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German-American Reminiscences of Early Life in Austin County, Texas

Austin County, which lies about sixty miles west of Houston, Texas, is the home of the oldest German settlements in the state. In 1831 Friedrich Ernst and Charles Fordtran landed in Harrisburg (now a part of Houston) and traveled inland by oxcart to the colony which had been established by Stephen F. Austin on the banks of the Brazos River. This was thirteen years before organized immigration sponsored by the Verein zum Schutz deutscher Einwanderer in Texas began, leading to the settlement of towns such as New Braunfels and Fredricksburg in that part of Texas referred to as the Hill Country, north and west of San Antonio. Ernst was granted a league of land, and he and Fordtran settled near what is now Industry, a town laid out by Ernst in 1838.[1] As a result of enthusiastic letters Ernst sent to friends in Oldenburg and Westphalia, other immigrants followed, including Louis von Roeder and Robert Kleberg who founded the town of Cat Spring in 1834. The Reverend Ernst (Arnost) Bergmann, considered the father of Texas Czechs, emigrated from Silesia to Cat Spring in 1850 and served a German-speaking parish there. His letters to former parishioners encouraged many Silesians and Moravians to follow.[2] Millheim, an offshoot of Cat Spring a few miles to the northeast, was settled about 1845, the year Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels founded the town of New Braunfels. New Ulm, just south of Industry, was established at about the same time. The settlements of Industry, Cat Spring, New Ulm, and Millheim are the subject of this article.

Colorful stories surround the naming of each of the communities. Industry had been referred to as Ernst's Settlement or Ernst's Place but came to be called Industry by the English-speaking settlers because of the industrious nature of Ernst and the Germans he attracted.[3] By 1838, Ernst

and others had begun to grow tobacco and to produce cigars. The popularity of "Industry Cigars" as far away as Houston further reinforced the name attached to the little town. It is appropriately named: even today a visitor is struck by the orderliness and seeming prosperity of the town with its wide streets, active businesses including a bank, churches of several denominations, and a public elementary school. Cat Spring is said to have gotten its name because of a wildcat and a spring. One version is that the von Roeder family camped near a spring where one of the sons either saw or killed a wildcat, or possibly both.[4] In the early years the settlement was referred to as Wild Cat Springs.[5] German speakers from the area call it variously *Katzensprung* because of the leap the wildcat is believed to have made across the spring or *Katzenquelle* because of the spring itself.[6] Millheim was to have been named Muehlheim in reference to Mill Creek in whose valley it lies, but American settlers are said to have spelled it the way they heard it, with unrounding and shortening of the vowel.[7] New Ulm is of course named for the city of Ulm in Germany, but how it came to be called that is interesting. It had originally been referred to as Duff's Settlement in honor of James Duff, its original settler.[8] According to C. W. Schmidt, a New Ulm schoolteacher born in 1869, the renaming occurred during a gala dinner meeting in the settlement's log-cabin hotel which was known for its splendid hospitality. The area was being plagued by ruffians, and the purpose of the meeting was twofold: to discuss mutual protection and to petition the government for a post office. One of the known brutes tried to disrupt the meeting and was rebuffed by Lorenz Mueller who later treated the entire gathering to imported German wine. When his brother-in-law suggested that the new town by christened New Ulm, the suggestion was accepted readily; and Mueller was named its first postmaster.[9]

In an attempt to record some of the memories that had been passed down from the early pioneers, I interviewed fourteen residents or former residents of the area in late 1992 and early 1993.[10] They ranged in age from sixty to ninety-four, and all have sharp memories of stories they heard from their parents and grandparents as well as of incidents they witnessed themselves while growing up in the Industry-Cat Spring area.[11] Because German-speaking Europeans continued to settle in the region until late in the nineteenth century, several of my informants had heard stories related firsthand by their immigrant ancestors. They practice or have retired from a variety of occupations: attorney, bookkeeper, farmer, homemaker, optician, postmaster, recreation director, secretary, and teacher. I believe that they represent a good cross section of their generation from this German-American community. What follows is a compilation of information I learned from them, augmented by written

sources. It is a portrayal of life as it was in the oldest German settlements of Texas.

The Voyage

In 1831 Ernst and Fordtran began a German immigration to what is now Austin County that continued through most of the rest of the century. Most sailed from Bremen or Bremerhaven to Galveston on vessels that took many weeks for the crossing and subjected passengers to hardships difficult to imagine today. Ottilie Fuchs Goeth, daughter of Adolphus Fuchs, a pastor and early teacher in Cat Spring, writes of her family's two-month voyage which began in November 1845:

> The food was wretched, the water barely drinkable, and we were seasick throughout most of the voyage. . . . The voyage, lasting for weeks and weeks, seemed endless. Constantly seasick, we lay on the deck, our spirits greatly depressed; even Columbus could not have looked more eagerly for land than did we hollow-eyed, half-starved, pale-faced specimens. Finally we reached the island of Puerto Rico where we lay for one week, because of insufficient wind. This was most welcome to us, for there we were not seasick, and the natives brought us various exotic fruits and foods which tasted all too good and somewhat revived our weakened vitality.[12]

From Galveston the Fuchs family traveled by small steamer to Houston from where they continued their journey by ox wagon, traveling so slowly that they could walk along beside. The trip from Houston to Cat Spring, a distance of about sixty miles, took three or four days when the roads were good.[13] Robert Kleberg, one of the founders of Cat Spring, writes that after landing in New Orleans, he chartered a schooner for Brazoria, Texas, but was shipwrecked eight days later off Galveston Island on 22 December 1834, about fifty miles short of his intended destination. His party was stranded in a wilderness area of the island for four weeks while Kleberg made his way by steamer and by foot to and from present-day Cat Spring where he found his wife's father as well as Ludwig and Albert von Roeder, who had arrived there two years earlier.[14]

Five of my informants were able to relate incidents about conditions in Germany and about the trip across.

> Yes, I knew Grandma Wittenburg very well. She would come over. I crawled under the dining room table. I sat under there

> and listened because I liked to hear her talk. They thought when they came over here that it would be so beautiful, but it was all that wild country. . . . Yes, she told us about it and how they finally got here, and they had spent all their money. They couldn't go back, you know. They had paid their dues to come over here.[15]

One spoke of a great-grandfather who died and was buried at sea: "He went up on top of the ship. Was nosy, I guess. He wanted to see something, and he fell off."[16] Some had heard of hardships endured on board: "Grandma said that a lot of them were sick."[17] "I heard they ran out of water and had to boil sea water."[18] Others spoke of their families being detained in the Caribbean Sea, waiting for a favorable breeze to drive them the rest of the way to Galveston. "When they got there, the boats would come out and bring oranges, and they'd throw them on the boat, and they would catch the oranges to eat."[19] Some of the informants remembered hearing that their families had lived in the Houston area for a time before traveling to Austin County. "They lived in Houston for about three years and then moved out close to Rosenberg."[20]

> They didn't come to Industry right off. They landed in Spring Branch. And after my grandparents lived there, they had a number of children that got yellow fever. That was in 1864. My father was born in 1865. Then in 1867 there was a new outbreak of yellow fever, and they decided to get away from those mosquito-infested swamps.[21]

The trip from the coast to Austin County was by wagon, drawn by a team of oxen. "They went down with oxcarts and took freight and brought people back."[22]

> Someone met them with wagons. Well, every night they had to stop and make a lodging. Then he'd build a fire and he'd kill what he could get, and they would eat that. He would put potatoes in the hot ashes, and they would have baked potatoes. One night he had sweet potatoes instead of Irish, and they tasted them, and they couldn't eat them.[23]

"When they got to the Brazos River, they had to wait there for some time to cross the river. There were no bridges then."[24]

Social and Intellectual Life

Like most German-American communities, those in Austin County had clubs and societies devoted to various social endeavors. A literary society flourished in Millheim.[25] *Schützenvereine*, now called either rifle or gun clubs, were established in several places including New Ulm and Peters near Millheim, where they still exist. Many music organizations were established: the *Männerchor* in Welcome, north of Industry, dates to 1856; a *Sängerverein* was established in Millheim; Industry had several bands and orchestras; a mixed choir in Cat Spring functioned for many years as did a brass band and orchestra; dance halls (three in the town of Industry alone) dotted the landscape, and a number of them are still very active.[26]

The Cat Spring Agricultural Society, the oldest such organization in Texas, began as Der Landwirtschaftliche Verein von Austin County zu Cat Spring in 1856 and continues today.[27] Its constitution limited membership to males over the age of sixteen who were of good moral character.[28] Women who were heads of households were admitted as members beginning in 1867.[29] Many of the settlers were so-called Latin farmers, schooled in classics but not in farming, and the agricultural society provided them needed help. Stories of their ineptitude at farming have been passed down through the generations. One is that an early family had heard that picking cotton was lucrative in Texas. Mistaking it for cotton, they pulled Spanish moss from trees and stacked it neatly.[30] Records indicate that early farmers gathered to discuss farming and stock-raising techniques, to distribute plants and seed obtained from the United States Patent Office and from Germany, to organize festivals, and to promote immigration to Austin County from Germany. The society was not unanimous on the encouragement of immigration, however. In 1858 a member was expelled for publishing a refutation of the society's immigration promotion. He was finally invited back in 1865.[31] The agricultural society met in various places until 1902 when its distinctive eight-sided pavilion was built.[32]

Traveling troupes and local entertainers performed frequently in the towns of Industry, New Ulm, and Cat Spring before the days of television and superhighways. The New Ulm Dramatic Club would stage a monthly performance and assist other such clubs in presenting plays at nearby towns.[33] An opera house in Industry welcomed entertainers from as far away as Austria.[34] In Cat Spring performances were often held in the hall of the local turnverein, established soon after the Civil War as the Gut Heil Turnverein. The building is now remembered primarily as a dance hall.[35] "There were people who would come through and put on medicine shows, and they would use that big stage over there in the turner hall and put on vaudeville acts and stuff like that."[36] At other times events were held in tents:

> They had one in Cat Spring one time. It was a kind of medicine show and a little circus; they had a little Shetland pony. That pony would run around in a circle, and a monkey would ride on him. They camped in Cat Spring, and that monkey got loose. One of those Cat Spring town dogs got him and killed him. It was the biggest mess you ever saw.[37]

Educating their young people appears to have been very important to the early German settlers of Austin County, many of whom had attended universities in Germany before emigrating. Early schools were private and conducted in homes. A farmer would contract with someone he considered able to teach, provide the teacher a place for the classroom, and notify his neighbors who would send their children if they were willing to pay the fee he set.[38] The New Ulm schoolteacher, C. W. Schmidt, writes of how the children of early settlers would find their way to the school:

> A day or so before the opening day of school, each family would hitch a pair of oxen to the end of a log and drag it to and from the school house to make a path. The trees bordering the path were blazed–that is, the bark was partially cut away so as to expose the white wood which would serve as a guide for the children and at the same time serving the purpose of a road sign or mile post.
>
> At the intersection of two or more paths, the children waited for one another before proceeding to the next cross road and so on until the schoolhouse came in sight. If a neighbor's children were behind time, they would holler to announce their coming. In the event the first group of children were unwilling to wait, they would stick a four or five foot stick into the ground in the middle of the path and draw a line on the ground indicating to where the shade reached when they left. By observing the distance the shade had receded since the mark was made, it was possible to estimate fairly accurately the distance the group was ahead and how much they had to accelerate their walk to overtake them. On cloudy days moist soil was dug up after which each child would implant the impression of his foot on it. By noting the freshness of the soil around the foot impression, the belated children would guess the distance the others were ahead. Scrutinizing the impression of the footprints, most of the children could tell by whom it was made.[39]

According to Rudolph Biesele, schools were established as early as 1840 in Industry and Cat Spring in connection with Protestant congregations which Rev. L. C. Ervendberg and Dr. Johann Anton Fischer organized.[40] Ernst Gustav Maetze, a *Lateiner* or Latin farmer because of his classical education, was the first schoolteacher of Millheim, conducting classes in the home of Ferdinand F. Engelking beginning in 1850. He had been educated at the university in Breslau before becoming a member of the German parliament and is said to have debated with Bismarck.[41] Adolphus Fuchs, on behalf of thirty families of Cat Spring, petitioned the Texas state legislature in 1849 for public support of its school where Fuchs was serving as schoolmaster.[42]

A university devoted to the teaching of philosophy, medicine, theology, and jurisprudence, where the professors were conversant in both German and English, was the goal of thirty-eight Austin County residents led by Ervendberg and Ernst when they petitioned the Texas legislature in 1842 for the establishment of Hermann's University. The university was incorporated in 1844, and a league of land was donated to it by the Texas government, but it never became a reality.[43] Its trustees had difficulty raising funds but were finally able to construct a two-story building in the town of Frelsburg, about ten miles south of New Ulm. Classes began in 1874; but by then Hermann's University had become Hermann Seminary, a public school, whose teachers were still required to be bilingual, however. Although Hermann Seminary had an inauspicious beginning (its first two teachers were fired for fighting in the presence of pupils), it continued until 1949 when it was consolidated with the Columbus, Texas, school district.[44]

Use of the German Language

Although I did not conduct a linguistic study, I did determine that each of my informants knew at least some German: the German knowledge of the sixty-year-old person was confined to some isolated phrases such as *Kuck mal her*, while some of the older persons were able to converse in the language. The German they spoke was not a dialect but rather was close to standard German except for unrounding of vowels, something Glenn Gilbert refers to as the Texas-German koiné, a Texas-German common language which emerged to accommodate the diverse linguistic origins of its speakers.[45] My informants were descendants of people from every corner of German-speaking Europe: Mecklenburg, Hannover, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Silesia. Yet each spoke a German the others would understand. This phenomenon, which has been discussed by Gilbert, Joseph Wilson, and others, differs markedly from linguistic islands such as those in South Dakota, Kansas, and Pennsylvania that can be traced to a specific dialect area.[46] Noticeable

in the German I heard spoken is the frequent substitution of accusative for dative case as in *Blätter fliegen in die Luft 'rum* for 'leaves fly around in the air,' *ein Baum ist hinter unser Haus* for 'a tree is behind our house,' and *von mich* for 'from me.' Wilson attributes this Texas-German characteristic to the general trend in the German dialects and the Germanic languages, in general, toward the simplification of the case system.[47]

Anti-German Sentiment

Among the most vivid recollections I heard were those about anti-German sentiment that began with the outbreak of the First World War and continued well into the 1920s. "When the war broke out, and we went to school one morning, we couldn't speak German on the playground any more. . . . I'll never forgive [Woodrow] Wilson for that."[48] "When I started to school [in 1915 or 1916] I could not talk English. Not one word. We spoke German. When I went to school I had to speak English. But I couldn't talk English. I was so scared."[49] "When people came to town, to Industry or to New Ulm, they had better speak English. . . . They were all German, but when they came to town, they had to speak English."[50] "That's when Papa started talking English. His mother spoke German."[51] As was the case in other parts of the state, the Germans in Austin County experienced anti-German violence instigated by the Ku Klux Klan.[52] Persons were threatened, tarred and feathered, and even killed for speaking German. One informant spoke of a merchant in Brenham, a town in nearby Washington County, who defied the Klan by refusing to stop conducting his business in German. "They sent him a notice to stop it, but he didn't. They said they would tar and feather him; [they] even put a notice on the door. But he didn't stop. They never did get him."[53] Another friend was not so fortunate: "They nabbed him and tarred and feathered him. And he was wearing a Panama suit. He had to walk for miles and miles in the sun."[54]

A shoot-out between Klansmen and Germans on the streets of Sealy, a town about ten miles east of Cat Spring, in 1922, is remembered and referred to by most of the persons interviewed. Even though the tragedy occurred over seventy years ago, it might have been last week, the memory of it is so strong. "I nearly cried my head off the day the Schaffners were buried. Mrs. Schaffner was lying there on the couch on the day of the funeral. She had passed out. There were so many people there."[55] According to informants and to newspaper reports, the incident had begun several months earlier at a gathering in Cat Spring where some speeches were delivered in German.[56] Some of the so-called "Americans" who were Klan members questioned the patriotism of the speakers and of the Germans in the audience. An argument ensued which was not

resolved. It ended on that day with the Klansman's "I'll see you later."[57] The later argument in Sealy did not end as peacefully:

> They came from Bellville (another town in the county) on the train that morning, and they got into an argument. My people were German. They were Ku Klux Klan. My cousin got a baseball bat and ran them down the street. They said, "We'll be back." Well, my cousin went home and told his daddy about it. His daddy said: "Don't go back. Stay at home." But you know how that is. He went back. So, my uncle put his gun in the car and drove to Sealy and went into the store where he had a friend. But he left his gun on the seat of the car. He heard a quarrel on the street, and he ran for his gun, but it was gone. He got killed by his own gun. There were my cousin and my uncle lying dead on the street.[58]

At another time the Germans in Sealy heard that the Ku Klux Klan planned to ride horseback into town fully robed. They instructed the sheriff to turn the Klan back at the edge of town with the promise that they would support him. When the Klansmen arrived, they were met by the sheriff and looked up to see armed Germans on every roof top. They turned around. "If they would have shot the sheriff, there would have been some dead people around there."[59] One night, so the story goes, when the Klansmen, dressed in white robes, were holding a rally, some of the local boys sneaked in and shortened their horses' tails so that they could be identified in the light of day.

Native American Indians, Gypsies and Drummers

Unlike some of their compatriots who settled the Texas Hill Country and encountered Comanches, German settlers in Austin County enjoyed generally friendly relations with the Coshattes and Kickapoos they found.[60] Moritz Tiling reports that the Klebergs received valuable assistance from the Kickapoos living in the area. "They furnished them with game of all kinds and the squaws would hunt and bring into their camp the horses and oxen that had strayed."[61] Only two of my informants, sisters, were able to recall hearing of any encounter with Native American Indians. Their grandmother had been alone while her husband was away during the Civil War. "Indians came up to the house, but they didn't bother her. They were camping on the creek, and I guess they saw that house. Everything was dark, so they left it alone."[62] Several spoke of having found arrowheads near Cat Spring on what is called the Red Hill, which had probably been a campsite on the Coshatte Indian Trail that ran from the Gulf of Mexico to what is now Kansas.[63]

Gypsy stories were as frequent as Indian stories were scarce among the people I spoke with. They are remembered as mysterious people whom the children feared. One couple recalled that gypsies would travel through the countryside and sell items made of willow wood: "I have a table at the farm that the gypsies sold Mother."[64] Others spoke of their stealing from the farmers:

> You could see them on that road from Sealy to Cat Spring, riding in wagons, and some would be running around. Once someone had just taken bread out of the oven, and they just took the bread and went on. If there were chickens, they took the chickens. If there were horses along the road, they would steal the horses.[65]

> There was a stockyard along the railroad tracks in Cat Spring. That's where they would camp. . . . When we walked to school, sometimes we'd cut through the pasture, just to avoid them. . . . It was in the thirties. They camped there, sometimes for several days and made the rounds.[66]

> They had long dresses, almost to the ground, with a lot of pockets in them, and they would stick everything in those pockets, you know.[67]

> They would decoy the people: they would have someone engage the people in conversation while others would be stealing the chickens or getting a pig or stealing corn. Those were the memories that Grandpa and Grandma had of the gypsies. In their estimation they were a menace. They were dishonest people who came and stole.[68]

A more welcome visitor was the drummer or traveling salesman: "There was an old man named Weinberger, and he would drive around with bolts of material. He would manage to come to our house late in the day, and then he would stay the night."[69] Often the drummers would take lodging at the Teufel Hotel, an establishment that served the town of Industry from 1891 until 1916, first in a spacious, two-story structure and later in somewhat smaller quarters. The hotel was known for its fine German and Southern hospitality and its superb cuisine.[70] It is said that when German-speaking drummers inquired in Industry about lodging, they were jokingly told: *"Geh' zum Teufel!"*[71] Josephine Perry, whose grandmother Mary Rehm Teufel Koch had founded the hotel, spoke of the people who frequented the hotel: "They called them drummers. They came with horse and buggy, and later with cars. Some of the older

traveling men said service here was so wonderful with fine Southern hospitality that they made a point to stay here. Our grandmother had a wonderful personality from all indications.[72]

Folk Healing

People often turn to folk remedies and folk healers for relief when they do not have ready access to trained medical advice, and sometimes even when they do. A number of well-respected medical doctors have practiced in the area throughout the years, and they have provided much of its medical care. Industry had at one time two medical doctors practicing in the town, and Cat Spring was the home of a hospital around the turn of the century.[73] Many of my Austin County informants also mentioned folk remedies they learned from their parents and grandparents: lard and turpentine, honey and whiskey, camomile tea, cream of tartar, and other elixirs. I heard of some people in Austin County who recited set charms or prayers, which they called *Besprechungen*, reminiscent of the ancient formula charms such as the *Bamberger Blutsegen*, to heal patients of ailments such as nose bleeds, burns, or swellings.[74] Don Yoder indicates that a similar custom, referred to in English as powwowing, was (and may still be) practiced among Pennsylvania Germans, who call the practice *Braucherei* or *Brauches*. Despite its curious name, the practice comes not from native American Indians but was brought by immigrants from Europe to the New World. The Puritans of seventeenth-century New England adopted the word "powwow" from Algonquin for the practice of folk healing.[75] Although none of my informants were able to recite any of the *Besprechungen*, one furnished me with copies of several that had been translated into English. One for healing burns is:

> High is the moon.
> Red is the crab.
> Cold is the dead hand.
> Herewith I still the burn.
> In God's name, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
> (The sign of the cross is made three times over the affected area.)
> Amen.

One person told me that even though her grandmother had been skilled at healing in this manner, she herself did not learn any of the *Besprechungen* from her because they could be passed only from woman to man and from man to woman.[76] Another told me of a farmer who had been able to stop animals from hemorrhaging by saying words over them. One practitioner of unorthodox medicine set up an office in the town of

Industry and treated patients from as far as several counties away. He advertised, using the initials D.S.T. for "Doctor of Suggestive Therapy" after his name, offering "magnetic healing and absent treatment." He defined magnetic healing as using his own personal magnetism which was transmitted through his hands to the patient and claimed that it was similar to the laying on of hands mentioned in the Bible. He also treated animals or persons from a distance by thinking about them.[77] Several of my informants had visited him and testified to the effectiveness of his treatment. One said that he had cured her of shingles, and another told of how he had cured a horse of colic without ever visiting the farm.

Another healer well-known in the area farmed near Cat Spring and called on spirits to cure patients who visited him. Like the practitioner in Industry, he was what Yoder refers to as a professional powwower because of payment he received for his services.[78] An informant recalls visiting the Cat Spring healer as a child:

> He was a character: a white-haired old man with a purple spot on his lip. If you went there, you always went in the evening because he was a farmer. When you arrived, he might be just coming up from the barn; sometimes he'd be bare-footed and in overalls. You were supposed to take something silver and hold it in your hand until it got real warm, and then when he gave you a treatment, you were supposed to give him that silver. The story goes that when he died there were buckets of silver dollars, half dollars, quarters and dimes in his house, just huge amounts of silver. He'd put you in a dark room where there would be a little light–for a long time it was just an oil lamp–sitting way off in the corner. It was spooky. And then all of a sudden he'd say, "wait, wait, now," and he would start whispering. You could never understand what he was saying. I believed all that stuff, so I would get a chill right down my back, you know. I was sure the spirits were working on me! He would tell these god-awful stories about calling up the spirits. He'd just mesmerize you.[79]

A great deal has changed in the area Biesele called "the cradle of the German settlements in Texas."[80] Many of the early businesses and industries have left the towns, and English speakers from nearby Houston and elsewhere have moved into the countryside, buying acreage for weekend use and establishing ranches for thoroughbred cattle. The German character remains, however, and is nourished by individuals and by organizations such as the Industry-West End Historical Society. *Vereine* of various types continue to flourish: several singing societies exist, *Schützenvereine* continue as rifle clubs, and the Cat Spring

Agricultural Society lives on proudly. The German-Texan fraternal organization Sons of Hermann counts many residents of Austin County among its membership. Those who knew the pioneers and remember the old stories are dying out, however, and with them goes a significant part of German-Americana. The oral history we are able to collect from such persons verifies and expands the printed accounts. It enlivens the past and provides a portrait not otherwise available to us.

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Notes

[1] Theodore G. Gish maintains that Ernst was an alias for Friedrich Dirks. See his introduction to Viktor Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, trans. Charles Frank Schmidt (1931; reprint, Manchaca, TX: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1991), viii. Rudolph Biesele, an earlier researcher, discusses the appearance of the name Fritz Dirks on one document but concludes that it was printed in error. See Rudolph Leopold Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (1930; reprint, San Marcos, TX: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1987), 44. Regardless of which is correct, the early settler is remembered by the name Ernst.

[2] Dorothy Klumpp and Albert J. Blaha, Sr., *The Saga of Ernst Bergmann* (Houston, 1981), 1-26. See also Jan L. Perkowski, "A Survey of the West Slavic Immigrant Languages in Texas," *Texas Studies in Bilingualism: Spanish, French, German, Czech, Polish, Sorbian, and Norwegian in the Southwest*, ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970), 164.

[3] Biesele, 46. See also Ann Lindemann, "Early Industry," *Historical Accounts of Industry, Texas, 1831-1986*, ed. Ann and James Lindemann and William Richter (New Ulm, TX: New Ulm Enterprise, 1986), 7.

[4] Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *The Cat Spring Story* (San Antonio: Lone Star, 1956),1. See also Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes in a New Land: German Immigration to Texas, 1847-1861* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 3.

[5] Bracht, 203.

[6] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, interview with author, Houston, TX, 18 October 1992. Hereafter cited as Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992.

[7] Biesele, 54.

[8] Kirby Iselt, Esther Neumann and Wilma Kanter Ziegenbein, *A Walk through New Ulm* (New Ulm, TX, n.d.), 1.

[9] C. W. Schmidt, *Footprints of Five Generations* (1930; reprint, New Ulm, TX: New Ulm Enterprise, 1986), 4-5.

[10] Dona Reeves-Marquardt discusses the value of diaries, letters, and reminiscences as sources of information frequently omitted from traditional histories in "German Galveston: A Personal Narrative," *Schatzkammer der deutschen Sprache, Dichtung und Geschichte* 17 (1991): 110.

[11] Five of the persons interviewed grew up in Industry, five in the Cat Spring area, and two each in New Ulm and Millheim. Five are males, and nine are females.

[12] Ottilie Fuchs Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother (Was Grossmutter erzaehlt), 1805-1915*, trans. Irma Goeth Guenther (Burnet, TX: Eakin Press, 1982), 37-38.

[13] Goeth, 46.

[14] Moritz Tiling, *History of the German Element in Texas from 1820-1850 and Historical Sketches of the German Texas Singers' League and Houston Turnverein from 1853-1913* (Houston, 1913), 25-26.

[15] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992. Her Grandmother Wittenburg came to Cat Spring in 1869 and died in 1924 when Frieda was twenty-one years old.

[16] Norma Rinn Gross, interview with author, New Ulm, TX, 27 January 1993.

[17] Georgia Kollatschny, interview with author, Houston, TX, 28 January 1993.

[18] Josephine Schramm Perry, interview with author, Industry, TX, 25 January 1993. Hereafter cited as Perry interview.

[19] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992.

[20] Marie Niebuhr, interview with author, Industry, TX, 20 January 1993.

[21] Alfred Boelsche, interview with author, Industry, TX, 19 January 1993.

[22] William Schaffner, interview with author, Millheim, TX, 22 January 1993.

[23] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992.

[24] Perry interview.

[25] *Cat Spring Story*, 33.

[26] Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 79-80; *Cat Spring Story*, 101.

[27] Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *Century of Agricultural Progress, 1856-1956: Minutes of the Cat Spring Agricultural Society* (San Antonio: Lone Star, 1956), i. Hereafter cited as *Minutes*.

[28] *Minutes*, 2.

[29] *Minutes*, 35.

[30] George Carmack, "Cat Spring Harbors Oldest Agricultural Society in Texas," *The Sealy News*, 21 December 1978, p. 5.

[31] *Minutes*, 12. See also *Minutes*, 31.

[32] *Minutes*, 214-15.

[33] Schmidt, 13.

[34] Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 80.

[35] William Trenckmann, *History of Austin County* (Bellville, TX: Bellville Wochenblatt, 1899), 29.

[36] Erwin Andreas, interview with author, Cat Spring, TX, 21 January 1993.

[37] Warren Conner, interview with author, Sealy, TX, 23 January 1993.

[38] William Richter, "History of the Industry School," in Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 91.

[39] Schmidt, 29-30.

[40] Biesele, 211. See also Geue, 28-29.

[41] *Cat Spring Story*, 33, 61, 95.

[42] Goeth, 204.

[43] Biesele, 215-16. See also Geue, 29.

[44] Frelsburg Historical Committee, *The History of Frelsburg* (New Ulm, TX: New Ulm Enterprise, 1986), 29-31.

[45] Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Language in Texas: Some Needed Research," in *German Culture in Texas: A Free Earth: Essays from the 1978 Southwest Symposium*, ed. Glen E. Lich and Dona B. Reeves (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 229.

[46] See, for example, Joseph Wilson, "The German Language in Texas," *Schatzkammer der deutschen Sprache, Dichtung und Geschichte* 2 (1976): 43-49.

[47] Wilson, 47.

[48] Dina Kuehn Boelsche, interview with author, Industry, TX, 19 January 1993.

[49] Hilma Luedecke Schaffner, interview with author, Millheim, TX, 22 January 1993.

[50] Norma Rinn Gross.

[51] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, interview with author, Houston, TX, 28 January 1993. Hereafter cited as Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

[52] Francis E. Abernethy, "*Deutschtum* in Texas: A Look at Texas-German Folklore," in *German Culture in Texas*, 225. For discussion of anti-German violence in other parts of the country, see Anne Galicich, *The German Americans* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989), 82-85, and La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (1976; reprint, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 180-95.

[53] Perry interview.

[54] Perry interview.

[55] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

[56] Bo Krampitz wrote a series of articles about the shooting, events leading up to it, and the subsequent trial in *The Sealy News*, 14, 26 November and 5 December 1985.

[57] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

[58] William Schaffner.

[59] William Schaffner.

[60] Relations between German settlers and Native American Indians in the Texas Hill Country are well documented. See, for example, Biesele, 178-90; Goeth, 92-94; Irene Marschall King, *John O. Meusebach: German Colonizer in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 111-23; and Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981), 95-96.

[61] Tiling, 28.

[62] Barbara Schramm Vollmer, interview with author, Industry, TX, 25 January 1993.

[63] *Cat Spring Story*, 134.

[64] Dina Kuehn Boelsche.

[65] Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

[66] Mary Kollatschny Andreas, interview with author, 21 January 1993.

[67] Erwin Andreas.

[68] Warren Conner.

[69] Georgia Kollatschny.

[70] Josie Perry, "The Teufel Hotel," in Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 49-50.

[71] Alfred Boelsche.

[72] Perry interview.

[73] Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 31; *Cat Spring Story*, 95.

[74] For a discussion of ancient Germanic charms, see J. Knight Bostock, *A Handbook on Old High German Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 16-32.

[75] Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis," in *The German Language in America: A Symposium*, ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 102-3. See also Don Yoder, *Discovering American Folklife: Studies in Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Culture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990), 96.

[76] Gilbert Jordan reports that a similar tradition was followed by Germans in the Texas Hill Country. See his "German Cultural Heritage in the Hill Country of Texas," in *German Culture in Texas*, 187.

[77] Lynette Winklemann, "Hugo Weige, D.S.T." in Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 32-33.

[78] Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research," 104. Yoder calls those practitioners who were not paid, such as the grandmother mentioned above, domestic powwowers.

[79] Warren Conner.

[80] Biesele, 43.