rush, that they were, according to the newspapers and the writers of the time, welcomed with open arms; they were just another wonderful source of labor, wonderful source of people that could add so much to the lives of the people of California. And, as we know, as we moved along over the decades, how that sentiment changed to the other extreme, to where a few short decades thereafter, in 1882, the Chinese became the first people to be excluded from the United States. And it was not until many, many decades later that that picture of immigration changed.

Where the Chinese, at one time, amounted to only about one hundred twenty-odd thousand during the nineteenth century, because of these exclusion laws they dwindled down to about sixty thousand throughout these United States, and nearly half of them were here on the West Coast. Then we drift on through the period of the depression, into World War II and the lifting of the exclusion laws and into the present period, and I cannot think but that attitudes have just about come full circle from when the Chinese were welcomed with open arms in the 1850's. By coming full circle I mean that in the past year or two the Caucasian Americans, as well as the Chinese Americans, have been fighting tooth and nail to get into China proper. That is what I meant by full circle. I just want to mention one little thing that I thought I would like to share with you about the TV commentator who brought two old Chinese people before his television camera and said, "This is wonderful that you're celebrating your golden anniversary here. Can you tell me what particular ingredient it was that brought you all the joy and happiness that seems to exude from you?" And this old couple looked at each other and smiled, and then the man said, "Well, we have a good formula. Every week we go to this famous Chinese restaurant, soft lights, wonderful food, plenty of friends, and we enjoy ourselves—my wife goes on Tuesday and I go on Thursday."

LAPP: Thank you, Mr. Chinn. I think you are probably in politics because that suggestion you made to this group for more holidays was certainly designed to go well with them. The next speaker is Ruth Rafael, Archivist, Western Jewish History Center, Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, Berkeley.

RAFAEL: When I was listening to Mr. Uno, I was struck by his saying he has fears that the honeymoon between the United States and Japan is over. I have some of the same fears that the honeymoon between America and its Jewish citizens may be over because of the Middle East and the energy crisis. Now in terms of overall discrimination over the period when various groups arrived in California the legal discriminations that the Jews have experienced have been as absolutely nothing compared to other groups. There were just a few attempts, only limited restrictions on peddlers who came in around the gold rush period. There was an attempt in about 1855 to pass a Sunday closing law. This did not pass, but in terms of legal discrimination here we have not had anything as these other groups have had.

And yet, the anti-Semitism seems to me always to be there slumbering beneath the surface. During this last week, I picked up the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and I saw that the Haas-Lilienthal home is being opened as a heritage house, a landmark house in San Francisco. These were two of the oldest,

most distinguished San Francisco Jewish families. There is a picture of the beautiful house on Franklin Street, and a long article. Right across from this article, on the next page, is an article about the American Nazi party starting up again in the Richmond section of San Francisco. What they have to say includes that they do not consider the Jews among our most distinguished citizens. So, you see again, this surfaces every time there is trouble. The anti-Semitism which has not been legalized here, but lies below the surface, comes up and makes itself felt.

Other myths and rumors one hears are that Jews are thought to be so tremendously powerful. But there aren't that many Jews. In California the Jewish population is about three and one-half percent of the general population, or approximately 722,000. The Jewish population of the United States is even less. It is less than three percent of the total. This is a very small group we are talking about.

A study was made, about 1969, by the American Jewish Committee. They discovered that about fifteen percent of the Jewish population were poor. If I remember correctly, the percent of poor in the Protestant population was from twenty to thirty. The Catholic poor numbered again about fifteen percent of their population. And, at that time, poor was defined as families with incomes below \$3000. If you have fifteen percent poor you do not have a tremendous number of Jews running around with large amounts of dollars. It just does not happen. So those were the first thoughts that came to me as I was listening this morning.

The second thought that came to me was if I had been involved in a panel discussion what kind of questions might I be asked? I thought I might possibly be asked where in California are the large Jewish communities besides Los Angeles, with about 550,000 Jews. The San Francisco Bay Area, the West Bay, has about 75,000, but I thought you might be interested in some figures that I found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. There are communities of fewer than 500 in Nevada City, Jackson, Sonora, Santa Rosa, Vallejo, Petaluma, Monterey, Santa Barbara, Ontario and Pomona. From one thousand to five thousand: Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Bakersfield, San Bernardino. From 5,000 to 10,000 in San Jose and Santa Monica. From 10,000 to 100,000 in Oakland, San Francisco, Long Beach and San Diego.

Most of the Jews, like most other people who were not indigenously here, came to California during the gold rush. There were not many Jews here then. In 1800 the total Jewish population of the United States and Canada was only about 2,500. Now, what are some of the trends in the Jewish community today? Well, I mentioned the Jewish poor. There has been a lot more emphasis placed on this. Another thing is the trend towards Jewish education coupled with a fear held by many people that there is such a tremendously high rate of inter-marriage. There is, on account of inter-marriage, a fear that Jews might lose their identity as a people. I don't think there's too much danger of that nowadays. But that has been a fear and it is very interesting to study student Jewish publications because one can pick up from them what their feelings are concerning the distribution of welfare funds in the community. There was, a few years ago, a tremendous furor about too much being spent, for example, on Jewish hospitals which, like Mount Zion in San Francisco, becomes a general hospital, and too little being spent on Jewish education.

LAPP: Thank you. Our next speaker is Adam S. Eterovich, The R and E Research Associates, San Francisco. Mr. Eterovich.

ETEROVICH: How do you do. One thing that the Yugoslav group does not have in common with the Armenian is the Armenian realizes he is an Armenian. The Chinese realize they are Chinese, the Blacks realize they are Blacks, and so on. I have a list here which I think is rather amusing, and perhaps it will give you a little insight on what is a Yugoslav. The state was formed after World War I and was made up of many different ethnic groups, such as Montenegrans, Croatians, Macedonians and Moslems (the latter represent over ten percent of the population, over two million people). A name such as Mohammad Martinovich would be Yugoslav. Other minorities include Slovenes, Serbians, minorities within minorities, such as Albanians, Turks, Austrians, Greeks, Jews, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Czechs; shall I stop now? We go on: Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, ethnic Germans, Poles, Romanese, Gypsies, Russians.

This, in essence, is the problem. Upon their coming, they did not come from a national state. There was no Yugoslavia. For approximately five hundred years, one part of the country of what is present-day Yugoslavia was under the Republic of Venice. Hence, the people there were Italians. Another part of the country was under the Ottoman Turks. Hence, they were Turks. A third part of the country was under the Austro-German, or the Austro-Hungarian, Empire. Consequently, they were in a Germanic hemisphere, and that brings to mind that when we speak of Italians, we have Yugoslavs coming from Venice and being recorded as Venetians upon coming to America before approximately 1800. We have something in common with the Armenians in that we were both Turks, for approximately three to five hundred years. We have something in common with the Jews because many Jews came out of the old Austro-Hungarian empire.

LAPP: Mr. Eterovich, I haven't done this to anyone else, but I have to ask you do you ever have moments of identity crisis?

ETEROVICH: Yes. From the Austro-Hungarian Empire approximately four and one-half million came to the United States after 1820. This is a greater number than the total of the Irish during that time; it equals the Italian; it is more than the Scandinavian; it is more than from the British Isles. So the problem is not as the others have said, one of discrimination, it is one of being aware of what you are.

There are many fourth and fifth generation Yugoslavs in America and in California. If we had a problem of discrimination it is amusing because you could not find us or identify us to discriminate against us. Then you have the majority groups in Yugoslavia, the Serbians, Croatians, Slovenes and Macedonians. Out of these four major groups, the majority are of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Roman Catholics are the second most numerous religious group and Moslems are third. As an example, where my father was born, on an island near the city of Dubrovnik, if you drew a circle of one hundred miles you would find Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Moslems. So, in many cases, it was just an accident of birth. One could have belonged to one of three major religions on the face of the earth, and his name would still be Martinovich.

If one were from the Venetian part, which extended all the way along the Dalmatian coast to the Republic of Raguso de

Brovnick at the time, his first name was probably Matteo Martinovich. If he was from the interior it was Martin. If he was from the Bosnian part or the Moslem part it was probably Mohammad. And this exists to this day. The statistics in Federal archives, insofar as counting the Austro-Hungarian Yugoslavs in America are not worth two cents. For instance, in California for the last hundred years, Yugoslavs have been recognized as Slavonians simply because of the fact they didn't want to say they were Austrian or Turk or Italian. Many children to this day write to me and say, "Well, my grandfather's name, and he came up in the gold rush, was Quelich." I know it was from Austria. This is, in a sense, tragic in that many do not know specifically what they are. And it really doesn't make much difference. They say Yugoslav, being third generation. But a lot of them are building an awareness of this, and they really want to know where their grandparents come from.

In California, 80% of the Yugoslavs are properly Croatian or Dalmatian. About 10% are Slovenes and 15% Serbs. We have many fine Serbian Orthodox churches throughout California. Examples are confusing. I am Serbian, but the majority of the Serbs actually came from the coastal areas of Montenegro, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. If one was Orthodox, he identified as a Serb. Now, going to the grandchild of such an individual, they assume that the grandparents came from Serbia proper. Again this leads itself into a problem of identification. There are two written languages in the country. One is Serbo-Croatian which uses the Latin alphabet, and one is written in the Cyrillic which is similar to the Russian method of writing. So here are people who arrived here, perhaps never experienced reading in Latin as we do, and we have others who came here such as my father and those before him, with an Austrian passport written in Italian. And this lends itself to a great degree of confusion.

I would like to conclude with a point that many on the panel have spoken of, discrimination. In the case of the Yugoslavs in California, I think that discrimination existed in the early days when they came here during the 1850's. The immigrants then were coastal people; they were merchants in their own homeland; they were traders; they were shipbuilders and owners and travellers and mariners and so on. They just kept on coming. The form of discrimination that they found was simply that, as they arrived, they could not get the job in the factory because the Anglo-Saxon already had the job. What they did was simple: they bought land. They grew orchards; they became vineyardists. They became fishermen out of San Pedro, which is the largest concentration. They grew apples in Watsonville. In the great Santa Clara Valley, a majority of the prune and apricot growers were Yugoslavs. Down in the Delano region, they were in the vineyards. So discrimination actually made them very wealthy, because that is what happened in California. Other people had their own businesses, and they were forced to go into their own businesses because they could not get a job at the Southern Pacific, for example, to break ties. My concluding remark is: in a way I feel out of place here, because it is hard to identify a Yugoslav. But there are a lot of them around. Thank you.

LAPP: Well, that is a change of pace for an ethnic conference—to have somebody who is hard to define. Our next speaker is—and I wonder if it is another identity problem—Ruth Jaeger, Reference Department, Library, California State University, Hayward, on the Italians.

JAEGER: Yes, that is always the first question people ask me when they know that I am interested in Italians. They always ask if I am Italian. And I will relieve your curiosity right away. I am not. However, I am very interested in Italian history. I have spent much time in Italy and I have known many Italian Americans. Also, I speak Italian.

First, I will tell you a little bit about Italian immigration. For many centuries, Italy has been an overpopulated, poor country. And so immigration has been a fact of life. Before the late 1800's, most of the Italian emigrants went to countries nearer than America. They usually went to Yugoslavia, to the Dalmatian Coast, to Switzerland, to Austria and to France. Sometimes they went with the idea of staying there. Sometimes they went just with the idea of making some money and going back home.

However, in the late 1800's, there were opportunities for them to come to America; also, there was pressure on them to leave, not just because of their economic situation but because of the war of unification, which took place around 1870. They went not only to North America but also to South America. Most northern Italians went to South America; most who came to the United States came from southern Italy.

The history of the Italians on the East Coast, the southern Italians who stayed in the ghettos of New York City, Boston and New Orleans, has been exaggerated in some cases, for instance the Sacco-Vanzetti case or the tragic lynching of Italians in New Orleans. However, their experience in the West has been somewhat different from their experience in the East. There is a very good book by Andrew Rolle on the Italians who came to the West called *The Immigrant Upraised*. It was published in 1968 and it is still in print. It is the only comprehensive historical work thus far of the Italian experience in the West.

The difference between the Italians in the East and the Italians in the West is that in the West they were more successful. It did not take several generations, in all cases, for there to be professionals or very rich people in a family. They blended in more rapidly to the society in the West than they did in the East. And today, there are many Italians who are completely assimilated into the mainstream of California life. There have been many Italian mayors of San Francisco, in addition to Joseph Alioto. There have been some very famous and successful Italians in California such as A. P. Giannini and Andrea Sbarbaro, who started the Italian Swiss Colony Winery. In the Santa Clara Valley there have been some very famous Italians in our history. There was Reverend Father Congiato who was from the Novitiate in Los Gatos and who experimented with grapes and is responsible for the fine wine they produce there. And there was also an inventor, Father Neri, who taught for a while at San Francisco State. He was the first person to light Market Street electrically.

An Italian of my generation in California would generally have their grandfathers and grandmothers coming from Italy. Sometimes, only one parent is Italian; the other parent is some other nationality. If they go to college, perhaps they take a semester or two of Italian, usually not more than that. There is not a great deal of interest in the history of the Italians in this country by that group. There is some, however, and it is getting to be a little bit more. But in comparison to many of the other national groups and minorities that you see represented here there is not much. You will find people

and Italians of my generation in all walks of life here and in all economic strata from the Mayor of San Francisco to all walks of life in California, and they are just about as assimilated as any could possibly be. Thank you.

LAPP: Thank you Mrs. Jaeger. The last member of our panel is Mr. James A. Fisher, Department of History, University of California, Davis, who will deal with Blacks.

FISHER: First, it is quite appropriate to say something that many of you are thinking, that even the alphabetical system has its limitations. On such a distinguished panel one can readily understand that it does not bother me in the least. It is rather interesting to note that one might look at all of the other minority groups and ethnic groups represented on this panel and draw some conclusions about Black people—African people, if you will.

In listening to the panelists I was quite conscious of the fact that Africa is a long way from California. Part of the Black Diaspora, if you will, speaks to the situation. I would like for Dr. Avakian to know, and perhaps appreciate, I am a great fan of Joe Mannix, and "Mannix" certainly has been on television longer than "Black Journal" and hopefully will be on longer than "Room 222" and "Sanford and Son," and I am sure will be on longer than "Tenally" and "Shaft." As far as the Irish are concerned there are very few Horatio Alger stories to speak of; they are very few and far in between. Unlike the Japanese, Black people in California have not, especially since 1965, been considered the perfect minority. Some reasons for this situation will be presented when I give my talk later on. Speaking to Dr. Chinn's remarks, Black people in this country do not have any nationally recognized holidays such as the Chinese New Year. Unlike the Jews, there is little concern among Black people that everything will end in some kind of abortive honeymoon. For many Black people the marriage has not even been consummated. Like the Yugoslavs, there is a great deal of variety among Black people, especially in California. We have Black Jews, Black Muslims and, believe it or not, Black Anglo Saxons. Then there is a class of people who do not know who they are: Blacks who do not know who they are.

To set the record straight, to throw a little history at you, in 1850 there were 962 Black people in California. In 1970, there were one and one-half million Black people in California, constituting 7-8% of the population. Exactly what this means, of course, I will talk about later. In general, we can say that Black efforts in California since 1965 have been mainly concerned with politics. Politics is the beginning step where any minority group is concerned. Garnering the political prizes, gaining certain kinds of political recognitions is one way that a number of minorities in this country have attempted to lose their identity. It seems to me that those who have succeeded in politics have succeeded also in giving up or relinquishing their minority status in this country. So that has something to say for the situation that Black people find themselves in today.

LAPP: All right, thank you, Professor Fisher. With this, I turn the panel back to Professor Levinson.

LEVINSON: You will be hearing more from our panelists individually in the programs that you select to attend this afternoon. Thank you very much.

HISTORIGRAPHY OF CALIFORNIA ARMENIANS

By Dr. Arra S. Avakian
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INTRODUCTION

While Armenians account for only 0.6% of all Californians they are 2.1% of all the world's Armenians. Thus, of the approximately 5,500,000 Armenians in the world, about 115,000 are in California. These statistics, along with many others, provide a valuable basis for understanding the circumstances regarding them. The numbers involved are a measure of the forces that caused the widespread dispersion among Armenians. Theirs is a story of dispersion. It is somewhat more; it is a story of dispersion, consolidation, and reestablishment.

The history of California's Armenians must tell who came, when, how many, why, where they settled, and what they did. It must also tell what they are doing and how they are making out, both as a people with a strong, characteristic ethnic identity, and as part of the state's population.

This subject has not been neglected. Many have studied it, under a number of different environments. Some have done it as part of scholarly research — a master's or a doctor's thesis. Others have done it as part of the Armenian community's own natural interest in itself, to give it a basis for its own planning, that is, the planning that must be done by churches; schools; university chairs for Armenian studies; eleemosynary, social and cultural organizations and recreational centers. Those who have made the studies are sometimes Armenians with a strong social or emotional tie. Others have been non-Armenian who have approached the subject as social scientists.

The Armenian community in California is not old. There are some who were here virtually from the beginning, although today they are very much advanced in age. The point is that they provide a primary source of information, much of it still untapped. However, this source will usually be productive only through the medium of Armenian. The earliest comers spoke Armenian natively and acquired English as a second language. They will be at ease and more informative in a language medium more suited to their temperament.

A factor that is helpful in research on Armenians is that they are strongly identified as an ethnic community and that they have no close ethnic kin in the region. When the researcher probes public records, newspapers, city directories, tax rolls, and other public materials he is helped by the ease with which Armenian names can be identified. Even when a surname has been altered deliberately to conceal, or merely for convenience, it is still often possible to identify the Armenian by the given name.

Two other very important sources exist on the history of California Armenians. Armenians have a penchant for writing and publishing, often finding it necessary to resort to the "Vanity Press" because of the small potential market. Contained in such writings are vignettes of early community life. Also, Armenians retain a strong loyalty for the old-world community of their origin. Virtually all of the old-world communities have told their own story, giving the background before the dispersion, and following their sons and daughters to their new homes. These histories appear in the form of substantial volumes, but except in a few cases they are in Armenian.

Organizations such as churches, in celebrating anniversary milestones of fifty and seventy-five years (shortly it will be one hundred), have published souvenir booklets that tell the story of the organization and its role in the community. Such volumes are available. And because they were written at an early time in the history, and by first-hand observers, they are a fairly reliable source.

Researchers, to date, have utilized these sources, but probably only superficially. The volume of published studies is small in comparison to the volume of sources. It is, therefore, very likely that the major portion of the history, by far, has not been analyzed.

The story of California Armenians cannot be told without delving into the origin, the language, the religion, the political history, and the cultural history of the people. Only by considering such information will it be possible to understand the contemporary story in California, or anywhere in the dispersion.

Our presentation here will consider this background information, commenting on the degree to which scholarship has been completed, the availability of it, and its reliability.

Who Are the Armenians?

Origin: The Armenians are a people who came into being about 800 B.C. They lived on the eastern highlands of Anatolia, in the mountainous regions of Lake Van and Mt. Ararat, near the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. This area was along the northern fringes of the ancient fertile crescent, and it is natural that the scriptural history of man's civilization places his origin, the Garden of Eden, as well as his rebirth through Noah and his ark in that region.

The nation was formed out of the blend between the indigenous people and the eastward migrating people with an Indo-European culture.

Excavations in the region, and studies of proto-Armenian, or Urartu, culture provide a rich source of knowledge on this subject.

Religion: The pagan religion of the Armenians was nature worship. They had a full pantheon of gods, non-gods as the Armenians now call them. The apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew preached Christianity in Armenia and planted the seed. Dramatic events at the end of the third century led to the conversion of the king, and all the nation became officially Christian. This occurred 25 years before Constantine, in his Edict of Milan, declared freedom of worship in the Roman Empire. Thus, Armenians are called the first Christian nation.

Declaring itself detached from the main body of Christians at the end of the fifth century the Armenian Church became an independent, autocephalous, national church, the first to become so. Today it retains the same character it had from earliest times. Its universal supreme spiritual father, called the Catholicos-Patriarch, resides at the Holy See in Etjmiadzin, Armenia.

An extensive body of classical literature in Armenian forms the basis for this history, as well as other writings of Christendom. Only a small part of the Armenian classical literature has

been translated into English or other European languages.

Language: Armenian is an Indo-European language, forming by itself one of the several main branches. It enjoys the luxury of its own, private alphabet. Mainly ignored by world scholars of linguistics until late in the previous century, it has now become a darling of linguists, for its study provides an important link between other members of the language family. Today there are numerous and comprehensive studies of the language.

Political History: Situated on a crossroads between the East and West, Armenia became a battleground, as well as a prize, for competing, warring nations. As such its political fortunes rose and fell repeatedly as its people again and again rose out of its ashes to become a sovereign nation, only to fall again. In the nearly 3,000 years of its existence it attained meaningful power and sovereignty several times. Its greatest period, militarily and politically, was at about 100 B.C. when it ranged from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean.

After the Seljuk and Arab invasions, and the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century, Armenia remained a subject nation until after World War I when it became an independent republic briefly and then a constituent republic of the Soviet Union. The geographical region of Armenia as it is identified today is a very small part of its historical lands.

World histories, ancient, medieval, and modern treat the subject of Armenia very extensively.

Culture and Society: As a result of its Indo-European culture arising out of its language, and the more eastern character of its parent stock and its geographical location, Armenia developed a culture that was a blend of the East and West. Its early literature, poetry, music, and art were more eastern in character. But its architecture and its language were more western. Scholars have shown that Armenia had certain strong influences on European church architecture. Some evidence has been found that the Gothic characteristics of pointed arches and clustered columns are Armenian in origin.

Commerce and Industry: Although primarily an agricultural country Armenia was rich in minerals. So it was that the working of metals developed early. There is evidence suggesting that the earliest known steel-making furnaces existed in Armenia. So too, perhaps, the earliest known four-wheeled, steerable wagons existed in Armenia 1,200 years before Christ.

Recent and current excavations in the area, and reports thereon, provide rich source material for such studies.

Why Did Armenians Disperse from their Homelands?

As we have said the story of Armenians is one of dispersion. Today they may be found virtually everywhere throughout the world. Wherever they are they manage well to establish themselves. They enter commerce, industry, the professions, the arts. They adapt quickly to the local environment.

The following table (Table I) shows their distribution today. The uncertainty in the figures may vary from 5% to 20%, and these uncertainty figures are themselves uncertain, reflecting only the demographers' biases in the matter.

TABLE I
WORLD POPULATION OF ARMENIANS, 1972
(in thousands)

Armenian SSR	2,350
Azerbaijan SSR	520
Georgian SSR	480
Balance USSR	<u>430</u>
USSR (Total)	3,780
Turkey	200
Iran	200
India and Far East	16
Near East and North Africa	400
West Europe	233
Southeast Europe	33
North America	450
South America	120
All Others	<u>30</u>
Total World	5,462

Source: Publications of the Armenian SSR

Dispersion of Armenians from their homelands occurred from time to time as great external forces precipitated the need. In about 100 B.C., when Armenia was at the height of its political power and had extended its influence to the Mediterranean, many Armenians established themselves there as outposts of the empire. The embracing of Christianity and the opening of the Holy Lands in the fourth century led to pilgrimages there. Many Armenians went and stayed. Armenians engaged in international trade, and agents established themselves at many points on the trade routes. These numerous outposts formed over a period of many centuries became nuclei for later migrations when conditions precipitated the need for large-scale emigrations.

From the point of view of the story of Armenians in America the important factor was the position held by Armenia, a subject nation, and a subject people under the Ottoman Empire. Long persecuted, the Armenian people began to stir and show signs of reawakening. They began to seek rights and better treatment. The interaction between the Armenians and their overlords in the Turkish Government rose to such levels in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that world nations, especially European nations, began to be concerned over "The Armenian Question." However, their concern was only a guise. It was ineffective in checking the persecution. In 1895 over 300,000 Armenians were massacred in the several main centers of Armenian concentrations. World War I also provided a pretext, and Turkey used it to carry out its long-standing objective—the extermination of the Armenian people. In a carefully planned and coordinated way Turkey, in 1915, displaced 2,000,000 Armenians from their homes in their native homelands and drove them into the Syrian desert, massacring 1,500,000 of them, more than half of the Armenians in Turkey.

Today Armenians throughout the world commemorate Armenian Martyrs' Day April 24.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent missionaries to Turkey to convert Moslems to Christianity. Unable to do so, they turned their attention to Armenians, who, under Turkish policy, were denied opportunities for education, along with other rights. The missionaries opened schools for the Armenians who gladly went there. Many became Protestants, and some were sent to the United States to continue their education. Thus, under the aegis of the Protestant Board, a trickle of Armenians to the United States began in the middle of the nineteenth century.

By 1870 there were about 70 Armenians in the United States. By 1890 it was still only a few hundred. But the rising intensity of Turkish persecution, and the massacres of 1895, changed the trickle into a large flow. From 1895, several thousand migrated to the United States each year.

In general, the flow of Armenians to the United States continued to be large. It was affected by other major events, such as World War I and by the successive changes in the immigration laws of the United States.

Researchers have pretty well combed the immigration records of the United States. Those records do not give the information precisely as demographers would like them to be, especially for the early periods. For example, immigration records formerly listed only country of origin. Thus, if we learn that in 1897 there were 4732 immigrants from Turkey, we must conjecture that there must be a few Greeks and Syrians, for example, included among them. But it could be presumed that by far most of them were Armenians. A number of current studies are being made, and published literature on this subject will shortly be increased.

When Did They Come to California, and Why?

Distribution: The following table (Table II) shows where California Armenians reside. The figures are popular estimates commonly used by organizations. They are derived from telephone books or city directories by counting names. Corrections must be made for those whose names have been changed and for those who are unlisted. An estimate must be made of the number of persons in each household.

Another factor that is very important in counting the members of an ethnic community is the decision to be made on who, in fact, are members of the community. We have reference principally to the consequences of mixed marriages. Their number is on the increase. Since, in mixed marriages, nearly the same number occur with non-Armenian wives as with non-Armenian husbands a kind of automatic compensation occurs. When the husband is Armenian the recognizable surname identifies the household as an Armenian one, yielding a count of two, including the non-Armenian wife. In the opposite case no count results.

The offsprings of such mixed marriages are half Armenian. Does one count them or not? And what about their mixed marriages, and their offsprings? Ultimately one may want to arrive at some standard for determining who, in fact, belong to an ethnic community. Our methods have so far contented themselves with the use of the Armenian surname.

TABLE II
ARMENIANS OF CALIFORNIA, 1972

Los Angeles County	60,000
Fresno County	25,000
Balance, San Joaquin Valley	10,000
Bay Area	15,000
Balance of State	5,000
Total State	115,000

Source: Popular estimates

The following table (Table III) compares in several areas the ratio of the number of Armenians to the total population.

TABLE III
POPULATION OF ARMENIANS
COMPARED TO TOTAL POPULATIONS, 1970

	<u>Armenians</u> (in thousands)	<u>Total</u>	<u>Ratio</u> (%)
World	5,462	3,631,800	0.15
USA and Canada	450	224,235	0.20
California	115	20,025	0.58
Bay Area (San Francisco, San Mateo, Alameda, Contra Costa)	15	2,904	0.52
Los Angeles County	60	7,043	0.85
San Joaquin Valley (Fresno, Madera, Kings, Stanislaus, Tulare, Kern and Merced)	35	1,354	2.6
Fresno County	25	414	6.0
Fresno (Metropolitan City)	15	300	5.0

Source: World Almanac; California Statistical Abstract, 1972; various Armenian studies.

We see from the foregoing table that the United States has slightly more than its share of the world Armenians. However, it must be added that the world distribution is very non-uniform. On the other hand, California has nearly four times its share for the world and three times its share for the United States as a whole. So we must conclude that Armenians like California.

Going further we see that the Los Angeles area has attracted considerably more than the state as a whole, while Fresno has attracted ten times as much.

First Settler in Central California: Chance brought the first Armenian settler. For his respiratory ailment he was in search of a warm, dry climate to replace the cold and moist climate of Worcester, Massachusetts, where he had settled only a short

time earlier. His doctor had prescribed Egypt or California, without being specific. Ailing Hagop Seropian chose the second and arrived in Fresno in the fall of 1881. He liked it there. It reminded him of his native homeland. His praises of the land and its climate attracted others from the eastern states and from old Armenia. They, too, wanted to be where there were "boat-sized" watermelons and "egg-sized" grapes.

They soon made their presence felt in the county's agriculture. The Markarians showed how figs, both fresh and dried, could be raised and marketed profitably. Melons of several kinds, some native to old Armenia, were brought to Fresno and made a major item of produce, thanks to the Arakelian family. The original Seropians did important pioneering work in the packaging of figs and raisins for shipment to other cities. When the Southern Pacific Railroad imposed freight rates that were too high to bear, the Seropians, in a dramatic counter-move, arranged for a 12-mule team to haul two wagons loaded with the produce for a shipment over Pacheco Pass to San Francisco. The event captured the attention of the public and the press and indirectly contributed to the building of the competing San Joaquin Railroad, later sold to the Santa Fe.

The story of the earliest settlers is well documented as a narrative. However, details of financial transactions, property acquisitions, and numerous other details have not yet been ferreted out.

How Did They Manage, and What Do They Do?

The researcher in the Armenian community today will find its members in all of the more desirable walks of life. With that attainment has come economic affluence distinctly above the area norms. How does one learn of these facts reliably? One conducts surveys, scans tax lists and examines public records. The result will show clearly that the Armenian has in fact arrived. How did this come about?

Armenians are an adaptable people. Moreover, theirs is a tradition of working hard to attain the best. They are self-reliant. Their pride does not allow them to receive help from others.

In America they found an environment that provided them many opportunities, especially education. They took fullest advantage of this opportunity. And in the short space of one to one and a half generations the Armenian community was transformed. At first, as poor immigrants, Armenians were economically depressed and socially undeveloped. After the transformation they emerged prominently in the professions, in the skilled arts and crafts, in commerce and industry. The innate capability was there. In the old world it has surfaced only to the extent that it could among a persecuted people. In America it blossomed out fully.

However, it was not all easy. In certain areas, especially where there was a large concentration of Armenians, special problems arose. Fresno provides the best example of such a situation.

Two very special circumstances arose in Fresno. One had to do with the interaction between the Armenians and the rest of the community; it was a case of racial discrimination. The other had to do with the economic forces that acted in Fresno at just about the same time. It is worth exploring these in some detail.

The polyethnic community of Fresno today has about 15,000 Armenians. But about 45 years ago, in the late 1920's, there were probably more than there are today. With the lower city population then, the Armenian population represented a fraction easily two times what it is today. Their presence was strongly felt by the rest of the population who mistook Armenian traits of thrift for avarice, industriousness for aggressiveness, gregariousness for segregationism, ambition for obduracy, shrewdness for guile, and tenacity for obstinacy.

As a result the Armenian became the object of irrational prejudices. He felt the sharp pain of discrimination. He was denied normal rights and privileges. His child grew up in a tense environment, unable to understand why he should bear the indignity of intolerance.

Restrictive covenants were the common rule. Armenians were not permitted to buy property in many areas. Deeds to properties in such areas contained exclusion clauses against Armenians, as it was with blacks, Mexicans, and Orientals. These clauses are very easy to find in existing deeds.

In time the air cleared. The times changed. The onset of national and universal economic stress in the 1930's, followed by a total war of worldwide scope, broadened the social understanding of people, and the nation gave a newer and more liberal interpretation of its Bill of Rights. And, perhaps more importantly, the Armenians themselves, undaunted by the malice shown against them, lifted themselves by their own bootstraps to better themselves in all ways. Today Armenians live in Fresno as a natural and concordant part of the community. And they do so without prejudice to their rich cultural heritage. They carry their full share of the community's life and at the same time enrich the community by sharing their heritage.

Another important circumstance about Armenians in Fresno must be mentioned here. The decline of the local economy in the late 1920's led to widespread foreclosures of farm properties, previously bought at much inflated prices and with very high mortgages. Thousands of farmers simply abandoned their farms, having no equity remaining. Thus the numerous, small, inefficient farms could be consolidated into more efficient larger farms. The 20-acre farms merged to make 80's and 160's, and larger. But what about the families themselves who abandoned their farms and lost their means of livelihood? An expected consequence would be that they remain in the area and become a burden on the economy, depressing the level of prosperity. However, many of the Armenian small farmers who had come to join in the gold-rush type of prosperity were not naturally farmers. They were skilled craftsmen in various fields. With the collapse of the local economy those Armenians who lost their farms simply left the area. They went to the nearest metropolitan area, namely Los Angeles. There they opened mercantile and service shops, returning to their original skills. In so doing they laid the groundwork for the formation of the large Armenian community that is now in Los Angeles. There they prospered. But important to our story is that these same Armenians contributed greatly to today's strong economy of California's central valley. They came to Fresno at a time when capital and labor were needed to develop the large agricultural base, on the scale of numerous small farms. Then when it came time to consolidate they were able to remove themselves from the area rather than to remain as a burden on it. Thus, Armenians have made a strong contribution to the

prosperity of Fresno, both by their presence and by their absence. This concept of the role Armenians played in the economic development of the central valley is, for the present, based on circumstantial evidence and deduction. It lacks solid statistical data. It appears to us that a thorough analysis of this thesis would be one of the outstanding research projects on California's ethnic minorities.

What Does the Future Hold?

All Armenian groups have a common concern. Their existence by itself means that they seek to preserve in the community those qualities that are characteristically Armenian, and that are desirable. These qualities arise out of their cultural heritage—language, religion, and national customs.

These concerns are strongly felt today. It was not so during an earlier period of the life of the Armenian community in America. For the immigrant generation the cultural heritage was naturally acquired, as though inborn. For the first American-born generation the start of the conflict appeared. For them the economic poverty of their parents and their inadequacy in coping with the social environment, combined with the prevailing attitude of melting-pot mentality to turn the first generation away from their cultural heritage, despite the fact that their parents proffered it to them. As that first American-born generation became, in the late 1920's and the 1930's the Armenian community's action generation, the cultural institutions fell into a degenerate state.

For the second American-born generation, and certainly for the now-emerging third generation, the situation has changed dramatically. The national environment has changed. It rejects the melting-pot concept and replaces it with the multi-ethnic community concept, thus encouraging ethnic groups to preserve the culture they inherited. Secondly, during its period of dominance in the Armenian community the first generation developed rapidly in attaining economic and social strength, and in adapting to the environment. This attainment permitted it to pause and regard its lost cultural heritage, especially under the critical view of the newer generation that demanded to know why it was being denied its birthright.

Today the third American-born generation is busily trying to repair the break in continuity of its age-old heritage. A distinct reawakening has given new impetus. The rekindled interest in its heritage has caused Armenian churches and cultural and social organizations to develop more and better ways to satisfy the new demand. Armenian day schools are being opened in many communities. Several universities have established Armenian studies programs, and in some instances there are endowed chairs.

This reawakening of cultural awareness and interest in ethnic identity prevails throughout the Armenian community in America. There is, however, a critical size of an ethnic community below which the community is unable to respond to the rekindled interest. It is probable, though it has not been systematically analyzed, that a community must not only exceed a certain number of members for it to be able to sustain itself, but it must also have a sufficiently high concentration within the area.

Our figures for several areas in California showing both the numbers of Armenians, and the percentage they represent of

the total area population (Table III), are probably an important measure of the sustainability of the community.

Armenian organizations themselves, very much aware of most of these matters, are themselves planning projects and programs designed to sustain the community. An outside observer can easily communicate with these organizations, asking to be told of the programs. Out of that information will come an understanding not only of the problems faced by that ethnic community, but also what it plans to do about it.

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HOW TO CONDUCT HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON CALIFORNIA'S JEWS

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The two main facets of researching California's Jews are what to collect and how and where to collect it. I will integrate these as much as possible in the following material.

Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Director of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio and a prominent historian, has written a pamphlet, *How to Write the History of an American Jewish Community*. It was published by the Archives in 1953. Dr. Moses Rischin, the Director of the Western Jewish History Center and also a prominent historian, has written a 7-page pamphlet on Jewish genealogy, *Family History Guide*. I very much recommend a study of both of these.

Before and during research, one may consult several good bibliographies. The Western Jewish History Center has published two of these, compiled by Sara Cogan: *The Jews of San Francisco and the Greater Bay Area, 1849-1919* and *Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880*, both annotated. Norton Stern's *California Jewish History, a descriptive bibliography* (from the Gold Rush to post-World War I) was published in 1967. If a research project falls within the scope of these bibliographies, one can save a lot of time by checking the items and the libraries where they may be found. It is also very important to formulate the exact scope of a research topic as soon as possible so that books, records, papers, librarians, and archivists can be of the most help. If one is trying to formulate a project it might be helpful to remember that most of the first Jewish settlers arrived during the Gold Rush when California was not yet a state. In 1877 California had approximately 26,000 Jews; in 1918, 63,500; and in 1969, 693,000.

If one is researching a Jewish community, he should read, if possible, a general history of the community so that the Jewish contributions can be placed in proper perspective. Next, read a Jewish history of the community such as Michael Zarchin's *Glimpses of Jewish Life in San Francisco*, second revised edition 1964, or Max Vorspan's and Lloyd P. Gartner's *History of the Jews of Los Angeles*, 1970. One will also find privately printed books or booklets published by local synagogues or other Jewish groups helpful. Secondary sources should be backed up with as much primary documentation as possible.

Since the basic institution in the Jewish community is the temple or synagogue, congregational records should be searched. In a small town, this can mean one, or perhaps no, institution; in a city like San Francisco or Los Angeles, it can be quite a job. This is why one's topic should be defined as closely as possible. In the mid-1960's there were congregations from Eureka to El Centro on the Mexican border. In 1968 there were about 150 synagogues in the Los Angeles area and over 40 in the San Francisco-Oakland area. Synagogues frequently change names while remaining the same institution and one will need to follow through from the beginning. For example, Temple Emanu-El in San Jose began in 1861 as Congregation Bickur Cholim.

Congregational study is also genealogical research, because the research student will be finding information regarding marriages, births and deaths. Search for the congregation's original charter, articles of incorporation, its minute books, cemetery records, and all relevant information. Look for trends. A Board of Director's notice making the wearing of hats in synagogue not compulsory can indicate a basic change from Orthodox or Conservative to Reform Judaism in a congregation. If one wishes to supplement records found, he can probably obtain from the city or the state, for a small fee, photostatic or certified copies of death and marriage certificates if the place and approximate date can be furnished. Some birth records may be obtained locally. Marriage and death certificates were not kept by the state before July 1, 1905. As was indicated before, some of these congregational records can be found in various libraries as well as at the source. The Western Jewish History Center, the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, the American Jewish Historical Society in Waltham, Massachusetts, and the Jewish Community Library of Los Angeles are some of the places which will have some of these records along with their other information. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the United Synagogue of America, and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, all national organizations, may also be helpful.

After the synagogues, one should investigate the various philanthropic organizations and societies which are among the oldest institutions in a Jewish community. Congregations grew from welfare and burial societies, and vice versa. Search for their papers, realizing that they were known by several different names, some of them in Hebrew during their lifetimes. Some of these organizations have, from time to time, issued population reports that will tell a great deal. The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds has completed a three-year National Jewish Population Study and there will be other national as well as local reports. As of 1970, 14 California cities had Jewish Welfare Federations.¹ Look through the minutes and papers of local brotherhoods, sisterhoods, Council of Jewish Women, Jewish troupes of Boy and Girl Scouts, B'nai B'rith Lodges (a particularly helpful source not only for names but for trends), Jewish social clubs, papers of local branches of national Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Zionist and non-Zionist groups. Use bibliographies to help locate records.

Consider also the records of Bureaus of Jewish Education, Hebrew or Yiddish schools, Jewish day and high schools and Jewish community centers. Consult local community relations groups and civic protection agencies such as the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress or Jewish Community Relations Council. Consider the Jewish War Veterans, Jewish Labor Committee, National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, which are national organizations with local chapters. Look into special interest organizations such as the Bay Area Council for Soviet Jewry.

Also worthy of investigation are general community groups such as Chambers of Commerce, local labor unions, the Masons, and service clubs such as Rotary and Kiwanis. A study of different social and professional groups in a city can show which excluded Jews as well as the roles played by Jews.

¹ This statistic, as well as some others in this paper, was taken from *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, edited by Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder (Jerusalem, Macmillan, 1972), 16 vols.

The Works Project Administration Historical Records Survey of the United States government, although general in scope, listed facts about Jewish institutions. Gladys Hanson of the San Francisco Public Library has recently revised and edited *San Francisco: A Guide to the Bay and Its Cities*. The publisher of these revised WPA Guides now has available a revised edition for California. Non-revised but available is Los Angeles.

One of the richest sources for research are personal papers: passports and other documents, letters, scrapbooks, naturalization papers, deeds, army records, memoirs, manuscripts and diaries. These throw light not only on individuals but on their associates, their businesses, their cultural and social activities, relationships with the Jewish and non-Jewish communities, and the history of these communities. A great deal of this material can be found in historical libraries and archival centers. Other material may be obtained in the course of conducting personal interviews which, of course, can be a prime source of material.

By the time the student has ploughed through a lot of the above records, he should have a fairly good idea which were the representative Jewish families in the community, who are the old-timers (who should, for obvious reasons, be interviewed as soon as possible) and who were the community leaders: i.e., those whom it would be profitable, in the light of a given topic, to interview. If a tape recorder is available an oral history may be attained (with the subject's permission); if not, one must rely on notes. Come prepared with background knowledge and questions leading toward the information that is desired. Otherwise the interviewee may ramble and the interviewer will have nothing but the record of a social call. Also, since human memory is fallible, try to back up the interview with appropriate documentation.

A Jewish newspaper or periodical in the community under investigation can be among the best sources for community background as well as a gold mine for biographical information. The San Francisco *Weekly Gleaner*, 1857-1868, is the oldest available Jewish newspaper on the Pacific Coast. Others, like the San Francisco *Hebrew*, 1863-1923, followed. The *American Israelite* of Cincinnati, 1854-present, and the Philadelphia *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, 1843-1869, contained many items of Western Jewry. The *Emanu-El*, which began in San Francisco in 1895 and emerged as the San Francisco *Jewish Community Bulletin*, a periodical published today, is available for most of its run at the Western Jewish History Center where an index to it is under preparation. The major libraries have files of newspapers covering all areas of the state beginning with the first California newspaper in 1846. These are listed in Gregory's *American Newspapers, 1821-1936*, and in *Newspapers on Microfilm* (4th edition, 1967). The American Jewish Periodical Center, Cincinnati, has published *Jewish Newspapers and Periodicals on Microfilm* (1958) and a First Supplement in 1960. The latest supplementary material is obtainable for a fee from the Periodical Center. The *American Jewish Year Books* are also a good source for finding Jewish publications. Today there are around 10 Jewish periodicals in California, not counting the special group publications, which should also be consulted, such as the *Jewish Radical* from the University of California, Berkeley, and *Exodus*, the Bay Area paper on Soviet Jewry. Student newspapers can reveal much about student attitudes and what they consider the local Jewish "establishment." General non-Jewish newspapers of a community can be useful for indicating the

interaction of the Jew with the general community. In all periodicals one should note the court news and the advertisements. The *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*, published currently is an excellent periodical source.

Residential and business directories are helpful for tracking down Jewish names and businesses. Most Jewish businesses of any size have published brochures describing their history and development. The California State Library has a large collection of California telephone directories from 1897 to date. One should note the advertisements therein.

City and county directories and histories, regional, state, and local biographical dictionaries obtainable in local libraries and in the State Library supply information. The State Library has some directories dating back to the 1850's and includes long files of San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Oakland directories.

The Federal Archives and Records Center at San Bruno has the California income tax assessment rolls for payment during the Civil War. These do not list the amount of tax but do contain lists of possessions. Local tax rolls can tell when people came to town and how much money they made or lost. By comparing Jewish names with others one can get an indication of the relative standing of the Jew in the community. Wills may also contain inventories which describe in detail how homes were furnished as well as the usual financial information.

Court records of civil and criminal cases are very informative. Synagogues as well as individuals have occasionally gone to court. California county court records have been divided into books of court records and into files which include loose papers dealing with the adjudication of cases. Depositions, testimony and affidavits give a picture of the times as well as of the laws and their applications to individuals. Court records are most certainly useful in documenting discrimination, although Jews were not as involved in these cases as some of the other minority groups. As well as information available locally, 8 of California's 58 counties (Humboldt, Mendocino, Marin, Nevada, Sacramento, San Diego, Sonoma and Yuba) have records in the State Archives. The Federal Archives at San Bruno has some records of California-based litigation.

Even old school lists can be useful. The lists of absentees on the High Holy Days of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur can indicate who were the town's observant Jews. Some biographical information can be picked up from college and university yearbooks and other publications.

The California State Library has printed a bibliography of sources for genealogy in its California Section which it would be wise to have on hand. Those not mentioned previously and particularly relevant to Jewish history are as follows:

1. Federal Census Records for California, 1850-1880, list occupation, age, place of birth, property holdings, and name and age of all members of the family. The California Historical Society, San Francisco, has microfilm copies of these. The Federal Archives at San Bruno has the original soundex (phonetic name index) to the census of 1880 which was compiled in 1880 and which includes some of the basic information from the census. Original Agriculture, Manufacturers, Products of Industry, Social Statistics, and Mortality Schedules have been

transferred in bound volumes to the State Library from the Bureau of the Census, Washington. These listings are handwritten and unindexed.

2. California State Census Records, 1852. The only census taken by the state was indexed and is available on microfilm.
3. Great Register of Voters. The index to the file of voters has been put out by each county since 1866-67, and the State Library has almost a complete collection.

The pamphlet *Genealogical Research in the California State Archives* lists special censuses (counties, cities, townships) in the California State Archives as well as information regarding court and war records and much else that is relevant.

The complete Federal Census Records of the United States, 1790-1880, are available on microfilm at the Oakland Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 4780 Lincoln Avenue. As of 1880, only California, Colorado, Nevada and Oregon were states in the Far West.

Specialized files and indexes in the State Library include:

1. Information File and Newspaper Index. These indexes contain about 2½ million entries with reference to Californians and materials relating to California. The Information File covers selected items in books, periodicals and newspapers. The Newspaper Index contains references to items of California interest in a San Francisco newspaper from 1904 to date. A printed index for the San Francisco *Call* extends this coverage back to 1894.
2. Pioneer Record File. This consists of biographical cards

filled in by Californians here before 1860, or their descendants.

3. Biographical cards filled in by California artists, authors, actors, musicians and state officials.
4. Miscellaneous California cemetery and undertaker records.

A few of other recommended sources are *Railway Passenger Lists of Overland Trains to San Francisco and the West* and *San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists* (1850-1875), both compiled by Louis J. Rasmussen, lists of legislators and other state officials in the *California Blue Book* (Sacramento: State Printer), particularly the historical issues of 1907, 1909 and 1958.

Photographs, particularly if identifiable, are well worth collecting and can show institutional, business and community as well as personal development.

Important major libraries which have rich collections and have not been mentioned previously include Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati; University of Judaism, Los Angeles (the west coast branch of the United Synagogue of America); and Hebrew Union College (where the Frances-Henry Library has copies of all materials in the American Jewish Archives), Los Angeles; California Room of the San Francisco Public Library; Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco; Bancroft Library and the University of California General Library, Berkeley; Huntington Library, San Marino.

Printed sources of information would require a separate bibliography. Many of them can be found in the bibliographies cited earlier.

THE ITALIAN IN CALIFORNIA: HOW TO WRITE HIS HISTORY*

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The purpose of this paper is to indicate to the prospective researcher how to uncover the role played in California and its various communities by the Italian immigrant and his descendants. Many of the sources described are, naturally, just as useful for the study of any group of people, not just Italians. The reference tools to find other sources, such as bibliographies, are discussed. So are the tools which tell where these sources are located — that is, union lists. Some of the most valuable sources themselves will be described. The messy business of using manuscript files and government records will be touched on. The first section of the paper will focus on introductory works on immigration and on Italians.

The prospective writer of immigrant or minority history needs an unusually varied store of background knowledge. He needs to know the history of the locale he is studying, the general background of the immigrant group both before it leaves home and after it arrives in America, and he needs to be familiar with the history of the United States immigration movement as a whole. Milton Gordon, in his article, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," discusses the major trends of immigration history and puts forth a theory of his own. He says that the most important of those immigration theories are Anglo conformity, the melting pot theory, and cultural pluralism.¹ Anglo conformity regards English institutions, language, and culture as superior and views assimilation as the process by which immigrants rid themselves of former ways and beliefs and adopt those of their new homeland.² The melting pot theory holds that the immigrants modified English institutions and culture, and the result was a uniquely American blend.³ Cultural pluralism emphasizes immigrant subcultures created by various nationalities.⁴ Milton Gordon modifies these theories by discussing assimilation a new way, emphasizing the role of the separate ethnic communities regarding the immigrants' personal relationships and also the immigrants' gradual absorption of the cultural behavior of the adopted land.

The only historian so far to deal comprehensively with Italians in the western United States is Andrew F. Rolle in his book *The Immigrant Upraised*. Because he covers such a large geographical area, Rolle, for the most part, bases his conclusions on studies and observations of western communities, industries, and agriculture, and he uses Italian language newspapers. He believes that Italians who immigrated to the West assimilated quicker and experienced less discrimination than the Italian immigrants living in the East. This was because the western frontier society was more fluid than that of the East. Furthermore, discrimination in California was almost entirely directed against the Chinese.

In addition to the writing of Italian immigrants' experiences in a particular city, state, or region, an important aspect of immigration history includes studies which deal with a nationality's role in shaping an institution, an industry, or agriculture. For example, there is controversy on the effect Italian immigrants and the Catholic Church in America had on each other.

Rudolph Vecoli's "Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church" maintains that Southern Italian immigrants were usually estranged from the Church and were suspicious of organized religion as a whole. Thus, Vecoli casts doubt on the truism that all Italians were Catholics and that the Catholic Church helped democratize the immigrant.

Another area of controversy deals with the Italian role in agriculture. Until late in the 20th century Italy was an agricultural, rather than industrial, nation. Therefore, her immigrants were not usually skilled laborers or professionals — they were peasants. Both Rolle and Nelli believe that the Italians who came to the United States looked for economic opportunities, which were usually not found in agriculture.⁵ Rolle goes on to say that Italians naturally gravitated to the land out of inherent love for it.⁶ The role of the Italians in the development of California agriculture is the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by Hans Palmer, and the history of the California wine industry has been well studied,⁷ but there is still no assurance that Italians were natural farmers any more than any other nationality was.

These and similar historical works present a number of questions to the prospective historian of Italians in California. He must keep the older and newer modified immigration theories in mind and try to determine which, if any, of these patterns they fit. He must not assume what relationship the Italians had with the Catholic Church, and he must also be wary of believing that Italians necessarily gravitated to farming. He must find out where the majority of Italians came from in Italy and find out what their pattern of life, loyalties, and attitudes were. He also should compare the Italian immigrants' and subsequent generations' experience in California with that of other immigrant groups. And only by comparing the local experience to the findings of other historians and by testing other theories can local history have any importance except to local residents. Some of the local minority histories may have an impact in the rewriting of immigrant or minority history as a whole, and thus will eventually change the view of American history and stereotypes of the Italian-American.

The next step in absorbing background knowledge is to become familiar with the history of the locale under study. Histories and contemporary descriptions proliferate which cover nearly all cities and counties of California. There are those written by long-established residents of the community — usually those whose ancestors came to California from the East or Midwest, who dwell on the achievements of only the most successful settlers. But most pertinent are the few autobiographies of Italians who settled in California—for example, Sue Boyson *Some Historical Highlights of the History of Pittsburg*. (n.p., 1964); Helen Rocca Goss, *The Life and Death of a Quicksilver Mine* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1958); Phyllis Bertorelli Patten, *Oh, That Reminds Me . . .*, (Felton, Calif.: Big Trees Press, 1969); and Louis I. Rossi, "Chasing Golden Rainbows," *Pony Express*, XXIII (August 1956), 3-6; (December 1956), 3-6; XXIV (August 1957), 5-6, 12; (October 1957), 5-6. In later years various accounts of Italians in California appeared in contemporary magazines. Two of the best of these are: Winfield Scott, "Old Wine in New Bottles. When Italy Comes through the Panama Canal—What Then?," *Sunset*, XXX (May 1913), 519-26; and Mario J. Spinello, "Italians of California," *Sunset*, XIV (January 1905), 256-58.

Finding these articles and related material, both primary and secondary accounts, is tedious, since they are widely scattered. Following is a brief rundown of the principal topics involving Italians that have been written on, including citations to the most important publications.

Italian-Swiss are sometimes considered a separate topic. The most comprehensive history of this immigrant group from Ticino, Switzerland, is Maurice Edmond Perret's *Les Colonies tessinoises en Californie*, (Lausanne: Librairie de l'Universite, 1950). This is summarized by H. F. Raup in his article "The Italian Swiss in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXX (December 1951), 305-14. Related articles include another by Raup, "The Italian-Swiss Dairymen of San Luis Obispo County," *Yearbook*, Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, Vol. I. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1935), 3-8; Clay Pedrazzini, "The Italian-Swiss of California" in *The Swiss in the United States*, edited by John Paul von Gruening (Madison, Wisconsin: Swiss-American Historical Society, 1940); and Jacqueline and Jo Ellen Hall's *Italian-Swiss Settlement in Plumas County, 1860-1920*, (Chico: Association for Northern California Records and Research, 1973).

Italian Jesuits played an important part in the early history of the Catholic Church in California—a part entirely separate from the later role of the church when Italian parishes formed in immigrant communities. Biographies of pioneering Jesuit educators include Louis F. Brioni, "Father John Nobili, S.J., Founder of Santa Clara College; a Biographical Sketch," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Santa Clara, 1968; Richard A. Gleeson, *Dominic Giacobbi, a Noble Corsican*, (New York: The America Press, 1938); John Bernard McGloin, "The Jesuit Arrival in San Francisco in 1849," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIX (June 1950), 139-47; "John B. Nobili, S.J., Founder of California's Santa Clara College," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (July-October 1953), 215-22; and "Michael Accolti, Gold Rush Padre and Founder of the California Jesuits," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, XX (1951), 306-15. Histories of schools founded by these Italian Jesuits are: James P. Morrissey, *University of Santa Clara: a History, 1777-1912*, (Santa Clara: University Press, 1912) and Joseph W. Riordan, *The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College*, (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker, 1905). Other pertinent publications are Bryan J. Clinch, "The Jesuits in American California," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXVII (March 1906), 48-66 (June 1906), 125-43 (September 1906), 312-21 (December 1906), 445-55, and John Paul Harney, "A History of Jesuit Education in American California." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1944, and in volume two of Giovanni Schiavo's *Italian-American History, The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America*. (New York: Vigo Press, 1949.)

Of the many writings on the Italians in San Francisco, one of the best is probably Paul Radin's *The Italians in San Francisco, Their Adjustment and Acculturation* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1970), which was originally published in 1935. This has also been the subject of several theses: Sebastian Fichera, "The History of the Italians of San Francisco, 1850-1930," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, in progress; Deanna Paoli Gumina, "The Italian Colony of San Francisco—La Colonia italiana di San Francisco," M.A. thesis, University of San Francisco, 1970; and Thomas Arthur Pedemonte, "Italy in San Francisco. Old Wine

in New Bottles," M.A. thesis, California State College, Hayward, 1971.

Deanna Paoli Gumina recently published "The Fishermen of San Francisco Bay," *Pacific Historian*, XX (Spring, 1976), 8-21. In addition, some fine contemporary description of the fishermen can be found in Henry A. Fish "The Fishermen of San Francisco Bay," *The Social Welfare Forum. Official Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. (Portland, Oregon: n. p., 1905), pp. 383-93. Additional contemporary description is found in Elmer Higgins, "Methods of Sardine Fishing in Southern California," *California Fish and Game*, VII (October 1921), 219-37; N. B. Scofield's three articles, "The Lampara Net," *California Fish and Game*, X (April 1924), 66-70; "Parezella, or Trawl Net Fishing in California," *Transactions of the Pacific Fisheries Society*, 1915 (Seattle: Pacific Fisheries Society, 1916); and "Shrimp Fisheries of California," *California Fish and Game*, V (January 1919), 1-12.

Some important business statistics are found in San Francisco Italian Chamber of Commerce publications: *Relazione riassuntiva dell'Opera della Camera di Commercio italiana di San Francisco, California, nei primi otto Anni della sua Esistenza*, (San Francisco: Italian Chamber of Commerce, 1894) and *Relazione sugli Italiani della Costa del Pacifico* (San Francisco: Italian Chamber of Commerce, 1897). For notable Italians in the business world, there are biographies of Ghirardelli, Ruth Teiser's *An Account of Domingo Ghirardelli and the Early Years of the Ghirardelli Company* (San Francisco: n.p., 1945), and of Giannini. Full coverage of the latter is found in Marquis and Bessie Rowland James's *Biography of a Bank: the Story of Bank of America* (New York: Harper, 1954); Richard Antognini "The Role of A. P. Giannini in the 1934 California Gubernatorial Election," *Southern California Quarterly*, LVII (Spring 1975), 53-86; Joseph P. Giovinco, "Democracy in Banking: the Bank of Italy and California's Italians," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLXII (September 1968), 195-218; and Russell Posner, "A. P. Giannini and the 1926 Campaign in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVII (September 1958), 267-75 (December 1958), 347-58, and "A. P. Giannini and the 1934 Campaign in California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXIX (June 1957), 190-201. A unique article on a labor incident involving Italians appears by James J. Hudson, "The McCloud River Affair of 1909; a Study in the Use of State Troops," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXV (March 1956), 29-35.

The Italian American press in California has been covered little. Some excellent basic information can be found in volume one of *History of San Francisco Journalism, History of Foreign Journalism in San Francisco*, compiled by the Writers' Program of California in 1939.

Inquiry into the speech of Italian-Americans has produced some valuable studies. "Language Contact in San Francisco: Lexical Interference in American Italian," *Italica*, LI (Summer 1974), 177-92, by Yole Correa-Zoli is the most technical. It is based in part on her doctoral dissertation "Lexical and Morphological Aspects of American Italian in San Francisco," Stanford University, 1970. Two earlier studies are Forrest Simoncini, "The San Francisco Italian Dialect: A Study," *Orbis*, VIII (1959), 342-54, and Nicolas Timiras "The Sicilian Dialect Spoken by the Monterey (California) Fishermen,"

Orbis, IV (December 1955), 349–66. The latter also includes information on how the Sicilian colony in Monterey began.

A thorough history of Italian theater in San Francisco forms volume ten of *San Francisco Theatre Research, Italian Theatre in San Francisco*, 1939. This has been recently summarized in Deanna Paoli Gumina's article "Connazionali, Stenterello, and Farfariello: Italian Variety Theater in San Francisco," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, LIV (Spring 1975), 27–36.

To find the most recent books and articles, it is a good idea to consult various periodicals concerned with California and Western history. These are: *California Historical Society Quarterly*, *Southern California Quarterly*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Pacific Historian*, *The American West*, *Journal of the West*, and *Western Historical Quarterly*. All are indexed in *America: History and Life* and in *Writing on American History*. Some have their own annual subject index. These journals also contain reviews of recent books in western history, and some contain checklists of all new books on their subject.

Doctoral dissertations from all fields are found among citations in *Writings on American History*. Another helpful reference aid was published in 1964 in *California Historical Society Quarterly* called "A Study of Graduate Research in California Colleges and Universities." The compiler lists and annotates M.A. and Ph.D. theses dealing with California in 16 California colleges and universities.

Much miscellaneous material necessary for any local history study can be located in Margaret Rocq's *California Local History*, a bibliography as well as a union list, which includes city and county histories and directories, Great Registers, "histories of social movements, of industry and business; biographies of prominent and notorious men and women; journals of pioneers; and records of fraternal societies, clubs, schools, Chambers of Commerce, and other organizations."⁸ "Mug books," a special class of local history which include pictures and biographies of local prominent citizens, are also included. This information, such as how and why the individual came to California and his lodge affiliations is difficult to locate elsewhere. The *California Local History* bibliography does not include most travel accounts, newspapers, periodicals, and manuscripts.

Newspapers can be located through Gregory's *American Newspapers* and *Newspapers on Microfilm*. In addition, a few California newspapers have indexes. A book index of the San Francisco *Call* from 1894 to 1904 has been published. From then on the *Call* (until 1913) and the San Francisco *Examiner* and *Chronicle* are indexed in a card catalog located in the State Library in Sacramento. For earlier years, the State Library maintains an information file based on newspapers, periodicals, and books. The two major newspapers indexed in it are the *Alta California* of San Francisco and the Sacramento *Union*. Some California cities had enough Italians to support an Italian language newspaper, at least for several years. There were about two dozen San Francisco Italian newspapers, probably the best known of which is *La voce del popolo*, which started in 1867. Los Angeles had at least three: *L'italo-american*, *La parola degli italiani in America*, and *L'Eco della Colonia*. Other cities with Italian newspapers are Martinez, Sacramento, San Diego, San Jose, Stockton, and

Weed. These are one of the most valuable primary sources for information on Italians. Their historical importance is only beginning to be recognized, too late in some cases, for many files of them have already been destroyed. The Bancroft Library has the best collection of the nineteenth century newspapers in Northern California.

The *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the U.S. and Canada*, *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*, and the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* all help the researcher locate manuscript materials. The *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* is arranged by library, and it has a fuller description of the items than do the other two manuscript guides. The Society of California Archivists recently published *Directory of Archival and Manuscript Repositories in California*, which includes smaller repositories not listed elsewhere.

The Italian government considered an Italian always an Italian, even after he had immigrated, and it took steps to look after the welfare of Italian immigrants all over the world. Italian consulates were established in United States cities with a sizeable Italian population. Reports from her consuls on local conditions helped Italy steer her immigrants toward favorable situations. The reports were usually very detailed and some of the most valuable primary source material available. Many of these articles appeared in the serials *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione* and *L'Italia coloniale*.⁹

Research into the history of Italians in California involves working primarily with two classes of material. In the first class are written accounts—books, manuscripts, journal articles, and newspapers. These are the types of materials already discussed in this paper. The second class of material includes lists of various kinds: census records, tax rolls, city directories, ships' crew lists, and legal documents: declarations of intent to become a citizen, deeds, wills and so forth. Gleaning information from these materials is tedious and not practicable for too large an area. Although many Italian names are readily distinguishable, not all are, so when embarking on the use of these materials, it is best to use those first which give the person's country of birth.

A wealth of information on Italians can be found in local government records. An old, but invaluable, guide to many records is Owen Coy's *Guide to County Archives in California*. This was updated in 1939 by the California Historical Records Survey.¹⁰

Declarations of intent to become a United States citizen are found sometimes among county records, since the federal government did not take over this function until 1906. Some county's declarations have found their way into the Federal Archives and Records Center, so they have a partial run of them from 1850 to 1906 and a complete set from 1905 to 1936 for the San Francisco Region. Varying amounts of information are found in these documents — more questions were asked in later years. The fullest information given is: name, age, occupation, physical description, place of birth, address, port of debarkation, name of vessel, port of arrival, marital status, and wife's name.

The Great Register, the records of voter registration for each county, are generally held by several libraries, each having

volumes representing several years. These are especially valuable, since the information includes the voter's place of birth, ability to read English and write his name, party affiliation, occupation, and address.

The city directory is the predecessor to the telephone book. It was usually published annually, listing residents, their occupations, and sometimes amount of land owned. By examining directories from various years and using local city and rural maps, one is able to determine if Italians clustered together in their own neighborhoods and if and where various Italians moved. The directories also include lists of businesses, churches, and fraternal organizations and their officers.

A rather small and specialized item relating to Italians in viticulture is Ernest Peninou's *A Directory of Wine Growers and Wine Makers in 1860*. Taken from the United States census of 1860, county histories, old maps, Great Registers, and interviews, Peninou has compiled biographical information on California winemakers along with information on how much land each owned, quantity of wine produced, and what still exists, if anything, of the original vineyard.

Many California state publications are indexed in *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States*, California volume. The interpretation of the term "economic" is quite broad, so the compiler has included documents which relate, for example, the histories of growing particular crops in California. One of the most valuable documents on this subject, and it is included in this index, is the California State Board of Horticulture's annual report.

The original United States census records for California for the 19th century list individuals and each member of their household by name. The censuses were compiled by county, and those of 1850 and 1880 are available on microfilm at some libraries and through Interlibrary Loan to libraries with microfilm readers from the Federal Archives and Records Center. Following is the information recorded about each person listed in the 1880 census, the most complete census available: address, name relationship to head of family, sex, race, age, marital status, occupation, number of months unemployed, if any, in that year; state of health, including being blind, deaf and dumb, idiotic, maimed, and crippled; school attendance, if any, in that year; ability to read and write, place of birth; and place of birth of father and mother. The United States censuses reportedly contain the best records of Italians in California. There are no satisfactory statistics on immigration to California taken by the Italian government.¹ The California census returns of 1852 are also available. This is the only state census ever done in California; its unique feature is that it reports the last residence of each individual.^{1,2}

Also available on microfilm from the Federal Archives and Records Center are Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for California, 1862-66. The federal government levied on income tax and tax on luxuries during those years to pay for the Civil War. These lists include person's name, home address and business address, income, luxuries (carriages, pianos), amount of tax on each item, and percent of income tax paid.

The United States Immigration commission issued a 41-volume report in 1911^{1,3} on immigrants in cities, in industry and agriculture, as charity seekers, on their role in crime, and on their children attending school. This has been reprinted and thus is

widely available in libraries. It is of utmost importance because immigration quotas were based on information in the report. The report puts a heavy emphasis on conditions in the East and Midwest, but some samples of information on Italians were taken in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oakland. A related compilation is *Report on Crime and the Foreign Born*, which presents detailed statistics for foreign groups in San Francisco and Stockton.^{1,4}

Church records, even more than government records, are apt to be lost, destroyed, or inaccessible. The most obvious kinds of records are for births, deaths, and marriages, but less obvious and equally valuable are anniversary histories and similar church publications which may give clues to a nationality's participation in parish life. The Northern California Historical Records Survey in 1942 published *Guide to Church Vital Statistics Records*, but only six denominations in Alameda and San Francisco counties are given.^{1,5}

Interviews with Italian immigrants or their children and grandchildren can certainly add to information on the history of these people. If a ready supply of subjects is not available, the priest of an Italian parish, city historian, and members of local historical societies, to name just a few, are usually happy to introduce you to Italian-Americans interested in furthering the writing of their role in local history. In addition, oral history is a source which should not be overlooked. A guide to these collections has recently been published, and it lists several collections in the Bay Area on topics such as the California wine industry and the social history of Northern California.

In spite of the difficulty in locating and gathering local history sources, it is becoming easier to do research in both local and immigrant, or minority, history. The advent of microfilm has made possible increased distribution and use of primary source materials such as census records, newspapers, and manuscript materials. Several major bibliographies, such as *California Local History*, have been published just within the past ten years. The *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* is constantly updated with annual supplements. Oral history projects are gaining increased interest and support. The expanded numbers and availability of sources always makes historical study more rewarding because the recreation of the past can be more complete. Italian minority history on a local and state level is also rewarding because there has been so little of it done, at least in the West. There is a need for these studies if we are to rid ourselves of preconceived notions of Italian-Americans, notions that have grown largely out of descriptions of the "Little Italys" of Eastern city slums. California local history also needs more research, as much of it is outdated and carelessly or amateurishly written. Some solid research on the Italian in California would fill large gaps of our picture of a large, energetic, and colorful minority group.

FOOTNOTES

*This paper served as the basis for part of the author's M.A. thesis, "Italians in California, 1827-1930; an annotated bibliography." Unpublished M.A. thesis, San Jose State University, 1976. Subsequently, material from the thesis was used to update this paper.

¹ Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," *Daedalus*, XC (Spring 1961), 263-285.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁵ Humbert S. Nelli, *Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 15-19; Andrew F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1968), p. 121.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷ These are Robert S. Barlow, "Historical and Regional Analysis of the Italian Role in California Viticulture and Enology," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1964; Deanna Paoli Gumina, "Andrea Sbarbaro, Founder of the Italian Swiss Wine Company," *Italian Americana*, II (Autumn 1975), 1-17; John R. Meers, "The California Wine and Grape Industry and Prohibition," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVI (March 1967), 19-22; and Horatio F. Stoll, "With Bacchus in California," *California Grape Grower*, I (January 1, 1920), 2-3; (February 1, 1920), 4-5.

⁸ Margaret Miller Rocq, ed., *California Local History* (2d ed.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. xi.

⁹ Many excellent articles appeared, many of which were written by attaches to consulates. They are: Attilio Barela, "L'Emigrazione italiana e la California," *L'Italia coloniale*, IV (April-May 1903), 420-40; Amy Bernardy, "La Colonia italiana di Los Angeles, Cal.," *Rivista coloniale* (September 1913); Frederick Biesta, "State of California in 1856," translated and annotated by Ernest Falbo, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLII (December 1963), 311-33; "La California comè e l'Emigrazione italiana," *L'Italia coloniale*, IV (October-November 1903), pp. 321-34; Ferdinando Daneo, "Condizioni delle Colonie italiane a Stockton e nelle Contee di Sonora, Jackson ed Amador City (California S.U.A.)," *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione*, XIV, 4 (1915), 45-47; "L'Emigrazione italiana in California," *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione*, 14 (1913), 55-57; "Gli Infortuni sul Lavoro in California nel 1912 e le Leggi statali sugli Infortuni," *L'Italia coloniale*, II (July 1901), 50-52; C. Dondero, "L'Italia negli Stati Uniti ed in California," *L'Italia coloniale*, I (June 1901), 9-22; and Edmondo Mayor des Planches, *Attraverso gli Stati Uniti per l'Emigrazione italiana* (Turin: n.p., 1913).

¹⁰ Northern California Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of County Archives of California* (San Francisco: Northern California Historical Records Survey, 1939).

¹¹ Doris Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, pt. II, XX (March 1941), 78-79.

¹² *Ibid.*, pt. I, 338.

¹³ U.S. Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (42 vols.; New York: Arno, 1970 [originally published in 1911]).

¹⁴ U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. *Complete Reports*. Vol. 10: *Report on Crime and the Foreign Born*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931; reprint ed., Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1968).

¹⁵ Northern California Historical Records Survey, *A Guide to Church Vital Statistics Records in California* (San Francisco: Northern California Historical Records Survey, 1942).

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HOW TO CONDUCT HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON CALIFORNIA'S IRISH

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Those who wish to conduct historical research relating to the Irish in California presently face conditions not altogether different from those which confronted the early Irish immigrants themselves. There is considerable opportunity, matched by equal portions of uncertainty, risk, and hope. The present condition of Irish historiography in California approaches the condition of the Irish potato in 1847. What appears in the popular press, usually around St. Patrick's Day, purports to be history but too often suffers from the blight of journalistic haste and analytical imperception.¹

The major reason why scholarly production cannot be labeled a crop failure is because so little seed was sown in the first place.² The result is a rather skimpy diet for those who seek this variety of historical nourishment.

The chances to research and to publish about the California Irish are open to anyone who is equipped and willing to seize the intellectual initiative. Not only have all the interesting historical questions never been answered, few significant ones have ever been asked. If one is waiting for an invitation, accept mine. As with more important work, the harvest here is great, too, but the laborers are fewer still.

Having the field so open and clear is not an unmixed blessing, however. While one may feel relatively secure in posing almost any research finding without fear of serious challenge or contradiction, such security is not intellectually stimulating. With an insufficient number of scholars actively engaged in Irish studies, constructive criticism, pertinent exchanges of new knowledge, and even basic help and scholarly companionship are, at times, difficult to locate. As a result, newcomers to the field may find greater than normal problems even in identifying and isolating significant research topics, in locating appropriate source materials, and in relating their subject to greater historiographical benchmarks.

To conduct historical research on the Irish one certainly need not be Irish oneself. Everyone may participate. Yet, it is obviously vital for the researcher to be able to recognize Irishmen when they are encountered among the sources of history. Additionally, to possess an understanding, perhaps even a feel, for the subtleties or nuances which exist within any ethnic subculture, is desirable, if not mandatory. Without this, sensitive reflection and insightful writing is impossible.

The fact of attendance for eight years at a parish school in the working class Mission District of San Francisco qualifies no one to research on the Irish. Such an experience might be valuable, nonetheless. If nothing else, this early and close exposure to city ethnics would allow a researcher subsequently to identify, with ease, minority group persons as they are encountered in history. Likewise, the researcher might be expected to enjoy the advantage of improved insight as to what behavior is ethnically significant and what is not. An Irish family name is no guarantee that Ireland or Irishness means much to the bearer. Neither does the fact of the name

guarantee to the researcher that understanding would be advanced by analyzing the figure within the context of an Irish-American cultural tradition.

William V. Shannon, in his book *The Heir Apparent*, placed Robert Kennedy squarely within the Irish-American political tradition.³ The result was packed with insight. Needless to say, Shannon would not, and could not, do the same with John Kennedy's Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, even though anyone named McNamara ought to be as behaviorally Irish as anyone named Kennedy. A California variation of this same situation would confront those researching and writing the respective political lives of San Francisco's ex-mayor, John F. Shelley, and California's ex-superintendent of public instruction, Max Rafferty. The former was cast in the traditional mold of urban, labor, machine politics. His church, his union, his party, all these were important to him. He shared a deeply felt network of understandings with Irish-American politicians and with broader sectors of urban American life.

Those who likewise came to maturity in urban, labor environment found Shelley attentive to their needs and interests, reliable and certainly predictable. His ethnic roots made him what he was and provided his political staying power. Rafferty was, instead, a shooting star who violated the Irish politician's first rule of behavior: find out what the people want and give it to them. Rafferty thought he was the one who knew best. And unlike the traditional Irish politician, he behaved as if he were responsible to no one, only to his own conscience.

To be able to identify Irishmen in history and then to evaluate their behavior, determining en route whether or not the ethnic feature is historically significant, has not always been an easy task. Possibly because of California's distance from James Curley's Boston and New York's Tammany Hall, the substantial contributors to California historiography have overlooked the Irish presence here on the Coast. The result, on occasion, has led to some rather strange interpretations of California history. Since the rise of ethnic history as an area of scholarly specialization it seems incredible that California, its urban centers particularly, could ever have been interpreted without reliance upon the concept of ethnic diversity as a key to understanding. Such has been the case until quite recently.⁴

This unintended neglect should be seized upon, not as some insidious anti-ethnic outrage, but rather as the splendid opportunity for valuable scholarly contributions by those who presume to know differently. Here is a tailor-made chance to contribute to a significant advance of historical understanding of California. Even more valuable than this, however, is a further, future possibility. The history of the Irish in the

¹ Mike Royko, "Hizzoner," *Playboy*, March 1971, p. 165; Seamus Breatnach, "Should Irish Eyes Be Smiling?" *San Francisco*, Aug. 1970, p. 28.

² Moses Rischin, "Beyond the Great Divide: Immigration and the Last Frontier," *The Journal of American History*, LV (June 1968).

³ William V. Shannon, *The Heir Apparent: Robert Kennedy and the Struggle for Power* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

⁴ James P. Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Spring 1972), 13.

urban, industrial East has received considerable attention.⁵ The interpretive configuration into which Irish-American history has been molded rests directly upon these important but narrowly based studies. The Irish from New York's Tammany Hall to Richard Daley's Chicago were and are quite real. At times they have been a prominent, potent, and volatile force in national and international affairs. This salient fact may elevate the bibliography of the field above the realm of local or regional history. It fails, however, to create a truly national synthesis.

What is lacking is a major western or California contribution. Old generalizations concerning the "uprootedness" of nineteenth-century European immigrants are under attack.⁶ A well conceived, sophisticated treatment of the Irish in California could possibly turn this attack into yet another victory in the continual process of reinterpretation.

For a preliminary, several specific examples immediately spring to mind as to how one may capitalize upon the historiographical neglect of the Irish. Where the Irish have participated significantly in California history and have not been so recognized, that history needs to be reinterpreted, not for ethnic aggrandizement but for independent needs of scholarship. In fact, greater knowledge of one's ethnic past is not always an aggrandizing experience. The graft scandals which rocked San Francisco even before the city repaired from the 1906 earthquake may be the best Irish lesson.

Everyone who has seriously pondered the history of our state for any length of time has, undoubtedly, been exposed to Walton Bean's splendid study of *Boss Ruef's San Francisco*. This monograph was, and is, an outstanding example of the best in research scholarship. This feature, plus its splendid style, account for this book's continued popularity and value.⁷ As the title suggests Abe Ruef is explained in the accepted terms which had been developed by contemporaries and historians both to assail and to analyze the bosses and machines of eastern industrial cities. Recognized variations upon this theme were limited. Ruef became a unique boss because, unlike his Irish colleagues back East, he was Jewish, debonair, and an intellectual. Still, he was presented as a boss.

The second central figure in this story was Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz, Ruef's personal friend and the man through whom Ruef functioned politically. After indictments and protracted trials Ruef served four years and seven months in San Quentin Prison. Schmitz was also incarcerated and removed from office but later won a reversal of his conviction from the court of appeals.

The long-accepted interpretation of this episode ought to be labeled "progressive traditional." Incipient progressive reformers dethroned bossism and graft while en route to greater progressive reforms at the state level after 1910 under Hiram Johnson. The wrong-doers had been exposed to the cleansing light of a now-informed public opinion.

One highly significant, but very awkward fact, however, was not adequately explained by this progressive interpretation. Once out of jail ex-Mayor Schmitz ran for and was repeatedly elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. The forced explanation, consistent with progressive reform argot but of dubious merit when applied to San Francisco voters, originated with Lincoln Steffens. Schmitz could be one of those

"good dogs,"⁸ an exposed grafter now kept honest because enlightened public opinion kept watch on him.

Boss Ruef's San Francisco was as heavily populated by Irishmen as was the city itself.⁹ After the turn of the century the Irish constituted the second largest ethnic bloc. From the ethnic point of view, the interesting feature of this book is the lack of notice taken of San Francisco ethnicity. Why should a progressive interpretation be used to explain the political behavior of San Francisco's ethnic majority, a majority which was paced, if not led, by the highly politicized Irish? The Irish were anti-progressives.¹⁰

The successive re-elections of ex-Mayor Schmitz are explained most easily in ethnic and even Irish Terms. Only to the progressives was Schmitz permanently discredited. The total population of San Francisco in 1900 did not exceed 343,000. Schmitz bore the old country name of his father at a time when 101,000 San Franciscans had either been born in Germany or, as Schmitz himself, were born in San Francisco of at least one German parent. His mother was from County Clare when the city's Irish and their children accounted for another 95,000. During the year of the earthquake and fire churchgoers totaled 143,000. Of those, an incredible 116,000 knelt with Schmitz on Sundays in Catholic churches.¹¹

⁵ Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1959); Edward M. Levine, *The Irish and Irish Politicians: A Study of Cultural and Social Alienation* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1966); Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970); Thomas N. Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism 1870-1890* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1966).

⁶ Andrew F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in An Expanding America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 6-7.

⁷ Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco: The Story of The Union Labor Party, Big Business, and The Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁹ A quick scan of the volume reveals the following Irish participants: nine of the seventeen Supervisors who admitted accepting bribes; ex-Mayor James D. Phelan who supported the prosecution; prosecuting attorney Francis J. Heney; detective William J. Burns; Father Peter C. Yorke, the Union Labor advocate; Judges Frank H. Dunne and William P. Lawlor, attorneys Matthew I. Sullivan, Joseph J. Dwyer, Frank J. Murphy, A. A. More, Stanley Moore, and John J. Barrett; labor leader and subsequent Mayor Patrick H. McCarthy, Eugene Schmitz himself was half Irish.

¹⁰ Michael Rogin, "Progressivism and the California Electorate," *The Journal of American History*, IV (Sept. 1968), 301-302; James P. Walsh, "San Francisco Irish vs. California Progressives," paper read before Western History Association Conference, Ft. Worth, Texas, Oct. 13, 1973.

¹¹ United States Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington: 1901), I, 738-739, 868, 876-877, 884-885, 892-893, 900-901, 904-905; United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1906* (Washington: 1910), I, 299-300.

San Franciscans re-elected Eugene Schmitz not because exposed grafters were considered safe by the progressives. San Franciscans re-elected Schmitz because, like them, he was an ethnic. Considering his German father, his Irish mother, his Catholicism, plus his union leadership in a union town, if anything, he was a one-man ethnic coalition. "The question of guilt or innocence, after the initial shock wore off, simply was not relevant to old country parents who identified with their Eugene. Blood of their blood and flesh of their flesh, they preferred him to his prosecutors who, by kicking Schmitz, kicked them, the majority."¹²

San Francisco's non-WASP ethnic diversity explains the phenomena of Schmitz. The Irish themselves, however, are needed to interpret Boss Abe Ruef properly. The Irish have entered the mainstream of American history through urban politics, not always with an enhanced reputation. When one reads about bosses and machines, he meets the American Irish on their home ground. It is they who perfected the urban political machine and led it during its days of dominance. According to the Irish standard Ruef was no boss at all since he stood at the apex of no machine and was able to boss no subordinate. Corrupt San Francisco Supervisors simply gave their votes to the highest bidder. They were free, unlike machine tenders, to behave as they pleased regardless of the wishes of Ruef. Ruef could not boss them. He could not even buy them. The most he could do was to rent them. According to the Irish-American model, and that one is the standard, such behavior was not bossism.

Armed then with the ability, first, to recognize an Irish presence and then to judge when their group behavior is significant, one is able to scrutinize accepted historical scholarship and reinterpret it in a manner consistent with the advancement of knowledge. Such a contribution also makes history more meaningful to today's concerns and interests. However, to restrict one's historical research and writing to reinterpretive activity such as this would be to risk becoming an intellectual parasite, an entrepreneur content to live off of the superior original research of one's professional betters. Also, there would be the very real risk that persistence at ethnocentrism might diminish returns below the point of credibility.

The history of the Irish in California, as elsewhere, is but a part of a larger pattern, even though the threads of green and gold appear to many to be among the most colorful. More basic Irish research certainly needs to be undertaken. But the best writing, it seems, is within a larger and therefore useful context.

Elsewhere, Ann M. Campbell of the Federal Records Center is detailing the specific research opportunities available within the collections under her supervision. Sources for Irish history exist within these materials and should be utilized. Others, however, are available also.

The most comprehensive, single primary source of historical information on the California Irish is the San Francisco *Leader*. This weekly newspaper appeared regularly from 1902 until 1945, and irregularly thereafter, possibly until 1959. It was tuned to the controversial aspects of contemporary events. It was highly political, volatile, and is rich in the raw material of history. Bound volumes, almost the full run, are available at the Gleeson Library, University of San Francisco. Major portions are on microfilm at the Newspaper Room of the Doe

Library, University of California, Berkeley. Reels have been available through interlibrary loan service. The *Leader* was the strongest Irish voice in San Francisco, in California, and in the West. The most historically interesting and significant public spokesman for the California Irish was the *Leader's* founder and editor, Father Peter C. Yorke.¹³

As a subject of historical interest Father Yorke stands at a point where those specialized fields into which historians divide themselves meet. The American Catholic Historical Association is now in its fifty-third year. The Association publishes a quarterly review devoted to the history of the Catholic Church. Through the years members of this organization, and non-members, too, have built a respectable body of literature concerning the Catholic Church. To say that Irishmen in America have been known to have advanced themselves within that church would be a marked understatement.

Because of this overlapping of Catholic and Irish several results occur which are beneficial to those researching the California Irish, or the Irish anywhere. Those scholars who have devoted their productive energies toward Catholic Church history are knowledgeable about the Irish beyond the church as an institution. Also, they are insightful and helpful.

The Catholic Church itself and the large number of subordinate institutions which it has sustained have been record keepers. Numerous Irish have passed through these institutions with their characteristics noted and their progress charted. Births and burials were merely the terminals. In between were the sacraments, transcripts, class photographs, year books, hospitalization and social services; all have records.

When Father Yorke's archbishop removed him from the editor's office of the official Catholic paper, the *Monitor*, it became apolitical. Still, much data can be obtained from its pages which also are available on microfilm at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the *Monitor* office in San Francisco. The *Monitor* is still published weekly. Most of the other California Catholic dioceses have their own official paper.

If one's research interests center on the post-World War II period, he may hunt facts simply by asking the participants or spectators for an interview. As in Ireland, the Irish here tend to live long and full lives. Oral history allows the interviewer to ask the question he wishes, rather than trying to construct answers from fragmentary documents, most of which relate only in a limited way to the subjects at hand. The University of California has an established oral history collection which includes an interview with the late Noel Sullivan, nephew and heir of James D. Phelan.¹⁴ In his own right Sullivan was an

¹² Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss," op. al, p. 14.

¹³ James P. Walsh, *Ethnic Militancy: An Irish Catholic Prototype* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1972); Bernard C. Cronin, *Father Yorke and the Labor Movement in San Francisco, 1900-1912* (Washington: Catholic University, 1943); Joseph S. Brusher, "Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXXVII (July 1951).

¹⁴ Dorothy Kaucher, *James Duval Phelan: A Portrait, 1861-1930* (Saratoga: Montalvo Association, 1965); James P. Walsh, "Into Dust Thou Shalt Return," *The Pacific Historian*, 15 (Fall 1971).

artist and patron of the arts. His papers and those of his more famous uncle are vast. They are on deposit for use at the Bancroft Library as are the papers of a limited number of others whose Irishness is also significant.

No one should expect, though, to discover many Irish collections of manuscripts awaiting use. The California Irish were primarily working class, at least at first. Their interests were local and immediate. They communicated with their neighbors by word of mouth. In order to reconstruct their stories one must locate many small and stray pieces. And the better the story that is sought, the harder will be the search. Through the age of urban expansion so characterized by corruption and prosecutions more than a few circumspect Irishmen followed the second rule of Irish politics: never write when you can say it, and never say it when you can nod!

Such men understood all the nod's implications because they were one in the spirit. Our research and writing task is to penetrate those shared understandings and then to explain them to the larger world of scholarship.

UNCOVERING CALIFORNIA BLACK HISTORY: MATERIALS AND SOURCES

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INTRODUCTION: The question is very often asked us, why we, as colored men, are not satisfied with our present position in the State of California?....Now, we answer that we are men, and Americans—Free men; born on the soil, and claim all the rights and immunities that any other class of men enjoy, not by adoption, but by right or birth....We now believe that we have been menials long enough—[we] are preparing to 'hew our own wood and draw our own water,' and intend to make you respect us while we are doing it. We have been the servant of servants long enough, and the time has come for us to be men. . . . We want no laws in this State that decide the character of a man by the color of his skin; we want no legislators to enact special laws for the benefit of any one particular class of the community, and we want no man who is unable to read or write his own name to dictate in the Councils of State what position we shall occupy on the soil of our nativity. We are entirely unwilling to be excluded from any participation in the Government which we contribute to support, while it elevates the ignorant foreigner, with the brogue on his tongue, for base party purposes, and depress the intelligent native on account of his complexion; and finally, we want laws that will protect all honest persons alike, and make us all prosperous and happy. . . . For these, and many other reasons, we are not satisfied!¹

Whether one agrees or disagrees with the basic suppositions of the Civil Rights movement, it must be admitted that the activism of the early nineteen sixties centered a great deal of public and academic concern on virtually every aspect of Black people's lives—past and present. In the late 1960's, the movement was spurred by Black Power advocacy, with its insatiable sense of urgency, and set into motion a whole train of events, emotions, and errors which opened the Black community to still more intensive public and academic scrutiny.

It was inevitable, then, that in a period of flux and questioning such interest would precipitate a confrontation with the past. Many within the Civil Rights—Black Power movement began to search the history of America for models and substance that anchored their struggle for freedom to long-standing traditions of moral and political strivings. In 1965, a Malcolm X could urge his people to gain a firm grasp of history; therein lay the inspiration for unceasing struggle and the essence of the Black experience.

It's impossible, [Malcolm observed,] for you and me to have a balanced mind in this society without going into the past, because in this particular society, as we function and fit into it right now, we're looked upon as almost nothing. Now if we don't go into the past

¹ Jonas H. Townsend, "What We Want," *San Francisco Mirror of the Times*, Aug. 22, 1857, Stokely Carmichael, in 1966, published views similar to those of Townsend in a similarly entitled article, "What We Want," in *America's Black Past: A Reader in Afro-American History*, ed. Eric Foner (New York, 1970).

and find out how we got this way, we will think that we were always this way. And if you think that you were always in the condition that you're in right now, it's impossible for you to have too much confidence in yourself, you become worthless, almost nothing. But when you go back into the past and find out where you once were, then you will know that you weren't always at this level, that you once had attained a higher level, had made great achievements, contributions to society, civilization, science and so forth. And you know that if you once did it, you can do it again; you automatically get the incentive, the inspiration and the energy necessary to duplicate what our forefathers formerly did.²

At the same time, and as a result of proddings from leaders of social change (and publishers seeking more change in their banking accounts), scholars in the 1960's were urged to reassess the history of the nation, to abandon myth-laden assumptions, and to present appropriate explanations and precedents for the turmoil that appeared to be eroding America's basic foundations. Although the history of Black people in America had long been a specialty of a few writers (e.g., J. A. Rogers, Carter C. Woodson, W. E. B. DuBois, Rayford Logan, Kenneth Stampp and Herbert Aptheker), it was the feverish search for commitment and continuity of the 1960's that made Black history—indeed, ethnic history—special.

In spite of the enormous amount of research that has been done in the history of Black people on a national scale, the history of Blacks in California has received relatively scant attention. This state of affairs is borne out not only by a cursory check through the University of California Library card catalogue, but also by consulting the American Historical Association, *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Completed at United States Colleges and Universities* (1967), and its supplements since 1967; Warren F. Kuehl, *Dissertations Completed in History Departments of United States and Canadian Universities, 1873-1960* (1965), and Earle H. West, *A Bibliography of Doctoral Research on the Negro, 1933-1966* (1969).

Fortunately, however, a growing number of available source materials do provide an illuminating outline of the Black experience in California. To understand this experience, or what life in the Golden State was like for those who had to bear the stigma of Black skins, the given researcher must not only attempt to illustrate the inner workings of California's social, economic and political history and explain the relationship between Blacks and non-Blacks, but also raise intriguing questions about the course of race relations in the state's future. Serving as a point of departure and concerning itself with California history from 1850 to the present, this paper proposes to do essentially three things: first, to suggest some themes, questions and considerations around which California Black history has revolved; second, to draw attention to the availability and usefulness of data that the researcher might employ in exploring California Black history; and, third, to suggest where the researcher can begin to locate the most useful materials on the subject.

Themes, Questions, and Considerations

A history of Blacks in California is almost certain to be, on some level, a history of race relations. The discerning research-

er will find the words of Peter H. Burnett, the state's first governor, instructive in assigning a judgmental value to the mood of race relations in nineteenth-century California. On Tuesday, January 7, 1851, Governor Burnett presented his annual message in the legislature, then meeting at San Jose. Referring to the state's Black citizenry, the governor said:

Although it is assumed in the Declaration of Independence as a self-evident truth, that all men are born free and equal, it is equally true that there must be acquired as well as natural abilities to fit men for self-government. Without considering whether there be any reason for the opinion entertained by many learned persons that the colored races by nature are inferior to the white, and without attaching any importance to such opinions, still it may be safely affirmed that no race of men, under the precise circumstances of this class in our state, could ever hope to advance a single step in knowledge or virtue.³

Indeed, the attitude of Governor Burnett was *not* uncommon. Warren A. Beck and David A. Williams have noted that, although Burnett resigned his office, "the point of view he manifested did not disappear from the capitol."⁴ The continuity of such sentiment can form the basis for asking a series of related questions. For instance, what was the general attitude of California's governors toward Black people? What short- and long-term effects did the attitudes of the state's highest officers have on the political status of Black people? What was the impact of discriminatory legislation and practices on the political and social development of Black Californians? What were the institutional means and electoral techniques used by Black citizens to redress their economic and political grievances against local and state government? What degree of success was achieved by Black political activities and activists? Specifically, *who* were the men and women forming the leadership stratum of Black communities in California? We already know a great deal about the lives of a few leading Black Californians, such as Mary Ellen "Mammy" Pleasant, Jeremiah B. Sanderson, Philip A. Bell, Charlotta A. Bass, and Augustus Hawkins. But what of others? John J. Moore, Dr. Ezra R. Johnson, Jonas H. Townsend, James Alexander, Titus Alexander, George Watkins, Frederick M. Roberts, and Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., are names of only a few individuals whose roles need more intensive study. Moreover, what were the sources of strengths and weaknesses within the state's Black leadership in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

The researcher might do well to probe other important considerations: the extent of slavery in California in the 1850's and the 1860's, and its impact (undeniably profound where the Black community was concerned) on the state's institutions and legal structures; the factors—those real and imagined—

² Speech, January 24, 1965, in *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* (New York, 1967), p. 4.

³ Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1897), IV, 59.

⁴ *California. A History of the Golden State* (Garden City, New York, 1972), p. 162.

that attracted Black people to the Pacific Coast;⁵ the growth of the Black press; the influence of the Black church; and the response of California Blacks to the civil war and its aftermath.

Finally, after paying close attention to necessary background and historical context, the researcher could profit enormously from a study of the participation of Black Californians in the following general movements and activities: the workingmen's Party and its anti-Chinese agitation; the Progressives' "good government" reforms; the Marcus Garvey organizing efforts in Oakland and Los Angeles; West Coast New Dealism; the World War I and II defense efforts; the Civil Rights thrusts in the areas of education and housing; and the events surrounding the "Watts Rebellion" of 1965.

Availability and Usefulness of Materials

Unfortunately, we lack indispensable primary materials such as ledgers, letters, diaries, scrapbooks and manuscript collections in California Black history. Rare, but incomplete, sets of papers are those of Frederick M. Roberts, California's first Black legislator, and Titus Alexander, an early twentieth century Civil rights leader in Los Angeles. A hopeful trend, however, is the increasing interest that some graduate schools in the state are beginning to show in the area of local Black history.

To be sure, there are some helpful sources worth the researcher's close attention. Historical perimeters, context, and general information on California Blacks can be found in: Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919); M. C. Claiborne, *Achievements of the Negro in California* (Berkeley, 1945); A. Odell Thurman, "The Negro in California to 1890," unpublished master's thesis, University of the Pacific, Stockton, 1945; Rene A. Hewlett and Max J. Williams, *Negro Who's Who in California* (Los Angeles, 1948); Sue Bailey Thurman, *Pioneers of Negro Origin in California* (San Francisco, 1952); Jack D. Forbes, *Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators* (Berkeley, 1966); Howard Bell, "Negroes in California: 1849-1859," *Phylon*, XXVIII (1967); and James A. Fisher, "A History of the Political and Social Development of the Black Community in California, 1850-1950," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Stony Brook, 1971).

A number of government documents provide glimpses into California Black history. Invaluable in this regard are: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Negro in the West: The Negro Worker*, part one, and *The Negro in the West: The Negro Consumer*, part two (San Francisco, 1966); California Division of Fair Employment Practices, *Negro Californians: Population, Employment, Income and Education* (Sacramento, 1963); and the *Journal of the Assembly* and *Journal of the Senate*. Raw population data from unpublished *State Census Schedules* for the years 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880 reveal the shifting settlement, educational attainment, employment, and age and disability patterns among Blacks. For voting patterns and electoral tendencies, see Secretary of State, *Statement of the Vote* (Sacramento, 1882-1948). The disruptive patterns accompanying the Great Depression are graphically drawn in State Relief Administration, *Transients in California* (Sacramento, 1936) and H. Dewey Anderson, *Who Are on Relief in California?* (Sacramento, 1936).

The attitudes of the state's chief executive towards Black citizens receive tangential treatment in a wide range of sources: Robert Kenny Papers; "Notarial Applications," 1883-1886, *State Papers*, vol. X; H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California: Peter H. Burnett to Edmund C. Brown* (Georgetown, Calif., 1965); Lucile Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation* (Berkeley, 1910); and the *Journal of the Assembly*.

In assessing the impact of discriminatory legislation, political forces, and racist practices on Black Californians, the researcher must consult the following sources: *California State Statutes*;⁶ *California State Supreme Court Reports*;⁷ J. Ross Browne, *Reports of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution* (Washington, 1850); Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893); Eugene H. Berwanner, *The Frontier Against Slavery* (Chicago, 1967); Richard Young, "The Impact of Protest Leadership on Negro Politicians in San Francisco," *Western Political Quarterly*, XXVIII (1969); James A. Fisher, "The Political Development of the Black Community in California, 1850-1950," *California Historical Quarterly*, (1971); Luther W. Spoehr, "Sambo and the Heathen Chinese: Californians' Racial Stereotypes in the Late 1870's," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLII (1973); and Larry George Murphy, "Equality Before the Law: The Struggle of Nineteenth-Century Black Californians for Social and Political Justice," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1973.

The full consequences of racially-inspired proscriptions in California often are identified with the urban scene. There are a number of very illuminating studies which analyze racial discrimination at the municipal level. The most useful of these are: Hal Draper, *Jim Crow in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1946); Federal Writers' Project, *The Story of the Negro in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1936); William M. Mason and James Anderson, "Los Angeles: Black Heritage," *Museum Alliance Quarterly*, VIII (1969-1970); Lawrence Brooks deCraaf, "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIV (1970); Keith E. Collins, "Black Los Angeles: The Making of the Ghetto, 1940-1950," Ph.D. dissertation in progress, University of California, San Diego; Phillip Montesano, "Some Aspects of the Free Negro Question in San Francisco, 1849-1870," unpublished master's thesis, University of San Francisco, 1967; Francis M. Lortie, "San Francisco's Black Community, 1870-1890: Dilemmas in the Struggle for Equality," unpublished master's thesis, San Francisco State University, 1970); and Cy W. Record, "Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate," *Crisis*, LVI (1949).

⁵ In 1850 Blacks comprised 1% of the state's total population, whereas in 1970 they represented 7% of the population.

⁶ See especially: 1850, c. CXIX; 1851, c. I; 1852, c. XXXIII, 1855, c. XLV; 1859, c. CCX; 1863, c. LXVIII; 1863, c. LXX; 1873-74, c. CLX; 1880, c. XLIV; 1897, c. CVIII; 1919, c. CCX; 1923, c. CCXXXV; and 1949, c. CMXXXVIII.

⁷ See: *Ex Parte Archy*, 9 Cal. 147 (1858); *In re Perkins*, 2 Cal. 424 (1852); *People v Hall*, 4 Cal. 399 (1854); *People v. McCurie*, 45 Cal. 56 (1872); *Perez v. Sharp*, 32 Cal. 198 (1848); *Ward v. Flood*, 48 Cal. 57 (1874); *Wysinger v. Crookshank*, 82 Cal. 588 (1840); and *Mulkey v. Reitman*, 64 Cal. 881 (1966).

How California's Black citizenry attempted to organize against and overcome the various legal restrictions on their right to vote, to settle in the state, to testify in the courts, and to achieve social mobility can readily be ascertained in the following sources: *Proceedings of the First State Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of California . . . 1855* (Sacramento, 1855); *Proceedings of the California State Convention of Colored Citizens . . . 1865* (San Francisco, 1865); *Address of the State Executive Committee to the Colored People of the State of California, 1859* (Sacramento, 1859); *A Brief History of the Afro-American League of San Francisco, With Some References to Its Objects and What It Has Accomplished* (San Francisco, 1895); Delilah Beasley, *Negro Trail Blazers*; Charlotta A. Bass, *Forty Years: Memoirs From the Pages of a Newspaper* (Los Angeles, 1960); John Fowler, *Spreading Joy* Mifflin Wistar Gibbs, *Shadow and Light: An Autobiography With Reminiscences of the Last and Present Century* (Washington, 1902); J. Alexander Somerville, *Man of Color, An Autobiography* (Los Angeles, 1949); Thomas Roy Payton, *Quest for Dignity* (Los Angeles, 1950); Rosaline Levenson, "The Negro Vote in California in 1952," unpublished master's thesis, UC, Berkeley, 1953; Gloria Harrison, "The NAACP in California," unpublished master's thesis, Stanford University, 1949; Rudolph M. Lapp, "The Negro in Gold Rush California," *Journal of Negro History*, XLIX (1964); James A. Fisher, "The Struggle for Negro Testimony in California, 1851-1863," *Southern California Quarterly*, LI (1969); Hans J. Massaquoi, "'Gus' Hawkins—Fifth Negro Congressman," *Ebony*, XVIII (1963); and Phillip Montesano, "San Francisco Black Churches in the Early 1860's: Political Pressure Group," *California Historical Quarterly*, LII (1973).

Concerning Black people's moves to achieve equality in the specific areas of education and housing, the researcher will find a great deal of materials, of which the most useful are: *Supreme Court Reports*,⁸ *Reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*; Peter Cole, *Cole's War With Ignorance and Deceit and His Lecture on Education* (San Francisco, 1857); John W. Dwinelle, *On the Right of Colored Children to be Admitted to the Public Schools* (San Francisco, 1867); Thomas W. Casstevens, *Politics, Housing and Race Relations: The Defeat of Berkeley's Fair Housing Ordinance* (Berkeley, 1965); *Housing in California: Appendix to the Report by the Governor's Advisory Committee on Housing Problems, April, 1963* (Sacramento, 1963); *Mulkey v. Reitman*, 64 Cal. 529 (1966); and Loren Miller, "Government's Responsibility for Residential Segregation," in *Race and Property*, ed. John H. Denton (Berkeley, 1964).

Black newspapers provide many guideposts for research and a wealth of insights in to the historical role and social status of Black Californians. The most helpful are: San Francisco *Mirror of the Times*, California's first Black-owned newspaper, published in 1857; San Francisco *Pacific Appeal*; San Francisco *Elevator*; San Francisco *Pacific Coast Appeal*; Oakland *Western Outlook*; Oakland *Sunshine*; Los Angeles *Sentinel*; and Los

Angeles *California Eagle*. Unfortunately, the incompleteness of the files of these newspapers will present some difficulties in continuity and interpretation for the researcher.

Location of Materials

The student of California Black history will find that research in the field is often complicated by many librarians' limited acquaintance with general ethnic history. The following list of depositories for materials and what those materials are likely to be will help the researcher in locating sources:

DEPOSITORIES	MATERIALS
1. California State Library, Sacramento	State Government documents and publications; microfilmed newspapers; unpublished state census data; article clippings; photographs; miscellaneous books.
2. California State Archives, Sacramento	State court records and briefs; state statutes; Senate and Assembly bills; incorporation papers; state documents; newspapers.
3. Bancroft Library and University Library Annex, Berkeley	Manuscripts and papers; materials on labor and slavery; wide variety of microfilmed and bound newspapers; M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations.
4. California Historical Society, San Francisco	Manuscript materials relating to slavery in California; original court briefs; photographs.
5. Huntington Library, San Marino	Materials on Blacks in Los Angeles prior to the 1940's.
6. Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History	Miscellaneous unbound newspapers.
7. Schomburg Collection, New York City	Los Angeles newspapers: <i>California Eagle</i> , 1916-51; unbound issues of <i>Tribune</i> ; few unbound copies of <i>New Age-Dispatch</i> .
8. African American Historical and Cultural Society, San Francisco	Miscellaneous papers, files and books.
9. Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco	Miscellaneous documents and biographies.

⁸ Especially *Ward v. Flood* (1874) and *Wysinger v. Crookshank* (1890).

THE CHINESE

By **Thomas W. Chinn**
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of America; Author

It is presumed that the serious person conducting research into his chosen subject will prepare by acquainting himself with a thorough background knowledge of the minority group he intends studying.

There are many reasons why the first and second generation Chinese are most reluctant to talk about themselves or their family history. It is necessary for the researcher to understand this background, and I shall endeavor to explain some of them here.

From the time the first Chinese arrived in California in the 19th century, the image of these people became fixed in the minds of readers according to the fancy and interpretations of the Caucasian authors of the period. These writings and sketches still survive and each new generation reading them perpetuates this image. Needless to say, most of them were not complimentary.

One has but to refer to the many volumes of material written about the Chinese from 1849 to about 1940 to realize just how stereotyped the Chinese were, in the minds of the average Caucasian person. Only the few who have developed personal contact with the Chinese have a more rounded knowledge.

These, and the many discriminatory laws that continually cropped up over the years, made early Chinese settlers wary of interviews and reluctant to be quoted.

To many of us, it is hard to realize that less than 30 years ago, it was illegal for a California corporation to employ a Chinese. Not that no Chinese were hired by some corporations. On the contrary, the law was never seriously enforced. But it did offer alibis for some firms to point to this law as their excuse for not hiring a Chinese. (California's second Constitution, adopted in 1879, prohibited employment of Chinese by any corporation, state, municipal or county governments. The provision was repealed 65 years later — in 1944.)

Over the past century and a quarter, many Chinese have arrived here whose local-region backgrounds made for varying differences in their religious and cultural customs. These customs were continued in California and throughout the continent. Their descendants also carried on this tradition. And late arrivals to the United States without benefit of first-hand information carried these customs, as well as the pioneers' history, along gradually different lines, until the original was lost in the maze of re-telling.

Into this situation comes the average embryo researcher, seeking enlightenment about many things. Some seek Chinese culture, an all-embracing subject. Others want genealogical information. Still others want historical information on the pioneer Chinese in the United States.

Depending on his need, he interviews a Chinese who claims some knowledge on the subject, and your researcher is

launched upon his "project." Some of the inquirers do not bother to look into the background of the informant. As long as he was Chinese, it was generally assumed he knew what he was talking about. And thus it was written on paper. Over the years, this "documentary evidence" was taken as historical fact.

In more recent years, another factor has come into the picture. With the number of grants becoming available, more and more individuals have been successful in obtaining grants, and thus financially endowed, embark upon their research. Too often the amount of research is limited to the amount of the grant, thus imposing restrictions on the project.

At least a few ideas might be helpful in assisting the researcher in writing about the Chinese. I have, for my own edification, developed some guidelines which may be of assistance to others in this work. It is divided into several eras:

Period One: 1849–1880. Period One was the era when the Chinese fortune-hunter came mainly as a sojourner, leaving his family behind. He sought to make a small fortune so he could return to China. This was the period when the Chinese was nearly always a male. He was typical of all fortune hunters—desperate enough to risk his life in a new environment because his own previous existence offered him little hope. He arrived with other men and was generally identified by his first name (Ah Tom, Ah Sing, Ah Tye), generally worked hard, and if fortunate, returned to China with a few hundred dollars—enough to last him for life. He seldom left behind any link to his brief sojourn in America.

Period Two: 1881–1906. Started with America's first Exclusion act—against the Chinese. During Period Two several changes in the Exclusion law were made, which closed the door to Chinese immigration. It was during this period that the Chinese here gave serious thought to raising their families in America—despite the many anti-Chinese sentiments and legislations against them. Here, at least, they glimpsed a hope for the future for themselves and their children. And this period saw the development and implementation of ideas to bring their families to America in spite of the Exclusion laws. The bastion of the Chinese was San Francisco's Chinatown. Its ties to Chinese gangsterism and the ill-equipped and unsanitary quarters largely disappeared with the City's earthquake and fire in 1906.

Period Three. 1907 to 1941. Period Three saw a resurgence of Chinese morale and outlook with the rebuilding of new quarters. A stiffening attitude against lawlessness spread across the country's Chinatowns. A very encouraging sign also was apparent with the larger number of American-born—the second generation—coming into maturity and becoming more westernized and more highly educated. They began to take a hand in community affairs.

This period saw the disappointment of the college graduate unable to find employment. Many sought any employment—however menial. Others, with the birth of the Chinese Republic in 1912, tried immigration in reverse. Where their parents sought new hope in America, these American-born offered their talents in western technology to China. In the 1920's, the number of Chinese in America dwindled from a high of 120,000 to less than 62,000, because of the Exclusion laws and the imbalance of the sexes.

Period Four. 1942 to the present. This period commenced with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which made instant allies of America and China. Immigration laws were revised; new immigrants—just a trickle—started again. Chinese GI's were able to bring back Chinese war brides to America. Many discriminating laws were legislated out of existence, and the emergence into respectability and equality of many minority groups began.

As an overview here are a few paragraphs contained in *A History of the Chinese in California—A syllabus*. They are part of the introduction I wrote in the book, published in 1969 by the Chinese Historical Society of America.

The rapidly disappearing restrictions once placed upon the Chinese also meant the gradual disappearance of many local customs that were once adopted or modified in order to survive. Once highly restrictive immigration, separating families and causing wide disparity in the male-female ratio, is a thing of the past.

*Older persons of the first generation, who arrived here from China and never learned to read or write English, was also a group thought to be fast disappearing. Succeeding generations of American-born who have never known any other homeland, rose numerically. Rose Hum Lee wrote in the introduction to her book, *The Chinese in the United States of America*, that: "By 1970 people in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth generations of settlement will outnumber those of the first and second generations, so that the influence of China-oriented members will diminish. To the American-born Chinese, China is as much a foreign country as it is to any other Americans. . . ."*

By a strange quirk of fate, this may not come true for many, many decades. The recent re-adjustments of immigration quotas to be re-united here at a greatly accelerated pace; refugees and other classes of desirable skilled immigrants, have brought about a wholesale revision of all previous prognostications.

In a manner of speaking, this will alter the course of Chinese history in America. Where the original 49'er pioneer and his generation came as sojourners, leaving behind family, hearth and home, the present newcomers come as a family unit, as individuals determined to set their roots here. Thus the disparity between sexes which once reached 27 males for each female is also rapidly becoming a page of the past.

The increased number of new immigrants is causing much revision in the social, economic and political life of the Chinese in America. A new chapter of that history will unfold as newcomers attempt to make the adjustments necessary to enter the mainstream of community life. Naturally their old-world customs, habits and outlooks will cling to them until they adjust to the new environment. Until then, such organizations as the Chinese family, district and tong associations, and other social groups, will feel the increased tempo of activity. And there will be greater reason than ever before for the existence of Chinatowns.

Each period influenced changes in the plans and actions of the Chinese to some extent. Thus as the researcher goes into his work, these thoughts are worthy of some consideration as background material in formulating the various aspects of his research and summary.

HOW TO CONDUCT HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON CALIFORNIA'S ETHNIC MINORITIES – JAPANESE AMERICANS

By Edison Uno

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The 1970 census lists 213,280 persons of Japanese ancestry in the State of California. Nationally, the figure is 591,290 out of a total population of over 203 million Americans. As one of the highly visible and identifiable ethnic minorities in America, Japanese Americans rank fourth in number preceded by Native Americans, Chicanos, and Blacks in that order. Chinese Americans and Filipino Americans are fifth and sixth, respectively, and are considered in the larger designation of Asian Americans which includes Japanese, Koreans, and other Pacific origin peoples.

Of all the minority groups, and even including the dominant whites, no other group can compare with the wealth of research material, statistics, personal data, economic, social, and collective information than that of Americans of Japanese descent. Japanese in America present the best example of written history and recorded data, thereby making them ideal subjects to study. Several factors make them unique and interesting research subjects:

1. The high literacy rate among the original immigrants resulted in the early establishment of community newspapers which documented their history, contribution, and progress.
2. Japanese history in the United States is only a few more than one hundred years old.
3. Prior to World War Two, most of the Japanese population was concentrated in Hawaii and the West Coast.
4. As an ethnic group, the first and second generations in America remained relatively isolated. Only recently has there been an increase of interracial marriages, acculturation, and assimilation.
5. The United States Government's wartime imprisonment of 110,000 persons of Japanese descent and the subsequent individual record keeping system used by the War Relocation Authority is one of the most perfect set of records on any classification of Americans.

High Literacy

As a result of strong behavioral characteristics which are part of the transplanted culture of the Japanese American heritage, they have been stereotyped as being quiet, docile, passive and non-verbal and otherwise known as the "Quiet Americans."

What is not generally understood is their high literacy rate among the early immigrant pioneers and their support of bi-lingual newspapers in almost every large population center where they established communities. The *Rafu Shimpō* (Los Angeles Japanese Daily News) is the oldest and largest Japanese publication. It is celebrating its seventieth year, having been founded in 1903. The Japanese communities in Los

Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Salt Lake City, Denver, Chicago and New York have community newspapers, and in some cities, they have two dailies and a weekly publication. The abundance of community newspapers is an extraordinary accomplishment due to the high cost of supporting a daily publication with such a small population base.

Japanese newspapers have and continue to play an important and vital role in the Japanese American community. They are an excellent source of original historical data as they reported the news of a growing community. The publishing houses also produced two very important research projects—special holiday editions and periodic yearbooks and telephone directories.

Once a year the Japanese press produced a huge holiday edition, often running more than 150 full-size pages. This special edition was distributed at the end of the year in conjunction with the celebration of the Japanese New Year holiday. These special editions became an institution because they provided extra revenue for the newspaper, provided a vehicle for readers to advertise their holiday greetings, and contained interesting human interest stories, historic events, news, photographs, and special features which reflected the growth, success, and interests of the community. Old bound volumes are available today and recently many old newspapers have been preserved on microfilm at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The second publication, a storehouse of valuable historic information and facts, is "nenkan" or yearbooks. These contained personal family histories, business and agricultural features, regional histories, church and organizational histories, and other primary information which recorded the history of the community year after year. Thousands of these yearbooks were sold or distributed, and many are still available in the offices of the publishers or in private libraries within the community.

The only disadvantage for non-Japanese reading researchers is that this untapped resource is all in the Japanese language. Very little work has been done to translate this old material; therefore, there is a vast amount of basic research available to anyone who is capable of translating old newspapers and yearbooks.

W.R.A. Records

The Federal Government is responsible for the best documented study of any group in the history of this country. Any social scientist would have a field day if one had access to the 160,000 machine-readable IBM cards maintained by the War Relocation Authority on all evacuees during World War Two. The cards are kept at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., with duplicates at the Bancroft Library on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley and at the Japanese American History Project at *U.C.L.A.* I have been told by experts in the field of research that these are the most comprehensive record of any group of people in our long history. I have seen and used these cards and can vouch for their potential usefulness, even some 31 years after they were prepared. There are approximately 31 punched items on each individual card and include all or part of the following information:

1. Name
1a Other name
2. Relocation Center, address there, entry date.

3. Assembly Center, address there, entry date.
4. Previous address (pre-evacuation).
5. Names of parents and their countries of birth.
- 5a Father's occupation in the United States and abroad.
6. Name, relationship and address of person who should be notified in case of an emergency.
7. Education in terms of levels, names, locations, and dates of attendance at educational institutions.
8. Residence outside of the United States in terms of country and dates.
9. Military or naval service in terms of country, branch and dates.
10. Public assistance (aid to dependent children, aid to blind, and old age assistance).
11. Pension (source, amount, and pay period).
12. Height
- 12a Weight
13. Physical condition.
14. Individual number (W.R.A.)
15. Family number (W.R.A.)
16. Sex
17. Race and spouse's race.
18. Marital status
19. Relationship to head of family group.
20. Birth date.
- 20a Age
21. Birthplace (city, county, state or province, country).
22. Alien Registration number.
23. Attending school (yes or no)
24. Grade
25. Language spoken, read, and written.
26. Major activity or status.
27. Occupation (primary and secondary)
28. Employment history in terms of name of employer, business, address, position, duties, dates, and pay.
29. Skills and hobbies.
- 29a Social Security Account number.
30. Religion
31. Additional information pertaining to earlier items.

These records are intact and in excellent condition. I have never seen or heard if an actual IBM run has been made of these cards.

National Archives

All of the War Relocation Authority's records are preserved in The National Archives in Washington, D.C. A preliminary inventory of all the records on this subject is itemized in the National Archives booklet #77 which was compiled by Estelle Rebec and Martin Rogin and published in 1955. In 1968, James Paulauskas of the National Archives prepared a summary of W.R.A. records which supplemented the earlier inventories.

I have had the opportunity to use the facilities of the National Archives on two separate trips in recent years. I am extremely impressed with the individual attention I received. I was amazed at the tremendous volume of original documentation on the Japanese experience during the war that has not been thoroughly researched or examined. Most of the material is catalogued and well organized, thereby making research convenient and expeditious. An added bonus is an extensive photo file containing some 8,000 black and white 8" x 10" photographs of the camp experience. Duplicates and negatives were also found at the Bancroft Library.

Early History

The history of Japanese in America is just a little over 100 years old. The first settlement was at Gold Hill, California in 1869. There is a wealth of oral history that has been preserved from the early experiences of the Issei (first-generation Japanese who emigrated to America) which record the conditions of those pioneer days. The Japanese American History Project at *U.C.L.A.* can be contacted for these early accounts.

There are a number of excellent books on the early history of Japanese written in English. They are scholarly works which form the foundation of the early history; generally, they include important immigration statistics, population figures, employment classifications, standard of living, philosophy, assimilation, Americanization, and other related data. Two books worthy of recommendation are: *Japanese in the United States*, by Yamato Ichihashi (Stanford University Press, 1932); and *Japanese in America*, by Manchester Boddy, 1921. Both books have been reprinted by R & E Associates, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco.

Community Resources

As an ethnic group, Japanese Americans are fairly well organized, relatively speaking, and communication to a large segment of the community is obtained via the National Japanese American Citizens League and its house organ, *The Pacific Citizen*, published in Los Angeles. The JACL was organized in 1930 in Northern California. Today, it enjoys a national membership in excess of 27,000 paid members and has 94 chapters through the United States. It has had a successful record of legislative, judicial, and social change on behalf of Americans of Japanese ancestry. The organization is often the assumed spokesman for the entire community, which may or may not be accurate depending on the issue. It is a valuable resource, perhaps one of the most important ones; however, one should not exclude other valuable community resources which may be more specific in their interests and purposes.

I would like to suggest that anyone doing research on Japanese Americans consider the following resources for historical data:

1. Contact community resources, especially those individuals who are involved with ethnic studies.
2. Review the bibliographies and library resources.
3. Investigate and review the Japanese vernaculars.
4. Contact community organizations such as the JACL and churches.
5. Investigate the vast resources at the Japanese American Research Project at *U.C.L.A.* and the Bancroft Library at University of California, Berkeley for W.R.A. records.
6. Communicate with the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and other governmental agencies who have valuable information.
7. Refer to the socio-economic data available in the United States Bureau of the Census of Population - Subject Report, Final Report PC (2) - 1G, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos in the United States.
8. Contact the Japanese American Studies Department at:
 - a. University of California, Berkeley
 - b. University of California, Los Angeles
 - c. California State University, San Francisco

Finally, I believe it extremely important to have community consultants who can give a perspective of the Japanese Ameri-

can experience by relating the differences of their cultural heritage, philosophy, and psychology which is an inherent and necessary ingredient of any study of this ethnic minority. No doubt, I have inadvertently omitted other valuable resources and institutions. There are private collections such as the Hoover Library at Stanford University, the California Historical Society library in San Francisco, and other depositories of California history which will produce much of the early anti-Japanese history in the Golden State.

If I can personally be of assistance to anyone interested in the history of Japanese in America, especially the California experience, I will be pleased to offer my perspective. I may be contacted by mail at: 515 Ninth Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94118, or by telephone at (415) 752-8765.

I strongly believe that history must be intercepted by those who lived it whenever possible. In the case of the Japanese Americans their viewpoint is vital. There is no excuse to ignore it when there is so much data available.

CALIFORNIA'S ETHNIC MINORITIES: OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH AT THE FEDERAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS CENTER

By Ann M. Campbell
Executive Director
Society of American Archivists

Federal population census schedules make possible a sketch of the ethnic composition of an 1880 workingman's neighborhood located in San Jose, just a few steps from the building in which this meeting is held today. Of thirteen heads of household in the area of Tenth, San Fernando, and Santa Clara Streets, seven were foreign-born. The remaining six were all born east of the Mississippi.

While this sample is clearly too small to support sweeping generalizations about the neighborhood, it is offered as a modest example of the kind of research it is hoped will be encouraged by today's proceedings.

The broadening of historical perspective in California to embrace all cultural groups shaping the state's character had led the staff of the Archives Branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center (FARC), San Bruno, to explore the potential of the census and certain other holdings for ethnic research. This paper is in large measure a sampler of archives holdings rather than a recital of record groups, series titles, and so forth, all so dear to the hearts of archivists, but so foreign to the ears of many researchers.

The holdings of the National Archives in Washington and its eleven regional archives are records of the Federal Government which have been appraised as having permanent value. The regional archives in San Bruno are accessioned from the non-current records created by agencies in Northern California, Northern Nevada, Hawaii and American Samoa, and stored in the FARC. Another Federal Archives and Records Center is located at 4747 Eastern Avenue, Bell, California. The facility serves Southern California, Southern Nevada and Arizona. An important distinction exists between the two kinds of holdings in the Centers, which is, most simply, that most records stored are still legally in the custody of the agencies that originated them. These accessioned by the regional archives are in the legal custody of the National Archives. The materials discussed today are from this category of holdings. Less than five percent of the records which come to the FARC will become archives. The remainder will, when their useful life is over, be destroyed in accordance with disposal schedules which have Congressional approval.

Regional archives holdings are supplemented by almost 10,000 rolls of microfilm of sources held by the National Archives in Washington. This material, available on interinstitutional loan, contains information of value to the students of California's ethnic minorities and will be considered in this paper.¹ While

¹ The San Bruno Archives Branch has published a catalog of microfilm holdings. It is available on request from Chief, Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, 1000 Commodore, San Bruno, CA 94066.

much material in the National Archives in Washington, not yet available on microfilm, also relates to California's ethnic minorities, it will not be given much coverage here. A list of available guides to these Washington sources is, however, appended to this paper.

For materials pertinent to a given research topic to be present in the Archives, it is almost always a necessary prerequisite that the Federal Government in some way had a connection with the events, persons, subjects or conditions about which the researcher seeks data. This limits the research potential of holdings both in scope and time. For example, the great bulk of California-related holdings do not antedate 1846, the year Commodore Sloat raised the American flag in Monterey. However, in the intervening years a significant body of records have been created which the researcher should find of particular value.

Beginning with this prerequisite of Federal involvement, the ethnic studies researcher should look for functions, programs and operations of Federal departments and agencies that resulted in the recording of data about ethnic groups or the recording of data about individuals that identified ethnic status.

Selected examples from archives branch sources follow.

Courts and the United States Attorney

The records of the United States District Court include both naturalization papers and case files of interest in ethnic studies.

Aliens who wished to become naturalized citizens of the United States filed Declarations of Intention with various courts prior to 1906 and solely with the United States District Courts after that date. The San Bruno Center thus holds only a portion of the pre-1906 Declarations filed in California. Others may be located in the files of various county courts in the state and in the State Archives in Sacramento. For the period after 1906, holdings include a complete set of Declarations which generally contain the following information: name of alien, age, occupation, physical description, birthplace, birth date, residence, port of emigration, vessel, last foreign residence, present ruler to whom subject, port of arrival and date of arrival. Pre-1906 Declarations contain less information; often only the name, present allegiance of the applicant, and date and place of the Declaration.

Some Federal Court case files include extensive depositions and transcripts of testimony which have substantial research value.² For example, documentation of the growth of the business of the nineteenth century Jewish merchant Levi Strauss can be found in a series of cases in which he defended the patent which would make his name a household word—the patent issued in 1873 for rivets in clothing. In an 1876 case, the defendant was Kan Lun, who was further identified as “a citizen of China and resident of the State of California.” By 1878 Strauss filed an affidavit in another case which noted his business now employed sixty to ninety operators making riveted garments, “all but three of whom are women working for their support.” the annual value of production was estimated at between \$100,000 and \$150,000.³ The Strauss firm lost their corporate records in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire and recently used National Archives sources to reconstruct missing data.

Interesting sidelights on the political activities of Hindus and other Indians in the United States during the early part of this century are found in Court case papers and United States Attorney's materials relating to criminal proceedings involving violations of World War I Neutrality Acts. The Ghadar Party, headquartered in San Francisco and Sacramento, played a significant role in the Indian nationalist movement in a formative stage of its development. Archives branch holdings include case files of several criminal trials involving Indians and Germans, as well as a considerable volume of evidential material assembled in preparing the prosecution by the United States Attorney. Included are extracts from the Ghadar newspaper which was published in California. These sources are supplemented by microfilm of related material in the National Archives in Washington from the records of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and the Department of Justice.

Numerous early cases document discriminatory practices against the Chinese in California. In 1886, the Circuit Court heard habeas corpus proceedings in which Wo Lee, a Chinese laundryman of San Francisco, contested enforcement of an ordinance passed by the Board of Supervisors of the city which made it an offense “for any person or persons to establish, maintain or carry on a laundry within the corporate limits of the city and county of San Francisco, without having first obtained the consent of the board of supervisors, except that the same be located in a building constructed of either brick or stone.” The position of the laundryman was that the ordinance, as enforced, discriminated against Chinese and favored large white-run laundry establishments. Exhibits entered into evidence included photographs of laundries operated by the following San Francisco Chinese: Yick Wo at 349 Third, Jim Kee at 1233 Howard, Sang Lee at 924 Howard and We Wo at 505 Minna. Each frame shop had a roof covered with drying laundry. Wo Lee, who had been “engaged in the business of washing clothes at 318 Dupont Street” for over 25 years, received a favorable ruling in the case which was appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

Students tracing the implications of World War II for Japanese-Americans have found the case files of the courts of considerable value. Several researchers have studied the voluminous trial of Iva Toguri d'Aquino, a 1940 UCLA graduate who was better known in the popular press as “Tokyo Rose.” The trial established that “Tokyo Rose” was not one woman but the voices of many women who broadcast music and alleged propaganda on “Zero Hour” from Tokyo during the war. Mrs. d'Aquino was the only one who was born in the United States. Recent studies have suggested that her conviction may have been influenced by the public temper of the times which was still inflamed against United States citizens of Japanese ancestry. A number of other court cases tested the constitutionality

² See W. N. Davis Jr., “Research Uses of County Court Records, 1850-1879, And Incidental Intimate Glimpses of California Life and Society,” *California Historical Quarterly*, LII (Fall 1973), 241-266, for a consideration of the research value of county court records.

³ A more thorough consideration of Levi Strauss in court will appear in an article by the author, “In Nineteenth Century Nevada: Federal Records As Sources for Local History,” accepted for publication in the *Nevada State Historical Society Quarterly*.

of the relocation effort and others considered the permanence of subsequent renunciations of citizenship by a number of Japanese-Americans.

Government of American Samoa

On April 17, 1973, Flag Day, a national holiday of considerable significance in American Samoa, was celebrated for the first time on the mainland. Several hundred Samoans, representing the many thousand who now reside in California, gathered at the San Bruno Federal Archives and Records Center to view documents relating to the history of their islands, and to recreate traditional Flag Day ceremonies—complete with native singing and dancing, the Navy band, a royal kava ceremony, and a 400-pound roast pig.

The archives branch has accessioned 183 feet of records of the Government of American Samoa, 1900–1966. This material, which includes records of the Offices of the Governor and Attorney General, and the High Court, provides a basis for analyses of the changing role of the United States in native affairs, and for some conclusions as to the feasibility of the pledge made in April of 1900 by the United States Naval Commander who accepted cession of the island, that the traditional customs and way of life of *fa'a Samoa*, old Samoa, would be protected. In 1900, Samoa had no central governmental machinery, no written law and no private ownership of property.

Governors' papers deal with such subjects as regulations made, public health activities, economic development, education and the local political situation. Records of the Attorneys General include reports of village and county chiefs, 1939–1955; immigration and emigration records, 1937–1965; and reports of revenue from copra sales, 1908–1948.

High court records include some proceedings of the Fono, 1905–1947, an annual meeting of chiefs called by the Governor to advise him.

A research opportunity of considerable challenge awaits the student who might wish to compare aspects of the involvement of the Federal Government in Samoa with the government's role on mainland Indian reservations.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, found both in original archives branch holdings and on microfilm of Washington holdings, offer rich research opportunities.

Earliest original records are from the Round Valley Agency. Just about everything that ever happened to Indians in their often-tragic history of dealing with whites happened there. Research in National Archives microfilm, original Round Valley records and selected published government documents can provide case studies of various aspects of this experience, although the white man's view is inescapable in such an undertaking.

A period of particular interest in Round Valley's history is the decade of the 1870's in which Protestant ministers were appointed as superintendents of the reservation. On November 30, 1874, the Rev. J. L. Burchard reported that under his administration, "974 have joined the Church, quarrelling, fighting, gambling, dancing, Sabbath-breaking, and all their

heathen vices abandoned, many have adopted lawful marriage. To see them clothed and in their right mind, to see them singing, praying and praising their and our God, is glorious in results."

The records of the Greenville Indian School and Agency are also held by the archives branch. Founded by the Women's National Indian Association in 1890, the school was purchased by the government in 1897. Five years later the Greenville superintendent received a circular letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington which provided a striking indication of prevailing national policies which were to be enforced in California.

January 13, 1902

Sir:

This office desires to call your attention to a few customs among the Indians which, it is believed, should be modified or discontinued. . . . The wearing of long hair by the male population of your agency is not in keeping with the advancement they are making, or will soon be expected to make, in civilization. The wearing of short hair by the males will be a great step in advance and will certainly hasten their progress towards civilization. . . . On many of the reservations the Indians of both sexes paint, claiming that it keeps the skin warm in winter and cool in summer; but instead, this paint melts when the Indian perspires and runs down into the eyes. . . . You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and both sexes to stop painting. . . . Employment, supplies, etc., should be withdrawn until they do comply and if they become obstreperous about the matter a short confinement in the guard-house at hard labor, with shorn locks, should furnish a cure. . . . The wearing of citizen's clothing, instead of the Indian costume and blanket, should be encouraged. . . . Indian dances and so-called Indian feasts should be prohibited. In many cases their dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts and to disguise immoral purposes. You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils.

W. A. Jones, Commissioner⁴

A research theme suggested by this letter—how policies promulgated by Washington were implemented in the field—is one that can be pursued in the regional records of a number of agencies and bureaus.

Other *BIA* records held by the archives branch originated on the Hoopa Valley and Tule River Valley Reservations and in the Sacramento Indian Agency. Papers created by Col. LaFayette A. Dorrington, a special agent and investigator for the BIA, ca. 1915–1925, are of considerable interest. A guide to Dorrington's papers has recently been prepared as an intern's project and is available for review at the archives branch.

⁴ An employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in California added a negative editorial comment on the reverse of the final page of this letter. Entitled "The Indian's Soliloquy," it begins, "To wear hair or not to wear hair: That is the question."

There is a major source of vital statistics relating to California Indians in the regional archives branch: the annual and special census rolls taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1885 to 1939. These census rolls usually give the Indian's tribal name (sometimes with an English translation of the name), his English name (which might vary from year to year and was sometimes not the same as the English translation of his Indian name), his census or annuity roll number, his age or the date of his birth, his sex, and his relationship to the head of the family. Beginning in 1930, the agents added the degree of Indian blood possessed by each person, marital status, place of residence, and ward status to the information recorded.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

The Berkeley office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics performed research for the Department of Agriculture in land use, community organization, agricultural finance and related subjects. Included in archives branch holdings of BAE records are a number of manuscript reports and statistical studies which should be of particular interest to the researcher interested in the Japanese-American impact on California's agriculture. Beginning in 1940, when agricultural census data indicated that there were 5,135 Japanese farmers in California operating establishments of \$65,780,000 in value, the BAE collected and analyzed pertinent data. For example, 1940 agricultural census findings were used to prepare a series of maps indicating, by California county, Japanese ownership, operation or tenancy of farms. A work table dated February 1942 used in estimating "loss in California vegetable acreage if enemy aliens and Japanese-American citizens are moved" is also included in the files. The anticipated impact of relocation on numerous crops—from artichokes to watermelons—was analyzed in the table. The BAE worked closely with the War Relocation Authority, whose records are at the National Archives in Washington and partially duplicated in the Bancroft Library. Some WRA material found its way into BAE files because of this association. For example, a manuscript WRA chart, revised September 24, 1943, analyzed types of commercial, residential and farm properties owned by evacuees from each of eleven California counties near San Francisco. Evacuee holdings in Santa Clara County included six nurseries and florists, three food stores, two general stores and other commercial establishments. Farm types in the county included seven berry, seven truck and fruit and twenty-six diversified. By 1944 BAE research had turned to plans for the future. Walter C. McKain was author of a six-page essay entitled "When the Japanese Return to California."⁵

Census

This paper concludes by coming full circle back to a more thorough consideration of the material with which it began—the population census.

A first step in ethnic studies is to establish the size of the group under consideration in relationship to the total population of an area, and to that of other ethnic groups. Ideally, additional demographic information is developed as to age, marital status and occupation of the group's members. Nineteenth century population census schedules are invaluable in this undertaking. The schedules for agriculture and manufacturing are located in the State Library in Sacramento.

The first decennial census was recorded in California in 1850. This census, and those which followed it in 1860, 1870 and

1880, has a wealth of data valuable for ethnic research. Each census gives the country of birth of individuals enumerated who were not native born. They also include information about an individual's occupation, family relationships, literacy and physical disabilities. The censuses of 1870 and 1880 show if a person's parents were native or foreign born, and the 1880 goes further and shows the countries of parents' birth. In addition, each of the four censuses included a "color" category. In 1850 and 1860 the enumerator was limited to codes for white, black and mulatto in the color column. In 1870 and 1880 codes were added for Chinese and Indians. The National Archives has microfilmed the population schedules for these years, and the California schedules are available at many libraries throughout the state. The archives branch holds the 1850 and 1880 California census on microfilm. Ninety-nine percent of the 1890 population census, including all schedules for California, was destroyed by a fire in the Department of Commerce in 1921. Arrangements for the release of the 1900 census are now being negotiated by representatives of the National Archives and the Department of Commerce.

In a recently prepared study entitled "Social Demography of the Chinese in Nevada: 1870-1880," Gregg Carter, a student of Dr. Ralph Roske at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, has demonstrated the research potential of census returns.⁶ Carter analyzed the distribution of Chinese by county, distribution of the Chinese population by age group, distribution by occupation and so forth. His study indicated, for example, that in 1870 the Chinese comprised 8.4% of the state's total population. Of 3,123 Chinese enumerated, 1,292 were identified as laborers, 477 as cooks, 343 as laundrymen, et cetera. Eighteen Chinese doctors, three druggists and one speculator were also listed. The ratio of white males to females in Nevada was three to one; of Chinese males to females it was nine to one.⁷

In closing, I am reminded of the apocryphal nineteenth century census query: Have you had the measles: If so, how many? There is no doubt the archives branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center has important sources for ethnic studies. How many? With the warning that the experience could prove infectious, we invite your participation in exploring the answer.

SELECTED GUIDES TO ETHNIC SOURCES IN NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON

Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of the Census, PI 161 (1964).

Federal Population Censuses, 1790-1890 (\$1.00).

Preliminary Inventory of the Cartographic Records of the Bureau of the Census, PI 103 (1958).

⁵ See *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives*, 5 (Fall 1973), 179-180, for the author's accession essay describing another segment of BAE holdings at San Bruno.

⁶ Carter's paper was published in *Backtrails*, 1 (January 1973), 1-11.

⁷ See Robert A. Burchell, "British Immigrants in Southern California, 1850-1870," *Southern California Quarterly*, LIII (December 1971), 283-302, for another study relying heavily on census data.

YUGOSLAVS IN CALIFORNIA: CONSIDERATIONS FOR RESEARCH

By Adam S. Eterovich
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I Background – History

1. Major Ethnic Groups

Serbian
Croatian
Slovenian
Macedonian

2. Major Religious Groups

Eastern Orthodox
Roman Catholic
Moslem (12%)

3. Austrian, Italian, Turk or Slav?

The Yugoslav or South Slav had no national state prior to World War I and over an approximate 500-year period was under:

Austria-Hungary
Hungary
Venice
Italy
Turkey
Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik)
Kingdom of Montenegro
Serbian Kingdom

Federal Population and Mortality Schedules, 1790-1890, in the National Archives and the States: Outline of a Lecture on Their Availability, Content, and Use (1971).

Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, PI 163 (1965).

Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, SL 13 (1954).

Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States and Mexican Claims Commissions, PI 136 (1962).

Indians in the United States, Select Audiovisual Records (list of photos).

Statistics and Statistical Materials in the Records of the War Relocation Authority, National Archives Reference Information Paper No. 59.

Vital Statistics in the National Archives Relating to the American Indian, National Archives Reference Information Paper No. 61.

Data Relating to Negro Military Personnel in the 19th Century, National Archives Reference Information Paper No. 63.

Reference copies of these publications are available in the searchroom of the Federal Archives and Records Center, San Bruno. Single copies may be obtained from NATS, National Archives (GSA), Washington, D.C. 20408.

4. Who and What is the South Slav?

The Yugoslavs are predominantly of the Slavonic race. They were for the most part under Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Venice.

This influence of almost 500 years was Austro-Germanic, Turkish and Italian, three very diverse cultures.

This domination and influence covered:

Austrian Empire in 1850

Bohemia	Moravia	Gallicia	Austria
Transylvania	Salzburg	*Carinthia	Hungary
*Stiria	Tyrol	Lombardy	Venetia
*Illyria	*Croatia	*Slavonia	*Dalmatia

Turkey in Europe in 1850

*Croatia (Part)	*Serbia	*Hercegovina	*Macedonia
*Bosnia	Moldavia	Walachia	Bulgaria
Romania	Albania	Greece	

Republic of Venice to 1800

*Dalmatia	*Istria	*Croatia (Part)
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**Now part of Yugoslavia*

II Considerations for Research in California

1. The major problem and consideration was one of identification or national origin. They were recorded on all official and unofficial documents as Austrian, Turk, Italian and in many other forms.

The most important sources utilized were:

U.S. Census of Population for 1850-1880
 Voting Registers
 Cemetery Records
 Church Records
 Benevolent Society Records
 Business Directories
 Newspapers

2. The Census Records were found to be the most valuable tool in establishing numbers, activity and origin.

An example of the "National Origin" difficulty:

Antunovich, F.	33	1860	Coffee Saloon	S.F.	Italy
Antunovich, F.	53	1880	Coffee Saloon	S.F.	Austria
Barovich, N.	35	1860	Saloon	S.F.	Russia
Barovich, N.	55	1880	Hotel	S.J.	Austria
Calabota, S.	67	1870	Restaurant	S.F.	Austria
Calabota, S.	77	1880	Restaurant	S.F.	Slavonian
Gelcich, V.	30	1860	Physician	S.F.	Italy
Gelcich, V.	40	1870	Physician	LA	Dalmatia
Gelcich, V.	50	1880	Physician	LA	Austria
Lazarevich, J.	31	1860	Grocer	LA	Slavonian
Lazarevich, J.	41	1870	Grocer	LA	Montenegro
Milatovich, S.	29	1860	Fruits	S.F.	Italy
Milatovich, S.	39	1870	Fruits	S.F.	Austria
Drascovich, M.	37	1860	Saloon	S.F.	Turkey

A survey was made on 3x5 cards of all names found on the census of "Austrians."

1860-1870-1880 Census of California

Reported	#	Estimated Yugoslav
Austria	2403	1425
Dalmatia	42	42
"Slavonian"	22	22
Serbia	5	5
Montenegro	6	6
Hercegovina	1	1
Turkey	9	9
Italy	65	65
Russia	5	5
Greece	7	7
Hungary	1	1
Bohemia	15	—
Moravia	5	—
Prague	5	—
	<u>2591</u>	<u>1568</u>

1860-1870-1880 Census — Marriage of a Yugoslav

(Birthplace of Wife):

Yugoslavia	100
America	27
Argentina	1
Belgium	1
California (Mexican)	36
Canada	4
Chile	4
England	6
France	3
Germany	9
Italy	1
Ireland	55
Mexico	29
Portugal	2
Russia	1
Scotland	1
South America	1
Spain	1
Switzerland	3
Wales	1
	<u>286</u>

3. Usage of voting registers was an important tool which indicated residence and origin other than California in America.

An example is as follows:

							Naturalized
Elich, John	46	1872	Restaurant	Austria	1854	Ohio	
Gasivoda, Mark	48	1872	Farmer	Slavonian	1848	New Orleans	
Kisich, Luka	34	1872	Restaurant	Slavonian	1857	Alabama	
Palunco, Marco	29	1872	Fruits	Austria	1854	New York	
Rabasa, Marco	40	1872	Fruits	Austria	1851	New York	

4. Business Directories were another valuable source of information. Through this source over 1,000 businesses of Yugoslavs were identified in San Francisco prior to 1900.

The Business Directory would also list all Benevolent Societies with their officers. Occasionally, the Directories would also list the individual members and give

the Society address as their personal residence if they were in the gold or silver fields.

- Church records of birth, marriage and death were used extensively to prove national origin and specific place of origin. The earliest cemetery, the Slavonic Illyric Cemetery, was organized in 1861 in San Francisco.

A survey of the Slavonic Church in San Francisco, the Catholic Church of Nativity, is an excellent example of assimilation and nativity.

**Marriages – 1902 to 1920 – San Francisco
(Place of Birth of Both Partners)**

Dalmatia	456	American-Yugoslav	55
Slovenia	174	American	91
Croatia	49	Bohemia	7
Istria	43	Slovakia	13
Slavonia	5	Galicia	8
Hercegovina	5	Tyrol	1
Macedonia	1	Carinthia	1
Austria	2	Styria	6
Silesia	1	Hungary	41
Poland	11	Russia	3
Portugal	1	Spain	1
Germany	5	Italy	3
Mexico	2	Denmark	1
Greece	1	England	1
Ireland	2		

- Benevolent Societies prior to 1900 in California:

Slavic American Benevolent Society of Watsonville
 Slavonian American Benevolent Society of San Jose
 Slavonian American Benevolent Society of Los Angeles
 Croatian Slavonian Benevolent Society of Los Angeles
 Slavonian National Society Club of S.F.
 Austrian Benevolent Society of San Jose
 Austrian Protective Society of S.F.
 Russian Pan-Slavonic Society of S.F.
 Greek-Russian-Slavonian Benevolent Society of S.F.
 Austrian Benevolent Society of S.F.
 Austrian Military Benevolent Society of S.F.
 Serbian Montenegrin Society of S.F.
 Slavonic Library of S.F.
 Slavonic Illyric Benevolent Society of S.F.
 Slavonic Illyric Benevolent Society of Amador
 Slavonic Illyric Benevolent Society of Sacramento

The oldest society in California and America was the Slavonic Illyric Benevolent Society of San Francisco organized in 1857 by Dalmatians.

The oldest Serbian Society in California and American was organized in 1881 in San Francisco.

- The Yugoslav colony was well organized during the 1850's and 1860's in California. The majority came from Croatia on the coast and islands of Dalmatia.

The Serbian and Slovene colony were also represented, but in smaller numbers: approximately 15% Serbian, 15% Slovene and 70% Dalmatian/Croatian.

The important use and review of United States census of population abstracts indicated their presence in all

aspects of California life and endeavors.

One of the most striking facts was the total assimilation of the pre-1900 colony.

Today large numbers of Yugoslavs can be found in:

Amador County	– Farming & Mining
Watsonville	– Orchards
Fresno County	– Vineyards
San Pedro	– Fishing
San Francisco	– All occupations
Santa Clara County	– Orchards
Los Angeles	– All occupations

III Statistics

1. Population of Austria, By "Race or People," 1910

		%
Germans	9,500,600	33.2
Czechoslovaks	6,373,564	22.3
Poles	4,300,273	15.1
Ruthenians	3,474,663	12.2
Serb-Croat-Slovene	2,036,038	7.1
Jews	1,313,687	4.6
Italians	765,177	2.7
Magyars	10,797	0.0
Rumanians	274,804	1.0
Other	522,331	1.8
	28,571,934	100.0

Source: W. F. Wilcox, *International Migrations* (N.Y.: Nat. Bureau for Economic Research, 1931), II, 391.

2. Population of Hungary, By Language, 1900

		%
Magyar	8,588,834	51.4
Rumanian	2,784,726	16.7
German	1,980,423	11.8
Slovak	1,991,402	11.9
Croatian	188,552	1.1
Serbian	434,641	2.6
Ruthenians	423,159	2.5
Other	329,837	2.0
	16,721,574	100.0

Source: E. G. Balch, *Our Fellow Slavic Citizens* (N.Y.: Charities Publication, 1910, P 430).

3. Distribution of Serbo-Croatians in 1900

Croatian and Slavonia	2,102,000
Dalmatia	565,000
Bosnia & Hercegovina	1,550,000
Serbia	2,299,000
Montenegro	250,000
Elsewhere (Est.)	1,434,000
	8,200,000

Source: United States Immigration Commission, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (Washington: Govt. Print. Ofc., 1911), P. 47.

4. Immigration By County of Origin 1820-1963

*Austria (old)	3,758,091
Czechoslovakia	129,704
Hungary	522,772
Turkey in Europe	160,931
Yugoslavia (1919-1963)	69,834
	<hr/> 4,641,332

*Started counting in 1861!

Germany	6,798,313
Ireland	4,693,009
Italy	5,017,625
Great Britain	3,641,798
Sweden	1,255,296

Source: United States Immigration and Naturalization Service

5. National Composition of Yugoslavia, 1973

Montenegrins	Bulgarians
Croatians	Czechs
Macedonians	Italians
Moslems	Hungarians
Slovenes	Romanians
Serbs	Ruthenians
Albanians	Slovaks
Turks	Germans
Austrians	Poles
Greeks	Romanies
Jews	Russians
Ukrainians	Vlachs

Source: *Yugoslav Review*, Belgrade.

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