Angela H. Häusler

German Language Maintenance on the West Coast: A Glimpse of California's Past[1]

0. Introduction – Why look at California?

From a linguistic perspective California has some very dull spots on its golden past. Although Germans rushed to the Pacific shores in great numbers, historical documentation about the German language, unlike in the German Belt, the Middle Atlantic States and Texas, on the West Coast, is still missing.[2] Kloss counted California among those states where, due to nineteenth and twentieth century immigration, the German language had a chance to be preserved.[3] The numbers of major immigrant groups from 1850 to 1920 support this view. Although outnumbered by the Irish and the Chinese in the nineteenth century, the Germans became the largest immigrant group to the Golden State after 1900 (Table 1).

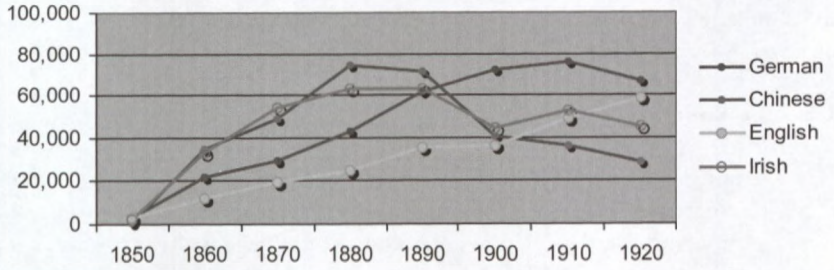

Table 1: Proportion of major foreign-born groups in California, 1850-1920 according to U.S. Census data.

Unlike in the Midwest and on the East Coast, little reminds us today of California's heritage in the German language. In order to understand today's picture, we have to go back to beginnings of German immigration to the Pacific Coast.

1. German settlers and the German language in early California

1.1. *Neu Helvetien* – how it had (not) begun

In 1839, Johann August Sutter, a native of Baden with Swiss-German parentage, purchased Mexican land grants on the Sacramento River to found Fort New Helvetia,[3] a transit station for many overland immigrants and an economic empire. New Helvetia can hardly be considered a starting point for the German language in California – and it was not intended to be one by Sutter himself. While Sutter was able to communicate in four different languages, he was only after quick wealth; there was no room for

language sentimentalities and no ambitions like building a new German world in different surroundings as settlers in the Midwest, Pennsylvania or Texas had in mind. Although the Fort attracted immigrants from various points of the compass – especially Americans, Mexicans, French and Germans[5] – the latter were never as dominant as to establish a German koiné at the Fort.

New Helvetia represented a microcosm of what the linguistic future of California would look like. Several different languages coexisted, with English in the leadership role. At that time, immigration on the sea route from Germany to California had not yet gotten underway. A sizeable group of Germans arrived with Fremont's Corps from New York during the Mexican War. Others were adventurers or dropouts from American society. Most of them established isolated ranches for individual success rather than showing interest in the foundation of communities based on their ethnic, linguistic or even denominational background. As a result, the most vital infrastructure for language maintenance simply did not exist in this early period. However, many place names, not all of them still in use, testify to the German presence. Theodor Cordua, for instance, established the ranch *Neu Mecklenburg* in 1842, which became the town of Marysville with the dissolution of the original ranch. We find many more of these toponyms that have their roots in the German language – most of them are of a later date, such as Thalheim, Olivenhain, Sauerkraut Gulch and Gualala River, the Spanish version of Walhalla River.[6] Altogether, the more than one hundred place names with German roots indicate a remarkable German presence in a state that, at first glance, strikes the observer by its strong heritage in the Spanish and English languages.

1.2. "The days of old, the days of gold"

The initial conditions for the German language in California were less favorable than in more settled societies in other parts of the United States. Prior to the Gold Rush, most German settlers were single and male. Marriage within the ethnic group was prevented by the lack of females and German men took native women for their wives.[7] Many of these pioneers settled in more or less remote areas of the California wilderness. They were exposed to an environment where the most common interactions were with indigenous people, American drop-outs and Mexican colonialists. In this contact situation, where the German language had no support either through family ties or in public discourse, some settlers began to develop a pidgin-type language which enabled them to make themselves – at least to a certain degree – intelligible. Several contemporary accounts describe this phenomenon, like the memoirs of Heinrich Lienhard, a Swiss pioneer at Sutter's Fort. He illustrates his first encounter with a settler, "Mr. Schwarz," as follows:

> Da Schwarz gar keine Sprache mehr recht sprechen konnte, sondern ein Gemisch von Holländisch, Deutsch, Englisch, Spanisch und Indianerisch, alles untereinandergemischt herproduzierte, war es oft überaus schwierig ihn zu verstehen, so daß ich oft fragen mußte: "Wie, was sagen Sie?"[8]

Schwarz, like many other white settlers in Mexican California, was engaged in the trading business and exposed to a number of European as well as indigenous languages.

Based on the social and linguistic contact situation the trader faced, we may presume that to a certain degree pidginisation could have occurred in this context.[9] Another contemporary witness, the traveling author Friedrich Gerstäcker, mentions Schwarz' incapability to communicate effectively in any single idiom other than his contact-induced language-mix:

> [Es] war dies ein eigener und seinen Verhältnissen vollkommen entsprechender Patois, den sich Mr. Schwarz hier mit der Zeit selber gebildet hatte. Zwischen den Amerikanern und Deutschen lebend und meist auch mit ein oder zwei Hollandern in seinem Hause, hätte er mit jeden von allen diesen eine besondere Sprache reden mussen, was das wenigste zu sagan, unbequem war, so aber da er die drei in eine zusammengegossen brauchte und von jeder etwa gleich viel Worte und diese Worte eben wieder selber ineinander gemischt verwandte, kam er mit allen gleich gut durch. Jeder der drei Nationen fand so viel Wörter in seiner eigenen Mutterspache darin, daß er, wenn er auch noch ein wenig von des Alten Eigenheiten dabei lernte, wohl etwa errathen konnte, wovon die Rede war.[10]

The intense mixing of languages would continue in the near future. With the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill, the world rushed to the Pacific Coast, not only with cradles and pans, but with a highly diverse linguistic background. For many miners, the multi-ethnic surroundings of the Gold Rush meant a new challenge, if they wanted to communicate in this miniature community of the world population. The English author John D. Borthwick, who visited the mining belt in the early 1850s, gives us a glimpse of how interaction worked those days. He met a German doctor, called the "Flying Dutchman," who cooperated with miners of different nationalities.

> I passed by his claim one day, and such a scene it was! The Tower of Babel was not a circumstance to it. [. . .] The Americans, the Frenchmen, the Italians, and the Mexicans, were all pulling in different directions at an immense unwieldy log, and bestowing on each other most frightful oaths, though happily in unknown tongues; while the directing genius, the Flying Dutchman, was rushing about among them, and gesticulating wildly [. . .]. He spoke all the modern languages at once, occasionally talking Spanish to a Frenchman, and English to the Italians, then cursing his own stupidity in German, blowing them all up collectively in a promiscuous jumble of national oaths [. . .]. But after addressing a few explanatory remarks to each nation separately, in their respective languages, he persuaded them to try once more, when they got along well enough for a few minutes, until something went wrong, and then the Tower-of-Babel scene was enacted over again.[11]

This sketch reveals not only the typical linguistic situation that miners had to face, it also leads us to the question: How willing were Germans to interact in languages other than their own in this multi-lingual environment? The sources display a very clear tendency. The German miner Frank Lecouvreur writes in one of his letters:

> [T]hough I live here in a "German corner" you would not hear any more German

spoken around us than anywhere else on the bar, because strange as it may seem it is [. . .] true that the Germans here, even when among themselves, give preference to the "American" language. There are men here with whom I have been in daily intercourse for months before I found out that they are Germans.[12]

Borthwick points to the same trait when he writes: "[The Germans] more frequently associated with Americans than with their own countrymen. For the most part they spoke English very well, and there were none who could not make themselves perfectly intelligible."[13] Like miners of other language backgrounds, Germans formed ethnic groups as well. But they often worked on their own, which increased the pressure of linguistic assimilation, borrowing and particularly lexical interference. Gerstäcker took notes of the language of a German miner whose intense exposure to an American environment was characterized by lexical borrowing routines as the following sample, taken from Gerstäcker's account, shows:

Gerade aber, ehe man auf den *Hill* hinaufkommt, und wie ich [. . .] denke, daß Alles sicher ist, *schtumble* ich und falle, weil ich die Hände zufällig in den *Pockets* hatte, in so ein verwünschtes *Hole* hinein, das dicht am Wege war. Glücklicher Weise fiel ich blos auf den Kopf und wurde nicht weiter *gehürtet*.[14]

Furthermore, by assembling vocabulary from various German first-hand accounts, it becomes obvious that Germans had their own technical language in the Mother Lode, which, as well, was influenced by lexical borrowing from English. A selection of this adopted lexicon is shown in below:

Technical Term	German Semantics
Camp, das	Quartier, Zeltstadt
Claim, der	Minenfeld
Cayota, die[14]	Seitenhöhle, in der goldhaltige Erde vermutet wird
cayoten[12]	nach Gold suchen, indem man sich in eine ausgehobene Höhle hineinzwängt
Cradle, die	Wiege mit eingebautem Sieb und Handkurbel zum Schürfen von Gold
Fork, der	Flussgabel
Miner, der	Minenarbeiter
Minerei, die	Bergbau, Minen-/Grubenarbeit
Peck, der	Picke
prospecten	Gold schürfen
Prospector, der	Goldsucher
Rocker, der	einer Wippe ähnelndes Handwerkzeug des Goldsuchers
Sluices / Sluicen	Wasserschleusen
Spezimen	Probe
Sulphertes[Sulphurets]	Sulfide

Table 2: Borrowing of mining terms in German[16]

If we consider that one of the major goals of technical languages is the accuracy and economy of information transmission, then the fact that English mining terminology was used by German prospectors is not surprising. Borrowing key words from the overall dominant idiom in the mines could not only aid those German miners who were already proficient in the English language, but helped those whose command of English was fairly poor even more. Adopting these key words extended their otherwise limited radius of communication – an essential strategy in order to work effectively in this foreign-language environment.

2. German settlements

2.1. The example of Anaheim

As contemporary sources display, most of the German settlers arriving during the Gold Rush, had a very decent knowledge of the English language; they had already lived in other parts of the United States. In a case study I did on Calaveras County, I found that roughly 65 percent of the Germans in 1852 had a permanent home in a different part of the Union prior to moving to California.[17] Ethnic communities in the Far West did not serve as a cultural and linguistic retention pond in a strange environment. Language communities were not as essential for survival as in places where immigrants settled right after their arrival from Germany. This explains the relatively limited number of ethnically restricted settlements. But German colonies did exist, even if many of them were short-lived, such as Olivenhain near San Diego and an Amish colony in Salinas.[18] The first German settlement was Anaheim near Los Angeles. Founded in 1857 as a joint stock vineyard, it became home for some 50 German shareholders and their families. The Anaheim Water Company, a key enterprise for local vinters, maintained minutes in German until 1871, when the language was shifted to English. "Ten years later," as Raup remarks, "German was heard little in Anaheim."[19] What sped up this linguistic assimilation in the first German colony on the Pacific Rim? Again, internal migration provides part of the answer. The journalist John S. Hittell commented on the settlement in 1863 – only four years after the majority of settlers had moved to the Santa Ana River:

> [Anaheim] will never have the foreign character which marks many German villages in the valley states of the Mississippi, where the English language is not known to any of the people. None of the Anaheimers have come direct from Germany; all of them have lived for some time among the Americans, and most of them speak English fluently. The English language will be the predominant tongue, although German will long be cherished.[20]

The bilingual state of the Anaheim colony was noted early on by visitors to the settlement. One factor that could have fostered the rapid switch from German to English was the settlers' heterogeneous nativities and their dialects.[21] Scholars have pointed to the long-lasting lack of a standard variety in German that encouraged the use of English as a lingua franca among immigrants to the United States. Additionally, Anaheim differs fundamentally from most German settlements in its religious indifferentism. Although the Mother Colony could claim geographical remoteness in the sparsely populated

lands of Southern California, religio-societal insulation, a very powerful factor for language maintenance,[22] does not fit the Anaheim construct. As a matter of fact, the first church in town was established ten years after the colony was founded. Tellingly, this congregation was organized by a denomination that drew its followers mainly from Anglo-American stock: the Presbyterian Church[23] – another indicator that the English-speaking population had begun to mushroom by that time. Indeed, Paule describes the religious state of the settlement as follows: "Anaheim was an unusual nationalistic, homogenous settlement in that those who founded it were not as a group attached to any one religious denomination. Some were even atheists [. . .]."[24] The first German-speaking congregation was established by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1880 and ministered to ten members. Considering the meager support for religious work in the settlement, language preservation could thus not be sustained by parochial schools. The only school in Anaheim was a public school whose teacher, although German-American, was required by State law to teach in English.[25] Certainly, this law was often overlooked in areas heavily populated by Germans in the Midwest.[26] This was possible due to their numerical strength and an ethnically homogeneous classroom. In Anaheim, the classroom was bi-cultural from the first day. In addition to the children of German-speaking settlers, Mexican pupils attended the town-school. English as the means of instruction was indispensable in this situation and opened the gateway to linguistically and culturally Americanize the second generation.

2.2. Germans from Russia

Germans from Russia began to arrive in California's Central Valley in the late 1880s and represent one of the most important subgroups of German immigration to the Pacific Coast. By 1920, first and second generation Russian-Germans totaled 11,500.[27] In Fresno alone, ten Russian-German churches were in operation in 1917.[28] Germans from Russia differed from other German immigrants in several respects. In most instances, they had emigrated at a later point in time, with the vast majority arriving in California between 1909 and 1920. Therefore, the language continuity long after World War I must be ascribed to the fact that the generational language shift was just about to begin, whereas earlier immigrants arriving from the German states already were undergoing or finishing the process of assimilation to American culture.[29] Indeed, the retardation is illustrated by the fact that "[a]s late as the eve of World War II, some California-born children entered Lodi Unified schools speaking only German."[30] For a certain period, the ghettoization of Russian-Germans also stabilized the position of the German language in the community. In Fresno, children of Russian-German families were bound together in certain schools where they represented more than 50, in one school even over 90 percent of the students, whereas children of parents born in the German states attended schools with a predominantly American population.[31] But the continuing emancipation of immigrant children did not spare Germans from Russia. The new generation not only resented "the dress, habits and method of living of the older generation," but also their language[32] which communicated a life-style stigmatized by the majority society. German was the language that linked them to a world that a report by the state government judged "not advanced in [. . .] habits of living and thinking."[33] In this respect, the young generation of Germans from Russia followed a

pattern common among immigrant families: Distancing themselves from their parents and aiming to become as American as possible, the second generation discarded the linguistic roots of their families very quickly.

3. The role of German in public and private education

The assimilation of immigrants was also the goal of public education in California. In a report that John Swett, Superintendent of Public Instruction, presented in 1863, he pictured the high expectations directed towards public education. "Nothing can Americanize these chaotic elements and breathe into them the spirit of our institutions but the public schools," he summarized.[34] It is clear that in this understanding, "breathing in American institutions" had the unmentioned side effect of swallowing an even larger piece of American culture, the English language. Although in 1860 most of the children attending public schools in California, were already born in the United States, the diversity of immigrants still pouring into the state, is reflected on the school bench, as the following listing in the *San Francisco City Directory* for that year demonstrates:[35]

England	150	**New Zealand**	16
Scotland	35	**Austria**	44
Ireland	73	**Chile**	59
France	81	**Holland**	1
Germany	169	**Madeira Island**	1
Prussia	15	**Denmark**	2
Australia	190	**Prince Edward's Island**	2
Van Dieman's Land	150	**New Grenada**	5
Peru	3	**Belgium**	4
Mexico	47	**China**	29
Canada	53	**Sweden**	1
Russia	8	**Africa**	1
Sandwich Islands	13	**West Indies**	2
Off Cape Horn	9	**Atlantic Ocean**	1
South America	17	**Pacific Ocean**	1
Italy	7		

Table 3: Nativity of foreign-born children in San Francisco public schools in 1860.[36]

The strong influx from English-speaking areas (especially Australia and England) clearly stabilized the position of English as the means of instruction. At the same time, speakers of German represented the strongest linguistic group next to the English, followed by Spanish speakers as a close third.[37] However, the pressure of linguistic assimilation was high. When foreign language instruction in German or French was introduced into San Francisco's public schools around 1867, it was rather short-lived. "[L]anguage instruction – which was given universally – was considered by many teachers, and a considerable segment of the public, to be interfering with the English courses." Nativists argued "there was little practical benefit, beyond the acquisition of mere smattering of the language studied for the majority of students."[38] In 1874, all foreign language

instruction was eliminated temporarily from the curriculum of public schools at the Golden Gate (except for high school education). A stronghold of the German language was the private school system. However, all day ethnic schools most often were bilingual from the beginning. Goethe's German School in Sacramento taught bilingual classes as early as 1870.[39] In Oakland, when a school affiliated with a German Catholic parish was opened in 1892, it started as a mixed school. As we read in the church annals, "the language of instruction was English, since most of the pupils did not understand German [. . .] and the children of German families were already used to English."[40] With the growing numbers of Germans arriving in the late nineteenth century and Germany's leading position in the sciences at that time, German was offered in many high schools as an elective course. This changed with the outbreak of World War I, when the State Board of Education dropped the so-called "alien enemy language" from the curriculum, arguing that "it does not seem either logical or patriotic at the present time to continue instruction in a language that disseminates the ideals of autocracy, brutality and hatred."[41]

4. "Language Saves The Faith" – true for California?

The anti-German hysteria that washed over the country during World War I, was reflected in the discontinuance of German church services in some places. This situation was hardly unique to the Far West, but the initial conditions for German-speaking congregations were. In Gold Rush California, spiritual desires were satisfied by preachers randomly evangelizing in the open air or in saloons, without the bolstering and obliging structure of a parish they could rely on. Since Germans were rarely ministered to in their mother tongue, religious desires even promoted bilingualism in parts of the Gold Rush community. For many others, the westward movement loosened their religious ties after they had left their close-knit ethnic communities further east. As an observer describes the wandering souls, "they became lost, completely swallowed up [. . .] in this maelstrom of materialism and [. . .] spiritual indifferentism, so prevalent and dominant in these regions of the Western Coast."[42] A good example of the state of the German language in California churches are the Lutheran congregations of the Missouri Synod, a traditionally German and fairly conservative branch of Protestantism.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in San Francisco was the first Lutheran church on the Pacific Coast. In 1859, it had 45 members and 26 pupils in its parochial school. Compared to the roughly 6,000 German-born in San Francisco in 1860, it becomes obvious how little appeal church membership must have had at the Golden Gate, a place where panned nuggets could satisfy souls so easily. The historical circumstances on the "Barbary Coast" downgraded the ethnic church as a principal domain to an almost meaningless environment for German language maintenance. The extensive indifference towards church life was mirrored by a lack of institutional support. At first, the Missouri Synod did not show any concern for the ministry of German Lutherans in the Far West. An "Office of Evangelism" for the West Coast was not established until 1857 – eight years after the mass immigration to the Pacific had begun. Eight years that certainly had made a number of German Lutherans join other denominations offering services in their native language. Eight years in which others had gotten used to English services. Once the Missouri Synod sent its first pastor to the West

Coast, however, congregations began to flourish, although Southern California did not see the founding of its first Lutheran churches until 1881.[43] By 1910, California counted 81 Lutheran congregations affiliated with the Missouri Synod. But the German language in the churches on the Pacific Coast was already in decline, similar to other parts of the country. Salmons, who suggests that language shift in German immigrant communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is part of key transformations in American social and institutional structures, recognized that "the [Lutheran] church hierarchy did not, by and large, actively support language maintenance efforts by the late nineteenth century and beyond."[44]

Clearly, the number of English-speaking Lutherans and second generation German-Americans was growing. Allured by this new target group, Lutheran pastors in California generally were quite open to the question of language. In 1891, Rev. Oehler of the German Lutheran Church in Sacramento stated:

> There is no earthly reason why our American-born Lutherans should abandon the Church and faith in which their fathers and mothers were born, baptized, confirmed and saved. [. . .] God has no preference to [*sic*] any language. He hears our prayers, whether spoken in German, Scandinavian, Finnish or English [. . .].[45]

To very conservative Lutheran circles, this might have been quite a provocative attitude. In the 1920s, the Erste Deutsche Texas Synode, for instance, still propagated the German language as the only way for a thorough understanding of Luther's teachings and the Reformation.[46] In California the first German Lutheran congregations began to offer occasional services in English in the late 1890s.[47] What is even more striking, is that by the end of the nineteenth century, the minutes of the German Conference of the Missouri Synod in California reflect discontent whenever the St. Louis headquarters appointed pastors to the Pacific Coast who were barely or not familiar at all with the English language.[48]

5. German newspapers and the English language press(ure)

Language maintenance can be considered a core value of every ethnic newspaper in its struggle to survive against the English press. Until the early twentieth century, 56 out of 109 German newspapers in California were published in San Francisco alone.[49] While this certainly shows the German community's lively interest in ethnic affairs, their existence does not necessarily indicate an essential need. Broadbent's statement, the German language press was a service to the ethnic group, because "most of the immigrants could not speak English"[50] does not apply to the situation in two respects. First, we have seen that many Germans were able to communicate outside of their ethnic circle, and this is why English was able to make its inroads into the ethnic print medium. In 1881, the editor of the *Stockton Banner* grumbled:

> Auch hier in Stockton giebt's solcher verächtlichen Subjekte, die jeder wackere Deutsche hassen und ihnen ausweichen sollte, wie er einem giftigen Reptil oder einer Spinne ausweichen würde. Leute, die obgleich in Deutschland geboren und erzogen, keine deutsche Zeitung halten, zu keinem deutschen Verein gehören, in

deren Häusern nur englisch "radebrecht" wird, und deren Kinder kein Deutsch lernen dürfen.[51]

Second, turning away from the ethnic press was seen even among monolinguals. As one contemporary witnessed in the streets of San Francisco, this willingness to assimilate could become downright preposterous: "[A] number of Germans [. . .] have English newspapers in their hands, although, to my own knowledge, they cannot speak English and much less read it. This is again the contemptible aping of the stranger, the rejection by one's self of one's own nationality, this fawning after American favor that will not, and cannot be won – since their stupid national pride will not give up its "God damn Dutch!"[52]

6. Conclusion

California has a significant, but an almost forgotten heritage in the German language. The (socio-) linguistic features of this legacy turned out to be especially unique right before and after the discovery of gold. German immigrants turned away from the traditional ethnic settlement patterns we find in the East, Texas or the Midwest. There, the conventional domains of language maintenance, family, school, church, club life and press worked more effectively than in the scattered multi-ethnic society between Eureka and San Diego. Since many California-Germans had already settled in different parts of the country, the degree of bilingualism in the German community must have been higher than in other states, except for those settlers of Russian-German descent. Germans in California overall could blend in to American society easier and smoother than their fellow-countrymen further East, who had just arrived from Europe and relied heavily on familiar structures in utterly strange surroundings. The desire to become a part of and be accepted by the Anglo-American society on the Pacific Rim mirrors the struggle of German-Americans with a bipolar ethnic identity expressed in affection and weariness towards the German language.

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität
Munich, Germany

University of California, Davis
Davis, California

Notes

[1] My sincere thanks go to Professor W.A. Benware (University of California, Davis) for his valuable remarks on the manuscript and his advice and assistance in my research.

[2] In this paper *German* refers to immigrants and their offspring from all of German-speaking Europe, whenever a differentiation between the various nationalities is not explicitly made.

[3] Kloss, *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts*, p. 214.

[4] On official records the name of the fort appears in Spanish as *Nueva Helvecia*, but Bancroft points out that Sutter most likely called it *Nouvelle Helvétie* "since he always affected the French, and not the German – rather than *Neu-Helvetien*." (Bancroft, *History of California*, 4:133).

[5] Frémont, *Expedition to North California in the years 1843-44*, p. 246.

[6] Examples based on Gudde, *California Place Names*.

[7] Lienhard, *Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes*, pp.182-83.

[8] Ibid., p. 154.

[9] By Trudgill's definition *pidginisation* consists of several subprocesses, including reduction, admixture and simplification, which eventually may lead to the development of a *pidgin language* (p. 66f.). Whether Schwarz' language underwent all the subcomponents necessary to qualify for a pidgin language cannot be said for sure. However, the Gerstäcker quote displays a mechanism typical for multilingual contact situations: negotiation. Schwarz "negotiates" with his communication partners by making guesses which words they might be able to understand (see Thomason, *Language Contact*, p. 142).

[10] Gerstäcker, *Reisen*, pp. 145-46.

[11] Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, pp. 240-41.

[12] Lecouvreur, *From East Prussia to the Golden Gate*, p. 217 (the original German was not accessible).

[13] Borthwick. *Three Years in California*, p. 242.

[14] Gerstäcker. *Skizzen aus Californien und Südamerika*, pp. 84-85 (emphasis in quote supplied).

Although Gerstäcker is a novelist, his notes can be considered accurate as he assures: "Der Leser darf nicht etwa glauben, daß auch nur ein Buchstabe dieser Redensarten übertrieben ist – ich habe a l l e, wie sie aus Erbe's Mund kamen, auf der Stelle niedergeschrieben [. . .]."(ibid.) Note: "Erbe" is Gerstäcker's reference for the citation above.

[15] *cayoten* and *Cayota* are of Spanish origin, but were found in English terminology as well (*to cayote*, *the cayota*). Most likely these words in German were not borrowed from Spanish directly, but found their way by the circuitous route of English into German.

[16] Sources: Gerstäcker, *Skizzen aus Californien und Südamerika*; *Philo Jacoby's Californischer Staats-Kalender 1866*; *1916*; *Scharmann's Landreise nach Californien.*

[17] Based on *California census of 1852* .

[18] Luthy, *The Amish in America*, pp. 41-42.

[19] Raup, *Anaheim: A German Community in Frontier California*, p. 10.

[20] Hittell, *The resources of California*, pp. 417-18.

[21] Friis. *Campo Aleman*, pp. 66-67.

[22] Kloss, *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts*, p. 206.

[23] Thomposon and West's *History of Los Angeles County*, p. 152.

[24] Paule, *The German settlement at Anaheim*, p. 49.

[25] Friis, *Campo Aleman*, p. 59.

[26] Kloss, *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts*, p. 234.

[27] Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 111, based on U.S. Census data.

[28] California. Immigration and Housing, *Report on Fresno's Immigration Problem*, p. 10.

[29] The U.S. Censuses of 1920 and 1930 underline this tendency since California–against the overall trend in the United States–records a gain in its foreign-born population having German specified as mother tongue.

[30] Miller, *Changing Faces of the Central Valley*, p. 188.

[31] Figures based on the statistics of California. Immigration and Housing, *Fresno*, p. 20.

[32] Ibid., p. 11.

[33] Ibid., p. 10.

[34] Swett, *Public Education in California*, p. 165.

[35] *San Francisco City Directory* 1860, pp. 31-32.

[36] The figures for Austria are no absolutes, since the Austrian empire had various ethnic and linguistic groups. Also, this list might have omitted children of Swiss origin.

[37] Spanish, the colonial language, remained dominant in some rural areas even after the Americans had taken over the land. I found reports on children of German immigrants in the 1850s not growing up bilingual in German and English, but in the German and Spanish languages (cf. Noack Pratt, *Finally California*, p. 26). Except for places like Texas and Louisiana with significant numbers of German immigrants, the German language did not have to compete with tongues other than English as early as in California.

[38] Dolson, *The administration of San Francisco public schools*, pp. 192-93.

[39] *Thompson and West's Sacramento County*, p. 118.

[40] Schutz et al. (eds.), *St. Elizabeth Parish*, p. 8.

[41] State Board of Education, *Third Biennial Report*, 1916-18, p. 11.

[42] Stensrud, *The Lutheran Church and California*, p. 6.

[43] *St. John's* in Orange, *Trinity* in Los Angeles (DuBrau, *Romance of Lutheranism*, p. 73).

[44] Salmons, *Community, Region, and Language Shift*, p. 140.

[45] *The Golden Gate Lutheran*, October 1891, p. 7/1.

[46] Nicolini, *Deutsch in Texas*, p. 80.

[47] Salmons reports that similar patterns existed in the Lutheran congregations of the Wisconsin and Missouri Synod in the Midwest where the transition from German to English "was clearly underway well before the war, even by 1890." (p. 140).

[48] DuBrau, *Romance of Lutheranism*, p. 59.

[49] Broadbent, *The German-Language Press in California*, p. 638.

[50] Ibid., p. 642.

[51] *Stockton Banner*, November 12, 1881.

[52] Benjamin, *Three Years in America*, p. 248.

References

1. Primary Sources

Benjamin, I. J. *Three Years in America, 1859-62* (Philadelphia : Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956).

Borthwick, John D. *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh, London: W. Blackwood and sons, 1857).

California census of 1852 / copied under the direction of the Genealogical Records Committee, Daughters of the American Revolution of California. (Piedmont, Calif. : The Committee, 1934-35).

California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. *Report on Fresno's Immigration Problem* (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1918).

Frémont, John C. *Report of the exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-44* (Washington, 1845).

Gerstäcker, Friedrich. *Reisen*. 2nd vol. (Cotta: Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1853).

_____. *Skizzen aus Californien*. 2. Aufl. (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1880).

Hittell, John S. *The resources of California: comprising agriculture, mining, geography, climate, commerce, etc.etc. and the past and future development of the state* (San Francisco: W.J. Widdleton, 1863).

Lecouvreur, Frank. *From East Prussia to the Golden Gate, by Frank Lecouvreur*; letters and diary of the California pioneer, edited in memory of her noble husband, by Mrs. Josephine Rosana Lecouvreur; translated and compiled by Julius C. Behnke. [s.a.]

Lienhard, Heinrich. *Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes* (Zürich: Fäsi & Beer, 1898).

San Francisco City Directory 1860 by Charles P. Kimball (San Francisco: Journal of Commerce Press, 1860).

Scharmann, Hermann. *Scharmann's Landreise nach Californien*; copy of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* 1852 (New York: 1905?).

State Board of Education. *Third Biennial Report,* 1916-18 (California State Printing Office Sacramento, 1918).

Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Evgang.- Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten für das Jahr 1910 (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia Verlag, 1911).

Swett, John. *Public Education in California* (American Book Company, 1911).

Thompson and West's History of Los Angeles County, California (Oakland, 1880).

Thompson and West's History of Sacramento County, California (Oakland, 1880).

United States Bureau of the Census. Population. Editions 1860-1930 (Washington, continuing years).

2. Newspapers and Journals

Philo Jacoby's Californischer Staats-Kalender, 1866, 1916.

Stockton Banner, November 12, 1881.

The Golden Gate Lutheran (San Francisco), Oct. 1891.

3. Secondary Sources

Bancroft, Hubert H. *History of California*. 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-91).

Broadbent, T.L. "The German-Language Press in California: Record of a German Immigration." In *Journal of the West* Vol. X no.4, Oct. 1971: 637-61.

Dolson, Lee S. *The administration of San Francisco public schools, 1847 to 1947* (Dissertation: Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1964).

DuBrau, Richard T. *The Romance of Lutheranism in California* (s.l., s.n.: 1959).
Ferrier, William W. *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1937).
Fishman, Joshua A. et al. (eds.) *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).
Friis, Leo J. *Campo Aleman* (Santa Ana: Friis-Pioneer Press, 1983).
Gudde, Erwin G. *California Place names* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).
Hönnighausen, Lothar et al. (eds.) *Regionalism in the Age of Globalism*: Vol. 2: *Forms of regionalism* (Madison: Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Culture, 2005).
Kloss, Heinz. *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts.* In Joshua A. Fischman et. al. (eds.) 1966: 205-52.
Luthy, David. *The Amish in America: settlements that failed, 1840-1960* (Aylmer, Ont.: Pathway Publishers, 1986).
Miller, Sally M. "Changing Faces of the Central Valley: The Ethnic Presence." In *California History* 74, summer 1995: 74-189.
Nicolini, Marcus. *Deutsch in Texas* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004).
Noack Pratt, Jeane. *Finally California: the story of Ernst Christian Heinrich Wagener und Henrietta Eichoff Wagener – their lives and their families in the San Joaquin Vally* (Dixon: J.N. Pratt, 1996).
Paule, Dorothea J. *The German Settlement at Anaheim* (Thesis: Univ. of Southern California, 1952).
Raup, H.F. "Anaheim: A German Community in Frontier California." In *The American-German Review* December 1945: 7-11.
Sallet, Richard. *Russian-German Settlements in the United States* (Fargo : North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974).
Salmons, Joseph. *Community, Region, and Language Shift in German-speaking Wisconsin.* In Lothar Hönnighausen et al. (eds.) 2005: 133-44.
Schutz, Oliver et al. (eds.). *St. Elizabeth Parish, Oakland, California: a centennial history 1892-1992* (Oakland, CA: St. Elizabeth Parish, 1992)
Stensrud, E.M. *The Lutheran Church and California* (San Francisco: s.n., 1916).
Thomason, Sarah G. *Language Contact* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001).
Trudgill, Peter. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002).