

Robert F. Lay

“Germans for Temperance Laws”: Competing Views of Character and Community among Hoosier German-Americans in the Early Twentieth Century¹

In the name of the temperance Germans, one of whom I am,
I protest against the injustice of a handful of beer drinkers
pretending to represent the German people
—Monroe Vayhinger²

In response to a publicized meeting of “six hundred beer drinking Germans” in Indianapolis, Monroe Vayhinger wrote to his hometown newspaper—the *Madison Democrat*—challenging the capital city’s *Vereinsdeutsche* (club Germans) in their attempt to assert a German-American identity synonymous with drinking and the culture that it engendered (see transcription of letter in appendix). While the fight against prohibition is familiar strategy to those who study the construction of German-American identity at the turn of the twentieth century, the role that anti-alcohol activism played in the construction of alternate views of what it meant to be German has not been explored.³ Nor has support for temperance and prohibition, generally, among German Methodists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries been analyzed in relation to assimilation. Two generations of the Vayhinger family are described here in order to show how the prohibition stance of a first-generation German-American (Monroe) was constructed from the temperance outlook of his immigrant father (Gustavus), and to consider the role which temperance, alongside other factors, played in the family’s assimilation.⁴ Language that blurs the historical distinction between the nineteenth-century temperance movements and the early-twentieth-century drive for National Prohibition is characteristic of the relevant primary sources. For example, the letter to the editor cited above appeared under the headline, “Germans for Temperance Laws.”⁵ What follows is an explication of this letter in the context of its author’s rise in status to a position that emboldened him to become a self-appointed spokesman for “temperance Germans.”

From Württemberg to Indiana

The youngest son of an immigrant farmer, Monroe Vayhinger had, before the end of the nineteenth century, become a highly visible, middle-class professional—a pastor, a professor, a traveling speaker and college administrator. His birth and early childhood coincided with the massive influx of second-wave German immigrants to the American west,⁶ and the mid-century-arrival of the forty-eighters—“the best educated, most politically and socially motivated, and most vocal of any generation of German immigrants.”⁷ Monroe, however, was born to “first wavers” whose home permitted no alcohol and only spiritual literature.⁸ The experience of the immigrant generation, Monroe’s parents, will first be described; they were Gustavus Vayhinger (1810–1901) and Margueretha Schweiklin (1815–1902).⁹

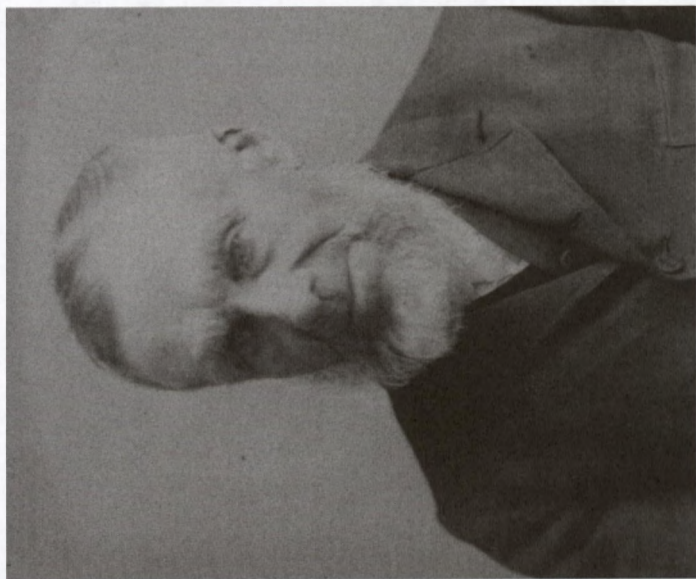
The Vayhingers and Schweiklins along with other Württemberg immigrants arrived in the United States in the early 1830s, settling in the large German enclave north of Cincinnati.¹⁰ This place was called by a name aptly describing its ambiance. As Don Heinrich Tolzmann explains,

Over-the-Rhine was a social, cultural, economic, and political center for German-Americans. There were numerous German houses, restaurants, churches, bakeries, markets, beer gardens, shops, and stores. Local histories called Over-the-Rhine the district where everything is German and even the American discards his formality and is enveloped by German *gemütlichkeit*.¹¹ It was the home of German music, theatre, newspapers, libraries, clubs, societies, and religious institutions.¹²

During their later youth, this was a home away from home for the Württemberg immigrants, Gustavus and Margueretha. In 1837, however, the two were married and moved into Cincinnati where they had their first two children.¹³ Gustavus was a shoe cobbler by trade, according to the “Family History,”¹⁴ and Cincinnati was an attractive destination for a skilled worker in leather whose craft yielded consumer goods. Here in the city, to anticipate their later conversion from Lutheranism, the Vayhingers may have been introduced to German Methodism.¹⁵ Specifically, they could have attended preaching by the so-called “father of German Methodism,” Wilhelm Nast, who declared, “Who can be more like sheep without a shepherd, than the German immigrants?”¹⁶ After two years of traveling ministry throughout the state of Ohio with only a dozen converts to show for his labors, Nast had been appointed as a missionary to the Germans in Cincinnati the same year Gustavus and Margueretha married and moved into the city. According to Wade Crawford Barclay,

This year (1837–38) signs of a whitening harvest began to appear. Burke’s Chapel on Vine Street was opened for German preaching, and Asbury Chapel on Upper Main Street was constituted a regular preaching appointment,

"Germans for Temperance Laws"



Gustavus Vayhinger (1810–1901), ca. 1870.



Margueretha Schweiklin Vayhinger (1815–1902), ca. 1870.

with a Sunday school session following the service of public worship—the first organized German Methodist Sunday school. In the summer of 1838 the first German Methodist Society was organized, with nineteen members. At the Conference session of 1838 he [Nast] urged the necessity of establishment of a German language press, insisting that the German population needed as great a work of reformation as did England in the time of John Wesley.¹⁷

Unique educational opportunities also distinguished urban Cincinnati from Over the Rhine: several German parochial schools were already in operation by the time the first two Vayhinger children were born, and from 1840 on, a public bilingual school system “designed to facilitate a transition within three years into the monolingual ‘English’ schools” began to emerge, increasing in enrollment each year.¹⁸ However, neither the distinctive environment of the city nor its proximity to family was sufficient to keep the young family from moving on.

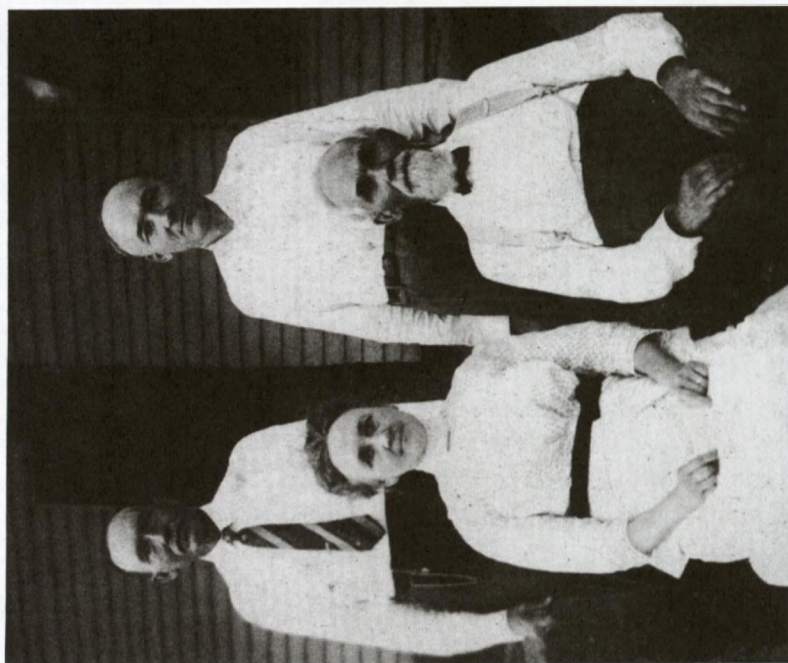
According to Ripley County sources, sometime in the mid- to late 1840s¹⁹ Gustavus and Margueretha moved to Indiana, probably drawn by the availability of inexpensive, arable land and the prospect of open spaces and greater economic freedom. Other immigrants—especially Bavarians, Hanoverians, and Prussians—preceded the Vayhinger’s journey west, settling the lowland plain bounded by the Ohio and White rivers and by the Greenville Indian treaty border. One old trail, across the Ohio River west of Cincinnati, led up a gently-rising ridge into southeastern Indiana.²⁰ A day’s journey out of the river town of Aurora on this trail brought travelers to a string of tiny settlements with names like Mt. Sinai and Sparta, evocative of the early settlers’ aspirations. A few miles further in, the Vayhingers settled near Harding’s Store—the crossroads later dubbed “Milan.” Their new home was just a few miles south of the larger trading center of Sunman, Indiana, that would have welcomed Gustavus’s boots and shoes. There, according to the “People’s History of Ripley County, Indiana,” the Vayhingers “were converted in a Methodist camp meeting” though both had formerly been “confirmed in the Lutheran Church in Germany.”²¹

The significance of this sort of “conversion”—from one form of Christianity to another, in this case from Lutheranism to Methodism—should not be underestimated, either as a form of life-transformation or as a decisive step in assimilation. In post-revolutionary America, Catholics and Lutherans were attracted to Methodism in large numbers. Immigrants—especially the young—may not have appreciated or missed the formal, sacramental practices of the state church of their past, assuming they were old enough to remember them. Scandalized but also fascinated by Methodist preaching, American converts were profoundly affected by a voluntaristic form of the British phenomenon. British converts from Anglicanism, like the dissenting

"Germans for Temperance Laws"



Monroe Vayhinger, ca. 1915.



Monroe Vayhinger (top right) with siblings, David (top left), Albert, and Augusta Vayhinger Bruenig, ca. 1919.

ministers who mentored them, found the state Church ineffective and indifferent toward a parishioner's spiritual growth. The preaching of the evangelical gospel cut across class lines and undermined traditional ecclesiastical authority. When those who preached in his manner were refused access to churches, they preached out-of-doors to hundreds or even thousands. On the American frontier, preaching was necessarily out-of-doors and prerequisite to the building of an orderly Christian society through the planting of new churches. All this unfolded through a series of strategic initiatives, typically described in the language of ancient Israel's conquest of Canaan. "Camp meetings," advertised on broadsides and by word of mouth, took place near well-traveled crossroads and lasted from several days to several weeks, during which the bivouacked ministers preached continually to a fluid "congregation" whose members came and went. As in the "awakening" of the previous century, revivalists of the Second Great Awakening were spiritual diviners of a "surprising work of God" who endeavored to awaken hearers to the Spirit of God through preaching that culminated in a call to repentance. Revivalists hoped always to preach "with liberty & plainness of speech." Such preaching could invoke a profound sense of God's presence and, correlatively, an awareness of separation—distance from God—the result of finitude and sin. The seeker might readily acknowledge his sinful state and respond at once to the call for repentance; or, he might "mourn" over his sinful nature for an extended period before receiving assurance of pardon (if, indeed, he received such assurance). What distinguished the Second Awakening from the First was the intentional use of "means" (persuasive rhetorical strategies) to prepare hearers for salvation; and what distinguished Methodist preaching from others was holiness or entire sanctification—a power over the sinful nature sought and received as a second blessing, subsequent to salvation. Conversion took many forms but certain experiences were standardized through testimony and codified through the publication of missionary accounts.

As already described, the systematic evangelization of German-Americans in Cincinnati coincided approximately with the Vayhingers arrival there.²² Wilhelm Nast was soon joined in his outreach to Germans by Peter Schmucker and Adam Miller, both of whom surpassed him in evangelistic skills. The Conference granted Nast permission to begin publishing a German-language version of the *Christian Advocate*, *Der Christliche Apologete*, which was "circulated throughout the entire Connection," and soon "(f)rom Cincinnati as a center the German language work spread out in all directions."²³ Within a few years Adam Miller had contributed a survey—his *Origin and Purpose of the German Missions*, documenting the "Progress of the work" and offering an "Account of the Christian experience of some of the converts from Popery and Infidelity, as furnished by themselves."²⁴ If they had been exposed to German Methodism in Cincinnati, reports of successful Methodist missions west of the river could have shaped the Vayhingers' expectations of finding a

German Methodist society there, and in fact, the "Family History" confirms that in Milan they "joined with the German Methodists."

From German Lutheranism to English Methodism

Examining the Vayhinger journey in detail shows how each location took them further from the life they had known in their youth. To recap, in the early 1830s they had traveled with family from their home place in Württemberg to a German enclave, north of Cincinnati. As a young married couple they had relocated for several years in urban Cincinnati, where Gustavus could practice his trade. Finally, as the new family began to grow they moved first to a small Indiana crossroads, and later settled on a remote farm. Significant cultural transitions must have taken place at each stage of the journey: (1) from the place of dependence on extended family, anchored in Württemberg discourse and customs (Over of the Rhine), to an independent life in Cincinnati where commerce in leather would have accelerated Gustavus's acquisition of English, and where the Vayhingers may first have been introduced to German Methodism;²⁵ (2) from Cincinnati to rural Indiana with its diversity of German immigrants, where the Vayhingers become farmers and members of an English-speaking congregation of Methodists.

Gustavus and Margueretha purchased a farm a few miles to the west of Milan, in Rei (later called Delaware), where they settled their growing family for good.²⁶ Although Gustavus now supported the family by farming, the "Family History" describes him as "well versed in Latin and German and . . . particularly fond of reading." Toph's "People's History of Ripley County" explains that the Vayhingers were "great readers of spiritual literature" with "none other, except newspapers . . . allowed in their home."²⁷ Again, the "Family History" notes, that "at Milan, Indiana, [they] joined the German Methodists and when locating near Delaware [Rei] united with the English Methodists and in this church they reared their children."²⁸ Toph adds that "they were converted in a Methodist Camp Meeting at Sunman, Indiana, and joined the German Methodist Church in Old Milan. Later they moved to Delaware and joined the English Methodist church." Finally, the "Family History" describes the Vayhingers as "strong in their convictions against slavery and intoxicating drink," with Toph elaborating, "Gustavus Vayhinger was one of the strongest temperance men to be found anywhere in the land and instructed all his children in the woes of the liquor traffic."²⁹ The "Family History" and Toph's "People's History," thus, both conclude by emphasizing the Vayhinger temperance perspective. The portrait that emerges of the Vayhinger home is of a place where prayer and systematic religious instruction was the substance of the children's daily experience, and where traditional German conviviality associated with drinking was unfamiliar, even on holidays or other special occasions.

Since the Vayhingers were probably evangelized by German Methodists in Sunman, and subsequently associated with German Methodists in Milan, why and how did they come to associate with English-speaking Methodism?

The farm at Rei was about four miles from Milan, which seems a small distance to travel to maintain their association with German Methodists there. However, even the names of the nearby roads—e.g., “Mud Pike”—suggest the impracticality of travel, at least in winter and spring, and at that time German Methodist circuits were still few in Indiana.³⁰ The Vayhingers at first “held church services in their home,” later (ca. early 1850s) in a “little log room” near the farm, and finally in a frame church which the oldest son, Albert (b. 1838), helped to build.³¹ Most likely, the church founded in the Vayhinger home was patterned after that of German Methodists in Milan: its services would have been more pedagogical than liturgical; its teaching experiential—focused on evangelism and living out one’s religion; this description, however, would be applicable to any Methodist Episcopal Church, German speaking or not. The development of the Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church as an English-speaking congregation was probably the result of receiving a traveling minister whose native language was English, and does not necessarily represent an intentional move away from German Methodism by the Vayhingers.³² In the “little log room” and perhaps much later, the church was likely comprised of bilingual Methodists. In any event, among Methodists, language preference was seldom the contentious issue that it was among German Lutherans.³³ For Methodists, evangelical unity mattered most; for the Vayhingers in particular, additional factors such as teaching on holiness and abstinence from alcohol evidently trumped their preference for a German-language worship service.³⁴ Active “Young people’s societies” in the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church was likely another factor (a provision for the six children) in the family’s move beyond German Methodism.

From a “Little Log Room” to the Office of College President

Monroe, the youngest of six surviving children, was born in 1855. Along with the catechetical instruction he would have received at home, and probably in German, his earliest experience of Methodist fellowship would have been the bilingual society of the Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church. Young Monroe’s gifts of speaking and organizing found early expression in Methodist Sunday schools and his first teaching experience was probably in the “little log room” where the Delaware Methodist Episcopal church began; this venue, too, likely fostered his bilingual abilities. Though his older siblings first attended school in the “little log room,” Monroe was educated in common schools and, according to the “Family History,” began teaching in those

schools by age sixteen.³⁵ Just as conversion to Methodism was a central factor in the assimilation of Gustavus, Monroe's common school experience, both as pupil and teacher, likely accelerated his assimilation though broadening his provincial outlook. By age twenty-four, Monroe was serving as the headmaster or resident director of the Ripley County Normal school, at Delaware.³⁶ There, his bilingualism would have encouraged German-American parents to entrust their children to Monroe, and the challenge of educating rural, German-speaking youth would have fostered his appreciation for the process of Americanization. Soon after enrolling in Moores Hill College, a few miles southeast of Milan,³⁷ Monroe began serving as a German language instructor there.³⁸ After completing his bachelor's (1883) and master's degrees (1886), he was appointed professor of mathematics and German.

One of Monroe's students at Moores Hill College was Culla Johnson from Bennington, in Switzerland County, just a day's ride to the south. After completing her B.S. and master's degrees (1889) the two were married, and traveled to Chicago where, through the 1890s, they began raising a family as he pursued a seminary education and she became acquainted with nationally known anti-alcohol leaders. Monroe completed his Bachelor of Sacred Theology degree at Garrett Biblical Seminary while teaching mathematics part time and taking courses in the sciences at the University of Chicago and at Northwestern University; he took special interest in the sciences in relation to the Bible.

Visiting Evanston, Monroe and Culla became acquainted with Francis Willard, second president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and a well-known historical figure associated with the drive for National Prohibition. The Vayhingers were much impressed with the vision that had propelled Willard into the cause—a drunkard's graveyard beneath which sank an eternal drunkard's hell growing at the alarming rate of one hundred thousand per year, claimed by the saloon and resulting in the destruction of an equal number of homes. Above all this Willard envisioned an army of boys raised up from these same unfortunate homes, educated and organized as a force to smash the saloon.³⁹ The Vayhingers saw Willard as a kind of Moses called by God to lead men out of bondage before it was too late. They believed that she would meet those souls she had freed from "the liquor trade" in eternity.

The turn of the century found the Vayhinger family back in Moores Hill, Monroe now appointed Professor of Bible and German, while serving as the College vice president. His continuing interest in German studies is evident in an evaluative report to the College trustees that recommends extending the language curriculum from two to four years. Otherwise the scraps of administrative materials remaining from of this period point to the College's financial struggles, and suggests that Monroe had greater pastoral than administrative

gifts.⁴⁰ Culla's zeal for "the cause" only increased: by 1903, she was elected president of the Indiana Women's Christian Temperance Union. About this time, Monroe accepted a pastoral appointment as a traveling minister for the Methodist Episcopal Church, based in Madison where, during Conference several years earlier, he had been ordained an elder. Madison was ethnically more diverse than tiny Moores Hill, with African-American and Jewish enclaves, in addition to significant German-American population.⁴¹ Downriver from Cincinnati and (since 1847) connected by rail to Indianapolis, Madison was, nonetheless, not destined to play a leading role in the state's economic development.⁴² Still, at the turn of the century, it was a bustling city of factories, mills, and retail outlets. Here the Vayhingers purchased their first automobile. In his popular tour guide to Madison, subtitled, "A Jewel set 'Neath the Hills," A. S. Chapman of the *Madison Democrat* described the city as an oasis of enterprise surrounded by unsurpassed natural beauty, while avoiding any mention of its steadily decreasing population.⁴³

"Germans for Temperance Laws"

The parishioners that Vayhinger served during his pastorates (from 1903 and 1908) were primarily German-American.⁴⁴ Traveling regularly between preaching stations and as a speaker for the Epworth League,⁴⁵ Monroe was readily spotted on a crowded train platform: He was of short stature and had the sincere, roundish face and strong chin characteristic of all the Vayhingers. A travel portrait of the Vayhingers, made soon after this time, shows Monroe in a heavy coat with a newspaper protruding from the outer pocket. Redeeming the time between stations, he would prepare sermon notes or read the newspaper. It may have been on one of these occasions that he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Madison Democrat* in response to an editorial describing an Indianapolis meeting of "six hundred beer drinking Germans."⁴⁶ The balance of this study offers a close reading of the letter, and considers Vayhinger's claim to represent "thousands and thousands" of "temperance Germans." The letter is from an undated newspaper clipping included among many temperance and prohibition-related documents in the Vayhinger collection; its provenance is easily established, and it may reasonably be dated to the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴⁷

Drawing on a misnomer that appears in the letter, the editor entitled Vayhinger's letter "Germans for Temperance Laws."⁴⁸ The curious title perhaps attracted readers' attention, but this was more likely true of Chapman's editorial, to which Monroe's letter was addressed. In contrast to the newspapers of St. Louis and Indianapolis, which tended to be generous in their coverage of German-American life, the *Democrat* had a reputation for ignoring

the immigrant population.⁴⁹ In the mid-nineteenth century, for example, the Jewish community of Madison welcomed the Hungarian liberator, Kosuth, with a parade led by a German marching band proudly displaying the American colors.⁵⁰ Participants were disappointed as the *Democrat* passed over the festivities in silence and as the editor excused himself on account of illness. Now that German-American festivities were increasingly popular in Indianapolis, silence was no longer an effective weapon. Many of Madison's German-American citizens participated in the festivities. Taking the train to Indianapolis they would discover the old world virtually reconstructed among the scores of German businesses established on Washington Street between Illinois and Delaware, including banks, bakeries, butcheries, breweries, cobblers, tailors, and furniture makers. Elaborately decorated streets welcomed thousands from rural Indiana and surrounding states. Here, the Madison pilgrims could experience *Gemütlichkeit* among the inspiring songfests, lengthy parades, German club meetings, stunning gymnastic demonstrations, and beautiful beer gardens.⁵¹

The appearance of the editorial in the *Democrat* was likely due to that newspaper's support for temperance. According to Monroe's letter, there is an "intimation" in Chapman's editorial to the effect that "saloon keepers as a class are law breakers." Outright condemnations of bar owners in scathing rhetoric were more typical of pro-temperance newspapers at that time. If Chapman had used restraint in his comments about the saloon, then he was perhaps more cautious still in his remarks about Germans. In any event, he could simply rely on the prejudices of his Anglo readers since it would be indictment enough to report the event (as he did) as "a meeting of six hundred beer drinking Germans," and to let readers draw their own conclusions. However, as Monroe's letter demonstrates, not everyone was prepared to countenance the "beer-drinking German" stereotype. Moreover, the letter describes the event as "(t)he German meeting in Indianapolis" and apparently quotes Chapman's editorial in reference to six hundred in attendance. The circumstances of this event could have been the 29th Annual National *Turnfest* held at the Indianapolis fairgrounds in 1905. For, although thousands attended, the event lasted for several days and encompassed numerous smaller events. Monroe's "German meeting" could have referred to a related social event planned in order to garner support for anti-temperance activities.

Indianapolis Vereinsleben

Characterizing Chapman's editorial as foisting a misunderstanding on "many readers," Vayhinger begins by declaring that "[t]he German meeting in Indianapolis represented the beer drinking Germans and no more, and when

they, or anyone else infer that all Germans are against temperance and temperance laws they make a stupendous blunder." If he was right and the "beer drinking Germans" at this particular meeting did not broadly represent German-Americans, then whom did they represent? Generally speaking, these were *Vereinsdeutsche*, or club Germans, one of two easily recognizable associations of German-Americans (the second being the *Kirchendeutsche* or church Germans) in turn-of-the-century Indianapolis and other urban settings.⁵² In fact, as documented in Theodore Stempfel's *Festschrift*, published in 1898, the *Vereinsdeutsche* had already enjoyed a rich and vigorous half-century of *Vereinsleben*, or club life, in Indianapolis by 1900.⁵³ The founders of *Vereinsleben* have been characterized as "liberal and socialist [in] orientation . . . imbued with rationalist thought that held the tenets of organized religion to be spurious at best." Thus the *Verein* "assumed the function of a quasi-church, providing direction and purpose."⁵⁴ Advocating a "spirit of cosmopolitanism,"⁵⁵ the heirs of Indianapolis *Vereinsleben* continued to champion democracy as a hedge against intolerance and as conducive to rationalism and freedom. Like their fathers, turn-of-the-century *Vereinsdeutsche* sought not merely to preserve their version of traditional German culture, but endeavored to "infuse these values as much as possible into the nascent American society."⁵⁶ Yet by the turn of the century, according to Stempfel, *Vereinsleben* was on the decline:

Factions formed . . . disrupting the club life. The unity broke up. Tired of continuous discord, some withdrew completely, throwing themselves into the arms of the Anglo-Americans. New Vereins, mini-Vereins, and clubs were formed. [In short] life in the German societies took on a different character . . . The German in America had become the German-American.⁵⁷

Stempfel made no mention of the problem of the decreasing visibility of Hoosier Germans-Americans at that time: the population of Indianapolis more than doubled between 1890 and 1900, yet the rate of German immigration dropped sharply from the previous decade; thus, German-Americans comprised a steadily decreasing segment of the population of the capital city.⁵⁸ Nor did Stempfel acknowledge that as fewer German-American males participated in *Vereinsleben*, female participation rose.⁵⁹ For Stempfel, the revolutionary spirit that fueled the forty-eighters (i.e., the founders) was both "beyond" and "incomprehensible" to younger leaders as they became preoccupied with family, business, and prosperity.⁶⁰ Yet, second-generation immigrant leaders such as Charles J. Hexamer of Philadelphia, understood that "(t)he key to maintaining Germandom lay in securing the ethnic loyalty of the rising generation of German-Americans," and he carefully maintained "a commitment to club life and its alcohol-centered sociability."⁶¹ It

Kansas City District Leaguer.

VOL. I.

LANSING, KANSAS, JULY 1908.

NO. 1.

Annual Convention at Edgerton, July 8-10, 1908.

OUR NEW PRESIDENT

It is particularly fitting that the college of bishops should choose one of its members who was born and spent all but six years of his life within a radius of seventy-five miles of Kansas City, to lead the great Epworth League host during the next quadrennium. Bishop Quayle has the Kansas City spirit of doing things, and no doubt he will put much of



PRESIDENT M. VAYHINGER, of Taylor University, who will lecture Wednesday evening on "The Epworth Idea."

this spirit into the Epworth League.

Bishop Quayle's life is an inspiration to every young man who is poor financially. It is said of him that when he entered Baker University he was a janitor, when he left he was the president of the college. Nothing more marvelous than this one thing could be said of him.

While Bishop Quayle was poor financially, he was rich in work, optimistic in spirit, and full of love of God and of his fellowmen

PROGRAM.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 8TH.	Lecture..... 8:00
—M. E. Church—	Dr. Daniel McGurk, Kansas City.
Special Music..... 8:20	City Hall—
Edgerton Choir..... 8:20	Friday Morning, July 10th.
Lecture—"Epworth League Idea" 8:35	Devotional Services..... 8:30
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	Mrs. A. B. Conner, Eudora.
Edgerton Choir..... 8:40	Baker University..... 8:50
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 9TH.	Dr. L. H. Martin, Baldwin.
—City Park—	The Epworthian's Service..... 9:10
Devotional Services..... 8:30	Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.
Dr. D. Imanson, Olathe.	8:50..... 9:40
District Officers Report..... 9:15	"The Winfield Institute"..... 9:45
Address..... 9:40	Dr. J. S. Ford, Kansas City.
Dr. H. E. Wain, Leavenworth.	10:05
Local Chapter Reports..... 9:55	Installation of Officers..... 10:30
"The Epworthian's Manual"..... 10:10	Dr. J. S. Ford, Kansas City.
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	"The Missionary Mind"..... 10:40
10:20	Rev. J. A. Staley, Atchison.
Solo..... 10:30	Solo..... 11:10
Miss Nena Wilson, Leavenworth.	Address..... 11:10
"The New Generation"..... 11:35	Rev. Chas. D. Morris, Korea.
Dr. C. C. Cooney, Kansas City.	11:35
THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 9TH.	Conjournment..... 12:00
—City Park—	FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 10TH.
Devotional Exercises..... 2:00	—City Park—
Miss Margaret Wolfe, Edgerton.	Devotional Services..... 2:00
Kansas City Training School..... 2:15	Miss Mary Harrison, Leavenworth.
Bothway Hospital..... 2:25	Business Study Plans..... 2:25
Dr. St. Clair, Kansas City.	Miss Ella Woodard, Kansas City.
"The Epworthian's Opportunity"..... 2:35	2:40
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	Rev. J. A. Staley, Atchison.
2:45	Solo..... 3:10
"The Infallibility of the Bible"..... 3:00	Miss Margaret D. Farr, Edgerton.
Rev. M. E. Nethercutt, Leavenworth.	"Korea"..... 3:15
Report of Committee on Credentials 3:10	Rev. Chas. D. Morris, Korea.
Election of Officers..... 3:35	Adjournment..... 4:00
Adjournment..... 4:15	Social Time in the Park.
Social Time in the Park.	FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 10TH.
THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 9TH.	—M. E. Church—
—M. E. Church—	Devotional Services..... 8:00
Special Music..... 8:00	Evangelistic Services..... 8:30
Edgerton Choir..... 8:15	Rev. C. S. Nushbaum, Independence.

in his heart. Notices the successive steps in his life's career. On graduation he was elected adjunct professor of ancient languages at Baker University. However he desired to preach and so after a year he resigned and took his first appointment at Oage City as a member of the Kansas Conference. He remained here but a year for he was chosen professor in Greek at Baker. He held this for four years when he was elect-

ed vice president of the institution. After one year he succeeded Dr. Golin as President—the youngest college president in America. In 1894 he resigned and accepted the pastorate of the Independence Avenue church in Kansas City, which position he held for five years—the time limit then. He was transferred to Indianapolis where he remained three years and then came back to his old haunts as pastor of the Grand Avenue church Kansas City. Three years ago he accepted a call from St. James Church, Chicago, and was elected bishop while pastor of this church. Dr. Quayle well deserves the high honor which has been conferred upon him, and he is especially fitted for the new duties for which he has been called upon to perform. Well indeed is Dr. Quayle fitted to lead the young Methodists of the world to a greater field of usefulness. His life is a living example of the gospel of thorough preparation, broad culture, untiring work, high ideals and boundless love.



REV. C. S. NUSBAUM. The elegant District Superintendent of the Independence District, who will make the closing address of the convention on Friday evening.

Dr. Dan'l McGurk who will lecture to the convention on Thursday evening, is the popular pastor of the Grand Avenue M. E. Church at Kansas City and one of the foremost lecturers of the west. It is well worth the while for every delegate to hear Dr. McGurk.

Monroe Vayhinger, Epworth League Speaker, 1908.

is reasonable to suppose that similar influences were at work in the Hoosier capital. Stempfelf accounted, as best he could, for a "crisis of the *vereinswesen*" which, subsequently, has been described in its complexity.

Defining German-American Character and Community

In the light of Stempfelf's *Festschrift*, but also of historical analyses provided by Giles Hoyt and George Probst for the Indianapolis setting,⁶² and by Russell Kazal for Philadelphia, a German-American "identity crisis" of

growing proportions in the first decade of the twentieth century is the appropriate setting for an understanding of Vayhinger's letter to the *Madison Democrat*. The introduction of his letter, challenging the editorial's stereotyping of Germans as "beer-drinkers," already has been described. In the body of his letter, Vayhinger levels a charge of "injustice" against the beer drinkers "in the name of the temperance Germans" whom he purports to represent—"one of whom I am." With his identification of temperance Germans numbering "thousands and thousands," Vayhinger pulls back the curtain, rhetorically, in order to counter the "six hundred beer drinking Germans" with a substantial, alternate German-American group and identity. His charge begins, "They (i.e., the beer-drinking Germans) would have the world believe that intemperance is one of the fundamental characteristics of our people," a charge which makes transparent Vayhinger's perception of the meeting as an intentional declaration about drinking beer and German identity. An intentional declaration it surely was, but Vayhinger's charge simply equates beer drinking with "intemperance," that is, with excessive drinking or drunkenness. Even among the *Vereinsdeutsche* there were calls for temperance at this time, probably in response to alcohol legislation, but certainly there was no support for "temperance laws," which, from their perspective, undermined the very liberties that had attracted German immigrants to America in the first place.

Not intemperance but "the sturdy nature," Vayhinger next insists, defines German character—drawing on a popular anthropological term employed in nineteenth-century biography and social analysis.⁶³ Indeed, "All history," Vayhinger avers, "teaches that the sturdy nature is an inheritance from the faithfulness, courage and personal purity of our ancestors"—his triumvirate of virtues offering a variation on a common German-American motto, "Piety, diligence, and courage will enable our German descendants to succeed."⁶⁴ A possible source for Vayhinger's "sturdy nature" is Francis Montague's *The Limits of Individual Freedom*—a classic essay, published in 1885, which extols the inherent value of the "sturdy nature," describing it as "natural force"—the "raw material" of wisdom and virtue. In defining individuality and describing its place in relation to civilization, Montague named his own triumvirate—strength, originality, and character—as "proofs of a sturdy nature."⁶⁵ His admonition concerning the potentially destructive nature of civilization, though essentially an apologetic for personal freedoms, could also serve as ammunition for the prohibitionist cause:

There is no occasion to waste words in proving that a process of manufacture that destroys the stuff whilst working it up, is an absurd and mischievous process. If civilization tends to mar character, to unnerve will, to lower the standard of greatness, then most assuredly civilization is pernicious and hateful. If progress be after all progress in weakness and littleness, it is



W.C.T.U. commemorative poster with Culla J. Vayhinger at top, ca. 1917.

merely a progress in disease and death. In this case civilization is something to be extirpated, and progress something to be arrested.⁶⁶

In such a reading, "civilization" stands for *gemütlichkeit*, and the passage thus clarifies Vayhinger's thinking: "[t]he drink habit is directly antagonistic to this [the sturdy nature], and will, if persisted in, destroy the very thing of which we boast." Having stigmatized drinking as a habit contrary to the sturdy nature, Vayhinger cites Bismarck who "saw this" and said "if the Germans do not stop their excessive beer drinking the people will be destroyed and Germany will lose her prestage [*sic*: prestige] as a nation."⁶⁷

Finally, having identified "intemperance" (equated with beer drinking) as a mistaken stereotype, and substituting "faithfulness, courage, and purity" as the essential components of the "sturdy nature" that defines the German nation, Vayhinger predicts dire political consequences for those who oppose temperance legislation, since "This very 'sturdy nature' of the temperance Germans insures a ceaseless warfare on the saloon." In support of his polemic, Vayhinger refers to "thousands and thousands of Germans (whom he claims) are among the strongest temperance people of the country and are demanding temperance legislation." While this characterization certainly applies to English-speaking congregations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was this also true of German Methodists?

John Wesley's original rule, which "forbade Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity," was formally adopted as ecclesiastical law in *The Discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, beginning in 1848.⁶⁸ During the latter half of the nineteenth century, allowing for a hiatus of temperance activity during the Civil War, Wesley's rule was applied in an increasingly comprehensive and vigorous manner, to include all alcoholic beverages, through the activity of local and conference-wide temperance societies as well as by national organizations such as the Methodist Episcopal Church's American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, and the interdenominational Woman's Christian Temperance Union.⁶⁹ German Methodists in America followed the Methodist *Discipline*, and German Methodism itself "is, historically speaking, the result of retroactive influence of German immigration to America."⁷⁰ The basis for German temperance and prohibition rhetoric is seen in anti-alcohol tracts and newspapers (in the German language) published mid-nineteenth century onward, both in Germany and America.⁷¹ Wilhelm Nast, already mentioned, edited *Der Christliche Apologete* for more than five decades, establishing it as "the leading German Methodist Newspaper in America" with a circulation of nearly 20,000 subscriptions by 1890.⁷² *Der Apologete* was also the leading voice of temperance reform among German Americans. According to Carl Frederick Wittke, "German Methodists were as much interested in the

"Germans for Temperance Laws"



"Waiting for the Train." Monroe and Culla Johnson Vayhinger, ca. 1915 (by permission of University Archives, Taylor University, all rights reserved).

crusade for temperance, which they interpreted to mean total abstinence, as any other Methodist group . . . Nast devoted considerable space in *Der Apologete* to prolonged discussions [on temperance].⁷³ As to the numbers of German Methodists, L. C. Rudolph notes the formation of twenty-eight German Methodist congregations in southwestern Indiana by mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Carl Wittke documents the formation of four "German Conferences" within the Methodist Church nationwide after 1864 "due to Nast's persistence." These were followed by the later nineteenth-century establishment of a Central German Conference based in Cincinnati, comprised of "eighty preachers and nearly 9,000 members, a Northwest German Conference at Galena, Illinois, with fifty-seven preachers and 5,500 members, as well as by conferences in Chicago, Louisville, and California."⁷⁵ Wittke further notes that "(a)t its height, the German-speaking Methodists in the United States totaled over 63,000 official members" together with "probably another half million . . . in some way affiliated with their organizations."⁷⁶

Just how many of these German-Americans, aside from Monroe Vayhinger, were "demanding temperance legislation" is a subject that requires further research.⁷⁷ Despite Wittke's conclusion, that German Methodists were "as much interested in the crusade" as any other Methodist group, prohibition activism among German Methodists beyond the pages of Nast's *Der Apologete* has yet to be documented, and certainly never gained the force or visibility that it did among Anglo-Methodists. This probably reflects the sensitivity of German Methodists to their countrymen—the central place of alcohol in their fellowship and to the importance of brewing to their livelihood. As for Monroe, in his letter he speaks for "temperance Germans," not German Methodists, and his tone, obviously, is not characterized by sensitivity to German-American culture. It is polemical—of a piece with the anti-saloon rhetoric of the era—and demonstrates how far the journey of assimilation had taken him from his roots. Though nurtured in German Methodism, and though he had pastored many German Americans, by 1908 when he left the pastorate in order to accept the presidency of a Methodist institution—Taylor University in Upland, Indiana—Monroe's professional and personal associations realigned with prohibitionists and evangelists in the holiness tradition; thus he moved into primarily Anglo-American circles. Vayhinger's education and professional accomplishments, moreover, comprise the majority of the material included in the "Family History," with the effect that Monroe is presented as the acme of the Vayhinger family social accomplishments. In the "People's History of Ripley County," as previously noted, even Gustavus is described as "one of the strongest temperance men to be found anywhere in the land and instructed all his children in the woes of the liquor traffic." The anachronistic statement—ironically a product of

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NIGHTLY
SERVICE
AT 7:30 P. M.
EXCEPT
SATURDAY
NIGHT
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Monroe Vayhinger, D. D., Evangelist
UPLAND, INDIANA

EVERYBODY WELCOME

REV. ABRAM P. SHAFFER, PASTOR

NEW CASTLE PRINTING COMPANY

Monroe Vayhinger in later years, ca. early 1930s.

German-American reflection⁷⁸—reads the immigrant Gustavus's temperance preference through the lens of prohibition, and thereby clouds his portrait.

It is interesting to consider how the Vayhinger assimilation might have slowed had the family not moved to Indiana. Remaining with family in the Over the Rhine district, Gustavus and Margueretha would likely have remained Lutheran and working class.⁷⁹ Had he grown up in Cincinnati, Monroe might have become a Lutheran minister, a schoolmaster in the German-English schools, or both. In that environment, one imagines, Monroe's sense of German identity and his relations with other German-Americans would have fared far better. As it happened, within two generations, assimilation had progressed to such a degree that Monroe could employ his German identity rhetorically, as a weapon against "beer drinking Germans."

Taylor University
Upland, Indiana

Appendix: Transcription of Monroe Vayhinger's Letter

GERMANS FOR TEMPERANCE LAWS.

Mr. Chapman:—

Your editorial in yesterday's DEMOCRAT on the Germans will be misunderstood by many of your readers. The German meeting in Indianapolis represented the beer drinking Germans and no more, and when they, or anyone else infer that all Germans are against temperance and temperance laws they make a stupendous blunder.

In the name of the temperance Germans, one of whom I am, I protest against the injustice of a handful of beer drinkers pretending to represent the German people. They do not represent the Germans. They would have the world believe that intemperance is one of the fundamental characteristics of our people. All history teaches that the sturdy nature is an inheritance from the faithfulness, courage and personal purity of our ancestors. The drink habit is directly antagonistic to this, and will, if persisted in, destroy the very thing of which we boast. Bismark [*sic*] saw this. He said if the Germans do not stop their excessive beer drinking the people will be destroyed and Germany will lose her prestage [*sic*] as a nation.

Thousands and thousands of Germans are among the strongest temperance people of the country and are demanding temperance legislation that will stop the ravages of the saloon, the ulcer on our body politic.

This very "sturdy nature" of the temperance Germans insures a ceaseless warfare on the saloon. If any legislator allows six hundred beer drinking Germans to make him ignore the rapidly-rising temperance sentiment of this country then he will find that the temperance people are learning how to make their vote count on election day.

Your intimation that saloon keepers as a class are law breakers is well taken. No one can deny this. Hence the people in self defense must oppose, and oppose to the bitter, an institution which from its nature is law defying and law breaking. Therefore the bills introduced thus far in the interest of temperance should be supported by letter and petition of every one who really has the interest of the people at heart.

Respectfully,
M. VAYHINGER.

"Germans for Temperance Laws"

Notes

¹This study is dedicated to the memory of John Monroe Vayhinger (1916–2007), whose generous donation of the Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection to the Taylor University Archives made it possible. An earlier draft was supported by a grant from the Taylor University Center for Research and Innovation; it benefited from the critiques of Dr. Edward Frantz of Indianapolis University and Dr. Giles Hoyt of Indiana University-Purdue University of Indianapolis, and was presented at the Indiana Association of Historians, Annual Meeting, 18 February 2006. The revision offered here benefited immeasurably from the review process (specifically the comments of anonymous reviewers) at the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Kansas.

²From an undated newspaper clipping in the *Madison Democrat*, ca. 1905. For more on this source, see below, notes 46 and 47. See the Appendix for a transcription of the letter, in the Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection, Container 2, Taylor University Archives, Upland, Indiana. The news clipping containing the letter, and many other Vayhinger family papers and portraits, can be viewed online in the digital library collection entitled "Progressive Era Reformers, Monroe and Culla Vayhinger," at www.PALNI.edu.

³Describing another urban context, Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 40–41, notes that "perhaps the issue with the greatest power to unify German Philadelphia . . . was that of alcohol use . . . (such that) from the 1840s on . . . German immigrants who saw a convivial glass of wine or beer as central to proper sociability clashed with Anglo-Americans bent on reducing or prohibiting alcohol consumption. These conflicts carried potentially serious consequences for *vereine*." See also Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000), 265–66 on the fight of the German-American National Alliance against prohibition.

⁴In this paper "first generation" refers to the American-born children of immigrant parents; other authors sometime refer to them as "second generation," and to the immigrants as "first generation."

⁵The misnomer lies in the fact that temperance employs moral persuasion, not the passage of laws.

⁶Between 1850 and 1859 nearly a million German immigrants (34.7% of the total immigration) arrived in the U.S. according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, cited in Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans" in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney, *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 162.

⁷Quotation, *Ibid.*, 160. "Forty-Eighters" refers to the dispirited advocates of the failed German revolution of 1848, who subsequently migrated to the U.S. in search of political freedom. For a synopsis of the 1848 revolution, see Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 168ff.

⁸Violet E. Toph, *Ripley County Indiana Genealogy* (Fort Wayne: Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County, 1969), 1599. For more on this source see note 14.

⁹The spelling of her name varies in the sources: *Margueretha* in the "Family History" (see below, note 14), *Marguerite* in Toph's "Ripley County Obituaries" and "The Ripley County History," "Margarethe" in the Toph's "People's History of Ripley County." The spelling *Margueretha* is retained here since it appears in the "Family History" and is similar in form to the name scribbled in the family address book, in the Vayhinger Collection. Gustavus's parents were Immanuel Vayhinger (b. 1787) and Louise Horne (b. 1789) from Sutz-am-Necker. Margueretha Schweiklin's parents were Jacob and Augusta Schweiklin, whose place of origin is unnamed.

¹⁰According to the "Family History," "All came directly to Ohio and settled north of Cincinnati. . ." (Toph, *Ripley County Indiana Genealogy*, 1599).

¹¹ *Gemütlichkeit* describes the characteristic warmth and relaxed informality ascribed to German fellowship.

¹² Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 192.

¹³ Two boys, Edwin and Albert, were born to the Vayhingers "in Hamilton County" according to the "Family History" (Ripley County, Indiana, Genealogy, 1599).

¹⁴ Among the various Ripley County historical sources drawn on for this study is the "Vayhinger History" (referred to throughout this article as the "Family History"), authored by Ada Vayhinger Dole and Vernon Monroe Vayhinger, the second generation children of Albert Vayhinger, Monroe's oldest brother. The several-page "Family History" was incorporated into "Ripley County Indiana Genealogy," 1599ff., by Violet E. Toph (1878–1956) who "dedicated her life to gathering information about Ripley County and the people who have made it their home down the many years it has been a part of this State of Indiana." Toph's histories of Ripley County, Indiana, also include a five-volume "Peoples History of Ripley County, Indiana," based on her door-to-door ethnographic research. In this study, information cited "according to the Ripley County sources" is meant to except the "Family History," though the latter, strictly speaking, is part of the Toph collection. "Ripley County sources" as used here also refers to a more recent volume, *Ripley County History, 1818–1988*, vol. 1 (Dallas, Texas: Ripley County History Book Committee, 1989), which relies heavily on Toph. For more on Violet Toph and her work, see the "Finding Aid of the Violet E. Toph Ripley County History Collection, 1969," Manuscript 77, of the Hanover College Archives of Duggan Library at Hanover College, which may be viewed at http://library.hanover.edu/pdf/Mss77_RipleyToph.pdf.

¹⁵ The "Family History" (Toph, "Ripley County Indiana Genealogy," 1599) places their "conversion" to Methodism at Sunman, Indiana, several years later.

¹⁶ Wilhelm Nast (1807–99) born three years prior to Gustavus, was a fellow immigrant from Württemberg, who emigrated to the United States at age 21. For his biography see Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism, Biography of an Immigrant Soul* (Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1939). The quotation is from a letter written by Nast from Cincinnati, dated March 19, 1838, and later published in Adam Miller's *Origin and Purpose of The German Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church including an account of the Christian Experience of some of the converts from popery and infidelity, as furnished by themselves* (Cincinnati: Wright and Swormstedt for the Methodist Book Concern, 1843), 47.

¹⁷ Wade Crawford Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, vol. 1 of *Early American Methodism, 1769–1844* (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949), 276.

¹⁸ Carolyn R. Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 58–59.

¹⁹ As outlined above, note 14, "Ripley County sources" here refers to all but the "Family History," which does not give a date for the move. Ripley County sources vary on the year: while Toph's "Ripley County, Indiana Obituaries" says that Albert Vayhinger (Monroe's oldest bother) was born in Hamilton County, Ohio in 1838, and that "he with his parents, came to Indiana when about eleven years old" (i.e., about 1849), it also reports that David, the third child, "was born in Ripley County, Indiana, April 4, 1844. According to the "Ripley County History," the family "moved to Indiana and in 1849 purchased a farm one mile west of Delaware . . ." (369). The "History" also gives a date of 4 April 1844 for David's birth but does not say where he or the other children were born. Again, the "Family History" offers no date for the family's move to Indiana. In the later nineteenth century, Rei was called Delaware after the name of the township.

²⁰ The ridge rises between the north and south branches of Hogan Creek, and is the locale of today's Indiana SR 350.

“Germans for Temperance Laws”

²¹Toph, Violet E., compiler, “People’s History of Ripley County, Indiana” (Fort Wayne: Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County, 1969), 1589. For more on this source see note 14.

²²Douglass, in *The Story of German Methodism*, 41, notes that the Methodist Episcopal Church established a German mission in nearby Lawrenceburg, Indiana, as early as 1840, and Martin Bohler is said to have preached in German from time to time as he accompanied Bishop Asbury on their visits to newly established western circuits (including Lawrenceburg) in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

²³Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, 277.

²⁴Adam Miller, *Origin and Purpose of The German Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church including an account of the Christian Experience of some of the converts from popery and infidelity, as furnished by themselves* (Cincinnati: Wright and Swormstedt for the Methodist Book Concern, 1843).

²⁵Neither the “Family History” nor any other Ripley Country sources make mention of Vayhinger extended family members traveling with Gustavus and Margueretha to Cincinnati or Indiana.

²⁶See note 19.

²⁷Toph, “People’s History of Ripley County,” 1589.

²⁸“English Methodists” refers to those churches whose worship services were conducted in English—the majority of all Methodist Episcopal Church congregations—though by the mid-1840s the Church had spawned a small number of German-language congregations.

²⁹Toph, “People’s History of Ripley County,” 1589. Toph’s description of Gustavus is anachronistic in its use of Prohibition-era language—“the liquor trade.” For more on Toph’s “People’s History” see note 14; the information she supplies typically augments the “Family History,” and is based on her interviews with additional family members.

³⁰*Ripley Country History*, 35, dates the first Delaware Methodist circuit to 1859. German missions at first targeted urban populations and farming regions with greater concentrations of German settlers; thus German Methodism took greater hold in the north east (Fort Wayne) and south west (Evansville) of the state (Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, 277).

³¹Toph’s *Ripley County History* says that Albert “belonged to the first Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church, a log structure adjoining the cemetery west of town. In 1858 he contributed and assisted in building the first church in Delaware and was a liberal contributor in the rebuilding of the present structure” (265). The pattern was typical for remote areas: Baptists also “had been holding meetings in their homes since 1840,” according to the “Ripley Country History,” and then “a school house was used as a place of worship until 1844, when a frame church was erected” (35).

³²Collaborative support between German- and English-speaking Methodists was common (Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, 277). In its survey of historical churches, the *Ripley Country History* notes that “Rev. Isaac Turner served as minister in charge of the Delaware Circuit in 1859” (35); no earlier ministers are mentioned. Barclay, however, notes that “[t]he Evansville Mission, Indiana Conference [in the early 1840s] had fourteen preaching places, requiring 250 miles of travel (278).

³³See Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 83–84.

³⁴Although there is no mention of holiness in relation to the Vayhingers in the “Family History” or Ripley Country sources, the doctrine and its attendant lifestyle includes abstinence from alcohol. Neighboring farms and businesses in Rei were owned by German-American families, and among these were Edward and Mary Koechlin who built a large inn with a saloon. That the presence of a saloon would have been a concern to the Vayhingers is suggested by Toph’s description of Gustavus as “one of the strongest temperance men to be found anywhere in the land . . .” (Toph, “People’s History,” 1589).

³⁵ According to the "Family History," "Monroe was educated at the Rounds School and in the High School at Delaware. At the age of sixteen he was elected to teach the Rounds School. He also taught the Mud Pike school one term and the primary department of the Delaware school" (Toph, "Ripley County Indiana Genealogy," 1599).

³⁶ A handbill in the Vayhinger Collection announces that "The Ripley County Normal School will be opened at Delaware, on Monday, July 7th, 1879." In addition to naming some of the faculty (a Moores Hill College professor, the Ripley County Superintendent of Schools, and a visiting teacher of penmanship), the advertisement directs "All inquiries concerning rooms and boarding should be addressed to Monroe Vayinger, Rei Indiana." (Note the spelling of Monroe's name here, and the mention of both names, Delaware and Rei.)

³⁷ Founded 1854, Moores Hill College moved to Evansville in 1919, where it was renamed Evansville College.

³⁸ The "Family History" and Toph's "People's History" report that he taught German during his sophomore and junior years while enrolled at Moores Hill.

³⁹ Monroe Vayhinger sermon, "The Supremacy of the Church: what will she do with the Saloon?" 1889. Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection, Topical Sermons, Taylor University Archives, Upland, Indiana.

⁴⁰ Moores Hill College materials, Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection, Container 2, Taylor University Archives, Upland, Indiana.

⁴¹ Don Wallis, *All we had was each other: the Black community of Madison, Indiana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

⁴² John T. Windle and Robert M. Taylor, Jr., *The Early Architecture of Madison, Indiana* (Madison: Historic Madison, Inc. & Indianapolis Historical Society, 1986) includes a helpful summary of Madison's downward trends, economically and socially.

⁴³ Chapman, A.S., *Madison, Indiana, A Jewel in Setting 'Neath the Hills: A Guide to the Visitor, etc.* (Madison: Democrat Printing Co., 1922), n.p.

⁴⁴ The Vayhinger Collection contains Monroe's pastoral schedule books for the years 1904–8, and these include a majority of German names for the members and lay leaders of the several congregations that he served.

⁴⁵ In 1889, the Epworth League was established to absorb and supersede the several Methodist Episcopal Church young peoples' societies active up to that time. For more, see Dan B. Brummitt's *Epworth League Methods* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1906).

⁴⁶ See the Appendix for a transcription of the letter from an undated newspaper clipping. The letter's introduction identifies "beer-drinker" as a mistaken stereotype for Germans. The body of the letter substitutes the "sturdy nature" for intemperance as the 'prestige of the German nation,' and names "faithfulness, courage, and purity" as its essential components. The letter's conclusion forecasts dire political consequences for those who would oppose the very sturdy nature of "temperance Germans" who must wage "ceaseless warfare on the saloon." Vayhinger's letter is a response to an editorial that so far has not been located; the thrust of the editorial can be inferred from his letter.

⁴⁷ The assumption here is that Monroe read and wrote to the *Democrat*, sometime during his residence in Madison, between 1903 and 1908, and probably about 1905. As already noted, A. S. Chapman was editor of the *Democrat* at this time. The language of the letter, moreover, reflects the era of the Anti-Saloon League (1890s–1920s), and German meetings of the type described in the letter were prominent in the first decade of the twentieth century, but not much later. See Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *American Temperance Movements, Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne, 1989), 95ff. Finally, according to Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 265, "In 1900 the Prohibition Party began an especially militant campaign, and between 1904 and 1906 more prohibition candidates were elected than ever before."

⁴⁸ Temperance implies moral persuasion, not the passage of laws.

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⁴⁹Elizabeth S. Weinberg, *Hoosier Israelites on the Ohio—A History of Madison's Indiana Jews*, Publication no. 27 (Fort Wayne, IN.: Indiana Jewish Historical Society, 1991), n.p.

⁵⁰Ibid., "This incident," Weinberg notes, "typified the general attitude of indifference to German immigrants and their activities" (in Madison), n.p.

⁵¹For *Gemütlichkeit* see above, note 11. For detailed descriptions of Germantown, Indianapolis see Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans" in David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 619.

⁵²See Hoyt, "Germans," in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney, *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 160; and Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 187ff.

⁵³Theodore Stempfel, *Festschrift zur Freier der Vollendung des Deutschen Hauses in Indianapolis, Fünfzig Jahre Unermüdlichen Deutschen Strebens in Indianapolis/Festschrift Celebrating the Completion of Das Deutsche Haus in Indianapolis, Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis*, German/English edition 1991, Giles R. Hoyt, Claudia Grossman, Elfrieda Lang, and Eberhard Reichmann, eds. (Indianapolis: German American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc., 1991).

⁵⁴Hoyt, "Germans," 160.

⁵⁵The expression is Hermann Lieber's, from his address on the occasion of the dedication of *Das Deutsche Haus*, translated by Hoyt, et al., in Stempfel's *Festschrift*, 88.

⁵⁶For Hoyt's reading of Stempfel see *Peopling Indiana*, 160 and endnote 89. On the assertion of German values on American culture, see Tolzmann, *The German American Experience*, 235–37.

⁵⁷Stempfel, *Festschrift*, 27–28.

⁵⁸However, in early twentieth century Madison, Indiana (Vayhinger's home), a third or more of the city's residents were German-American, if the first-generation is included. As the first decade of the twentieth century passed, moreover, the German-American presence in Madison remained high. In Indianapolis, by contrast, the percentage of Germans Americans decreased from 28% of the population in 1890 to 23% in 1900, to 17% in 1910. For further explanation see Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis*, 121, 123 and Hoyt, "Germans," 168–69.

⁵⁹This conclusion is based on a trend in the Philadelphia Germantown context. See, Russell Kazal, "The Gendered Crisis of the Vereinswesen" in *Becoming Old Stock, The Paradox of German-American Identity*, chapter 3.

⁶⁰Stempfel, *Festschrift*, 27–28.

⁶¹Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock, the Paradox of German-American Identity*, 133–34.

⁶²Giles Hoyt, "Germans," 146–81; and George T. Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840–1918*, rev. ed. E. Reichmann (Indianapolis: German American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc. 1989).

⁶³See, for example, William D.P. Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (New York: Funk & Wagnells, 1897), 419.

⁶⁴The motto of the first German-American society formed in Philadelphia in 1764. Quoted in Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 87.

⁶⁵Francis C. Montague, *The Limits of Individual Liberty* (London: Rivingtons, 1885), 113–14.

⁶⁶Ibid., 114.

⁶⁷While it is difficult to know just how persuasive an appeal to Otto von Bismarck might have been to German-American citizens of Madison, it is true that the former German chancellor had become the icon of German identity by the *fin de siècle*.

⁶⁸*The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Methodist Episcopal Church, 1848) 21, as quoted in Wade Crawford Barclay, *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939* (New York: The Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1957), 54.

⁶⁹W.C.T.U. President Francis Willard, mentioned earlier, was a Methodist.

⁷⁰ Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, xvii.

⁷¹ In the free city of Bremen, beginning in 1850, Ludwig Jacoby began publishing *Der Evangelist* "as a counterpart to Nast's American *Apologete*." Thus, in the inaugural issue of *Der Evangelist*, Jacoby introduced himself to his readers by noting that "my brother declared war on 'firewater' (*Feuerwasser*) from the beginning and I hate this poison which disturbs the health of many, ruins the happiness of families, and has ruined so many souls" (quoted in Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 106). *Der Evangelist* was followed within four years by *Kinderfreund*, and these two organs of German temperance reached a combined circulation of well over 30,000 subscriptions in Germany by 1890.

⁷² Copies of Nast's *Der Christliche Apologete* are among Vayhinger's papers.

⁷³ Carl Frederick Wittke, *William Nast: Patriarch of German Methodism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959), 70.

⁷⁴ "With particular strength in the area around Evansville, Boonville, Dale, and Santa Claus." L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 542.

⁷⁵ Wittke, *William Nast*, 74.

⁷⁶ That is, prior to the beginning of its early twentieth-century decline. Wittke, *William Nast*, 78. The large numbers explain Vayhinger's description of "six hundred beer drinking Germans" as "a handful."

⁷⁷ A 1981 study that deserves mention is Richard Pierard's "The Church of the Brethren and the Temperance Movement," *Brethren Life and Thought* (Winter 1981): 36–44. However, his conclusion (p 40)—"It is fair to say that by 1900 the church was becoming increasingly interested in doing something to influence legislation which would correct this (i.e., alcohol) social ill"—hardly matches Vayhinger's strong rhetoric.

⁷⁸ That is, they are either the reflections of Vayhinger family members interviewed by Toph, or Toph herself.

⁷⁹ Becoming a farmer provided commercially viable work for Gustavus in an era when urban-situated artisans were beginning to lose their livelihoods to industrial manufacturing.