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German Texans: In the Mainstream or Backwaters of Lone Star Society?

What could be more mainstream than a Texas-German Aggie? William A. Trenckmann, born in 1859 near Cat Spring in Austin County of two immigrant parents, enrolled in the very first class at Texas A&M in 1876, finishing as valedictorian of its first graduating class in 1879. To those familiar with the history of the institution, this achievement may appear less impressive. After all, on the first day of school, only six students showed up, although their number had surpassed one hundred before the first year was over. But even a century later, the school was not exactly numbered among the academic powerhouses. However, Trenckmann's achievements did not stop with valedictorian. He went back to his home county, and after a few years as a school teacher and principal, in 1891 founded a weekly newspaper which he continued to publish for 42 years. After the turn of the century, he was elected to two terms in the Texas legislature and continued his publishing career from Austin. He served as a member and later the chairman of the board of directors of his alma mater, and was even offered the presidency of A&M. On the side, he found time to author several works of literature and history. So at first glance, Trenckmann would seem to present an example of total integration into the Texas mainstream by a second generation German.

Mainstream, at least, until one sees the name of Trenckmann's newspaper: *Das Bellville Wochenblatt*. Or his historical novel: *Die Lateiner am Possum Creek*. Or his play: *Der Schulmeister von Neu-Rostock*. Or his memoirs: *Erlebtes und Beobachtetes*. These titles notwithstanding, Trenckmann was no doubt fully at home in the English-speaking world, but he still chose to do the bulk of his writing and publishing in the German language. He had an advantage that many of his neighbors and constituents did not, coming from a "Latin farmer" background with a father who had been a school director back in Germany. All of this suggests that, well beyond the immigrant generation, there were Texas Germans—also outside of such notorious but exceptional enclaves as New Braunfels and Fredericksburg—who preferred or needed to remain in a foreign-language backwater. My colleague Walter Buenger tells of his great-grandmother, Bertha nee Hartmann, born in 1855 in Trenckmann's home county, who although she understood English, refused to speak it for all of her ninety years because of resentments going back to the Civil War.¹

This question of integration depends somewhat on which criterion one chooses. What I will examine here is first of all the political integration of Texas Germans, the degree to which they stood apart from Anglo-Texans both in the Civil War era and later. Secondly, I will look at the economic integration of this group, and how they stacked up against their Anglo neighbors in terms of occupation and wealth. Finally, I will look at language and culture, the survival of the German tongue and institutions such as schools and the press which sustained it.

If all one knew about German immigrant Louis Lehmann was what appeared in his obituary in 1904, he might appear to have been a gung-ho Confederate: A Brenham paper reported: "He seen service in the Confederate army, was true to his colors and made an enviable reputation as a soldier by the promptness and fearlessly [*sic*] with which he discharged every duty assigned to him. He was a member of Washington Camp No. 239, and was warm and fraternal in his love and veneration for his old comrades . . ." Fortunately, in Lehmann's case, a number of his letters have survived, so we know better. As he wrote in 1866: "The conscription, which was hard enough at the beginning, ultimately turned into pure despotism—special search companies scoured every farm, no one below age 50 was spared. . . . Dear Brother-in-Law, as unwilling as I was, I also had to join the army and fight for a cause that I had never approved of."²

The distinguished geographer Terry Jordan has pointed up important distinctions between East and West Texas Germans as far as attitudes toward slavery and the Civil War are concerned—differences that he argues had more to do with economic interests than moral or political principles. Jordan outlines four "myths, or stereotypes" regarding Texas Germans: that they "(1) did not own slaves, (2) favored the abolitionist cause, (3) were morally opposed to slavery, and (4) harbored Unionist sentiments,:" all of which he claims were "inaccurate" when applied to "many or most" ordinary Texas Germans. While Jordan is certainly correct in pointing out that Germans were never fully united on any of these issues, he goes too far in his revisions, and exaggerates the degree to which Germans fit into the Anglo Texan mainstream on issues such as slavery, race, secession, and Civil War.³ Neither Jordan nor anyone else except the present author has dug deeply into the local press for precinct-level voting returns or other evidence of German attitudes toward the Confederacy, nor had anyone examined closely patterns of German slaveholding in relation to overall property holdings.

Although geographic conditions in the Texas Hill Country may have discouraged slavery, Jordan's own work shows that in three such counties where 11 percent of the Anglo families owned slaves, not a single German did. According to Jordan, lack of capital was the main factor restricting slaveowning among Germans in the cotton growing areas farther east. Indeed, a recent study has documented some sixty Germans in the older settlements of Austin, Fayette, and Colorado counties who did own slaves between 1840 and 1865. Still, although Germans constituted more than one-third of these counties' white population, they made up less than 5 percent of the local slaveholders. And it is not just because Germans were poor. If one groups people by wealth categories, at every level from the top to the bottom, a much higher proportion of Anglos than Germans owned slaves. For example, among persons worth from \$3-

6000, over half of the Anglos but barely 2 percent of the Germans were slaveowners. But even among the wealthy worth over \$15,000, only half of the Germans owned slaves, in contrast to 92 percent of the American born. Contrasts of this magnitude could hardly have arisen without a conscious choice by many or most Germans against human property. Indeed, Jordan's own figures show that already in 1860, Texas Germans were more likely to be landowners than their Anglo neighbors, further evidence that it was not mere poverty which prevented them from owning slaves. So geography was important, but ethnicity and culture were more important.⁴

The secession referendum of 23 February 1861 provides another measure of Texas German attitudes toward Southern independence and institutions.⁵ In an appeal to ethnic voters, the declaration of secession had been printed not only in 10,000 English copies, but 2,000 each in Spanish and German translations. But the German copies largely fell on deaf ears. Across Texas, secession won by a landslide, with less than a quarter of the voters opposing. But two German frontier counties in and around Fredericksburg led the state with a 96 percent margin against secession.⁶ Bexar County, with the largest number of Germans in the state, witnessed a narrow secessionist victory, but the city of San Antonio turned in a razor-thin margin for the Union due above all to German voters. After the election, German city councilmen still resisted for several months demands to turn over seized federal arms to the secessionist state.⁷ Even older Texas German settlements farther east show little evidence of enthusiasm for secession. The 64 percent support level in Colorado County, for example, masks an internal polarization. Three German precincts (Frelsburg, Weimar and Mentz) voted 86 percent against secession, while five Anglo precincts cast all but six votes in favor. Similarly in Fayette County, some Anglos must have contributed to the narrow majority opposing secession because only one-third of the voters were German, but a local paper with the telling name *State Rights Democrat* blamed the "sauer-kraut dirt-eaters" (a word-play on the term "fire-eaters").⁸ Only in Austin County, where Trenckmann grew up, did close to half the Germans vote for Southern independence, still a rather lukewarm result compared to the 96 percent level in six Anglo precincts. One of the state's oldest German settlements, Industry, did vote almost unanimously for secession, but the nearby settlement of Cat Springs, Trenckmann's home precinct, took a diametrically opposite position, weighing in at 92 percent against.⁹

The stance of New Braunfels and the rest of Comal County, the only German area of the Hill Country voting strongly in favor of secession, has been widely misunderstood. It was largely the work of one man, reflecting trust in the advice of the venerable Ferdinand Lindheimer and his *Neu Braunsfelser Zeitung*. But he seldom attempted to sell his readers on the merits of the secessionist case, stressing instead the reprisals they might suffer should they be perceived as opposing it: "When in Texas, do as the Texans do. Anything else is suicide and brings tragedy to all our Texas-Germans."¹⁰ In general, the factor of intimidation must be kept in mind when examining Texas German behavior in the winter of disunion. Although Galveston was nearly one-third German and home to Unionist editor Ferdinand Flake, with a low turnout it voted 96 percent in favor of secession. Mob violence had destroyed one of Flake's presses the month before, and sent an unmistakable message to Unionists.¹¹

Jordan calls New Braunfels a "secessionist hotbed"; in fact it was one of the few places in Texas where Confederate sympathizers were subject to intimidation. Editor Lindheimer's pragmatism was not universally appreciated. So incensed were some New Braunfelsers that they threw the press and type into the Comal River—but Lindheimer fished it out of the clear water so that the paper did not miss an issue. However, his windows were stoned in twice, and his dogs poisoned with strychnine.¹² Even with the support given by the local German press, the secession cause received slightly less support at the polls in New Braunfels than in Texas as a whole. The only homogeneous German county or precinct where German support for secession exceeded the statewide average was the settlement of Industry. With respect to Unionism, Terry Jordan states that Texas Germans were split, "just as Anglo-Americans were." Both were indeed split, but there the similarities end. With Anglos there was at least a 3:1 majority for secession, while Germans turned in at least a slim majority for the Union, and a disproportionate number of stay-at-homes as well.¹³

Willingness to serve in the Union or Confederate military provides yet another measure of the attitudes of Texas Germans. Published muster rolls of the 1st and 2nd Texas Union Cavalry reveal the presence of disproportionate numbers of Germans. Persons of German stock made up about 7 percent of the state's military age males, but over 13 percent of its Union troops, despite the fact that they were recruited largely in the Brownsville area far from centers of German settlement.¹⁴ By contrast, the German percentage in rebel ranks was smaller than their meager share of the state's population. Among the underlying factors at work were both aversion to slavery and devotion to the Union. Like Louis Lehmann, many of the Germans who served the Confederacy did so reluctantly.¹⁵ Many of the Texas Germans in the rebel army served in Waul's Legion, which had three German companies, two largely from Austin County and another from Houston. But Captain Robert Voigt of Industry wrote home in February 1863, "the Germans in general and here with us in [another] company, who are mostly from our neighborhood, conduct themselves on various occasions so, that one has to be ashamed." Voigt was obviously more committed to the Confederate cause than the average German, but he was by no means a fire eater, and after being taken prisoner at Vicksburg, he "took the oath" of loyalty to the Union in February 1865.¹⁶

Sometimes, their descendants may have tried to retrofit Germans into the Texas mainstream. In the beautiful little cemetery of Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Round Top, the gravestone of Carl Bauer notes his Confederate unit and the fact that his letters had been acquired by the State Archives. Thinking that I might have finally located an enthusiastic Rebel, I ordered a copy of the letter translations. Almost from beginning to end, their tone is one of pious resignation (Traugott was his middle name), mixed with war weariness: Already in December 1862 Bauer notes, "War enthusiasm is cooling. Many of our men do not believe that the South can win." The next April he reports from Louisiana: "half of our men volunteered to go on the ship Alexandria, there to try to add luster and fame to their name on the water. As I was not in a mood for great military laurels, I decided to stay on land." After hearing of the fall of Vicksburg, he writes: "We are all tired to death of war. I believe our beloved

South is whipped." This one word, "beloved," is the nearest indication of support for the cause to be found in the dozens of his letters home.¹⁷

According to Terry Jordan, "many or most" Texas Germans became "inaccurately" stereotyped as Unionist because of a single incident, the 1862 shootout on the Nueces that most Germans called a massacre. But here too, regional contrasts of Texas Germans can be exaggerated. It was not only the Comfort and Fredericksburg areas in the Hill Country, but also Treckmann's home county of Austin and two adjacent counties, that were placed under martial law in January 1863 because of German draft resistance.¹⁸ The "Treue der Union" monument at Comfort, however typical or atypical it was of Texas Germans, stands out as the only memorial to Unionists erected by local residents in any state of the former Confederacy.¹⁹

The contrasts between German and Anglo Texans persisted into the Reconstruction era and sometimes beyond.²⁰ Whatever their position on secession or during the war, New Braunfels residents took a distinctively un-southern view of the occupying Federal troops in its aftermath—had General Sheridan made his headquarters there, he might have preferred Texas to hell after all. When one Anglo Yankee from the 59th Illinois said good-bye in December 1865, he noted in his diary, "Some of them shed tears almost. I never felt so bad at leaving any place as that [,] except home in 1861. Farewell Braunfels." Less than three months after Lee's surrender, the town had celebrated the Fourth of July in what sounded like a huge sigh of relief: the Stars and Stripes was unfurled from the highest hill, a marching band led a well-attended parade throughout the town, and a number of dances rounded out the evening and the next day.²¹ Austin County Germans and Czechs, who had constituted the bulk of the deserter lists during the war, in 1865 joined in a Fourth of July celebration at New Ulm affirming Union victory. However, for Anglo Southerners, for a while after the war's end, July 4 was considered primarily a black holiday.

The political attitudes of Texas Germans in the aftermath of war likewise set them apart from the bulk of their Anglo counterparts. There is very little of a political nature in the minutes of the Cat Spring Agricultural Society, but an 1866 meeting drafted a statement warning prospective immigrants back in Germany not to sign labor contracts with former slaveholders, and discussed putting together a ticket of Unionists.²² Forty-eighter Edward Degener, who lost two sons in the Nueces Massacre, represented the San Antonio/Corpus Christi area as a Republican in the first Texas congressional delegation during Reconstruction, though he only lasted one term. Two years later a German Democrat, Gustav Schleicher, took over the seat, and was twice re-elected.²³

Even in areas farther east where it required considerable cooperation with blacks, Germans were among the strongest white supporters of the Republican party. When the legislature took up public education in August of 1870, one saw the German names of Prissick, Schlickum, Schlottmann, Schutze, Zapp, and Zoeller lining up with the two black House members in an effort to table an amendment requiring racial separation in schools. The measure came within one vote of being tabled; if there had been no blacks or Germans in the legislature, it would not have even been close.²⁴

Washington and Colorado counties, both adjacent to Trenckmann's home county of Austin, remained under Republican control well beyond Reconstruction and into the 1880s, in both instances largely the result of black-German coalitions. In the postwar era, the first time Colorado County went Democratic in a gubernatorial or presidential race was 1888, and it elected its first Democratic county judge only in 1890.²⁵ Washington County, with close to a black majority and a sizeable German minority in its population, was represented in the first reconstruction Texas legislature by a black senator, Matt Gaines, and in the lower house by a German Confederate veteran, Louis Lehmann's comrade William Schlottmann, like Gaines a "radical" Republican—(further evidence that Confederate service did not necessarily indicate identification with the southern cause). The county remained under Republican control until 1884, supported by the bulk of the blacks, about half of the Germans, and a few white Anglos, often of Unionist background. A Democratic takeover could only be accomplished through violence and intimidation against blacks. An attempted Republican comeback in the extremely close election of 1886, with four Germans heading the county ticket, was foiled when Democrats stole three Republican ballot boxes, lynched three black Republicans, and ran three of their prominent white allies out of the country. One of them, Carl Schutze, wrote from his California exile to Louis Lehmann's brother Julius, who had helped finance his Brenham newspaper, "it's totally different for me here than back there. Here it is no crime to be a Republican and they don't sling mud at you for it."²⁶

Granted, Trenckmann was elected to the legislature as a Democrat, but not your typical southern Democrat; the *New Handbook of Texas* characterizes him as a staunch supporter of civil liberties and free election, and an opponent of Sunday laws, prohibition, and the Ku Klux Klan. If anything, the Germans farther west in Texas stood apart even more from their Anglo neighbors in political and racial attitudes. When Robert La Follette ran as a Progressive in 1924, his strongest showing in any county of the entire U.S. was the 74 percent vote of New Braunfels's Comal County (the best he did in Wisconsin was 70%). Fredericksburg and its surrounding county also weighed in at nearly 60 percent, two other adjacent counties cast one-third or more of their vote for La Follette, and in general the German areas of the state gave him above average support—statewide he garnered only 6 percent of the vote. One might attribute this to La Follette's opposition to U.S. entry into World War I, which many German-Americans obviously resented. But Theodore Roosevelt, another Progressive Republican, could never be mistaken for a pacifist or a German sympathizer. And yet, his brand of Progressivism also garnered considerable Texas-German support: in the three party race of 1912, Fredericksburg and surrounding Gillespie County cast two-thirds of their vote for TR's Bull Moose ticket, in a state where his average was under 9 percent. Only four counties nationwide yielded a heavier Bull Moose percentage. Also with Roosevelt's first election in 1904, Gillespie and Kendall counties gave him more than a 75 percent margin when he garnered only 15 percent statewide.²⁷ This Hill Country Republicanism manifested itself also at the congressional level. Beginning in 1920, a second-generation German, Harry Wurzbach, served for over a decade representing the San Antonio-Seguin area in the U.S. House—the only

Republican Congressman from Texas during this era, and the first in his state to be re-elected.²⁸ So two out of three Texas-German congressmen were Republican.

The 1952 centennial edition of the *New Braunfels Zeitung* remarked: "In the last few years the outstanding characteristic of the Comal County vote has been its bitter anti-New Deal tendency. . . . particularly puzzling to persons who are familiar with its generally liberal tendencies." New Braunfels also aligned itself more with Eisenhower than with its southern Democratic fellow Texans; with only a 2 percent black population due to its low rate of slaveholding a century earlier, it integrated its schools immediately in 1954 when ordered to do so by the Supreme Court. The fact that even ten years later, only 5.5 percent of black Texans were attending integrated schools shows just how unusual this was.²⁹ Gillespie, the most heavily German county in the Hill Country, remained an unwavering Republican stronghold. Robert Caro may claim that Texas Germans actually hated old Lyndon, but except for the depths of the Depression in 1932, the first time it went Democratic in the twentieth century was for local boy Lyndon Johnson in 1964.³⁰ From a present-day point of view, German Republicans would fit right into the Texas mainstream; but unlike their Anglo neighbors, many of them were already there a century earlier when they still had a lot of black allies.

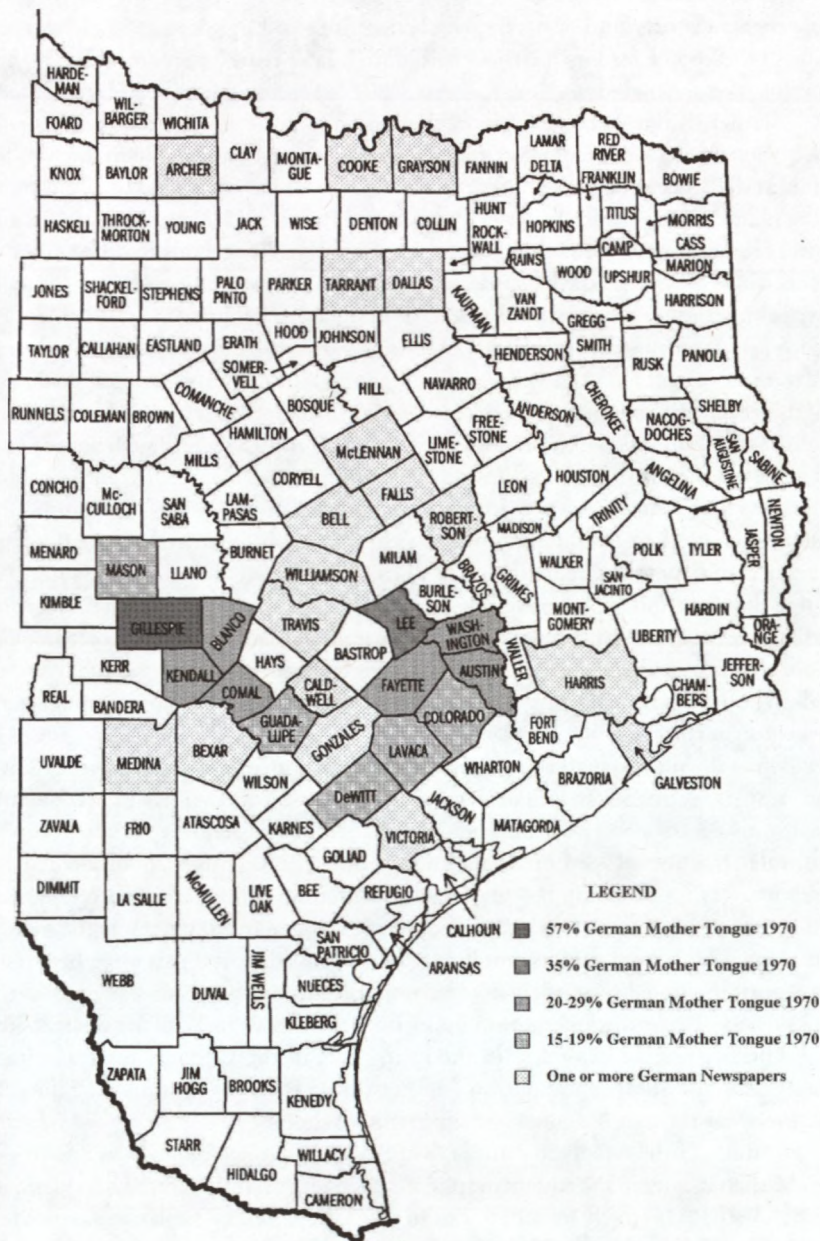
In their occupational profile and economic status, Texas Germans did not stand apart from the Texas mainstream as long or as much as they did in political matters. As has been shown above, already by the outbreak of the Civil War, Germans were more likely than other Texans to own real estate, even if their average holdings were relatively modest. The abolition of slavery further leveled the ethnic playing field by reducing the huge fortunes of many planters. By the 1870 census, Germans had nearly caught up with natives or even surpassed them by some measures. Among male family heads, 61 percent of German immigrants owned real estate, putting them three points ahead of old-stock Texans. If one compares all males of legal age (21), Germans come out ever so slightly behind, but there is only a half point difference. Natives do have about a ten point advantage if total wealth, including mobile assets, is considered, but this is perhaps not surprising given the number of recently arrived immigrants since the Civil War. Moreover, Germans had fewer extremes of both wealth and poverty: For male family heads, the average or mean real estate holdings and total wealth of old-stock Texans was somewhat higher, but the median value (the holdings of the person at the 50th percentile) was higher for Germans.³¹

Not only in their property holdings, but also in their occupational profile, Germans show an increasing convergence with their Texas neighbors in the post Civil War era. Using published occupational breakdowns from the 1870 and 1880 censuses, I calculated what is called an index of occupational dissimilarity between natives of the U.S. and German immigrants in the state. What this in effect measures is what percent of the Germans would have had to change jobs in order to match the occupational profile of Texans born in the U.S. In other words, it assumes that if Germans made up 4 percent of the number of natives in the labor force (which they roughly did), they should make up 4 percent of the native figure in each occupational category. In 1870 Germans by no means mirrored the native occupational breakdown; nearly half of all

Germans would have had to change jobs in order to match the natives, 49 percent to be exact. But things had changed considerably over the next decade. By 1880 the index of German-native occupational dissimilarity stood at just 26: only roughly a quarter of Germans would have had to change jobs to match the native profile.³²

Surprisingly given their reputation as superior farmers, Germans were underrepresented in the agricultural sector, making up only 60 percent of their proportional share in 1870, though they closed the gap to 80 percent by 1880. Their gain was especially apparent among farm operators; Germans constituted only 85 percent of their quota in 1870, but came in at 109 percent of the native figure by 1880, having more than caught up. However, the occupational sector where Germans stood out the most was what the census calls manufacturing, though it was often more on an artisan basis than in large-scale industries. The traditional German apprenticeships appear to have paid off, giving them an advantage over an Anglo jack-of-all-trades. But here, too, some convergence is apparent: Germans made up four times their share of "manufacturing" workers in 1870, but only three times their share in 1880. The two occupations where they stood out the most were among brewers and bakers. Although the German labor force made up only 4 percent of the native contingent in 1870, Germans actually outnumbered natives in the baking trade, while among brewers they had almost a three to one advantage. So some ethnic stereotypes do have a basis in fact. It is probably not coincidental, for example, that a worldwide fruitcake exporter in Corsicana can trace its origins back to German roots, or that the one surviving local brewery in Shiner bears the name of Spoetzel.³³

The economic integration of Texas Germans did not necessarily mean that they were abandoning their language and culture. In fact, in some ways, it may have given them the resources they needed to preserve them. With regard to cultural preservation, the towns of Austin, Bastrop, Bellville, Boerne, Brenham, Castroville, Cuero, Dallas, Denison, Fort Worth, Franklin, Fredericksburg, Gainesville, Galveston, Giddings, Gonzales, Hallettsville, Houston, Independence, La Grange, Lockhart, Marlin, Meyersville, New Braunfels, Rosebud, San Antonio, Schulenburg, Seguin, Shiner, Taylor, Temple, Victoria, Waco, and Windthorst were quite a diverse lot in terms of size, location, and population makeup, but each of them at some point in its history was home to one or more German-language publications. In total they amount to 34 towns in 29 different counties, with only Fayette, Washington, De Witt, Lavaca, and Falls counties claiming more than one town with one or more German-language publications (see Map on the following page). The capital city of Austin could boast a German paper from 1873 right down to 1940, Trenckmann's *Wochenblatt* outliving its founder by five years. Houston and Galveston both saw their first German papers before the Civil War and the last ones did not succumb until after the U.S. entered World War I. Brenham claimed German weeklies from 1874 through 1918. San Antonio's German press also dates back to before the Civil War, and one paper, the *Freie Presse für Texas*, lasted eighty years from 1865 to 1945 as a weekly, with daily editions from 1875 to 1918. It took until 1877 before Fredericksburg could support a German paper, but a bilingual paper hung on there until 1954, one of the last to succumb. And one cannot overlook the *Großvater* of them all, the *Neu-Braunfelser*



Prevalence of German Mother Tongue and Presence of German-Language Newspapers by County

Zeitung, established in 1852 as the state's first German newspaper and surviving for more than a century until it finally switched entirely to English in 1957. Obviously, many of the people reading these journals in their later years had roots in Texas going back for several generations.³⁴

German-language newspapers were often among the strongest supporters, and also obvious beneficiaries, of programs of foreign-language instruction in the schools, public as well as private. Today bilingual education is widely regarded as an innovation of the radical sixties, which in a way it was, only it was the 1860s, not the 1960s, and Radical Republicans, not radical leftists, who were largely responsible. The onset of Reconstruction witnessed what appears to be a new German assertiveness, culturally as well as politically. The *Brenham Enquirer* announced in January 1867: "Our German friends are about to establish a first class school in this place, in which the English as well as the German language will be taught," going on to report that \$300 had been raised, a committee appointed, and a teacher hired. Similarly, there were two German-English schools founded in Columbus between 1869 and 1876, although both appear to have been short lived.³⁵ Houston had one at least in the mid-1870s, and probably earlier.³⁶ When Trenckmann was principal of Bellville public schools, his report to the State Superintendent of education indicates that German instruction was offered in all eight grades, and that more than half of the pupils participated—nothing unusual for that era. By 1886, Texas reportedly had nearly 7,500 children who were receiving German instruction, three-fifths of them in public rather than private or parochial schools, mostly at the elementary level. Although the absolute numbers may sound small by today's standards, they come to about one-sixth of the state's German-born population at the time.³⁷

Two of the more remarkable private bilingual ventures date from before the Civil War. Austin's German Free School was chartered in 1858 and survived the economic disasters of the Confederacy, although its teacher, Julius Schuetze, admits that he continued mainly to keep his draft exemption, "for keeping school yielded no livelihood." Still, an Austin newspaper commented on its examination ceremonies held on July 3, 1865: "Our German friends have exhibited much interest in the success of this school," noting that its enrollment had doubled in the past year. In fact, it lasted until the mid 1870s when city's first public education system was established. Its handsome, two-story limestone building on what is now 507 East 10th Street, just a few blocks from the capitol, is in the loving care of the German-Texan Heritage Society. But the most ambitious and successful of these institutions of bilingual education was the San Antonio German-English School.³⁸

For most of the twentieth century, San Antonio has been known as one of the most Hispanic cities in the nation; despite the Menger Hotel right on Alamo Plaza, its German heritage is largely forgotten. But in 1872, poet Sidney Lanier was amused to see a trilingual sign warning riders not to gallop their horses across the Commerce Street Bridge. Several years later, the *American Cyclopedia* characterized the population as being "about equally divided between persons of Mexican, German, and American descent." This is confirmed by the 1880 census: German speakers (including a few Alsatians, Swiss, and Austrians) emerge as the largest foreign element; including the

native-born second generation, they comprised almost exactly one-fourth of the Alamo City's 1880 population, or about 5,000 in a city of 20,000 inhabitants.³⁹

An ethnic population of this size provided the critical mass for a number of cultural institutions, the most important of which was the San Antonio German-English School.⁴⁰ The school dates from 1858, when 40 families banded together to form a "Schulverein"; in May of that year classes were begun in a hotel and attracted about 80 students. By the following year enrollment had nearly doubled to 140, and on November 10, 1859, Friedrich Schiller's 100th birthday, the cornerstone was laid for a permanent building on South Alamo Street. The school's fourth year saw the outbreak of the Civil War, and it took until 1869 before an imposing two-story stone building was completed. Its peak enrollment of 267 in 1870 declined once free public schools were instituted the next year, but around 1880 the school still had an enrollment just over 200 distributed across six class levels.⁴¹

The German influence is reflected not just in language instruction, but also in various other practices. Classes were numbered the German way, from *Klasse 6*, the youngest, to *Klasse 1*, the oldest. There was instruction on Saturday morning, as in Germany, but also two hours of American style afternoon instruction four days a week, interrupted by a two-hour lunch break that may be reflective of a Hispanic siesta.⁴² The pedagogical model for the German-English School was not the Latin curriculum of the traditional German *Gymnasium*, but rather the *Realschule*, a nineteenth-century reform model designed to fit pupils more for the real world with an emphasis on science and modern languages. Like many of the German-American pioneers of progressive education, the San Antonio school's founders exhibited strong freethinking tendencies. The school charter explicitly excluded any religious training. Instead of the mere rote learning in vogue at the time, the school sought to impart the ability to ask questions and provide answers. The gymnastic Turner movement must have been held in high regard by the San Antonio school founders; physical education and swimming had a regular place on the curriculum, as did singing—subjects that most American schools only adopted around the turn of the century, often prompted by German lobbying. The course of study appears to have been quite rigorous. Though few pupils were above age 14, the school offered both algebra and geometry in addition to arithmetic.⁴³

The heart of the curriculum, indeed the rationale for the school's existence reflected even in its name, was its bilingual program. The school charter explicitly stipulated equal status (*Gleichberechtigung*) of the German and English languages. Reading, writing, grammar, spelling, and composition were taught in both languages, along with translation in both directions. After the first semester, the board decided to schedule what we might today call GSL classes (German-for-English-speakers) running parallel with the German instructions for children who were native speakers. Teachers rotated from class to class in a system of "Wechselunterricht" for maximum utilization of their skills, much as they did in other bilingual programs. One teacher would instruct two classes in all their English-language subjects; another would handle all German-language subjects for both, handing off to each other halfway through the class day. In today's terms, San Antonio had a program of two-way immersion.⁴⁴

Originally, six hours per week were devoted to each language, but it quickly became apparent that this was proving ineffective, so the time devoted to German was upped to between nine and twelve hours per week, or about one-third of total school time. To accommodate the additional language hours, two hours were cut from history or natural history.⁴⁵ It is obvious from the languages used in the 1881 exams that German was truly a medium of instruction rather than just a subject; the number of courses and levels offered in each language was almost exactly at parity. With such a high quality of instruction, American-born children sometimes had a better command of written German than their immigrant parents. For example, the children of Pioneer Flour Mills founder C. H. Guenther wrote perfect German, whereas their mother, who had immigrated at age 10, was rather shaky in her written German because her educational opportunities in early Fredericksburg had been limited by having to dodge Indians on the way to school.⁴⁶

In several respects, the German-English school was not just bicultural; it was truly multicultural both in its program and in its student population. One of the expressed principles of the school was fully equal rights and mutual respect for all nationalities (of which there were many). While the two languages in its name enjoyed equal and prominent places in the school curriculum, the German-English School was one of the few of its kind in nineteenth-century America that also taught the Spanish language.⁴⁷

But the multicultural aspect does not stop with Spanish instruction. Some of the original record books and pupil rolls of the school from the 1870s and 1880s have survived. These records, particularly when linked to the 1880 census, illuminate beyond a doubt the multicultural character of the German-English School.⁴⁸ A tally by school officials in 1880 reveals a share of "Non-Germans" close to one-fifth of all pupils, just what it had been in 1859. It is unclear exactly which students are included in this designation, but it obviously refers to mother tongue rather than land of birth. By 1880, only two of the roughly 200 pupils were actually born in Germany. By contrast, eight were born in Mexico, though several of them had German parents. Nearly four-fifths of the pupils had fathers with origins in Germany or other Germanophone areas of Europe. But a dozen pupils had roots in other European countries including France, Britain, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, and Hungary. At least three students were of Mexican and one of Cuban parentage, while 25 pupils, nearly one seventh of the total, had American-born fathers from Texas and seven other states.

Two girls with incongruous first and last names indicate why pupil lists alone are inadequate to obtain an ethnic characterization of the school, and must be supplemented by census linkage. Paulita Wulff had a Hispanic sounding first and a Germanic last name; with Alwina Diaz it was vice versa. It turns out that Paulita's father was the Hamburg born hardware merchant A. J. Wulff, who may have been Jewish. His wife was born in Texas of a Mexican father, and judging by the birthplaces of their seven children, they had migrated frequently between the three countries. Alwina Diaz also came by her mixed name honestly: her father was Cuban, her mother Texan of German parentage. There were other pupils of mixed European nationalities as well. To judge from the names and evidence in cemetery records, there were at least

a half-dozen German Jewish families among the school's constituents. Prussian immigrant Louis Zork, the patriarch of the San Antonio Jewish community, not only sent his son to the German-English School, but was also one of its benefactors.⁴⁹ Pupils with Hispanic names proved to be hard to trace back to the census due to common last names, but at least a couple of the students who were located proved to be of unmixed Mexican origins. Moreover, there were at least eight genuinely Anglo-American families sending children to the German-English school.

Among the questions that can be addressed with pupil lists linked to census data, perhaps the most interesting are the social origins of bilingual pupils, and the light which this throws upon parental motivation in sending children to such schools. Nowadays one often meets the assumption that bilingual programs are favored by the socially disadvantaged who are unable to operate fully in the culture and language of the host society. The evidence from the German-English school suggests that ethnic pride and cultural preservation was strongest within the upper ranks of ethnic society. Obviously one factor that came into play here was the cost of school fees, which ranged from \$2 to \$3 per month and child depending on class level. True, there were a few free pupils who attended tuition free, though only about 4 percent of the total. There was also a public subsidy paid on a per-pupil basis, but if it was similar to that in Austin, it amounted to only one-tenth of tuition revenues.⁵⁰

The 1880 census employs no measures of wealth, but one useful indicator is the presence of servants in a household. Fully one third of German-English school pupils came from families of the servant keeping class. This becomes even clearer when one compares the occupational breakdown of parents of German-English school pupils with citywide sample of parents whose children in the same age group were attending other schools. The constituency of the German-English School was clearly the cream of San Antonio society, regardless of ethnic group. The great bulk of pupils' parents made their living with their head rather than their hands. The white collar category accounted for more than two-thirds of the Germans, over 70 percent of the American parents, and all the Hispanic and Other European parents. The contrasts with parents of pupils in other schools are striking. Over half of all American parents were blue collar, but of those who sent their children to learn German, 70 percent were professionals, proprietors, merchants or clerks, among them a U.S. Army officer. Even of those Mexicans who could afford to send their kids to other school, seven-eighths were unskilled laborers, but three of four who sent their children to the German school were professionals and merchants, including the Mexican consul. The Germans showed perhaps the least contrast between the two groups of parents, but even here it was substantial.

The school rolls constitute a veritable "Who's Who" of San Antonio Germans, and not only them. Five other students were prominent enough to rate personal entries in the *New Handbook of Texas*: the operatic tenor Rafaelo Diaz, civic leaders Frederick Terrell and James Milton Vance, lawyer and public servant Robert B. Green, and his brother, military officer John Fulton Green. The prominent German names are of course much more numerous, including the State Land Commissioner, a doctor who was on the city board of health, the City Fire Chief, city market master, the editors of

two German newspapers, and merchants too numerous to mention, dealing in items ranging from crockery to dry goods to hardware to stationery to wholesale groceries. This provides additional evidence of Germans who were clearly part of the economic mainstream but who nevertheless remained in a cultural backwater—more by choice than by necessity, at least for the time being.

By 1890, the German-English School was experiencing declining enrollments and financial difficulties, and was forced to mortgage its property. It ceased operations in 1897, its difficulties probably exacerbated by a major national depression of the previous four years. In 1903 the school property was sold to the city and used as public schools until 1968 when the building came to house the administrative office of HemisFair Worlds Fair. Although this school did not last as long as the public bilingual programs in some northern cities, probably because San Antonio immigration slacked off sooner, it still shows an impressive degree of support for bilingual education both inside and outside the German-language community, and it demonstrates the fact that support for foreign language education often comes from the top ranks of ethnic society.

In more homogeneous German settlements, especially in rural areas and smaller towns, German language and education persisted well into the twentieth century. In New Braunfels, 100 percent of all grade school pupils received German instruction in 1900, two-thirds of them in public rather than parochial schools. In fact, the New Braunfels city council had only switched to English in 1890. Even after the anti-foreign and anti-German hysteria of World War I, Texas law was amended in 1933 to allow foreign language instruction in public schools above the second grade, something that had already been introduced extralegally in Guadalupe County and Galveston beforehand.⁵¹

The preservation of language and culture went beyond the schools; a good example being the Cat Spring Agricultural Society, the oldest agricultural society in Texas, founded in 1856 with Trenckmann's father as its first president. Not surprisingly, the younger Trenckmann was a much sought after orator at the Society's festivities; in fact, he got top billing ahead of Governor O. B. Colquitt when he addressed its 60th Anniversary Fest in the summer of 1916. The minutes of the Society provide abundant evidence that well into the twentieth century, Austin County Germans were in many respects a culture and a society set apart. Despite the conflict in Europe that was threatening to spill over across the Atlantic, Trenckmann gave his 1916 talk in German. America's entry into the war did not prevent the Society's renewal of its subscription to *Der Deutsche Farmer* in January 1918, although there is no mention of a German speaker at that summer's Anniversary Fest.⁵²

This was also the era in which the United States embarked upon the "noble experiment" of Prohibition, to the dismay of many dyed-in-the-wool beer drinkers. But although the Cat Springs Germans had voted down the 1887 state prohibition referendum by a resounding 238-0, they remained remarkably unperturbed by the developments of the twenties. The minutes of 1922 record preparations for that summer's Anniversary Fest: "It was decided . . . to order 40 gallons of ice cream, three gallons of orangeade, five kegs of beer. . . . The sheriff and constable will be invited."

In fact, from 1921 to 1926, the minutes record orders for no less than 31 kegs of beer for the society's various balls and festivities. After 1926, beer purchases no longer show up explicitly in the minutes, but that does not necessarily indicate a switch to lemonade. In 1928 and again in 1929 the records do mention the borrowing or purchase of beer glasses, and every festivity had its bar committee. The sheriff seems to have been a particular favorite of the society; the minutes record at least seven balls or festivities to which he was explicitly invited, including the following entry from 1923: "Decided to invite Sheriff Remmert to New Years Eve Ball and present him with a box of cigars." As the name suggests, Remmert was himself a Texas German (as was his constable Julius Goebel) and no doubt saw eye-to-eye with his German neighbors on issues of alcohol. He held office from 1920 to 1932, elected to no less than five biennial terms of office. Of course, one reason the society could be so bold about recording its extralegal activities was that its minutes were still kept in the German language. Although these records contained several negative comments about modern dances, the Cat Spring Germans did not reject the modern world out of hand; in 1930 they decided to get electric lights for their Christmas tree. But as late as their 80th Anniversary Fest in 1936 there is mention of inviting a German speaker along with an English one, and it was not until April 14, 1942, that the society decided, incidentally by unanimous vote, to keep all further minutes in English.⁵³

Although most German speakers also had a good command of English by that time, German was by no means dying out in Texas. The 1940 census records more than 70,000 Texans with German mother tongue who were American born of native parentage, i.e., they had no immigrant ancestors closer than their grandparents. Texas had the highest percentage such "old-stock" German speakers of any state in the union; in fact, it was the only state where they outnumbered second generation speakers. In 1960, a New Braunfels radio station still offered fifteen hours of German-language broadcasts weekly, also leading the nation in this category.⁵⁴

Surprisingly, it appears as if the number of German speakers beyond the second generation doubled between 1940 and 1970, from 70,000 to 140,000, though in fact this increase reflects a slightly different phrasing of the census question, and perhaps also a growing rehabilitation of Germany, which most Americans now associated more with Volkswagens than with Nazis. Especially given the early date of its German settlements, the number of German speakers in Texas is all the more impressive. In 1970, Fredericksburg and its surrounding county still had a German speaking majority of 57 percent a century and a quarter after its founding. It was clearly in a category by itself, but there was no stringent east-west divide in the state. In fact, there were only nine Texas counties where nobody claimed German mother tongue, but there were thirteen all told where 15 percent or more of the population did. Colorado, De Witt, Guadalupe, Lavaca, and Mason counties all ranged between 15 and 20 percent. There were six counties in the 20 to 30 percent range: Fayette (La Grange), Washington (Brenham), Kendall (Boerne, Comfort), Comal (New Braunfels), Blanco (Johnson City), and Trenckmann's home of Austin County. But second in line statewide was Lee County, with 35 percent claiming German mother tongue, a great historical irony when one knows its population makeup. It is home to a heavy concentration of Sorbs

(or what the Germans call Wends) from a Slavic language island in eastern Germany, who emigrated in 1855 partially to guard their Lutheran faith, but also to escape the pressures of Germanization. But they became so Germanized in Texas that into the twenty-first century the Lutheran churches of Giddings and nearby Serbin offer German services once a month. One really cannot fault the Sorbs, though; they were just assimilating to the dominant culture in their area and their denomination.⁵⁵ On this issue of which culture to assimilate to, a University of Houston graduate student working on her M.A. thesis in 1994 interviewed a black man who grew up in Trencmann's home county in the 1930s and spoke fluent German. And he was not unique; there were 865 other old-stock black Texas in 1970 who claimed a German mother tongue.⁵⁶

From my perspective on German-Americans across the United States, Texas Germans stand out as the group that—except for religious separatists such as the Amish—has preserved the German language the longest, for four or five generations in some instances. One factor promoting this is the geographic isolation of a town such as Fredericksburg, but other more accessible locations are not far behind. In my opinion, the consciousness of being a people set apart, forged in the fire of the Civil War and reinforced by the experiences of World War I and state and national Prohibition, contributed much to the self-identity and cultural preservation of Texas Germans.

When visiting the state historical site in Stonewall at the edge of the LBJ ranch, a Texas-German farmstead still run in the style of 1900, I met a woman on the staff of the post World War II generation who spoke fluent German, not just any German, but with the regional accent of Hesse and Nassau where many of the Adelsverein leaders and colonists had originated. Talking with her, I learned that she had never taken the language in school, simply learned it in the family growing up. People such as her are getting more rare; most of them were born before the 1940s, although I have met a couple who date from the 1950s. Texas Germans are certainly entering what one sociologist calls the "twilight of ethnicity." One of these days the only native speakers of German will be people like my wife and children—recent immigrants or their Texas-born offspring. Nevertheless, it is remarkable the degree to which Texas Germans have preserved their ancestral language, their cultural identity, and to a certain extent their political distinctiveness, across the generations, even while fitting quite comfortably into the economic structures of the mainstream.

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Notes

This paper was originally presented at the symposium, "Six Other Flags Over Texas: Continental European Immigration and Ethnicity, Past and Present," University of Texas at Austin, 28-29 March 2003. My thanks to the organizers of the symposium, and to the participants for their critique.

¹ "Trencmann, William Andreas." *The Handbook of Texas Online* <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [Accessed March 19, 2003]. Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *The Cat Spring Story* (San Antonio: Lone Star Print. Co. [1956]), 84-86. Henry C. Dethloff, *A Centennial History of Texas A & M*

University, 1876-1976 (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1975), 1:231-32. Oral information on Hartmann is confirmed by Manuscript Census reports of 1870: Series: M593, Roll: 1574, p. 348; and 1910: Series: T624, Roll: 1598, p. 214.

² Lehmann's letters have been published in their original German in Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, eds., *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg: Briefe von Front und Farm, 1861-1865* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), 492-517, here 314-17. The material below is largely based on Walter D. Kamphoefner, "New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 (1999): 441-55, which provides additional information.

³ Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966). Jordan's later work is simply a more systematic restatement of his earlier interpretations without any additional evidence; see "Germans and Blacks in Texas," in Randall Miller, ed., *States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years* (Philadelphia: German Society of Pennsylvania, 1989), 89-97, quote on p. 96. The beginnings of a reinterpretation were already signaled by Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930). See also Biesele, "German Attitudes toward the Civil War," which was apparently reprinted posthumously and unrevised in *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 3:138-39.

⁴ Jordan, *German Seed*, 106-11, 180-85; Jordan, "Germans and Blacks," 89-97. Cornelia Küffner, "Texas-Germans' Attitudes Toward Slavery: Biedermeier Sentiments and Class Consciousness in Austin, Colorado and Fayette Counties" (M.A. thesis, University of Houston, 1994), pp. 17-20, 46-68, 110-14, 123-26; the interpretations of Küffner's data are largely my own, based on further calculations from her table 2 to more clearly reveal German-Anglo contrasts. Population makeup was determined from the Heritage Quest CD and online indexes to the 1870 Manuscript Census. On Texas landholdings see Jordan, *German Seed*, 115-17; a representative statewide 1860 IPUMS Manuscript Census sample similarly shows that Germans were more likely than native Texans to own real estate, though a higher proportion of natives owned personal property, of which slaves were an important component. Of all German males aged 21 and older, 53 percent reported real estate holdings, compared to 50 percent of the natives. On the sample see Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0* (Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 2003); documentation at <http://www.ipums.org/usa/index.html>.

⁵ Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 26-33, 91-94.

⁶ Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 67, 151, 174-75.

⁷ Source: Lawrence P. Knight, "Becoming a City and Becoming American: San Antonio, Texas, 1848-1861," (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas A&M University, 1997), 189-200, 267-81. The rural areas of the county had a slightly lower foreign-born percentage than the city.

⁸ La Grange [TX] *State Rights Democrat*, 7, 21 March 1861. According to a report of 13 November 1863 in the *Neu Braunfelsener Zeitung*, Grassmeyer was arrested as a traitor and taken to Houston, along with four Fayette County Anglos.

⁹ *Belleville Countryman*, 27 February, 17 March 1861. The issue of 16 January 1861 shows that New Ulm, which voted 36-30 for secession in February, had gone 52-1 against in a preliminary election on 22 December 1860 to elect state delegates, in which German slaveholder and secessionist Knolle came in last among six candidates, further evidence of Anglo suspicions. Despite the name, Shelby's was a largely German settlement in the extreme northwest corner of Austin County; Biesele, *History*, 52-53.

¹⁰ Walter L. Buenger, "Secession and the Texas German Community: Editor Lindheimer vs. Editor Flake," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 82 (1979): 395-96; Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, "One Hundred Years *Neu Braunfelsener Zeitung*," *American-German Review* 19 (1953): 15-16; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Munich, 1965), 628.

¹¹ Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 12, 164.

¹² Arndt/Olson, *German Language Press*, 628; Metzenthin-Raunick, "One Hundred Years," 15-16. *Neu Braunfelsener Zeitung* [hereinafter NBZ], 6 June, 3 July 1863 and passim.

¹³ Similar patterns show up in a statewide quantitative analysis of the secession referendum: Robin E. Baker and Dale Baum, "The Texas Voter and the Crisis of the Union, 1859-1862," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (1987): 395-420, here esp. table 10.

¹⁴ James Martin, *Texas Divided: Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 26, 76-77.

¹⁵ See for example Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 83.

¹⁶ Muster rolls of Voigt's, Wickland's, and Nathusius' companies, Waul's Legion, Texas State Archives. The complete muster roll of Capt. J. W. McDade's Austin Co. company was published by the *Belleville Countryman*, 8 March 1862. Letter of Robert Voigt, 10 Feb. 63, Robert H. Voigt Family Papers, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin; cited hereafter as BTHC. See also letters of 18 Dec. 1862, 31 Mar. 1863. Additional soldier testimony is presented in Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Texas Germans and Civil War Issues: The Evidence from Immigrant Letters," *German-Texan Heritage Society Journal* 13 (1991): 16-23. Voigt's and various other Texas German Civil War letters have been published in Helbich/Kamphoefner, *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*, 432-517.

¹⁷ Carl Bauer Letters [translations], 1862-64, Texas State Archives, Austin.

¹⁸ Jordan, "Germans and Blacks," 92; Claude Elliott, "Union Sentiment in Texas, 1861-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 50 (1947): 472-74. Contemporary accounts are given in the *Belleville Countryman*, 10 January, 28 March 1863; NBZ, 2 January, 13 March 1863.

¹⁹ Richard N. Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 136-37. The most complete compilation of accounts of the Battle of Nueces is contained in Guido E. Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort in Texas: A Centennial History* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1954), 79-126.

²⁰ The importance of viewing the period from 1846 through 1876 as a whole, rather than as three separate eras, is emphasized by Randolph B. Campbell, "Statehood, Civil War, and Reconstruction, 1846-1876," in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, ed. Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 165-66.

²¹ Chesley A. Mosman, *The Rough Side of War* (Garden City: Basin Publishing Co., 1987), 399-401. See also Oscar Haas, *History of New Braunfels and Comal County, Texas, 1844-1946* (Austin: Steck, 1968), 196-7. NBZ, 14 July 1865; also reporting a piece from the San Antonio News of 7 July. The fact that even San Antonio, with its considerable Unionist element, did not risk an official celebration shows how unusual the New Braunfels festivities were. In Vicksburg, admittedly somewhat of a special case, the first time the Fourth of July was celebrated after the Civil War was 1942.

²² Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *A Century of Agricultural Progress, 1856-1956* (Cat Spring, 1956), 31-32.

²³ Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements*, 155.

²⁴ *House Journal of the 12th Legislature of the State of Texas, First Session* (Austin, 1870), 803.

²⁵ Randolph B. Campbell, *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 27-62, 220, 222, 229.

²⁶ Letters of 22 June and 22 August 1888, Lehmann Collection, BTHC.

²⁷ Based on data originally compiled by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research [ICPSR], Ann Arbor, and integrated into a nationwide, county-level mapping program in the *Great American History Machine* CD-Rom (University of Maryland, 1995).

²⁸ *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 6:1095; U.S. Congress, *Official Congressional Directory* (Washington, GPO), 321-51 and passim. First elected to the 67th Congress, Wurzbach apparently lost his seat for the 71st but successfully contested the election. He was again elected to the 72d, and died in office 6 November 1931.

²⁹ *New Braunfels Zeitung*, 21 August 1952; Gene B. Preuss, "Within these Walls: The African American School and Community in Lubbock and New Braunfels, Texas," paper presented at the Texas State Historical Association meeting, Austin, 6-8 March 1997, p. 3; D.C. Heath, *U.S. History Transparency Set* (Lexington, MA, 1996), vol. 2, Table 43.

³⁰ Edgar E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947), 117; Richard M. Scammon, ed., *Americans at the Polls, 1920-64* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 437-52.

³¹ Based on a 1:100 random sample of the state population provided by the IPUMS. These figures exclude blacks but do include Tejanos if they and their parents were native born. But their share is quite small; among all given names, the first Hispanic name is in place twelve, and the next is in 30th place, and together they make up only 1% of all names.

³² Indexes of occupational dissimilarity between natives of the U.S. and natives of Germany in Texas were calculated from data published in *Ninth Census, Vol. I: The Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1870*, ed. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Census, (Washington, DC, 1872), 758; United States Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880, Vol. I: Population*

(Washington, DC, 1883), 847. This comparison is slightly problematic in that the native figure also includes blacks and Tejanos born in the U.S. But if one throws out the three occupations with presumably the heaviest minority representation- farm laborers, unspecified laborers, and domestics--the German dissimilarity index sinks ever lower, only 22 in 1880. Such a low level of difference, social scientists tell us, could easily be accounted for by chance; anything below 30 is considered minimal.

³³ "Shiner, TX.," "Collin Street Bakery, Corsicana," The Handbook of Texas Online. <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/>> [accessed March 17, 2003].

³⁴ Arndt/Olson, *German Language Press*, 614-35.

³⁵ Colorado County Historical Commission, *Colorado County Chronicles* (Austin, 1986), 2:502.

³⁶ "Depelchin, Kezia Payne." The Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [accessed March 12, 2003].

³⁷ Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*, (College Station, 2003, forthcoming), chap. 2. Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 2d ed. (McHenry, IL, 1998), 228. The size of the 1886 German population was estimated from figures in United States Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880, Vol. I: Population* (Washington, DC, 1883), 493; United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I: Population* (Washington, DC, 1892), 601.

³⁸ "German Free School Association of Austin"; "Schuetze, Julius." The Handbook of Texas Online. <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [accessed March 21, 2003]. Julius Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," trans. Winifred Schuetze Cade, *German Texas Heritage Society Journal* 17 (1995): 120. [Austin] Southern Intelligencer, 7 July 1865, p. 3.

³⁹ Cecilia Steinfeldt, *San Antonio Was* (San Antonio Museum Association, 1978), 222. *The American Cyclopaedia* (1873-1876), s.v. San Antonio. All 1880 population figures are based on a 10% random cluster sample of the Manuscript Census of the city, using the sampling procedures of the IPUMS; see Steven Ruggles, "Sample Design and Sampling Errors," *Historical Methods* 28 (1995): 40-41, 44.

⁴⁰ Arndt/Olson, *German Language Press*, 629-33.

⁴¹ "German-English School." The Handbook of Texas Online. <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [accessed 21 March 2003]. Christa Carvajal and Annelise M. Duncan, "The German-English School in San Antonio: Transplanting German Humanistic Education to the Texas Frontier," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 16 (1981): 89-102; Peter Bodo Gawenda, "The Use of the German Language in the Schools of San Antonio," (Ed.D. thesis, University of Houston, 1986), 407-9.

⁴² Carvajal/Duncan, "The German-English School," 92-93; Gawenda, "Use of German," 408.

⁴³ Gawenda, "Use of German," 208-10, 407. Cf. Robin L. Chambers, "Chicago's Turners: Inspired Leadership in the Promotion of Public Physical Education, 1860-90," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 24 (1989): 105-14.

⁴⁴ Gawenda, "Use of German," 210, 407.

⁴⁵ Gawenda, "Use of German," 211-12, 407.

⁴⁶ This is based on observations made in transcribing and translating the material that went into *An Immigrant Miller Picks Texas: The Letters of Carl Hilmar Guenther* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Co., 2001), 77-123, passim.

⁴⁷ Gawenda, "Use of German," 408.

⁴⁸ San Antonio German English School, Record Books, vol. 1, in Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin. Linkage with the manuscript census was facilitated by the fact that families often had more than one child enrolled in the school, and class level provides an approximate age.

⁴⁹ Frances R. Kallison, "100 Years of Jewry in San Antonio," (M.A. Thesis, Trinity University, 1977), 11-13.

⁵⁰ According to "German Free School Association of Austin," tuition paying pupils to that school were subsidized at a rate of 1.5 cents per day or approximately 30 cents per month.

⁵¹ Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 124, 228.

⁵² Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *Century of Progress*, 255, 278, 281, 284, and passim.

⁵³ Sean Kelley, "Plantation Frontiers: Race, Ethnicity, and Family along the Brazos River of Texas, 1821-1886," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000, 391. Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *Century of Progress*, 293-96, 298-99, 304 7, 315, 318, 322, 328, 333, 343, 378, and passim. On Remmert's terms of office see Texas State Library, Archives Division, *Election Registers, 1838-1972*, microform, reels 19-21. Remmert's German parentage is documented in his 1910 Manuscript Census entry, National Archives

Microfilm Series: T624, Roll: 1528, Page: 268. His Cat Spring constable Julius Goebel is found in *ibid.*, 227.

⁵⁴ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Series P 15, Nr. 10: Mother Tongues of the White Population* (Washington, DC 1943), 14-22. Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 221, 222.

⁵⁵ Calculated from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 *Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics*, vol. 45, table 119, Social Characteristics for Counties, 906 27. Exact county figures on percentage of population with German mother tongue are as follows: Gillespie, 57; Lee, 35; Fayette, 28; Washington, 26; Kendall, 24; Comal, 23; Austin, 22; Blanco, 20; Guadalupe, 18; Mason, 17; De Witt, 17; Lavaca, 15; and Colorado, 15. Gillespie County had an overwhelmingly white population, but if rates for other counties are calculated on the basis of white population only, 41 percent of Lee County whites and more than one third of those in Washington County claimed German as mother tongue. See also Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 222. All the counties mentioned above except for Blanco, Colorado, and Mason, were also home to German newspapers.

⁵⁶ Küffner, "Texas-Germans' Attitudes Toward Slavery," 8-9. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 *Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics*, table 49, p. 435; table 142, p. 1291. Column headings in the latter table are slightly misleading: "Other races" refers to those other than white and Negro; the latter figures are not shown separately but can be obtained by subtraction. Their sum of 1496 native born blacks with German mother tongue jibes with those of table 49, which does not distinguish the 630 second generation blacks, who may have been the offspring of American soldiers and their German wives, from the 866 native blacks of native parentage, who almost certainly were not.