La Vern J. Rippley

Official Action by Wisconsin to Recruit Immigrants, 1850-1890

Like other states in the Old Northwest, Wisconsin campaigned for immigrants between 1850-1890, virtually all of whom came from the North European countries: Germany, Norway, England, and Sweden.[1] Unlike the others, Wisconsin's main effort by far was targeted toward the German states and the results of this decision can be read in the state and federal censuses, as we shall see at the conclusion of this essay. Official recruitment of immigrants to Wisconsin was spearheaded by state commissioners of immigration. Preparing the seedbed in which future commissioners could cultivate their arts was the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature which enacted liberal laws to enfranchise foreign-born citizens.[2] Although United States naturalization laws required five years of residence for citizenship, in December, 1843, newly arrived Germans in Wisconsin petitioned that they be permitted to vote in a territorial referendum on statehood in 1844. The territorial legislature could not ignore their 1,200 signatures and in January, 1844, passed an act providing that "all free white male inhabitants above the age of 21 years, who have resided in said territory three months shall be deemed qualified, and shall be permitted to vote on said question."

Out of this act came new laws granting immediate suffrage to every free white male of twenty-one years, foreigners included. An amended act of 1845 restricted the franchise to those who had resided at least six months in the territory and required that the voter "shall have declared his intention" to become a citizen of the United States. A comparable plan with a one-year residency requirement was in the constitutional draft of 1846 but was rejected. In the constitutional convention of 1847-48 the topic of franchise for the foreign-born again occupied center stage. Arguments that New York and Ohio had already allowed short periods of residency for suffrage helped in Wisconsin. Supporters argued that the requirements of one-year residency should be shrunk to six months in order to encourage potential new immigrants to head

straight for Wisconsin. In the end, liberals prevailed and the short residency provision remained in effect in Wisconsin until 1912.

Wisconsin legislated its first immigrant recruitment vehicle in 1852, four years after statehood, allocating to the "Commissioner of Emigration" $1500 for salary, $1250 for the publication of pamphlets, $250 for office rent, $100 for maps, and $700 for assistants to the commissioner.[3] The law provided that the commissioner reside in New York, and the first, Dutch-born Gysbert Van Steenwyck, began work in New York on May 18, 1852. After opening the office he contacted immigrant welfare agencies, consuls, shipping firms and similar organizations. Soon he appointed his assistants, a Norwegian, two Germans, and an Englishman. Already the staffing situation showed a pro-German bias. He also published pamphlets describing resources and opportunities for the Wisconsin settler—20,000 in German (further demonstrating the favor accorded German-speaking immigrants), 5,000 in Norwegian, and 4,000 in Dutch. Some 5,000 copies were sent to Europe for distribution while over 20,000 were disseminated in New York on vessels, in taverns, and in hostels to arriving immigrants. In addition to the pamphlets, Steenwyck advertised in English, German and Dutch newspapers which were published in New York. He also peppered the Habsburg territories with his "gospel" which yielded for Wisconsin the first concentration of Czechs anywhere in America.[4]

Wisconsin's commissioner was at first inexperienced and not alone in his campaign for immigrants. Railroad agents and private ticket sellers also sought to influence newcomers. For instance the New York and Erie Railroad sold tickets for departures from the wharf so that docking passengers would not be able to change their minds and head in a direction not served by that line. Whenever an immigrant ship came into port, there was never a lack of hungry agents and runners who swarmed about peddling their services. At portside, as a consequence, the new arrivals were either too busy or too confused. Steenwyck therefore decided to station his agents in Europe and to advertise in at least eight foreign newspapers, most of which were in Germany, thus skewing the effort still more to attract this cultural group. The *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* of Rudolstadt in 1852 carried news columns about Wisconsin's efforts to secure immigrants,[5] and in subsequent years reprinted the annual reports of Wisconsin's commission of immigration. Papers carrying Steenwyck's advertisements were located in Swabia, Cologne, Mannheim, and in Amsterdam. In his *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration* Steenwyck claimed that 436 persons had called personally at his New York office and that 7,389 left New York during 1852 for Wisconsin by way of the Hudson River Railroad and the steamboat route over the Great Lakes.[6]

Following Steenwyck as commissioner in 1853 was Hermann Haertel, a German land agent from Milwaukee, and a friend of Dr. Hildebrandt of Mineral Point. Hildebrandt, of German birth (along with his countrymen, Franz Huebschmann and Moritz Schoeffler), had represented the immigrants' cause ably at Wisconsin's constitutional conventions and subsequently as United States Consul to Bremen, Germany.

In Bremen, it turns out, Consul Hildebrandt proved to be of considerable help to Haertel. Expanding his scope from the previous administration, Haertel advertised in the *London Times*, the *Tipperary Free Press*, the Swiss *Baseler Zeitung*, and the German *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*. Haertel personally wrote a series of articles for the *New York Tribune* about the railroads of Wisconsin. During 1853 some 30,000 pamphlets were distributed, half in Europe, the remaining at U.S. points of entry. Hundreds of letters were answered and the commissioner or his staff visited with 3,000 persons who were considering Wisconsin for their permanent home. Two thirds of them came from Europe, most from Germany, the rest from Norway, Sweden, Ireland, England, Scotland, and Holland. In 1853 Haertel was assisted by a secondary agent for immigration, a man whose duty it was to travel between Wisconsin and New York to make sure the state was accurately represented in the eastern papers. Filling this office was Thomas J. Townsend who wrote exuberantly about Wisconsin's immigrants:

> There is a Germany in America which is destined to be greater than the German's fatherland. Ireland is already Cis Atlantic, and regenerate. The Scandinavian, with a remarkable power of assimilation, touches our shores and is American in thought, feeling and language.[7]

There was reason to be optimistic. In 1853 on a single ship, according to Haertel, a party of 120 Germans landed in Wisconsin with almost $60,000 in their pockets. During 1853 alone, 17,000 Germans, 4,500 Irish, 3,500 Norwegians and a smattering from other countries arrived in Wisconsin. When it became known in other states that wealth was part of the baggage carried especially by the German immigrants, however, opposition to the Wisconsin commissioner arose in neighboring states, which set up competitive offices of their own.

Pleased with his accomplishments, Haertel recommended in 1853 that the Wisconsin statutes be changed to allow re-election of the commissioner of immigration annually. However, like his predecessor, Haertel served only one year and was succeeded in 1854 by Frederick W. Horn, a lawyer and superintendent of schools of Ozaukee County. Horn followed the advice of Steenwyck in establishing an office in Quebec where the majority of immigrants were English, Irish and Norwegian. These newcomers, Horn reasoned, were all likely to follow the St. Lawrence westward to Wisconsin. About 20,000 Norwegians passed through Quebec in 1854 on their way to Wisconsin. Regardless of its apparent success, in a mere six months this office was discontinued and recruitment continued only in New York. From this source alone, during the three months of May, June, and July of 1854, Horn claimed to have steered some 16,000 Germans to Wisconsin.[8] Later that year 9,000 more German immigrants reportedly arrived, 7,000 by way of Chicago and 2,000 via the Great Lakes to Milwaukee. Thousands more arrived the same year through Green Bay, Manitowoc and other lake ports.[9]

In spite of the soaring success enjoyed by Horn, political opposition, fanned to hysteria by nativists in 1855, turned unfavorable for any commissioner at all. Against the recommendations of its special study

committee, therefore, the legislature in 1855 repealed the governor's power to appoint immigration agents.[10] Almost as quickly as the immigration bubble had grown, it had now burst. German immigration, the principal source of Wisconsin's newcomers, plunged on a national basis from nearly 215,000 in 1854 to a mere 72,000 in 1855 for a variety of reasons.[11] Among the nativists there was a tendency to blame "foreigners" for domestic problems. Abroad, economic conditions began to improve following repeated crop failures from 1850-1853, thereby dissipating the pressure for emigration. Wisconsin, therefore, ceased to recruit immigrants and did not resume until 1867.

The writer of the 1853 commissioner's report stressed the opportunities for the German immigrant in agriculture. "It is to that great body of emigrants who are seeking a home in the West as cultivators of the soil, that the natural capabilities of Wisconsin most of all, address themselves" (p. 8). Wisconsin offered not just prairies, but prairies encircled by that all important commodity for the immigrant—wood. Wood to build houses, wood for barns, wood for rail fences (for barbed wire was not invented until 1874), and above all, wood for fuel both at home and as temporary income for the settler who needed to earn money by peddling this salable product in local towns. The writer mentioned that millwrights, carriage artisans, and railroad builders were in great demand. For the future, the reporter theorized correctly, the lumbering industry would grow in Wisconsin as would ship construction and especially cast iron foundries. Telegraph lines had already been laid north from Chicago to Milwaukee, thence to Madison, and across the state to Galena, Illinois. Nevertheless, immigration to Wisconsin declined in 1855, dropped precipitously after the panic of 1857, and was reduced further during the Civil War from 1861-1865.

After the war ended, state legislators in 1867 established a new agency, called now the board of immigration, composed of the governor, the secretary of state, and six other members.[12] All served without compensation but received $2,000 to meet expenses. Initially the new board focused inwardly. Instead of concentrating on the ports of entry, the governor appointed three persons in each county to report favorable information for immigrants to the state board. These county members solicited names of friends and relatives who would be put on a mailing list. Publications of the state board were thereby sent directly to prospective immigrants in Europe. During its first three years, the board published and distributed pamphlets in English, German, French, Welsh, Dutch, Norwegian and Swedish. After a year, the budget was expanded to $3,000 for materials and in 1869 an executive director was appointed to carry out the duties of the board more efficiently. Moreover, state agents were appointed for Milwaukee and Chicago to encourage immigrants to stay in, or come to, Wisconsin.[13]

In 1871, the board of immigration was succeeded once more by a commissioner of immigration, which office was elective on a biennial basis.[14] The commissioner was required to keep an office in Milwaukee and to issue pamphlets each year in English, French, German, Welsh, and Norwegian. While he operated from his Milwaukee office, an

assistant was stationed in Chicago four months out of the year. Initially the new office was held by Ole C. Johnson of Beloit, and by M. J. Argard from 1874-1875, after which the office was again abolished.

Immigrant recruitment now followed economic upsurges and downswings. However, during the term of Ole Johnson, the state again published pamphlets in foreign countries and secured the cooperation of steamship companies and consuls to distribute information about Wisconsin abroad where it would do the most good. Johnson also made arrangements with railroads that if prospective immigrants were interested in reaching Wisconsin, their reason for declining would never be a lack of funds. The *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration* provides a wealth of information about Johnson's other activities.[15] He either sent pamphlets himself or provided individuals with postage sufficient to send them. Johnson targeted his efforts on the inhabitants of European countries.

> Our state is heavily timbered, and not so easily brought under cultivation as the prairies of our neighboring states, and it needs the industrious hardworking yeomanry of the old world, men who are able and willing to fell the huge trees and perform other hard labor necessary in clearing the land.[16]

Expressing a belief that prevailed among early Wisconsinites, Johnson reiterated that forested lands were the best for the immigrants. He conceded that timbered soil required more intense labor to clear it but this disadvantage was easily counterbalanced by the opportunity for a constant income, which was vital to immigrants without means.

With this conviction, Johnson determined to stretch his promotional budget by having pamphlets printed in Europe for one-third the cost of production in the United States and also avoid freight charges. His efforts were rewarded to the extent that between May 1 and December 1, 1871, a total of 8,121 immigrants came to Wisconsin by way of his offices in Milwaukee and Chicago. The largest number from these two stations were Norwegians (3,553) followed by 2,717 Germans and 514 Swedes. The remaining were Danes, Englishmen, Irish, and Belgians. With his eye on the legislature and its budget committee, Johnson pointed out that at least 10,000 new immigrants had come to Wisconsin during 1871. If each newcomer were valued at $100, then the wealth added to the state as a result of immigration was one million dollars. Thus Johnson requested $10,000 for the following year's immigration activities.

Johnson's descriptions were European-, more accurately, German-language-oriented. Crawford County boasted its "large German school" in Prairie du Chien while Dane County pointed to its six townships with mostly Norwegians and six others with mostly Germans. Allegedly, Germans and Norwegians were evenly represented in the remaining townships. Green County's Swiss-born J. J. Tschudy wrote of "untold numbers of creeks and small streams, most of which furnish valuable hydraulic power, utilized for grist-mills, saw-mills, carding-mills, etc." Sauk County writers insisted that "there are German settlements in every town in the county." Appended to the annual

reports were tables of information about numbers and nationalities of immigrants to the United States and Wisconsin. The authors wanted to call attention to the fact that the immigrant was welcome in Wisconsin. In addition to numerical data on nationalities, there were tables of information on ports of departure from Europe and arrival within the United States, suggesting what route immigrants might best select.

Each year Commissioner Ole C. Johnson reported how he spent the state's allocation to advertise for immigrants. During 1872, 10,000 English-language pamphlets were printed in London and another 10,000 in Germany where J. A. Becher, a former resident of Milwaukee and later president of the immigration board, helped distribute them. Becher detailed the firms and consuls who dealt out the 10,000 Wisconsin pamphlets which Becher had printed by B. F. Voigt in Weimar, Germany. Becher personally called on consuls in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, Stuttgart and Hannover. He also enlisted the aid of the North German Lloyd at Bremen, the Hamburg-Amerika Line in Hamburg, the Baltic Lloyd in Stettin, Consul H. C. A. Gross in Vienna, and the Emigration Protective Society of Hamburg, all of which agencies, according to Becher, were delighted to distribute the Wisconsin literature. There was also a Norwegian press run. Welsh pamphlets were prepared only in this country, where Welsh-language promotion in the coal fields of Pennsylvania yielded handsome returns for Wisconsin. Johnson also stressed the educational opportunities of Wisconsin by procuring forty thousand lithographic views of Wisconsin's state university for distribution in England, Belgium, Germany and Norway.

For the year 1874 the commissioner was M. J. Argard of Eau Claire. As a result partly of the panic of 1873 in the United States and partly of improved farming and fishing conditions in Norway, immigration to Wisconsin declined considerably during the 1870s. Nevertheless, 2,458 Germans arrived during the second half of 1874 through the port of Milwaukee alone. During the same period there were arrivals in Milwaukee of 925 Norwegians, 321 Bohemians, 107 Danes, and a smattering of other foreigners adding up to 4,109 European arrivals in six months through Milwaukee alone. Commissioner Argard parroted his predecessors in complaining of the awful treatment allocated to the immigrants who traveled through Chicago en route to Midwestern states. For the good of all new arrivals in Chicago, Argard beseeched Wisconsin's Governor William R. Taylor to reopen a Wisconsin office there. He praised the authorities of Milwaukee and those in charge of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company for the exemplary treatment they accorded the immigrants.

Its achievements notwithstanding, the office of commissioner of immigration was severely limited by the Wisconsin legislature in 1874 and abolished in 1875.[17] Argard wrote the last report for his office, which ceased functioning on September 30, 1875. In it he complained that the legislature was manipulated "by third-rate politicians" who placed Argard's

> manhood and self-respect in the keeping of men, who grasp with the avidity of cormorants and voracity of sharks, after positions they are in no wise competent to fill.

In 1879 the Wisconsin legislature once again reversed itself by adopting a more positive attitude toward immigration. This time it created another board of immigration, the commissioners of which filed their first annual report in January for the year ending December 31, 1880. J. A. Becher, of German origin, now became president of the board. Again exact statistics on arrivals at Milwaukee were reported. In 1880 Germany supplied only slightly more immigrants than did Norway, both delivering over 11,000 followed by Sweden 6,852, Denmark 2,344, Poland 2,249, Bohemia 1,347, and Ireland 1,065. Other tables in the report show that large numbers of Norwegians and Swedes were also passing through Milwaukee but instead of remaining in Wisconsin continued en route to Minnesota. Reportedly these immigrants brought along an average of $60 to $70 each. Arrivals in 1880 of over 21,000 people intending to live in Wisconsin yielded considerable wealth for the state.

The new board advertised in England and Sweden, in Berne, Switzerland, as well as in the German cities of Hannover, Gotha, Mannheim and Rostock. The board also published and distributed 10,000 copies of a pocket map of Wisconsin which included a description of the state and its advantages for immigrants. Also the Chicago office was reactivated with considerable success. Not least, Kent K. Kennan, an agent for the land department of the Wisconsin Central Railway Company, was appointed as a representative for the state board of immigration without cost to the state.[18] Kennan had maps of Wisconsin inserted in the *Emigrant's Friend* in England, and in *Ott's Handbuch für Auswanderer* in Germany. He also saw to it that a large number of map-pamphlets were printed in English, German, Swedish and Norwegian, most of which were distributed by mail. Kennan also advertised in *Der Ansiedler* of Milwaukee, the *American Settler* of London, the *Allehand for Folket* of Orebro, Sweden, and in German papers in Hannover, Rostock, Gotha, Königsberg, Kaiserslautern, Stuttgart and Berlin, as well as in Berne and Vienna.

In 1881 Mr. Kennan reported, however, that the ability of commissioners to influence German immigration directly was now on the wane:

> On account of the stringent laws in those countries which furnish a large percentage of emigrants, very little can be done by personal efforts of an agent. The object he is sent to accomplish, can only be secured by extensive advertising and the distribution of pamphlets.[19]

Upwards of 75,000 documents were distributed by Kennan, some 7,570 of them state pamphlets which fell short of the demand because "these pamphlets, by reason of their official character, carry much more weight and are more eagerly sought for and read by the people, than those of railway and land companies." Kennan carefully pointed out that he improved his credibility with prospective immigrants by representing impartially the state instead of the railroad, by furnishing information to

the laborer bound for Milwaukee as well as for the farmer headed for agricultural lands upstate.

State Board President Becher, in 1881, included in his report a letter from United States Consul Grinnell of Bremen regarding the wealth and caliber of German emigrants.

> The emigrants this year are, without exception, of the best agricultural and industrial classes, taking money with them, the savings of years, the proceeds of their little tenements sold here, etc. . . . Germany has never before lost such numbers of worthy and industrious people as are this year emigrating to the United States, and the loss to the German empire can scarcely be over-estimated. . . . Everyone of them carries to that country, in his labor, a capital which may be estimated at $1200. The total value of the labor thus conveyed to the United States during the last five years, may therefore be estimated at about $700,000,000. No wonder that the United States of America prosper![20]

In 1882, twenty thousand new and revised editions of the Wisconsin maps and pamphlets were printed in the German language, by far the largest press run of all. Since Kennan focused most of his attention on German-speaking emigrants, advertising in the German papers was expanded considerably. Now carrying advertisements for Wisconsin were the papers of Aachen, Dresden, Leipzig, Mainz, Oldenburg, Stettin, Würzburg, Augsburg, Kassel, Darmstadt, Magdeburg, Ulm, Wiesbaden, Paderborn and Posen, a network that covered most of the German-speaking peoples.[21] Once again the board spelled out the need for more foreign immigration to populate the northern counties of Wisconsin. ''No effort should be spared to lead immigration in that direction. The most effective methods of promoting these ends are advertising in foreign newspapers, and the distribution of suitable documents.''[22] The Wisconsin board of immigration now took credit also for new federal legislation that regulated the transportation of immigrants: ''Through the efforts of two representatives of this State, Congress at its last session enacted a law for the carriage of passengers by sea.''

In 1883 and 1884 the Wisconsin board resorted to biennial instead of annual reports. Again there were statistics about financial disbursements and arrivals. In 1883 over 27,000 passed through Milwaukee to settle permanently in Wisconsin while nearly as many proceeded to other states, primarily Minnesota. In 1884, the Wisconsin total dropped to 23,600. Repeatedly the largest group was comprised of Germans, about 15,000 annually, followed by Norwegians with 2,700. Some 1,600 came from Poland and 1,300 from Sweden. Printing and advertising continued to be directed toward German-speaking peoples with 11,600 pamphlets distributed in these regions annually compared to a mere 1,300 each to Sweden and Denmark.[23] True to pattern, the board ''advertised in 41 newspapers, principally German.'' Sample letters of inquiry generated by newspaper advertising were incorporated and a pitch was made for continuation of the board in light of the great wealth the immigrants were thought to be bringing to the state.

As it turned out, however, the Wisconsin board of immigration was doomed. Its last report was filed in 1886 during which the board still advertised in some seventy newspapers. The writer summarized the organization's biennial activities including an 1885 letter from Kent K. Kennan in Basel, Switzerland: "I was impressed by the great number of letters which we received from intending immigrants, asking specifically for a copy of the brochure issued by the Wisconsin Board of Immigration." In a vain effort to change the minds of legislators, supportive comments from newspaper editors all across Wisconsin and from abroad concerning the fine publications of the board were incorporated into the final report. In total, more than 100,000 copies of the state pamphlet had been distributed in various languages besides some 21,000 pocket maps which contained descriptions of the state. In this final report, the board took credit for peopling the northern counties of the state and the factories of the state's major cities with top quality immigrants.

Without a doubt, the most effective single individual in promoting immigration from Europe, especially from Germany to Wisconsin, was Kent K. Kennan. There is some evidence that in doing so he may have violated certain German laws against advertising schemes to promote emigration to Wisconsin, and apparently he established his office in Basel primarily to avoid confrontation with wary German authorities. In the police files at Basel is an inquiry into Kennan's activities, but no specifics about any infractions of the law. However, it appears that investigators were gathering evidence against him, for to this file item was attached a newspaper clipping from *Der Volksfreund aus Schwaben,* February 13, 1883, which reads:

> Emigrants! The fifth common passage to the state of Wisconsin (North America) will leave Bremen on April 4 on board the express steamer, *Elbe.* Travel from Bremen to New York takes only nine days. Information concerning travel costs is available from the office of the North German Lloyd in Bremen. Valuable maps and brochures are also available free and postpaid from the Commissioner of Immigration for the above named state: K. K. Kennan in Basel.[24]

When Kennan wrote about Wisconsin he always exuded the zeal of a true missionary. Kennan also published his own book about Wisconsin, *Der Staat Wisconsin, seine Hülfsquellen und Vorzüge für Auswanderer* (Basel, 1882) and expended untold efforts for the benefit of "his" emigrants.[25]

Whether Wisconsin's official efforts to secure imigrants were successful beyond those of other states is not easy to determine. What is certain is that Wisconsin did attract for permanent settlement the nation's largest component of rural German immigrants. The high percentage of German stock populations in Milwaukee and other eastern Wisconsin urban centers is common knowledge. Inasmuch as it was to the German-speaking countries that Wisconsin's immigration agencies targeted their greatest efforts, it is safe to conclude that these state commissions and boards were one, if not the most important, of the deciding factors. Ever since the commissioners began their work in

the 1850s, Wisconsin always received the largest proportion of immigrants coming from Germany. In terms of rural settlement in contrast to urban concentration, Wisconsin in 1910 had fifteen counties, ten of them contiguous, in which the populations were over thirty-five percent first- and second-generation German. No other state was close, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and Texas each having only one county each with a similar density of rural German settlers.[26] The cause-effect relationship between official action taken by Wisconsin and the resulting population composite seems conclusive.

Saint Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota

Notes

[1] Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 3 (1919-1920), 3-29. See also John G. Gregory, "Foreign Immigration to Wisconsin," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1901* (1902), pp. 137-43.

[2] Louise P. Kellogg, "The Alien Suffrage Provision in the Constitution of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 1 (June, 1918), 422-25. Kate Asaphine Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* 12 (1892), 299-334 discusses the many factors making Wisconsin desirable, including publicity about the state being designated a "German state" in the union. A general outline about legislative action is on p. 314, a discussion of privately published materials begins pp. 314 ff., and the early work of commissioners of immigration is sketched on pp. 319-21, and 327-30.

[3] *Acts and Resolves Passed by the Legislature of Wisconsin, 1852,* Chapter 432. The law reads: "A commissioner of emigration for the state of Wisconsin shall be appointed by the governor, whose duty it shall be to reside and to keep an office in the city of New York from the first day of May next to the first day of May in the year 1853; to be present during the usual business hours at such office and to give to emigrants the necessary information in relation to the soil and climate of the state and the branches of business to be pursued with advantage therein, and the cheapest and most expeditious route by which the same can reach the state, and to give such further information as will, as far as practicable, protect emigrants against the impositions often practiced upon them; to report to the governor as often as required, and in the manner to be prescribed by him, the number of emigrants sent by him to the state, their nationality, and the branches of business intended to be pursued by them; to employ such assistance in the business of his office as will be required and approved by the governor." The state law was among the very first that solicited immigrants while also offering them protection against exploitation. A further section of the law specified that descriptions "of the state shall be printed in English, German, and such other languages as the governor shall deem advisable."

[4] Blegen, "The Competition," p. 5, and Karel D. Bicha, "The Czechs in Wisconsin History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 53 (Spring, 1970), 194-203, esp. 194.

[5] *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung,* No. 21 (19 Feb. 1852). See also such information as the census of Wisconsin reported in the same paper No. 22 (21 Feb. 1852).

[6] Blegen, "The Competition," p. 6. Note that there are several "First Annual" reports of the Commissioners of Immigration in Wisconsin, the first in 1852. Another "first" appeared in 1872 for the year 1871. See *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung,* No. 23 (Feb. 1853). Because ports of immigrant entry were scattered, Steenwyck recommended stationing agents in all European countries as well as in Quebec, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. See also John Goadby Gregory, ed., Ch. iv, "Wisconsin Welcomed Immigrants," in *West Central Wisconsin* (Indianapolis: Clarke, 1933), I, 141-53.

[7] *Annual Report of 1853,* p. 2.

[8] Blegen, "The Competition," p. 9. According to Blegen the report of Horn as third commissioner of immigration was never printed but stored in manuscript form in the governor's vault, under the date August 1, 1854. With reference to the early commissioners and Milwaukee, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 37 ff. About Superintendent Horn, cf. Joseph Schafer, "Four Wisconsin Counties, Prairie and Forest," *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, General Studies, Vol. II (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1927), pp. 236 ff.

[9] Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," p. 301.

[10] *General Acts of Wisconsin, 1855*, Chapter 3. The New York office was closed on April 20, 1855. Newspapers in Germany reported the repeal with disappointment, e.g., *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, No. 46 (15 June 1855).

[11] See the graphs in La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), p. 75.

[12] *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1867*, Chapter 126.

[13] *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1869*, Chapter 118. See also Blegen, "The Competition," p. 12, and Halvdan Koht, "When America Called for Immigrants," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, 14 (1944), 159-83.

[14] *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1871*, Chapter 153.

[15] It was printed by the state offices in 1872 for the year 1871 and annually thereafter.

[16] *First Annual Report, 1871*, p. 9.

[17] *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1874*, Chapter 238 and 338, and *The First Annual Report, 1874*.

[18] *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration for the Year Ending December 31, 1880*, p. 6.

[19] Quoted in *Annual Report, 1881*, p. 13.

[20] *Annual Report, 1881*, p. 14. Becher quotes from the *Hamburger Handelsblatt*, 18 March 1881, a paper in which Kennan advertised regularly.

[21] The complete list is in the *Annual Report of 1882*, pp. 12-13.

[22] Ibid., p. 14.

[23] *Biennial Report, 1884*, pp. 11 ff.

[24] Translation is by the author. The original German is reproduced in Albert B. Faust, *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916), p. 119.

[25] In the introduction to her article, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," p. 299, Everest thanks Kennan for his help in the preparation of her material. Presumably in 1892 he was back in Wisconsin, perhaps in retirement.

[26] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 405-25, esp. pp. 412-13.