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### Leaders in Library Work with Immigrants: Eleanor (Edwards) Ledbetter

Part I:

The Broadway Branch of the Cleveland Public Library  
and the Cleveland Americanization Committee Years, 1910-1919.

by

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The flood of immigrants from Europe and all parts of the globe swelled Cleveland's population from 160,146 inhabitants in 1880 to 560,663 in 1910, the proportion of the city's inhabitants classified as foreign-born rose accordingly, from one-tenth to over one-third. Cleveland's foreign-born population in 1910 constituted a city unto itself larger than any other in the state of Ohio except Cincinnati, and equaled or surpassed in size only twenty-eight other cities in the entire country.<sup>1</sup>

The Cleveland Public Library fostered a policy of erecting branch libraries in the so-called foreign districts scattered throughout Cleveland to provide library service to the immigrants living there. Often the leaders of the more established immigrant neighborhoods would petition the Cleveland Public Library for a branch, as in the case of the leaders of the burgeoning Czech community in southeast Cleveland. William Howard Brett, then librarian of the Cleveland Public Library, in response to their request, solicited funds for this purpose from Andrew Carnegie, the immigrant philanthropist, who granted the capital needed to build the branch.

The Broadway Branch, named for its location at the intersection of East 55th Street and Broadway, opened for use in January 1906.<sup>2</sup> Four years later, in 1910, Eleanor (Edwards) Ledbetter, a forty-year-old widow, was appointed the third librarian of Broadway Branch and charged with ministering to the educational and recreational needs of mainly Czech, Polish, German, and Slovenian immigrants as well as smaller concentrations of other nationalities and ethnic groups living in the environs of the branch.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to her arrival in Cleveland, Eleanor Ledbetter had spent the first thirteen years of her professional career serving brief stints as librarian, library organizer, and

cataloger in academic and public libraries in Massachusetts, New York, Indiana, Texas, and, eventually, Ohio. During her longest tenure as special cataloger at the University of Texas, she married Dancy Ledbetter, gave birth to their son and only child, and suffered the loss of her husband, all within the course of four years.<sup>4</sup>

Although Ledbetter's resume of professional experiences prior to her arrival in Cleveland reveals nothing to indicate either experience with immigrants in general or, more to the point, a familiarity with their library and educational needs, it was apparent almost immediately to her colleagues in the Cleveland Public Library system and her patrons at the Broadway Branch, that she had found her niche.

The obvious reality that the Broadway Branch served a largely immigrant clientele did not alter Ledbetter's approach to library service. For Ledbetter, library service to immigrants was merely a natural extension of what she defined as "complete community service."<sup>5</sup> Ledbetter elabo-

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rated upon her views on library service to immigrants. "It is not a philanthropy, not an exhibition of noble generosity on our part, not a condescension; it is just a straightforward necessary part of extending the service of the library, the use of books, and reading, to the whole community."<sup>6</sup>

### *Social Work Approach to Library Work with Immigrants*

In order to put her philosophy of service into action, Ledbetter's first objective was to sell the library to the immigrant neighborhood rather than to wait for the neighbors themselves to discover the library. Ledbetter's staff included immigrants or first-generation Americans who spoke German and various Slavic languages used by the Broadway Branch's clientele. She and her staff made personal visits to individual homes and workplaces.<sup>7</sup> After the home and the workplace, the three initial targets in her publicity campaign were the church, the public and parochial schools, and the press. Ledbetter defined these three as the "universal agencies to be enlisted in work with the foreign born."<sup>8</sup>

Incorporating what she referred to often as "the human touch" into her task of surveying the community, Ledbetter created a bond of mutual and lasting trust between librarian and immigrant.<sup>9</sup> "Complete community service," as Ledbetter defined it, required that the librarian "must know the community, must study its component parts, its industries, its recreations, its connections with the rest of the world, until she can penetrate the veil of the accustomed and the habitual, and visualize the possibilities of response in the untouched life beneath the surface, and then bring forward the books which appeal to the possibilities thus discerned."<sup>10</sup>

### *Outreach Services*

Home visits served many purposes, not the least of which was to meet the immigrant women, who seldom left their homes, and to elicit their support and cooperation in the solution of discipline problems caused by their children.<sup>11</sup> Ledbetter, a mother herself, knew instinctively that the surest way to gain the respect and trust of immigrant mothers was to demonstrate concern for the well-being of their offspring. She explained that "a home visit makes the needed change in behavior; the mother invariably thanks us for having come to them, and these visits accomplish a double end in winning their friendship. In a foreign neighborhood each new friend is the beginning of a geometrical progression."<sup>12</sup>

The other equally beneficial purpose for these home visits, in terms of library publicity, was to distribute find-

ing lists. The women and older immigrants could send the lists back to the library, by way of their children and younger members of the community, marked with the items they desired.<sup>13</sup> Ledbetter observed that the elderly immigrants and foreign-born mothers seldom learned English sufficiently to be proficient or to transact business outside the confines of the close-knit Broadway neighborhood. She realized all too well that the provision of books in their foreign tongues and the access to them provided by the finding lists were essential parts of community library service.

### *Immigrant Branches*

In 1911, a new administrative policy of the Cleveland Public Library, designed to make foreign language books even more accessible to the patrons of the Broadway Branch and other branches in immigrant neighborhoods, went into effect, thus increasing the usefulness of these finding lists. Selected branches in immigrant communities scattered throughout Cleveland would have sole responsibility for the on-site circulation as well as intersystem loans of books in one or sometimes two of the immigrant languages used primarily by the patrons of a particular branch.

The Broadway Branch was assigned sole responsibility for the Czech and Polish books of the Cleveland Public Library system.<sup>14</sup> One year after this transfer of Czech and Polish books, a new sign was placed at the main entrance to the library. It proudly proclaimed that the Broadway Branch was a Free Public Library in five languages: English, Czech, Polish, Slovenian, and German, the latter language serving as a lingua franca for the Slavic peoples.<sup>15</sup>

### *Advertising Library Service to Immigrants*

Placards advertising the library hours and the availability of books in foreign languages and easy English were placed in shops and grocery stores. The foremen at manufacturing plants in the Broadway neighborhood were persuaded to place placards near the time clocks and to pass out circulars in suitable languages when the men checked out from work. Circulars were distributed as well by priests and parishioners after church services, displayed prominently at exhibits in neighborhood festivals, and sent home by children either from the library or the school.<sup>16</sup>

### *Cooperation with the Foreign Language Press*

Realizing that the foreign language newspapers were the primary link between the native lands of her patrons

and their adopted home in Cleveland, Ledbetter used the immigrant press as a primary source for advertising the Broadway Branch. She understood that the editors of the foreign language newspapers were quite influential, giving their readers not only what the readers themselves wanted to read but also what the editors wanted them to read. Since numerous Czech and Polish newspapers, in particular, vied for the readership of the residents of the Broadway Branch community, Ledbetter habitually sent material to rival newspapers rather than concentrating on one newspaper.<sup>17</sup>

Lists of new books, book reviews, and news items were prepared by Ledbetter in English and then sent to the different newspapers. Editorial staffs then translated them into the appropriate languages and published them regularly in the foreign language newspapers of Cleveland, including the Czech newspapers *Svet*, *American*, and *Americký Delnický Listy*; the Polish newspapers *Polonia w Ameryce*, *Jutrzenka*, and *Wiadomosci Codzienne*; and the Slovenian newspaper *Clevelandska Amerika*. She also provided articles and other news items to the Slovenian newspaper *Glas Naroda*, published in New York City, and served as English language editor of the *Serbian Herald*, based in San Francisco.<sup>18</sup>

All these articles and news items were meticulously clipped and preserved in scrapbooks so that Ledbetter could gauge the amount and tone of the coverage given the library by various newspapers. In one year alone, Ledbetter reported that a total of 545 inches of column space on library news appeared in the Czech papers and 516 in the Polish.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Increased Usage of Broadway Branch by Immigrants*

Upon completing its tenth year of service in 1916, during Ledbetter's sixth year as librarian, the Broadway Branch's ledgers had recorded 1,228,085 visitors, had issued 1,749,980 books, and had registered over 30,000 borrowers representing at least twenty nationalities. Ledbetter reflected that "such an influence in the life of a community cannot be measured" and "it is the testimony of all persons in a position to take a large view, such as teachers, clergymen, bankers, merchants, and policemen, that in this ten years the library has been an influence of enormous potency in raising the whole standard of education and culture, and of life in general, in this neighborhood."<sup>20</sup>

#### *Cooperation with Parochial Schools*

Ledbetter's visits to the parochial schools, operated by the Roman- and Byzantine-rite Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches in the Broadway neighborhood, con-

firmed her suspicion that the pupils enrolled in these schools were from homes where a foreign language was the only language freely spoken. As a consequence, the foreign language was used at first in the lower grades, with the acquisition of English coming with progress in school. In direct contrast to the public schools, assumed by the general public to be the universal "melting pot," the parochial schools attended by hundreds of thousands of children of foreign-born parents were segregated by ethnic or national group.

Ledbetter understood that in order to improve teaching methods in the parochial schools, particularly with regard to instruction in English, she must win the confidence of the teachers, primarily nuns in teaching orders. Accordingly, she organized continuing education classes for the nuns and secured qualified teachers for them. The classes, held either at the Broadway Branch or, by special request, at the convents, provided the opportunity for the nuns both to improve their overall teaching skills and to acquire normal school credentials.<sup>21</sup>

#### *Cooperation with Public Schools*

As a corollary to her work with the parochial schools, Ledbetter cultivated a healthy working relationship with the public schools of Cleveland. The principal responsibility for Americanizing the immigrant community, through instruction in English and preparation for citizenship, had been shouldered by the public schools and night schools.<sup>22</sup>

By 1916, Herbert Adolphus Miller, sociologist and recognized authority on immigrant assimilation, had conducted a survey of educational opportunities for immigrants commissioned by the Cleveland Foundation. He discovered that the schools had accomplished only to a limited degree their mandate to teach the foreign-born inhabitants of Cleveland the rudiments of the English language and to assist them to become naturalized citizens. Miller also concluded that the majority of the foreign population of Cleveland could not speak or read English and that nearly one-third of all the men of voting age were ineligible to vote.<sup>23</sup>

The schools obviously needed the cooperation and support of other public and private voluntary agencies. The settlement houses, various social welfare organizations, and the public library had roles to play in the Americanization process that would prepare the immigrants for a fuller participation in the political and social life of Cleveland and the nation. The value of the public library as a provider of the books needed to aid immigrants in their efforts to Americanize themselves was recognized officially by the Cleveland Board of Educa-

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tion in 1916. The board recommended that at least one class period per night school session be devoted to a visit to the local branch library.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Cooperation with Evening Schools*

By providing space in the Broadway Branch for English and citizenship classes, easy books in the English language for beginners, and instructional sessions with the local night schools, the Broadway Branch was one by one removing the stumbling blocks to immigrant assimilation. During her work with the night schools, Ledbetter was dismayed by the dearth of materials suitable for teaching immigrants the English language. The only books in easy English were designed almost exclusively for children, not adults needing a basic command of English in the workplace, and books in immigrant languages about American history, government, and customs, for immigrants who would never learn English well enough to be proficient, were virtually nonexistent<sup>25</sup>. The discovery and promotion of materials in these categories would be a lifelong occupation.

#### *Attitude toward Immigrants and Their Americanization*

Ledbetter viewed immigrants simply as Americans who had not yet learned to speak English. She never doubted their desire to be Americanized. "For myself, I have long ceased to think of anyone at all as 'a foreigner.' I may say: 'She does not speak English,' precisely as I say: 'She does not knit,' but I do not feel that she is any different on that account."<sup>26</sup> Ledbetter realized that the timing of the immigrants' learning English would vary depending on the educational attainment of immigrants in their native lands as well as their contact with English-speaking Americans in the workplace and outside the confines of the immigrant community. Ledbetter observed that foreign language books were read primarily by the immigrant generation, to a lesser degree by the second generation, and hardly at all by the third generation.<sup>27</sup>

Exposes like Herbert Adolphus Miller's report for the Cleveland Foundation regarding the ineffectiveness of the Americanization programs of Cleveland's public schools carried in their aftermath a backlash of nativism, which was exacerbated by the entrance of the United States into World War I. A general hysteria spread among native-born Clevelanders, who began to question the loyalty of the unnaturalized foreign born, who segregated themselves in neighborhoods throughout the city, and to characterize everything of immigrant origin as "un-American."

#### *Cleveland Americanization Committee*

In early 1917, Cleveland's mayor, Harry L. Davis, in an attempt to stem this tide of nativist hysteria, appointed his Advisory War Committee, which in turn spawned a network of subcommittees to coordinate, finance, and supervise the city's war-relief work, including programs for the distribution of food and clothing and the provision of housing, the organization of a speakers' bureau, supervision of draft boards, and, not surprisingly, the promotion of Americanization classes for immigrants.

To accomplish the all-important goal of Americanization, the Committee on the Teaching of English to Foreigners was appointed. Later, the committee was renamed the Cleveland Americanization Committee to reflect a change of mission to include preparation for citizenship as well as the teaching of English. Harold T. Clark of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce was appointed as its first chair. The Cleveland Americanization Committee was charged with the coordination of the activities of sixty-eight local organizations involved with Americanization as well as given the responsibility for serving as liaison with state and federal Americanization programs.

The most pressing problem facing the Cleveland Americanization Committee at its inception was to allay the natural suspicions of immigrants, who had read, with understandable alarm, editorials in Cleveland's newspapers chastising them for maintaining foreign and thus "un-American" ways. Clark and the other members of the Cleveland Americanization Committee realized that there was a surprising lack of knowledge among native-born Americans in general, of immigrants and their backgrounds. Conversely, there were feelings of antagonism on the part of the immigrants for the aloofness of native-born Americans and their failure to recognize immigrant contributions and potential.<sup>28</sup>

Recognizing the contribution of the Cleveland Public Library through its immigrant branches, the Cleveland Americanization Committee sought the continued support of the branches in the provision of books in foreign languages and English as well as space for citizenship classes to aid in the Americanization process. The work of Ledbetter and other librarians at immigrant branches was singled out by the Cleveland Americanization Committee, which agreed that there were no more effective social workers than these librarians.<sup>29</sup> It was not surprising that in March 1918, Harold T. Clark approached the Cleveland Public Library's librarian, William Howard Brett, and vice-librarian, Linda Anne Eastman, with regard to obtaining the services of Ledbetter. Her talents in the area of community survey were already well known and recognized in Cleveland.<sup>30</sup>

In October 1918, when Ledbetter had completed the first six months and was beginning her final four months of work with the Cleveland Americanization Committee, Clark resigned as chair. Raymond Moley of Western Reserve University, who had developed the content and teaching methods of the citizenship component of the committee's work, was elected chair.

The Cleveland Americanization Committee promulgated the philosophy of cultural pluralism as an antidote for the hysteria of nativism and the sway of Anglo-conformist ideology.<sup>31</sup> Ledbetter as well as sociologist Charles Wellsley Coulter and Americanization teacher Huldah Florence Cook were employed to survey the immigrant communities of Cleveland for the Cleveland Americanization Committee and eventually to write detailed studies on the backgrounds of the foreign-born in Cleveland, their political aspirations, and the social gifts that they had to share.<sup>32</sup>

From 1918 to 1920, Ledbetter, Coulter, and Cook produced a total of seven pamphlets on as many ethnic groups. The pamphlets, all available for sale at a modest price, included studies of the Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Slovaks by Ledbetter, studies of the Poles, Italians, and Lithuanians by Coulter, and a study of the Hungarians by Cook.<sup>33</sup> Contemporary historians still marvel at Ledbetter's understanding of immigrant culture and regard her studies as primary sources for the history of ethnic communities in Cleveland.<sup>34</sup>

Toward the end of her tenure with the Cleveland Americanization Committee and before returning to her duties at the Broadway Branch, Ledbetter began to work concurrently with Herbert Adolphus Miller, who had been recently appointed head of the Immigrant Heritages Division of the Carnegie Foundation Study on the Methods of Americanization, on a similar writing project but with a national scope.<sup>35</sup> Shortly thereafter, Ledbetter wrote Linda Anne Eastman, who had assumed the position of librarian of the Cleveland Public Library after William Howard Brett's tragic death, explaining that she was resigning her duties and returning to work at the Broadway Branch. Her decision to resign was precipitated by a conversation she had had with Helen Horvath, a local Americanization teacher, regarding the outlines of the work that Dr. Park (presumably Robert Ezra Park, a sociologist and a Carnegie Foundation associate) wanted done for the Carnegie Foundation study. Horvath, an immigrant herself, had reacted negatively to the nature of many of the questions proposed by Park, finding them patronizing and offensive to the immigrants for whom the questions were designed.<sup>36</sup>

Although Ledbetter's letter to Eastman was written on Cleveland Americanization Committee stationery, it is more likely that Ledbetter, who had at that time already completed the assignments given her by the Cleveland

Americanization Committee, was resigning from the Carnegie Foundation study. There was apparently a fine line between the role of the social worker called for in the Cleveland Americanization Committee's work and the role of the professional investigator called for by the Carnegie Foundation study. For Ledbetter, the work of the former project helped her gain a more informed acquaintance with her immigrant patrons at the Broadway Branch, while the latter project, requiring more probing into the intimate lives of immigrants, had less applicability to her own situation.<sup>37</sup>

By the close of the hostilities in November 1918, most of the subcommittees of the Mayor's Advisory War Committee turned their attention to the needs of returning soldiers. By the summer of 1919 the subcommittees began to disperse, and by December of the same year the Mayor's Advisory War Committee itself ceased to exist. Established in July 1919, the Cleveland Americanization Council carried on the Americanization activities and programs of the Cleveland Americanization Committee. The activities and programs of the Cleveland Americanization Council, like its predecessor, received national recognition. Linda Anne Eastman, as a member of the Executive Board of the Cleveland Americanization Council, continued to advocate the library's role in the Americanization process and to promote Ledbetter's studies of the Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Slovaks of Cleveland until the council, too, disbanded in the summer of 1920.<sup>38</sup>

## NOTES

1. Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 11-14, 22; David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, Published in Association with Case Western Reserve University (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), s.v. "Immigration and Migration," by John J. Grabowski, 540-43; Herbert Adolphus Miller, *The School and the Immigrant*, Cleveland Education Survey (Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1916; reprint, New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), 11; Cleveland Public Library Annual Report (CPL AR) 1869, 9, AR 1878, 8, AR 1898, 17, AR 1902, 85-86, AR 1905, 26, AR 1908, 104-13, AR 1909, 92-102, AR 1910, 104-15, AR 1915, 94-98; Eleanor C. [i.e., E.] Ledbetter, "A Library for Bohemians," *Czechoslovak Review* (Sept. 1919): 258-60; Clarence H(enley) Cramer, *Open Shelves and Open Minds: A History of the Cleveland Public Library* (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1972): 247-48; and John Bodnar, "Schooling and the Slavic-American Family, 1900-1940," in Bernard J. Weiss, ed., *American Education and the European Immigrant: 1840-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 85-86.

2. Ledbetter, "A Library for Bohemians," 258-60, which also appeared in summary form in *Library Journal* 44 (Dec. 1919): 792-93.

3. The first and second librarians of the Broadway Branch were Charlotte A. Buss and A. G. Hubbard respectively, each serving a tenure of two years. See CPL AR 1906, 55-61, AR 1907, 48-55, AR

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1908, 61-64, AR 1909, 53-56, AR 1910, 58-61.

4. The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, s.v. "Ledbetter, Eleanor Edwards," 623; Edith A. Case, Personnel Supervisor, CPL, to Marion (Moore) Coleman, Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, PA, 5 Apr. 1962, Ledbetter Papers; Marion (Moore) Coleman, "Eleanor E. Ledbetter: Bibliographer of Polonica," Polish-American Studies 19 (Jan.-June 1962): 37; "Collects Slavic Literary Work; Broadway Branch Library Head Makes It Factor in Americanization," Cleveland Plain Dealer, 9 Jan. 1926, Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives); Grace V. Kelly, "Broadway Librarian Quits Post," Cleveland Plain Dealer, 7 June 1938, Ledbetter Papers; Resume of Eleanor E. Ledbetter, Ledbetter Papers; C. C. Williamson and Alice L. Jewett, eds., Who's Who in Library Science (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1933), s.v. "Ledbetter, Mrs. Eleanor E(dw)ards," 263; and Marion (Moore) Coleman, comp., Polish Literature in English Translation: A Bibliography (Cheshire, CT: Cherry Hill Books, 1963), i.
5. Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, Library Work with the Foreign Born (Chicago: ALA, 1924), 3.
6. Ledbetter, "Recent Development in Library Work with Immigrants," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (Formerly National Conference of Charities and Correction) at the Fifty-First Annual Session (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 588-89; Who's Who in Library Service, 263; Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, 3; and CPL AR 1912, 78.
7. Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America; Work with Poles, Bohemians, and Others, Library Work with the Foreign Born (New York: Immigrant Publication Society, 1918), 13-18, 23.
8. Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, 11.
9. Ledbetter, "The Human Touch and the Librarian," Scribner's Magazine 72 (Oct. 1922): 450-55.
10. Ledbetter, "Recent Development in Library Work with Immigrants," 588.
11. Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 28-30 (quote, 28).
12. CPL AR 1910, 60 (quote), AR 1913, 94.
13. CPL AR 1910, 59, AR 1913, 92-93; and Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 15-16.
14. CPL AR 1911, 31-32; Cleveland Americanization Committee, Americanization in Cleveland; An Account of the Work which Has Been Done in Cleveland to Develop and Maintain a City Morale, issued by the Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's Advisory War Board (Cleveland: Economy Printing, 1919), [22-23]; Mary Catherine Nagy, "History and Relationship of the Rice Branch to Its Hungarian Patrons" (master's thesis, Western Reserve University, 1952), 10-11; Virginia Phillips, "Fifty-Six Years of Service to the Foreign-Born by the Cleveland Public Library" (master's thesis, Western Reserve University, 1957), 8, quoted in May Wendellene Butrick, "History of the Foreign Literature Department of Cleveland Public Library, 1925-72" (master's thesis, Kent State University, 1974), 9-10, 12.
15. CPL AR 1912, 76; and Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 12.
16. Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 13-14; CPL AR 1911, 61, AR 1912, 77; and Ledbetter, "Channels of Foreign Language Publicity," Christian Science Monitor, 23 Mar. 1927, Ledbetter Papers.
17. Coleman, "Eleanor E. Ledbetter: Bibliographer of Polonica," 37; Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, 11; "Foreign Language Press Publicity," Library Journal 52 (1 June 1927): 603; and Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 10-11.
18. CPL AR 1910, 59, AR 1911, 63, AR 1913, 95; CPL/BB AR 1922-23, 7, AR 1924-25, 10; and LJ 47 (1 Jan. 1922): 42. Titles were verified using Newspapers in Microform: United States, 1948-1983, Library of Congress Catalogs (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1984).
19. Nine scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, which are preserved in the Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives), are arranged accordingly: [1] 1906-1922; [2] 1913-1921; [3] 1922; [4] 1923; [5] 1924; [6, pt. 1] Jan.-Mar. 1925; [6, pt. 2] Mar.-Dec. 1925; [7] 1926; [8] 1927; and [9] 1928. See also, Cleveland Public Library/Broadway Branch (CPL/BB) AR 1920-21, 4, AR 1921-22, 10, AR 1922-23, 7, AR 1924-25, 10; Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, 12; and Ledbetter, "Channels of Foreign Language Publicity," Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives).
20. CPL/BB AR 1913, 91-92, AR 1914, 1, AR 1916, 3.
21. CPL AR 1912, 75, AR 1921-22, 9-10; ALA Committee on Work with the Foreign Born Minutes, ALA Bulletin 16 (July 1922): 228; Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, 10; CPL/BB AR 1926, 2; Ledbetter, "Group Service to Immigrants," Christian Science Monitor, 29 June 1927, Ledbetter Papers; Ledbetter to Linda A. Eastman, Librarian, CPL, 17 Oct. 1931, Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives); and Coleman, "Eleanor E. Ledbetter: Bibliographer of Polonica," 37-38.
22. Barton, Peasants and Strangers, 22-26.
23. Miller, The School and the Immigrant, 21-22. See also, Ruth A. Elmquist, "The Education of the Immigrant in American Society: 1880-1915" (master's thesis, Drew University, 1982), Chapter 1: "The Language Experience," 6-18; and Chapter 2: "Education and the Adult Immigrant," 19-36.
24. Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 16-18; "Americanization Work of the Cleveland Public Library," Cleveland Americanization Bulletin 1 (18 Feb. 1920): 1; and Ledbetter, The Polish Immigrant and His Reading, 14.
25. Ledbetter, Winning Friends and Citizens for America, 16-20.
26. Ibid., 32.
27. Ibid., 14-15.
28. The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, s.v. "Americanization," by Edward M. Miggins, 29, s.v. "Mayor's Advisory War Committee," 671; Cleveland Americanization Committee, Report of the Work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's Advisory War Board, July 1917-July 1918 (Cleveland: The Committee, 1918), [1]; Cleveland Americanization Committee, Americanization in Cleveland, [7-9]; and Cleveland Mayor's Advisory War Committee, Cleveland in the War: A Review of Work Accomplished by the Mayor's Advisory War Committee and Work Proposed During the Great Period of Reconstruction (Cleveland: Harris Printing and Engraving, 1919), [3].
29. Cleveland Americanization Committee, Report of the Work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee, [2]; CPL/BB AR 1917, 1; Cleveland Americanization Committee, Americanization in Cleveland, [26]; and "Friendly Words in Commendation of the Americanization Council and the Work Cooperating Agencies Are Doing for Americanization," Cleveland Americanization Bulletin 1 (15 Dec. 1920): 1.
30. CPL/BB AR 1918, 1; Harold T. Clark, Chair, Cleveland Americanization Committee, to William H. Brett, Librarian, CPL, 14 Mar. 1918, Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives); William H. Brett to Harold T. Clark, 22 Mar. 1918, Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives); Linda A. Eastman, Vice-Librarian, CPL, to Harold T. Clark, 22 Mar. 1918, Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives); and Cleveland Americanization Committee, Report of the Work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee, [2].
31. Cleveland Americanization Committee, Americanization in Cleveland, [6-8]. See also, John F. Clymer, "The Americanization Movement and the Education of the Foreign-Born Adult, 1914-25," American Education and the European Immigrant: 1840-1940, ed. Bernard J. Weiss, 102; and Frank V. Thompson, Schooling of the

Immigrant (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920; reprint, Monclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1971), Chap. 10: "Schooling in Citizenship," by Raymond Moley, 327-62.

32. Cleveland Americanization Committee, Report of the Work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee, [2] (quote); Cleveland Americanization Committee, Americanization in Cleveland, [9]; and Cleveland Mayor's Advisory War Committee, Cleveland in the War, [13-15] (quotes).

33. The following studies of ethnic groups in Cleveland were published by the Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's Advisory War Committee: Eleanor (Edwards) Ledbetter, The Jugoslavs of Cleveland, with a Brief Sketch of Their Historical and Political Backgrounds (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1918), Ledbetter, The Slovaks of Cleveland, with Some General Information on the Race (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1918), Ledbetter, The Czechs of Cleveland (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1919); Charles Wellsley Coulter, The Italians of Cleveland (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1919), Coulter, The Poles of Cleveland (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1919), Coulter, The Lithuanians of Cleveland (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1920); and Huldah Florence Cook, The Magyars of Cleveland, with a Brief Sketch of Their Historical, Political and Social Back Grounds [sic] (Cleveland: Cleveland Americanization Committee, Mayor's Advisory War Committee, 1919).

34. Coleman, "Eleanor E. Ledbetter: Bibliographer of Polonica," 37; and The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, s.v. "Ledbetter, Eleanor Edwards," 623.

35. CPL/BB AR 1918, 1; LJ 43 (Nov. 1918): 841; and CPL/BB

AR 1920-21, 3.

36. Ledbetter to Linda A. Eastman, Librarian, CPL, 18 Jan. 1919, Ledbetter Papers (CPL Archives); and CPL/BB AR Jan. 1919-Mar. 1920, 5. Thomas, Park, and Miller cited Ledbetter's manuscript "Study of the Jugo-Slavs" in William I. Thomas, Robert E. Park, and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921; reprint, Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1971), 128.

37. Elaine Fain, "Books for New Citizens: Public Libraries and Americanization Programs, 1900-1925," in The Quest for Social Justice; The Morris Fromkin Memorial Lectures, 1970-1980, ed. by Ralph M. Aderman (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1983), published for the Golda Meir Library of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 268-69. Fain makes no distinction between Ledbetter's work with the Cleveland Americanization Committee and that with the Carnegie Foundation Study on Americanization Methods; in fact, she does not mention the latter association at all. She assumed that Ledbetter resigned from the Cleveland Americanization Committee because its approach was patronizing and offensive. Compare Ledbetter's favorable remarks concerning the work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee, in Americanization Conference, Proceedings [of the] Americanization Conference, Held under the Auspices of the Americanization Division, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, May 12, 13, 14, 15, 1919 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1919), 240.

38. Cleveland Americanization Committee, Americanization in Cleveland, [30]; "Ohio Gives Work Preference," Americanization 1 (1 Mar. 1919): 14; Cleveland Americanization Bulletin 1 (15 Oct. 1919): 1, (11 Nov. 1919): 1, (15 Dec. 1920): 1, (18 Feb. 1920): 1, (18 June 1920): 1; and "Coordinating All Civic Agencies: Cleveland Plans to Eliminate Waste Effort," Americanization 2 (1 Nov. 1919): 8.

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