

Historical Development of the
INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MINISTRY MOVEMENT
In the USA

For: Historical Development of the Christian Movement
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The Christian missionary movement experienced its "third burst of Protestant missionary orders (societies)" following World War II. Concurrent with the growth of over 151 American foreign mission agencies in the years following the War, was the growth of a unique foreign mission field in the USA.

International students comprise a significant portion of the 5 Million foreign visitors who annually come for temporary residence in the USA. Three articles by US News & World Report portray the growth of the foreign student population in our own country:

(1-24-77)... "It was the U.S. that opened the floodgates in 1946 with the foreign-assistance law that later was incorporated into the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961. In the U.S alone last year, some 264,000 foreigners-an increase of over 20% over 1975 - studied at 2,473 postsecondary schools. Only about 15% of foreign students remain in the U.S. after graduation."

'(7-18-77) ... data from a graph revealed that there was a 392% -growth rate of foreign students in the U.S., increasing from 36,500 in 1955 to 179,000 in 1975.

(1-29-79)... "more than 235,000 foreign students are enrolled -in colleges, double the figure 10 years ago. The total may exceed one million within 10 years."

While some individuals and perhaps a handful of churches across the land recognized the opportunity and responsibility we have of being foreign missionaries at home, there was no concerted, nationwide movement to evangelize and disciple foreign students until 1953 when International Students, Inc. was established.

International Students, Inc. (ISI)

1978 marked the 25th anniversary of ISI, which is the oldest and largest foreign student-missionary movement in America.

As with other movements, God starts with an individual with a growing vision and calling to lead out. Bob Finley, founder of ISI, felt called to foreign missions and evangelism soon after *his* conversion in the early 1940's. After an active campus evangelism ministry with Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) at the University of Virginia, and also co-laboring with Youth For Christ (YFC) in 1944-45, Finley purposely enrolled in the grad school of the University of Chicago to reach International students. He lived in the International House with

600 foreign students. His first convert came from Peking, China, the country he felt called to. Finley continued to be involved with IVCF and YFC, and sought to recruit missionaries during 1946-47. The vision-seed for a ministry to international students was planted during a discussion that Finley had with Christy Wilson on a train ride through France following the World Congress on Evangelism in Switzerland in 1948. Wilson went on to Afghanistan and Bob Finley to China.

The vision-seed was watered during Finley's first year in China, as he watched the growth of Chinese communism. Communism was not being propagated by Russians in China, but by Chinese who returned from studying in Russia. In 1949 the vision seed was again watered by a discussion in Shanghai with Dawson Trotman, founder of the Navigators. Following the expulsion of missionaries from Red China, Finley ministered in Korea, Taiwan, India, Hong Kong, and Tokyo during 1950-51. During this time he resigned from the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students and was supported as Billy Graham's missionary.

When Dawson Trotman visited Finley in Tokyo in 1951 and asked what had been done regarding the vision for a ministry to foreign students, Finley replied, "nothing". This was the turning point; the vision-seed germinated as a result of the encouragement of Trotman to pursue the vision. Finley wrote to Billy Graham for his counsel and possible consent to return to establish an international student ministry in the USA. After Graham advised Finley to remain in Japan, Finley resigned and returned to the States to implement the unique and strategic vision God had developed in him.

In September 1951. Carroll Lindman, an August graduate from Moody Bible Institute was recruited as Finley's first co-laborer for Fellowship of Overseas and University Student's (FOCUS), which was the precursor to ISI. While Lindman worked with students at the University of Southern California in cooperation with the Navigators and the brand new ministry of Campus Crusade in 1951, Bob Finley began the ministry in Berkeley, California with the help of two Navigators, Warren Myers and Bill Michel.

In response to an invitation by Dr. Donald Grey Barnhouse, pastor of Tenth Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, FOCUS moved its office to spearhead a ministry in Philadelphia in 1952. Lindman moved to Berkeley, and Max Kershaw joined the team to head FOCUS in Chicago. During the first two formative years, FOCUS' basic strategy was to meet internationals "fresh off

the boat" and link them up with a Christian host-family in which friendship evangelism might naturally occur.

Finley's foreign mission ministry in the USA became officially established as International Students, Incorporated in 1953. ISI's headquarters moved to Washington D.C. in 1953 and occupied two rooms of Billy Graham Evangelistic Films (Graham was now supportive and a member of the Board of Advisors). There were 33,700 foreign students from 128 nations enrolled in U.S. colleges in 1953, and 4 ISI area ministries.

Being a faith mission, none of the 15 ISI full-time workers in 1954 had any guarantee of financial support. In 1954 the number of foreign students had grown to over 35,000 from 134 countries. ISI HQ staff were involved in a letter writing to internationals at 350 campuses across the nation. Operative at this time were 4 departments: 1) Cell Groups for Spanish speakers, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese students; 2) FOCUS in conjunction with host-families; 3) Assisting Indigenous Development (AID) that sent supplies but not finances to students who returned home and were involved in ministry; 4) ACROSS. In 1954 Mark Hanna and John Bjorklund implemented the ACROSS ministry, American Citizens Residing Overseas for Study and Service, by enrolling in the American Universities in Beirut and Cairo respectively. "Closed" countries were being penetrated in two ways by ISI; through the ACROSS program, and by international students who were evangelized and built-up in America before returning home.

In 1955 the strategy of the ACROSS mission demonstrated its fruitfulness. Backed by much prayer support from friends of ISI and personal friends in the Middle East, 22-year-old Mark Hanna obtained permission from the president of American University in Beirut to conduct 4 days of meetings in the auditorium of the predominantly Muslim institution. The granted permission reversed a 6-year order that forbade faculty members from mentioning the name of Jesus Christ in public lectures on university property. God's mighty working was evident as 3,000 people packed the meetings, and 200 people "walked the aisles" indicating their trust in Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord. The ministry of music under the direction of another American foreign student at AU, James DePasquale, was affective, as students sang "Blessed Assurance" in dorms and classes!

By 1958 ISI had 8 area ministry centers across America. Ted Choy developed a ministry to 2,000 Chinese through 45 Bible studies in the Washington D.C. area. His missionary vision "to

encourage hundreds of capable, consecrated Chinese Christian students to scatter throughout the world, sharing the gospel" eventually led him to develop another organization, Ambassadors For Christ.

As additional staff missionaries became available during the next several years, the work expanded to include New York, Los Angeles, Buffalo, Atlanta, Boston, and other cities.

In January 1963, leadership of ISI was passed from Bob Finley to its present leader, Hal Guffey, who had joined ISI in 1955. Finley has continued to direct and develop Christian AID Mission, which was founded in 1953 as part of ISI but became a separate organization in 1970. Finley is also responsible for Canadian Mission to Overseas Students.

God's sovereign, timely, and interesting means of guidance were clearly evident in directing Hal Guffey and ISI to move the headquarters from Washington D.C. to the newly purchased Star Ranch in Colorado Springs in 1972. The needed conference center and administration building of the former Young Life camp worked well for ISI's expanding ministry of training internationals and staff in a central location. ISI leadership recognize the key factor the move

played in the ministry's multifaceted growth since 1972.

As of winter, 1979, ISI has about 150 staff in 40 cities and 20 states and Washington D.C.. In addition to the full-time and associate staff, there is a growing number of Area Coordinators and Church Coordinators scattered around the country. There are overseas affiliate ministries and staff in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Japan, East Africa, Egypt, Sweden, Nagaland, and Paraguay.

Eight special divisions include that of: Arabic Ministry, Arabic Teaching, Central Asian Ministry, European Ministry, Latin American Ministry, National Contacts, Special Asian Ministry and Overseas Followup.

Generally speaking, the field staff seek to have a personal ministry as well as develop and assist interested churches and individuals in their area with an international student ministry. ISI welcomes the opportunity to work directly with the local church by having a staff assigned to be a part of the local staff team such as at Park Street Church in Boston and Fourth Presbyterian Church near Washington D.C. Other staff are involved in special projects or ministries ranging from teaching at a seminary or college, doing research on Muslim students

in the USA, assisting various ethnic ministries (ISI staff represent more than 15 nationalities), teaching English as a Second Language, to assisting other mission agencies. It should be noted too that some of ISI staff are missionaries on loan from other agencies who can't return to their field, i.e., Sudan Interior Mission staff who formerly ministered in Ethiopia.

Besides the general weekly or periodic meetings and activities the field staff have with their teams, host-families, and international students, there are several area, regional, and national conferences emphasizing evangelism, discipleship or staff development each year. The urgent and vital need for added housing and training facilities at Star Ranch were manifest during the last few conferences when international student applicants were turned down because of maximum attendance. Consequently, a major goal for 1980 is the construction of a Training Center at scenic Star Ranch.

In addition to training conferences and personal assistance at the local level, ISI can supply practical, informative, instructional, and inspiring literature and cassette tapes, and also evangelistic or Scripture material in various languages.

As part of the 25th anniversary in 1978, ISI leadership shared some objectives for the next 10 years:

- *Penetrate every closed and restricted nation through returning converts trained and willing to sacrifice for the cause of Christ.
- *Send trained returnees to every nation to help with missionary and church leadership.
- *Begin 50 new area ministries in the USA and Canada.
- *Add affiliated ministries in 25 countries to reach Internationals there.
- *Increase contacts with internationals in the USA from 10,000 a year to over 100,000.
- *Increase by 10 times the number of church coordinators and church outreach teams.
- *Increase foreign language Scripture distribution to Internationals to at least 50,000 Bibles a year.
- *Add an overseas division to follow-up Christian and non-Christian internationals as they return home. (accomplished in January, '79)

*Increase the capacity at Star Ranch from 125 trainees to ever 400.
(goal of the 1980 Training Center)

Of the numerous foreign mission agencies that sprang up in the decade following WWII, only one had the vision, call, leader, and, leading of God to specialize in ministry to the ever enlarging foreign field that comes to the USA. ISI was laid as the foundational international student ministry.

During the next decade, 1955-65, the Lord aided two more ISM's to the national scene in America; the ISM Department of the Southern Baptist Convention's National Student Ministries, and the ISM of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship.

ISM/Southern Baptist Convention

The historical development of the Southern Baptists' ISM began in 1955 with the appointment of Miss Jane R. Beane as the National Student Ministry Associate Director for International Student Ministry, under the Sunday School Board in Nashville, Tennessee. The philosophy of ministry centered around hospitality friendship evangelism. Miss Beane was acquainted with Bob Finley. The basic approach utilized American, Baptist students, and host-families and churches. A foundational and fundamental task was the conducting of training seminars for ISM workers. After coordination with the state convention offices, Miss Beane held training seminars with the Baptist Student Unions at various state campuses.

The first international student retreat was held at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky in 1955, and drew 61 students from KY and TN. Dialog emphasizing a scientific apologetic was programmed, rather than a more evident expression of the gospel. In 1956 there were 3 dual-state conferences (KY-TN, VA-NC, and SC-GA) that attracted an average of 200+ students. In 1957 the number grew to 5 conferences. By 1960 every state with Southern Baptist work had some form of ISM. Besides the state conferences, international students were invited to the national summer student conferences at Glorieta NM, and Ridgecrest, NC. American students were encouraged to invite international students home during the holidays.

During the decade of the 60's, the ISM was under the directorship of various people. In 1965, 21 states participated in the international student conferences. There were 10 conferences in 1968 and 18 conferences in 1969. ISM literature was developed during this period.

Mr. Benton Williams was the ISM National Consultant from 1970-76. The Christian International Student Conference was inaugurated at Toccoa Falls Baptist Assembly, Georgia in 1970. In 1971 there were 4 CISC's. During 1971-73 over \$182,000 worth of ethnic language Scripture portions produced by the American Bible Society were sold through the ISM. Williams conducted an average of 25 host-family seminars each year.

After a fruitful ISM at the University of Texas, Austin, Rollin Delap succeeded Benton Williams as the ISM Consultant in 1976. Delap continued to develop helpful materials for ISM. There are over 100 wives and pre-school children programs across the nation, along with a national directory describing each. A cassette tape explaining the Christian faith in over 30 languages is available.

It should be noted that the Southern Baptist ISM is the only denominational organ to be a member of the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA) organizational structure (Community Section). The SB-ISM also enjoys a good working relationship with the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The growth of the SB-ISM is significant because it influences the largest Protestant denomination in the USA. The ISM strategy is summarized in "International Student Work Strategy", one of several brochures available from the ISM Consultant:

"National Student Ministries (NSM) has a full-time consultant in international student work whose responsibility is to work with state and local directors of Baptist student ministries in planning and ducting a ministry to international students. He is also available to assist local churches, WMU, Brotherhood, and the mission boards with their ministry to Internationals.

NSM provides planning, personnel, and financial assistance in the following areas:

- *An overall international student ministry for the state and/or local student ministry.
- *State or regional international student conferences.
- *Host-family training conferences.
- *Training conferences for workers with international students.
- *Regional Christian international student conferences.

*Friendship International Program, a Southern Baptist ministry to International students during the Christmas holidays in over 50 cities.

*Mission-action conferences for international students.

*Associational and state Women's Missionary Union (WMU) and brotherhood conferences on ISM.”.

ISM/Intervarsity Christian Fellowship

There is no written history of the ISM branch of IVCF, but the following general account was furnished by Ned Hale, a former IV-ISM worker, and presently the Central Regional Director:

"IVCF has always been interested in work among international students since our earliest beginnings around 1940 in this country. Bob Finley was on IVCF staff in the 40's before founding I.S.I. and attempted to do some work among internationals then. In the 50's David Adeney was Missions Director in IVCF and had a great deal of influence in stimulating interest to work among international students among our staff and national students "house parties" (week-long conferences at Christmas with the emphasis on friendship evangelism). These house parties have continued almost without break at places like our own Bear Trap Ranch in an annual event (except during Urbana Missionary Convention years, when we avoid all other conferences at Christmas time in the hope of getting all our students, including Christian internationals, to Urbana).

In the late 50's and early 60's Paul Little headed up a special Department of International Student Ministry in IVCF. There were very few paid staff in this Department (about 3 or 4 on the average in this period), but he developed a network of interested volunteer helpers across the country, many of them IVCF alumni. There were extensive boat and plane meeting programs in New York, Chicago, and the Bay Area at school-opening times in the fall, led by staff who rallied a number of volunteers to meet students as they would arrive at these ports of entry.

In the late 60's, without Paul Little or this Department (which was ended in 1964 when Paul became IVCF's Evangelism Director at Large), very few additional international student staff workers were appointed, though there were always a few scattered nationally (I was one of them until 1967 when I became an Area Director in IVCF). Some of these workers were American staff, others were foreign staff. At the moment we have two international staff workers, Jane Sewell in Raleigh, NC and Thomas Ong in Denver that I know personally, and there may be others I don't know.

We continue to have volunteers doing some good things in certain places where there's interest. In Madison, Wisconsin we have two community groups which have entertained internationals in their homes for many years now and have monthly meetings with speakers, discussion of religion and Christianity, etc.. There are also such group meetings taking place in Denver with volunteer help currently, and I know of a host of varied activities going on nationally with IVCF staff who minister on campus mainly with

American students, but also occasionally have direct ministries with international students either as individuals or through IVCF student (American) groups we call "chapters". Friendships and group activities with international students are encouraged among our American students, and often international Christian students will be involved with our American groups for fellowship, etc.. And as I said, we continue to have yearly Christmas International House Parties at places like Bear Trap Ranch, Cedar Campus, and other sites around the country".

In the next decade of ISM development, 1963-75, only one national movement, Campus Crusade for Christ, adopted an ISM.

ISM/Campus Crusade for Christ

In 1967, newly appointed CCC staff member Dan Bice, was sent to work with international students in Boulder, Colorado in preparation for a future assignment to South America. Bice was the first staff person to be assigned to international student work, and there was no ISM in the Crusade structure at that time. The burden for an ISM grew, and Dan requested that CCC appoint more ISM staff.

Frank Obien also had a heart for reaching international students, as recorded in his ISM handbook, Building Bridges of Love:

"As I worked with college students in the Philippines, I became increasingly aware that there was a missing link in missions. Missionaries were going from America to other countries to tell people about Christ. But the nationals who came to the United States ... were not seeing and hearing the same message. They returned home, and because they hadn't seen true Christianity in the U.S., they concluded it didn't work and looked elsewhere.

When my wife and I returned to the United States in 1968, the vision for the International Student Ministry was on my heart. As I interacted with Dr. Bright I learned that he had had a similar burden for years. In fact, since the inception of CCC at UCLA, he was devoted to the strategic importance of reaching internationals and had encouraged the staff to do the same. (Perhaps ISM staffer Carroll Lindman contributed to the Brights' ISM vision when he regularly attended the weekly meetings of the newly forming CCC in 1951). But no one had been found to plan and accelerate the implementation of this strategy to reach these key students. Dr. Bright asked me to accept this responsibility as director of the ISM."

The ISM was formally started in 1968-69 with the Obiens, Dan Bice, Stan Inoye, and Jan Pumphrey. The ministry was called Internationals In Americans (IIA). The pilot IIA team

coordinated a host-family project with Dr. Harold Fickett and the First Baptist Church of Van Nuys, California, and students from San Fernando Valley State College (now called Cal State Northridge). About 50 households from FBCVN were willing to participate. In 1969-70 the IIA staff exceeded 30. The single staff ministered at UCLA, and the married couples at SFVSC.

A brief written history of the CCC-ISM summarizes their growth:

1970-71	37 ISM staff sent to UCLA	
	Name changed from IIA to ISEM (International Student and Ethnic Ministry)	
1971-72	ISEM split into ISM and ESM	
	ISM was active on 6 campuses	
1972-73	"	9
1973-74		14
1974-75		17 more than 60 staff
1975-76		19
1976-77		24
1977-78	about 60 staff; 12 campuses	

After much evaluation the ISM campus-staff position was dissolved in 1978. The former ISM campus workers subsequently took an overseas assignment, a U.S. general campus ministry position, or some other job within CCC. A handful of veteran ISM staff were retained to administer the ISM Task Force. The responsibility for reaching internationals has now shifted from the specialized ISM staff to the regular campus staff. Consequently, the number of ISM activity has risen to about 150 out of 183 campuses, though to a lesser degree of specialized and concentrated involvement. The former ISM staff now are resource persons to their fellow campus ministers, and the Task Force leadership of Ron Soderquist, Pete Shuffle, Dan Bice, and Frank Obien seek to influence the Campus Directors and Area Directors to encourage the campus staff to minister to international students. As of December 1978, over 260 International students were involved in Action Groups (discipleship) and Discovery Groups. By the same period, about one third of the campus staff had begun a relationship with an international student.

Besides providing resources and materials relative to ISM, handling administrative tasks at HQ, planning conferences, training sessions, summer projects, and media productions, the ISM Task Force continually seek creative strategies to implement. Dan Bice is directing a model discipleship ministry with Christian international students at Azusa-Pacific College.

A key Campus Crusade conference for international students is the World Opportunities Conference to be held at Arrowhead Springs, California, April 26-29, 1979. The goal of WOC is to challenge 300 Christian international students with worldwide ministry and missions opportunities, as presented by numerous Crusade directors from around the world.

ISM/Navigators

It's interesting that the ministry whose founder was a contributing factor to the establishment of International Students, Inc. would be the last of the three major campus ministries (IVCF, Navs, CCC) to appoint a full-time ISM staff. It was not until September, 1977 that the Navigators officially appointed Nate Mirza from Iran as the first staff member to work with international students. In addition to Nate, there are two other staff men working specifically with Chinese.

The International Personnel Administrator of the Navigators reports that:

"The Navigator ministry has always involved some International students, but this has just happened rather than having been a specific objective of the student ministry. Nate Mirza is one such person who was reached and trained in our regular student work.

I can foresee the possibility that we will gradually increase our staff working among international students, although at present it is still not our major work."

In August 1979, the Navs will conduct their first conference for international students at Glen Erie, Colorado Springs. The first portion of the 1-week conference will be for internationals in general, and the remaining portion will be for Middle Eastern students.

Although Dawson Trotman was a charter member of ISI'S Board of Trustees and loaned several Nav staff to ISI during its first two years, only a portion of a sentence in his biography, Daws refers to his supporting international student work, "As the Hollywood crusade ended (Billy Graham, 1951), Dawson's calendar included time with ... Bob Finley launching a ministry with international students...".

ISM/World Presbyterian Missions, Inc.

The Board of WPM voted in January 1978 to begin an ISM, the latest ecclesiastical organ to do so.

Local/City ISM's

Besides the national ISM movements, and various local church ministries to international students, there are a few local, interdenominational, para-church ISM's across the country. Hospitality International and Friendship International are both local, interdenominational, para-church ISM's ministering in Los Angeles

ISM/Hospitality International (HI)

Hospitality International began in 1961-62 as a natural outcome of being hospitable to numerous international students at National Technical Institute in Los Angeles by Mr. and Mrs. Allen McAnlis. The McAnlis' had just returned from several terms of service with International Missions (IM) in Iran, and Mr. McAnlis enrolled as a student at NTI. As the ministry of hospitality grew, IM suggested that the McAnlis' begin a specialized ISM as a branch of IM. It is appropriate that their ISM should be called "Hospitality International".

HI has averaged around 3-4 full-time staff since 1967. In June 1978 Mr. McAnlis took a leave of absence from HI to be the Administrative Pastor of Church of the Open Door in Los Angeles. The directorship of HI passed on to Mr. Omer Burris who has been on staff since 1971.

Maintaining an office near an English Language School and Woodbury University in Los Angeles has been helpful in coordinating contact with International students at the institutions. HI also has contact with students from Evans College and Pacific State University. Special arrangements with Sophia University and Nippon Christian Institute in Japan allow HI to participate in study programs in America by Japanese high school and college students.

Besides assisting new arrivals get situated, HI also teams up with the Los Angeles ISI ministry in numerous joint projects, i.e., trips, camps, conferences home-stay weekends with church families etc..

ISM/Friendship International (FI)

Friendship International began in the spring of 1976 under the leadership of Lawrence Lyon, a student at Talbot Seminary in Los Angeles. FI was then known as the International

Student Ministry Team. ISMT was launched when 5 international students at Cal State University-Fullerton responded to a letter sent to 31 students.

The ISMT lapsed as a going concern for approximately 1 1/2 years. It started up a fresh with members in September 1977 after a prayer and planning retreat in August. The name was then changed to FI, and by November 1977 the team had grown to 11 members. In addition to Lyon, there were 9 BIOLA college students and one former Campus Crusade ISM staff.

Although FI is foundationally a ministry of Calvary Church of Placentia, its members represent other churches as well. A primary concern of FI is for the team members to promote the formation of ISM's within their own churches. FI is a lay ministry.

Presently FI has 17 members who are divided into 4 mini-teams of about 4 each. Ideally, each mini-team satisfies 3 criteria: 1) members of the same church; 2) focus on the same nationality or ethnic group; and, 3) work with students from one school. The mini-team members meet weekly, and the entire ministry gets together about once a month.

Excellent relationships with the Foreign Student Advisors of Cal State Fullerton and Cypress College have been established, and a ministry is developing at Fullerton College. The Foreign Student Advisors welcome FI's helping international students adjust to the American culture in the following areas: 1) academic--study aids and English conversation; 2) physical—housing and transportation; 3) social --parties, sightseeing and shopping and 4) spiritual--meaning of life (this broad definition of "spiritual" is what is presented to the international students in FI's brochure; FI is evangelistic).

FI teams and their international student friends participate in monthly ISI dinner-fellowships in Orange, CA; attend functions sponsored by the International Student Association at Cal State Fullerton, and engage in other activities such as picnics, pizza-parties, and Christmas events. These activities are part of their evangelism process that includes contact, confidence, communication, conversion, conservation, and commission.

Although FI is a para-church structure, it seeks to incorporate its students into an ethnic church, or one of the members' churches.

It was 30 years ago that Bob Finley was evacuated from China. The door to a great nation closed behind him. But God opened the door to every nation by leading Finley to establish International Students, Inc., the prototype of ISM.

In 30 years the foreign field of international students in the USA has grown from less than 30,000 to nearly 300,000. While the increase of the international student foreign field has grown substantially, the increase in laborers and ISM's has grown moderately.

During this next decade, may God grant a "great awakening" and response to the validity, vision, and mission of the ISM movement in America.

Data Source

I could not find any articles or books on the historical development of ISM'S.

ISI, Campus Crusade, and FI had a prepared brief history to give me.

Most of the information in the paper was obtained by personal correspondence or telephone interviews with most of the people mentioned in the history.

Data for the first 3 years of ISI history were gleaned from several ISI newsletters of the period.