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German Language Persistence in Texas and Missouri

Texas stands apart in the degree to which the German language has persisted across the generations, more strongly than in any other state, except with groups such as the Pennsylvania “Dutch,” where it was reinforced and sheltered by separatist religion.¹ In the 1940 U.S. Census, the first to tally mother tongue of the whole population and not just the immigrant generation, Texas was the only state where German speakers of the third generation (with no immigrants closer than their grandparents) outnumbered German speakers of the second generation (American-born children of immigrants).² In order to identify the factors that promoted this heritage language preservation, Texas Germans will be compared with Germans of my native Missouri, taking advantage of my familiarity with various communities in the two states.³

This is primarily an essay in the social history of ethnicity and language, but linguists have made significant contributions on the subject of heritage language persistence and factors influencing the transition to the majority language.⁴ However, the phonological or morphosyntactic developments taking place on the threshold to “language death” are of no concern here.⁵ Rather, the prime concern is the degree of heritage language persistence relative to the size of the ethnic population of potential speakers, and whether or where the three-generation model of linguistic assimilation is confirmed or contradicted.⁶

One question regarding the transition to English by Texans or Missourians of German heritage is “were they pushed or did they jump (voluntarily)?” Or to put it another way, was Henry Ford’s Model T or Kaiser Wilhelm (i.e., the repercussions of World War I) more responsible for the decline of German.⁷ Although evidence of wartime repression is not hard to find, its role can be easily exaggerated, especially in communities with a large German-

heritage population. The Goliad County, Texas, Council of Defense issued a menacing statement warning against the use of German even in private, but its German population numbered barely 300, or 1,300 including the second generation. In more heavily German counties, these councils often had a German majority. And while repression in Texas was mild compared to many other states, it played even less of a role in Missouri. This essay will first explore state-level patterns in greater detail, identifying similarities and differences between the two states, before focusing down to the county level to identify what local characteristics might explain the degree of German language preservation.

One explanation for greater language persistence in Texas might be the timing of immigration. In both states it began in the 1830s, but as late as 1870, the number of Texas Germans was less than a quarter of their Missouri counterparts; by 1910 it had grown to more than half.⁸ However, it is doubtful whether timing explains the differences. In fact, the number of third-generation Germans should have been larger in Missouri; the question is how many were still speaking German. From earlier work with the 1940

Table 1. Persons Claiming German Mother Tongue, 1940 Census, by Generation and Location

		S T A T E			
	Total	FB	NBFMP	NBNP	
Missouri	173,220	37,080	88,900	47,240	
Texas	158,100	21,000	67,040	71,060	
		U R B A N			
	Total	FB	NBFMP	NBNP	
Missouri	96,660	27,760	54,240	14,660	
Texas	44,840	9,440	20,940	14,460	
		R U R A L - N O N F A R M			
	Total	FB	NBFMP	NBNP	
Missouri	25,660	4,620	12,540	8,500	
Texas	24,180	3,240	9,760	11,180	
		R U R A L - F A R M			
	Total	FB	NBFMP	NBNP	
Missouri	50,900	4,700	22,120	24,080	
Texas	90,080	8,320	36,340	45,420	

KEY Table 1:

FB = Foreign-Born (1st generation);

NBFMP = Native Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage (2nd generation);

NBNP = Native-Born of Native Parentage (3rd generation)

mother tongue data, it was apparent that the German language persisted much more strongly in rural areas and particularly the farm population than in the big cities, where exposure to American culture and the English language were practically unavoidable.⁹ The contrasts between the two states might be explained by the fact that roughly half of Missouri Germans lived in St. Louis, whereas the urban share of Texas Germans was much smaller. So perhaps the rural and particularly the farm populations of the two states would be similar in their language preservation. But just a quick look at statewide data demolished that hypothesis (Table 1). In urban areas of the two states, there were nearly three times as many German speakers among immigrants in Missouri as in Texas, and more than double the number of German speakers in the second generation, but the number of third generation German speakers was virtually equal in the two states. In the rural nonfarm populations, second generation speakers of German outnumbered third generation speakers in Missouri, whereas in Texas, third generation speakers held a slight edge. In the farm population, third generation German speakers did outnumber those of the second generation also in Missouri, though by less than a 10 percent margin. In Texas, the lead of the third generation was more like 20 percent. So even in the rural and farm population, Texas Germans stood apart from Missouri Germans.¹⁰

An examination of the attitudes of state and local governments in the two states reveals more commonalities than contrasts. Both were quite hospitable to the German language in the nineteenth century. Texas was trilingual from the outset. In its first session after attaining statehood, the legislature allocated \$1,000 for translating its enactments into German and Spanish, and continued on a similar path for decades. Missouri, too, tried to meet its Germans halfway. As a chance discovery in an antique shop revealed, an 1882 report of the Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics—in German!—was published by the state with more copies per capita for Germans than Anglos.¹¹ St. Louis introduced German instruction into its public schools in 1864 and continued it for nearly twenty-five years. At its peak, over 90 percent of the city's schools taught German, and one-fourth of the pupils were of other ethnic backgrounds.¹² The practice in rural areas was probably more liberal than the law. Local school boards dominated by Germans often did as they pleased, to the dismay of the State Superintendent. In Gasconade County, Missouri, half of the public schools were taught partly or entirely in German in 1890. Some districts continued German instruction, probably as a subject rather than a means of instruction, right up to U.S. entry into World War I. For example, a new 1915 edition of Witter's textbook, authored by St. Louis teachers, was still used at Morrison, Missouri, with the name of the teacher, Edwin Schake, penciled inside.¹³

Texas, too, had a considerable amount of German instruction in schools, both public and private. In San Antonio, a private two-way immersion German-English School operated from 1859 into the 1890s. A similar school in the freethinker settlement of Milheim, taught by a Forty-eighter with a German doctorate, attracted some Anglophone pupils along with Germans. One of its graduates, W. A. Trenckmann, went on to become principal of Bellville public schools, and reported that German was taught in every grade in the 1880s, with over half of the pupils participating. Bilingual schools were also established in Houston, Brenham, Columbus, and Victoria in the aftermath of the Civil War, and this list is probably not exhaustive. In 1886 there were more than 4,400 children receiving German instruction in public schools, and another 3,000 in private or parochial schools. Not until 1905 did Texas law even require English as medium of instruction.¹⁴

One aspect that has gained little attention is the experience of the Civil War and the way it may have affected the German identity in these two states. In both places, Germans were much less likely to own slaves than their Anglo neighbors, even when one takes into consideration their level of wealth. Some Germans in both states were critical of the “peculiar institution,” and were threatened with violence for their views. One tends to think of Confederates as quintessential white bread Americans, but that was not the case in Texas. They actually published their declaration of causes for secession in German translation—not that it did them much good. In both states Germans were less likely to serve the Confederacy than their Anglo neighbors, though to a very different degree. Less than 1 percent of Anglo Texans who fought in the Civil War served in its two Union regiments, but 11 percent of Texas Germans did, even though they had to travel to far off Brownsville, some 300 to 400 dangerous miles from the main German settlements, in order to enlist. In all of the would-be Confederacy, the only monument to Unionists erected by local people before the turn of the 20th century was the “*Treuer der Union*” monument in Comfort, Texas. Many Germans who served the Rebels did so reluctantly. About one third of Anglo Missourians served the Confederacy, but virtually no Missouri Germans did, judging by a convenient surname analysis. There was not a single Schmidt on Missouri Confederate muster rolls, and the sole Meyer among them turned out to be Swiss. In fact, Germans were the most adamantly Unionist element of the population. But Texas Germans felt much more like outsiders among devotees of the Lost Cause.¹⁵

Both groups leaned Republican in the Reconstruction era and beyond. Lincoln won a plurality in St. Louis in 1860, but Gasconade County, Missouri, was the only county in a slave state to give Lincoln a majority, and has voted Republican in every Presidential election since. Missouri became

a swing state, only voting for two losers in twentieth century presidential elections, giving Germans more bargaining power than in Texas, which was nearly a one-party state. Republican Congressman Harry Wurzbach of Seguin was an embattled loner, the only House member in the Deep South to vote in favor of Missouri Congressman Leonidas Dyer's anti-lynching bill in the 1920s. Though not in Wurzbach's district, Fredericksburg voted Republican in all but two Presidential elections in the 20th century. Gillespie County Germans supported local boy LBJ in 1964, and FDR in 1932: not because of the Depression, but in order to get their beer back, as the son of a county politician related.¹⁶ Wisconsinites will be surprised to learn that the county which voted most heavily for Progressive candidate Robert LaFollette in the 1924 presidential race was not in his home state, but at New Braunfels, where he polled 74 percent. The town also stood out later, as the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* wrote in its 100th anniversary edition in 1952: "In the last few years the outstanding characteristic of the Comal County vote has been its bitter anti-New Deal tendency . . . particularly puzzling to persons who are familiar with their generally liberal tendencies." In both states, the Prohibition movement had a decidedly anti-German tone, though it was more intense in Texas than Missouri. It is no coincidence that it achieved its breakthrough when it did, as the premier historian of St. Louis pungently remarked, "World War I and its illegitimate offspring, the Prohibition Amendment, ruined the beer industry."¹⁷

Given that World War I is often cited as a factor in the decline of the German language, this bears examination as well, although neither state saw a high degree of repression against German-Americans.¹⁸ If repression was indeed crucial, the German language should have persisted longest in Missouri, for it may just rate as the most tolerant state of the union during the Great War. In January 1918, the Patriotic Speakers' Bureau of the Missouri Council on Defense even launched a branch known as the German Speakers' Bureau, to crusade for the war effort in the German language. If any other state attempted this, it has remained a well-kept secret, although the effort was abandoned after six months because of increasing hysteria about the language issue. Reportedly sixteen German speakers were recruited (among a total of some 200 Patriotic Speakers statewide), most of them born abroad to the extent they can be identified. Heading up the effort was Max F. Meyer, a University of Missouri psychology professor who had immigrated in his early twenties. At least two of Meyer's crew were immigrant Lutheran ministers, Budapest-born Joseph Frenz, who immigrated in 1900 at age 9, and Hermann Wallner, who had arrived from Germany already in 1872 as a small child.¹⁹

The Texas German experience in the Great War was rather mild as well, especially compared to the repression in states such as Iowa or Nebraska. True, there was nothing like the Missouri German Speaker's Bureau in the Lone Star State. But a study of the local Defense Councils in German counties shows a considerable minority, or in some cases even a majority of German Texans, mostly of the second generation, on these boards. The extreme case was Gillespie County, greater Fredericksburg, where seven of the eight council members were German; the eighth, a young Anglo schoolteacher, was probably included because she could type. Comal County, New Braunfels and environs, also had a German majority of twelve out of twenty. Five of the seven members in Medina County were also Germanic, though most were of Alsatian background, so it would be worth examining how much German or French feeling they retained. In Fayette County, the breakdown was nine and nine, plus four "Bohemians" who tended to see eye-to-eye with Germans. In Guadalupe County, home of the *Seguiner Zeitung*, half of the twenty board members were German, including three immigrants. Washington County, which would soon see the Ku Klux Klan crusading against the German language, did have an Anglo majority of ten to six on its board, including several future Klan leaders as well as one of its targets. A couple of other counties with smaller German populations also had a smaller German representation. But even on the State Council of Defense, five of the forty-nine members were German, among them one member born in Germany, plus future Congressman Richard Kleberg of King Ranch fame and fortune.²⁰ From both states there were doughboys serving in France and writing letters home in German that were published in German American newspapers. And in both states, there were German American soldiers who gave their lives fighting Germany on the battlefield and were commemorated with tombstones in the German language.²¹

State-level patterns show as many similarities as differences, and if anything should have favored language preservation in Missouri over Texas. It proves more insightful to focus down to the county level and consider aspects such as the forms of German settlement, whether on an individual or an organized basis, and if organized, whether by a secular or a religious organization, along with the German share of county population that resulted, and whether and when the county's Germans had the critical mass to support a newspaper in their language (Table 2). There are several ways to measure German influence and isolation in a county. The percentage of German stock in the White population in 1870 gives the cleanest reading, for by 1880 there was a growing third generation that does not get counted as German. But for Texas it was necessary to use 1880 because of several county creations after 1870, especially Lee County, which stands out in its language retention.

One could debate whether German percentage of the White population or total population is more appropriate; in the Texas Hill Country it hardly matters, nor in Missouri. The census shows Osage County with a mere three Black residents in 1970, Gasconade with only thirteen. And there were in fact some German-speaking Blacks in both states; at least one such man in Texas survived into the 21st century. But their numbers are too small to cause much distortion if one assumes that all German speakers were Whites.²² In Missouri the German percentage was calculated for 1870 on the basis of total population; in Texas the 1880 White population was used, although one should note that in 1870 both New Braunfels and Fredericksburg were over 85 percent German, the highest in the nation except for one Nebraska county with just a handful of residents. No county in Missouri came close to that; only Gasconade and Warren counties were majority German, and neither surpassed 55 percent. The analysis is restricted to counties where the German stock, including the second generation, constituted at least 5 percent of the 1870-80 population.

The tables also include the founding year of the first local German newspaper and the year the last *Zeitung* folded.²³ It is difficult to say which is the chicken and which is the egg so far as the press and language preservation is concerned, though the example of New Braunfels suggests that ethnic newspapers are more of an effect than a cause. It looks surprising that Sedalia, Missouri, supported a German paper from 1877 on, when seven years earlier Pettis County was home to fewer than six hundred immigrants. But it was a fast-growing railroad town that by 1880 had close to two thousand residents of German stock, and by 1900 more than three thousand.

The 1940 mother tongue data is not available at the county level in published census returns.²⁴ Instead, the mother tongue data published in the 1970 census and the “language spoken” data from 1980 was used. The 1980 census ancestry data was used to estimate the “population at risk,” people who were potential German speakers. The census distinguished between those with any German ancestry, including mixed, and people who claimed to be solely of German ancestry, raising the issue of which figure to use. But intermarriage is also a form of assimilation, so both indexes were calculated, but the data is sorted according to the percentage speaking German among all people reporting any German ancestry, sorted from the county with the highest German retention in 1970 on down. The 1980 data instead reported who was still currently speaking German at home, shown as a percentage of people with German ancestry in that year.²⁵ These rankings vary somewhat from 1970 but show the same general tendencies. Since Missouri’s rates of retention are considerably lower, Texas will be examined first.

Linguists have posed the question of whether Henry Ford's Model T or Kaiser Wilhelm (i.e., World War I) was more responsible for the decline of German, figuratively speaking.²⁶ The case of New Braunfels and its contrasts with Fredericksburg point to Ford and his automobile as the main culprits, and even before them, the railroads. On the main route between Austin and San Antonio, New Braunfels got its first railroad connection in 1880 and a second by the dawn of the twentieth century. A line from San Antonio finally reached Fredericksburg in 1913 and dead-ended there; it never made a profit and only lasted three decades. Its current claim to fame are the bats roosting in its abandoned tunnels. By 1970, New Braunfels had Interstate 35 right on its doorstep, but to this day, Fredericksburg is twenty miles from the nearest interstate. Their two counties were almost identical in founding dates and population makeup, both established by the so-called *Adelsverein* colonization society, and over 85 percent German at one point.²⁷ The newspaper situation, too, should have favored German preservation in New Braunfels. Its *Zeitung* reached the century mark in 1952 before switching entirely to English five years later. With a smaller population, Fredericksburg only got a German newspaper twenty-five years after New Braunfels, and lost it a decade sooner. But more than 71 percent of Fredericksburgers of German descent still claimed German as their mother tongue in 1970; in New Braunfels it was less than 43 percent. Calculated on the basis of people of unmixed German descent, only 6 percent of Fredericksburg Germans claimed English as their mother tongue in 1970. Despite a smaller population from the outset, Gillespie County also had Comal beat in the absolute numbers of German speakers, by a 50 percent margin in 2000.

The runner up for German preservation in Texas, Lee County, is highly ironic in view of its settlement history. Its settlers came from a Slavic language island in eastern Germany, a group known as Wends, or in their language, Sorbs, a shipload of 500 of whom arrived in 1854. They were motivated in part by Lutheran separatism but also to escape the pressures of Germanization in the Old Country. However, they joined a German Lutheran synod and became totally Germanized here. Even the tombstone of the founding pastor's wife was *auf Deutsch*, as are the biblical mottos in the historic sanctuary of their mother church in Serbin. According to the 1940 census, there were a mere five German natives in Lee County born in the twentieth century, yet this congregation did not introduce regular English services until 1960. It went from weekly to monthly German services only in 1985, and continued these monthly communion services until 2007. (Now it's down to once a year for the annual picnic). Another Lutheran congregation at Manheim [*sic*] in Lee County still has two tombstones from 1947 and another from 1948 in the German language, and was home to one doughboy, Richard Kissmann, who

wrote home from France *auf Deutsch* and is commemorated with a German tombstone after being killed in action just ten days before the armistice.²⁸

Fayette County, the next in line, had the distinction that in the late nineteenth century, White Anglos were only the fourth largest element of its population, behind Germans, Blacks, and Czechs. Many Czechs, and even some Germans, were not bilingual but trilingual.²⁹ Washington County, next in line in German preservation, has something in common with neighboring Lee County: they are the only two among the 254 counties in Texas where the largest denomination was not Catholic or Baptist, but Lutheran (though mostly of a different, less conservative synod than in Lee).³⁰ Despite the Klan crusade against German in the 1920s, which caused at least one Lutheran minister to resign his position and move away, Germans in and around Brenham held tenaciously to their language. One of the Klan's slogans indicates how the Civil War still figured in the ethnic polarization sixty years later: "Our fathers were here in '61, and their boys are here in '21."³¹ A coalition of Blacks and Germans had kept Republicans in control of Washington County into the mid-1880s, when it was overthrown by violence and domestic terrorism. DeWitt County was similar to Washington in makeup; in fact, many Germans from Washington and Fayette counties moved farther down into the coastal prairies as land in their area became scarce. Next in the rankings was Austin County, site of the earliest German settlements in the state and characterized by a large freethinking element. All of these counties, with a variety of religious and irreligious tendencies, surpassed New Braunfels in their language preservation despite its overwhelmingly German character at the outset. Next in line was Lavaca County, like Fayette with a heavy Czech element, followed by Colorado County, which weighed in above 40 percent in its language preservation although it never supported a German newspaper. One thing that is impressive in Texas is the diversity of communities preserving German. There were three more counties in the 30-40 percent preservation range, each with a different *Weltanschauung*. Although Castroville in Medina County was an Alsatian settlement, in terms of language and identity it was Germanic.³² Thereafter, especially in the urban counties, the rate of German preservation drops rather precipitously, although all of these counties except Bastrop had German newspapers for decades on end. San Antonio stood well ahead of other cities in its language preservation, perhaps thanks to its German-English School.

Missouri shows both parallels and contrasts to Texas. Table 2 reveals that even the top Missouri county falls only in the mid-range of Texas language preservation. The two leading Missouri counties show considerable parallels with their Texas counterparts. Like Fredericksburg, the Gasconade County seat of Hermann was founded by a secular German colonization society, in

Table 2. County Level Indicators of German Language Persistence

County	Seat or Town	GMT1970 as % of		GS1980 as % of		Retention		% 1980 Population Only GA	Any GA	% Ger1&2 1880	Year 1st Zeitung	Year Last Zeitung	Settlement Type
		Any GA80	Only GA80	Any GA80	Only GA80	80GS/ 70MT	Only GA						
TEXAS													
Gillespie	Fredericksburg	71	94	43	57	60	47	62	74	1877	1945	Secular Group	
Lee	Giddings	64	87	28	39	44	29	40	22	1899	1949	Luth. Group	
Fayette	La Grange	60	87	25	37	42	30	44	40	1890	1926	Mixed	
Washington	Brenham	50	65	10	13	19	35	45	39	1874	1918	Lutheran	
De Witt	Cuero	46	69	14	21	30	25	37	44	1881	1918	Lutheran	
Austin	Belville	44	75	19	31	42	23	39	57	1891	1909	Freethinker	
Comal	New Braunfels	43	69	23	37	53	22	36	86	1852	1954	Secular Group	
Lavaca	Hallettsville	42	78	9	17	21	18	35	16	1896	1927	Mixed	
Colorado	Columbus	41	68	10	16	24	21	35	39			Mixed	
Kendall	Boerne	40	71	17	30	42	23	40	56	1882	1888	Freethinker	
Guadalupe	Seguin	38	64	14	24	37	20	34	32	1886	1932	Lutheran	
Medina	Castroville	31	59	7	12	21	13	25	56			Catholic	
Bexar	San Antonio	20	52	5	13	25	6	16	29	1853	1945	Urban	
Bastrop	Bastrop	17	32	4	8	26	14	26	15	1873	1874	Small City	
Victoria	Victoria	16	37	3	7	19	11	25	43	1881	1918	Small City	
Harris	Houston	10	32	2	8	24	5	15	32	1859	1917	Urban	
Galveston	Galveston	9	30	3	8	34	5	17	30	1846	1918	Urban	
Travis	Austin	9	25	2	7	23	8	21	15	1871	1940	Urban	
Dallas	Dallas	7	24	2	7	30	5	15	6	1877	1918	Urban	

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Country	Seat or Town	GMT1970 as % of		GS1980 as % of		Retention		% 1980 Population		% Ger1&2		Year Last Zeitung	Year Zeitung	Settlement Type
		Any GA80	Only GA80	Any GA80	Only GA80	80GS/ 70MT	Only GA	Only GA	Any GA	1870	1870			
MISSOURI														
Gasnade	Hermann	38	57	6	9	16	43	64	54	1845	1928	Secular Group		
Perry	Perryville	34	51	9	13	25	43	64	33			Luth. Group		
Benton	Cole Camp	28	52	10	18	35	21	38	18			Lutheran		
Lafayette	Concordia	24	42	2	4	9	25	43	12	1871	1918	Lutheran		
Osage	Westphalia	24	30	5	6	21	56	72	36	1896	1917	Catholic		
Ste Genevieve	Same	23	37	4	7	18	37	61	31	1876	1895	Catholic		
Warren	Warrenton	22	37	3	5	12	32	53	53	1880	1918	Evangelical		
St Louis	Same	17	42	2	5	11	14	35	38	1835	1938	Urban		
Cole	Jeff. City	17	28	1	2	8	29	49	31	1866	1927	Mixed		
Franklin	Washington	16	27	2	3	11	30	53	43	1869	1910	Mixed		
Cape Girardeau	Same	14	26	2	4	17	26	47	26	1871	1925	Mixed		
Moniteau	Califorma	13	25	1	1	5	22	43	16			Mennonite		
Morgan	Versailles	13	24	5	9	38	21	38	16			Mennonite		
Cooper	Boonville	10	18	1	2	9	28	48	13	1868	1907	Small City		
Pettis	Sedalia	10	23	1	2	10	17	37	6	1877	1917	Small City		
Jackson	Kansas City	10	30	2	5	17	8	24	7	1859	1941	Urban		
Buchanan	St. Joseph	7	20	1	4	18	11	32	12	1858	1924	Urban		
St Charles	Same	7	15	1	2	15	22	50	47	1852	1916	Suburban		
Jefferson	Hillsboro	6	16	1	3	18	15	42	24	1891	1892	Suburban		
Marion	Hannibal	6	13	1	1	10	15	35	10	1891	1891	Small City		

KEY Table 2:

GMT = German Mother Tongue (1970) GS = German Speaking (1980)

Any GA = Persons of Single or Mixed German Ancestry, 1980

Only GA = Persons of Single German Ancestry, 1980

1837. Like Lee County, Perry County was colonized by conservative Saxon Lutherans of the same synod, who established their “Zion on the Mississippi” in 1839. A refugee from Nazi Germany who arrived there in 1945 recalled: “It was remarkably perplexing to enter the store, ask for something in English, and then receive the answer in the best German. . . . Not only did everyone speak German, but they all said *du* to one another. It was like a fairy tale—it was America, and yet it was not America.”³³ The next two counties in line, and especially the communities of Concordia and Cole Camp, were also heavily Lutheran, but of a different Hannoverian flavor, with roots 250 miles from Saxony. They did not involve group colonization, but still achieved a greater degree of German preservation than other counties that were more heavily German a century earlier. Embattled Unionist outposts deep in Little Dixie, both also illustrate how the Civil War experiences reinforced ethnic identity.³⁴ Baptists, probably of the Southern variety, remain the leading denomination in both Benton and Lafayette counties. The next two in the rankings, Osage and Ste. Genevieve counties, were overwhelmingly Catholic, though of very different origins 300 miles apart, in Westphalia and Baden respectively. Following them, Warren County was predominantly German Evangelical with some German Methodist admixture, reflecting their Westphalian and Lippe Detmolder background, as was the case in rural Gasconade County outside of Hermann.³⁵ But in contrast, ethnicity in Warren County was not reinforced by group settlement. The denominational ranking of Lutheran, Catholic, and Evangelical in language preservation is similar to that observed in a Master’s thesis on Cole County, Missouri, and also reflects the degree of commitment to parochial education shown by the ratio of baptisms to school enrollments during the late nineteenth century.³⁶

Missouri provides additional evidence that ethnic newspapers were an effect rather than a cause of language preservation, and that the crucial variable was the absolute numbers of Germans. Two of the top three counties in language preservation never had a German paper. With immigrant populations ranging from 1,225 downwards in 1870, the critical mass was simply lacking, and the weekly edition of St. Louis papers were distributed more widely outstate than were city papers in Texas.³⁷ It is worth noting that conservative Lutheran counties, especially Perry in Missouri and Lee in Texas, had more German language survival than other counties that were more heavily German. One factor was doubtless their parochial school systems, which continued to teach German well beyond World War I. Another of these Lutheran communities, Concordia in Lafayette County, allowed pupils the option of confirmation in German as late as 1939. All three of these Lutheran communities as well as Cole Camp have thriving parochial schools to this day, and there are a half-dozen Catholic schools in Osage County.

It should be noted that the immigrant population was a negligible factor in 1980, accounting for less than 1 percent of those with German ancestry everywhere but St. Louis and Kansas City in Missouri, and except for San Antonio, nowhere over 2 percent in Texas. However, immigrant numbers could account for a large proportion of the German speakers in urban areas and larger towns. In Hannibal, Missouri, German natives actually outnumbered German speakers. St. Louis City and County (combined in the data) ranks surprisingly high in language preservation compared to most urban Texas counties, but this may reflect faulty methodology. St. Louis was experiencing intensive White flight, so that some of the same individuals reporting German mother tongue in the city in 1970 were reporting German ancestry in 1980 in adjacent St. Charles County, which grew by 55 percent over the decade.³⁸ As in 1980, the 2000 census also recorded language spoken, but by then it was a negligible quantity not worth including in the table. Less than 1 percent of the population still spoke some German in the home in sixteen of the Missouri counties and eight counties in Texas. However, in Gillespie County, over 11 percent of the inhabitants persisted with German, as did more than 5 percent in Lee County. In Missouri, Perry County held the lead with over 3 percent, followed by Gasconade County with 2 percent and Osage County with 1.7 percent still using some German. Morgan County actually held second place in Missouri because of a recent Mennonite influx.

One characteristic the top two German speaking counties in each state have in common is a group settlement project, which was also true of New Braunfels. None of these were communal societies like Amana in Iowa, but in all cases, they acquired a large plot of land where they could keep mostly to themselves. The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia bought some 11,000 acres or 17 square miles in 1838 and founded the town of Hermann. The Saxon Lutheran settlement in Perry County involved a tract of circa 4,500 acres, or 7 square miles. In Texas, the Wends purchased a slightly smaller tract in 1855 for a dollar an acre. No less than forty Wendish families settled on this land, and another ten purchased town lots in Serbin.³⁹ Immigrants were settled on two leagues of land (or nearly 14 square miles) at Comal Springs that the *Adelsverein* leader Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels purchased in 1845, and named New Braunfels after his estate in Germany. Fredericksburg, the society's second colony, was established by Johann Meusebach in 1846 near the Pedernales River on some 11,000 acres (17 square miles) that he had purchased the year before.

Of these group settlement tracts, only that of New Braunfels consisted of relatively fertile, productive agricultural land. Fredericksburg was within one degree of the 100th meridian, beyond which the arid climate makes agriculture a risky proposition without irrigation. New Braunfels and

Fredericksburg could almost be considered lucky accidents, established primarily as way stations to the Fisher-Miller Grant farther west, which proved to be totally unsuited for agriculture. Both Missouri tracts as well as the Wendish settlement had in common the relatively poor quality of their land, conditioned in part by the fact that it was difficult to find such a large, unbroken parcel of good land for sale. The Perry County tract purchased by the Saxon Lutherans was described as very hilly land “so utterly remote from civilization that seldom any travelers trespassed upon it.” With respect to Hermann, contemporary Gert Goebel observed from his perspective as a county surveyor that “at that time there were far more favorable locations for agricultural purposes to be found almost everywhere in the state.” He saw “the cheap price for land that the Americans considered entirely worthless” as one of the “main reasons” for the purchase. Seven years after the town’s founding on a site more picturesque than productive, the editor of the local *Wochenblatt* admitted that “if your settlement were inhabited by Americans instead of Germans, Hermann would now . . . have been reduced to just a few stores doing business with the farm population, while most of the other inhabitants would have long since sought their fortunes somewhere else.”⁴⁰ But the less promising a location was for agriculture, the more it promoted heritage language preservation.

At the outset, there were hardly any Americans around to assimilate to. The case of Juanita Sanchez is illustrative: she married Unionist Sebastian Kleck, who had taken refuge on the Mexican border, and she returned with him to Fredericksburg after the Civil War. The 1910 census lists Sebastian as able to speak English, but his Mexican-born wife as only speaking German! In 1850, all but fifteen of the 381 adults in the town had been born in Germany. Hermann was even more homogeneous: only three of its 208 families in the 1850 census were headed by Americans. When Friedrich Gerstäcker got off the train in Hermann during his 1867 travels, as he recorded, “I suddenly stood in the middle of a little friendly German town, as if it had conjured up the homeland right out of the ground especially for me.”⁴¹

The census questions on mother tongue or language spoken provide a yes/no answer to what is obviously a question of degree of competence (and by the 1980 census almost everyone also spoke English, usually “well” or “very well”). But small-town newspapers and their circulation figures relative to the size of their immigrant populations provide further evidence that German language competence, in reading as well as speaking, extended into the second and even third generation (Table 3).

Gasconade County, the most heavily German in all of Missouri, counted only 616 natives of the Fatherland in the 1920 census, but the *Hermanner Volksblatt* was still publishing a weekly run of 1,000. Two years after it

German Language Persistence in Texas and Missouri

Table 3. German-born Population and German Newspaper Circulation, 1920-40

County	County Seat	German-born	German Circulation	Ratio
Gasconade	Hermann, MO	616 ('20)	1000	1.6: 1
		361 ('30)	1000	2.8: 1
Comal	New Braunfels, TX	263 ('40)	2600	9.8: 1
Gillespie	Fredericksburg, TX	141 ('40)	600	4.3: 1
Lee	Giddings, TX	355 ('40)	3765	10.6: 1

succumbed in 1928 (Missouri's last surviving German paper outside the two big cities), the 1930 census found a mere 361 German natives in the county. Impressive as this may seem, it is no match with Texas, where three county-seat German weeklies were still in operation at the end of World War II. The print run of the Fredericksburg paper was more than four times the number of German natives in the county, but that pales by comparison with New Braunfels and Giddings, both of whose German weeklies enjoyed circulations that were ten times the size of their county's German-born population. The *Neu Braunfelsler Zeitung* celebrated its centennial in 1952 before finally switching entirely to English in 1957, the first and also the last viable German newspaper in Texas.⁴² But by another measure, Fredericksburg holds the record for language persistence. Both communities were settled by a colonization society, with county populations more than 85 percent of German origin. But Fredericksburg and rural Gillespie County, located farther from the main routes of transportation than New Braunfels, still had a majority of 57 percent claiming German mother tongue in the 1970 census. In fact, the number of German speakers was equal to 94 percent of those reporting only German ancestry. Not until the year 2000 did Spanish speakers outnumber German speakers in and around Fredericksburg.

Since 2001, the Texas German Dialect Project at the University of Texas has been interviewing and recording native Texans, some of them in the fifth or sixth generation, who grew up with German as their first language.⁴³ Thus far they have interviewed some 750 people, the majority born before World War II, but including a few from the baby boom era, in one instance as late as 1953. However, if their descendants have learned German at all, it is the formal language taught in school rather than the Texas German dialect. At the 200th anniversary of German settlement of Texas in 2032, there may still be a handful of Texas German speakers left to celebrate. Project linguists estimate that the dialect will be extinct by 2040, but its tenacity is nonetheless remarkable.

In summary, there are several tendencies that hold true in both states. Neither experienced a high degree of repression during World War I. At the county level, the role of homogeneous block settlements, whether secular or

religious, is apparent in promoting heritage language preservation, especially when combined with geographic isolation. Lutheran communities, and to a lesser extent Catholic ones, stood out because of their parochial schools that were often conducted primarily in German into the twentieth century, and continued to teach the language into the 1930s. In urban areas there was very little language persistence into the third generation. But the outsider status of Texas Germans, their sense of identity and a bit of a superiority complex, probably reinforced the tenacity with which they held onto their heritage language.

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Notes

¹ The standard work on the subject is Mark L. Loudon, *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016). Although the book is published in an Anabaptist & Pietist studies series, Loudon notes that speakers of the language once extended far beyond such radical Pietist communities.

² “Third generation” is used throughout this article as a convenient shorthand; it actually means native born of native parentage, and may include a few individuals beyond the third generation. The U.S. Census only enumerates birthplace and birthplace of parents. If all are within the United States, persons are designated as third generation.

³ Walter D. Kamphoefner, “German Texans: In the Mainstream or Backwaters of Lone Star Society?” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 38 (2003), 119-38. Walter D. Kamphoefner, “Uprooted or Transplanted? Reflections on Patterns of German Immigration to Missouri,” *Missouri Historical Review* 103 (2009): 71-89.

⁴ An important if brief early study of the Texas situation is Joseph C. Salmons, “Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance and Shift” *Monatshefte* 75 (1983): 187–96. Among the broadest and most recent studies in this field is Hans C. Boas, *The Life and Death of Texas German* (Durham: Duke University Press for the American Dialect Society, 2009). For a related case study see Karen A. Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death: The Decline of Texas Alsatian* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2012). Although the situations of indigenous and immigrant languages are not entirely analogous, some suggestive insights are also offered by Marc Pierce, “Language Death and Language Revival: Contrasting Manx and Texas German,” in *The Medieval Cultures of the Irish Sea and the North Sea: Manannán and his Neighbors*, ed. Joseph Nagy and Charles MacQuarrie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 183-206.

⁵ These issues are addressed in chapters 4 and 5 of Boas, *Life and Death of Texas German*, and the similarly structured study of Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death*.

⁶ First developed by linguist Joshua Fishman, the model was largely confirmed in a rigorous multiethnic test by sociologist Richard Alba et al., “Only English by the Third Generation? Loss and Preservation of the Mother Tongue among the Grandchildren of Contemporary Immigrants,” *Demography* 39.3 (August 2002): 467-84. Both Boas, *Life and Death of Texas German*, and Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death*, address issues promoting or retarding the language transition in their concluding chapters.

⁷ William D. Keel, “Kaiser Bill or the Model-T Ford?: The Demise of Varieties of Spoken German in the Aftermath of World War I,” 42nd Annual Symposium of the Society for

German Language Persistence in Texas and Missouri

German-American Studies; Indianapolis, IN, April 19-21, 2018. Boas, *Life and Death of Texas German*, 247-48. Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death*, 172, even relates of an interviewee who was motivated to learn the Castroville Alsatian dialect as an eight-year-old upon hearing his parents talk of the outbreak of World War II and being unable to understand them.

⁸ The exact census figures on German natives for 1870 are Missouri: 113,618; Texas: 23,976; for 1910: Missouri: 88,226; Texas: 44,929.

⁹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-American Bilingualism: *Cui Malo?* Mother Tongue and Socioeconomic Status among the 2nd Generation in 1940," *International Migration Review* 28 (1994): 846-64.

¹⁰ *Sixteenth Census, Mother Tongue of the White Population*, Series P-15, no. 10 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 17, 20. This data has one limitation; we do not know the size of what demographers call the "population at risk": i.e., the total number of third-generation Germans, regardless of whether they preserved the heritage language. But there are some ways of estimating this, such as the U.S. Census Ancestry question from 1980 forward.

¹¹ The translation legislation was reported in *The Texas Democrat* (Austin, TX), June 24, 1846, p. 2. *Vierter Jährlicher Bericht des Bureau's für Arbeit-Statistik des Staates Missouri*, übersetzt von Louis Schmidt (Jefferson City, 1883). According to the foreword, 5,000 copies were printed in English and 2,000 in German, i.e. over 28 percent of the copies, when Germans made up only 18 percent of all industrial workers in the state according to the 1880 Census.

¹² Selwyn K. Troen, *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), 64-78. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Learning from the 'Majority-Minority' City: Immigration in Nineteenth-Century St. Louis," in Eric Sandweiss, ed., *St. Louis in the Century of Henry Shaw: A View Beyond the Garden Wall* (University of Missouri Press, 2003), 79-99.

¹³ Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977), 100-113. *Witter's Deutsch-Englische Schreib- und Lese-Fibel und Neues Erstes Lesebuch für Amerikanische Freischulen*, rev. ed. (St. Louis: C. Witter, 1915). E-mail correspondence with Lowell Schake, Edwin's nephew.

¹⁴ Peter-Bodo Gawenda, "The Use of the German Language in the Schools of San Antonio, Texas, From 1880 to 1910" (Ed.D. diss., University of Houston, 1986). Walter L. Buenger and Walter D. Kamphoefner, eds., *Preserving German Texan Identity: Reminiscences of William A. Trenckmann, 1859-1935* (College Station: TAMU Press, 2018), 12-13, 99. Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas* (College Station: TAMU Press, 2003), 18-22, 32-55.

¹⁵ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Missouri Germans and the Cause of Union and Freedom," *Missouri Historical Review* 106 (2012): 115-36; Kamphoefner, "New Americans or New Southerners? Unionist German Texans," in J. F. de la Teja, ed., *Lone Star Unionism, Dissent, and Resistance: The Other Civil-War Texas* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 101-22. Readers of German may prefer my combined treatment of the two states: "Deutschamerikaner in den Sklavenstaaten: Außenseiter oder Angepasste? Eine Bilanz 150 Jahre nach dem Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 67 (2016): 74-90.

¹⁶ E-mail communication, March 15, 2015, with Mark Wieser, Fredericksburg, TX, whose father Joseph Wieser was a lawyer and Gillespie County judge in the 1930s.

¹⁷ James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 436.

¹⁸ Matthew D. Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930* (Kleingarten Press, 2010); Petra DeWitt, *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 155.

¹⁹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, “The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 49 (2014): 3-30.

²⁰ Sandra Denise Smith Davidson, “Propaganda, Pressure, and Patriotism: The Texas State Council of Defense and the Politics of Gender, Race, and Class during World War I” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Houston, 2017), Appendix F and C. The sole digitized paper from Medina County took a pacifist stand up to the U.S. declaration of war: “Have You a Loved One to Give To the Slaughter?” *Hondo Anvil Herald*, March 24, 1917, p. 6. There is no mention of the war in Roesch, *Language Maintenance*, or at least no index entry for it.

²¹ Germans of the immigrant generation, relative to their numbers, were thirty to fifty times more likely to write back to Germany in the World War I era, but this was not because of language competence. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, “Language and Loyalty among German Americans in World War I,” *Journal of Austrian-American History* 3.1 (2019): 1-25; and “Doughboys auf Deutsch: U.S. Soldiers Writing Home in German from France,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 54 (2019): 114-34. Both articles include examples of letters written home by U.S. soldiers of the third generation.

²² The 1970 census shows fewer than 28,000 American-born Blacks claiming German mother tongue nationwide. *1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Conditions, United States Summary*, Table 86, p. 1-382.

²³ Carl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, ed., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955*, 2nd ed., (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1965), supplemented by <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/titles/>, which allow searches by state and language of publication. The tables include only weekly or daily papers for a local readership, ignoring monthly church publications that were often distributed statewide or nationally.

²⁴ Census images are also available through Ancestry.com. A hand tally of mother tongue records for the town of Fredericksburg revealed that 137 of 179 sampled persons, or 77 percent, claimed German as their mother tongue in 1940; 116 of the 137 were native born of native parentage, so 65 percent of the inhabitants were third-generation Americans with German as their mother tongue.

²⁵ The Mother Tongue in 1970 variable (GMT70), is based on a 15 percent sample available in published census returns, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics*, table 119, Social Characteristics for Counties; Part 27, Missouri; Part 45, Texas. The 1980 data was obtained from the unpublished 1980 Census Summary Tape File 4B, Inter University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Data set 08229. The “Language Spoken at Home” variable (GS80) is restricted to persons aged 18 and above; data is also available for persons aged 5-17, but this was a negligible quantity. The variable OnlyGA80 consists of persons from Single Ancestry Group: German; it is combined with “German Ancestry in combination with 1 or more other groups” to yield the AnyGA80 variable. For people speaking other languages at home, the supplementary data tapes also tally English ability on a four-point scale from “very good” to “good” to “not good” on down to “not at all,” with the great majority of German speakers falling into the former two categories and virtually none unable to speak English. My thanks to my colleague Prof. Mark Fossett of the TAMU Sociology Department for providing access to this data.

²⁶ Keel, “Kaiser Bill or the Model-T Ford?”

²⁷ These contrasts between the two towns were already noted by Salmons, “Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance,” 188-190. The standard work on the *Adelsverein* remains Rudolph Leopold Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (San Marcos, TX: German-Texas Heritage Society, [1930] 1987): 66-139.

²⁸ E-mail correspondence from Pastor John Schmidt, St. Paul’s Lutheran Church, Serbin, TX, April 9, 2019. German sermons were still held on Thanksgiving and Christmas until 2015, when the retired pastor suffered a stroke, but German hymns on these days persist until present, and a German service is still held annually for the Wendish Fest on the fourth Sunday in September. Kissmann was one of ten soldiers whose German letters were published in the

Giddings *Deutsches Volksblatt*; see Kamphoefner, "Doughboys auf Deutsch," 117. The standard work on the Wendish immigration is George R. Nielsen, *In Search of a Home: Nineteenth-Century Wendish Immigration* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1989).

²⁹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Slavic Relations in Texas and the Midwest," *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny* 41 (2015): 34-45. *First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, 1887-88* (Austin: State Printing Office, 1889), 71. Though its methodology is nowhere explained, it obviously tallied ethnic origin regardless of generation. It is available in digitized form at <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph296841/>. It seems, however, that this source underestimates the size of the German element in Comal and particularly in Gillespie County.

³⁰ Jon. L. Kilpinen, "Leading Church Bodies in the United States 2000," https://www.academia.edu/4949240/Leading_Church_Bodies_in_the_United_States_2000.

³¹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German Settlements of Eastern Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 111 (2008): 52-66. Quote from *Brenham Morning Messenger*, May 21, 1921.

³² Johannes Nep. Enzberger, *Schematismus der katholischen Geistlichkeit deutscher Zunge in den Vereinigten Staaten Amerikas* (Milwaukee: Hoffmann Brothers Co., 1892), 287. The parishes at Castroville and D'Hanis were 85% German; other ethnicities in the order of frequency were Mexicans, English speakers, French, plus a handful of Bohemians. But Catholic school pupils came to only 40% of the number of Catholic families.

³³ Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi; The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839-1841* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953). Heinrich Hauser, *My Farm on the Mississippi: The Story of a German in Missouri, 1945-1948*, ed. and trans. Curt A. Poulton (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001), 28. Original: Heinrich Hauser, *Meine Farm am Mississippi* (Berlin: Safari, 1950).

³⁴ Robert W. Frizzell, *Independent Immigrants: A Settlement of Hanoverian Germans in Western Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007). Kamphoefner, "Missouri Germans," 124.

³⁵ Kamphoefner, "Uprooted or Transplanted," 77, 79, 81. In most of the heavily German counties, Catholics were the leading denomination, but only in Osage County did they constitute a majority. None of the counties, even Perry, had a Lutheran plurality, but the leading denomination in Gasconade County was the United Church of Christ, successor to the German Evangelical church body. Kilpinen, "Leading Church Bodies in the United States 2000." Enzberger, *Schematismus*, 262-77. Of Osage County's eight Catholic parishes, three of the four largest were exclusively German, as were 91% of the county's Catholics overall. Catholic school enrollment came to 79% of the number of Catholic families. Only 55% of Ste. Genevieve County Catholics were German, and parochial school coverage was below 40%. One community with roots in Baden was the subject of a 2014 German documentary: <https://www.welt.de/geschichte/article134991468/Wie-die-deutsche-Sprache-in-Amerika-stirbt.html>.

³⁶ Doris Dippold, "'It Just Doesn't Sound Right': Spracherhalt und Sprachwechsel bei Deutschen Kirchengemeinden in Cole County, Missouri," M.A. Thesis (Linguistics), University of Kansas, 2002. In the late nineteenth century, there were at least two parochial school pupils for every Lutheran or Catholic baptism, but not even one Evangelical pupil per baptism. It should be noted that the term "Evangelical" refers here to the denominational descendants of the German Evangelical Synod, which became part of the Evangelical and Reformed church in 1934 and with an additional merger in 1957, part of the United Church of Christ, one of the most liberal American denominations, contrasting with the "white Evangelicals" of current political salience.

³⁷ There were fourteen Missouri counties that were home to German newspapers at some point in their history, all but one bordering on the Missouri or Mississippi rivers where German settlements were concentrated, Pettis County being the one exception.

³⁸ Since 1876, the city of St. Louis separated from St. Louis County to become its own county, but the two were combined for this analysis. The outmigration during the 1970s meant that the denominator of potential German speakers based on the 1980 census data was smaller, making the apparent rate of German speaking larger. Migration was only a minor factor in rural counties, and is only of concern in urban and suburban areas.

³⁹ Russel L. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study in Ethnic Geography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), 37, 41. Nielsen, *In Search of a Home*, 78-80.

⁴⁰ Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks*, 41. Gert Goebel, *Longer than a Man's Lifetime in Missouri*, ed. Walter D. Kamphoefner and Adolf E. Schroeder; trans. Schroeder and Elsa Louise Nagel (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, [1877] 2013), 242. *Hermanns Wochenblatt*, 19 December 1845.

⁴¹ The Klecks' joint German-language tombstone in Fredericksburg can be viewed on <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/53961919/juanita-kleck>. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Neue Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten, Mexico, Ecuador, Westindien und Venezuela, Bd. 1: Nord-Amerika* (Jena 1868), 246.

⁴² The circulation figures were derived from Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*; county German populations from Ancestry.com.

⁴³ The project's founder and director is Professor Hans Boas; more details at <https://tgdp.org/>.