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## **Germans in the History of American Alaska, 1867-1993**

Germans, defined broadly as including immigrants from German-speaking Europe coming directly to Alaska as well as German Americans from the lower forty-eight states, have played a vital role in Alaska's history. Russian historian Andre Greinev recognized their importance in Alaska during the Russian period asserting, "On the whole, based on the significance of their contribution in opening up Russian America, the Germans occupy, after the Russians proper, second or third place...leaving far behind representatives of other ethnic groups who took part in Russian colonization of Alaska."<sup>1</sup> Greinev's observation regarding the significance of German contributions in Russian Alaska is also shared during the American period. Paralleling the 126 years of the Russian period (1741-1867), with the first 126 years of the American period, (1867-1993), the significance of German contributions during Alaska's American possession also becomes evident.<sup>2</sup>

In 1741 German fluent Danish Captain Vitas Bering was accompanied by a German scientist Georg Wilhelm Steller on the Russian expeditionary ship *St. Peter*.<sup>3</sup> Steller became the first Euro-American to set foot in Alaska similarly to Captain Cook in Hawaii during the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> While in Alaska Steller named several animals and fauna the most recognizable of his discoveries being the "Steller Jay" and the "Steller Sea Lion" during his scientific observations on Alaska's shores (two mountains were named after Steller: Mount Steller in the Aleutian range 1928 and Mount Steller in the Chugach range 1928; in 1974 Steller Secondary School in Anchorage was named after him).<sup>5</sup> Bering, however, at the first sight of Alaska was anxious to return to Russia as winter fast approached remarking sarcastically in German, "gehen viele mit grosen Winden Schwanger!" translation "Now we think we have found everything, and many are full of expectations like

pregnant windbags!”<sup>6</sup> During the *St. Peter’s* return trip to Kamchatka Bering’s angst was realized when the *St. Peter* was wrecked during a storm. Bering, Steller and crew were marooned on an uninhabited island with a derelict ship. Ford noted while Steller and crew were marooned on Bering Island, “Palatable herbs sent up their first tender shoots, and under Steller’s direction the men dug medicinal plants from the tundra...The health of the sailors was not fully restored until they ate the fresh greens he recommended.”<sup>7</sup> Stellar helped save what remained of the Russian crew on Bering Island with his scurvy remedy, allowing what was left of the German/Russian crew to make it back to Kamchatka.<sup>8</sup> Another German Otto von Kotzebue born in Estonia (the son of August von Kotzebue born in Weimar Germany in 1761, whose assassination in 1819 precipitated the Karlsbad Decrees) appears in the literature during the Russian period accompanied by German scientist, Adelbert von Chamisso (author of *Peter Schlemihl’s wundersame Geschichte* / *Peter Schlemihl’s Miraculous Story*), they traveled together on the Russian ship *Rurik*. Chamisso chronicled the Kotzebue voyage in his diary later published as, *Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffischen Entdeckungs Expedition in den Jahren 1815-1818 auf der Brig Rurik, Kapitain Otto von Kotzebue*. Alaskan historian Robert Fortune made an English translation of Chamisso’s 1856 publication titled, *The Alaska Diary of Adelbert von Chamisso Naturalist on the Kotzebue Voyage 1815-1818* (1986).<sup>9</sup> Kotzebue Middle High School, Kotzebue Sound, Kotzebue Creek, the city of Kotzebue and Chamisso Island and Chamisso Anchorage (not the city of Anchorage, Chamisso Anchorage found in Eschscholtz Bay which Eschscholtz Bay was named for Dr. Frederick Eschscholtz the physician on the *Rurik*) were named after Kotzebue and Chamisso respectively.<sup>10</sup> The most recognizable of all the Germans during the Russian period is Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell. Wrangell served as administrator of Russian Alaska from 1829-35 and then as president of the Russian American Company from 1840-49. Wrangell has left one of the largest imprints on Alaska’s toponymics observed at the town of Wrangell, Wrangell High School, Mount Wrangell, the Wrangell Mountains, Wrangell Island and Wrangell-St. Elias National Park.<sup>11</sup>

Germanic contributions did not halt with the sale of Russian Alaska to the United States in 1867. Russia’s minister to the U.S. who performed the transaction on Russia’s behalf was Eduard A. Stoeckl (from German-speaking Austrian ancestry on his father’s side; Mount Stoeckl in Alaska was later named after him in 1924).<sup>12</sup> The painting commemorating the Alaskan purchase was, *The Signing of the Alaska Treaty* (1867) depicting Secretary of State, William H. Seward, sitting in an armchair with Stoeckl standing to his right stretching his hand over a globe pointing towards Alaska (the original painting is kept at the Seward House Museum in Auburn, New York).<sup>13</sup> *The Signing of the*

*Alaska Treaty* painting was created by the German American painter Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze in 1867 (Leutze is best known for his painting *Washington Crossing the Delaware*).<sup>14</sup> Alaskan historian Terrence Cole observed, "The man who made Washington stand up in the boat was also responsible for the most important historical painting in Alaskan history."<sup>15</sup> Historian Lee Farrow noted that the Alaskan purchase was welcomed by the Germans. Otto von Bismarck, who had just created the northern confederation of German states under the control of Prussia in 1867, viewed the Alaskan purchase favorably, understanding that the Alaskan purchase was in line with the Monroe Doctrine (the full consolidation of the German nation would not occur until four years after the Alaskan purchase January 18, 1871, when Bismarck brought the western German states into an alliance with the northern German states and solidified Germany's unification by defeating France in the Franco-Prussian war).<sup>16</sup> The nineteenth century, the century of Alaska's purchase by the United States, was also the century that saw the largest influx of German immigrants into the U.S. with over five million Germans immigrating into the country. Similar to the Russian period of Alaska, the American period saw its share of Germanic influence. Germans, Austrians and Swiss all helped make contributions in Alaska's mining, agriculture, defense, politics, science, the history department of Alaska's first college at the University of Alaska Fairbanks and in tourism on the ski slopes of Alyeska.

Mining was one of the first industries in American Alaska and Germans would play a role in its development. One notable German miner, George Pilz, was born in Saxony, Germany, in 1845. Pilz influenced the history of gold mining in Alaska and was Alaska's first formally educated mining engineer to arrive there, having received his mining degrees in Freiburg, Germany, and he worked in the coal mines near Leipzig before immigrating to the United States in 1867 the year of Alaska's purchase. Pilz's first jobs were working in the copper mines of Michigan he also mined in California, Nevada and Arizona before moving to Alaska. Pilz began gold exploration in Southeast region of Alaska where he moved to Sitka in 1879 and worked at the Stewart Mine in Silver Bay near Sitka.<sup>17</sup> Historian Harry Ritter writes, "The first major strike, by the French Canadian Joe Juneau and his partner Richard Harris, came in 1880 at Gold Creek – the site of present day Juneau. The two men had been outfitted by a German immigrant mining engineer named George Pilz..."<sup>18</sup> A year after outfitting Juneau and Harris, Pilz wrote a letter to the *Mining and Scientific Press* stating:

I think it probable that as you have not heard for a long time from this part of the coast (Sitka), a few notes in regard to certain newspaper reports may be of advantage to the

readers of the Mining and Scientific Press. During the past summer, feeling confident of the mineral wealth of Alaska, I fitted out seven different parties to prospect, each with six month's provisions and equipments. I also paid each party, which consisted of five or six men, regular wages; as otherwise I could not expect to have the prospecting of the country done to my own satisfaction...<sup>19</sup>

In 1912 the newspaper *Juneau Empire* gave the true credit of founding Juneau to Pilz, stating: "George Pilz, who according to Chase Wells, is really the discoverer of Juneau, at the time of the discovery was superintendent of the Stewart mine, 12 miles back of Sitka. It was a ten stamp affair and was owned by Portland Ore., people. It was Pilz who grubstaked Richard Harris and Joe Juneau to explore this section."<sup>20</sup> Pilz passed away in Eagle, Alaska in 1926. Pilz later received recognition for his contributions in the field of Alaskan mining and was inducted into the Alaska Mining Hall of Fame Foundation.<sup>21</sup>

Nineteen years after Pilz grubstaked Juneau and Harris, Edward E. Harriman, an American Financier and Railroad executive, selected German American Forester Bernhard E. Fernow to join the Harriman Expedition (a scientific expedition) to Alaska. Fernow originally came from the Prussian province of Posen and worked for the Prussian Forest Service there, he was a veteran from the Franco-Prussian War. In 1882 Fernow became a United States citizen after his marrying an American. Barbara and Mary Selig write regarding Fernow's expedition to Alaska, "Professionally, he found the trees along the coastal area of Alaska were not a good source of timber..."<sup>22</sup> Fernow's negative perception of Alaskan timber can be observed in his report:

...The present commercial value of the forests of the Alexander Archipelago is not of high order, the character and quality of its timber being inferior. The species mainly composing it, spruce and hemlock, are of inferior quality; the open stand and moist climate produces excessive branch growth and knotty timber; the roughness of the country makes logging operations expensive. The valuable Alaska Cedar occurs only in limited quantities and the Red Cedar still more so, entering Alaskan territory only at the southern extremity. Nevertheless, a field for the development of a paper pulp industry is suggested.<sup>23</sup>

Fernow's negative report of Alaskan forests helped stall the logging industry for years to come as the Selig's write, "However it did keep timber companies

out of Alaska for a time.”<sup>24</sup> Ironically, Fernow helped preserve the environment he was sent to investigate for exploitation due to his negative reporting on Alaskan forests resulting in only a small scale pulp mill operation in Southeast Alaska.<sup>25</sup> Large scale logging did not become prevalent until the 1950s.

After the goldrush era had ended the next significant event to influence Alaska's history was World War One. Wartime paranoia would grip the territory of Alaska, but not as bad as in other regions of the United States as historian Preston Jones observed, “On the whole, Alaska walked a more moderate path.”<sup>26</sup> Although Jones added, “But there is no doubt that Germans in Alaska were watched, and that whatever culture of easy trust that existed in Alaska's communities came under pressure.”<sup>27</sup> This more moderate path can be seen in the treatment of Germans just nine years prior to the outbreak of war with Germany: the Germans were given an entire day of celebrating everything German on August 18, 1909, at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle.<sup>28</sup> The celebration even received a congratulatory telegram from the Kaiser. *The Daily Progressive Miner* in Ketchikan Alaska reported four days after the United States declared war on Germany with an article titled “Our German Alaskans” reprinted from the *Juneau Dispatch*:

Now that it has come to war we can be sure that the Germans in Alaska are just as good Americans as any of us. There isn't one of us who is not happy in the acquaintance of some Alaskans who were born in the country with which we shall be in a state of war but we know them to well to consider them anything but the best of Americans and the best of friends. George Washington was English to the core, even if not born in England, and who would dare say that he was not the noblest American of them all? There may be some German born amongst us who have not become naturalized, but even if the law requires that they must be considered as “enemy aliens,” they will only be so considered in the technical sense. Germany and America will again be friends. The German people and the American people are friends today and the government of the United States in warring on the governmental methods of Germany can well say to the German people in the words of the old German song: “Brothers full up anew: We war not, friend on you.”<sup>29</sup>

Although the Alaskan press was exercising caution there were still issues with German paranoia observed in a situation with a German trapper who worked a trapline along the Kantishna River located in interior Alaska near Fairbanks. The National Park Service noted that Carl Nigel, “came in 1912 the first

white man to stay in that area” was deported from the territory.<sup>30</sup> Nigel was “a German national arrested after Uncle Sam declared war on the Kaiser. The U.S. marshal in Fairbanks became convinced Nigel was a security menace and had him interned Outside.”<sup>31</sup> A hand colored lantern slide featuring Carl Nigel has a caption on it reading, “Carl Nigel standing under sign. He wanted to stand with gun at present arms, which I would not allow. He was secretly organizing Germans and had been a high non-commissioned officer in the German army.”<sup>32</sup> The chances of Nigel organizing effective resistance against the American government in Alaska’s remote interior is implausible at best. Yet, due to these accusations Nigel was deported. It did not help Nigel’s cause that he displayed a German sign on the front of his cabin roof that spelled out “Hindenburg.”<sup>33</sup> Overall Germans in Alaska like Nigel were treated better than Germans in other parts of America, especially when these Germans kept a low profile. Alaska did not see the extreme anti-German sentiment that occurred in other parts of the country that manifested in acts such as a lynching in Illinois.<sup>34</sup>

Agriculture was another field in Alaska which Germans would excel at. Joseph A. Kendler was born in Saalbach, Austria in 1886 and his wife Mathilda Kendler was born in Weinheim, Germany. Kendler moved to America in 1913 and made his way to Alaska and began working for *Alaska Dairy* on Douglas Island (near Juneau) in 1917 not becoming a naturalized citizen until three years after World War One ended in 1921. Joe’s story reveals German speaking Austrians like himself could be readily accepted in Alaskan communities in the midst of World War One (Austria was one of Germany’s allies during World War One).<sup>35</sup> Joe got into dairy farming in Alaska due to his Austrian upbringing, as Joe remembered, “Most of the time I worked on a dairy farm, which was high up on a mountain plateau, surrounded by a long chain of immense mountains and beautiful meadows. My job was caring for the cows and making Swiss cheese, which my employer exported.”<sup>36</sup> Joe’s experiences in Austria were perfect preparation for dairying in Alaska’s Southeastern Panhandle. When Joe returned from visiting relatives in Austria he met his future wife Mathilda a German traveling on the *SS Hansa*. Mathilda was traveling to Chicago in order to stay with her aunt and work at her aunt’s delicatessen. Mathilda made the decision to move to America reflecting:

During World War 1 in Germany, the Allied embargo on food and raw material was so successful that food displays in grocery stores, bakeries and butcher shops completely disappeared. Potted geraniums were on display instead. The war ended three years before I left for America, but war time

shortages were still just as acute. Factories stood idle, store shelves were empty. Looking at the store windows, I mentally stocked them with prewar goodies my grandmother used to make.<sup>37</sup>

One such food Mathilda warmly remembered her German grandmother making was *Käsekuchen* (cheesecake). After arriving in America Joe and Mathilda communicated by letter for two years and then Mathilda traveled to Juneau in 1922 where she and Joe were married. The next year Joe purchased the *Alaska Dairy* and its 320 acres (the U.S. government doubled the homestead act from 160 acres to 320 acres specially for Alaska believing the doubled homestead size would attract more settlers to Alaska). Together the Kendler's developed the most successful dairy in the Southeast region.<sup>38</sup> The Kendler's fed the growing town of Juneau with their Alaska Dairy products from 1922 to 1951. Mathilda recorded her family's experiences farming in Alaska in her autobiography *Kendler's: The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy* (1983). Mathilda reminisced, "My husband Joe and I were lucky enough to have been a part of Juneau from 1922-1965. We owned and operated the Alaska Dairy farm 10 miles out of the city for more than 35 years and we stayed another ten years after we gave up our business."<sup>39</sup> The Kendler's sold their farm and moved near Seattle, Washington where Joe passed away in 1967 and Mathilda passed away in 1988. Although Kendler's *Alaska Dairy* has ceased operation, a large section of the Kendler farm that was sold became a part of Juneau's now modern airport. The Kendler name can also be found on a road near the airport titled, "Kendler Way."<sup>40</sup>

World War One had strained German and American relations. After it ended Germany sought to repair its tarnished image in America. Germany sent prominent goodwill representatives to ease tensions such as Captain Erwin Wassner who docked his Königsberg Klasse (class) Kreuzer (cruiser) the *Karlsruhe* in Juneau on May 19, 1932.<sup>41</sup> Wassner was a notable German submarine captain from the First World War, decorated with the *Pour Le Merite* twice for his achievements. The *Karlsruhe* and its crew of 560 men stayed in Juneau for 11 days.<sup>42</sup> During the *Karlsruhe's* visit, Alaska's then territorial governor, George Parks, invited Wassner and his officers to a dinner and dance at the governor's mansion in Juneau.<sup>43</sup> The purpose of *Karlsruhe's* 12-month international trip was as historian Simone De Ramos Santiago observed, "The German goodwill tours of the early 1930s were an important first step in reconciling Germany to the rest of the world. They were meant to improve international relations, and the German government could not have picked better representatives."<sup>44</sup> To this aim the *Karlsruhe's* crew helped ease German-American tensions in Alaska as the *Karlsruhe's* crew performed community outreach noted in a newspaper column. The newspaper stated:



A squadron from the German Cruiser Karlsruhe and American Legion members, the majority of whom saw service overseas, took part in a memorial day parade. The cruiser will be in port 11 days. Commander Wassner rode in the parade with commander Dench of the coast guard cutter Tallapoosa.<sup>45</sup>

By participating in dances at the governor's mansion, linking up with local American Legion members and participating in local parades the *Karlsruhe's* commander and crew performed their duty of promoting German goodwill in Alaska.<sup>46</sup>

The interwar period between World War One and World War Two also saw Alaska receive a German American territorial governor, Ernest H. Gruening, who was personally appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939. Gruening would hold his Alaskan Territorial Governor position until 1953. Gruening was originally from New York where he was born in 1887 and his earliest memory noted in his autobiography was knocking on his parents' door and shouting, "Ein Löwe steht vor deiner Tür!" (A lion stands before your door).<sup>47</sup> Gruening goes on to write regarding his family's usage of German and English at home, "...we were all bilingual and used both languages interchangeably." Gruening's father Emil Gruening of German Jewish ancestry had just immigrated to America from Posen, Prussia (coincidentally the same place Furnow had immigrated from; after the Treaty of Versailles, Posen was returned to Poland). Emil joined the Seventh New Jersey Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War and as Ernest writes "... Father fought in the battle of Five Forks and was among the cheering boys in blue at the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox."<sup>48</sup> Ernest's father earned money for college to become a physician by working as a German tutor. Emil's son Ernest Gruening would shape the Alaskan Territory and State by first serving first as Alaska's Territorial Governor from 1939 to 1953 and then as Alaska's Senator from 1959 to 1969. Gruening authored several books about Alaska's history, one of which was *An Alaskan Reader 1867-1967*. In it, Gruening includes a selection from a German journalist, writing, "A foreigner's view of contemporary Alaska is presented by the German Hans Otto Meissner, journalist and big-game hunter, in his book, *Bezaubernde Wildnis* ("Enchanted Wilderness). A more understanding appraisal of Alaska and its people has seldom been written."<sup>49</sup> Gruening was also a strong proponent of Alaska Statehood. Alaskan Statehood was achieved in 1959 when American president Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Alaska in as the 49th state. Eisenhower was from German ancestry, as noted by his granddaughter Susan Eisenhower, "The name Eisenhauer was anglicized to Eisenhower



sometime shortly after their arrival in North America.”<sup>50</sup> Eisenhower’s signing Alaska statehood marked one of the most important achievements of Alaskan history during the 20th century and it was signed in by a president from German ancestry. Eisenhower wrote regarding his granting statehood to Alaska, “Because of its location across the Bering Strait from the Soviet Union, Alaska had a particular strategic significance: within the northern and western parts of Alaska, it was essential that our military forces continue to have maximum freedom of movement.”<sup>51</sup> After Gruening’s time as Territorial Governor, his involvement with Alaska Statehood and his term as Alaskan Senator, Gruening’s name became ubiquitous around the state, from the “Gruening building” located at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (amusingly the current site of UAF’s German language department), “Gruening Street” in Homer, “Gruening Middle School” in Eagle River and “Ernest Gruening State Historical Park” located just north of Juneau.<sup>52</sup>

As World War II approached, Alaska had an opportunity to provide a safe haven for German Jews in 1938 with the Slattery Plan. The Slattery Plan endorsed moving European refugees, predominantly Jews, from Nazi Germany and Austria to Alaska. There were issues with the Slattery Plan; one article noted that there was not enough housing in Alaska to bring in a large influx of “foreigners.”<sup>53</sup> Reading between the lines, the issue was more complicated than a lack of housing. Alaska’s Delegate to Congress, Democrat Anthony Dimond was noted in 1939 as being:

...emphatically opposed to the colonization of Alaska misfits and refugees from other countries, and declares that there is not the glimmer of a hope in congress in its wisdom will sponsor such a movement or enact legislation that will let down the bars to a foreign horde entering Alaska and discriminating against her as compared with the rest of America.<sup>54</sup>

Antisemitism was another factor at play during the Jewish immigration debate. German born Alaskan Historian Claus Naske published an article on Alaska’s missed opportunity to help Jewish immigrants in Alaska titled, “Jewish Immigration and Alaskan Economic Development: A Study in Futility.”<sup>55</sup> Naske’s *weltschmerz* is apparent in the title of his publication. In his article, Naske chronicles the missed opportunities that Alaska’s Governor Ernest Gruening failed to exploit. Naske writes deservingly critical of Gruening:

After considerable testimony, the hearings concluded, but Congress took no action on the bill, owing in part to the

negative nature of much of the testimony. In addition, both the King-Havener measure and the Slattery plan on which it was based contained many weaknesses. Gruening and Dimond had criticized the inadequacy of the Slattery plan, which failed to recognize how limited economic opportunities were in Alaska. The governor (Naske refers to Governor Gruening here) was correct in his criticism of the plan as unrealistic, but as a lifelong liberal he should have taken up the cause of people in dire jeopardy and urged that at least a few hundred of these be settled in Alaska immediately. As opportunity arose more should have been added, given his German-Jewish background, it is astonishing that Gruening was so opposed to efforts to help these people.”<sup>56</sup>

Naske’s frustration with Gruening becomes more apparent upon realizing that Naske lost Jewish relatives during the Nazi period on his mother’s side in his home country of Germany (Naske’s mother’s last name was Solomon; Naske’s father was an officer in the Wehrmacht and was able to protect his family from persecution, due to his high rank).<sup>57</sup> Naske noted that he lost a grandfather and three uncles, who were executed in concentration camps.<sup>58</sup>

Less than 10 years after the *Karlsruhe’s* goodwill tour ended, the United States was at war with Germany again. During World War II Alaska received 700 German POWs who were predominantly came from the Afrika Korps captured in Tunisia in 1943. *The Alaska Journal* published an article titled, “German Prisoners of War in Alaska” (1984).<sup>59</sup> In 1945, 700 Germans were sent to Alaska in order to tear apart an 18 million dollar barge terminal that should not have been built in the first place, referring to it as, “the Army’s white elephant on Excursion Inlet.”<sup>60</sup> War time censorship largely prevented public knowledge of this wasted money as well as about the Germans who dismantled it. The article goes on to state, “More German POWs might have been brought to Alaska for salvage work, except for strong opposition to their presence by Delegate Bob Bartlett and territorial Gov. Ernest Gruening.” Naske observed regarding military bases in Alaska:

Actually, many of the military construction projects and activities had been wasteful and badly planned from the very beginning. When war broke out in December 1941, numerous Alaskan bases had been under construction but all for purely defensive purposes. In fact, most of the bases had been poorly located and badly planned. For example,

neither Army nor Navy bases were built taking into account the role of airpower. At the Navy bases at Sitka, Kodiak, and Dutch Harbor, and at Fort Richardson (the principal Army base near Anchorage), structures were crammed together without provision or forethought for concealment, camouflage, or dispersal, and had the Japanese invaded Alaska, Gruening asserted, these bases would have been extremely vulnerable targets.<sup>61</sup>

Gruening was both concerned and aware of the issue regarding the poor selection of sites for military installations throughout Alaska, having criticized the naval base problem in 1942.<sup>62</sup> Gruening was also aware of the Excursion Inlet base as Naske recounts:

In August of 1942, Gruening recounted, he learned that the Army had contracted for the construction of a transshipment port on the site at a cost of \$23 million. The Army planned to transport all goods and supplies destined for western Alaska and the Aleutians by barge from Seattle up the protected waters of the Inland Passage to be unloaded at Excursion Inlet... Just as Gruening had predicted, the project turned out to be waste on a colossal scale.<sup>63</sup>

Just as Naske could be critical of Gruening's shortcomings such as Gruening's inability to offer German Jews a refuge in Alaska, Naske could also see Gruening's strengths regarding his exceptional leadership ability on the Homefront of the Alaskan war effort against Japan. Gruening was troubled by the Excursion Inlet base again two years later in 1944 when he learned that German POW ersatz labor was taking away Alaskan jobs to dismantle the poorly planned base he flagged two years earlier.<sup>64</sup>

Germans were not just POWs interned in Alaska during World War II dismantling Alaskan bases. The descendants of Germans contributed to America's war effort in Alaska too. Ross Elroy Wulfkuhle from Kansas, who served in the Alaskan theater of war, was of German ancestry:

...the second of seven children whose parents were William Ferdinand Wulfkuhle and Mildred Ann Gress Wulfkuhle. The Wulfkuhle ancestors emigrated from Kohlstadt, Germany, in 1860, joining several other German families in the community of Deer Creek, now Stull, Kansas, a small unincorporated village between Lawrence and Topeka. Ross's grandfather, William, was a lad of four years at that time.

In Germany their occupations were shoemakers and hops pluckers. Most of the succeeding generations continued in agricultural work.<sup>65</sup>

Wulfskuhle was drafted into the U.S. military in 1941 and received orders for a two year tour in the Aleutians beginning in August of 1943. While Wulfskuhle was stationed on Kiska he built Franklin Delano Roosevelt's wheelchair ramp during a presidential visit there. Wulfskuhle was unable to write back home to friends and family about building FDR's wheelchair ramp, due to secrecy regarding FDR's disability.<sup>66</sup>

Ten years after World War Two ended the Alaskan Constitution would be written from 1955 to 1956, and German-speaking immigrants would share a hand in its creation. Yule F. Kilcher was born in Switzerland in 1913 moved to the United States settling in Homer, Alaska, in 1940, where he homesteaded 660 acres. Kilcher served on Alaska's first constitutional convention held in Fairbanks at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.<sup>67</sup> Kilcher suggested removing the "ugh" from the word "Borough," as Kilcher stated:

I suggest that as a last compromise, a small compromise with the bigger ones we have made, that we at least change the spelling of this borough to b-o-r-o. I don't see any reason at all why we should stick to this u-g-h spelling. It hasn't changed since Chaucer used it. It has a nostalgic reference looking back towards New York and further beyond the ocean towards England. The spelling of b-o-r-o is commonly used in connection with and affixed to town names.<sup>68</sup>

The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* noted, however, that the local government article went into the constitution with the name of local government units, still set at "borough."<sup>69</sup> After serving on the constitutional convention Kilcher returned to Switzerland for 21 months and then came back to Alaska to live permanently.<sup>70</sup> Kilcher also served as a member of the Alaskan State Senate from 1963 to 1967. Kilcher noted that his best memories were homesteading in Homer, stating, "The best times were haying and berrypicking, hunting ptarmigan, skiing the back hills in winter, singing songs around the table at dinner."<sup>71</sup> Kilcher also enjoyed mushroom picking; he noted his father was an expert mushroom picker in Switzerland and Kilcher was surprised to find that many of the European varieties of mushroom he was familiar with in Switzerland were to be found in Alaska.<sup>72</sup> On his homestead in Homer, Kilcher harvested naturally occurring coal found on the beaches for heat, he subsistence harvested silver salmon and grew Arctic Seedling potatoes. Kilcher noted:

I'll pick them out I did that for thirty-five years I've done that since 1943 a fellow gave me these arctic seedling potatoes they were very popular in those days you know and uh he selected for 15 years that makes it fifty years by now see yeah every year I pick out the nicest hills and uh that will be my next years seed and then I pick the nicest again I always pick the nicest for next year's seeds and so I have a very nice train here healthy potatoes look at that shape.<sup>73</sup>

Kilcher noted regarding his decision to come to Alaska:

I had a dream ever since 1935 in effect and I went on my year and a half cruise to find an appropriate corner where our young group of then idealists could lead the kind of life we wanted, with the war and other things interfering I not much came of it, but I stuck today this idea, through thick and thin, through my years working in Alaska as a builder, as a homesteader, and politician if you will.<sup>74</sup>

Kilcher lived in Alaska for 58 years before he passed away in Homer, Alaska in 1998. "Kilcher Road" and the "Kilcher Family Homestead" (now a living museum), all reflect his name.<sup>75</sup>

German-speaking immigrants would continue influencing Alaskan politics after Alaskan Statehood was granted by German American President Eisenhower in 1959. Walter J. "Wally" Hickel born near Claflin, Kansas, in 1919 would become the second governor of the State of Alaska (1966-69) and serve again as Alaskan Governor from (1990-94).<sup>76</sup> Hickel was the eldest of ten children born to Robert and Emma Hickel. Hickel's grandparents had left southern Germany and had settled near a German community in Claflin, Kansas. *Time Magazine* referred to Hickel's ancestry as, "...the son of a German American tenant farmer."<sup>77</sup> Hickel personally noted about his German ancestry in his autobiography *Who Owns America?*, writing:

My parents were both first-generation Americans. My mother's parents, whose surname was Zecha, emigrated from southern Germany about 1890, and my mother was born in Odin, Kansas, in 1894. Nearly everyone in the area was of German ancestry, and until the middle 1930's, the grade school in Odin conducted classes in German for half of each day. My grandparents on the Hickel side had left

southern Germany a decade or so before the Zecha family did, and my father Robert Anthony Hickel, was born near Claflin. My grandparents never did learn to speak English, and my older sister, Gertrude was handicapped by the mix of German and English when she first went to school. Perhaps that is why my parents stopped speaking German in our home. I understood the language fairly well as a small boy, but I have some difficulty with it now. There were 10 children in the family in our family. I was the oldest boy. My sisters Gertrude and Catherine were four and two years old, respectively, when I was born. Seven other children were born in the “great house.”<sup>78</sup>

Hickel moved away from Kansas and settled in Anchorage, Alaska in 1940. Upon his arrival in Alaska, he only had 37 cents to his name, but through hard work and sacrifice Hickel became a self-made millionaire. Hickel’s construction company built the Captain Cook hotel in downtown Anchorage, after the great Alaska earthquake of 1964.<sup>79</sup> Hickel’s willingness to build in the aftermath of the earthquake encouraged others to help rebuild Anchorage as well.<sup>80</sup> After serving as Alaska’s Governor from 1966 to 1969, he left his term as governor early in order to serve as Secretary of the Interior in the Nixon administration. His first term as governor saw the construction of the Hickel Highway, which was the first road that attempted to reach Alaska’s north slope.<sup>81</sup> Although the Hickel Highway no longer exists (the Dalton Highway took its place) Hickel still has a road named after him, “In 2012, the Alaska State Legislature named a 7.5-mile section of Minnesota Drive and O’Malley Road the Walter J. Hickel Expressway from 15th Avenue to the New Seward Highway in Anchorage.”<sup>82</sup> Hickel passed away in Anchorage, Alaska in 2010.

Otto W. Geist breaks up the chronology of this paper due to his arrival in Alaska in 1923 and remaining in Alaska until after statehood in 1962, but his influence on science in Alaska is significant. Otto W. Geist born in Eiselfing, Germany in 1888 one of fifteen children born to a southern German family in Bavaria. Geist was trained as an auto mechanic and served in the German army until he was able to receive his discharge papers and immigrate to America in 1910.<sup>83</sup> Geist’s arrival in New York marked the beginning of his wanderlust as he moved to Chicago, then St. Louis, and then on to Kansas City. Geist found employment on a farm on the outskirts of Kansas City for \$100 a year and worked as a farmhand there for a couple of years. Geist left his farmhand job for an auto mechanic position with Sterling Morton. Geist then left Morton in order to work on transport trucks

for the U.S. army fighting Pancho Villa. Afterwards, Geist joined the U.S. Army again in order to serve in France during World War One. When Geist returned from his WW1 service he decided to move to Alaska and join his brother there in 1923. Upon arriving in Alaska, Geist obtained a dishwashing job at a restaurant in Anchorage operated by Kurt Wagner, who was also from German ancestry.<sup>84</sup> Geist saved his money and made plans to mine gold. He did not end up becoming a successful gold miner but became a successful archaeologist. His success with archaeology began when Charles Bunnell (University of Alaska president) sponsored Geist's archaeological digs in 1927. The Native Alaskans of St. Lawrence Island, where Geist did most of his archaeological work, later adopted him, providing him with a whale tattoo and the nickname, "Aghvook" meaning "whale." Geist's nickname "Aghvook" was used in the title of his biography by Charles Keim, *Aghvook, White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology* (1969). Keim writes, "The German immigrant who had come to Alaska in 1923 now, thirteen years later, was an acknowledged scientist both outside and inside the vast territory. That same year the Explorers Club of New York elected him to its membership."<sup>85</sup> Just thirteen years after arriving in Alaska, Geist had authored a book about his findings titled *Archaeological Excavations at Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska: Preliminary Report* (1936).<sup>86</sup> Gruening provides insight regarding what a day in the life digging up artifacts with Geist involved:

We visited Dr. Geist's workshop where he was reconstructing the skull of a mammoth and preparing it for shipment, wrapped in rice paper and then encased in cement. I asked him whether the presence of lion and tiger bones meant that Alaska had once had a tropical climate, but he said that in the view of some zoologists the lion's mane was a survival of life in a colder climate, and that the lioness had lost her mane first. He also said that some human bones had been found but no one knew whether mastodon and man had been contemporaneous in Alaska. Equipped with rubber boots, old clothes and a gunny sack, Peter and I went on a bone-hunt of our own with Dr. Geist. We descended a steep slope of frozen muck until we reached a place seventy feet below the surface where the gravel was exposed. Dr. Geist directed us to pick up all bones. Later we would discard the useless fragments. It was so warm that we took off our shirts and worked bare from the waist up. We found a considerable number of bison vertebrae and shoulder blades, but the



first good find was the maxilla of a young mammoth with teeth in place. Dr. Geist said he would have it polished and sent to us in Washington. Then Peter found the femur of a mammoth, half as high as he was and weighing twenty-five pounds. It was in almost perfect condition and Dr. Geist pronounced it the best find of the day.<sup>87</sup>

The 1930's were successful scientific years for Geist, but he faced adversity during World War Two. Keim writes:

Otto was scheduled to travel to New York to work in the Frick Laboratory. He was packed and ready to leave when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and America entered the war. Alaskans, because of their relatively isolated geographic position and lack of defenses, were quite jittery. Again, because of Otto's German ancestry, some of his more ignorant neighbors who did not know his background suspected that he was pro-German. Soon a rumor began going around that he planned to leave Alaska with a big bundle of important maps.<sup>88</sup>

Fortunately for Geist, his friends stood up for him and he was not deported. Geist was able to make a beneficial impact for the United States on the Alaskan war front. Alaskan historian Ross Coen asserted:

During World War II, Geist helped organize the Alaska Territorial Guard, an all-volunteer reconnaissance and defense force comprised mainly of Alaska Natives. ATG officials wanted leaders who understood village life and had the respect of Natives. Geist was the perfect choice.<sup>89</sup>

Coen's observations regarding Geist having, "understood village life and had the respect of Natives" is apparent in Geist's pre-war work during his archaeological digs he compiled over fifty Alaska Native place names (predominantly on St. Lawrence Island) which he reported to the U.S. Geological Service in 1932.<sup>90</sup> After the war Geist continued with his archaeological pursuits and earned the title "Dr. Geist" on May 13, 1957, when he received his honorary doctorate from University of Alaska Fairbanks. During his graduation ceremony he received the following address:

Born in Eiselfing, Bavaria, and came to the United States which he served in three wars. Initiated the archaeological

work on St. Lawrence Island; contributed greatly to the geographical knowledge and Eskimo nomenclature of that island; secured for the University of Alaska museum one of the largest Eskimo archaeological collections in the world; is chiefly responsible for the present status of that museum; gathered thousands of specimens for the University of Alaska and other institutions; made the only accurate observations of the Black Rapids Glacier advance in 1937; conducted several expeditions in the Yukon territory and Alaska; publisher of the book "Archaeological Excavations at Kukulik" and of numerous articles; has always been generous in sharing his vast amount of scientific information.<sup>91</sup>

The citations go on. The honorary doctorate was a crowning achievement among a long list of personal accomplishments. Five years after receiving his doctorate Geist left Alaska for Europe in 1962 in order to visit friends and family back in Germany. During his vacation in Germany Geist discovered that he had cancer and passed away in a hospital in Munich, Germany on August 3, 1963.<sup>92</sup> The "Otto Geist - Museum of the North Building" located on University of Alaska Fairbanks's campus was named after him as well as "Geist Road" located in Fairbanks and "Mt. Geist" (1965) located near Delta all reflect his name.<sup>93</sup>

It is fitting a German would become one of Alaska's most prominent historians, as the modern history profession has its foundation in Germany. German historian Leopold von Ranke noted history should be written, "wie es eigentlich gewesen" meaning "how it really was."<sup>94</sup> Claus M. Naske arrived in Alaska in 1954 and made a profound influence on Alaska's 20th century historiography. Naske was also able to write history "how it really was," due to experiencing history firsthand. Naske was born in Stettin, Germany a Baltic seaport December 18, 1935 (Stettin is now part of Poland and is now called Szczecin; at the end of World War II the borders between Germany and Poland changed to compensate Poland).<sup>95</sup> Naske noted that his family moved around from Kolberg to Novogard as Naske remembered:

In February of 1945 you could hear the artillery fire from 18 kilometers the sky was red from burning villages and towns. We thought it was time to get out now or never... Everyone was afraid of the Russians it was axiomatic and when I grew up the boogiemán in my youth was the Russian he might get you and in my case it came true... We kids were playing on a huge farm estate in eastern Europe around the barn

came a Mongolian soldier with a burp gun. These were the advance troops...<sup>96</sup>

Naske describes anguish and privation traveling across war ravaged Germany with his mother and three sisters, finally making their way to war devastated Berlin. There was no food anywhere on their journey as Naske remembered one had to forage for food off the land or steal food since there were no food stands to be had. Naske was also forced to do slave labor for the Russian soldiers as they made Naske herd cattle. Fortunately Naske was able to escape when the Russian soldiers were not paying attention and reunite with his mother and sisters. By 1946 Naske and his family had finally made it to Western Germany out of the Soviet Zone and Naske started attending school again after a two year hiatus from 1944-46 (in 1944 his school had been turned into a field hospital) and he found returning to school difficult.<sup>97</sup> Naske read three novels about Alaska and with things not going well for him in school in Germany his father helped him write letters to Whitehorse, Canada and Palmer, Alaska to see if there were any families in either location willing to sponsor Naske. The letter printed in Palmer, Alaska's *The Frontiersman* Newspaper reads:

Editor's note: The following letter was sent by a German youth seeking a foster home in Alaska. The letter was received by U.S. Commissioner Dorothy B. Saxton and is published below. Anyone interested in assisting Mr. Naske is asked to contact Mrs. Saxton.

Claus Naske  
3, Nonnenberg  
Goslar/Harz  
Germany-Western Zone  
March 30, 1953  
To Town Authority  
Matanuska  
Alaska  
Sir!

Very interested in all agricultural methods in the whole world I like to find out a place in your country where I am in the position to study the manner of work at your farms by own work may it be a hard or not.  
I am 18 years of age, appr. 6 feet high, blond hair, brown eyes, strong and solid and in best of health. A picture of

myself you will find hereby. And that's my request to you:  
Can you do me a favor to denominate your addresses in your  
district either to turn for by myself or by an arrangement  
from yourself hoping to get a sort of foster-parents in your  
country in the family of which I can live resembling a  
member of it.

I intend to obtain money for the passage in mining in a  
German pit during two or three months being sure to get  
enough cash as I was informed

Hoping to get good news from you in a short time.

Yours sincerely

Claus Naske<sup>98</sup>

No word came back from Whitehorse but a family from Palmer responded. By October of 1954 (Naske left for the United States more than a year after being approved due to strict immigration quotas), Naske left Germany by ship from Bremerhaven to New York and then flew to Alaska. Naske worked on the Palmer dairy farm of the family who sponsored him but a couple months after arriving he broke his leg. While recovering from his broken leg Naske noted he wanted to attend high school and his sponsoring family stated they, "wanted a farm hand not a scholar." Naske was fortunately able to find another family to sponsor him in Palmer and would ultimately find yet a third family to sponsor him before finishing his studies at Palmer High School (one year was taken off Naske's graduation requirements allowing him to graduate from Palmer High School at the age of twenty in 1956).<sup>99</sup> After graduating from Palmer High School Naske attended UAF and obtained BA degrees in History and Political Science in 1961. Naske's interviewer Schneider asked Naske a question, "When did you first develop your interest in history and when did you think about becoming a professional historian? Did that come later?" Naske replied:

Much later...Yeah I don't know when you graduate with a BA I couldn't find any jobs in Alaska... I continued in History... I got a Master's in European History in 1964 then we got a job teaching grade school in Point Barrow and then took off and taught there for a year...I thought I have to do something else and Herman Slotnick (Naske's History teacher at UAF) then helped me get a job as an instructor at the Juneau-Douglas Community College left Barrow in 65 and went to Juneau for three years and it was a tremendous experience I was teaching Political Science and European History, American History, and Alaskan History.<sup>100</sup>

Naske received his master's degree from University of Michigan and then his doctorate from Washington State University by 1969 his doctoral thesis was "A History of the Alaska Statehood Movement." Naske came back to Alaska and worked in the department of history at University of Alaska Fairbanks from 1969–2001. Naske wrote numerous notable Alaskan history books and articles. Naske noted regarding his historical interests, "I'm really interested in late 19th century and 20th century political and institutional history and all of the grand applications I have made have been in that direction and that's what I like to do um so most everything I've done I've tried to turn into tried to do the work in that area."<sup>101</sup> Naske turned his doctoral thesis into a book *An Interpretive History of Alaskan Statehood* (1973) which was later reprinted by the University Press of America revised and expanded as *A History of Alaska Statehood* (1985); *Edward Lewis Bob Bartlett of Alaska: A Life in Politics* (1979); *Ernest Gruening: Alaska's Greatest Governor* (2004); *49 at last! The battle for Alaska Statehood* (2009).<sup>102</sup> Naske's magnum opus, *Alaska: A History*, which he co-authored with his colleague Herman Slotnick, was revised, and reprinted a third time in 2014.<sup>103</sup> Naske passed away in 2014 at the age of 78, leaving an indelible mark on Alaska's history.

Chris von Imhof similarly to Claus Naske also left Germany after World War Two and would also end up in Alaska. Imhof, however, would make his mark not in the history department at UAF but in the Alaskan Tourism Industry. Imhof's backstory in Germany is comparable to Naske as Imhof and Naske both faced hardships as children in wartime Germany during World War Two. Unlike the Naske family the Imhof family fled Berlin before the Soviets invaded. Chris was born in Germany on September 26, 1939. Two years later Chris's father Roni was drafted into the Wehrmacht in 1941 and shipped off to the eastern front in Russia, Chris writes:

In 1942 my mother received a letter from my father. He had given the letter to a wounded soldier who had been transported back to Berlin. He smuggled my father's letter with him. My mother showed me the letter later in life. In it my father had told her to pack up us three boys and move back to his parents' home in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. He rightfully assumed Berlin was not a safe place to live. He also wrote that his chances of survival on the Russian front were almost zero, and he wrote a loving farewell to my mother and us young boys. Three months later, in November, 1942, my father was killed and buried near Smolensk, Russia. My mother received a photo of the graveyard cross with his name inscribed. She never found out the exact circumstances of

his death and, maybe, it was better that way. Unfortunately, my brothers and I never had a chance to get to know our father. This remains an eternal open wound in my life that I have been sad about to this day.”<sup>104</sup>

Chris’s mother heeded her husband’s warning and moved Chris and his two brothers Florian and Fabian to Garmisch-Partenkirchen (the site of the 1936 winter Olympics), moving in with their grandparents there in the Kurhaus at Schnitzschulstrasse 3. As the war dragged on the Imhof family was relatively safe in their Alpine abode, but they still had some close calls as Chris writes:

I still remember from early 1945 that we had many aircraft siren alarms, and all residents would run into nearby forests, Then the sky would blacken as hundreds of bombers were flying northbound to attack all the major cities of Germany.<sup>105</sup>

Chris held no animosity towards the Americans stating “My hometown, Garmisch-Partenkirchen in Bavaria, was lucky that the American forces occupied that region after the war, as the U.S. was more humanitarian than the Russians, who occupied East Germany.”<sup>106</sup> Chris also remembered American occupation soldiers, “Us children got chewing gum, oranges, and Hershey chocolate from them, an incredible pleasure after years of deprivation.” Chris’s childhood in Garmisch-Partenkirchen provided him with the opportunity to become an advanced skier (preparation for his future job in Alaska that he would later obtain at Alyeska). All was not well for Chris during his childhood in Garmisch-Partenkirchen as he lost his older brother Fabian to a drowning accident in the Kainzenbad in 1948.<sup>107</sup> Seven years after losing his brother his mother Ingeborg died from cancer in 1955. This tragic event set the stage for Chris’s willingness to emigrate to the United States as he writes, “I am a hundred percent sure that I would have made many pioneering life decisions differently if my mother had been alive.”<sup>108</sup> Imhoff finished high school and apprenticed at his Uncle’s Parkhotel Alpenhof. Having lost most of his immediate family (besides his brother Florian) Chris decided to move to the United States when the opportunity arose in 1956 (two years after Naske arrived in Alaska) and Chris left for the United States on the *USS Constitution*. Upon his arrival in America he traveled to Los Angeles and got a job at the Hilton Hotel. Chris decided to leave the hotel industry and try for the aviation industry applying at Lufthansa Airlines. Lufthansa did not hire Chris since they did not have any openings and to try applying instead with Swedish Airlines System (SAS). Chris was hired by SAS in 1961. In

1963 SAS transferred Chris to Alaska in November of 1963. One of Chris's first experiences in Alaska was at a German restaurant (similar to Geist) as Chris reflected,

Back at the hotel, I asked about places to eat. The desk agent told me that a popular restaurant was right across the street on Third Ave. named the Woodshed, operated by a couple of Germans. So, for dinner I went to the Woodshed restaurant, which had a cozy atmosphere. The gentleman at the entrance greeted me with a friendly welcome. I could tell right away he was German. I introduced myself and told him I had just arrived the day before and was the new manager of SAS. We got along well from the first moment; his name was Bob Schreck. He took me to the kitchen and introduced me to the chef and his partner, Hans Kruger.<sup>109</sup>

Chris felt welcome in Anchorage and settled down to his new job at SAS just in time to experience the Great Alaska Earthquake on March 27, 1964. Chris noted regarding this rattling event occurring while at his SAS office at the Anchorage airport, "I took a big chair, headed for the big closed bay window, smashed the window, and jumped with my chair in front of me out of the window to the ground that was eight feet below."<sup>110</sup> During his time at SAS Chris made many connections and had even impressed Alaska's then Governor William Egan. This resulted in Egan presenting Chris with a job offer in September 1965 to be Alaska's first Director of Tourism. Chris accepted the offer stating:

The governor and his chief of staff had reviewed my application. The Governor said he was very impressed with my enthusiasm for the Alaska tourism industry while we traveled to Europe. At that time I had told him I felt Alaska had great potential for more international business from Europe and Japan with Anchorage being the air crossroads of the world. I also had told him that I could see Alaska's great potential for more winter tourism, especially in Southcentral Alaska. I compared the climate to Bavaria, where I was raised.<sup>111</sup>

Chris's job as Director of Tourism ended ironically when Democrat Governor Egan lost to Republican (German American) Walter J. Hickel in 1967. Although Chris was on good terms with Hickel remembering a dinner party:



Another energetic businessman was Mr. Walter Hickel who was in the construction business in Alaska. One time at a dinner party at his home, Mr. Hickel informed me about his plans to build the best hotel in town and would name it the Captain Cook hotel after the famous explorer who had come to Alaska in 1778.<sup>112</sup>

After Chris's job as Alaska's Director of Tourism ended. He took on a job at the Alyeska ski resort and during his tenure at Alyeska added his own Garmisch-Partenkirchen Alpenglöckle there. Chris helped acquire many updates and expansions to Alyeska including lifts, sewer system and other amenities and increased tourism. Chris also advocated for the winter Olympics to be held in Anchorage. Although Anchorage never got to hold the winter Olympics Alaskan historian Pierce Bateman noted that Chris, "would prove himself an ardent booster in his own right."<sup>113</sup> Chris's endeavors were not without reward. In 1983/1984 Chris received the Alaska Visitor Association (AVA) North Star award for his work in the Alaska Visitor Industry. The "Imhoff Trail" on the slopes of Alyeska and the "von Imhof Walkway" at the Alaska Wildlife Conservation Center were both posthumously named after him.<sup>114</sup>

Grinev reflected, "The memory of Germans in Russian America is reflected in local toponymics."<sup>115</sup> Likewise, the Germans have been reflected in the toponymics during the American Period of Alaska some of which have been carried over from the Russian period as well. This becomes evident when observing names of buildings such as the "Steller Secondary School" in Anchorage, Kotzebue Middle High School in Kotzebue, "Wrangell High School" in Wrangell, the "Otto Geist - Museum of the North Building" and "Gruening Building" located on UAF's campus and "Gruening Middle School" located in Eagle River. On road names such as "Kendler Way" in Juneau, "Kilcher Road" and "Gruening Road" in Homer, "Geist" road in Fairbanks, and the "Hickel Expressway" in Anchorage. They are also reflected on geographic features named during the American Period such as Chugach mountain range "Mt. Steller," the Aleutian range "Mt. Steller," "Mt. Stoeckl," "Mt. Geist," "Ernest Gruening State Historical Park," the "Imhoff Trail" the "von Imhof Walkway" <sup>116</sup> Not only do the toponymics reflect Germans in Alaska but Alaska's written history has been meticulously chronicled by Germans too.<sup>117</sup> The German Zeitgeist of the American Period spans from Leutze's painting of the Alaska's American purchase in 1867 to Gruening and Naske documenting Alaskan Statehood history.

Since 1993 Germans have continued making contributions in Alaska. In 2004 Alaska confronted its *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* with the opening

of the Jewish History Museum in Anchorage. The museum informs visitors on Alaska's failure to provide a safe haven for German-Jews during World War Two.<sup>118</sup> In 2005 German film director Werner Herzog made his film documentary *Grizzly Man* in Alaska.<sup>119</sup> Two years after Herzog's documentary was released the *Rilke Schule German School of Arts and Sciences* opened its doors in Anchorage in 2007, which Chris von Imhof's grandchildren Liesel and Nick attended (the Rilke Schule is a K-8 German immersion school named after German poet Rainer Maria Rilke and the school's mascot is a panther in reference to Rilke's poem "Der Panther").<sup>120</sup> The same year Rilke Schule opened the Alaskan Legislature honored Chris von Imhof on his retirement from Alyeska Resort and recognized his, "many contributions to his community of Girdwood and the State of Alaska."<sup>121</sup> From 2011 to 2022 Kilcher's descendants starred in a reality television series on the Discovery Channel titled *Alaska The Last Frontier*, the show being set on Yule Kilcher's homestead. The German military presence in Alaska is now not one of subservient POWs nor a good will tour, but now the German military trains with the American military as compatriots. The German Luftwaffe travels to Alaska each summer to train with United States Air Force.<sup>122</sup> Alaskan politics continue to see politicians with German last names as Chris von Imhof's daughter in law Alaskan State Senator Natasha von Imhof recently served in the 30th – 32nd legislature (2017-22).<sup>123</sup> Germans continue to influence Alaska's history and toponymics.

*Glennallen High School*  
*Glennallen, Alaska*

**Author's Note:** Several sources cited in this essay were obtained from the Internet, this was due to the topic of German-speaking immigrants during the American Period being a neglected topic of research. Besides Grinev's publication on Germans during the Russian Period, the American Period has had no significant studies focused on the role of Germans in Alaska.

## Notes

1. Andre Grinev, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 40-41. Andre Grinev translated by Richard Bland, "Germans in the history of Russian America," *Journal of the West* vol.47 no.2 (Spring 2008), 40-41. Grinev utilizes a broad definition of Germans basing his research on Germanic names throughout the Baltic. Grinev references several Germans in his paper as "Baltic Germans," such as Otto von Kotzebue a German who was born in Estonia. This article also includes individuals of Germanic origin, i.e., Germans, Austrians, Swiss and those of Germanic descent.

2. One of Alaska's most prominent historians Claus Naske was himself a German. Naske covered German American history topics during his career focusing much of his work on the German American Ernest Gruening who became a Territorial Governor and then a Senator in Alaska see: "Governor Ernest Gruening's Struggle for Territorial Status-Personal or Political?"

## *Germans in the History of American Alaska, 1867-1993*

*Journal of the West* vol. 20 no.1 (Jan. 1981), 32-40. This *JOW* Gruening article was included and renamed as "Dr. Alaska: Ernest Gruening" in Manguusso and Haycox, eds., *Interpreting Alaska's History: An Anthology* (Anchorage: Alaska Pacific Univ. Press, 1989), 378-392 and the *JOW* Gruening article was reprinted a third time and given back its original title "Governor Ernest Gruening's Struggle for Territorial Status-Personal or Political?" in Manguusso and Haycox, eds., *Interpreting Alaska's History: An Anthology* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1996), 287-300; "Ernest Gruening Alaska's Territorial Governor 1939 to 1953," (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1982) - written under a grant of the Alaska State Legislature for the Alaska State Library; "Ernest Gruening and Alaska Native Claims" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 82, no.4 (Oct. 1991), 140-148; Ernest Gruening *Ernest Gruening Alaska's Greatest Governor* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004). Naske also researched Alaska's failure to help Jewish-Germans see "Jewish Immigration And Alaskan Economic Development: A Study in Futility," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 8:2 (1976), 139-157 (Naske will be discussed in greater detail later on in this paper). Naske references Grinev in his *Bibliographic Essay The Sources of Alaska History* found at the end of his book that he co-authored with Herman Slotnick *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 474; 459-488. Naske writes, (The Spring 2008 issue of *The Journal of the West* featured five articles on Alaska...A.V. Grinev, "Germans in the History of Russian America.") Naske's bibliographic essay does not mention any comprehensive study of Germans during the American Period from 1867-1993.

3. O.W. Frost, "Vitus Bering and George Steller Their Tragic Conflict during the American Expedition," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 86, no.1 (Winter, 1994-1995), p.3-16. (see page 5) where Frost writes, "Evidently Bering and Steller were at first very cordial. Both men spoke fluent German. Both were devout Lutherans and refined gentlemen." See also Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 8. Frost notes in his introduction that Steller changed his name from Stöller to Steller "a modification more easily pronounced by non-Germans."

4. Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742*, 18. Unlike Cook, Steller had a better reputation in his interactions with native peoples Frost writes in his introduction, "In his self sufficiency, his love of nature, his predilection for preaching, his reputation as a loner, his respect for aboriginal peoples and his zest for science, he anticipates Henry David Thoreau and John Muir by more than a century."

5. Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), 917. Orth records two mountains named after Steller one in the Chugach mountain range "10,267 ft., on Waxell Ridge, 20.5 mi. E of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60° 31' 25" N, 143° 06'45" W...Named in 1928 by USGS for George Wilhelm Steller, naturalist with Vitas Bering on his discovery voyage in 1741. Steller went ashore and collected specimens on Kayak Island which is about 60 miles southwest of this peak." The other mountain named after Steller located in the Aleutian Range, "7,300 ft., on ridge at head of Hook Glacier, on Alaska Penin. In Katmai National monument, 24 mi. NE of Mount Katmai, Aleutian Ra; 58 25' 50" N., 154 - 23' 15" W." Orth also notes Steller Cove, Steller Creek, Steller Glacier, Steller River; "History of Steller / History of Steller." n.d. <https://www.asdk12.org/domain/4141>. The Steller School mascot is fittingly the Jay named after the bird Steller discovered Steller's Jay.

6. Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 61; 190.

7. Corey Ford, *Where the Sea Breaks Its Back: The Epic Story of Early Naturalist Georg Steller and the Russian Exploration of Alaska*, 154. See also Georg Steller translated by Margarette

Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742*, 23. Frost notes, "As for scurvy, Steller's achievement preceded Dr. James Lind's controlled dietic tests by only six years."

8. Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). And Orth notes See also Claus Naske who notes in his Bibliographic Essay *The Sources of Alaska History Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 469. "The Frankenschen Stiftungen zu Halle supported, among other volumes, the publication of a catalog to accompany a 1997 exhibition, called *Die Grosse Nordische Expedition: Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), Ein Lutheraner Erforscht Sibirien und Alaska* [The Great Nordic Expedition: George Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), a Lutheran Explores Siberia and Alaska] (1996)."

9. Translated by Robert Fortuine Edited by Eva Trautmann, *The Alaska Diary of Adelbert von Chamisso Naturalist on the Kotzebue Voyage 1815-1818* (Anchorage: Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1986). Otto von Kotzebue's father August von Kotzebue was born in Weimar, Germany.

10. Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567, 198; 542-543; for Eschscholz see 317. Andre Grinev translated by Richard Bland, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 38. Greinev refers to Eschscholz as, "an ethnic German born in the Russian Empire."

11. Andre Grinev, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 34; Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567 pp. 1,061. Orth notes: Cape Wrangell; Mt. Wrangell; Port Wrangell; Wrangell Bay; Wrangell Cove; Wrangell Crater; Wrangell Harbor; Wrangell Island; Wrangell Mountains; Wrangell Narrows; Wrangell Peak; Wrangell Range. See also Toivo Harjunpaa, "The Lutherans in Russian Alaska," *Pacific Historical Review* 37, no.2 (1968), 126&134. Wrangell was a Lutheran and helped establish the first Lutheran pastor and Lutheran Church in Sitka where German worship services were held.

12. Andrei Greinev translated by Richard Bland, "Why Russia Sold Alaska: The View from Russia," *Alaska History* vol.19 no.1&2 (Spring/Fall 2004), 1-22. Stoeckl also had an Alaskan mountain named after him see also Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), 919. "Stoeckl, Mount: *mountain*, 6,014 ft., on Alaska-Canada boundary, N right bank of Unuk River, Coast Mts.; 56° 21'56" N, 130°47'10"W....Named in 1924 by USGS for (Privy-Councilor Edward de Stoeckl, Russian Minister to the United States, who signed the convention ceding Alaska on March 30, 1867)." See also *Täglicher Baltimore Wecker*, June 22, 1867, 1.

13. "Paintings & Sculpture." n.d. Seward House Museum. <https://sewardhouse.org/collections/explore/paintings-sculpture>.

14. "Signing of Treaty of Cession, March 30, 1867." n.d. <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/9752/rec/8>.

15. "Painting on Exhibit Commemorates Purchase of Alaska." n.d. UAF News and Information. <https://www.uaf.edu/news/archives/news-archives-2010-2021/painting-commemorates-purchase-alaska.php>.

16. Lee Farrow. "European Reactions to the Alaska Purchase," *Alaska Historical Society*, March 10, 2018. <https://alaskahistoricalsociety.org/about-ahs/special-projects/150treaty/150th-resource-library/new-articles/european-reactions-to-the-alaska-purchase/>. German Jewish American businessmen started the Alaska Commercial Company after the American purchase from Russia see Matthew Eisenberg, "The Last Frontier: Jewish Pioneers in Alaska Part I," *Western State Jewish History* (Oct. 1991), 51-73. Eisenberg writes, "Shortly after the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the United States in 1867 a

corporation, based in San Francisco, formed under California law named the Alaska Commercial Company. The original seven partners were Hayward M. Hutchinson, a Baltimore businessman; Louis Sloss, Lewis Gerstle,<sup>1</sup> and August Wasserman, all three San Francisco merchants of German-Jewish origin; Leopold Boscowitz, a Jewish fur trader from Victoria, British Columbia who had an office in San Francisco; William Kohl, a shipbuilder from Victoria; and Captain Gustave Niebaum, a Finnish ship's officer and a Russian subject stationed in Sitka.<sup>2</sup> Four of the seven original partners were Jewish.” See also Frank Sloss and Richar Pierce, “The Hutchinson, Kohl Story: A Fresh Look” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol.62 no.1 (Jan. 1971), 1-6. See also Frank Sloss, “Who Owned the Alaska Commercial Company” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 68 no.3 (Jul., 1977), 120-130.

17. C.L. Andrews, *The Story of Alaska*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed.(Caldwell, The Caxton Printers, 1942) 156-157;280-281

18. Harry Ritter, *Alaska's History The People, Land, and Events of the North Country*, (Portland: Alaska Northwest Books, 1993), 58-59. See also “George Pilz, Mining Engineer.” n.d. <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/12564/rec/1>. Pilz was not the only German who founded an Alaskan town during the Gold rush but did not receive credit for it see Robert Selig, “North to Alaska, Go North The Rush Is On- Wilhelm Mohr, The Klondike Gold Rush And The Town of Skagway,” *German Life* Dec.2012/Jan. 2013, p.48-51. Wilhelm Mohr was a land speculator who predicted Skagway would boom when gold was discovered there and homesteaded what became the town of Skagway, but Mohr did not receive credit in the town's naming although he did strike it rich and was able to retire comfortably in Victoria.

19. Chris Allen and Mark Kirchhoff, *A Rough and Tumble Country Juneau's Origins as Alaska's First Gold Mining Boomtown As Described by Eyewitnesses, 1880-1881* (Fairbanks: Alaska, 2020), 5.

20. “A Bit of Juneau's Ancient History,” *Juneau Empire*, Nov. 18, 1912, 3.

21. “George Pilz.” n.d. <https://www.alaskamininghalloffame.org/inductees/pilz.php>. see also “Pioneers Have Interesting Meeting,” *Juneau Empire*, April 21, 1915, 5. The article notes that during a meeting of the Juneau Igloo Pioneers, “At the meeting last night, Capt. Rowland Davis, whose coming to Alaska in 1883, was initiated, and an application for membership was read from George A. Pilz, now a resident of Jackwade, Alaska. Pilz and N.A. Fuller, formerly owner of the Alaska-Juneau mine, at one time assistant superintendent of the Treadwell mine and still later owner of the Dawson telephone and electric light company then residents of Sitka, grubstaked Richard Harris and Joe Juneau on the trip that resulted in the discovery of gold on Gold creek and the establishment of Juneau.”

22. Barbara Selig and Mary Selig, “Yester Years, Bernhard Eduard Fernow January 7, 1851 – February 6, 1923” *German Life* (April 2023/May 2023), 62.

23. Bernhard Eduard Fernow papers, #20-1-561. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

24. Barbara Selig and Mary Selig, “Yester Years, Bernhard Eduard Fernow January 7, 1851 – February 6, 1923” *German Life* (April 2023/May 2023), 62.

25. John Sisk, “The Southeastern Alaska Timber Industry: Historical Overview and Current Status,” *Southeast Alaska Conservation Assessment*: [https://www.conservationgateway.org/ConservationByGeography/NorthAmerica/UnitedStates/alaska/seak/era/cfm/Documents/9.6\\_TimberIndustry.pdf](https://www.conservationgateway.org/ConservationByGeography/NorthAmerica/UnitedStates/alaska/seak/era/cfm/Documents/9.6_TimberIndustry.pdf), 1-20; 4.

26. Preston Jones, *The Fires of Patriotism* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013), 56.

27. Preston Jones, *The Fires of Patriotism* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013), 56.

28. Peter Blecha, “Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle Celebrates German Day on A.” n.d. HistoryLink. <https://www.historylink.org/File/8628>.

29. No author, "Our German Alaskans," *The Daily Progressive-Miner*, April 10, 1917, 1.
30. William Schneider, Diane Gudel Holmes, and John Dalle-Molle, *National Park Service Research/Resources Management Report AR-9 Land Use in the Northern Additions of Denali National Park and Preserve an Historical Perspective* (United States Department of the Interior, 1984), 48.
31. Annette Freiburger, *The Life History of Effie Kokrine through Personal Recordings*, (Master's Thesis: University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2013), 42.
32. Stephen Foster Photograph Collection, *Alaska's Digital Archives*: <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg11/id/49077/rec/1>
33. Stephen Foster Photograph Collection, *Alaska's Digital Archives*: <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg11/id/49082/rec/1>
34. E.A. Schwartz, "The Lynching of Robert Prager, the United Mine Workers, and the Problems of Patriotism in 1918," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 95:5 (Winter 2002/2003), 414-437. See also Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 49 (2014), 3-30; Kamphoefner, "Doughboys auf Deutsch: U.S. Soldiers Writing Home in German from France," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 54 (2019), 114-134.
35. No Author, "Dairyman Home" *Douglas Island News*, Dec. 5, 1919, 4. The article notes, "After a quick trip to Seattle, Joe Kendler, owner of the local dairy returned...he brought with him four lady cows and one gentleman cow for his herd." See also "No Author, "Several Citizenship Papers Granted," *The Stroller's Weekly and Douglas Island News*, Aug. 27, 1921, 6. The article notes, "Nicholas Bozo Terzovich and Joseph Kendler were granted their papers Thursday. They were both former citizens of Austria Hungary. Mr. Terzovich was allowed to change his name to Nick Travis. He lives at Juneau and Mr. Kendler is the owner of the Douglas Dairy."
36. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1983), 119. There were also German farmers' in the Tanana Valley as well see Josephine Papp & Josie Phillips, *Like a Tree to the Soil: A History of Farming in Alaska's Tanana Valley, 1903 to 1940*, (Fairbanks: School of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences, Alaska Agricultural and Forestry Experiment Station, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2007), 84; 90; 178. Papp and Philips note Otto Hoppe born Feb. 2, 1860 in Berlin Germany died in Sitka in 1939, was a well-known musician and gardener, 84; see also "Agricultural Products Are Given Prizes" *Fairbanks Daily Times* Sept. 6, 1911, 4. *The Fairbanks Daily Times* noted, "First prize mushrooms – Otto Hoppe."; Papp and Philips note George Kolde born 1859 in Germany died Jan. 10, 1924 Portland Oregon, grew grain in Fairbanks, 90; see also "Oldtimer May Lose His Valuable Ranch," *Fairbanks Daily Times*, July 31, 1915, 1. *Fairbanks Daily Times* noted, "Through a technicality, George Kolde, familiarly known throughout the whole interior as Bismark may lose his valuable ranch, located on Cushman street, and Harry B. Averill, city editor of the News-Miner, who jumped the ground, may become its owner.. The story of the hardship that is being worked upon Mr. Kolde has seldom been equaled in the North."; Papp and Philips note William Waechter Born Germany 1853 died Oct. 17, 1925, Port Angeles Washington, Waechter made cattle drives from Valdez to Fairbanks, 178; See also "William Waechter, Former Cattle Man Alaska, Dies," *Juneau Empire*, Oct. 17, 1925, 1. *Juneau Empire* notes, "William Waechter aged 76 years, pioneer, died yesterday at his home here. He drove some of the first cattle across the White Pass to the Yukon in 1897. Two sons are engaged in the cold storage and meat business in Alaska under the name of Waechter Brothers. They also have reindeer herds in Alaska and stock farms in Eastern Washington..." ; Germans have acclimated to farming wherever they have chosen to settle in the United States see Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil Immigrant Farmers in*



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*Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966). See also William Gehrke, "The Ante-Bellum Agriculture of the Germans in North Carolina," *Agricultural History* vol.9 no.3 (July 1935), 143-160.

37. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, 1.

38. "Milkman of Douglas Buys Juneau Dairy," *Juneau Empire*, July 19, 1923, 7. The article notes, Joseph Kendler, proprietor of the Douglas Dairy yesterday became the owner, by purchase, of the dairy business and ranch of Thomas Knudson, of Juneau, known as the Alaska Dairy."

39. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, preface page ix.

40. "Museum – Gastineau Channel Memories – Browse – City and Borough of Juneau." n.d. <https://juneau.org/library/museum/gastineau-channel-memories-browse/entry/17576>. See also "Kendler Family, ca. 1930-1961." n.d. <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/25116/rec/18>.

41. "German Cruiser In Port At Juneau," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, May 31, 1932, 5.

42. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, 56. The Cruiser/ kreuzer *Karlsruhe* was not the only German warship to visit Alaska. The Cruiser/Kreuzer *Emden* also made a stop in Juneau in June of 1927 see also "KREUZER KARLSRUHE, Juneau, Alaska, May 25th, 1932." n.d. <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/13522/rec/3>.

43. "Dinner and Dance given by the Governor in Honor of the Officers of the German Cruiser KARLSRUHE, Docked in Juneau, May 1932." n.d. <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/1138/rec/1>.

44. Simone Santiago "Gone to Texas-Twice! The Visits of the German War Cruiser Karlsruhe," *East Texas Historical Journal* vol.53 no.1 (2015), 3.

45. "German Cruiser In Port At Juneau," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, May 31, 1932, 5.

46. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, 56. Matilda takes note of the Karlsruhe's visit to Juneau.

47. Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, (New York: Liveright, 1973), 3.

48. Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, 4.

49. Ernest Gruening, *An Alaskan Reader*, (New York: Meredith Press, 1967), 241-245.

50. Susan Eisenhower, *Mrs. Ike Memories and Reflections on the Life of Mammie Eisenhower* (New York: Farrar, Straus And Giroux, 1996), 23. Susan Eisenhower also notes, "Jacob, Dwight's grandfather, was by all accounts the most dynamic of the sizeable brood of second-generation American Eisenhower's. He became a River Brethren preacher whose passionate pacifist oratory was delivered in German, the only language of his sect." she goes on to write Dwight's mother, "was of German stock and also a member of the river brethren. Her family had come to America in one of the German waves of immigration in the early 1700s. The Stovers had settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania..." See also Dwight D. Eisenhower Pre-Presidential Papers Box 172 Folder 5 there is a document titled Staunton and Augusta County Chamber of Commerce, which notes, "The name Stover in the Shenandoah Valley goes back to 1720-1732, and we find Jacob Stover in 1729 receiving a grant of 5000 acres along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River at the base of Massanutten Mountain, -there German-Swiss settled Massanutten Town. This Jacob was a great-great-great-great grandfather of the Man, there being six generations back. The name appeared as Stauffer in the lower Valley, where was Stauffer Stadt, or Stover Town, a German extraction and derivation going back into Bavaria, Baden, German Switzerland. Tradition says the Stovers or Stauffers owe their origin to a generation of knights called Stauffacher at Hohenstauffen." See also Rick Atkinson, *An Army At Dawn* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2002), 196.



Atkinson writes, "A rumor in Arab neighborhoods that Eisenhower was a Jew sent by the Jew Roosevelt to establish a Jewish state in North Africa required a leaflet campaign stressing the general's German Protestant ancestry."

51. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years Waging Peace 1956-1961* (New York: Double Day & Company Inc., 1965), 324.

52. "Gruening Building (UAF) UA Journey." n.d. <https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/buildings/gruening-building/>..

53. "Slattery Report And Housing Problem Are Before Chamber of C," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Dec. 27, 1939, 4.

54. "The Slattery Report Query," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Dec. 15, 1939, 2.

55. Claus Naske, "Jewish Immigration And Alaskan Economic Development: A Study in Futility," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* vol.8 no.2 (1976), 139-157. See also Gerald Berman, "Reaction to the Resettlement of World War II Refugees in Alaska," *Jewish Social Studies* vol.44 no.3/4 (Summer-Autumn 1982), 271-282.

56. Claus Naske, *Ernest Gruening Alaska's Greatest Governor* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004), 39.

57. Terrence Cole interviewing Claus Naske 01/18/2012 31:00 – 33:00.

58. Terrence Cole interviewing Claus Naske 01/18/2012 33:00 – 34:00.

59. No Author, "German Prisoners of War in Alaska" *The Alaska Journal* vol.14 no.4 (Autumn 1984), 16-21.

60. No Author, "German Prisoners of War in Alaska," 16.

61. Claus Naske, "The Battle for Alaska has ended and .. the Japs Won It," *Military Affairs* vol.49 no.3 (July 1985), 144-151; 148.

62. Claus Naske, "The Battle for Alaska has ended and .. the Japs Won It," 148.

63. Claus Naske, "The Battle for Alaska has ended and .. the Japs Won It," 150.

64. "Nazi Prisoners to Excursion Inlet," *Sitka Sentinel*, June 28, 1945, 1. Article notes, "Col. P. Hardy announced the first German prisoners of war to be sent outside continental United States as workmen will go north to dismantle a port built secretly in an Alaskan fjord."

65. "Ross E. and Margaret Colman Wulfkuhle Papers, 1915-2004 - Kansas Historical Society." n.d. <https://www.kshs.org/p/ross-e-and-margaret-colman-wulfkuhle-papers-1915-2004/14140>.

66. "Ross E. and Margaret Colman Wulfkuhle Papers, 1915-2004 - Kansas Historical Society." n.d. <https://www.kshs.org/p/ross-e-and-margaret-colman-wulfkuhle-papers-1915-2004/14140>.

67. Victor Fischer, *Alaska's Constitutional Convention* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1975), 271. Kilcher is noted as being born in, "Switzerland 1913." Kilcher was not the only one serving on the constitutional convention from German ancestry see Claus Naske, *49 At Last The Battle for Alaska Statehood*, (Kenmore: Epicenter Press, 2009), 193. Naske writes, "Vic Fischer was born on May 5, 1924 Berlin, Germany, the son of the American writer Louis Fischer and his wife, Bertha. In 1933 life in Nazi Germany had become intolerable and endangered the lives of its Jewish inhabitants. Louis Fischer, an American citizen, and his Lithuanian-born wife and children escaped to Moscow after many adventures. Vitja, as Victor then was known, grew up in Moscow together with his brother, Juri. His father broke with Stalin after the signing of the Soviet German Non-Aggression Pact, and the Fischers moved to the United States." See also Vic Fischer, *Alaska's Constitutional Convention*, 270. Fischer's birthplace is noted, "Born: Germany 1924." Fischer also wrote an autobiography, *To Russia with Love: An Alaskan's Journey* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2014). Fischer was the last surviving Alaska constitutional delegate when he died at the age of 99 on 10/23/2023.

68. "Kilcher | UA Journey." n.d. <https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/history-and-trivia/alaska-history/creating-alaska/constitutional-convention/delegates/kilcher/>. See also Vic Fischer, *Alaska's Constitutional Convention* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Fairbanks Press, 1975), 118-119. "As the committee was evolving these principles, its members agreed that some type of unit larger than the city and smaller than the state was required to provide both for a measure of local self government and for performance of state functions on a regionalized basis. They also agreed that any form of local government for Alaska that would be similar to counties would need a broader scope, should have authority to perform all services and should provide a maximum amount of local self government. The result was the borough concept and areawide unit that while different from the traditional form of the county, was in effect a modernized county adapted to Alaska's needs." See also pg. 119 footnote 92 where it states, "Almost unending controversy surrounded the selection of the name (borough). While there were strong proponents for the word (county)...the majority believed that the term had such a definite and negative connotation that its use had to be avoided to preclude rigid thinking and restrictive legal interpretation. It was believed that a different name would be more readily interpreted in the context of the Alaska Constitution. Black's Law Dictionary defines a (borough) as a (place organized for local government purposes)."

69. "One Last Ride," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Feb. 1, 1956, 2.

70. "On the Inside," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, May 1, 1958, 4. The article notes, "Yule Kilcher, erstwhile Kenai Peninsula Homesteader and Constitutional Convention Delegate, who has just returned to this country after spending 21 months in Switzerland, has quite a family and unusual taste in names. The eight children of Mr. and Mrs. Kilcher are named Mairiis, Wurttila, Fay, Attila, Sunrise, Otto, Stella, and Catkin. They all called on Delegate Bartlett in Washington last week."

71. Art Davidson, *Alaska's Backdoor Homer Wilderness Homestead*, *Alaska The Magazine of Life on the Last Frontier*, Dec. 1989, p.22-25; 52.

72. Darvil McBride. 2023. "Yule Kilcher, Alaska." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQJIR9X1gY>.

73. Darvil McBride. 2023. "Yule Kilcher, Alaska." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQJIR9X1gY>.

74. Darvil McBride. 2023. "Yule Kilcher, Alaska." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQJIR9X1gY>.

75. "Kilcher | UA Journey." n.d. <https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/history-and-trivia/alaska-history/creating-alaska/constitutional-convention/delegates/kilcher/> see also "Kilcher Family Homestead" <https://www.alaska.org/detail/kilcher-family-homestead>. After Kilcher died his children had a reality television show that ran from 2011-2022 titled "Alaska The Last Frontier." Yule Kilcher's granddaughter is Jewel Kilcher a grammy winning American Singer-Song Writer.

76. Joe Vogler was also from Kansas and likely from German ancestry based on his last name. Vogler created the Alaska Independence Party and offered the chairmanship to Ernest Gruening. Gruening declined the offer Vogler disparaged Alaskan Federal Land holdings as "just a big frozen park wherein only posy-sniffing, bug-hunting, bird-watching swine are now grunting." Coen notes, "The following week, a clever environmentalist pointed out the word "vogler" means "bird catcher" in German.' Ross Coen, "From The Desk of Joe Vogler," in *The Long View Dispatches on Alaska History*, (Ester: Ester Republic Press, 2011), 203-209.

77. "Environment: Wally Hickel Revisited." 1971. TIME.Com. October 4, 1971. <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,905435-1,00.html>.

78. Walter Hickel, *Who Owns America?* (United States: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 40-41.

79. Hickel was not the only German to build in Anchorage see also “Pfeil, Emil H. | Alaska History,” n.d. <https://www.alaskahistory.org/biographies/pfeil-emil-h/>. It notes, “Emil Herbert Pfeil was born in Seisen, Germany on March 4, 1886.... After his retirement, Pfeil became interested in real estate and constructed several housing project homes in Anchorage. With partner Thomas “Tom” Bevers [Beavers], he built the Bevers and Pfeil apartment and store building on the corner of 4th Avenue and E Street.”

80. “Hickel, Walter J. ‘Wally’ Alaska History,” n.d. <https://www.alaskahistory.org/biographies/hickel-walter-j-wally/>.

81. Chris Allan, “The Brief Life and Strange Times of the Hickel Highway: Alaska’s First Arctic Haul Road” *Alaska History* vol.24 no.2 (Fall 2009), 1-29.

82. No author, “Anchorage 1910 - 1940 Legends & Legacies Hickel Walter J.”Wally” <https://www.alaskahistory.org/biographies/hickel-walter-j-wally/>. “Governor Walter Hickel Seated at Desk.” n.d. <https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/7311/rec/18>.

83. “Otto Geist | UAF Centennial.” n.d. <https://www.uaf.edu/centennial/uaf100/geist.php>.

84. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1969), 45.

85. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology*, 233.

86. Otto Geist, *Archaeological Excavations at Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska: Preliminary Report* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1936).

87. Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, 249-250.

88. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology*, 243.

89. Ross Coen, “The Austrian Skier, The German Archaeologist, and The Country That Sees Subversives Everywhere,” in *The Long View Dispatches on Alaska History*, (Ester: Ester Republic Press, 2011), 72. See also “Notice,” *The Nome Nugget*, July 2, 1945, 8. The article notes, “The following men should come to the ATG meeting...If they are not able to so they should contact Capt. Otto Geist..” See also “Returns from Kuskokwim,” *The Nome Nugget*, April 20, 1945, 7. The article notes, “Capt. Otto Geist of the ATG has returned from his trip to the Kuskokwim district. He reports that most of the trip was made by dog team and the weather was not as pleasant as that of Nome.”

90. Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567, 514; 667; 851; 57; 67; 84; 458; 466; 493; 692; 695; 713; 856; 873; 168; 300; 540; 527; 726; 776; 949; 158; 50; 303; 446; 511; 520; 521; 523; 524; 528; 541; 675; 718; 767; 877; 897; 1,010; 1,011; 1,075; 179; 605; 680; 690; 723; 756; 782; 855; 868; 881; 929; 975; 986.

91. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology*, p. 5-6. Charles Keim’s biography on the back of his book, about Otto Geist, notes, “Charles Keim is professor of journalism and English and dean of the college of Arts and Letters at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. He was born and reared in Montana...” Based on Keim’s last name and a genealogical look into the Keim’s of Montana it is probable that Charles Keim was of German ancestry as well. See also “Archaeology Discoveries of Otto Geist Published,” *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Jan. 20, 1969, 10. Article notes, “Keim was both a personal friend of Geist and a student of his work.” Charley Mayse, “Otto Geist Became ‘Aghvook’ the White Eskimo,” *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Feb. 14, 1969, 10.

92. Howard Rock, “Friend of the Eskimo Otto William Geist Dies in Germany After Illness,” *Tundra Times*, Aug. 19, 1963, 5. Rock writes, “Otto William Geist, a great friend of the Eskimos of the Arctic coast, passed away in Munich, Germany, on August 3, 1963.”

93. “Geist Building (UAF) | UA Journey.” n.d. <https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/buildings/geist-building/> see also Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567, p. 363. “Geist, Mount: peak, 10,720 ft., 5 mi. NW of Mount

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Hayes and 45 mi. SW of Delta Junction, Alaska Ra; 63° 38' 30" N, 146° 52' 15" W; BGN 1965; (Map 86) . Named by T.L. Pe'we' for Otto William Geist, 1888-1963, Univ. of Alaska, researcher in Alaskan paleontology, archaeology, and glaciology.

94. "GHDI - Document." n.d. [https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=358&language=german](https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=358&language=german).

95. Claus-M. Naske papers, ca. 1959-2014 <https://eds.s.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=57bbea90-657a-4f0b-8b7d-6dee96f7f971%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.3717027&db=cat07106a>. See also "Naske Writes Statehood Book," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, June 4, 1973, 2.

96. "Claus Naske is interviewed by Bill Schneider on Oct. 18, 1983," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks <https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4286481&db=cat07106a>

97. "Clause Naske is interviewed by Terrence Cole and Leslie McCartney on Oct. 1, 2012," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks <https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4278647&db=cat07106a>

98. No author, "Letters to the Editor," *The Frontiersman*, April 9, 1953, 4.

99. No author, "Our Best Wishes To Palmer High School Class of '56," *The Frontiersman*, May 24, 1956, 2.

100. Claus Naske is interviewed by Bill Schneider on Oct. 18, 1983," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks <https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4286481&db=cat07106a>. Naske was not the only German who had to roll up the shirt sleeves and milk cows in Palmer see also "Ernst Kneupel is interviewed by Wynd Churchill Randolph on Oct. 13, 2002, in Palmer Alaska," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks <https://research.ebsco.com/c/qg64q2/search/details/xid60kdxclub?limiters=None&q=SU%20alaska%20AND%20german%20history>

101. "Claus Naske is interviewed by Bill Schneider on Oct. 18, 1983," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks <https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4286481&db=cat07106a>

102. "Claus Naske, "UAF Centennial." n.d. <https://www.uaf.edu/centennial/uaf100/naske.php>.

103. Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

104. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality* (Girdwood, AK: Edelweiss Publishing Company, 2021), 8.

105. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 10.

106. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 10.

107. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 12.

108. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 13.

109. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 36.

110. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 40.

111. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 48.

112. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 43.

113. Pierce Bateman, "Our Anchorage, an International Host": A History of Alaska's Bids to Host the Winter Olympic Games, 1947–1989" *Alaska History* Vol.38 no.1 (Spring 2023), 29-54. Regarding references to Chris von Imhof and his effort to get the Olympics to Alaska see pages 36-37; 40-42.

114. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 192-193; 223.

115. Andre Grinev, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 40.

116. For other toponymics in Alaska named after Germans, Austrians and Swiss not highlighted in this paper see Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567*, pg. 49 "Agassiz Point," "Agassiz Glacier," "Agassiz Lakes," "Agassiz Mountain," "Agassiz Peak," Orth writes, "Named in 1877 by W.H. Dall, USC&GS, for Louis Agassiz, 1807-73, famous Swiss-American naturalist, who taught at Harvard University, 1848-1873."; pg.124 "Cape Bendal" Orth writes, "Named in 1877 by W.H. Dall, USC&GS for Bernhard Bendel, born in Germany, who was an Alaska pioneer and who helped USC&GS parties with his hospitality and valuable information."; pg. 803 "Spuhn Island" Orth writes, "Named in 1880 by Capt. L.A. Beardslee, USN, for Carl Spuhn, 1855-1927, of the northwest trading company. He was born in Germany and came to Juneau after the town was founded in 1881 and operated the company's store and engaged in mining."; pg.814 Orth writes, "Named in 1923 by Lawrence Martin, U.S. Dept. of State, for Eugeniusz Romer, 1871-1954, professor of geography at the Univ. of Lemberg in Austria, who visited Glacier Bay in 1913."; pg.1,021 "Mount Villard" Orth notes "probably named by W.H. Dall, USC&GS, in 1883 for Henry Villard was born in Germany and came to the United States in 1853. He was a newspaper reporter and reported the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He was also a Civil War correspondent."

117. The first 34 years after Alaska achieved statehood from 1959-1993 saw a significant portion of Alaskan Statehood historiography chronicled by Germans see Claus Naske, *An Interpretive History of Alaskan Statehood* (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1973), vii. Naske writes in the preface of his book, "Ernest Gruening published his *The Battle for Alaska Statehood* in 1967. Since it was based primarily upon the recollections of one of the participants, a re-examination of the movement based on a variety of sources seems in order." Regarding Gruening's Alaska history books see Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, Inc, 1954); Ernest Gruening, *The Battle for Alaska Statehood* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1967); Ernest Gruening, *An Alaskan Reader* (New York: Meredith Press, 1967); Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, Inc, 1968); Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, (New York: Liveright, 1973). Regarding Claus Naske's Alaska history books see Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska a History of the 49<sup>th</sup> State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979); Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska a History of the 49<sup>th</sup> State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Claus Naske, *Edward Lewis Bob Bartlett of Alaska a Life in Politics* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1979); Claus Naske, *Anchorage A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1981); Claus Naske, *Alaska A Pictorial History* (Norfolk: Donning Co., 1983); Claus Naske, Ernest Gruening Alaska's Greatest Governor (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004); Claus Naske, *49 at Last! The Battle for Alaska Statehood* (Kenmore: Epicenter Press,

2009); Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014). See also The Alaska History Society, *The Alaska 67 Guide To Alaska's Best History Books*, (Walnut Creek: Hardscratch Press, 2006), 8. In the introduction Frank Noris writes, "The list according to the proposal, would have 67 books, in commemoration of the 1867 purchase of Alaska from the Russian government." The 67 list included: Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, (New York: Liveright, 1973); Regarding Gruening's autobiography see No Author, "The 'Old Battler' Returns," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* 12/17/1973, 6. The article notes, "Gruening now 86, is making a five day visit to the state to publicize his new book, which is appropriately titled, 'Many Battles'"; Claus Naske, *Edward Lewis Bob Bartlett of Alaska a Life in Politics*, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1979). Regarding Naske's book about Bartlett see, No Author, "UA Professor gets grant of \$50,000," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, 10/23/1974, 17. The article notes, "A university of Alaska history professor has received 50,000 grant...He is Dr. Claus Naske...Naske said the grant will fund 18 months of work on the book including two trips each to Washinton D.C., and Juneau See also [https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm) \$50,000 is equivalent to over \$300,000 in today's money.

118. Alaska Jewish Museum. n.d. "Alaska Jewish Museum Home." <https://www.alaska-jewishmuseum.com/>. In an odd twist of fate the first pioneer of European descent born in Sitka Alaska (after the Alaskan purchase by the United States) was a German Jewish girl by the name of Josie Randolph. Josie's birth in Alaska would later become her method of escape from Nazi Germany see Tom Kizzia, "Josie's Story: Birthplace," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 21, 2024. <https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/19/josies-story-part-1-birthplace/>; Tom Kizzia, "Josie's Story: Jews of the Frontier," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 26, 2024. <https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/22/josies-story-jews-of-the-frontier/>; "Josie's Story: Stumbling Stones," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 25, 2024. <https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/24/josies-story-stumbling-stones/>; "Josie's Story: The Alaska Plan," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 27, 2024. <https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/25/josies-story-the-alaska-plan/>.

119. Werner Herzog, *Grizzly Man*. (United States: Lions Gate Films, 2005).

120. Polly Tafrate, "The German Schools of Anchorage," *German Life* Aug./Sept. 2016, 27-29. See also Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 167-168. Chris writes, "It was important for me to give my sons and grandchildren access to their German heritage. However, in situations like those, I regretted that none of my sons spoke German. When they were little, I was simply too busy to teach them a second language consistently, especially since English was spoken exclusively in our house and among our friends. (At least Rudi and Natasha filled this gap later sending their two children to the Rilke Schule in Anchorage, where lessons were given in equal parts English and German. Both Liesel and Nick, to this day have a great command of the German language.)"

121. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 242. Another German in Girdwood was Werner E. Egloff (1928-2016) who opened and ran a bakery in Girdwood with his wife in 1972 at the base of Alyeska Ski Resort. Egloff sold his bakery in 1997 and moved to Montana see link: <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/adn/name/werner-egloff-obituary?id=17565943>

122. Pacific Air Forces. 2024. "German Air Force Exercise to Begin July 8 in Alaska." July 2, 2024. <https://www.pacaf.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/3825263/german-air-force-exercise-to-begin-july-8-in-alaska/>.

123. "Alaska State Legislature," n.d. <https://www.akleg.gov/basis/Member/Detail/31?code=VON>.

