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German-Americans: Still Divided by the Reformation 500 Years Later?

My first year in Germany—a life-changing experience in many ways—I spent in Münster, in 1975 still a profoundly Catholic city that was the subject of various jokes: “In Münster it’s either raining or the bells are ringing; if it’s both, it must be Sunday.” Or in political parlance, with “Schwarz” or Black signifying Catholic Conservatives: “What is the comparative and superlative of the adjective ‘Schwarz’? Schwarz, Münster, Paderborn” (each the seat of a Catholic diocese). As someone of staunch Protestant heritage, a refitted Lutheran theology student no less, it was a bit sobering to walk along the Prinzipalmarkt and see the Lamberti Kirche still sporting the iron cages where the drawn and quartered remains of three radical Anabaptist leaders were hung on the steeple as a warning after their execution when Catholics reconquered the city in 1536. Even as late as my Münster days, one of the Anabaptist rebels provided the name and inspiration for an underground newspaper, *Knipperdolling* (Münsteraner Generalanzweifler).¹ However, upon further reflection, I realized that Martin Luther was hardly any more sympathetic to these “Ketzer und Schwärmer” of the “left wing of the Reformation.” For Catholics, it was an “I told you so” moment; for Lutherans came the sobering realization, similar to what the Confederates experienced when West Virginia seceded from secession and the Free State of Jones tried to, that once you start unraveling an institution, there is no telling where it will stop. Thus we see Protestants splitting into Lutheran and Reformed branches, a breach which took three hundred years to mend, and then only partially. But more importantly for Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, the Reformation resulted in a broad array of “Sektendeutsche” as well: various radical Pietist groupings. It is to them that Germantown and Philadelphia owe their claim as “ground zero” of German America, whose Tricentennial in 1983 was occasion for celebra-

tions in Philadelphia and elsewhere on both sides of the Atlantic.² The various splinterings of Protestantism were transplanted wholesale, and often splintered further, in the New World. Differing religious backgrounds continue to influence the political outlook of German-Americans down to the present.³

The original Protestant-Catholic split caused little trouble in colonial America for the simple reason that Britain was a decidedly Protestant nation with little use for Catholic immigrants. In fact, many more German Catholics moved east in Europe than migrated west across the Atlantic.⁴ Although there were earlier German Catholics in mixed parishes, only in 1789 did they manage to establish their first ethnic parish, Holy Trinity in Philadelphia. By the outbreak of the American Revolution, there were 375 German churches in the colonies, two thirds of them in Pennsylvania. Lutherans held a slight edge over Reformed congregations, but the two groups were relatively compatible.⁵ Lutheran and Reformed churches cooperated to found Franklin College at Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1787. This was the first bilingual college in the new nation, offering instruction in both English and German. For a brief period at the outset it was also the first coeducational institution, with women constituting almost one-third of its initial enrollment.⁶

During the Revolution, prominent Loyalists were relatively rare among the Germans, though there were a few, such as Christopher Sauer's sons and Patriot General Nicholas Herkimer's brother.⁷ But in general, Germans split less between Patriots and Loyalists than along confessional lines between Patriots and pacifists, with many "sect people" holding fast to their pacifism, whereas "church people" such as the Muhlenberg family were more sympathetic to the Patriot cause.⁸

Immigration experienced a long hiatus over the Revolutionary period, the economic struggles of the new nation, and the conflicts in Europe unleashed by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Mass immigration from Germany only resumed after 1830. By then, colonial immigrants were assimilated well enough that there was little institutional continuity between eighteenth and nineteenth century German Protestantism. With the latter immigration, economic motives predominated, but there were a few religiously motivated group migrations as well, most in reaction to attempts by the Prussian king to unite the Lutheran and Reformed branches of Protestantism at the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation in 1817. Dissenters from this merger, often dubbed "Old Lutherans," came over in several organized groups in the late 1830s and early 1840s. One group from Silesia and Pomerania settled in Buffalo and Wisconsin, a colony of Franconians settled in Michigan, and Saxon refugees founded a "Zion on the Mississippi" in southeast Missouri. But their unbending zealotry led to three different Lutheran bodies, the Buffalo, Wisconsin, and Missouri synods.⁹

One should not think, however, that all Lutheran immigrants of this era were religious refugees; the majority were not. Many had their roots in Hanover, where the Lutheran and Reformed churches remained independent of each other, or in Mecklenburg, which was overwhelmingly Lutheran with virtually no Reformed or Evangelical presence. Nor did all immigrants from Prussia object to the Evangelical Union; those from Westphalia founded essentially an American counterpart, originally called the Kirchenverein des Westens, later known as the German Evangelical Synod, the denomination in which Reinhold Niebuhr grew up (a very different type of Evangelical Protestant than the ones that have recently attracted the attention of political pollsters).¹⁰ But the lines between German Lutherans and Evangelicals were not so stringently drawn in the early years. They sometimes even shared church buildings. More than one of my ancestral families had some children baptized in each of the two denominations, or were married in one and had children baptized in the other. One of the founding members of the Kirchenverein, Hermann Garlich, served for a decade at Femme Osage, Missouri, the first German Protestant church west of the Mississippi, but then, returning from a visit to Germany, was called to a Lutheran congregation in Brooklyn where he served the rest of his life.¹¹ There was little German-language outreach among Anglo-Protestant denominations, the main exception being Methodists, and here a German convert, Wilhelm Nast, played the leading role. Even with Methodists there is a transatlantic element: immigrants from areas with a strong *Erweckungsbewegung* or pietistic revival movement, such as Lippe Detmold or Württemberg, predominated among their converts.¹²

Although Catholics never constituted a majority of German immigrants, those in the antebellum era, with origins concentrated in southwestern and western Germany, were probably more heavily Catholic than at any time before or after.¹³ For a brief period in the Jacksonian era, German Protestants and Catholics were also more unified than at any time before or after, at least politically. Seduced by Andrew Jackson's populist appeal, or repelled by the religious zealotry of his Whig opponents, they remained allied until the 1850s.

Now if I thought my job as SGAS President was to be an ancestor worshiper or ethnic cheerleader, I would tell you that the freedom-loving Germans all became Republicans after 1854 and cast the deciding votes to elect Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. So far as can be determined, this claim first originated in an 1890 article by none other than John Peter Altgeld, and it was still alive when I started graduate school.¹⁴ However, the historical record is much more complicated, as Fred Luebke, the SGAS 2010 Outstanding Achievement Award winner, demonstrated in his research. As he and others have shown, anti-immigrant tendencies within the Republican Party and

anti-clerical sentiments of its most articulate German leaders often alienated rank-and-file voters of Catholic or conservative Lutheran backgrounds. Many of our heroes of the abolition movement were also the villains of “cold-water fanaticism” who led the crusade for alcohol prohibition.¹⁵

One Luxemburger editor captured the sentiments of many other German-speaking Catholics: “it was only natural that they turned to the Democrats, who were conservative in their principles, well-disposed towards immigrants, opposed to centralization, and supported by other fellow Catholics.” They remained Democrats, “not because they were friends of the slaveholders, no, but because they did not like the elements that had combined to form the new Republican Party. Instinctively, . . . they stood in opposition to the party of centralization and Puritanism.”¹⁶

However, it would be erroneous to replace ethnic determinism with religious determinism, and assume that voters followed religious leaders unquestioningly. One Catholic scholar wrote that for her co-religionists, “To join the Republican party was tantamount to joining forces with the devil,” and a Lutheran journal found the leaders of the Missouri Synod “Republican neither by inclination nor in party affiliation” back then. But the laity often saw things differently. A German left the Catholic seminary in Cape Girardeau, Missouri for Milwaukee, in protest over the Rebel sympathies of an Irish-American professor. Similarly on the Lutheran side, the father of the Missouri Synod, C.F.W. Walther, was challenged by laymen in his own St. Louis congregation for his views that slavery was divinely sanctioned. My great-great grandpa from New Melle, one of the charter congregations of the Missouri Synod, was a dedicated Unionist of the first hour and a Radical Republican state legislator after the war.¹⁷

But Germans did not uniformly support Lincoln in the North, and some of the places where they did vote Republican were safely in the Lincoln column anyway. Wisconsin Republicans converted few Lutherans and virtually no Catholics to their cause, but they carried the state handily without them. Perhaps Altgeld was not exactly wrong, he just overgeneralized from his Illinois perspective. Lincoln had to convert his home state from the Democratic column in 1856, and his winning margin there in 1860 was one of the smallest anywhere in the North. Here the Germans role was indeed crucial. Illinois, along with Missouri, was the state where Lincoln fared best among Germans generally and Catholics in particular. Lincoln had distanced himself early on from nativism in his 1855 letter to his friend Joshua Speed, and wrote in 1859: “I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the Negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself.” It is

important to remember that Lincoln was a politician as well as a statesman; as Frank Baron reminded us, “Honest Abe” purchased a silent partnership in his hometown German newspaper to keep it in the Republican fold.¹⁸

Three main factors influenced the degree of Republican success in winning over Germans, and particularly the Catholics among them. The first, which was seen above in the case of Lincoln, was the degree to which Republicans at the state level reached out to ethnic voters or remained tainted by nativism.¹⁹ The second factor was the local presence of Catholic cue givers who were friendly to Republicans. Thirdly, internal strife among Catholics between Irish or French bishops and German parishioners sometimes conditioned the latter to vote Republican.

German Catholics tended to be more conservative than Protestants or especially freethinkers, but not always. The aspiring Chicago merchant John Dieden was an ardent Catholic, but was nonetheless well disposed towards liberalism on both sides of the Atlantic. His admiration for the much-maligned Forty-eighters shows through in an 1860 letter he wrote to his cousin back in the Rhineland: “Since the Revolution in Germany in 1848, the position of the Germans in the United States has really improved remarkably, since in that year many intelligent and educated people left the old fatherland, and many of them had to leave because of their rulers.” Dieden naturally welcomed the election of “Lincoln, the man of freedom, the enemy of slavery, the man of equal rights.”²⁰ But in nearby Indiana, a state where Republicans were strongly tainted by nativism and prominent Catholic Republicans were rare, the Catholic stronghold of Dubois County gave Lincoln his lowest support statewide, a mere 18 percent.

However in other places, especially where influential Catholic opinion makers supported the Republicans, they made substantial inroads and probably attracted a majority of Catholics. To get 80 percent of the St. Louis German vote, they almost had to.²¹ In fact better educated Catholics were on the whole much friendlier toward the Republicans and their program. It seems that a number of these liberal Catholic cue givers came from northwestern Germany, like Chicago Sheriff Anton Hesing, who was featured in Raymond Lohné’s 2015 *Yearbook* article.²² Or another Oldenburger, John B. Stallo in Cincinnati.²³ Or Bernhard Bruns, who founded Westphalia, Missouri, with a number of recruits from the Paderborn area before moving on to Jefferson City.²⁴ Or Arnold Krekel from the Cologne area, the leading German Republican in St. Charles County, Missouri, where I grew up.²⁵ All four of these Catholics were present at the 1860 Republican convention; three of them as delegates, Hesing providing “muscle.”

In and around Westphalia, Missouri, where practically all the Germans were Catholic, Lincoln outpolled Douglas and garnered over a quarter of the

county vote, thanks above all to Dr. Bernhard Bruns, a practicing Catholic of liberal views. His writings show sympathy for the 1848 revolution, and he helped nominate Lincoln as a delegate to the Republican convention, and later went on to become a Radical Republican mayor of Jefferson City. He wrote contentedly in 1860: "We Republicans have worked faithfully since the Chicago convention and elected our candidates. For that the German element deserves the honor. Unfortunately the arch-Catholics were against us. Now they are on the side of the disunionists." Catholic internal conflicts may have aided his cause; he and his local parish had been the scene of several disputes with the clergy, one of them culminating in a successful lawsuit against the priest (so much for lay deference to the Catholic hierarchy).²⁶ Another such example is Buffalo, New York, where a majority of Germans, among them many Catholics, swung to the Republican side. Buffalo had been the scene of a particularly bitter controversy from 1843 to 1855 pitting an Irish bishop against German and Alsatian laity who wanted to retain title to parish property. Similarly, John B. Stallo had represented Cincinnati's first German Catholic parish, Holy Trinity, in a trusteeship dispute with Irish Archbishop Purcell.²⁷

St. Charles County, Missouri, where I grew up, gives some interesting perspectives on religion and politics in 1860. In Evangelical Femme Osage, more than three fourths of the voters supported Lincoln; in Lutheran New Melle, over half, but in Catholic St. Peters less than less than 20 percent did. However, the outbreak of the Civil War helped to unify the Germans, uniting them against a common enemy in a "*Burgfrieden*," a truce within the walls of a besieged castle or town. The county's German paper, founded and run by freethinkers, remarked that the 1862 Catholic school festivities promised to be *besonders schön*—especially nice. Such a comment would have been most unlikely before 1860.²⁸

The locations of the various Home Guard companies and their commanding officers make it apparent that German freethinkers, Lutherans, Evangelicals, and Catholics all rallied to the Union cause. New Melle, a charter congregation of Missouri Synod Lutheranism, turned out 140 men. But St. Peters was not far behind with 125 recruits, commanded by one Lazarus Schneider, now resting in All Saints cemetery. One sees German Catholics beginning to "vote how they shot": when Arnold Kregel ran for Congress in 1862, St. Peters gave him all but five of the 103 votes cast, and two years later, Lincoln carried the precinct by 89 to 3.²⁹

It appears that German Catholics were more likely to vote Republican where there were no German Protestants nearby. The isolated German outpost of Deepwater, Missouri, just one county in from the Kansas border, was Catholic, but it was equally Unionist. As the diocesan history relates, the

church was used as a Union barracks and twenty-six members of this small parish served, three giving their lives for the Union. As late as 1919, a county history showed half of the German Catholics professed there professed to be Republicans.³⁰

Regardless of how they had voted in 1860, Germans in general rallied to the Union cause. They made up 10 percent of Lincoln's armies, considerably more than their share of the military-age population. But there were exceptions, with both religious and political overtones. There was even a draft riot in Ozaukee County, Wisconsin, a heavily Catholic community of Germans and Luxembourgers where Lincoln had garnered only one-quarter of the votes in 1860 and four years later barely broke 10 percent. Milwaukee, in the next county south, was the only city where Lincoln actually lost ground between 1860 and 1864.³¹

After the Civil War, Republicans worked to retain these Unionist German converts. Not coincidentally, a number of cities introduced German instruction in the public schools just in this era: St. Louis, Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and Indianapolis all in the years from 1864 and 1869. One might think that Catholics and Lutherans, who had their own parochial schools, would be indifferent to this outreach, or even hostile because of the cost and the fact they were paying double for both public and parochial schools. But religion did not always trump ethnic pride. Moreover, a comparison of the number of baptisms with school enrollments shows that only a minority of Catholic or Lutheran children attended parochial schools, perhaps one third or at most one half, and an even smaller share of German Evangelicals. A 1900 survey showed that more pupils received German instruction in public schools than Catholic schools, with Lutherans in third place.³²

The Louisville *Katholische Glaubensbote* (Catholic Messenger of Faith) provides some interesting perspectives that I presented in a *Yearbook* article a couple of decades back. This paper in 1870 found it "gratifying, that German instruction has been introduced in the public schools of most of the larger cities of the Union," remarking that many American children also took advantage of this instruction, which greatly improved the public image of "our German element," who were no longer derided as "Dutch." A year later on the same subject, it boldly stated: "if Americanizing means giving up the German language, we hope it never happens," going on to present the advantages of knowing the language. Even Forty-eighter Carl Schurz was quoted when his opinions supported those of the *Glaubensbote*, indicating that his influence extended to its readership.³³

For all their differences, there was one area besides alcohol where German Catholics and freethinkers were united against Anglo-Protestants. Neither wanted to see the Protestant Bible taught in public schools, something the

Louisville *Glaubensbote* also complained about. John B. Stallo, somewhat of a freethinker of Catholic background, represented Cincinnati Catholics in the so-called Bible War around 1870, and convinced the Ohio Supreme Court to keep the Protestant Bible out of the city's public schools.³⁴ Conservative Lutherans would probably have agreed, given their religious separatism and opposition to anything ecumenical, though it is an issue deserving of further research.

When German Catholics and Protestants managed to unite politically, it was usually against a common enemy, especially when their language or beer drinking culture was attacked.³⁵ When Republicans were persuaded by Puritanical crusaders to restrict alcohol, revenge on the part of German voters was quick to follow. This happened in Chicago in response to a Sunday closing law in 1873, with tighter license laws in Wisconsin in 1872 and 1873, with prohibition in Iowa and tighter blue laws in Ohio in the 1880s.³⁶ But the most dramatic cultural clashes were the Edwards and Bennett Law controversies in Illinois and Wisconsin respectively, involving school language. In 1888 these two states passed identical laws tightening attendance rules and imposing language regulations on parochial as well as public elementary schools. The stumbling stone was the following provision: "No school shall be regarded as a school . . . unless is taught therein . . . reading, writing, arithmetic, and American history in the English language." Republicans saw this as a reasonable attempt by the state to see to it that all pupils, even those in parochial schools, were adequately equipped for the modern world. The Republican governor of Wisconsin had learned that there were 129 Lutheran schools in his state with no English instruction whatsoever. Democrats, however, saw this as an arrogant attempt by Big Government encroaching on parental authority and sticking its nose into areas where it had no business. These laws united German Catholics and Protestants against a common enemy. Some examples of the polemics and satire directed against the school law in the Milwaukee German Protestant press were presented at the 2017 SGAS meeting in Philadelphia.³⁷

The Republicans were swept from power in both states. Wisconsin's Congressional delegation flipped from a 7–2 Republican majority to an 8–1 Democratic advantage, and Democrats took the governorship and a two-thirds majority in the state legislature.³⁸ Illinois saw the election of its first Democratic governor since the Civil War, and the first immigrant and first Chicagoan ever: German John Peter Altgeld. Ironically, it was discovered shortly before the election that Altgeld had actually supported the school law, as might be expected of a modernizing freethinker, but this did nothing to stop him.³⁹ Needless to say, the school laws were quickly rescinded in both states. As far away as Texas, a German editor celebrated the revocation

of the “infamous” Edwards law, calling it a “glorious victory” and predicting that “no political party will so lightly dare to attempt to suppress instruction in the German language.” German Catholics were also subjected to assimilative pressure in Minnesota, but here it was the immigrant Archbishop John Ireland who attempted (with little success) to undermine German Catholic schools by obtaining public funding for English-language Catholic schools.⁴⁰

World War I looms large in the history of German-America.⁴¹ One might think that the war, like prohibition, would have united German-Americans of various religious stripes against a common enemy, but that was apparently not the case. In terms of politics, Germans of various backgrounds shifted somewhat in a Republican direction, but not enough to prevent Woodrow Wilson’s re-election in 1916. Moreover, there was no clear pro- or anti-war candidate or party—except for the Socialists, who did quite well with Germans if they were on the ballot. But for everyone who resented Wilson’s pro-British policies, there was another who was grateful that “he kept us out of war.” And any cautious wooing of German-Americans on the part of his challenger Charles Evans Hughes was negated by Teddy Roosevelt’s fulminations against the hyphen.⁴²

Instead, war issues probably exacerbated the conflicts between modernizers and traditionalists within each denomination, and the overlapping generational tensions as well. Among German Catholics, traditionalists such as journalist Arthur Preuss were counteracted by Americanizers such as Chicago Cardinal George Mundelein, who announced shortly after assuming his position in 1916, “I have no separate message for any particular nationality. I shall not speak to the Germans as Germans . . .” One of his first measures was an “English only” order requiring all parochial schools to use English as a medium of instruction in all courses except catechism and reading (much like the Edwards Law).⁴³ Four days after the war declaration he issued a statement: “The moment the president . . . affixed his signature . . . , all differences of opinion ceased. We stand seriously, solidly, and loyally behind them.”⁴⁴ One sees similar internal contrasts on the Protestant side. One Lutheran pastor in Minnesota was forced to resign when he berated his parishioners for failing to learn English after thirty or forty years in America. An Evangelical pastor in St. Louis had editorialized in the *Westliche Post* in 1915 that “whoever has a German tongue and a German heart, who embraces German attitudes and custom, is a true patriot.” But as we heard from Frank Trommler at the 2016 SGAS symposium, a prominent Evangelical, Reinhold Niebuhr, saw things very differently.⁴⁵

However, one should not make the mistake of confusing language loyalty with political loyalty, as many Anglo-Americans did. There were letters home from the U.S. Army written by both Lutheran and Catholic doughboys in

the German language. As for Evangelicals, well, when my grandpa went off to basic training in 1918, his native-born mother wrote him her first letter in German, although he answered in English.⁴⁶

German-Americans were almost unanimous in their opposition to Prohibition, and managed to hold it off for a couple of decades. But as St. Louis historian James Primm writes, “World War I and its illegitimate offspring, the Prohibition Amendment, ruined the beer industry.”⁴⁷ Even German Methodists were perhaps more German than Methodist on this issue. One of them, Gilbert Jordan, a farm boy who went on to become a German professor at Southern Methodist University, wrote a charming memoir of “*Yesterday in the Texas Hill Country*.” Like the Anglos in their denomination, the Jordans had no use for beer or whisky, but in contrast to John Wesley’s heirs, they enjoyed their homemade grape wine. Other Germans, whether Catholic, Lutheran, Evangelical or freethinking, had absolutely no use for what they called temperance fanatics.⁴⁸ We saw a Catholic example in the “Whisky Cookers” film at the 2015 SGAS meeting in St. Louis.⁴⁹ Several Protestant kinfolks of mine, including my dad’s uncle and my maternal uncle’s dad, were similarly defiant of the Eighteenth Amendment. In one freethinking Latin Farmer stronghold in Texas, the Cat Spring Agricultural Society recorded its beer orders in their minutes right through the 1920s. Of course they could get by with it because the county sheriff, a welcome guest at their festivities, was himself a Texas German who was re-elected every two years through the whole decade. The Agricultural Society was further protected by the fact that it still kept its minutes in German down to 1942.⁵⁰

Although a Houston Klan newspaper trumpeted, “It’s the KKK versus Jews, Jug, and Jesuits,” German Protestants and freethinkers were equal opportunity targets if they insisted on speaking their ancestral language. A threatening notice warning parishioners to “[s]peak the English language or move out of this city and county” was posted by the Klan on the door of a Lutheran church at Berlin, Texas, just outside the county seat of Brenham. There several people were tarred and feathered, and at least one Lutheran minister was intimidated into resigning and leaving the community. The next county over, a dispute about speaking German at a Cat Spring political rally escalated several weeks later into a shootout on the streets of Sealy, Texas, between Klansmen and Germans that left four people dead (two on each side), one German hospitalized with severe stab wounds, and a Klansman convicted of murder.⁵¹

But local context is important. Ironically, while Texas Germans were being targeted by the Klan, in the Northeast, where the presence of the “New Immigration” from Eastern and Southern Europe was much more pronounced, Protestant German-Americans, especially the more prosperous ones, were

increasingly identifying themselves as “Old Stock” in order to distance themselves from such newcomers, and were quite at home in such nativist circles. As Russell Kazal’s insightful book on Philadelphia has shown, the rolls of the nativist Patriotic Order of the Sons of America was “peppered with German surnames,” and setting themselves up as “real Americans,” they argued that if their parents were immigrants, “They are the kind of immigrants we want . . . and in just one generation, all assimilated,” whereas “God save us from what we are getting now—close the gates.”⁵² On the membership rolls of one Klan chapter in Buffalo, a third or more of the names were German, and their presence was especially pronounced in the East Side neighborhoods where Poles were gaining ground in what had previously been a heavily German quarter of the city, which nativists of an earlier generation had denounced as being “as little American as the duchy of Hesse Cassel.”⁵³ However, Buffalo Germans were split along confessional lines. Mayor Frank Xavier Schwab, a name that screams German-American Catholicism, accused the KKK of “conducting guerilla warfare against the Catholic church.” Waging a bitter campaign against the Klan, he succeeded in reducing it to the point of “utter insignificance” on the way to his landslide re-election in 1925 against a “strong prohibition advocate.”⁵⁴

The 1928 Presidential race raised the question of whether German Protestants hated Prohibition more than Catholics when the Democrats nominated Al Smith, an Irish New Yorker pledged to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. Many Anglo Protestants abandoned the Democrats, who lost five Southern states for the first time since Reconstruction, but despite these losses, Smith’s popular vote was higher overall than in 1920 (the three-way race in 1924 was an anomaly). Smith gained considerable ground in German communities, obviously among German Catholics, who were doubly mobilized on the grounds of both religion and alcohol. But as widespread as Smith’s gains were, one suspects that many German Protestants overcame their aversion to Catholicism if they thought it would get them their beer back. Practically the entire states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota as well as the northern half of Illinois and the eastern half of South Dakota saw increases of one-third or more over the Democrats’ 1920 vote percentage. The German areas of Texas and Missouri, even the two Texas counties where Lutherans outnumbered Catholics or Baptists, showed gains for Smith as large as in the Cajun parishes of Louisiana.⁵⁵

Although domestic politics continued to dominate in the Depression era, the rise of Hitler also caught the attention of many German-Americans. One of my students in the 1980s examined the reactions to Nazism in two of their religious periodicals, the *Lutheran Witness* of the conservative Missouri Synod and the *Messenger* of the newly consolidated and more liberal Evangelical and

Reformed denomination. My student found major contrasts in their reactions, with Lutherans openly praising the Nazi regime in a 1933 article titled "Germany Teaches Us a Lesson," and running a three part series on "The New Germany" in 1936. His findings on the Lutherans were confirmed by a piece of *Vergangenheitsbewaeltigung* by Kenneth Barnes, then teaching at a Missouri Synod college, published in our 1989 *Yearbook*. Ironically, the *Lutheran Witness* cast doubt on American reports of anti-Semitic repression despite the fact that the Berlin Bureau Chief of the Associate Press was himself the son and brother of Missouri Synod pastors, and joked that he had grown up in Milwaukee with English as a second language. Until Pearl Harbor, Missouri Synod publications followed a strict isolationist line. The Evangelical *Messenger* took a strikingly different tone. It even reported on the closing of all Catholic schools in Germany. Following closely the struggles of the Confessing Church and the plight of Pastor Martin Niemoeller, it called the claims of the so-called "German Christians" that Jesus was an anti-Semite "patently absurd." On this point at least there was some agreement: the Lutherans dubbed the German Christians "German Heathen." In part the stronger Evangelical reaction to Nazism is explained by their closer relationship to members of the Confessing Church.⁵⁶ While in America, Dietrich Bonhoeffer became friends with Reinhold Niebuhr and remained in contact after his return to Germany, explaining to Niebuhr, who would have arranged for him to stay here, "I have to live through the difficult period of our national history with the Christians in Germany."⁵⁷ One suspects, however, that the laity of the German Evangelicals was more conservative than its leading clergy, whereas the Missouri Synod laity was more liberal than its clergy, as it had been already in the Civil War (my Radical Republican great-great grandpa as a case in point).⁵⁸

There was certainly a broad spectrum of opinion on the Catholic side as well. One of the most notorious anti-Semites of the 1930s was the Detroit priest Charles Coughlin, dubbed the "Father of Hate Radio" by one of his biographers. It appears, however, that fellow Irish Americans were among his most devoted followers.⁵⁹ He was "sternly rebuked" (as the *Chicago Tribune* put it) by Chicago Cardinal Mundelein even though his authority did not extend to Detroit. This prominent German-American had made headlines a year earlier in 1937 with a speech ridiculing Hitler as "an alien, an Austrian paperhanger, and a poor one at that I am told."⁶⁰ Another influential Catholic who had immigrated from Germany as a six-year-old, New York Senator Robert Wagner, stood apart from an array of indifferent or hostile political leaders by co-sponsoring a 1939 bill that would have bypassed quotas to admit 20,000 mostly Jewish refugee children from Germany, even if his efforts were in vain.⁶¹ In 1942, a "Christmas Declaration" appeared as a full-page ad in ten major dailies including the *New York Times*, stating that "we Americans

of German descent raise our voices in denunciation of the Hitler policy of cold-blooded extermination of the Jews of Europe and against the barbarities committed by the Nazis against all other innocent peoples under their sway.” Niebuhr was one of the signers, along with three members of the Catholic Ritter family of newspaper publishers, but the most prominent, or at least the best known among its fifty signatories was a Catholic named George Hermann Ruth, who included his nickname “Babe” for clarity. The fourth generation of Ruths in America, Babe still spoke German “surprisingly well.”⁶²

Apropos language, the “100 percent American” and Ku Klux Klan crusades of the World War I era brought Lutherans and Catholics into alliance in defense of their language and parochial schools. Not only did the hysteria of the Great War virtually eliminate German instruction in public schools (with most other languages suffering collateral damage), it also brought a new wave of legislative interference with parochial schools. A Nebraska law of 1919, and similar measures in Iowa, Ohio, and several other states, forbade instruction in any school, including parochial, in any language except English. And a 1922 Oregon law, passed by initiative with Ku Klux Klan support, in effect outlawed parochial schools entirely by requiring public school attendance for all children aged 8 to 15. (Incidentally, the Nebraska legislature that outlawed German came within one vote of requiring all children to attend public schools.)⁶³

Germans fought back in the courts, and surprisingly, Lutherans and Catholics managed to cooperate, as they had in the 1890s in defense of their language and parochial schools. The Nebraska language law was challenged when Robert Meyer, the teacher of one-room Zion Lutheran grade school in Hampton, Nebraska, was fined \$25 for teaching religion class in the German language—his pupil was reading the story of Jacob’s Ladder from a German Bible. A Polish Catholic parent soon joined the case. Supported by Lutheran officials and an Irish Catholic lawyer, Meyer took his case all the way to the Supreme Court, where the law was overturned along with similar ones in Iowa and Ohio in the 1923 case *Meyer v. Nebraska*, which the congregation still lists proudly on its website. Catholics challenged the Oregon law in court, but Lutherans such as their School Committee of Portland and a synodical president also denounced it, leading to victory in the Supreme Court in the 1925 case, *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, which drew upon the *Meyer* precedent.⁶⁴

There was an interesting further development involving schools and religious freedom in the 1972 *Wisconsin v. Yoder* case, when the Supreme Court found that Amish children could not be forced to attend school beyond the eighth grade. Ironically or perhaps tellingly, since the Amish do not believe in going to court but instead follow the biblical admonition to “turn the other cheek,” it was actually a Lutheran minister who went to court on their be-

half.⁶⁵ In a somewhat related vein, it was a Lutheran mother originally from Wisconsin who filed suit to challenge prayer in the public schools of Ecu, Mississippi. She and her children were subjected to vilification as atheists and she lost her job, but with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, she ultimately prevailed in court.⁶⁶ This Lutheran separatist ideology and resistance to ecumenical activities dates all the way back to 1817.

But I always tell my students that unless you have a sense for irony, you should not get involved in history. The core idea that there are areas of life where government has no right to interfere, which came to the defense of both Meyer and the Society of Sisters, was later applied in other areas that these pious plaintiffs of the 1920s could hardly have imagined. The first was the 1965 case *Griswold v. Connecticut*, which overturned a law forbidding the dissemination of birth control information even to married couples. Although the law was originally the work of nineteenth century Yankee blue stockings, from the 1920s on it was primarily Catholics who defended it. In overturning the law, the Supreme Court specifically stated: “we reaffirm the principle of the *Pierce* and the *Meyer* cases.” Not coincidentally, the “Griswold” in this case was the state director of Planned Parenthood. The Supreme Court cited all three of these cases, *Meyer*, *Pierce*, and *Griswold*, in the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* case legalizing abortion.⁶⁷ In doing so, it brought conservative Lutherans and German Catholics closer together politically than they had ever been since the Jacksonian era. In fact, already before *Roe*, Andrew Greeley and others found Germans to be the most conservative among Catholic ethnic groups, and quite similar in their political attitudes to Protestant Germans, the majority of whom were Lutheran.⁶⁸ A Pew poll from early 2016 finds Missouri Synod Lutherans to be one of the most Republican of all Protestant groups, giving the GOP a 32 point edge, surpassed only by Southern Baptists and Nazarenes in that respect. But in other ways the divisions of the Reformation persisted as strongly as ever before. The opposite extreme of the white Protestant spectrum is the United Church of Christ, whose heritage includes a sizeable German element. A rather incongruous 1957 merger united Congregational heirs of New England Puritanism with an Evangelical and Reformed minority whose roots go back to the German ecumenism of the Prussian Union. The UCC was almost as polarized as Missouri Synod Lutherans, but in the opposite direction, favoring Democrats by a 27 point edge.⁶⁹ Perhaps in this twilight of ethnicity, the immigrant heritage takes a back seat to denominational identity, but in any case, Lutherans and what we used to call Evangelicals are further apart now than in the 1840s.

However, in the new political landscape of 2017, when for the first time in history we have a president with a German immigrant grandfather, even though the family claimed to be of Swedish ancestry and changed the name

from Drumpf to Trump, I'm sure that all German-Americans across the religious spectrum will unite behind him.⁷⁰ But upon second thought, perhaps not.

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Notes

¹ Dietmar Klenke, "Schwarz—Münster—Paderborn": *Ein Antikatholisches Klischeebild* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008). The monthly *Knipperdolling* appeared from 1975 to 1981; "Generalanzweifler," a pun on the common newspaper name *Generalanzeiger*, translates to a skeptic about everything.

² For an early history of the settlement, see Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976). One of the commemorative symposiums held in Philadelphia led to a two-volume collection of essays edited by Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

³ For an excellent overview of the various strands of German migration to colonial America see Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 4–11, 101–107, 168–72.

⁴ Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 28–33.

⁵ Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 86–92.

⁶ J.H. Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College; Franklin College, 1787–1853; Marshall College, 1836–1853; Franklin and Marshall College, 1853–1903* (Lancaster, PA, 1903), 19–32, 72–76.

⁷ Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Sauer Family: An American Printing Dynasty," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988), 31–40. Mark Haberlein, "Sauer, Christopher," in Thomas Adam, ed., *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 936–38. Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750–1804* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016), chap. 5.

⁸ James M. Bergquist, "Germans and German-Americans to 1870," in Elliott Robert Barkan, ed., *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), vol. 1, pp. 79–80.

⁹ Walter Otto Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839–1841* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953). The letters of one religious refugee reflect some of this intra-Lutheran conflict: Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *News From the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home*, ed. with (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 299–318.

¹⁰ The standard work on this denomination remains Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939).

¹¹ Henry Bode, *Builders of our Foundations* (Webster Groves, MO, 1940).

¹² Carl Wittke, *Wilhelm Nast: Patriarch of German Methodism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959). On transatlantic continuity, see Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 114–15, 165–66. There were more than one hundred German Presbyterian ministers, and their journal, *Der Presbyterianer*,

survived for over eighty years until 1947, but its circulation never surpassed 2,000, only one-tenth that of the German Methodist *Christliche Apologete*. Maynard F. Brass, "German Presbyterians and the Synod of the West," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 56:3 (1978), 237-251. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955*, 2nd ed. (New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1965), 140-41; 436-37.

¹³ Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrant Religion and the Public Sphere: The German Catholic Milieu in America," in Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, 2004), 76-79, an essay which provides a superb overview of the interactions of German Catholics with other Germans and other Catholics in America.

¹⁴ John Peter Altgeld, "The Immigrant's Answer," *The Forum* 8 (February, 1890), 684-696; also reprinted in Henry M. Christman, ed., *The Mind and Spirit of John Peter Altgeld* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

¹⁵ *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln*, edited with an introduction by Frederick C. Luebke. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971). For an update including some more recent findings see Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37 (1991), 232-46.

¹⁶ Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters they Wrote Home*, trans. Susan Carter Vogel, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 4-5.

¹⁷ Kamphoefner, "Missouri Germans and the Cause of Union and Freedom," *Missouri Historical Review* 106 (2012), 115-136. Kamphoefner and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 342-47.

¹⁸ Frank Baron, "Lincoln's Secret Contract for a German Printing Press in 1859," paper presented at the symposium of the German Studies Association, Kansas City, MO, September 20, 2014. See also Baron, *Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants: Turners and Forty-Eighters* [Yearbook of German-American Studies, Supplemental Issue, Vol. 4] (Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies, 2012), 88-101.

¹⁹ As late as 1872, a Louisville Catholic newspaper still reminded voters which side candidates had been on in the city's 1855 nativist riot. Louisville *Katholische Glaubensbote*, October 30, 1872, p. 3. For another example, see the issue of September 8, 1866, p. 6.

²⁰ Kamphoefner and Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War*, 297-307.

²¹ Kamphoefner, "St. Louis Germans and the Republican Party, 1848-1860," *Mid-America* 57 (1975), 69-88; "Dreissiger and Forty-Eighter: The Political Influence of Two Generations of German-American Political Exiles," in Hans Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1981), 89-102.

²² Raymond Lohne, "Five Times as Enthusiastic: Abraham Lincoln and the Bloody Seventh of Chicago," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 50 (2015), 105-128.

²³ Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 56-58, 67-69, 89. Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 75, 80-84.

²⁴ Dr. Bernhard Bruns is better known through the writings of his wife, edited and translated by Adolf E. Schroeder, *Hold Dear as Always: Jette, A German Immigrant Life in Letters* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 175-77, 199. A German version also includes letters of Bernhard which the English version does not: Silke Schütter, ed., *Halte lieb wie immer Deine Schwester Jette: Ein Auswandererschicksal in Briefen und Dokumenten* (Warendorf, 1989).

²⁵ Kamphoefner, "Arnold Krekel: A Republican for Immigrant Rights and Racial Equality," *Boone-Duden Historical Society Newsletter* (April 2015), n.p.

²⁶ Kamphoefner, "'Auch unser Deutschland muss einmal frei werden': The Immigrant Civil War Experience as a Mirror on Political Conditions in Germany," in David Barclay and

German Americans: Still Divided by the Reformation 500 Years Later

Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, eds., *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 95-96.

²⁷ David A. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 285-98. Roger A. Fortin, *To See Great Wonders: A History of Xavier University, 1831-2006* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2006), 35-36.

²⁸ Kamphoefner, "Arnold Krekel."

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Kamphoefner, "Missouri Germans, 124, 134, n. 50.

³¹ Kamphoefner and Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War*, xi, 6-10, 19-20.

³² Kamphoefner, Helbich and Sommer, *News From the Land of Freedom*, 19-22.

³³ Kamphoefner, "Liberal Catholicism, Up to a Point: The Social and Political Outlook of the Louisville *Katholische Glaubensbote*, 1866-1886," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 31 (1996), 13-23.

³⁴ Louisville *Katholische Glaubensbote*, June 4, 1870, p. 4; June 19, 1872, p. 3. Lloyd P. Jorgenson, *The State and the Non-Public School, 1825-1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 119-20. Efford, *German Immigrants*, 214-17.

³⁵ This important insight was highlighted by Frederick C. Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics: Problems of Leadership, Parties, and Issues," in Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (University of Illinois Press, 1990), 79-92, here p. 84.

³⁶ Kamphoefner and Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War*, 307. Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest. Social and Political Conflict, 1888-96* (University of Chicago Press, 1971) 89-121.

³⁷ Christopher Stohs, "Defending *Deushtum*: The Bennett Law in the Pages of the Milwaukee *Germania*," paper presented at the meeting of the Society for German-American Studies, Philadelphia, April 2017.

³⁸ Jensen, *Winning of the Midwest*, 122-148 (quote 124); Jorgenson, *The State and the Non-Public School*, 187-204.

³⁹ Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1958), 73.

⁴⁰ *Das Bellville Wochenblatt*, February 9, 1893. LaVern J. Rippley, "Archbishop Ireland and the School Language Controversy," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 1 (1990), 1-16.

⁴¹ Kamphoefner, "The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 49 (2014), 3-30.

⁴² For an excellent treatment of the 1916 election campaign see Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-American and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 157-94.

⁴³ Rory T. Conley, *Arthur Preuss: Journalist and Voice of German and Conservative Catholics in America, 1871-1934* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998). Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame Press, 1968), 49-50. Edward R. Kantowicz, *Corporation Sole: Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism* (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1983).15-16, 72-77, 85.

⁴⁴ Kantowicz, *Corporation Sole*, 24-26.

⁴⁵ Kamphoefner, "German-American Experience in World War I," 15-16. Frank Trommler, "The Failure of German-Americanism: Revisiting Niebuhr's Verdict in 1916," paper presented at the meeting of the Society for German-American Studies, San Antonio, April 2016.

⁴⁶ Kamphoefner, "German-American Experience in World War I," 4-5.

⁴⁷ James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980* (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum, 1998), 436.

⁴⁸ Gilbert Jordan, *Yesterday in the Texas Hill Country* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1979), 25, 27, 42-43.

⁴⁹ Bryce T. Bauer, Producer/Writer, "Whiskey Cookers: The Amazing Story of the Templeton, Iowa Bootleggers" (documentary film); see also Bauer, *Gentlemen Bootleggers: The True Story of Templeton Rye, Prohibition, and a Small Town in Cahoots* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014).

⁵⁰ Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German Settlements of Eastern Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 111 (2008), 59-62.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 52-58, 62-64. Quote from *Colonel Mayfield's Weekly*, December 1, 1923.

⁵² Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton University Press, 2004), 234-45, quote 237.

⁵³ Sean Lay, *Hooded Knights on the Niagara: The Ku Klux Klan in Buffalo, New York* (New York: NYU Press, 1995), 88, 106-7. *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, 12 June 1857.

⁵⁴ Lay, *Ku Klux Klan in Buffalo*, 118-42; quotes 119, 139, 140.

⁵⁵ The standard work on this subject, Allan J. Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics: The Presidential Election of 1928* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), excludes the former Confederacy from his analysis. His index has no entry for Lutherans, and little on German-Americans generally. He does state (116-19) that German-Americans were the "most volatile of all groups" in the 1920s and the most influenced by prohibition, and that most Republicans who reported losses in German-American support mentioned prohibition as a major factor. The two Texas counties with Lutheran pluralities are Washington and Lee, with Brenham and Giddings as county seats.

⁵⁶ Geoffrey Stancil, "Ideology, Ethnicity and Fascism: Two German-American Religious Groups React to Nazism," M.A. Thesis, University of Miami, 1986. Kenneth C. Barnes, "The Missouri Synod and Hitler's Germany," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 24 (1989), 131-47. The Evangelical half of the latter denomination was descended from the Kirchenverein des Westens, now named the German Evangelical Synod.

⁵⁷ <http://www.christianitytoday.com/history/people/martyrs/dietrich-bonhoeffer.html> (accessed 5/17/2017).

⁵⁸ This gap between clergy and laity, in both directions, has persisted to the present among conservative Lutherans and the heirs of German Evangelicals, the United Church of Christ. Kevin Quealy, "Your Rabbi? Probably a Democrat. Your Baptist Pastor? Probably a Republican. Your Priest? Who Knows," *New York Times*, June 12, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/06/12/upshot/the-politics-of-americas-religious-leaders.html> (accessed 6/13/2017). This article draws heavily upon a working paper of Eitan D. Hersh and Gabrielle Malina, "Partisan Pastor: The Politics of 130,000 American Religious Leaders," June 11, 2017; hersh_malina_draft_061117.pdf.

⁵⁹ Donald Warren, *Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, The Father of Hate Radio* (New York: Free Press, 1996). Ronald H. Bayor, *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians of New York City, 1929-1941* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 88-89.

⁶⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, May 19, 1937, p. 7. Kantowicz, *Corporation Sole*, 224-27. Mundelein was the first Catholic leader in the country to so clearly denounce Hitler.

⁶¹ J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism* (New York: Atheneum, 1968). <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/wagner-rogers-bill> (accessed 5/18/17).

⁶² *New York Times*, December 28, 1942, p. 13. For an exploration of Ruth's ethnic heritage, see Kamphoefner, "Elvis and Other Germans: Some Reflections and Modest Proposals on the Study of German-American Ethnicity," in *Paths Crossing: Essays in German-American Studies*, ed. Cora Lee Kluge (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 33-53.

⁶³ Frederick C. Luebke, "Legal Restrictions on Foreign Languages in the Great Plains States," in Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana:

German Americans: Still Divided by the Reformation 500 Years Later

University of Illinois Press, 1990), 43-47. Jorgenson, *The State and the Non-Public School*, 205-15.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Michael J. Graetz and Linda Greenhouse, *The Burger Court and the Rise of the Judicial Right* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 227-31, 405-6.

⁶⁶ "Mother Files Suit to Halt Prayer In a Public School in Mississippi," *New York Times*, December 23, 1994; Peter Applebome, "Court Restricts Prayer at a Mississippi School," *New York Times*, June 4, 1996.

⁶⁷ This irony is highlighted by Jeffrey Toobin, "The Republicans' Lost Privacy," *New Yorker*, January 9, 2012. On the connection between the cases see also Linda Napikoski, "Griswold v. Connecticut: Marital Privacy and a Prelude to Roe v. Wade," <https://www.thoughtco.com/griswold-v-connecticut-3529463> (accessed 5/17/17).

⁶⁸ Andrew Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us? America's White Ethnic Groups* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971), 68-74, 203-206. Conzen, "Immigrant Religion," 112-13. Currently, Catholic priests and parishioners in Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and Oklahoma, where there is a heavy German presence, are among the most Republican, while those in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Maryland, with a relatively small German presence, are the most heavily Democratic. Quealy, "Your Rabbi? Probably a Democrat." Catholics laity, not further subdivided by race or ethnicity, are right at the national average in the middle of the political spectrum, +7 points Democratic. But since the latest polls show Hispanic Catholics about 30 points higher than other Catholics in their Democratic preferences, those of European origin obviously leaned Republican, those of German background no doubt more than others. Michael Lipka, "U.S. Religious Groups and Their Political Leanings," February 23, 2016, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/02/23/u-s-religious-groups-and-their-political-leanings/> (accessed 5/17/17).

⁶⁹ Lipka, "U.S. Religious Groups and Their Political Leanings." Although the article classifies Missouri Synod Lutherans as "evangelical" rather than "mainline" Protestants because of their conservatism, their tolerance of alcohol, anti-ecumenical stance, and practice of infant baptism set them apart from "born-again" evangelicals. The ELCA (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) was considerably more liberal, +4 points Democratic, due in part to Scandinavian elements in the denomination. With respect to the clergy, Missouri Synod Lutherans are less than 10 percent Democrats, the fourth lowest nationwide, with another heir of Lutheran separatism, the Wisconsin Synod, at the very bottom below 5 percent. Quealy, "Your Rabbi? Probably a Democrat."

⁷⁰ Sally McGrane, "The Ancestral German Home of the Trumps," *New Yorker*, April 29, 2016.

