

**WISCONSIN'S GERMAN-AMERICANS: FROM ETHNIC IDENTITY
TO ASSIMILATION***

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The process of assimilation and Americanization of the immigrant from Germany was a long and complicated one in areas where Germans had settled in large numbers. Statistics show that the state of Wisconsin has had the highest percentage of German immigrants of all the states in the nation. Although the assimilation process did not take place uniformly in all parts of the United States, the assimilation of Wisconsin's German-Americans typifies the fate of millions of nineteenth century German immigrants in rural and urban areas of the East and Midwest.

A Milwaukee historian, summarizing the events of the year 1839, relates the following account: "This year brought us also the first installment of immigrants from Germany and Norway—the advance guard of the countless thousands that were to flock to our shores from all parts of the old world in search of new homes in this free land, where labor is not only respected, but where a man's labor belongs to himself, and not to a titled master".(1) The account attests to the fact that the Germans were not among the first settlers to take possession of the rich farmlands west of Lake Michigan shortly after the Indians had been defeated in 1832. Those first settlers were Americans who came mainly from the New England states, from Pennsylvania and Ohio.

After the first sizable group of Germans had arrived in 1839, immigrants from Germany came (with few interruptions) in ever-increasing numbers until the mid-1880's when the influx tapered off as living conditions in Germany improved. According to the census count taken at ten year intervals between 1880 and 1910, Wisconsin had a larger percentage of German-born inhabitants than any other state in the nation. In 1890 fifteen per cent of all persons residing in Wisconsin were born in Germany, in 1910 it was ten per cent. The Census Office (2) reported that thirty-seven per cent of the population was of German stock in 1890. In 1910 this figure still stood at thirty-four per cent. The counties most densely inhabited by immigrants from Germany were located in the eastern, south-eastern, and north-central portions of the state.

Nineteenth century German immigration to Wisconsin can be divided roughly into three periods. The first ten years of German immigration laid the strong religious foundations of German-American settlements in the state. German Lutherans arrived in organized groups in 1839 and 1843. They had left their homes in Northern Germany because of oppression and persecution by the government when they had refused to join the Union of Protestant Churches founded by the King of Prussia in 1817 on the occasion of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Roman Catholic immigration to Wisconsin increased considerably after the Diocese of Milwaukee had been established in 1843, with the German-Swiss prelate, Martin Henni, as its first bishop. Most of these first settlers bought farmland in the wooded areas of southeastern Wisconsin.

The years after 1848 witnessed the arrival of a group of German immigrants who, though few in number, were to provide intellectual and political leadership to Wisconsin's German-Americans for more than half a century up to the First World War. They were lawyers, professors, students, actors, journalists and other professionals of high standing who had supported attempts to liberalize the German states and weld them into a unified federal republic. After the revolution failed in 1848, many left or had to leave the country. America was their favorite place of exile. Hoping that their stay here was only temporary, they preferred the cities to the countryside. But when conditions in Germany failed to become more favorable they had to try and start a new life. Their ability to read Homer and Vergil in the original did not help them much when it came to clearing and cultivating the soil. Many who had held high offices now painted houses, worked as bartenders or porters, or gave music and riding lessons.(3) Only a few were fortunate enough to find a place in such fields as journalism, and some involved themselves in American politics. Although most of these exiles came in the 1850's, they were still called the "Forty-eighters".

After about 1865 immigrants from Germany came predominantly in the hope of improving their economic conditions. The majority of them were laborers and artisans. They too preferred to find work in the cities, although many of them also took up farming.

Every person is in some manner shaped and conditioned by the geographic, political, social, economical, cultural, and religious surroundings in which he grows up and lives. This forms what is called his ethnic identity. Upon emigration he is thrown into new surroundings and must either make a conscious effort to assimilate--or not to assimilate--himself. For the most part conditions during the first years of settlement in Wisconsin kept the German immigrant from such efforts. He had little national consciousness because Germany did not exist as a nation until 1871. The German government from which he fled had not normally given the emigrant much reason to be proud of this citizenship. So he can hardly have had any scruples to give it up and acquire a new one. It is reported that the Germans who arrived in Milwaukee in 1839 "without delay, declared their intentions to become citizens of the United States".(4) Their foremost concern was religious freedom. There was no practical result of any outside agitation to build a German state or a New Germany in Wisconsin.(5)

Assimilation of the early German immigrants was facilitated to a considerable degree by the attitude of the native Americans toward the newcomers. Ethnic identity did not play a dominant role on the American frontier. Among frontiersmen American "nationalism" has in fact tended to be non-ethnic since the days of the Pilgrim fathers.(6) American leaders have instead ideologized such values as morality, opportunity, or freedom.(7) Whoever acknowledged these values could be considered an "American" regardless of his ethnic origin or even the language he spoke. Because of such mutual understanding the German immigrants who settled among native Americans were easily Americanized within a short time.

Those who lived in groups retained German customs and the German language simply because it was the most convenient thing to do so. Often they had little opportunity to meet and converse with other nationals. Lutherans were especially dependent on living in closed communities because there was no Lutheran church in the state before their arrival. But wherever the German language and German customs were preserved in this way it was not the result of a conscious effort. The Germans seemed to be well on their way toward full assimilation into the American nation.

But such a peaceful outlook changed considerably as Wisconsin ceased to be the frontier and became a state in 1848. Well before the middle of the century a tendency had developed in the eastern states to favor native inhabitants over immigrants. This movement known as Nativism, began to assume menacing proportions when the Forty-eighters appeared on the scene. They had at least had a visionary consciousness of a united Germany, and they were well aware of their German ethnic identity. They resented the fact that the earlier immigrants from Germany should have Americanized so rapidly instead of supporting the revolutionary cause. Unfortunately, the immigrants had been intimidated enough by the Nativists to lend the Forty-eighters their ears, thus allowing themselves to be drawn into politics. John A. Hawgood has called it "the great tragedy of German-America" that the occasion should have been thus, because it brought the Germans in "as Germans, feeling as Germans and as aliens, and at a crucial time postponed for decades a co-operation in American life and politics which must inevitably have supplanted the earlier aloofness with the lapse of time".(8) The Nativists "piled high their combustible material; the Forty-eighters provided the spark; and thus was started a conflagration in which much was consumed and which was not easily put out".(9)

The Forty-eighters did not tire of teaching their countrymen there was such a thing as a German ethnic identity which above all expressed itself in the German language and culture. At the same time they failed to acknowledge any American variation of culture. A typical specimen of their attitude is that expressed by Gustav Koerner: "To speak frankly," he said in 1834, "the Americans are in their regard for art half-barbarian, and their taste is not much better than that of the Indian aborigines, who stick metal plates through their noses".(10)

As with all generalizations there were, to be sure, some basic truths underlying such blunt statements. There is no doubt that the German immigrants in Wisconsin were in many ways different from their Yankee neighbors and immigrants from other nations. Most German-Americans could not find much enjoyment in pioneer life. They preferred the amenities of settlement in improved areas close to cities, railways, or waterways. While the Yankee farmer tended to extract crops from the soil until it was ruined, the German settler would rather cultivate the soil with deliberate care. When an American found that his farm was no longer productive, he did not hesitate to sell out and move to a new frontier. The German immigrant on the other hand sought permanent settlement. He did not speculate in land. He normally brought his family right with him. Often he chose land which resembled that from which he had emigrated. If it was wooded and if there was a German-speaking neighborhood he would acquire it even if the soil was alleged to be inferior to other available and cheaper land which he could buy elsewhere.(11)

Differences between the German immigrants and their fellow-Americans could also be recognized in the social activities engaged in by the Germans. Under their leaders, most of them Forty-eighters, the Germans came together for discussion and theater groups, choral singing, and gymnastics. In Manitowoc (12) theatrical productions began in 1848 in the back room of a store. A *Maennerchor* was formed there in 1851. In 1849, only one year after their arrival, the settlers of New Holstein had a choral society and a discussion club;(13) in 1854 they staged their first play, which was very fittingly Schiller's political drama *Kabale und Liebe*. The Madison *Maennerchor* was founded in 1852, and it has been in existence ever since. In 1851 Haydn's *Creation* was performed in German in Milwaukee; Lortzing's opera, *Zar und Zimmermann* followed two years later.(14) German theater performances are known to have taken place in Milwaukee since 1850. That city had a German professional theater with regular performances from 1855 on.(15) German cultural life became so dominant in Milwaukee, that between 1850 and 1865 the city was often referred to as the "German Athens" or "Little Germany".

The enthusiasm and high standards of these activities were astonishing in a surrounding that had only just been opened for settlement about two dozen years before. But such activities were shortlived, indicating that they had been transplanted and not found the proper soil in which to grow. There was no social class sufficiently removed from the troubles of the day to find leisure time for the arts.

There is no doubt that the differences between the immigrants from Germany and their fellow-Americans would soon have balanced out to the mutual benefit of both groups if it had not been for the growing opposition between the German element and the Nativist movement. Through this opposition the immigrant from Germany found it difficult to become an American. He became a German-American instead and erected a barrier between his imaginary German-America and America proper. By this act the hyphen was begotten which was to play an ominous role in American politics until it was, under much tribulation, pain and even bloodshed, eventually abandoned toward the end of the First World War.

The German language as the foremost manifestation of German ethnic identity came under Nativist attack in Wisconsin as early as 1846 when a law was passed that English had to be taught in all Milwaukee public schools even in exclusively German areas. Between 1846 and 1849 all teachers employed were English-speaking.(17) Another Wisconsin law in 1854 went even further and expressly forbade teaching in any language other than English.(18) The German answer was private and parochial schools which were soon founded in most German communities. They fostered German in spite of legislative opposition as manifested in the Bennett Law of 1889.(19) And some private schools have survived in Lutheran as well as Roman Catholic communities until this very day, although German instruction is no longer given.

Preservation of the German language was strongly advocated by the Lutheran church because a Lutheran who no longer spoke German had in the early years little chance of finding an English-language Lutheran church in America. He would then normally be lost to an American Protestant church. Similar observations were made by Roman Catholic officials. A Catholic missionary priest of the Milwaukee diocese reported to the Archbishop of Vienna, Austria, in 1852, that "German Catholic schools are the crying need in this country, because German children, if

Anglicised, by some strange fate generally become alienated from Catholic life".(20)

The German language press was the third motivating power, together with the intellectual leaders and the churches, to advocate German-language maintenance efforts. In the beginning such papers were established because German was the only language many people could read with any degree of fluency. Later German-speaking readers became essential to the continued prosperity of the paper. Since most papers were edited by Forty-eighters, they soon became the most powerful tool of all efforts to preserve German-America as a distinct social and cultural factor in American life. The demand for such a rallying point of German-American ideology was obviously tremendous in Wisconsin as is demonstrated by the number and circulation figures of German-American newspapers.(21) The first one, the weekly *Wisconsin Banner*, was printed in Milwaukee as early as 1844, when the city had a total population of only about 6,500. Soon a great number of other newspapers, magazines, and religious and professional publications appeared throughout the state. Today it is somewhat difficult to imagine that in the year 1900 there were one hundred newspapers printed in German in more than fifty places in Wisconsin. Four of these were dailies, of which two came out in Milwaukee, one in La Crosse, and one in Sheboygan. Seven papers were published two or three times a week, the rest were weeklies, which was the normal form of newspapers in those days. In 1900 there were at least thirty-four papers of special interest for teachers, housewives, poultry breeders, freethinkers and members of various religious denominations; some of these were supplements to regular papers. Milwaukee was the center of German newspaper printing. In 1884, twenty-three different publications were printed in that city in German, sixteen in English and one in Polish. The three German daily papers in Milwaukee, the *Freie Presse*, the *Herold*, and the *Seebote*, printed almost 13,000 copies every day in 1884, compared to approximately 23,000 copies claimed by the three English dailies. This means that well one out of three papers sold in Milwaukee every day was in German. This ratio had not changed much by the year 1900, when 37,000 copies were sold by the German papers *Germania und Abendpost*, and *Herold*, while the English language dailies sold 76,000 and a Polish paper 4,600 copies. In addition to the daily papers many thousand German weekly and monthly papers were printed in Milwaukee and mailed all over the state and the nation. The semi-weekly *Germania*, the weekly *Haus- und Bauernfreund*, and the monthly *Deutsche Hausfrau* had a circulation of slightly over 100,000 copies as late as 1910.(22)

Though at first thought it seems contradictory, the German language press played an important role in the Americanization of the immigrant.(23) It has actually been termed an "agency of Americanization".(24) Of course the primary concern of the press was to preserve the cultural ties with Germany, to promote activities in the new home, and to keep the mother-tongue alive. But at the same time it also initiated the immigrant into his new environment. It familiarized him with the American way of life and with American institutions. The style, pattern and commercial methods of the most successful German-American newspapers showed little difference from their English competitors. They were "essentially an American press published in a foreign tongue".(25) There is no better proof of this statement than the fact that on several occasions papers printed in Wisconsin were

censored and denied circulation in Germany and Austria.(26) But the more these papers helped their readers to become integrated into their American surroundings, the more did they render their own existence superfluous. This accounts for the rapid decline of the German language press soon after new immigration tapered off, with only a short recovery at the beginning of the First World War.

Parallel with the open display of German-Americanism the relations with native Americans became more strained than before. Quarrels arose over issues which today strike us as insignificant. One issue was the German Sunday which appeared far too frolicsome to the more puritanically minded former New Englanders. The notorious "blue laws" became part of the Wisconsin constitution in 1848 although they were never effectively enforced. The German habit of beer drinking gave rise to reproach and even open hostility. There is no doubt that the Germans liked barley best in its liquified form. The names of Wisconsin beers still testify to the German founders of Wisconsin's brewing industry. But alcohol was popular in Wisconsin well before the Germans settled here in sizable numbers. According to a census taken in 1843, Milwaukee had one hundred and thirty localities where liquor was served for only about six thousand inhabitants.(27) The German immigrants' beer, which had begun to replace hard liquor, was perhaps now not so detestable after all.

Because of the animosity between immigrants from Germany and other Americans in Wisconsin there were few inter-ethnic marriages. The official census report of 1880 states that there was, among the Germans, "a very high degree of freedom everywhere observable in yielding to considerations of personal adaptiveness, of affection, of pecuniary interest or of propinquity, in mating for life, in spite of differences in speech".(28) However, this statement certainly does not hold true for Wisconsin. While the national average was about one inter-ethnic marriage for every five inter-German ones, the figures in Wisconsin were one inter-ethnic marriage for every ten inter-German ones. And even these figures are very misleading because under the label "inter-ethnic" are included marriages between natives of German descent and new immigrants from Germany. Joseph Schafer has studied the figures for four Wisconsin counties. His study reveals that in the case of marriages between Germans and native-born partners all but a few of these partners were sons and daughters of German-born immigrants. This was especially true in areas of dense German settlement.(29)

In spite of their reservations toward American culture, there is absolutely no indication that Wisconsin's German-Americans were not willing to be as loyal American citizens as anybody who had immigrated from another country. Those who upon their arrival in 1839 expressed their desire to acquire citizenship were not different from the later immigrants. According to the 1910 national census figures, over ninety per cent of the German-born inhabitants of the United States had at least taken out their first citizenship papers in that year. The Irish, British and Scandinavians followed with over eighty per cent, while the recently immigrated Balkan peoples were lowest with an average of under twenty per cent.(30) The Fourth of July was often celebrated by the German-Americans with more enthusiasm than by their native fellow-Americans (31)--although some cynics maintain that the Germans did so only because they could get away with drinking plenty of beer on this occasion without evoking the censure of their vigilant

neighbors. In the Civil War, Germans fought for the Union in numbers well in proportion to the total number of Germans residing in the country.(32)

As early as the mid-fifties of the nineteenth century the intellectual leaders of the Germans in America were well aware of the fact that the preservation of their ethnic identity would be impossible in the long run. In 1858 the question "Does the German element have a future in America?" was discussed at the Milwaukee *Turnverein*, but it was difficult to find somebody who would speak for the affirmative.(33) When Nativism subsided during the mid-sixties many far-sighted Americans of German descent admonished their fellow citizens to give up their clanishness and join America wholeheartedly. Among them was one of the most distinguished figures in American politics of those days, Carl Schurz, of Watertown, Wisconsin. He also maintained that the major purpose of the German-language press was to familiarize the immigrant with the American way of life; as soon as possible he should read a paper in English. But it was a long time before German-Americans would be willing to go that far.

Meanwhile, the *Deutschtum* of the German-Americans by no means remained unaffected. Slowly, often unconsciously, they had embarked on the irresistible process of assimilation by acknowledging many of the goals and ideals of the American nation. The number of German-language newspapers in Wisconsin decreased after its peak in 1900. The most obvious manifestation of German origin, the use of the German language, was markedly on the decline in the cities in the 1880's, especially in Milwaukee.(34) The decline slowly spread to the rural areas and continued at an ever accelerating pace. In many places the Lutheran church found it necessary to introduce services in English for those who no longer spoke German. Primarily in the cities, children of German descent whose parents were born in America generally were fully Americanized in customs and language. The opening of the German-American Teacher's Seminary (see cover photo) in 1878 contributed greatly to the sustaining of interest in German-American institutions, but World War I dealt a deadly blow to the teaching of German.

German ethnic identity was again well on the way toward submitting to Americanization when a resurrection of Nativism resulted in another revival of ethnic consciousness among German-Americans. A strong movement opposing further immigration of Roman Catholics and South Europeans (35) had turned against the German-Americans during the pre-World War years, questioning their loyalty to the United States. This blame, on the whole, was unfounded. Feelings among German-Americans were summed up by Herman Ridder, editor of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, in 1915: "Whenever it has been a question between my own country and that of my fathers", he declared, "I have given wholehearted support to the former. Only when it was a question of supporting Germany or her enemies have I given rein to an unerasable affection for the Fatherland".(36)

When America entered the war in 1917, German-Americans found themselves in conflict. The hyphen had to be abandoned, and for all but a very few it was a decision for America, indicating to what extent this country had become their home. For many the decision was extremely painful, and it is alleged that cases of suicide in the draft camps were not unknown among the sons of German homes for whom the break was unbearable.(37)

The war was the final blow to German-Americanism, though it was in no way the decisive one. German customs and the German language now disappeared rapidly in this country. The only exceptions were some rural areas where Germans had settled densely and where the social and political life remained centered around the church. Here the settlers and their descendants still had little opportunity to use the English language in everyday life. Consequently, the German language was preserved as the normal means of communication until well beyond the end of the First World War.

Today very little attests to the hundreds of thousands of German settlers who came to Wisconsin during the last century. Perhaps "German Athens" has contributed to some aspects of present day American culture, but this contribution is still disputed. Some tend to minimize it, as the well-known journalist and historian of the American language, H. D. Mencken, who maintained that the Germans "have left no impression upon American ideas".(35) On the other hand, Carl Wittke, an expert on German cultural life in America, holds that to the American nation the Forty-eighters "made a cultural contribution unequalled by any other nationality".(39) Wittke cites a leading American music critic who wrote that the evolution of musical taste in America "from Yankee Doodle to Parsifal in seventy-five years" was largely the result of the German immigration in the latter half of the nineteenth century.(40) There is no doubt, though, that the institution of the kindergarten, first realized among Wisconsin Germans by Margarethe Schurz, wife of Carl Schurz, the Forty-eighter, spread from Watertown to Boston and from there all over the nation.(41)

Almost the only reminiscences of German mass immigration to Wisconsin are the German family names which abound in rural as well as in urban areas, although many have been anglicized. Nationalistic fervor abolished most street names of German origin. German place names were rare from the beginning because the administrative units had already been laid out before the arrival of the Germans. New Holstein, Kiel, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipsig, Kolberg, New Glarus, Freistadt, and Kirchhain still exist. There are some townships bearing German names, especially in Marathon county. Some German names of restaurants have come down to our days, in their original form or slightly altered, e.g. *Brathaus*, *Old Stamm House*, *Dorfhaus*, *Forst Keller*, *Loreley Inn*, *Beer Stube*, *Rathskeller*. Many country churches bear German inscriptions. In a few Lutheran churches services are still conducted in German, and a watchful observer may hear older people speak German or a German dialect on some occasions. There is an annual Wilhelm Tell festival in New Glarus, but the English version of the Schiller drama already draws a much larger audience than does the German. Some German customs have been preserved or reintroduced primarily by the entertainment industry, such as old time polka bands, lederhosen, dirndl costumes, and yodeling.

Most of what is reminiscent of German immigration to Wisconsin, including the few language islands, is a matter of unreflected tradition, with some exotic or sentimental overtones added here and there. These reminiscences merely underscore the total assimilation of Wisconsin's German-Americans into the American nation—an assimilation which was inevitable from the very beginning but could have been accomplished sooner and swifter, with less bitterness and with more benefit to both parties concerned.

FOOTNOTES

* This investigation is an abridged form of a paper read on the Wisconsin State Broadcasting Service on December 31, 1969.

1. James Smith Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee. From the First American Settlement in 1833, to 1841...*, Milwaukee, 1876, p. 181.

2. "...the combined total of three classes, namely the foreign-born whites themselves, the native white of foreign parentage (those having both parents born abroad), and the native white of mixed parentage (those having one parent native and one foreign-born)...": Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*. Part I. Washington, D.C., 1895, p. 875.

3. Carl Wittke, *The Germans in America. A Students' Guide to Localized History*, New York, 1967, p. 7.

4. Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*, p. 266.

5. John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America. The Germans in the United States of America during the Nineteenth Century--and After*, New York, London, 1940, passim, esp. pp. 201-224. – This is an excellent study to which the present author owes much.

6. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, p. 210. –In the light of ample evidence to the contrary, I cannot subscribe to Joshua Fishman's assertion that non-ethnicity of American "nationalism" has been the rule. See his "The Historical and Social Contexts of an Inquiry into Language Maintenance Efforts", in Joshua Fishman et al, *Language Loyalty in the United States*, London, The Hague, Paris, 1966, pp. 21-33; reference to p. 29. See also Henry Louis Mencken, "Die Deutschamerikaner", *Die Neue Rundschau*, 39 (1928), pt. 2, 486-495; especially pp. 486-87.

7. See Fishman, "The Historical and Social Contexts of an Inquiry into Language Maintenance Efforts", p. 29.

8. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, p. 52.

9. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, p. 229.

10. Gustav Koerner, "Beleuchtung des Duden'schen Berichtes ueber die westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas". The article was written in 1834 and published in 1916 in the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 16 (1916), 280-333. Reference to p. 325.

11. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, pp. 26-34.

12. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. 1, Milwaukee, 1900; reference to pp. 141-147.

13. Rudolph Puchner, *Erinnerungen aus den ersten Jahren der Ansiedlung New Holstein*, Chilton, Wis. [1894], pp. 74-75; reference to Schiller's drama p. 94.

14. Rudolph Alexander Koss, *Milwaukee*, Milwaukee, 1871, pp. 324, 414.

15. Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. 1, p. 150.

16. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, passim, especially pp. 227 ff.

17. Joseph Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties. Prairie and Forest*, Madison, 1927, pp. 219-220, 233 (*Wisconsin Domesday Book*, vol. 2)
18. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, p. 39.
19. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. 2, Milwaukee, 1902, pp. 144-169.
20. "Letters of the Right Reverend John Martin Henni and the Reverend Anthony Urbanek", in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 10 (1926-1927), "Documents", pp. 66-94. The report by A. Urbanek is found on pp. 82-94; reference is to p. 87.
21. For a general study of the German-language press in America, see Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, [Lexington], 1957. All known Wisconsin German-language papers are listed in Karl J. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955. History and Bibliography*, Heidelberg, 1961 [Reprint New York, 1965], pp. 647-710.
22. N.W. Ayer and Son's *American Newspaper Annual and Directory...* [for 1910], Philadelphia, 1910, p. 959. (See photo on back cover of this issue)
23. Joshua A. Fishman, Robert G. Hayden, and Mary E. Warschauer, "The Non-English and the Ethnic Group Press, 1910-1960", in Joshua A. Fishman et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States*, pp. 51-74. Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, especially pp. 5-6.
24. Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, p. 5.
25. Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, p. 6.
26. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals*, pp. 680, 687-688.
27. Koss, *Milwaukee*, p. 146.
28. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)...*, Washington, 1883, p. 676.
29. Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties*, pp. 173-182.
30. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, p. 291.
31. Wittke, *The Germans in America*, p. 10. For a celebration of the Fourth of July by the New Holstein immigrants two years after their arrival, see R. Puchner, *Erinnerungen aus den ersten Jahren der Ansiedlung New Holstein*, pp. 81-84.
32. Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. 1, pp. 183-210; Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties*, pp. 164-165.
33. Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. 1, p. 32.
34. Around 1890 German-speaking parents in Milwaukee complained almost unanimously that they could no longer keep their children speaking German: Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. 2, p. 152. - In Ozaukee County Americanization in customs and language made rapid progress in the 1880's: Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties*, p. 245.

35. The sources and development of this movement are traced by Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant*, New York, 1948.
36. Herman Ridder, *Hyphenations*, New York, 1915, p. 4.
37. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*, p. 295.
38. Mencken, "Die Deutschamerikaner", pp. 488-89.
39. Wittke, *The Germans in America*, p. 7.
40. Wittke, *The Germans in America*, p. 17
41. Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education*, New York, 1938, p. 211. See also *The Encyclopedia Americana*, 1962 edition, s.v. *kindergarten*.

NORBERT GROSSBERG IN MEMORIAM

(9.4.1903 - 31.3. 1970)

Am 31.3. 1970 nahm ein deutschsprechender Dichter Amerikas, Norbert Grossberg, nach grossem und langem Leiden Abschied von der Welt. Der 1903 in Wien Geborene besuchte die dortige Realschule und Handelsakademie und war drueben Handelsreisender in optischen Waren. Nachdem er den Balkan, Polen und Oesterreich bereiste, wanderte er im Oktober 1938 nach Amerika aus, wo er als Handelsangestellter und Bibliothekar taetig war. Mit seiner ebenfalls als Dichterin und Essayistin bekannten Gattin Mimi lebte er viele Jahre in New York. Vor allem war er in gewisse Figuren, die Spirale, das Quadrat, die Parallelen verliebt, die er in seinem 1966 im Europaeischen Verlag erschienenen Gedichtband *Die Schaukel* mit einem heiteren Unterton originell behandelte. Die Schwingungen seiner *Schaukel* fuehren uns von Galizien ueber Oesterreich nach Texas (wo Wien bloss "dunkles Erinnern" ist) zum Times Square in New York. Seit seiner fruehesten Jugend hat er seine tiefsten Empfindungen in der Lyrik zum Ausdruck gebracht. Einige seiner Gedichte erschienen im "Aufbau", "Unser Schaffen", "German-American Studies" und in den Anthologien *Kleinkunst aus Amerika* (1964), *Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika* (1969). Vor einigen Jahren wurden seine Verse ueber Radio Boston gesendet. 1949 schrieb er *Die Refugeria*, eine einaktige Skizze in Prosa und Versen, die unveroeffentlicht bleibt. Norbert Grossbergs Lyrik bringt manches lustige Gebilde hervor, welches an Christian Morgenstern erinnert. Seine vignettenhafte Leichtigkeit kennzeichnet ihn als stets liebenswerten Lyriker. Die Gedichte Norbert Grossbergs sichern ihm als Vertreter der oesterreichischen literarischen Exil-Schule einen festen Platz inder Geschichte der amerikanischen sowohl als auch der deutschen Literatur.

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