

THE GERMAN ELEMENT OF WEST CENTRAL OHIO

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A glance at maps showing the density of German-born in the State of Ohio reveals that the Germans were concentrated along two roughly parallel lines at the southern and at the northern extremities of the state.¹ Along both lines, however, the density of German-born increases the farther west one moves. Thus, in the area of the Western Reserve in Northeastern Ohio, the Germans were relatively few while they were numerically more superior as we move through Cleveland to Sandusky and Toledo. Along the southern border, there were many German-born in Steubenville, Marietta and Portsmouth, but compared to the concentration of German-born in the City of Cincinnati, the southeastern Ohio cities had small percentages of Germans.

The maps indicate another phenomenon, namely, that the in-state cities of northern Ohio had their share of German-born as did the rural belt which extends from Youngstown to Akron, and on westward south of Sandusky and Toledo. It is also clear that the cities and farms in the heartland of Ohio were not especially populated by the German-born. The reason for this is obvious, in as much as the land was occupied before 1830 by both yankee settlers and by spill-over Germans from Colonial territories, most of whom moved westward from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Where we do find Germans concentrated in the Ohio heartland, they represent early arrivals who were in America because they were religious separatists and not because of economic reasons. Thus, in these eastern and central rural areas of Ohio one finds the Pennsylvania Dutch culture,² the former Christian-communistic society of Zoar, the Amish Mennonites around Wooster and Plain City,

plus others. The point to be noted is that: 1) these German immigrants arrived in Colonial times prior to 1830 and 2) while these German immigrants proved to be highly successful in earning a living, economic improvement was not the primary cause for their migration to the New World. Their reason for coming was for religious freedom.

Most authorities agree that the Germans who came to the United States after 1830 did so mainly for economic reasons.³ To be sure, the refugee from political oppression was always present among the pre-1830 and the post-1830 waves of German immigrants, but frequently a political refugee was also an intellectual refugee. Small in number, such individuals, known as the German Forty-eighters, exerted influence and received recognition far beyond their numerical significance.⁴ In fact, as Mack Walker has argued, there is probably no correlation at all, numerically speaking, between political oppression in Germany and the immigration of Germans to the United States.⁵ It was the celebrated liberals from Baden—Schurz, Sigel, Struve—and a handful from other German states who succeeded in creating the myth that the “defeated army of 1848” had migrated en masse to the United States. In actual fact, the Forty-eighters were influential emigrés, not immigrants in the strict sense of the word.

Since central Ohio is the limitation of my territory, we must recognize that the arrival of German immigrants in the Columbus, Dayton and Lima areas occurred later than elsewhere in Ohio. Therefore, the Germans in this region fit more exactly into the classification of those who came to America for economic reasons than do those who spilled westward across the Pennsylvania border down the Ohio River or eastward along the coast of Lake Erie. It is important to note, however, that the Germans who arrived in western Ohio did so nevertheless in relation to water routes. Those in the north as well as those in the south, availed themselves of existing lakes and rivers for travel. Those in my target area came by way of the canals, either directly on the newly constructed waterways or overland to take up work building the canals.

Interestingly, the maps which show the location of Germans in Ohio for the decade of 1850-1860 depict, in addition to the previously noted dense areas, belts of concentrations that coincide with the routes of Ohio's two major cross-country canals, the "Ohio and Erie Canal" and the "Miami and Erie Canal."⁶ The Ohio and Erie Canal transsected the state from Portsmouth in the south northward through Chillicothe, bypassing Columbus. However, the capital city did adjoin the main artery by means of a feeder canal which opened for traffic in 1831. From Columbus the Canal ran in a northeasterly direction to Canton, Akron and Cleveland.

The trunk line of the "Miami and Erie Canal" led from Cincinnati northward through Hamilton, Dayton and Piqua, then upward by a series of locks over the summit at St. Marys, and straight northward until it joined the Maumee River at Defiance and thence proceeded northeastward on the river to the port of Toledo on Lake Erie. That the Germans in central Ohio are concentrated along the routes of these two major canals is no anomaly for indeed the general population of inland Ohio also tended to cluster along these waterways.⁷ This was an age truly dominated by the waterway. The railway had not yet been invented.

Essentially, these two canals bracketed the state on a north-south line while branch canals such as the Mahoning Canal from Akron to Youngstown, the Sandy and Beaver Canal from near Canton to East Liverpool, and the Walhonding Canal from the Zanesville area to Marietta grafted the state's inner core to its periphery on an east-west basis. In addition to these transportation routes, the Ohio center enjoyed transportation access on an east-west basis by means of the famous National Road which bisected the State roughly on the same path as that used today by U.S. Route 40 and Interstate Highway 70.⁸ The two Ohio cities, Columbus and Dayton, which shall occupy our attention for the next few pages, were both on canals and while only Columbus was on the National Road, Dayton was not far removed from it. We shall turn our attention first to Columbus.

With transportation assured, the Capital City of Columbus leaned on its geographical position and its prestige as the state capital to garner large blocks of immigrants after 1830. City directories and newspaper reports indicate that Columbus' Southside, especially its fifth ward, which was virtually all German, more than kept pace with the pattern of expansion throughout the city.⁹ As ward boundaries shifted, of course, the German ward was renumbered the second ward, where Columbus' German population remained remarkably stable in the same position for approximately a century. As late as 1921, the Columbus German area was defined as follows:

The renowned German section of the city extends along the South High Street from Livingston Avenue as far south as Washington Park, bounded on the east by Parsons Avenue, and on the west by the Hocking Valley tracks. It comprises an area of about a square mile and falls, for the most part, within the second ward. Many of the most prominent of the old German families reside along High Street south of Livingston Avenue. Practically all of these families own their homes and many of them have resided here for over thirty years. The whole community, just outlined, is fundamentally German. The dwellings represent the typical German village structure, built close up to the sidewalk, with garden space and chicken house in the rear. Many of the alleys are lined with small residences. Frequently the owner of a fine home will have a small building on the rear of his lot occupied by a tenant family. The shops, churches, and other public places of this district are owned and operated by Germans, and the German language is used almost exclusively.¹⁰

As those of us who are familiar with Columbus well know, the German Village today is not just a geographical area but also a legally constituted Society that oversees the preservation of this distinctly German section of Columbus.¹¹

Throughout the period of heavy immigration to the United States, Columbus continued to receive large numbers of newcomers of all nationalities. Yet the largest percentages among

the foreign-born were consistently the Germans. Several sources indicate that between the years of 1830 and 1870 Columbus may have had a population that was one third German, understanding "German" to mean German-born together with German stock, namely, children born in the United States of German parents.¹²

Such a large percentage of German stock in the population is bound to leave its mark on a city in several ways. However, sociologists and historians generally agree that the effects of a large foreign-language element in a city have frequently been left uncharted because on the one hand the foreign-tongue citizens had difficulty making their influence felt in political and civil circles. On the other hand, their activities, their politics, their organizations and their records remained masked from general scrutiny by being in a foreign language. To this might be added that where the foreign-language elements were well-received and accepted, as was the case generally in Columbus, then the tensions that create news reports simply did not exist. As such, the Columbus Germans were just that fraction of the amorphous population which worked hard and built for the future.

Troublesome the Columbus Germans were not, but neither were they entirely invisible. For nearly eight decades they fielded an excellent German-language press, a host of exclusively German churches and a list of countless clubs, organizations and mutual aid societies. True to their own brand of European culture, they staged German-language plays and musicals, often surpassing the city's English-language clientele, particularly in the field of music. The Germans were a number of German parishes in the city. However, not all of the German churches were consistent in maintaining parochial schools through the years. The German-speaking Trinity Lutheran Church began a parochial school in 1866 and operated it for dozens of years. More successful was St. Mary's Catholic Church which began operating as a German-language a decided force in politics, voting Democratic throughout all

of their history. Not least, the Germans in Columbus achieved for their schools what few other German-Americans were able to secure, namely German-language public schools in which not only was there German instruction but instruction through the medium of the German language.¹³

In response to pressure from Ohio's large German-speaking population, the Ohio Legislature in 1839 amended its one-year-old law permitting the teaching of certain academic subjects in a foreign language in the public school, so that all subjects could be taught in German.¹⁴ This law subsequently served as a model and a precedent for many other state legislatures in the United States. However, few states went as far as Ohio did and even fewer kept the law on the books as long as Ohio did, namely until 1890. Perhaps the law outlived its need since assimilation of German-speaking children began rapidly after 1880, and without the influx of new German-speaking immigrants, Columbus' German schools were doomed before 1890. Until the year 1887, however, reports of the superintendent of schools in Columbus continued to list separate entries for the "German-English" schools, a designation which meant that these schools were bilingual. The exception remained the "Central German" school which continued for several more years until gradually German in the Columbus public school assumed the subordinate position of any other subject.¹⁵

In addition to the use of German as the medium of instruction in three or more of the public schools of Columbus during the second half of the nineteenth century, German was the exclusive tongue in the Sunday and parochial schools for Catholic school even before a parish was organized there in 1868. Still standing and in use, the once German-language school of St. Mary's proudly displays its corner stone which reads "Katholische St. Marienschule 1865".

While the German-language schools served the German population of Columbus, there is no evidence that this instigated controversy with the English-language majority of that city. Apparently, the German immigrants of Columbus

were already too mature, too far along the road to assimilation, to become caught up in struggles for the preservation of the German language such as were waged in states farther west. In Ohio there was nothing parallel to the 1890 Bennett Law in Wisconsin or the 1899 Edwards Law in Illinois.

Specifically, the Bennett Law was passed in Wisconsin at the urging of Governor William Dempster Hoard who discovered that in 129 German Lutheran parochial schools of Wisconsin pupils were receiving no instruction whatever through the medium of English. A similar situation prevailed in the state's Catholic schools. In gist, both laws provided that no educational institution in those states could be regarded as a "school" unless the subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history were taught therein through the medium of the English language.¹⁶

The role played by the central Ohio Germans in the field of politics has not been one that deserves great praise or much blame. For instance, it is well known that filiopietistic German writers around the turn of the century have tried repeatedly to prove that the German element tipped the balance in the election of Lincoln. Today, as a result of reevaluations of this myth by Professor Dorpalen and others,¹⁷ scholars no longer claim that the Germans worked the miracle. This myth never lived in Columbus. Even if the Columbus Germans in subsequent years had wanted to make such boasts, the *Columbus Westbote* left no room for such claims, for in the 1860's it certainly demonstrated no love whatsoever for Abraham Lincoln. Democratic to the core, the Columbus Germans cheered vociferously when Douglas appeared there for a rally in October of 1860. Expressing regret that such a bright man as Carl Schurz, who had also spoken in Columbus, could not muster the brains to turn away from the Republican Party and join the Democrats, the Columbus Germans marched in support of Douglas under the motto "Germans by birth, Americans by choice, Democrats by principle."¹⁸

Four years later when Lincoln was up for reelection, the Columbus and central Ohio Germans were fed up with the

Civil War and clamored for ending it at the ballot box. Therefore, when George B. McClellan was nominated for the Democratic ticket, the editors pleaded with their readers to vote Democratic, not just because the Germans were Democrats but because, as they put it, "our country has suffered long enough under the party which has brought so much misfortune to our land. A victory for the Republicans would put the last nail in the coffin of freedom. Don't rest until the last vote of every Lincoln opponent has been tallied. Lincoln's policy has been destructive of people and country."¹⁹

Grief at the assassination of President Lincoln did not convert the Columbus Germans into Republicans and so throughout the rest of the nineteenth century they defiantly but unvictoriously cast their ballots for Seymour, Greeley, Tilden, Hancock and the rest. By 1900, according to some reports, the German-born and German-stock population of the United States numbered over ten million or eighteen percent of the total population, therefore politicians decided they had better start courting the German vote more zealously.²⁰ However, there is little evidence that the politicians of central Ohio made a pitch to secure the ethnic German vote. Seemingly, the necessity and the technique of courting the ethnic vote, while defined by the Irish, was not sufficiently refined to be targeted at the Germans as an ethnic block. By the time ethnic campaigning was widespread, the German element had passed out of existence as a consequence of World War I. It was after World War I that politicians skillfully courted the Irish, the Italian, the Polish, the Jewish and other block votes.

Shifting westward now to the other metropolitan concentration of Germans in central Ohio, we note that Dayton, like Columbus, had a substantial German component. For Dayton, no close-up study has yet been completed and therefore only a few broad generalizations about the Dayton Germans are possible. From the U.S. Census Reports, however, it can be noted that while Dayton's total population did not grow as rapidly as did that of Columbus, nevertheless the Dayton totals of German-born for each decade roughly equal those of

Columbus. In other words, while both cities reached their highest accumulation of German-born between 1900 and 1910, Dayton actually had more German-born than Columbus in the decades of 1870 and 1880, and again in the decades of 1930 and 1940. On a percentage basis, then, Germans were more heavily concentrated in Dayton than in Columbus.²¹

COLUMBUS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population of Columbus</u>	<u>Franklin County Foreign born</u>	<u>Columbus For. born</u>	<u>Columbus German-born (incl. Austrian and Swiss)</u>
1860	18,554	9,229		
1870	31,274	10,537	7,611	4,196
1880	51,647	11,821	9,071	4,416
1890	88,150	15,184	12,488	7,141
1900	125,560	14,669	12,328	6,780
1910	181,511	18,649	16,285	6,879
1920	237,031	18,177	16,050	5,165
1930	290,564	17,401	15,279	3,390
1940	306,087	13,830	11,927	3,117
1950	375,901	13,750	10,960	2,249
1960	471,316	14,895	11,052	listed as Ger. stock: 9,887

DAYTON

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population of Dayton</u>	<u>Montgomery Co. For. born</u>	<u>Dayton For. born</u>	<u>Dayton German-born (incl. Austrian and Swiss)</u>
1860	20,081		5,591	
1870	30,473	10,979	7,423	5,156
1880	38,678	12,297	7,246	5,048
1890	61,220	14,695	9,587	7,097
1900	85,333	14,312	10,053	6,982
1910	116,577	16,534	13,847	6,594
1920	152,559	15,459	13,111	4,848
1930	200,982		12,042	5,284
1940	210,718	11,399	9,329	3,153
1950	243,872	10,787	7,983	2,302*
1960	262,332			

*no information given about Swiss born for this year

Just where the German element lived in the City of Dayton is unclear. One report notes that Dayton's Germans settled largely in what is known as the Burns-Jackson area.²² However, a student wrote a paper for his class at Antioch in 1961 commenting that it is "extremely difficult to locate specific German neighborhoods in Dayton." Using German churches and schools as an index of a surrounding large German population, the author concludes that Fifth and Wayne streets was the area most heavily populated by German immigrants in the 1850's. Both the Burns-Jackson area and the Fifth/Wayne street areas are located in the southeast part of Dayton, and comprised the fifth and sixth political wards.²³

Wherever the Dayton Germans were located, they avidly supported several German-language newspapers. While such papers had a somewhat earlier start in Columbus than in Dayton, several were being published in Dayton around 1850. However, the mainstay of Dayton's German-language papers was the *Gross-Daytoner Zeitung* which began operations in January, 1866.²⁴ During the heyday of German settlement in the City of Dayton and Montgomery County, this paper published on a daily basis, namely from 1869 to 1874, and thereafter on a schedule of daily except Sundays until the astonishingly late date of 1937. After that date it reverted to weekly publication. Edited and published for years by the Georg Neder and Otto Moosbrugger families, the *Gross-Daytoner Zeitung* ranks among the most successful German-language papers in the entire United States. Surprisingly its circulation rose steadily reaching about 2,000 in 1900, and over 2,500 after World War I until its recent demise in 1947. Billed as independent in politics, the paper deserves a thorough analysis by a forth-coming scholar of German-Americana so that the German element in Dayton can be more accurately delineated. To be sure, the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, the *Cincinnati Volksfreund*, the *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger* as well as the *Columbus Westbote* each had much larger circulations but this should not diminish the significance of the *Gross-Daytoner Zeitung*.

In politics, too, not enough study has been devoted to the

Dayton area to permit many conclusions about the voting patterns of the Germans who lived there. Unlike Franklin County and the City of Columbus, however, Montgomery County and Dayton did vote Republican in 1860, which is not to say whether the Germans of Dayton were Lincoln supporters or not. In subsequent presidential elections, the Dayton area seems to have gone Republican more than Democratic, but again, there is no data available to indicate how the German vote came out.²⁵

As with other German-populated cities in America, Dayton had its share of German churches. According to Linn Orear, the Antioch student, these included Emanuel Catholic Church which was founded in 1837 and in later years supported a German-language parochial school, the German Reformed Church which was founded in 1830 and St. Paul's German Lutheran Church which was established in 1859. By the end of the nineteenth century, at least twelve German churches had existed in Dayton, and they were rather widely scattered about the city.²⁶ One writer, however, comments that Dayton was a city of zealots and that piety manifested itself in the most colorful ways. "[Dayton] repräsentiert eine ziemlich vollständige Musterkarte des gesammten amerikanischen Sektenwesens, und wer diesen Confessionen-Wirrwarr kennen lernen will, findet dazu keinen besseren Ort als Dayton."²⁷

As with the Columbus and Cincinnati schools, the Dayton School Board was authorized by Ohio state law to introduce instruction by means of the German language in the Dayton public schools. According to the Orear paper, the Sixth District School was virtually "the German school" and he reports also that in 1884 the Twelfth District School was largely populated by Germans. Both of these schools were located in the southeastern section of Dayton.

In the rural settlements of central Ohio, however, a different religious situation prevailed. Like other German communities in rural America, the Auglaize County communities of New Bremen, New Knoxville and Minster kept themselves virtually distinct from each other and from the outside world

for a century and a half by means of subdividing lines that have seldom been crossed within the greater ethnic German community. Thus the town of New Knoxville, for instance, had an Evangelical and Reformed Church which served physically and spiritually as the hub of its community life in spite of the fact that a short distance away was the town of Minster, where the entire German population went to the Catholic Church and for that reason voluntarily isolated itself from New Knoxville and New Bremen, both of which were exclusively Protestant.²⁸ The ethnically German settlers taken as a group did manage to stay in contact with each other but clearly the matter of religious loyalty in these farm communities was far more significant than ethnic loyalty.

Founded in 1832 by agents of a German colonization society of Cincinnati, the towns of Minster and New Bremen were platted in 1833 and designed to remain German to the core. Stray non-German settlers apparently did not feel a sense of identify with these communities and soon sold whatever land they owned there and moved on. New Knoxville and Fort Loramie were platted in 1836 and 1837, respectively, while others such as Delphos, Glandorf and Fort Jennings arose almost simultaneously. Settlers for the new communities usually arrived by way of Cincinnati, then moved 120 miles north over land or the canal. In the early years, when the canal was not yet completed, the immigrants found work constructing the canal and its fifty-two locks needed to transfer ships down the 400 feet decline to the level of Lake Erie.

With regard to the canal work, a pattern existed which became typical for the German settlers who moved west. Generally they acquired farms in an area where they could find work to supplement their incomes until such time as the farms became self-supporting units. In Minnesota, for example, the Germans preferred the woods to the better soils on the open prairies because they could cut and sell wood products in their first years of settlement. For this reason, the "Big Woods" of Minnesota is the rural area in Minnesota which "housed" the highest percentage of Germans in the state.²⁹

Thus, while the Cincinnati settlement society was responsible for establishing the rural German communities of west central Ohio, it was the canal — first as a work source, then as a transportation system — that made the settlements a reality.

Along the canal in Auglaize County, the landscape is strikingly similar to the north German landscape, an area that is also laced with canals and dikes. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the settlers in Auglaize County came from northwestern Germany. Once they had constructed their new churches, which still dominate the Ohio horizon in that area, these north Germans were readily reminded of their homelands in Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

As Fleischhauer has discovered in his studies of dialects in this Ohio area, the immigrants of each community came from a single, small district in Germany.³⁰ In other words, each new community in America had ties not only to religion, as noted above, but also to family, long lines of blood relationships, history and not least, to local German dialects and homespun folklore. In the case of New Knoxville, virtually all of the settlers came from the small Westphalian village of Ladbergen, located between Münster and Osnabrück. Due to the close ties these immigrants had to the famous bishopric of Münster, they eventually went so far as to change the name of their town from Stallo (in memory of its founder, Franz Joseph Stallo) to Minster.

In his extensive field work taperecording the citizens of New Knoxville, New Bremen and Minster, Fleischhauer discovered that the Low German dialects were exceptional among German-American settlements. The language of daily life in the American community of New Knoxville is the exact idiom of the people who live today in the parent village of Ladbergen, Germany. No substantial changes have occurred in a century and a half except that the two isolated languages on either side of the Atlantic have inevitably borrowed or invented words to cope with new inventions. For example, the American

Germans say *underpass*, *baler*, *combine* while the home Germans say *Autobahn*, *Vielfachgerät*, *Mähdrescher*, etc.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the comparative study of these rural, as opposed to urban, German-American communities. One is that the speech in the new daughter colony, e.g. New Knoxville, shows a greater tendency to resist change than does the mother tongue back in Germany. Another is that in American cities, a German dialect has seldom outlasted the first generation. As soon as children were born and began to grow up in a linguistically diversified German-American community such as Columbus, they inevitably learned some English. The tendency for both children and parents to use English was often hastened in the cities because the parents, although they settled in an ethnically German area, were usually forced into speaking the High German idiom, thus an idiom that was somewhat strange, which in turn readied them to accept the English idiom sooner. In other words, although the German-American neighborhood in the urban area was ethnically homogeneous, it was usually linguistically heterogeneous. Understandably, then, retention of the mother tongue was more natural in dialect form, and more practicable in the isolation of rural, ethnically cohesive parish units.³¹

From my studies of the German-language school in Columbus and in the rural communities of Ohio, it is clear that the ethnic school is indispensable if mother tongue maintenance is to be successful.³² Furthermore, if language maintenance does not include quality maintenance, that is, formal, high-quality instruction in and by means of the foreign language, then maintenance efforts soon fail.³³ In all of the German-American communities, only such closely-knit religious communities as the Hutterians and the Amish have been able to maintain high quality German language. Elsewhere on the American continent, the German language today suffers from shock — the result of two world wars, and the result of inferiority feelings on the part of immigrants.

What we have left today is only a German heritage, though it is a heritage filled with rich multiplicity. What is needed

for a fuller appreciation of that heritage is a team of scholars to restudy the German element in Ohio and America in a multiplicity of ways. Interdisciplinary work is needed! The geographer, the sociologist, the economist, the linguist, the theologian and the artist as well as the statistician (with all the wonders he can work with his computers and calculators) need to team up before we can fully grasp the significance of the German ingredient in the American recipe.

NOTES

¹See Max Hannemann, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten: Seine Verbreitung und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ergänzungsheft 224 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1936), pp. 62 ff.

See also in a general way, Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, *A History of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1967), especially pp. 115-116 and pp. 374-377.

²Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1964), p. 197, and Carl Wittke, "Ohio's Germans, 1840-1875," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, 66 (1957), 339 ff.

³*Ibid.*, p. 189. See also Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States I* (New York: The Steuben Society, 1927), p. 583.

⁴See A. E. Zucker, ed. *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950) and Ernest Bruncken, "German Political Refugees in the United States during the period from 1815-1860," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 3 (1903), 33-48 and 4 (1904), 33-59.

⁵*Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 153 ff.

⁶Cf. Hannemann, *op. cit.*, map of 1860.

⁷See in a general way Harry N. Schreiber, *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820-1861* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio Univ. Press, 1969). See in a particular way the map showing the major lines of transportation operating in Ohio in 1850 on page 234. Note also on the same map the shaded counties which reported the significant population increases that coincided with the construction of canals.

⁸See Ralph Gray, "From Sea to Shining Sea," *National Geographic*, 120 (July, 1961), 16 ff.

⁹Here I rely heavily on my previous publication, "The Columbus Germans," *Report 33, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 33 (1968), 1-45.

¹⁰R. D. McKenzie, "The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 27 (1921), 156.

¹¹Mrs. William A. Scheurer, "German Village, Columbus, Ohio," *Historic Preservation*, 18 (1966), 64-67 and Bill Thomas, "Touch of Old Germany in the Middle of Ohio," *New York Times*, April 21, 1968.

¹²Ripley, "The Columbus Germans," p. 3.

¹³Ibid., 21-29. As pertains to the situation regarding German-language schools nationally, see Heinz Kloss, "Die deutschamerikanische Schule," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 7 (1962), 141-175.

¹⁴Nelson L. Bossing, "The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio, from 1851 to 1925," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, 39 (1930), 161. See also Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati: A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880), pp. 197-200.

¹⁵See in a general way, Harold Barnes Handerson, "German Language Instruction in the Columbus Public Schools, 1870-1900," (unpubl. M. A. thesis, Ohio State Univ., 1959). See also Edwin H. Zeydel, "The Teaching of German in Cincinnati: An Historical Survey," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, 20 (1962), 29-37.

¹⁶See Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Univ. Press, 1953), pp. 184 ff., and especially Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Milwaukee: Verlag der deutschen Gesellschaft, 1902), pp. 144-169.

¹⁷Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War" in Frederick C. Luebke, *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 68-91. The article appeared originally in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1942. See also the other ten articles on this subject collected in the Luebke book.

¹⁸See the *Columbus (Ohio) Westbote*, March 22, October 4, 1860.

¹⁹*Westbote*, October 6, 1864.

²⁰*Columbus (Ohio) Express*, November 10, 1900.

²¹See the Censuses of the United States for the years as shown in the following tales.

²²Report of the Bureau of Housing Inspection, "Dayton's Forgotten Colony."

²³Linn Orear, "Survey of the Germans of Dayton 1830-1900," unpubl. student paper deposited in the Dayton and Montgomery County Public Library, p. 72.

²⁴Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), p. 480.

²⁵See the state voting maps in Roseboom and Weisenburger, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 & 252.

²⁶See Orear, Appendix H, p. 72 and corresponding map.

²⁷Dr. C. Büchele, *Land und Volk der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung, 1885), pp. 133-134.

²⁸The most important work done on Auglaize County is that of Wolfgang Fleischhauer "German Communities in Northwestern Ohio: Canal Fever and Prosperity," *The Report* 34, *Society for the History of Germans in Maryland*, 34 (1970), 23-24. The reader should also see Charles Bösel, "Ansiedlung von New-Bremen," *Der deutsche Pionier*, 1 (1869-1870), 84-87, 118-121, and "Ansiedlung von Minster, Auglaize County, Ohio," *ibid.*, 147-152. For an interesting study of religious life in the county, see "Great Churches of America: Evangelical and Reformed, New Knoxville, Ohio" *The Christian Century*, 67 (February 22, 1950), 233-238. See also Körner, *op. cit.*, p. 235, and

Georg von Bosse, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethnischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1908), p. 167.

²⁹See Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (March, 1941), 16-34.

³⁰Wolfgang Fleischhauer "Westphalian in Ohio, *The American-German Review*, 30 (October, November 1963), 26-30. See also Marion R. Wenger, "A Swiss-German Dialect Study: Three Linguistic Islands in Midwestern U.S.A.," (unpubl. diss. Ohio State Univ., 1970).

³¹See John E. Hofman, "Mother Tongue Retentiveness in Ethnic Parishes," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), pp. 127-155.

³²See Rippley, "The Columbus Germans," 25, and Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," in Fishman, *ibid.*, pp. 92-126.

³³Heinz Kloss, "German-Language Maintenance Efforts," in Fishman, ed., *ibid.*, pp. 206-250.

DAHEIM

Nur in der Ferne
Von der Sehnsucht ich lerne
Nach altdeutschen Sitten
der Minnesotaer,
die dafür gelitten,
freu'n mich sehr
Nach jeder Heimkehr
in Kleindeutschland
auf der Prairie
Mein letztes Band
zum Verlorenen . . .

DON HEINRICH TOLZMANN

Cincinnati, Ohio